

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): All right. You write a letter to the Minister.

Now please sit down. You write a letter to the Minister about your problem. Please don't disturb the Minister.

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, माननीय सदस्यगण श्री बागडोदिया, श्री खलीलुर्रहमान, श्री कपिल वर्मा, श्री नारायणस्वामी, श्री ए. जी. कुलकर्णी, श्री सुकोमल सेन, श्री हनुमंतप्पा, श्री शिवाजी, श्री अहलुवालिया, श्री जे. बी. माथुर... (व्यवधान)

एक माननीय सदस्य : मंत्री जी नाम गिनाना छोड़कर हमारी शिकायतों का समाधान करें।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : माननीय सदस्यों ने स्पष्टीकरण मांगते हुए कुछ प्रश्न किए हैं और चोरबाजारी के संबंध में कुछ शिकायतें भी की हैं। श्री नारायणस्वामी ने इस बात की ओर ध्यान आकर्षित किया है कि लोग माननीय सदस्यों से लिखे हुए कागजों पर हस्ताक्षर करा लेते हैं और इससे जो उनके क्षेत्र के उपभोक्ता हैं, उनको इस विशेष सुविधा का लाभ नहीं मिल पाता है। जहां तक श्री संतोष बागडोदिया का प्रश्न था एलोकेशन के सिलसिले में, तो अगर किसी माननीय सदस्य ने किसी को लिखकर दिया है और उसको मिलने में दिक्कत होती है, नहीं मिलता है तो मेरे सामने जितनी भी शिकायतें आई हैं। उनको मैंने दूर करने का प्रयास किया है। फिर भी यदि किसी को शिकायत है तो वह मुझे लिखकर दे, मैं निश्चित रूप में उसे दूर करूंगा।

जहां तक चोरबाजारी का प्रश्न है, उसके लिए जो भी शिकायत मेरे पास आएगी उस पर मैं कार्यवाही करूंगा। श्री अहलुवालिया ने इस ओर ध्यान आकर्षित किया था कि दिल्ली में जो बेटिंग लिस्ट है वह एक अप्रैल को चार लाख से अधिक थी। जहां तक इस सुविधा का प्रश्न है, यह पहले से चली आ रही है।

634 RS—26

अगर माननीय सदस्यों को यह सुविधा नहीं मिलती तो उसको बढ़ाने का सवाल नहीं था।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : अगर आप जनता को वांट देते तो अच्छा रहता।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : यह जनता को मिलेगा।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : यह जनता को नहीं मिलेगा, भाई-भतीजे को मिलेगा... (व्यवधान)

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : मैं सिर्फ यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि यह सुविधा तो माननीय सदस्यों की संस्तुतियों पर ही मिलने वाली है। जो माननीय सदस्य इसका लाभ नहीं उठाना चाहते हैं, वह यदि चाहें तो अपने अधिकार का प्रयोग न करें लेकिन मेरा यह निवेदन है कि जो भी शिकायत मेरे समक्ष आएगी, उसको मैं दूर करने का प्रयास करूंगा।

श्री शिवाजी ने एक प्रश्न जरूर किया कि जो स्पेशल डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन कोटा होता है मिनिस्टर का, वह कितना एलाट किया गया है? तो जब से मैं आया हूं मैंने एक भी नहीं किया है। बाकी के बारे में मैं जानकारी प्राप्त करके बताऊंगा।

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Communal situation in the country—
Contd.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Madam, before the lunch time, when I was mentioning a point, my friend, objected to certain observations. Perhaps, I may not have been correctly understood. I have all along said here that I have great respect for Mr. Advani and Mr. Vajpayee.

But I do not appreciate the logic and rational of his Rath Yatra since the Rath Yatra, I feel, is more a political gimmick

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

than for a temple. As far as the temple is concerned, I am not against having a temple there. I am totally not against the temple, but I am against demolishing the mosque and building a temple on it. It is very clear.

Madam Vice-Chairman, I want to bring to the attention of the attention of the House the very difficult condition, the very difficult position, in the country due to those communal riots. People are not only confused, are not only frustrated but they do not know where to look for. If such type of communal carnage takes place, people lose their confidence in themselves. When the neighbours are hostile, when there is a possibility of a war in Iraq, my countrymen should have the best of confidence and the highest of respect for law and order. So this carnage unleashed by a political party is to be condemned with all the power at our command.

Here is a new Government coming. Madam, kindly find out how the new Prime Minister who is a friend of mine, is starting to defuse the situation. In the case of Babri Masjid, what you call, the Ram Janam Bhoomi, he has brought those people to the negotiating table. Some negotiations are going on. Here, he has also tried to call Mr. Mann to the negotiating table. A voice is raised: 'Don't discuss the question with Mann.' I do not understand this in a democracy where we should discuss and debate; call those people to the debating table. The Prime Minister has never said that he will concede any demand. Whatever demand is to be discussed has to be discussed within the framework of the Constitution. So, political parties should not be allowed to take any political advantage. The Prime Minister has brought in fresh air. He is applying his own mind to the problems and how to solve them. Therefore, in this connection I do request friends of mine in this House and the political parties—it is of utmost necessity—that when the Government is going through a very, very bad phase, we should rise to

the occasion and help the Government. Whichever Government is in power, it is making its efforts in the sole interest of the country and no fault can be found concluding would like to raise... (*Interruptions*)... I think there is no Home Minister.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA (Karnataka): Where is the Prime Minister? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: It is extremely serious. Where is the Home Minister? I don't mind the Prime Minister going away, but I definitely take exception, severe exception, to the absence of the Minister of Home Affairs.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Let the Leader of the House speak first.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Where is the Home Minister? (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Let him speak. He has some information. I am not preventing anybody from speaking. Let the Leader of the House speak now.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE AND MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YASHWANT SINHA): Madam Vice-Chairman the Minister of State for Home who should normally have been here is engaged in the Lok Sabha at the moment. There is a discussion going on the Lok Sabha which requires his presence. That is the reason why he is not here. We don't mean any disrespect to the House. The Prime Minister himself was here. As my colleague has just said, he has gone to meet some people because he had given time. He will be back immediately after he has finished with the meeting. We are all here, so many Ministers, and we represent Government.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन (महाराष्ट्र) : लोक सभा में कौन सी चर्चा चल रही है?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): That we cannot discuss about in this House. We

cannot discuss about it. He just said where the Home Minister was right now.

