

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

have been informed in this House by some Members . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Including yourself.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Call it demi-official. Now, Sir, here is the Leader of the House. He should be asked by you to state the position. In view of the fact that this is a major crisis, this is a grave situation, when the Government which is sitting in these benches for all practical purposes not only lost its majority but has practically gone and when a large number of Ministers are leaving, are we not entitled to know what is the state of affairs? Here is a copy of the letter which some Members have written to the Speaker saying that they are not Ministers. Probably the number is much bigger. Here is the list Sir, . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Why do you want to read out?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Charan Singh, Mr. Biju Patnaik, Mr. Bahuguna, Mr. George Fernandes, Mr. Kaushik, Mr. Rabi Ray, Mr. Janeshwar Mishra, Mr. Narsingh, Mr. Ram Kinkar, Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh, Mr. Jagbir Singh—these are the names. Deny them. Will Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh, deny it? Ask him. . . (Interruptions).

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION (SHRI BHANU PRATAP SINGH): Sir . . . (Interruptions).

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI H. M. PATEL): When did you, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, stop beating your wife? . . . (Interruptions) This is the question we are putting to you . . . (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Calling Attention. Mr. Shiva Chandra Jha . . . (Interruptions).

AN HON. MEMBER: Sir, Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh wanted to say something . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Sir, on a point of order . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: About your privilege motion, it is still under consideration. I will consider it.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: How long will it take?

MR. CHAIRMAN: It will take some time more.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: After the Government is voted out?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Don't worry about the Government. You manage your own affairs.

SHRI BHANU PRATAP SINGH: I want to make it clear that there is no bases for the rumour that is being spread about my resignation from the Council of Ministers. . . (Interruptions).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, Sir, I tick off his name . . . (Interruptions).

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND SUPPLY AND REHABILITATION (SHRI RAM KINKAR): Mine also . . . (Interruptions).

THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND SUPPLY AND REHABILITATION (SHRI SIKANDAR BAKHT): He has said that he has not resigned . . . (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jha.

### CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

To recurrence of Communal riots in Aligarh, Jamshedpur and some other places in the country and the steps taken of Government to meet the situation

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA (Bihar): Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the recurrence of communal riots in Aligarh, Jamshedpur and some other places in the country and the

steps taken by Government to meet the situation.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Minister

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI H. M. PATEL): Sir, it is a matter of deep regret that communal violence had reared its head once again in Aligarh on the 17th of June. Communal violence also manifested itself in West Bengal in the district of Nadia on the 21st of June and on the following days. Communal incidents similarly occurred also in Bihar in the district of Purnea. In Jamshedpur, the situation continued to be tense. In all these cases we have been able to bring the violence under control, and although tension continues in all these areas, the situation is gradually becoming normal.

The details of these incidents and the steps taken are recounted in what follows:

Communal violence flared up again in Aligarh on the 17th of June, 1979. According to the information furnished by the State Government, the District Magistrate, Aligarh had granted permission to construct a Cinema Hall in August, 1976. When the construction work was almost complete, some residents of the locality made a complaint alleging that a gate on the western side of the cinema would affect the privacy of the houses of adjoining locality. The objections of the local residents were duly required into by the Entertainment Tax Commissioner and the Divisional Commissioner. The State Government after examining the reports from these officers and after satisfying itself that the objections of the local residents have been fully met, instructed the District Magistrate as licensing authority to exercise his discretion in the matter. The proprietor was accordingly granted a licence. When the cinema opened on the 17th June, residents of the vicinity demonstrated and objected to the opening of a side exit gate. The

police dispersed the crowd and the leaders were taken to the police station for discussion. A crowd of about 300 to 400 persons assembled there and staged a demonstration. The police had to resort to a mild lathi-charge to disperse them. This was followed by a series of incidents of stabbing in which members of both the communities were involved. Curfew was imposed immediately and some prominent leaders of both the communities were arrested. The Chief Minister visited Aligarh on 25th June and held discussion with local leaders and district authorities.

As a result of the incidents of stabbing, 14 persons belonging to both the communities have died and till 4th July, 1979, 779 persons have been arrested. The State Government has taken several steps to restore communal harmony. District administration has already held discussions with leaders of the minority community for bringing about communal amity. A separate meeting was also called to restore normalcy in which members of both the communities were invited. Peace Committees have been activated at the district and mohalla level. Searches have been made to unearth illegal arms. Units of PAC, CRP and BSF have been deployed in the city. State Government has also declared Aligarh city as a disturbed area under the Disturbed Areas (Special Courts) Act, 1976. Eight localities have been notified under Section 15 of the Police Act for recovering the cost of maintaining additional police.

The Aligarh Muslim University which was closed earlier on account of the disturbances that had occurred early in May is being reopened in phases and it is hoped that it will be working fully very soon. For prompt investigation of the incidents and for apprehending the persons responsible for the reprehensible occurrences which took place at Dadri and at Aligarh on 9th May and 10th May, 1979, it has been decided that the investigations should be entrusted to

[Shri H. M. Patel]

the CBI, which is expected to complete the tasks quickly.

The State Government has also sanctioned a further sum of Rs. 3 lakhs recently for relief/rehabilitation purposes of the riot victims of the incidents of 10th and 11th May, 1979.

The communal riot at Jamshedpur, as the Members are aware, occurred in April, 1979. This House discussed the incident on the 24th April, 1979, on a Calling Attention Motion. Because of these riots, 117 persons lost their lives and 333 were injured. 68 cases of arson have been registered by the police involving 372 houses and shops. During April, 1215 persons were arrested.

The affected persons were shifted to temporary camps where they were looked after. Commendable work was also done by private organisations. I myself visited Jamshedpur on the 13th April, 1979 and again on the 17th April, 1979 to review the situation.

Though the intensity of the violence and its magnitude subsided from 16th April, 1979 stray incidents of stabbing and arson and bomb explosions have unfortunately continued because of rumours and clandestine meetings of lawless elements. The State Government has taken appropriate measures to contain the situation and to bring about normalcy.

Communal riot broke out in Karai-ghachi and 3 other villages in Chapra Police Station of Nadia district on 21st June, 1979. The immediate causes were a series of dacoities in Hindu and Muslim houses, dispute over cattle, grazing of cattle on private lands and inter-community marriage. The State Government deployed State Armed Police and Units of Eastern Frontier Rifles and BSF in the affected areas. Curfew which was imposed in Krishnagar town on 22nd June, 1979 has been

gradually relaxed. The State Chief Minister also visited badly affected villages on the 24th June, 1979. So far, on account of various incidents 23 persons belonging to both the communities were killed; 4 persons were killed in police firings. About 672 houses of both the communities were burnt. Till 25th June, 1979, 450 persons had been arrested. A sum of Rs. 5 lakhs has been sanctioned from the Chief Minister's Relief Fund for reconstruction of houses and other relief materials have also been distributed.

Because of these communal incidents there had been an exodus of persons belonging to minority community to Bangla. Desh. According to information furnished by the State Government, around 7000 persons belonging to minority community had crossed over to Bangladesh, in the wake of communal riot. Till 3rd July, 1979, 6977 Indian nationals belonging to the minority community have returned through the two reception centres at Bhatgachia and Hatkhola.

On 2nd July, 1979, a false rumour was spread about the molestation of some women and the district administration of Purnea deputed a section of armed force with a Magistrate to village Jabe under PS Bhawanipur as a precautionary measure. There were some cases of assault on sections of minority community. With a view to control the situation, police opened fire and the mob dispersed. There were no casualties.

ADM, Purnea visited the village on the 2nd and 3rd July, 1979 and formed a Peace Committee comprising of important people of the locality including the village Mukhia. The Committee members assured that rumours will not be allowed to spread. On 4th July about 12 noon, a mob of about 5000 collected on the outskirts of the village and set fire to a few huts and started shooting arrows as a result of which two persons died on the spot. One more person who was victim of arson succumbed to his injuries later on. Police fired 10

rounds of teargas to control the mob but this was not effective. Firing was ordered thereafter as a result of which one person died on the spot.

On the same day (4th July, 1979) in village Madhonagar under Dhamdaha PS, a mob indulged in arson. One person was killed and 5 injured. The DM and SP with armed force rushed to the spot. When the situation started deteriorating, the DM, Purnea issued orders to shoot at sight any miscreant/arsonist.

On 5th July, 1979 there were cases of arson in village Dabha, 31 huts were burnt and one person was found dead in an isolated place near the village. On 6th July, there was further trouble. When the police reached there, about 2000 persons fled away. 46 persons were arrested. On the same day 30 residential huts were set on fire in village Jameda in Rupoli P.S. The Police had to open fire in village Dhansarin in Bhawanipur PS to disperse a riotous mob as a result of which one person was killed and two injured.

No incident was reported on the 7th and the 8th July and thereafter. The situation is now a generally under control and vigilance is being maintained. Persons arrested so far exceed 507, number of persons killed 11, injured more than 17. In order to provide relief to the riot affected persons, Rs. 30,000 in cash and good worth Rs. 15,000 have been distributed.