Please continue Mr. Kulkarni.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: What I was saying was about the deterioration in the conditions and the people's confidence in the country. Because of this communal carnage democracy itself is in danger; people are wondering whether the Government can protect the secular character of this country, whether the Government can protect the borders of this country where killings are going on. In this context one has to take a very serious note of the conditions prevailing in the country so that those indulging in fanning the communal frenzy in the country are kept in check. In this context rath yatra itself is to be blamed. If any blame is to be fixed it should be fixed on the rath yatra which started from Somnath to Ayodhya. *(Interruptions)* Madam, there is so much of disturbance. And the Home Minister is also not here...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please continue. There are all the other Ministers here. There is very little time now.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am coming to the specific points now. The final points I want to ask the Government are these. Will the Government, in such circumstances, call a meeting of the National Integration Council, discuss the matter and find out a solution to this problem, what to do with these mosques and temples, how to protect them, what the limitations of each of the temples are, what the limitations are of the various political parties which are indulging in such acts? Then, I have already said I am for a temple for being built; but where? The Congress Party has already evolved a formula whereby the VHP and the Babri Masjid representatives were called and an agreement was signed for referring the issue to the court. But the previous regime did not follow that formula. So, will you follow that formula which the Congress Party hammered out? Then, the Congress Party gave you a suggestion for appointment of a five-

member bench of the Supreme Court under any legislation the decision of which must be binding on both the VHP and the Babri Masjid Committee. And the issue should be whether a mandir existed on the site of the mosque. This limited issue should be referred to the bench of the Supreme Court. Then, we are all along freely indulging in the deputing of the military or the BSF to police or to stop those riots. I think a different organisation is necessary. We have heard so much about the abuses indulged in by the military forces or the BSF. Whether they are facts or they are not facts, all the people do not know and each fact cannot be ascertained. Therefore, what I want to know is whether there is any proposal or whether the Government will agree to create a force, a Riot Force or whatever you may call it. In my view, such a force should be created.

Madam, I am very happy that Maharashtra is one State where no communal riots took place on a large scale except in the last two days and that was also not a communal flare-up, but a clash between two groups of people. The Government should take note of all these points and give a specific reply to all the points raised by me. Thank you, Madam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Now, Mr. Pramod Mahajan... *(Interruptions)*... Sorry, Mr. Sukomal Sen is to be called now. I am sorry, Mr. Mahajan. It is my fault. Yes, Mr. Sukomal Sen.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Madam, we are discussing a very extremely serious situation that has developed in our country. But, unfortunately, the statement that has been made by the honourable Minister in reply to the Calling-Attention Motion does not say anything new except giving some facts and figures about deaths and about such occurrences and the other things remain absent. But what I am interested in is the genesis of the communal violence in our country. Our country has witnessed communal violence

[Shri Sukomal Sen]

on many occasions in the past after the partition of the country and before. But this time it has assumed a different form. I expected that the Government would go into the causes of communal violence in the country and would apprise Parliament of its own impression. But the Government disappointed us.

Madam, I feel that this time the communal violence that started in the various parts of our country has a qualitative difference as compared to the earlier communal violence that took place in different places in our country. In 1947, it took place in a different form, with a different purpose and in a different setting. Then also communal passions were aroused and tension built up and the people killed one another. That was on the basis of religion and on the basis of communal hatred. But this time, I feel, the communal violence that was unleashed in the country was deliberately organised by certain forces, not only on a religious issue, but also with a definite political motive, political objective and that political objective is establishing a Hindu Rashtra, establishing Hindu nationalism, and that is why it has taken a different political overtone. So, with a clear political purpose it has been organised this time meticulously and deliberately in various parts of the country.

It started this time with the Rath Yatra by the BJP supremo and then there were many Yatras. Other Yatras have also taken place and they have been organised in various parts of the country. What I want to say is that this time the people, the parties and the religious groups are doing it and are doing it with meticulous care, with meticulous planning and meticulous preparation, to rouse communal passions among the people so that killings take place and the political purpose is served. Otherwise, I wonder what the purpose of that Rath Yatra was. What purpose has it served except bringing about communal violence in different parts of the country? Why was the lotus symbol put on the Rath? It was only for a definite political purpose. Then, after

the Kar Seva happenings, video cassettes have been made and illegally they were distributed in various parts of the country. Communal passions were roused, hatred was created and the people were incited to kill others. This is what has happened. Not only that, inflammatory speeches were made and taperecording of those inflammatory speeches was done and these taperecorded speeches were played in different parts of the country and so, the people are once again incited. Therefore, I say that it was a meticulous preparation throughout the country and I am constrained to say that between these parties and the religious groups a conspiracy had been hatched for a communal carnage in the country. And who are the people in this? They are our colleagues in the BJP, and the VHP and Bajrang Dal and RSS. I do not understand why the BJP is involved, because the BJP swears by the Constitution of the country. The Constitution of the country says that our country is a secular country. Unless a party becomes secular, that cannot be enrolled as a regular political party in the country. The VHP has no responsibility like that. It is not a political party. It is a religious organization. Bajrang Dal is a religious organization. They can do it. But any political party cannot go against the Constitution. They cannot preach communalism. They cannot rouse communal passions. But, unfortunately, this has been done in our country.

Madam, not only that. I am very sorry that certain newspapers also, particularly in the northern region, certain vernacular newspapers are also indulging in communal propaganda. They all spread rumours. They spread stories about killings and instigate one section of people to kill other people. That is why certain sections of people are indulging in communal propaganda. These things should be stopped.

Then, Madam, other things happened. Even the police and the administration did not act impartially. There are ins-

stances. Madam, the rôle of the PAC in Uttar Pradesh, their communal rôle, is very well known. This happened in Aligarh, in Agra and in Kanpur, where they played a mischievous rôle of taking side of one community against the other. They did it. Not only that. In Agra—I have evidence—one gentleman, a Muslim gentleman, a local Janata Dal—S leader was preaching secularism, but that man was caught by the police and beaten up in the presence of the administration. *(Time Bell rings)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Your party time is 11 minutes.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Then, another man, a Muslim, of the undivided Communist Party was preaching communal harmony. He was also caught, tortured and beaten up by the police. The Central Government and the State Governments of Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat failed miserably to control the situation. That is why terror is engulfing the country and innocent people are being killed.

Madam, I want to know from the hon. Minister... *(Time Bell rings)*

Madam, in view of this situation what is the Government going to do about the PAC which has played a very mischievous rôle in Uttar Pradesh, how are they going to be punished? Are the police officials who are guilty of instigating one community against the other going to be brought to book properly? As our party has demanded, is the Government going to call an all-party meeting to consider the whole situation and to take a proper course of action so that communal amity can be restored in the country? I want to know what is the Government going to do to stop unfounded rumours in different parts of the country, inciting people to kill others? These points should be clarified by the Government.

My concluding point is about the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid issue. That day the hon. Prime Minister said that it would be referred to the Supreme Court. The Rajiv Gandhi formula about the setting up of an Inquiry Commission to go into the details whether it was a temple and it was demolished. Madam, I feel it is a very dangerous suggestion. It has dangerous implications. Instead of doing that, I feel, unless there is mutual settlement between the two communities on the temple or on the mosque question, the issue which is pending before Allahabad High Court, should be referred to the Supreme Court for Judgment—on that issue, on the right to worship, but not on other issues. The Rajiv Gandhi formula will be very dangerous for the country as a whole. It has serious implications. Because of paucity of time I am not explaining it further.

With these words, I conclude, Madam.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam Vice-Chairman, we live in the country today in turbulent times. Each day we pick up the newspapers or we look at the TV screen, all that we see almost in headlines every day is riots, firings, killings, bloodshed, and curfew in many parts of the country. And we sit back and ask: Is there an answer? Can the situation be changed? Political parties at all times tend to believe that blaming each other is going to solve the problem. I have over the last few months had an opportunity of visiting some of the places immediately after the riots. And we see that the victims are the innocent, the helpless, the poor. Most often left there to face the situation are the women and young innocent children. Imposing a curfew is no solution because it is these weaker sections who suffer the most when a curfew is imposed because the daily wage earner is almost starving at the end of it all. And yet, we seem to believe that in the name of religion whatever happens in the country is something which must

[Shrimati Margaret Alva]

be tolerated because the people have a right to their religious beliefs, to do what they want in the name of religion and, perhaps, to hold the whole country to ransom. I belong to a minority community. That does not make me less an Indian, does not make me less afraid as far as the unity and the integrity of this country is concerned.

It is unfortunate, Madam, today we do not look upon ourselves as Indians, as those belonging to a country, but instead repeatedly call ourselves Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs or something else as if we have two identities in the country. This is a tragedy almost five decades after independence. I must today say a few things, perhaps, harsh because for very long I have somehow restrained myself from saying things which I have been wanting to say in this House. Madam, religion has come to be identified with revivalism. There is no content, there is no real genuine belief in something. It is just being exploited in order that there might be political gain out of providing a religious platform. Over the last few years we have seen cult rather than the content of religion in this country getting the better of us. The more vocal, the more aggressive and, perhaps, the more blood-thirsty you appear to be, the more you are feared, the more you are accepted, and the more are the compromises made with such groups and individuals. They become the spokesmen of the religious groups. They become one's consultants, who are called to election meetings, with whom behind the scene agreements are arrived at simply because of the so-called vote banks which they are presumed to represent. 'I have to be kept happy if I have to be kept on your side' in the slogan.

Madam, we have seen secularism literally thrown to the winds. The positive side of secularism today is challenged. People are afraid to use the word 'secularism'. I will come to this later. I have heard leaders of certain political parties with whom we

shared platforms in recent seminars trying to tell us that we have got the definition of secularism in this country wrong, that we have got to recast the definition of secularism, of nationalism, if we are to be true Indians, we have to project ourselves as certain types of Hindus. In fact, what hurt me most over all these months is the headlines in a Bombay daily where Mr. Advani, a man who has been with us, whom I have respected from the day I entered this House and for whom I have great affection, has asked: "Why are they not Hindu Muslims and Hindu Christians?" What is the definition of Hindu? I can understand his saying, 'Why are they not Indian Christians and Indian Muslims?' But he said, why are they not Hindu Muslims and Hindu Christians in this country? Is it that being an Indian means being a Hindu? I am a Hindu in many ways, all of us are because the traditions of this country have grown out of certain religious atmosphere. We are not ashamed of them. We are proud of our traditions. But that today I have to recast my whole concept of nationalism and secularism so that certain revivalist groups and forces to whom over the last 1½ years, I must say, credibility was given for political purposes, to prop up a government which was in a minority and with whom power was shared in the name of giving stability to this country, have today become so powerful that they can challenge anybody and everybody, including the law courts, the Constitution, the Parliament and the will of the people in this country! Madam, I want to say this. No person in this country is an Indian if he is communal. You talk to the ordinary persons even today and they say:

राम मन्दिर के लिए भी जगह है ।
श्राप जो भी बनाये उसके लिए भी
जगह है । हम तो यह नहीं कहते कि
हिन्दुस्तान में किसी के लिए जगह नहीं है ।

Perhaps, in a moment—I don't know—of mistaken pride, the then, and also now, Deputy Prime Minister said that Christians have no place in this country;

either they should go to England or to America. I am glad that he later retracted.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: How dare he say like that!

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I wish to say, I don't need a passport or a certificate or permission from anybody to stay in this country. It is as much mine as it is his or anybody else's. But this has led to is that peace and confidence which communities enjoy in their local mohallas and communities or villages, has given rise to....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You have ten minutes; you can speak for 2-3 minutes more.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA:.. fear and suspicion among the common people. The freedom movement brought the communities together. We learnt to live together, to love and to fight together. Freedom came; yes, unfortunately, partition followed. But do we have to think all the time of what happened in 1947, what happened 500 years ago, what happened so many centuries ago, rather than talk about the present and the future of this country? We are tending to dwell all the time on what somebody did in history. You cannot re-write history. History is to be read as it is, and whatever you may say, you cannot undo what happened 500 years ago or 200 years ago. You are a nation today; you are a free country. You are a secular country. And, Madam, I wish to say today that in 1976, seeing the danger and the writing on the wall, it was Indiraji who insisted and the Constitution 42nd amendment of 1976 brought into the Preamble 'Secular, Socialist' Republic. 'Secular' was not there. It was brought in, in 1976, realising the dangers that were being posed to the unity and the integrity of the country in the name of religion. The danger was looming and she, as a States woman foresaw the danger that was going to come, and

secularism was incorporated in the Constitution. I have been reading articles; I have with me a booklet; somewhere in it I was reading, where VHP says: 'The Constitution framers never wanted secularism in the Constitution. It was an afterthought that has made India a secular State'. I do not know what this interpretation is. But let me say, I was recently attending a seminar in Bombay at the Nehru Centre to mark the Nehru birth anniversary. There was a public forum in the evening which we shared; all the political parties were there from CPM to BJP. Madam, what surprised me was a Member of Parliament, Mr. Mahajan, who stood on the public platform in Bombay at the Nehru Centre and said: 'I do not believe in secularism. Nehruvian secularism is dead. We have to recast the definition of secularism'.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: They have crushed themselves.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I was present, and it hurt me because so many years after freedom if you are today going to say that we have to recast the definition of secularism, what are we heading for? I was told, and it was openly said, that nobody can be secular; only the State has to be secular. If I am Hindu, it is because I do not believe that any other religion is good enough, and if somebody is a Christian or a Muslim, it is because he believes that no other religion is as good as his. So the concept of secularism for people is dead and it cannot exist. Now, if you start with this kind of a proposition today, is it not a wonder at all as to what we are heading for and where we are going? (*Interruptions*). Let him say. It is on record. He has not denied it. (*Interruptions*) I took down what he was saying in long hand. He has not denied it.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: I am not denying. The only thing is that I must get extra time to answer it.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: How can he deny it? We were both there. (*Interruptions*) I do not know

[Shrimati Margaret Alva]

when Mr. Viren Shah has become the spokesman of Mr. Mahajan.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Shah, Mr. Mahajan is here. He can speak for himself. Now, Mrs. Alva, you have to conclude within two minutes.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam, you know the kind of slogans we have heard over the past few months. I will not repeat them because it hurts my secular feelings even to repeat them. The calls and the slogans which have been given in the last few months by the V.H.P. and by certain political parties in collusion with the V.H.P. are something which must make us hang our heads in shame as Indian citizens.