Members are aware that the Jagjivan Ram Committee on Communal Harmony met a number of times to consider and recommend permanent measures for solving the communal problem in the country. Officers from the Ministry of Home Affairs were deputed to different State capitals and sensitive districts known for communal troubles to review the existing administrative arrangements and other measures in the field. I have recently drawn pointed attention of the Chief Ministers of the States and Lt. Governors of Union Territories

to the deficiencies noted in the field during these visits and I have requested them to take specific measures to remove the various shortcomings. A dialogue has been initiated with State Governments already. The first such meeting was held in Delhi where the representatives of the Government of U.P. and Bihar were present. Another meeting is going to be held on 22nd July, with the representatives of Governments of Maharashtra and Gujarat. It is proposed to cover the remaining States in quick succession.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : उपसभापति महोदय, यह विषय जो मैं उठाता हूँ या यह कहें कि हम लोग यहां उठाते हैं खुशी से नहीं उठाते हैं। इसमें कोई खुशी नहीं होती। साम्प्रदायिक दंगे जो देश में हो रहे हैं उनको उठा कर कोई खुशी नहीं होती बल्कि दिल भरा रहता है, बहुत दुःख होता है। बहुत तकलीफ होती है यह जानकर, यह पढ़ कर कि देश में ये घटनाएं अभी भी हो रही हैं। हाल में पुर्णिया जिले में जो कुछ हुआ उसके बारे में आपने पढ़ा और जो घटनाएं मैंने अखबारों में पढ़ीं उससे बहुत तकलीफ होती है। बिहार की बागडोर इस वक्त एक डेडीके-टिड सीशलिस्ट, समाज सेवक रामसुन्दर दास के हाथ में है। उनका तुजुर्बा कम है शासन चलाने के लिये यह बात निर्विवाद है लेकिन उनकी भावनाएं इस बारे में बड़ी हैं कि ये घटनाएं न घटें और पूरी उनकी तैयारियां हैं कि ये बातें न हों। लेकिन बावजूद इनके ये घटनाएं घटती हैं और इन सब से तकलीफ बढ़ जाती है। आप जानते हैं अभी पीछे जमशेदपुर में दंगा हुआ। इसकी चर्चा भी हम लोगों ने की। फिर अलीगढ़ में हुआ। इसमें कितने दंगे हुए इसको गिनना भी बहुत मुश्किल हो जाता है। कब नहीं होता है और क्या नहीं होता है यह भी कहना मुश्किल हो जाता है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं यह कोई खुशी से नहीं उठा रहा हूँ। इससे मुझे कोई खुशी नहीं होती बल्कि तकलीफ होती है इन घटनाओं को देख कर के और इन घटनाओं को पढ़ करके। पिछले जमाने में,

[श्री शिव चन्द्र झा]

अंग्रेजों के जमाने में जब यह घटनाएं होती थी तो स्वाभाविक था यह कहना कि अंग्रेजी जमाना है। अंग्रेजी लोग यहां पर हैं इसलिये यह घटनाएं हो रही हैं। हम यह कहा करते थे कि ये चले जायेंगे तो हमारी समस्याएं हल हो जायेंगी, कम से कम इस मसले पर तो जरूर। आखिर वे लोग तो चले गये लेकिन ये घटनाएं हो रही हैं। मैं आंकड़े नहीं देना चाहता हूं कि पिछले साल कम हुईं और इस साल ज्यादा हुईं या पिछले साल ज्यादा हुईं और इस साल कम हुईं, हालांकि ये आंकड़े मेरे पास मौजूद हैं।

सरकार जो इसे टैकल करने के लिये, इसको रोकने के लिये कदम उठा रही है मैं देखता हूं कि यह कदम कारगर कदम नहीं उठा रही है। अभी उन्होंने जगजीवन राम कमेटी का उल्लेख किया। उसकी रिकमेंडेशन्स हैं कि जिन शब्दों में, जिन इलाकों में दंगे हों, साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हों उनको कैसे रोका जाए। लेकिन मैं देखता हूं कि उनकी रिकमेंडेशन्स भी ग्रासरूट्स में नहीं जाती। क्या बजह है कि वे दंगे एक के बाद एक होते जा रहे हैं। उसकी जड़ में यह रिकमेंडेशन्स नहीं जा रही हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि ये दंगे, साम्प्रदायिक दंगे जो हैं घृणात्मक दंगे हैं। देश में जब हड़ताल होती है मजदूरों की तो मैं साफ कहना चाहता हूं कि एक तरह से हम को खुशी होती है। हड़ताल मजदूरों का बर्थ राईट है लेकिन देश में दंगे जहां कहीं होते हैं तो वे कोई कराता है। मैं दिल से कहता हूं कि यह उसका बेसिक पाप है। जो हिन्दुस्तानी करता है या कराता है वह बेसिक बुनियादी पाप करता है। देश की जनता के साथ विश्वासघात करता है। मुझे थोड़ा बहुत तुजुर्बा है दंगों को शांत कराने का काम कराने का। 1946 का जमाना था कि पण्डित जवाहर लाल नेहरू, जब बिहार में आग फैल रही थी तो पटना पहुंचे हुए थे। सब लोग जानते थे कि असेम्बली में उनके कपड़े फाड़ दिये गये थे। कुछ तांगल

*urgent public importance*

लोगों ने, उनका कुर्ता, उनके कपड़े फाड़ दिये थे। हम 10-15 सोशलिस्ट थे जो वहां इकट्ठे थे। वहां पर जयप्रकाश नारायण भी मौजूद थे। उन्होंने पण्डित जी के जाने के बाद एक दस्ता बनाया और हम लोगों को गांवों में भेजा। मैं भी एक दस्ते में गया—बेगुसराय, मुंगेर आदि इलाकों में गया। दोनों ग्रुपों के बीच में काम करके देखा। दोनों में पागलपन था। वहीं पागलपन आज भी है। यह बहुत घृणा की बात है। जितने कड़े से कड़े शब्द हों उन शब्दों में मैं इसकी कण्ठम करता हूं। लेकिन सवाल आता है कि क्या ऐसा करने से काम चलेगा नहीं, ऐसा कहने से काम नहीं चल सकता। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि सरकार का यह काम है कि वह समाज को समृद्ध बनाये, लेकिन हम देख रहे हैं कि सरकार की तरफ से यह काम नहीं हो रहा है। हमारे देश में जो साम्प्रदायिक दंगे होते हैं और जो सामाजिक विषमता है उसकी जड़ में ये सरकार नहीं जाती है और खास करके हमारा जो गृह मन्त्रालय है वह उसकी जड़ में जाने की कोशिश नहीं करता है। मैं समझता हूं कि इसके मुख्य रूप से दो फैक्टर्स हैं। एक तो आब्जेक्टिव फैक्टर यह है कि हमारे समाज में आर्थिक और सामाजिक विषमताएं हैं। हमारी सामाजिक परिस्थितियों में बहुत बड़ा अन्तर है जिनकी वजह से साम्प्रदायिक दंगे होते रहते हैं। जिस समाज में विषमता हो, अनइक्वेलिटी हो और लोगों में आपस में मतभेद हों और इसके साथ-साथ इकनोमिक इनइक्वेलिटी हो उस में इस प्रकार की घटनाएं होना स्वाभाविक है। हमारे बहुत से नौजवान जो बेकार होते हैं वे मिसक्रिएण्ट्स बन जाते हैं। यही लोग निहित स्वार्थों के हाथों में पड़ कर दंगे करवाते हैं। समाज के अन्दर जो लोग स्टेट्स को मैनटेन करना चाहते हैं वे लोग इन लोगों का गलत फायदा उठाते हैं। इस प्रकार के साम्प्रदायिक दंगे सिर्फ हमारे देश में ही नहीं होते हैं ये दूसरे देशों में भी होते हैं। लेकिन वहां पर इनका रूप दूसरा होता है। औद्योगिक दृष्टि से विकसित कहे जाने वाले देश, अमेरिका