I would like to ask our friends here. Who is to blame? There is even a campaign that the Congress and the B.J.P. are hand-in-glove. There is a charge that we are working together and that we are supporting each other. Madam, I would like to ask, who was in alliance with the B.J.P.? Who gave support to the V.H.P. through the B.J.P.? I would like to know, who were conducting a joint campaign? Who had adjustment of seats? Who was asking for support from the B.J.P. to exist as a Government? Who gave respectability and a national platform to the B.J.P.? Why do you blame the Congress today? You were sitting together. Even the Left parties were sitting together with them.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: The people gave us the mandate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Mathur, let her conclude. Members from all the parties will have the chance to speak. (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Search your hearts today. Don't blame the Congress for everything. If anything goes wrong in the country, you

have to blame only one party, i.e., the Congress! You should remember that it is the Congress which gave the secular platform to the country. (Interruptions). The Left parties have been as much responsible, by keeping silent in the House when all this was happening. Don't blame the Congress today. We spoke out. We charged you. We cautioned you against supporting wrong forces. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mrs. Alva, please conclude.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: They are blaming us. I would ask, who is supporting the B.J.P. Government in Rajasthan? Who is supporting?

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Gentlemen.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Why are you blaming the Congress? Do some heart-searching and see what happened in the last two years. Was the Rath Yatra necessary? Did it have to go through Delhi? Could you not have stopped it right at the beginning? Did you have to wait till it reached the other end of the country? Why did you wait till it went to the other States after crossing Delhi?

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH (Maharashtra): Your Government was there in Maharashtra.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: The Central Government did not stop it right at the beginning. After tempers reached such a level where communal violence was the only fallout, they started thinking that it had become dangerous. Till then you waited so that you could save the situation for yourself.

Madam, I have one or two suggestions to make. I know there is no time. But I would like to say just one thing. Let us realise and I would appeal to the B.J.P., specially to Mr. Advani — No civilisation can survive by building monuments of hatred.

You have to build monuments of love and understanding if you want to survive as a nation.' Remember, Rama—does not belong to any particular community or to any particular part of the country. He is a national hero. Why do you make him a patron of the B.J.P. and the V.H.P.? Why do you believe that Ram belongs only to Ayodhya or that Ram belongs only to the Hindus. If you consider him to be a national hero, why are you creating a controversy round this hero and making the people become pro or anti Ram? I would appeal to you and to Mr. Advani that the country is much greater than all these petty political gains of election campaigns. You may form a Government or break it, you may be in or out, but if this country has to survive, it has to survive with all of us, the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Christians and the smallest groups living together. Therefore, I would appeal to this House, can we or can we not agree on a code of conduct for political parties for elections or otherwise? Can we or can we not, as a nation, ban communal parties from participating in elections and in political processes? Can we or can we not...

SHRI SIKANDER BAKHT (Madhya Pradesh): Did communalism exist before the Rath Yatra? Be sincere about that.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Today when you see the danger, are you prepared to sit together and realise that unless we take some hard decisions, the future of this country and the unity of this country are at stake? And I say it very honestly, let the political leaders stop participating in public religious functions of one kind or the other at the taxpayer's cost. All of us have a right to private religious belief. I am not saying that Indian secularism is negative, it is positive. We believe that every region has a right to be accepted and practised, but let political leaders not mix their political power and political positions with religious groups, religious functions and religious celebrations. Only then will the true meaning of secularism prevail in this country.

Finally, Madam, I ask, almost 50 years after freedom, are we incapable of producing even a common history text book for this country? We have not been able to write a common book of history of India which every child from Kanyakumari to Kashmir, from the East to the West, could read and study and say that this is the history of India. It is being interpreted by different people to suit their own local beliefs and interests, their local loyalties. Somebody has called someone as hero and somebody has said something else. Can't the history of India be interpreted for future generations as something which every Indian could read and imbibe as a national tradition?

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bihar): What about your association... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Let her conclude.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: I am talking of banning all communal political parties. Why don't you look to the future? (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Chauranan Mishra, please let her conclude. The Chairman has to make an announcement. Let her conclude.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): All political leaders must be debarred from visiting the religious places and attending religious functions on the eve of elections.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Yes, let her conclude.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: A lot has been said about assimilating the minorities in the mainstream. You cannot assimilate anybody. You can have only an integrated society in which all sections have an equal right and an equal place to exist. Only then India will really and truly be a secular State in which all of us together can build a new

[Shrimati Margaret Alva]

society and in which we can feel that we are one.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती जयन्ती नट-राजन) : श्री प्रमोद महाजन ।

श्री महाजन : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं मारशेट ब्राल्वा जी से शत-प्रतिशत सहमत हूँ कि द्वेष के आधार पर खड़ा कोई स्मारक... (व्यवधान)

श्री बोरेंस जे. शाह : सुनिश्च तो सही, जरा दूसरे विचार को भी सुनिए ।

4.00 P.M.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : महोदया, मैं कह रहा था कि मैं मारशेट जी से शत-प्रतिशत सहमत हूँ कि द्वेष के आधार पर खड़ा कोई स्मारक उस व्यक्ति को बड़ा नहीं कर सकता । इसलिए उस जन्म स्थान पर, जहाँ सदियों में मंदिर था, द्वेष के आधार पर एक विदेशी आक्रमक ने उस मंदिर को तोड़ा... (व्यवधान)

SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI: I stand up and object.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Is it a point of order... (Interruptions)... No. I am sorry. Kindly sit down. It is not a point of order... (Interruptions)...

SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI: This forum should not be used for such purposes.

... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Kindly sit down, he is giving his views... (Interruptions)... Sibtey Razi saheb, please sit down. He is entitled to his views. I am not allowing you; please sit down. I am not allowing you... (Interruptions)... Satyapi, please sit down... (Interruptions)... I request the Members not to interrupt him. Don't interrupt him. He is entitled to his views... (Interruptions)... Kindly sit down. I am not allowing these interruptions, please sit down.

SHRI MOHAMMAD AFZAL alias MEEM AFZAL:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Mr. Afzal, please sit down. ... (Interruptions)... No, there is no point of order... (Interruptions)... Kindly sit down. I am not allowing interruptions, no.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I am not allowing interruptions. Mr. Mahajan is entitled to speak in this House. I request Members not to interrupt him. I am not allowing points of order also. Kindly continue, Mr. Mahajan... (Interruptions)... No, Satyaji, please sit down. I am not allowing you to speak. Please have the patience to hear the Member.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu):*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): No, I am not allowing interruptions. Please sit down. Kindly allow him to continue.

DR. R. K. PODDAR (West Bengal):*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Kindly allow him to continue. When your turn comes, you can speak. I am allowing you to speak. Please listen to him... (Interruptions)... No, I am not allowing interruptions.

SHRI SHANTI TYAGI:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Are you on a point of order? I am not allowing interruptions. ... (Interruptions)... I don't want any clarifications on Mr. Mahajan's statement... (Interruptions)...

*Not recorded.

SHRI SHANTI TYAGI*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Are you on a point of order? No? I am not allowing interruptions... (Interruptions)... I don't want any clarifications on Mr. Mahajan's statement.. (Interruptions)....

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): He is entitled to be heard in this House. I request Members not to interrupt him. Let him continue.

SHRI SHANTI TYAGI:*

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : : महोदय, मैं कह रहा था कि जहाँ अब मंदिर है वहाँ से... (व्यवधान) ।

SHRI MOHAMMAD AFZAL alias MEEM AFZAL:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please don't interrupt him, Mr. Afzal. Kindly sit down. .. (Interruptions) .. Have the patience to hear him.

SHRI MOHAMMAD AFZAL alias MEENA AFZAL:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): When your turn comes, please speak. .. (Interruptions) .. He is entitled to his views .. (Interruptions) .. Satyajit, kindly don't interrupt. Kindly sit down. Honourable Members must have the patience to hear him. I can't allow you to keep on interrupting him.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal):*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): This is not a question-answer session. He is entitled to his opinion.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): As a Member he is entitled to his opinion. (Interruptions) ... He is entitled to any opinion. Please leave it to him.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): If there is anything unparliamentary, please leave it to me to deal with it... (Interruptions). Kindly sit down and allow him to complete. I request Members to have the patience to listen to him. You cannot jump up every minute and interrupt him. Let us have some decorum in the House. Mr. Mahajan, please continue.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : : महोदय, मैं फिर आपको धन्यवाद करता हूँ, मेरी मदद करने के लिए ।

श्री अरविंद गणेश कुलकर्णी : : अरे धन्यवाद बहुत हो जाएगा ।

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : : सत्य बहिन ने कहा कि वहाँ मंदिर नहीं है । इसको नोट करते हुए मेरा अपना यह मन है कि वहाँ मंदिर है और दूरदर्शन पर जिसका नित्य दर्शन होता है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Satyajit, please sit down now... (Interruptions). No, I am not allowing you. I will not allow any further interruptions. .. (Interruptions)...

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद साथुर : : वहाँ पर दूरदर्शन पर दिखाया है वीसियों बार । आप सुनिए । ... (व्यवधान)

श्री सिकंदर खत : : मवान यह है कि हम सीधा वहाँ पर फसादान पर डिस्कम कर रहे हैं । ... (व्यवधान) ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please sit down. I won't allow any further interruptions.

श्री मोहम्मद उर्फ सीम अफजल :
साथुर सहव, दूरदर्शन अथारिटी नहीं हैं
दूरदर्शन पर जो आता है, वह गवर्नमेंट
का सर्टिफिकेट ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री सिकन्दर खत : और उसको
मुनने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं, यह तज्जुब
की बात है। पहला सन्टेंस नहीं हुआ
है अभी तक। ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : और इसलिए
द्वेष के आधार पर जिसकी निर्मिति हुई,
उसकी जगह प्रेम के आधार पर भगवत
राम का जहाँ मंदिर है उसके पुनर्निर्माण
की रचना, इसमें कोई राष्ट्र का द्रोह
नहीं है, कहीं किसी के धर्म के विरोध
में नहीं है। यद्यपि परोक्ष और अपरोक्ष
रूप में इस चर्चा में भारतीय जनत
पार्टी को कटघरे में खड़ा करने का
प्रयास किया गया, मानो जैसे ध्यानकर्षण
गृह मंत्री के खिलाफ नहीं, भारतीय जनता
पार्टी के खिलाफ हो। फिर भी मैं
सदन की इस चिन्ता से सहमत हूँ कि
स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् शायद इतनी गंभीर
स्थिति इससे पहले कभी नहीं थी।
किसी ने इसका गृह-युद्ध के समान
स्थिति से वर्णन किया है, जो अतिशयोक्ति
नहीं है।

वैसे केवल आंकड़ों का विच्छादन
करूँ तो गतवर्ष पंजाब में हुई हत्याएँ
इन साम्प्रदायिक दंगों से हुई हत्याओं
के पांच गुना है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :
यह जस्टिफाई कर रहे हैं क्या ?

श्री सिकन्दर खत : : जस्टिफिकेशन
क्या है, मुनिए।

श्री मोहम्मद उर्फ सीम अफजल :
थोड़े दिन में नम्बर बराबर कर दोगे
यह। ... (व्यवधान) ... अभी और दंगा
करना चाहते हैं क्या ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Kindly stop interrupting him. Let him conclude. Dr. Pandey, let him conclude. Don't interrupt him. (Interruptions).

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : मैं उपसभाध्यक्ष
महोदया, मैं दंगा कहीं कराना नहीं
चाहता हूँ। सत्या बहिन को यह लग
रहा है कि मेरे भाषण से सदन में
दंगा हो रहा है। मुझे लगता है कि
सम्माननीय सदस्यों पर यह घोर आपत्ति
है या मेरी बड़ी प्रशंसा है कि इतने
सम्माननीय सदस्य मेरे भाषण से यहां
दंगा करेंगे। मुझे लगता है कि यह
कहना अनुचित है और सदन के प्रति
कोई निष्ठा या श्रद्धा का भाव नहीं
है।

असम और जम्मू-कश्मीर में अलग-
अलग से उपवादियों द्वारा की गई हत्याओं
की संख्या भी इतनी है। लेकिन जैसा
मैंने प्रारम्भ में कहा कि आंकड़ों के
विच्छादन से मैं इस प्रश्न को जोड़ना
नहीं चाहता। इससे साम्प्रदायिक दंगों
की गंभीरता कम नहीं होती। हर हत्या
निन्दनीय है। मरने वालों को धर्म के
आधार पर वांटने में हम विश्वास नहीं
करते और इसलि ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री मोहम्मद उर्फ सीम अफजल :
क्यों करेंगे, घाटा है न ?

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : मुझे लगता
है शायद मुना न हो। एक माननीय
सदस्य यहां पर कह रहे हैं कि उसमें
हमारा घाटा है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह अफजल
साहब कह रहे हैं, लिबिण।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I will look into the record.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : मैं नाम से
भले ही महाजन हूँ लेकिन मैं साम्प्रदायिक
दंगों को घाटे और मुन फे के हिस्से में,
कुछ सदस्य देखना चाहते हैं, उस तरह
से मैं देखना नहीं चाहता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You kindly stop interrupting him.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : और इसलिए जो इसको घाटे या मनफे में जोड़ना चाहे, उस परिभाषा में देखें। मेरी दृष्टि से हर साम्प्रदायिक दंगा देश पर एक कलंक है। हर साम्प्रदायिक हत्या देश को आगे ले जाने में एक रुकावट है। लेकिन सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न यह खड़ा होता है कि इस देश में यह स्थिति क्यों आई ? किसने लाई ? इससे हम बाहर कैसे निकलें ?