और इंग्लैण्ड, इन देशों में भी रेशियल दंगे होते हैं। अमेरिका के अन्दर नीग्रोज और अमेरिकन्स में झगड़ा होता है। इसी प्रकार से अभी पिछले दिनों में यू०के० में साउथहाल में जो कुछ हुआ, वह सब को मालूम है। हमारे सामने सवाल यह है कि औद्योगिक दृष्टि से बिकसित देशों में थी इस प्रकार के दंगे क्यों होते हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि इसकी जड़ में समाज में जो इकनॉमिक इनइक्वैलिटी होती है, समाज में जो सामाजिक और आर्थिक विषमता होती है वही उसका मुख्य कारण है। हमारे समाज में जो बेकारी है और जो सामाजिक और आर्थिक विषमता है उसकी तरफ हमारी जनता सरकार भी पूरी तरह से ध्यान नहीं दे पाई है। जनतापार्टी के मैनीफेस्टो में एक और बीस के अनुपात से सोलिंग फिक्स करने की बात कही गई थी, लेकिन उसकी तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। हमारी सरकार मजदूरों की हड़ताल समाप्त करने के लिए और रिजर्व बैंक के कर्मचारियों की हड़ताल समाप्त करने के लिए आर्डिनंस जारी कर सकती है, लेकिन आर्थिक विषमता को दूर करने के लिए तथा एक और बीस के अनुपात से सोलिंग फिक्स करने के लिए कोई आर्डिनंस जारी नहीं कर सकती है। समझता हूँ कि इन दंगों के पीछे हमारे देश में जो बेकारी है और जो आर्थिक विषमता है वही इस की जड़ में है। जब भी हमारे नौजवान हम से मिलते हैं तो नौकरी दिलाने की बात करते हैं। यहां दिल्ली में जाकर हम से कहते हैं कि आप हमें पालियामेंट हाउस के रिसेशन में काम दिला दीजिए। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप बेकारी को दूर करने के लिए कोई क्रेश प्रोग्राम क्यों जारी नहीं करते हैं। आपकी बेकारी को दूर करने की रफ्तार बहुत धीमी है। आपको इस दिशा में तेजी से काम करना चाहिए। धीमी गति से काम करने का नतीजा यह होता है कि ये लोग गलत हाथों में पड़ जाते हैं।

तीसरा आब्जेक्टिव फैक्टर जो मैं समझता

हूँ वह यह है कि हमारी शिक्षा नीति बहुत दोषपूर्ण है। मेरा कहना यह है कि हमारे देश की इकनॉमिक नीति और शिक्षा नीति में बुनियादी परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। एक, दो, तीन, चार या पांच का जो सिस्टम है इसको पढ़ने की मैंने बहुत कोशिश की है, लेकिन यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है। हमें अपनी एजुकेशन नीति को बुनियादी तौर पर सेकुलर बनाना होगा। मुझे अभी भी शक है कि हमारी शिक्षा नीति पूर्ण रूप से सेकुलर नहीं है। हमें अपनी शिक्षा को सेकुलर बनाना होगा। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा एक सुझाव है और यह मेरा व्यक्तिगत सुझाव है। मैं समझता हूँ कि तीन व्यक्तियों के विचारों को हमारे देश के नवजवानों और आने वाली जेनरेशन के बीच में फैलाया जाना चाहिए। मार्क्स डार्विन, आइंस्टाइन और गांधी, इन चारों को हमें बच्चों को बचपन से ही पढ़ाना होगा तभी देश में सेकुलर भावना बढ़ सकती है। परन्तु यह काम भी नहीं हो रहा है। आप के कुछ आब्जेक्टिव फैक्टर्स हैं, कुछ परिस्थितियां हैं जिनके लिये आपको ठीक से कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता है। सबजेक्टिव फैक्टर की बात यह है, बुनियादी बात यह है कि आप कन्वेंशनल विजडम जिसको कहते हैं, गालब्रेथ का कन्वेंशनल विजडम, उससे आप ऊपर नहीं उठ रहे हैं। आपको परिस्थिति का मुकाबला करने के लिये कन्वेंशनल विजडम से ऊपर उठना होगा और आंखें खोल कर समस्या की जड़ में जाना होगा। जब ऐसी परिस्थितियां आती हैं गोली चलाने की, लाठी चलाने की तो यह जो कन्वेंशनल फैक्टर्स हैं आपको इसकी जड़ में जाना होगा। इसके लिये जब तक आप जनता के प्रतिनिधियों को नहीं लेते हैं तो आपका जो यह कदम है वह इतना कारगर नहीं होगा। जनता के प्रतिनिधि इसमें बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण योग दे सकते हैं। जो समाज में प्रतिष्ठित व्यक्ति हैं, जिनका समाज में अच्छा प्रभाव है, अच्छे पदों पर हैं उन लोगों की कमेटियां समितियां आय

[ श्री शिव चन्द्र झा ]

बनाये, इस तरह के दंगा-फसादों को रोकने के लिये बनाइये। आपके जो आफसर लोग हैं वह तो जो करते हैं वह करते ही हैं। इन समितियों को मान्यता देकर अलीगढ़, जमशेदपुर जो सेंसेटिव एरियाज हैं, वहां की नागरिकों की समितियां बनायें और कम्युनल हारमोनी मिलीशिया और कम्युनल हारमोनी दस्ता आप बनाये। वह जो आपके पुलिस वाले हैं उनके साथ सहयोग करेंगे। ये नौ-जवान दंगा-फसाद रोकने के लिये उनकी मदद करेंगे। इसमें कुछ पैसा खर्च होगा जरूर लेकिन आपको यह करना चाहिए। देश में और समाज में शांति लाने के लिये, कम्युनल हारमोनी लाने के लिये यदि आप सिटीजन कमेटियां, सिटीजन समितियां और नौजवानों के दस्ते नहीं बनाते हैं तो इस समस्या को आप हल नहीं कर सकते हैं। जब इस तरह की चीज होती हैं तो क्या होता है कि आप अपने आफिसर्स को वहां भेज देते हैं। अगर वह मुस्लिम पापुलेशन है और किसी दूसरी कम्युनिटी का आफिसर है तो वह उसकी ओर से आख बन्द कर देता है कि जो होता है होने दो। यदि मुसलमान आफिसर है और हिन्दू एरिया है तो वह आख बन्द कर देता है कि जो होता है होने दो बाद में देखा जायेगा। ये सब बातें होती हैं। आपके कलक्टर हैं, पुलिस कंट्रोलर हैं उन सब में ये बीमारियां हैं परन्तु इस समय मैं इसकी तफसील में नहीं जाना चाहता। परन्तु यदि नौजवानों के दस्ते होंगे, सिटीजन कमेटियां होंगी, उन इलाकों में, तो यह जानकारी बेटे रहेंगे, पुलिस के साथ कोऑपरेशन करेंगे और गारण्टी आफ पीस, साम्प्रदायिक शांति की गारण्टी होगी। लेकिन आप जड़ में जाते नहीं।

दूसरा आबजैक्टिव साँज क्या है। इसके अलावा पुलिस स्ट्रक्चर के बारे में बात होती है। लेकिन मैंने पहले भी कहा और आज भी कहता हूँ कि यदि पुलिस कमीशन ने इस बारे

में रैकमण्डेशन नहीं दी है तो आप इस पर पुनर्विचार करें कि इसका डेमोक्रेटाइज स्ट्रक्चर कैसे बनाया जा सकता है। अखबार में मैंने देखा कि सी० आर० पी० और सी० आई० एस० एफ० का स्ट्रक्चर चेंज करने जा रहे हैं। यह सब तो है लेकिन आपको इसको डेमोक्रेटाइज करना होगा। डेमोक्रेटाइज करने का मतलब होता है कि उसके जो हैड होंगे वे जनता द्वारा चुने जायें। एस० पी०, डी० एस० पी०, आई० जी० ये जनता के प्रतिनिधि हों। आप मेरी बात को कान खोलकर सुन लें मैं बड़े जोर से कह रहा हूँ कि आने वाला समय पुलिस का स्ट्रक्चर बदलेगा और आपको इसको डेमोक्रेटाइज करना पड़ेगा। बिलकुल फासिस्ट आर्गनाइजेशन है। यह केवल यहाँ की बात नहीं है बल्कि दूसरे मुल्कों में भी है लेकिन यह पर सेंटपरसेंट फासिस्ट आर्गनाइजेशन है। इसको आप डेमोक्रेटाइज नहीं कर रहे हैं। तो सबजेक्टिव फैक्टर्स के अनुसार आप कमेटियां नहीं बनाते हैं, नौ-जवानों का दस्ता नहीं रखते हैं। आपका जो पुलिस का इस्ट्रूमेंट है उसको आप डेमोक्रेटाइज नहीं करते हैं। इन बातों पर कदम नहीं उठाते हैं जिसका नतीजा यह होता है कि इस प्रकार के दंगे फसाद होते हैं। फिर उसके बाद आप जांच कमेटियां बनाते हैं वे रिकमेंडेशन देती हैं। फिर घटनायें होती हैं लेकिन आप जड़ में नहीं जाते हैं। इसलिए इन बातों को आपको पकड़ना होगा। मैं आपको नहीं देना चाहता कि कहां पर कितने मरे, इससे कोई खुशी नहीं होती है, कोई कमाल की बात हो, ऐसी बात नहीं है। लेकिन मैं चाहूंगा आप इन बातों को सोचें। आप मन्त्री हैं। आपको तकलीफ नहीं है। हमको तकलीफ है। हमारा सिर झुक जाता है क्योंकि हम सोशल वर्क्स हैं। मैं दिल से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम लोग इस पर काम कर चुके हैं। जो कोई हिन्दुस्तानी दंगा करता है, करवाता है वह देश के साथ विश्वासघात करता है, गद्दारी करता है। इतिहास कभी उनको माफ नहीं