सदन के अंदर भारतीय जनता पार्टी को कटघरे में खड़ा कर, गाली गलौच कर आप आत्म संतुष्ट तो हो सकते हैं लेकिन जब सदन से समाज में आप जायेंगे उस समाज में इस भाषा को कोई वजन आज क्यों नहीं है जिसे आप यहां कटघरे में खड़ा करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। वह समाज में कटघरे में क्यों नहीं है इसको पहचानने की कोशिश कृपा करें। आरोपों की झड़ी तो मैं भी लगा सकता हूं। पूर्व के भाषण सुनने के बाद तो मुझे लगा कि इस देश का पहला साम्प्रदायिक दंगा तो शायद रथ यात्रा के बाद ही हुआ। मानो इस देश में रथ यात्रा के पहले कोई कभी दंगा हुआ ही नहीं। रथ यात्रा दंगों का कारण नहीं थी, दंगों के कारण को दूर करने वाला परिणाम थी। किसी ने कहा कि यह भी रथ यात्रा में सवार थे। यह सच है कि मैं रथ यात्रा में था। सोमनाथ से समस्तीपुर तक 8375 किलोमीटर की इस रथ यात्रा में मैं पूरे समय था और इसलिए, सोमनाथ से समस्तीपुर तक 8375 किलोमीटर की रथ यात्रा में जो मातव श्रृंखला मैंने देखी, जो राम की भक्ति मैंने देखी जिसे राष्ट्र की शक्ति में परिवर्तित करने का प्रयास हम कर रहे हैं। अगर इस रथ यात्रा को... (व्यवधान) और इसलिये मुझे लगता है कि इस रथ यात्रा में दंगों के कारण ढूंढना यह आत्म वंचना होगी। हम अपने आप एक बार मन में यह सोचें कि स्वतंत्रता को 43 वर्ष हो गये हैं। स्वतंत्रता के

43 वर्षों के बाद भी आज हिन्दुस्तान में दंगा हम क्यों नहीं रोक सके ? कोई दूसरा देश होता तो... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): How long will you take?

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: There was interruption for about seven minutes. Please give seven minutes extra.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I have taken that into account as well. How long will you take now?

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: Please give me seven or eight minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Your party's time is eleven minutes.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Madam, how can you bottle a Frankenstein in eleven minutes. You consider it yourself.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please conclude in three or four minutes.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: How can I finish in three or four minutes?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): There is no time.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं यहाँ अल्पसंख्यक में हूँ क्योंकि मेरा भी तुष्टिकरण हो और मुझे भी दो चार मिनट दिया जाये। मैं अलग पक्ष रख रहा हूँ जो सबके सामने आना चाहिये... (व्यवधान) बहस में और समय बर्बाद जायेगा इसलिये मैं जल्दी खत्म करता हूँ। मैं यह कह रहा था कि दूसरा कोई और देश होता तो 43 वर्षों के बाद भी रुकावट देखता, पलट कर देखता, खुद का परीक्षण करने की कोशिश करता कि 43 वर्षों के बाद फिर यह क्यों हो रहा है। दुर्भाग्य मे आज आप यह करने की स्थिति में नहीं हैं। हम 43

[श्री प्रमोद हाजान]

वर्षों में जिस रथ को लेकर आये हैं हमको लगता है कि उसी को आगे ले जाने से हम इसे रोक नहीं सकते। उपन्यास महादया, 1947 में इस देश का बंटवारा हुआ। बंटवारों का जिन्होंने समर्थन किया वह आज पाठ पढ़ा रहे हैं। बंटवारों को जिसने स्वयं निर्णय घोषित किया वह आज पाठ पढ़ा रहे हैं। बंटवारे के बाद इस खण्ड पर एक साम्प्रदायिक राष्ट्र का निर्माण हुआ। अगर हिन्दुस्तान चाहता तो वह अपने आपको भी एक साम्प्रदायिक राष्ट्र घोषित कर सकता था। वह नहीं हुआ। वह अच्छा हुआ, उचित हुआ।

क्योंकि हिन्दू विचार में, हिन्दू इतिहास में किसी प्रकार उपासना को राज्य से जोड़ा नहीं गया है और इसलिए उपासना के आधार पर किसी प्रकार का राज्य न हो, इस प्रकार की धारणा हमने 1947 में की। गत 43 वर्षों में आपने क्या किया? आज आप हमें ही आरोपित कर रहे हैं। आप वोटों की राजनीति करते हैं। अल्पसंख्यकों की सुरक्षा करना मैं समझ सकता हूँ, सम्मान करना मैं समझ सकता हूँ लेकिन सुरक्षा और सम्मान के नाम पर आपने तुष्टीकरण और सम्मान का अंतर तोड़ दिया। “सबके साथ न्याय और किसी का तुष्टीकरण नहीं”

“Justice for all, appeasement of none.”

यह आपकी नीति होनी चाहिए थी, देश के सारे नागरिकों को आपको समान समझना चाहिए था, आपने कभी नहीं समझा, इसके अनगिनत उदाहरण हैं। आज आप कहते हैं कि साम्प्रदायिक दलों पर प्रतिबंध लगा। मुस्लिम लीग इस देश के विभाजन की जिम्मेदार थी। मौलाना आजाद ने कहा था कि स्वतंत्र हिन्दुस्तान में मुस्लिम लीग का कोई स्थान नहीं है। इस देश में भारतीय जनता पार्टी को छोड़कर जितने भी दल बँटे हैं, कभी न कभी तो आपने मुस्लिम

लीग से दोस्ती की। मुस्लिम लीग से हाथ मिलाते समय आपका हाथ थर्राया नहीं... (व्यवधान)...

कुछ वर्ष पूर्व कश्मीर में सैकड़ों मंदिर नष्ट हुए। किसी ने अपनी सरकार दांव पर नहीं लगाई। सरकार दांव पर लगाने की बात होती तो...

(व्यवधान) अगर इस देश में मेक्युलरिज होता तो कहते कि कश्मीर में एक भी हिन्दू मन्दिर तोड़ने नहीं देंगे। आपको तो कहीं और की ईंट की चिंता थी। कश्मीर में लाखों हिन्दू आज निर्वासित होकर हिन्दुस्तान में भटक रहे हैं। कोई सद्भावना यात्रा वहाँ नहीं पहुँची, किसी ने उन हिन्दुओं का दुख देखने की कोशिश नहीं की। शाहबानो केस द्वारा उच्चतम न्यायालय का निर्णय बदलकर आपने मुस्लिम बहनों को 14वीं सदी में धकेल दिया। आज आप हमको न्यायालय की श्रेष्ठता समझा रहे हैं, उस समय कहाँ गया था आपका धर्म, उस समय कहाँ गई थी आपकी न्यायालय की श्रेष्ठता जब मुस्लिम महिला कांड हो रहा था... (व्यवधान)... शाहबानो कांड में उच्चतम न्यायालय का निर्णय बदलकर इसी संसद ने मेरी मुस्लिम बहनों को 14वीं सदी में धकेल दिया। काम सिविल कोड को छोड़ दीजिए, जो काम क्रिमिनल प्रोसीजर कोड था, उसका भी आपने बदल दिया।

SHRI MOHAMMAD AFZAL *alias* MEEM AFZAL: I am on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): There is no point of order. Let him speak. .. (Interruptions)... I am not allowing anybody.

SHRI MOHAMMAD AFZAL *alias* MEEM AFZAL: I cannot listen to his speech because he is misguiding the House. He does not know anything about Shah Bano case.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I cannot force you to listen but I can insist that you will not interrupt him.

SHRI MOHAMMAD AFZAL *alias* MEEM AFZAL: But he is misguiding the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): No, I am sorry. Please sit down... (*Interruptions*)...

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : आप संविधान के निमाताओं की दुहाई देते हैं। धारा 370 टैम्पेरी है, यह संविधान निमाताओं ने कहा था। आप उनको परमानेंट बना रहे हैं इसलिए कि आपको तुष्टीकरण करना है। धर्म के आधार पर आप बैंकों से कर्ज बांटते हो और आप हमें संप्रदाय-निरपेक्षता पढ़ाते हो। धर्म के आधार पर आप नौकरियों में आरक्षण देने की बात करते हो और आप हमको संप्रदाय-निरपेक्षता पढ़ाते हो... (*व्यवधान*)...

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: I am on a point of information.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): No point of information.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: He is misleading the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I am not allowing. Kindly sit down.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: There is no reservation on the basis of religion. It is wrong. He is misleading the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I am not allowing any point of information. Mr. Mahajan, please continue.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : आप सबत बोल रहे हैं। कहाँ दुआ है धर्म के नाम पर रिजर्वेशन? वताओ... (*व्यवधान*) सबत बात मत बोलो... (*व्यवधान*)...

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : इसी सदन में आपके नेता शिवशंकर जी ने मांगा था मुसलमानों के लिए... (*व्यवधान*)...

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I justify it. I have said it and I will justify it. (*Interruptions*). I have said it and I will continue to say it. Their position is so awkward. Today they have been reduced to second class citizens, all muslims.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Please conclude now Mr. Mahajan.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : कंकलुड कैसे करें ? मैं तो जल्दी जल्दी खत्म कर देता, लेकिन कंटिन्यूइटी नहीं रहेगी तो कैसे खत्म करें... (*व्यवधान*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): But I am sorry, you have already taken 20 minutes.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: I am also very sorry.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): You have taken double the time.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: It is not my time. Everybody's interest.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): I have to request you to conclude.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: Every party has got its own time. They can reply to whatever I am saying if I am wrong.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): But the time of the House is limited. You must understand that.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : सहोदरा, हिन्दु-स्तान में एक शिक्षा नीति होती है और जो सरकार शिक्षानेति लाती है उसमें जिलों की सूची बनती है उसमें देखते हैं तो लिखा होता है "मुस्लिम डासि-नेटेड डिस्ट्रिक्ट" शिक्षा नीति को जिलों में आप हिन्दु-मुसलमान के अनुसार करेंगे इस देश में एक दल जो मिजोरम में चुनाव लड़ने जाता है, यह कहता है कि यदि हमें सत्ता में लाओगे तो हम

[श्रीप्रमोद महाजन]

क्रिश्चियन ट्रेडिशन के अनुसार यहाँ का शासन चलाएंगे। वह दल हमको सिखाता है कि धर्म-निरपेक्षता क्या है ?

श्री सुरेन्द्र जीत सिंह अहलवालिया : गलत बात बोल रहे हैं... (व्यवधान)

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : यह दल आपका था ? यह पगड़ी आप पर कैसे फिट आ गई ? ... (व्यवधान)

महोदया, राम जन्मभूमि का विषय सैकड़ों वर्षों से चला आ रहा है। राम जन्म भूमि स्थान का मुकदमा भी 1949 से लेकर चल रहा है। किसी राजनीतिक दल ने कभी भी राम जन्मभूमि के समर्थन के लिये कोई आन्दोलन नहीं किया। इस देश में आन्दोलन की शुरुआत किसी ने की तो वह 1986 में इस देश में बबरी मस्जिद एक्शन कमेटी की स्थापना से हुई। बबरी मस्जिद एक्शन कमेटी की स्थापना करने से यह बात सामने आई कि मंदिर को मस्जिद में परिवर्तित करने का प्रयास किया गया। तो उस प्रयास को रोकने के लिये अगर किसी ने जनमत को संगठित करने का प्रयास किया तो उसको दोष नहीं दिया जा सकता। एक प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री जिले जिले में जाकर यह बड़े कि अल्पसंख्यकों को अपनी सुरक्षा के लिये हथियार इकट्ठे करने चाहिये तो बहुसंख्यकों के मन में उसका क्या असर होगा ? कभी अपने सोचने की कोशिश की ? अगर पिछली सरकार गिरी, यह इस कारण किया तो मुलायम सिंह और विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह में टक्कर क्यों ? सुबोध कांत जी तो दोनों तरफ हैं। राजनीति की आप कोशिश कर रहे हैं। इस देश में हिन्दू मानसिकता पर भी विचार करना पड़ेगा। हिन्दू होना कोई गुनाह नहीं है। बहुमत में होना कोई गुनाह नहीं है। हिन्दुओं को इकट्ठा करना कोई गुनाह नहीं है। अगर हिन्दू मानसिकता पर आप हमेशा प्रहार करते रहें हैं तो इस हिन्दू मानसिकता की प्रतिक्रिया अगर होगी

तो दोष प्रहार करने वालों का होगा, प्रतिक्रिया देने वालों का नहीं होगा। इसलिये हमें केवल उठकर बैठकर आप इस प्रश्न को हल ही कर सकते। इससे बिना धर्म-निरपेक्षता सामने आई है।

एकसम्मति से सदस्य ने कहा कि एंटी रायट्सस्क्वैड बनाओ। यह मैं समझ जाता हूँ कि एंटी रायट्स स्क्वैड होना चाहिये, यह आपको चाहिये क्यों कि पुलिस को रायट्स पर कंट्रोल नहीं कर सकती। लेकिन उसके लिये लगा दिया "मल्टी रिलीजस"। क्या इस देश में पुलिस की भरती करते समय यह कहा जायेगा कि "इट विल बी ए मल्टी रिलीजस स्क्वैड" ? उसके लिये मल्टी रिलीजस स्क्वैड होना चाहिये ?

श्री मोहम्मद अफजल उर्फ मीम अफजल : पी.ए.सी. का एक्शन देखने के बाद यह होना चाहिये। वह कैसी फोर्स है, मैं बताता हूँ... (व्यवधान)

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : मैं पी.ए.सी. की बालूत नहीं कर रहा हूँ (व्यवधान) यह क्या मजाक है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Kindly sit down, Mr. Afzal. Please listen to him with patience. (Interruption).

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: Don't you have manners, Mr. Afzal? What is your problem? (Interruptions). Keep quiet and sit down.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Dr. Jain, please sit down. Kindly permit me to control the House. Dr. Jain, kindly permit me to control the House. (Interruption). I know. I am doing that. You please sit down. You are also interrupting him. (Interruptions).

SHRI MOHAMMAD AFZAL alias MEEM AFZAL: I am telling you, you have no right to say to any Member, "keep quiet". Understand?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Kindly stop interrupting him, Mr. Afzal. (*Interruptions*). Please continue now and conclude in two minutes. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MOHAMMAD AFZAL *alias* MEEM AFZAL: You cannot abuse me. (*Interruptions*).