करेगा। आने वाले दिनों का इतिहास भी उसको कण्ठ में करता रहेगा। हमने इसके लिए बहुत सी सजायें भोगी हैं लेकिन आने वाले दिनों में फिर ये प्राइस, सजा भुगतने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। इसलिए सारांश में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कबल आप कदम उठावें। जो मैं सुझाव दे रहा हूँ वे एक किताब अमेरिकन डाइलेमा जो गुनार मिलडल द्वारा आज से 20 साल पहले 1952-53 में लिखी गई थी उसमें दिए गए हैं। इसी लेखक ने एशियन ट्रामा नामक किताब भी लिखी थी। अमेरिकन डाइलेमा में कम्युनलिज्म और रेशियलिज्म को कंट्रोल करने के सुझाव दिए गए हैं। वे कौन से सुझाव हैं जैसे कि मैंने कहा आब-जेक्टिवों फॅक्टर्स हैं परिस्थितियों को बदलना और सबजेक्टिव फॅक्टर्स में पुलिस आर्गनाइजेशन की बात है, इसमें परिवर्तन लाने की बात है। इन कदमों को जब तक हम नहीं उठाये तब तक साम्प्रदायिक पीस की गारण्टी नहीं हो सकती।

मेरा सब से पहला सवाल यह है कि जो सेंसेटिव एरिया हैं जैसे जमशेदपुर, अलीगढ़, पुर्णिया का इलाका या बंगलादेश से जो आए हुए हैं उन एरिया को सेंसेटिव एरिया डेक्लेयर करने के लिए क्या आपने पास कोई योजना है? अलीगढ़ में दंगे हो रहे हैं, होते रहने और ऐसी जो जगह हिन्दुस्तान में हैं क्या उनके लिए कोई खास कार्यक्रम आपके पास है या नहीं, वह आप बतावें? आप कनवेंशनल विजडम से गाइडेड न हों, आप अपनी ओरिजनल विजडम लगाव तब काम चलेगा।

मेरा दूसरा सवाल यह है कि सेंसेटिव एरिया में आप जनता को समितियाँ बनाने जा रहे हैं या नहीं? उसमें पीपल्स मिलिशिया, जिसको नौजवानों का दस्ता कहते हैं जो चौकी देगा, आपके जो अधिकारी हैं उनकी मदद करेगा, वह बनाने जा रहे हैं या नहीं? यह नौजवानों का दस्ता कम्युनल

#### urgent public importance

हामोनी गार्डंस जिसे आप होम गार्डंस कहते हैं, जो कम्युनल शांति का पहरेदार होगा, ऐसा आप बनाने जा रहे हैं या नहीं, अगर नहीं तो क्यों नहीं?

तीसरा सवाल पुलिस स्ट्रक्चर के बारे में है। आपका जो नेशनल पुलिस कमीशन है उसमें यह बात है तो ठीक है अगर नहीं है तो आप इसको डेमोक्रेटाइज करने के लिए क्यों नहीं सोचते हैं डेमोक्रेटाइज, नॉमिंसिंग आफ दो मेटर जिसको कहते हैं, जिसमें इलेक्टेड हेड हो, जनता द्वारा हेड चुना जाए, इसको आप कर रहे हैं या नहीं इसे आप करेंगे तभी यह फासिस्ट आर्गनाइजेशन जो है, इसमें आप बुनियादी परिवर्तन कर सकेंगे। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ आप यह बुनियादी परिवर्तन करने जा रहे हैं या नहीं। चौथा मेरा सवाल इकनामिक आब्जेक्टिव का है। आज जो हो रहा है नौजवानों में, हमारा मैनीफेस्टो कहता है कि आप दो ही मुद्दों को उठावें। आमदनी पर हृदबन्दी लगावें। मिनिमम एक और मैक्सिमम बीस हज़ार। इस एक और बीस के लिए आप कौन से कदम उठाने जा रहे हैं। इसके बारे में आपका क्या कार्यक्रम है?

पांचवां सवाल अनइम्प्लायमेंट के बारे में है। आप कहेंगे कि यह मेरे दायरे से बाहर की बात है। बड़ा अच्छा है जैसे आपने उस दिन कहा कि पंजाब ने पुलिस का जल्दी से मान लिया इसलिए यहीं से बीमारी फैली। इकनामिक आब्जेक्टिव के फॅक्टर होते हैं, साइक्लाजिकल फॅक्टर होते हैं। पंजाब सरकार ने मान लिया इसलिए ऐसे हुआ, हवा फैल गयी आंदोलन हुआ? प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि कोई नेता उकसा नहीं सकता है यदि आब्जेक्टिव न हो। इसलिए आप अनइम्प्लायमेंट को खत्म करने के लिए कौन सा कदम उठाने जा रहे हैं?

आखिर में, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि एजुकेशन की नीति में बुनियादी परिवर्तन



[श्री शिव चन्द्र झा]

हो उसको सेक्यूलर बनाया जाय। मैं इससे और आगे बढ़कर यह कहता हूँ कि सुबह प्रातःकाल आल इंडिया रेडियो जो खोलता हूँ तो भक्ति गान 'मैं माखन नहीं खाऊँगी' या बालकाण्ड से शुरू होता है। यह सब जितना है ये सब चीजें वहाँ चलती हैं। तो शिक्षा की नीति को आपको सेक्यूलर बनाना होगा और सेक्यूलर बनाने का मतलब में फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि मार्क्स, आइंस्टीन, गांधी इन तीन-चार की कम्प्लेसरी एजुकेशन हो, बचपन से लेकर हायर एजुकेशन तक इस दृष्टिकोण को लेकर हो। मैं मानता हूँ कि बावजूद इस शिक्षा के हमारे समाज की बनावट एक ऐसी है कि उसमें यह भावनाएं देर में जगती हैं। लेकिन सेक्यूलर बनाने के लिए जड़ से आप शिक्षा की नीति बनायें इससे मानस बदलेगा और जिससे ये सब बातें धर्म वगैरह को लेकर नहीं होंगी। इस मायने में मैं पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को आदर्श मानता हूँ। पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू का शिक्षा के बारे में क्या स्टैंड था। अगर यह मानें और उसके मुताबिक शिक्षा की नीति में परिवर्तन करें या कदम उठावें तो मैं गारण्टी देता हूँ कि आने वाले दिनों में न जमशेदपुर होगा, न नदिया और न अलीगढ़ होगा, कुछ नहीं होगा, आप मुकम्मिल शान्ति से बैठे रहेंगे। यही मेरे सवाल हैं।

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Sir, the hon'ble Member has covered a very wide field. So far as these communal disturbances are concerned, I think I entirely agree with him that it is a matter to be greatly deplored and we must do everything possible to see that they do not recur. But like him I think we are also greatly puzzled as to what steps we can take so that they never happen again. We are making our efforts so far as this development to which I made a reference is concerned. A Committee was constituted precisely for that purpose, the Jagjivan Ram Committee.

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We are trying various machineries to see that law and order can be enforced so that trouble does not take place. We are also considering other measures. The hon'ble Member referred to measures like economic measures which means removal of unemployment, bringing in economic equality and the policy regarding education. On these basic questions the Government in their respective Ministries are taking steps for this purpose. In fact one of the basic tenets of the Janata Party's policy is with regard to the removal of unemployment which is at the base of removal of poverty.

So far as economic equality is concerned, that again is something which must be aimed at but it cannot be achieved in a short time. In the same way we have a new policy of education which has only recently been announced. It is to be tried out to see how far it will succeed. Certainly, its aim, again, is to see that secular ideas are fostered. Unfortunately none of these things has so far been successful. The suggestion then was that in sensitive areas we should take special steps. We are taking special steps in the sensitive areas for tackling these things through having peace committees, all-community peace committees and other methods of seeing that the people can live together in harmony. There was a reference to the National Police Commission and it was said that there should be democratisation. I must say that I have not understood what the hon. Member really desires. If he means that there should be an elected head of the police organisation, that is something which I do not think the Government is yet ready to consider. But certainly we do wish to see that the police is a satisfied force, the police is a more understanding force and better trained so as to understand also the problems of the people so that they may tackle these whenever communal disturbances occur, in a more understanding manner. I am afraid, Sir, beyond this there is nothing that I can say.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : पूनिया के लिये क्या है ?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: About Purnea there is nothing that I can say. It is a very vague argument.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : आप क्या वहाँ जांच करायेगे ? वहाँ जो बातें हुई हैं ... (Interruptions) वहाँ श्री भीम सिंह कांग्रेस का प्रेसीडेंट है (Interruptions) क्या आप इसकी जांच करायेगे ?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Yes, yes.

श्री रामानन्द यादव (बिहार) : आप जिम्मेदारी के साथ बात करिए ।

SHRI H. M. PATEL: That is true. Of course, it is being inquired into. In Purnea the start of the trouble was a false rumour which was said to have been started by the local Congress (I) President.