DR. JINENDRA KUMAR JAIN: I am not abusing you. You keep quiet.

SHRI MOHAMMAD AFZAL *alias* MEEM AFZAL: How is he behaving? Has he got any right to say to me, "keep quiet"?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): No, nobody has a right to say so. But you please sit down. (*Interruptions*).

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : जिस कैसेट की बात हो रही है जिस डा. जैन के वीडियो कैसेट की बात हो रही है उस को सदन देखे । अगर एक भी आपत्ति-जनक शब्द होगा तो मैं जिम्मेदार हूँ उसके लिये । अगर आप हत्या करेंगे, निर्दोष लोगों को मारेंगे, अयोध्या में मारेंगे तो क्या होगा । गोली जहाँ मारी गई तो बताने वाला दोषी है, मारने वाला दोषी नहीं है ? इसमें जैन की क्या गलती है ? गोली जैन ने नहीं लगाई । जो गोली से मारे गये उसकी वीडियो शूटिंग है । इसको कोई झुठला नहीं सकता । मैंने कहा ही नहीं, कह नहीं सकते । आप पी.ए.सी. को गोली दे रहे हैं, मैं पी.ए.सी. की वकालत नहीं कर रहा हूँ । मेरा क्या लेना-देना पी.ए.सी. से । (*व्यवधान*) मैं इंडियन एक्सप्रेस से केवल कोट करना चाहता हूँ (*व्यवधान*)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: This is a one-sided cassette.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : पी.ए.सी. के जो झगड़े थे मैं बताना चाहता हूँ 1978 में अलीगढ़ में झगड़ा हुआ तब राम नरेश यादव मुख्य मंत्री थे । 80 में मुरादाबाद में और 82 में मेरठ में झगड़े हुये उस वक्त वी.पी. सिंह मुख्य मंत्री थे । 86 में बाराबंकी में और

87 में मेरठ में झगड़े हुये तब वीर बहादुर सिंह मुख्य मंत्री थे । अभी अलीगढ़ में हुये तो मुलायम सिंह यादव मुख्य मंत्री थे । (*व्यवधान*) मैं वीरबहादुर सिंह जी के बारे में नहीं बोल रहा हूँ । आप बीच में मत बोलिये ।

डा. र. नाकर पाण्डेय : आप तो वी. पी. सिंह का समर्थन कर रहे थे तो आप वी.पी. सिंह को क्यों गाली दे रहे हैं । दोहरी चाल मत चलिये । (*व्यवधान*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN): Dr. Pandey, let him continue. I am not allowing you to speak. Let him conclude. Please sit down.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: You have supported Mr. V. P. Singh. Today, you are opposing Mr. V. P. Singh. (*Interruption*).

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : अगर पी.ए.सी. में कुछ गलत हुआ तो पिछले 10 वर्षों में 7 भिन्न-भिन्न प्रकार के मुख्य मंत्री हुये हैं इनमें से किसी ने वी.पी.ए.सी. के खिलाफ जो कांड हुआ उसकी न्यायिक जांच करवाई लेकिन आज तक उसकी रिपोर्ट क्यों नहीं आई । यह रिपोर्ट क्यों दबाई जाती है । अगर पी.ए.सी. बद है तो उसको बदनाम मत करो । अगर पी.ए.सी. गलत है तो जरूर सजा दो पर मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि पी.ए.सी. कांड की जांच बाहर क्यों नहीं आ रही है । किसी ने कहा मुत्ताफा-घाटा होता है तो मैं तैयार हूँ लेकिन इससे झगड़ा और बढ़ेगा इसीलिये मैं खामोश था । मरने वालों का नाम हम क्यों नहीं लेते हैं ? इसलिये नहीं लेते हैं कि मरने वालों का नाम अखबारों में छप जायेगा उसके धर्म के साथ तो सांप्रदायिक हिंसा और आगे बढ़ जायेगी । यही कारण था इसको रोकने का । लेकिन अगर आप चाहते हैं कि मुत्ताफा-घाटा का हिसाब करें तो एक बार नाम छाप कर देखिये । एक बार सदन के सामने आ जाय कि 1947 से आज तक ये दंगे किसने शुरू किये, किस

[श्री प्रमोद महाजन]

की हत्या हुई, किस का नुकसान हुआ तो इस कांड की रिपोर्ट भी कुछ नहीं आयेगी । (व्यवधान) हां, आप लाइये श्वेत पत्र जिसमें सब कुछ बताया जाय । (व्यवधान)

मैं अंतिम निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस देश में असल अर्थ में सांप्रदायिकता से आपको लड़ना है तो इसके लिये दोहरा मापदंड नहीं हो सकता ।
There cannot be different yard-stick.

मेज्योरिटी को बार-बार दबाना ठीक नहीं होगा यह समझ कर अगर हम दंगों पर विचार करें तो मुझे लगता है यह उचित होगा और उसी से यह दंगे रुक सकते हैं । बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद ।

(MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, this is an example of how Hindu chauvinism is exploited by B.J.P. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is an example of how the communal riots have been encouraged and supported. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: It shows how untruthful you are to the interests of the country.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: You are inciting communal feelings in the country.

(*Interruptions*)

ANNOUNCEMENT RE. LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon'ble Members, in regard to the office of Leader of the Opposition, you may be aware that views were expressed by different parties in the House. I had caused Attorney General's opinion to be obtained in the matter for my information and have shared it with the leaders of various parties.

The Attorney General has opined, I quote:

"...as the law stands today in the light of Parliamentary convention and provisions of the Salary and Allowances of Leaders of Opposition in Parliament Act, 1977, there is no change in the position in regard to the Leader of the Opposition and the Leader of the Congress (I) Party continues to be the Leader of the Opposition;"

Shri P. Shiv Shanker and Shri M. M. Jacob have now given me letters in this connection. The letter from Shri P. Shiv Shanker reads as follows:

"Kindly recall our submissions, claiming to continue to recognize the Congress as an Opposition Party and your kind reference of the entire matter for the opinion of the Attorney-General. A little while ago you were pleased to inform the Leaders of different Parties/Groups that the Attorney-General has opined to the effect that the Congress Party could continue to be Party in Opposition. This clearly vindicates the stand of our Party. Despite this, my party and our Leader are of the view that to avoid the possible conflict of the rulings of both the Houses of the Parliament on an issue of this nature, I should tender the resignation from the position of the Leader of the Opposition, which I hereby do. I, therefore, request you to kindly accept my resignation as Leader of the Opposition with immediate effect."

The other letter, signed by Shri P. Shiv Shanker and by Shri M.M. Jacob, Chief Whip of the Congress (I) Party in the Rajya Sabha, reads as follows:

"In continuation of my letter dated today, I would like to clarify that our Party forgoes the claim to be the main Opposition Party in the Rajya Sabha."

In view of the Congress (I)'s forgoing the office of the Leader of the Opposition, that office is now va-