श्री रामानन्द यादव . आपको गम्भीरता से बात करनी चाहिये ।

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I am saying . . .

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: I say, you are a Minister and you have been a good administrator. You are relying only on the report of the officers who want to blame the Congress (I).

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I have not said anything more. This is the position. (Interruptions). I do not see why you are saying this. I have never said anything...

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: You are saying the President of the Congress (I) there . . .

SHRI H. M. PATEL: If the question is specific . . .

श्री रामानन्द यादव आप जनसंघ का नाम नहीं लेते . . . because you are sharing power with them. You fear them.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: This is the report. I am very sorry, I cannot

help it. I have been asked a question and I have to give an answer. But let me clear the whole thing out. I have not said that it is proved or he is guilty. I have merely said that this is said. An inquiry will be made. Surely to that question I must give an answer. I have not said whether it is so or it is not so.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this subject is in a way becoming so hackneyed that year after year, session after session we talk, we listen, we disperse and instead of it being resolved it gets more and more aggravated. There is a complete sense of frustration. And today, Sir, when you have very kindly agreed for the discussion, nature has gone against us. There is a no-confidence motion in the other House; most of the people have gone there; attention of the whole country is diverted to that House and from the information that we have got, the Government itself has become a minority Government, with God knows how many of the Ministers having quit. And there is the information that even the President has been approached saying that this Government being a minority Government, any recommendation made by this Government is not binding on the President. Whatever that be, I am only unhappy that this discussion should have come on this day. Of course, what is happening there is of greater significance. I can't deny that. But as one who is sad about what is happening, as the previous speaker said, I wish we could generate more seriousness about this matter. I was rather disappointed by the reply given by the Home Minister. It is the same stereotyped reply given by the police officers narrating superficial incidents, some false rumours narrating superficial incidents, burning of something, some cow being prevented, some gulas being thrown into a mosque, some temple being desecrated. But are these the real causes of what has been happening all these

[Dr. Rafiq Zakaria]

years? And in this matter I do not want to single out this Government or that Government. We have all failed in tackling the problem. We have all failed despite all our protestations of secularism. It sounds so hollow, now, which makes us really wonder whether we are capable of a secular State. Sir, I have been a Minister for more than 15 years. There have been Presidents belonging to my community, there have been Central Ministers, Chief Ministers of my community, but the people down below are asking, what is the use of all this if our lives are in danger? And it is from that point of view that I beseech the majority community to shed the past prejudices. Unfortunately, the Hindu-Muslim problem has had a historical background. I feel I will be listened with some attention because I was one of those who as a young man fought against the pernicious two-nation theory and suffered for it.

**SOME HON. MEMBER:** Why?

**DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA:** Because I do not believe in it. But it is not belief alone which is going to create the situations which are necessary. We will have to understand what the realities are which are creating these kinds of situations. And isn't it a matter of shame that the Father of the Nation gave his life so that these secular foundations should be properly strengthened and even after more than thirty years what we find is that the situation is becoming worse.

Sir, various riots have been taking place every now and again. I do not want to go into the figures. As I have said in the past, I do not want to go into this. Unfortunately, our whole intelligence apparatus is so motivated and so oriented that what happens is that we still look upon these problems in the same hackneyed, stereotyped background.

Mr. Jha referred to various other aspects. What has to be borne in my mind by this Government—by

any Government—is that the cause of all these things is the mentality of a certain section which is determined to see that secularism fails in this country, which has been propagating a philosophy of hatred so that Hindus and Muslims are always kept apart, kept separate, kept divided. And, Sir, when the emotional aspect gets removed, when the historical reasons recede into the background, when the earlier causes hold no longer good, some other new causes are whipped out so that somehow or other some communal hatred is allowed to prevail. The riots 1 P.M. that took place during the days of communal politics before the partition of the country, the riots that are taking place now and the riots that have again recurred after the break up of Pakistan, are not of the same character and of the same kind. We will have to clearly understand why the causes change and the characters change but still the hatred remains. The hatred remains because there is a certain section among our people which is committed to seeing that this hatred is not allowed to be eradicated.

There was tremendous hope among the Muslims when the Janata Party came to power because they believed that the Congress having failed to curb and control these riots, because of the new alliance between the RSS and the Jamat-e-Islami the whole atmosphere of hatred would disappear for some time. And for a few months so long as the euphoria lasted, if you will see the situation in India, there was some basis for that hope. But, Sir, lepers do not change their colours; they come into their own. And that is why you find that not only have the riots started recurring but there is more and more aggravation of the communal situation. That is a matter of shame and that is a matter of regret for us; a matter of shame because despite all the resources at our disposal, what have we been doing? In this regard, Sir, I would like to quote from a note

submitted by Mr. K. F. Rustamji, one of the seniormost and highly respected police officer, to the same Jagjivan Ram Committee to which the Home Minister referred. Sir, there is a very significant analysis of the riots that have taken place for the last decade or so. And I am quoting it so that we may dispassionately and objectively understand it for I believe that there are very few among us who really would like to see that this communal hatred is allowed to prevail. But whether we like it or not, the secular forces in India, as Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan has repeatedly said, always become timid before the communal forces.

**SHRI RAMANAND YADAV:** You help them to come in power.

**DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA:** I would not exonerate ourselves. I do not want to bring in politics into this question. This is an issue which has to cut across political considerations. This is what Mr. Rustamji says:

"This is why a riot does not occur in a sleepy little village of U.P. where all suffer equally, nor in a tribal village of M.P. where all live safely in their poverty. It occurs in Muradabad where the metal workers have built up a good industry—it occurs in Aligarh where lock-makers have made good—it occurs in Bhiwandi where powerloom rivalries are poisonous—it occurs in Hattia and Ahmedabad and Hyderabad and Jamshedpur where there are jobs to get, contracts to secure, houses and shops to capture—it occurs in Agra and Ferozabad, and in all the other towns where economic rivalries are serious, and have to be covered up with the cloak of communalism.

In all these places the economic reasons are the compelling ones. But unskilled administrators find false explanations to make out that

Muslim aggressiveness started the riot, as if this was sufficient to justify all the damage done."

I do not want to completely exonerate the Muslim communalists if they had been guilty of any such generation of hatred. What are the facts? The facts are that in every riot in recent times the sufferers at the hands of the rioters are mainly Muslims, and the police who are supposed to protect them, they also launch attacks on the Muslims and more Muslims are killed at the hands of the police than even at the hands of the rioters. This is the tragedy. That is why they say: What is the idea of your becoming Ministers, somebody becoming President, somebody becoming a Central Minister, somebody becoming a Chief Minister, when 99 per cent of your own people are living in this danger and in these atrocious conditions? It is this which has to be understood. And that is what has not been understood, because we have bureaucratised the whole approach to communal riots. I cannot expect anything more from the Prime Minister, Morarji Desai. His approach is that of a fire brigade. He does not want communal riots as he does not want fire. So he waits for a riot to take place as the fire-brigadewallahs wait for a fire to take place and the moment the sounding is done, the fire brigade goes. It quenches the fire, comes back, again waits for a fire to take place somewhere else. This is the approach, for he is more bureaucratic than the worst of bureaucrats. That is why, despite all this talk of his administrative efficiency, more and more riots are taking place; despite all the commitments that the Janata Party made in its manifesto, he has failed in implementing them. The causes which are leading to this situation year after year, month after month, are not being understood. Things which in the past never occurred, are occurring now. At least in the past when the fire brigade went, it was able to control the fire and there was no more fire. But here

[Dr. Rafiq Zakaria]

Aligarh is a classic example: The fire brigade goes; the fire is extinguished; by the time the fire brigade has gone back, another fire takes place; again the fire brigade goes, and so on. What is all this? Does it not show that this Government is incapable of controlling even a minor incident, that this Government has failed so miserably? The Home Minister with all his rich bureaucratic background, comes forward and trots out the same kind of reasons. My question to him is: Are these not the same reasons given year after year, every now and again? Where has this kind of understanding let us to? To more and more riots: Will you not go into the root of the problem. The Jagjivan Ram Committee was appointed more than a year ago. It has met. It has had three meetings. This is a serious matter. Appointment of committees is done in order to shelve the issues, not to solve them. What was expected from the Jagjivan Ram Committee? It should have given more urgent and serious thought to the solution of this problem. It could have met for a few days together and tried to thrash out the problem. Why send officers to find more facts? What more facts you want? We know what are the facts. Your intelligence officers are in collusion with those forces which want to maintain and perpetuate this hatred between the two communities. Your police officers are made to understand: Kill Muslims and your promotions will be secured. Why don't you go into these facts and realities? That is why I am quoting again the conclusion of Mr. Rustamji, one of our fine officers and who is even today a member of the National Police Commission. This is what he says:

I point my finger unhesitatingly against our administration which is breaking down at a terrific rate, which does not have the talent, the support, the well prepared security schemes, the resources, the laws,

urgent public importance

the manpower and not even the confidence which would enable it to look below the surface and uncover the true causes of communal rioting and deal with it effectively.

Mr. Rustamji wrote this on 31st May. Today the situation is worse and there is complete collapse of the Government. Never before a no-confidence motion has come at a time when the greatest threat to the existence of any Government could have been more genuine and real.

What should I ask the Home Minister. I do not know whether he may be there tomorrow or not. But what I would like to plead in this House is this. Forget the Home Minister. We are a sovereign body. Forget that we belong to this Party or that Party. That is not important as far as this question is concerned. It is a matter of national concern and we have got to make a determined effort to see that the causes for which the Father of the Nation laid down his life and the foundations on which our Republic is built are still safe. Because of the bunglings of these people and because of the wrong approaches of the bureaucrats and because of the erroneous training given to our police officers and policemen, we should not allow the future of our country to be jeopardised.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: It seems the hon. Member has no desire to have any reply from me since he is not sure whether I will be here tomorrow. But I would like to tell him that I am as greatly concerned as he is about this question. I have also read Mr. Rustamji's article. Mr. Rustamji is a member of the Jagjivan Ram Committee of which I am also a member. We are doing our best to find some answer to this question. Perhaps my hon. friend may also have read another article by Mr. Rustamji in which he described on how trivial questions communal riots taken place. Some trivial incident takes place. Immediately a whole structure is built around it, rumour is

spread and trouble starts. Just like this the trouble started in Purnea. A totally false rumour is spread. Whoever spreads it, it leads to communal riots and loss of large number of lives, property and also causes human suffering. It is also a fact that this is not a major reason and it is not really for serious reasons also that these occur. But, ultimately, there is the economic cause also as has been said in Rustamji's analysis Economic causes are also the major causes for these riots. It is not easy again to take steps to see that these riots do not occur at all. But what one can do is to try and see that gradually these are rooted out. After all, my honourable friend said that for thirty years we have been struggling, whatever may be the Government. But we have not so far succeeded in this. I can assure you that this Government is certainly fully aware of the seriousness of this matter and would like to do everything possible to see that communal riots, communal disturbances, do not occur and would welcome any suggestions and any constructive suggestions that they can offer would be welcomed. In fact, this is precisely what the Jagjivan Ram Committee is attempting to do. So, my honourable friends, you can see that in spite of all his magnificent analysis and argument that he has put forward as to what is happening, what is most desirable, he has no definite solution for this matter. The answer again is that it is the mental attitudes which have to be changed. I agree with him also. That is also one of the reasons. But he said, of course—unfortunately he said that and although he said it, I think he was not politicising it and he could not help saying—that there are certain sections of people who have these mental attitudes. I think it may be certain sections. But I can only say that there is no doubt that it is these mental attitudes, wherever they may exist, which are responsible for this trouble and we have to try through various means, education and others,

to see that these stopped or removed for good. Well-meaning citizens who feel that this sort of thing should have been done are willing to get together and try to do this, they are not doing it. We are not doing it. We are talking about it only. When something terrible happens, we say: 'Yes, Why not let us all get together, discuss this thing and find out the ways and means of doing it?'. We ought to do this thing. We must know the sensitive areas. There are certain areas like Aligarh. It has happened there. But he does not realise—he has forgotten perhaps—that Aligarh has been the place where communal disturbances have occurred again and again, year after year. Why? There may be some reasons for that. Certainly, it is a place where disturbances happen and there are other areas also where they happen.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Jamshedpur.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: For many years it happened there and then it discontinued for a certain period of time. Jamshedpur, certainly; but not in the same sense as Aligarh in the history of communal disturbances. I entirely agree with the honourable Member that we must do all that we can for this. But I have no complete answer to that nor does he. We must all put our heads together and find a solution.

श्री उपसभापति : अब सदन की कार्यवाही  
सवा दो बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned for lunch at nineteen minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at twenty one minutes past two of the clock, Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is not, here. Mr.

Kadershah is not here. Mr. Ramchand Yadav.

श्री रामचन्द्र यादव उपसभापति  
महोदय, यह बहुत दुख की बात है कि देश में आज भी दंगे हो रहे हैं। यह सभी भारतवासियों के लिए बड़े दुख की बात है। हम इस बात पर जाना चाहते हैं कि इस देश में अंग्रेजों के पहले दंगे कैसे होते थे, क्यों होते थे और कौन करवाता था। फिर हमें आजादी मिली और एक पार्टी का शासन 30 वर्षों तक रहा। 30 वर्षों के अन्दर कितने दंगे हुए, किस ने करवाए और सनकी रोकथाम के लिए क्या प्रयास किया गया और हिन्दु-मुसलमान एकता के लिए उस दल ने क्या किया और उस पार्टी का शासन जाने के बाद जनता पार्टी का जो प्रशासन आया उस प्रशासन ने इस देश में साम्प्रदायिक दलों को बल दिया या नहीं। जनता पार्टी के सत्ता में आने के बाद इस देश में कितने दंगे हुए, कितने भायानक हुए और साम्प्रदायिक दलों को इस जनता पार्टी के कारण इन दलों को बल मिला या नहीं। आज जब दंगे देश में हो रहे हैं। जनता पार्टी के सत्ता में आने के बाद यह कौन करवाता है, किन शक्तियों का हाथ है और उस में किस तरह के परिवर्तन दंगों में हुए हैं। उपसभापति महोदय, आप जानते हैं जब अंग्रेजों का राज्य यहां पर था तो उन्होंने देश पर शासन करना था। इस देश में हिन्दु और मुसलमान, यह दो बड़ी जातियां थी, साम्प्रदाय थे। इन दोनों को लड़ा कर वे चाहते थे कि यह लड़ते रहें और उनका प्रशासन इस देश में बना रहे। इसलिए उस समय जो दंगे होते थे वह सरकारी मशीनरी करवाती थी। अंग्रेजी सरकार करवाती थी। सब से पहला दंगा, श्रीमन्, मुझे याद है, बम्बई में हुआ था जिसमें एक मन्दिर में गाय का मांस किसी दूसरी ही जाति के लोगों से, मुसलमानों से नहीं, अंग्रेजों ने कटवा कर बंटवा दिया था। उस समय एक अंग्रेज बम्बई का कमिश्नर था। फिर दंगा पलौयर-अप हुआ।

#### urgent public importance

इसी तरह से देश के और इलाकों में अंग्रेजों के जमाने में दंगे प्रशासन के माध्यम से होते थे। उस समय का प्रशासन अपने राज्य को कायम रखने के लिए हिन्दु और मुसलमानों की एकता को कभी होने नहीं देना चाहता था। यह देखा गया, आप भी जानते हैं, उस के बावजूद भी इस देश के मुसलमान और हिन्दू ईसाई और पारसी, जैन तथा सिक्ख धर्मावलम्बियों ने मिल कर उस अंग्रेजी सल्तनत को खदेड़ा, इस देश से बाहर निकाला। मुझे अफसोस है जब मैं डा० भाई महावीर की बात सुन रहा था जमीतल-उलेमा के लोगों के ऊपर उन्होंने इस तरह की बात कही कि उन्होंने आजादी की लड़ाई में भाग नहीं लिया। ऐसा नहीं है इतिहास में उनका इस आजादी की लड़ाई में बहुत बड़ा हाथ रहा है। जो लोग गदर का इतिहास जानते हैं, खिलाफत आंदोलन का इतिहास जानते हैं, जो भारतवर्ष का कांग्रेस का इतिहास है जिसको लेकर इस देश की आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी गई और जो उससे गुजरे हैं वे जानते हैं कि किस तरह से इस देश के मुसलमानों ने इस देश की आजादी के लिए किसी भी हिन्दू से किसी भी दूसरी जाति के लोगों से पीछे काम नहीं किया। बटवारे के बाद भी पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ इस देश के मुसलमानों ने जो कुर्बानियां की हैं, वे कम नहीं हैं। लेकिन मैं अंग्रेजों के जमाने की बात कह रहा हूं, उस समय भी मुसलमानों की कुर्बानियां देश की आजादी हासिल करने में कम नहीं थीं। कांग्रेस सत्ता में आयी, कांग्रेस ने कोशिश की और उसमें उसे कामयाबी मिली। उसने इस देश में धर्म निरपेक्ष राज्य कायम किया इसकी बुनियाद डाली और उस बुनियाद के उसूल को मद्देनजर रखकर अपने सारे प्रशासन की कार्यवाही को किया ताकि पिछली ऐतिहासिक हिन्दू और मुसलमानों की खाई पड़ी हुई थी, अंग्रेज इतिहासकारों ने, अंग्रेजी जमाने से इतिहास के लिखने वालों ने जो हमारे इतिहास को गलत ढंग से लिखा था, उसको दूर किया जा

सके और वह खाई पाटने की कोशिश की। कांग्रेस को ढीही सफलता मिली। आप देखेंगे कि 30 वर्षों के अन्दर जो दंगे हुए वे बहुत ही नगण्य थे। हिन्दू मुसलमानों में एकता हुई। मुसलमानों को राजकाज में बड़े से बड़े ओहदों पर रखा गया उनमें विश्वास आया कि इस देश की माइनारिटी का मुसलमान इस देश का राष्ट्रपति बन सकता है, इस देश की सर्वोच्च मिलिटरी कमांड का सेनाध्यक्ष बन सकता है। इस देश की जुडीशियरी का सुप्रीम बन सकता है, इसके अलावा और कोई भी संस्था या सरकारी महकमा ऐसा नहीं था कांग्रेस के शासन में जहाँ अच्छे से अच्छे ओहदों पर माइनारिटी के लोगों को न रखा गया हो। उन्हें स्थान दिया गया। एक ऐसा वातावरण कायम हो गया कि साम्प्रदायिक भावनाओं, दलों का लुप्त होना शुरू हो गया, बिल्कुल नहीं रहा। अफसोस है कि देश का बटवारा हुआ, बटवारा होने से इन साम्प्रदायिक दलों को बल मिला। शुरू होती है ताकत मिलना इनको पार्टीशन से। यह हमारी ही बात है। इस देश के जो साम्प्रदायिक दल थे जैसे हिन्दू महासभा, जनसंघ, जमीयत इस्लाम या और संस्थाएँ उनको तो कोई आर्थिक कार्यक्रम था नहीं जिसके बल पर वे जनता के हृदय पर बैठते। उनके पास तो एक ही धार्मिक भावना है जिसका व्यवहार करके कटुता पैदा करके अपने-अपने सम्प्रदायों के बीच अपना असर रख सकें। कांग्रेस ने इन साम्प्रदायिक तत्वों के ऊपर 30 वर्षों में काफी रूप से कड़ाई की, उनको पनपने नहीं दिया। आपने देखा इतना प्रयास करने के बाद भी राज्य सत्ता में कहीं भी इन दलों को कांग्रेस पार्टी ने सेफ करने की कोशिश नहीं की। लेकिन जब कांग्रेस का शासन का अन्तिम चरण था और इस देश के सभी साम्प्रदायिक दल सेक्यूलर, सी० पी० आई० (एम) और दूसरी पार्टियाँ सब मिल करके कांग्रेस को सत्ता से हटाना चाहते थे तो एक ऐसा व्यक्ति इस देश में उभरा जिसे आप

लोक नायक जयप्रकाश नारायण कहते हैं। मैं ऐसा नहीं मानता हूँ कि वे लोक नायक थे। उसने देश के साथ बहुत बड़ा गद्दारी की, धोखा दिया (Interruptions) सेक्यूलरिज्म के साथ

डा० भाई महावीर (मध्य प्रदेश) : कुछ सीमा में रहिये, मर्यादा में रहिये।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं मर्यादा में हूँ। मैं साबित करूँगा जयप्रकाश नारायण जी ने जितना इस देश का बुरा किया है उतना किसी ने नहीं किया है। मैं बताता हूँ यह बात सही है कि आप इस बात से इन्कार कर सकते हैं कि इन साम्प्रदायिक दलों को जयप्रकाश जी ने अपने आंदोलन में प्रतिष्ठा दी। इसलिए दी उनकी तात्तों को लेकर वे कांग्रेस पार्टी की सत्ता को खत्म करना चाहते थे। हिन्दुओं के जो साम्प्रदायिक दल, जनसंघ, आर० एस० एस० को एक झण्डे के नीचे, फिः जमीयते इस्लामी को उस झण्डे के नीचे, फिर सी० पी० (एम) को उस झण्डे के नीचे और फिर अकाली दल को उस झण्डे के नीचे तथा दूसरे दल जो थे जो कांग्रेस से झुझ थे, सब को इस झण्डे के नीचे कर दिया। किसी का विचार एक नहीं, किसी का मन एक नहीं, किसी का सिद्धान्त एक नहीं, किसी का कार्यक्रम एक नहीं, उस आदमी ने देश में एक ऐसा वातावरण पैदा किया, जिस वातावरण से आज इस देश का भला नहीं हो रहा है। आज उन्हीं का कारण है कि आज सत्ता में जनता पार्टी में जो लोग आए हैं, वे कौन हैं। आज दंगा कौन कराता है? आपके लोग कराते हैं। श्री राज नारायण कहते हैं कि दंगा कराते हैं आर० एस० एस० के लोग, जनसंघ के लोग।

अलीगढ़ का दंगा आप ले लीजिये। अलीगढ़ के दंगे में कौन आदमी थे ?



[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

नवमान साहब पकड़े गये, जनता पार्टी के सात सदस्य गये। उनकी फाईडिंग्स थी कि साहब दंगा जनसंघ ने, आर०एस० एस० ने कराया है। फिर मधु लिमये साहब ने कहा कि जनसंघ ने दंगा कराया है।

डा० भाई महावीर : वे फाईडिंग्स आपने पढ़ी हैं जिनकी आप बात कर रहे हैं या यूँ ही जो दिमाग में आता है बोलते जा रहे हैं।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : जमशेदपुर में रायट हुए। वहाँ किसने दंगा कराया था? आर० एस० एस० ने। दीनानाथ पाण्डेय ने किया था। वह दंगा इसलिये कराया गया था कि श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर की वर्नमेंट को खत्म कर देने के लिये कम्युनल रायट कराओ ताकि उसकी गवर्नमेंट खत्म हो जाए। यह तो गलत बात है। स्टेट मशीनरी दंगे कराती है। मैं खुलेआम चैलेंज देकर कहता हूँ कि श्री कैलाश मिश्र जो बिहार में श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर की गवर्नमेंट में फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर थे और आज भी हैं, उन्होंने डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट को फोन से यह कहा कि प्रोसेशन जायगा तो उसी रास्ते से जायेगा, तुम प्रोसेशन को जाने दो, रोको मत। क्या इस बात से आप इन्कार कर सकते हैं कि श्री दीनानाथ पाण्डेय जन संघ पार्टी का नहीं है? क्या इस बात से कोई बुद्धिजीवी आदमी इन्कार कर सकता है कि जन संघ के सत्ता में आने के बाद और पार्टियों के साथ हर राज्य में शेरार करने लगे सत्ता, तो जितने साम्प्रदायिक दल थे उनको बल मिला। आज गांव-गांव में आर० एस० एस० की शाखा खुल गई है। आज सारा

प्रौढ़ शिक्षा का पैसा आर० एस० एस० के लोगों की पाकेट में जाता है।

श्री सूलतान सिंह (हर्गियाणा) : बहुत बुरी बात हो रही है भाई।

डा० भाई महावीर : सारा प्रौढ़ शिक्षा का पैसा आर० एस० एस० को दे दिया गया क्या?

श्री रामानन्द यादव : जवाब दूँगे कि किस माध्यम से प्रौढ़ शिक्षा का पैसा खर्च होता है। यह बात किसी से छिपी हुई नहीं है। आप के मध्य प्रदेश में किस तरह से पैसे का दुरुपयोग हो रहा है।

डा० भाई महावीर : ऐसे पैसा खाने का धंधा आपके यहाँ ही होता है।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : सत्ता में आते ही किस तरह से युनिवर्सिटियों के प्रोफेसर्स को जो जन संघ के विचारों से मिलते-जुलते नहीं थे, उन्हें घड़ल्ले से निकालना शुरू किया और इतिहास को री-राइट करना शुरू किया। मेरा तो एलीगेशन है कि दिल्ली के सेक्रेटेरिएट के शिक्षा विभाग में फारेन मिनिस्ट्री से ऐसे कागजात गायब किये गये जन संघ के माध्यम से जिससे यह बात झलकती थी कि यह देश सेक्युलर है, इस देश में डेमोक्रेसी फैलेगी, यह न्यूट्रल देश है, इन सारी फाइलों को निकाल कर के भ्रमण किया गया। कौन नहीं जानता कि इसी दिल्ली की किसी संस्था में एक मुसलमान रिसर्च स्कालर थे, मि० दुर्रानी, उनको निकाल दिया गया, वे बेचारे दर-दर घूमते फिरते हैं और युनिवर्सिटी में वाइस-चान्सलरों के पदों पर किस तरह से आज जन

संघ के लोग बिठाए जा रहे हैं, यह बात किसी से छिपी नहीं है ।

डा० भाई महावीर : कौन-कौन है बता दीजिए । नाम बता दीजिए ।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मेरे यहां तो तीन ही एपोइन्टमेंट हुए हैं ।

डा० भाई महावीर : कहां हुए हैं ? नाम बताइए कौन-कौन लोग हुए हैं ।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैंने कहा, आप के डीन साहब मगध युनिवर्सिटी में गए हैं । जब से यह जनता पार्टी सत्ता में आई दंगों की संख्या काफी बढ़ गई है और एक वर्ष में 200 दंगे हुए । दंगे होने का प्रधान कारण यही है कि चूंकि हर प्रांत में और यहां केन्द्र में जनता पार्टी के घटक के रूप में जन संघ सत्ता में आई और इस सत्ता का उसने दुरुपयोग किया अपनी शक्ति बढ़ाने के लिए और शक्ति बढ़ सकती है तब जब ये दंगे कराए क्योंकि कोई आर्थिक कार्यक्रम आर० एस० एस० के पास नहीं है, कोई आर्थिक कार्यक्रम जन संघ के पास नहीं है जो गरीबों को अट्रेक्ट कर सके जो हमारे देश-वासियों को अट्रेक्ट कर सके । एक ही भावना है, कि जिस के आधार पर अंग्रेजों के जमाने से लेकर आज तक ये सांप्रदायिक दल चाहे यह हिन्दुओं के हों, चाहे मुसलमानों के हों, वे पनपते रहे हैं ।

डा० भाई महावीर : यादव जी इतना बता दीजिए कि जन संघ के ही लोग मध्य प्रदेश में, राजस्थान में और दिल्ली में भी प्रशासन में हैं, तो यहां कितने दंगे हो रहे हैं । बताने में शक्ति क्यों है ।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : उन के यहां कोई दंगा ...

डा० भाई महावीर : जहां आपका वश नहीं चलता है वहां दंगा नहीं होता, जहां आपका वश चलता है वहां दंगा करवा देते हो ।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : उपसभापति जी, आज जो दंगे हो रहे हैं उन में, हर प्रांत में आप देखेंगे, बिहार में वी० एम० पी० और यू० पी० में पी० ए० सी० और दूसरी पैरा मिलिटरी फोर्सिंग गवर्नमेंट को, वे इंटरफेयर करती हैं और वे दंगाइयों की तरफ से बंदूक चलाती हैं; उन के लिए फतह करती हैं; आग लगाती हैं; माइनारिटी को तबाह करती हैं । पहले जो दंगे होते थे, पुलिस दंगे को दबाती थी, दंगाइयों पर गोली चलाती थी । आज जो दंगे हो रहे हैं उस दंगे में पुलिस साक्षीदार हो जाती है, दंगाइयों का साथ देती है, उस के साथ गोली चलाती है, घरों में आग लगाती है, मसजिदों को गिरा देती है । यह बात साबित हो गई है अलीगढ़ के दंगों से, जमशेदपुर के दंगों से । कौन नहीं जानता, बनारस में जब दंगा हुआ, जिस के बारे में यह कहा गया कि कांग्रेस (आई) के लोगों ने दंगा कपाया, उस में पी० ए० सी० के लोगों ने दंगाइयों का साथ नहीं दिया, मुसलमानों के ऊपर गोलियां नहीं चलाई ? क्या अलीगढ़ में पुलिस ने दंगाइयों का साथ देकर गोलियां नहीं चलाई ? माइनारिटी कमीशन को लिखना पड़ा भारत सरकार को कि आप पी० ए० सी० को विद्वद् कीजिए ।

उपसभापति जी, एक और बात है कि जनता पार्टी के आने के बाद दंगों के रूप में परिवर्तन तो हुए हैं, साथ-साथ

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

ऐसे एलोमेंट्स इस में उतर गए हैं जिन को आप देख नहीं सकते। इस देश के जो फिश्चर्स हैं उन पर भी आक्रमण ये साम्प्रदायिक दल ने करना शुरू कर दिए हैं। आपने देखा, बिहार राज्य में मुकामा में एक मिशनरी का पादरी अपने घर पर बैठा हुआ था, संध्या समय में उसको गोली मार दी। छोटा नागपुर में क्रिश्चन मिशनरियों पर अत्याचार किया जा रहा है। मैं नहीं कहता कि मिशनरी कोई काम गलत नहीं करते हैं; वह भी करते हैं, जो फारेनर्स करते हैं उन को आप हटाइये, निकालिए। लेकिन आज क्रिश्चनों पर भी जगह-जगह अत्याचार हो रहे हैं। यह कभी नहीं होता था।

इस के साथ-साथ, जनता पार्टी के आने के बाद यहां के हरिजनों पर जिस तरह के अत्याचार हुए जिंदा जलाए गए, बहू-बेटियों की इज्जत लूटी गई, डाको अपनी जगह से बेदखल किया गया, उनके घर जला दिए गए, यह सब आप से छिपा नहीं है। यह निर्विवाद है कि जन संघ और आर० एस० एस० और जमीयते इस्लामी या जो भी साम्प्रदायिक दल हैं वे नहीं चाहते कि इस देश के जो गरीब तबके के लोग हैं वे मजबूत हों। हो सकता है कि इसके कुछ आर्थिक कारण भी हों। अध्यक्ष जी, मैं तो चाहूंगा कि अगर आप सचमुच चाहते हैं कि दंगे इस देश में रोके जायें तो इस के लिये कुछ करना होगा। आज मैं सब से पहली डिमांड तो यह करूंगा इस सरकार से कि आप जितने भी साम्प्रदायिक दल हैं—चाहे वह मुसलमानों के हों, चाहे वह हिन्दुओं के हों या वे ईसाइयों के हों या सिखों के हों, उन सब को आप बैन करें। उन को बैन

करने से आप का कोई नुकसान नहीं है, बल्कि आप का उस से फायदा होगा और मैं चाहूंगा कि डा० भाई महावीर व्यक्तिगत स्वतंत्रता और दल की स्वतंत्रता और विचारधारा की स्वतंत्रता की बात न कर के मेरी इस बात का समर्थन करे कि साम्प्रदायिक दलों पर प्रतिबंध लगाना सरकार का पहला कदम होना चाहिए।

दूसरा कदम मैं चाहूंगा कि जल्द से जल्द जनता पार्टी आर० एस० एस० से छुटकारा पा ले। उस को निकालिये। उन को डिसमिस कीजिए। उन को हटाएँ। अगर आप जनसंघ को सत्ता में रहने देंगे तो आप इस बात को ध्यान में रखिये, आप इस बात को गांठ में बांध लीजिए कि आप ने एक बार उन को मौका दिया है और जनसंघ ने आपके प्रशासन को ग्रहण कर लिया। मिलिटरी में, पैरा मिलिटरी फोर्सों में, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में, सब जगह उस ने प्रवेश कर लिया है। उन्होंने गांव गांव में अपनी शाखाएँ खोल दी हैं। अगर आप ने कुछ दिन और इन को सरकार में रहने दिया तो आप की कुर्सियों को यह उलट कर फैंक देंगे और अगर उन पर यह बैठ जायेंगे तो आप के लिये संकट आ जायेगा। आप का कुछ नहीं रहेगा और डेमोक्रेसी तो आप के यहां गुनाह हो जायेगी.....

डा० भाई महावीर : आप के यहां तो डेमोक्रेसी है ?

श्री रामानन्द यादव : तो क्या होगा इस देश में ? इस देश में पक्के रूप में फासिस्टवाद की जड़ें जम जायेंगी। आज आर० एस० एस० इस देश का फासिस्ट आर्गनाइजेशन है। गांधी जी ने कहा था कि यह शर्ट वाले लोग हिटलर और मुसोलिनी के साथी हैं :

सरदार पटेल ने कहा था कि आर० एस० एस० के लोग...

डा० भाई महावीर : गांधी जी ने कब और कहा कहा था इसका ब्योरा बता दीजिए। यह इन्दिरा गांधी कह रही हैं या संजय गांधी कह रहे हैं ?

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मेरे पास वह कोटेशन है।

डा० भाई महावीर : पढ़ दीजिए। पढ़ दीजिए।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मुझे याद है।

श्री सुजत नहिह : कल पर छोड़ दीजिए आप को दिखा देंगे।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं आप को देता हूँ। सरदार पटेल ने कहा था कि यह हिन्दू राज की बातें करते हैं लेकिन हिन्दू राज नहीं, ब्राह्मण राज कायम करना चाहते हैं...

डा० भाई महावीर : आप तो यादव राज कायम करना चाहते हैं।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : राजनारायण ने कहा कि यह इस देश के सब से बड़े फास्टि हैं। मुझे अफसोस है कि बहुत दिनों के बाद राजनारायण जी की बुद्धि परिपक्व हुई। जब वह बनारस गये और मूड़ी छिलवा करके सोचे तो उन को लगा कि मैं तो फंस गया। राजनारायण जी इन की सत्ता में लाने के लिये बहुत बड़े भागीदार हैं। आज आप के कारण ही उन की गति सांप छछुंदर की सी हो रही है। अब वह जनसंघ को नजदीक से जान गये हैं कि आर०एस०एस० के लोग, जनसंघ के लोग इस देश का कितना विनाश करेंगे। अध्यक्ष जी, और लोग भी जो इस देश के चितक हैं वह इस बात से इन्कार नहीं कर सकते और मैं एक बात बता देता हूँ और मेरा अपना

विश्वास है कि इस देश का एक-एक गरीब हिन्दू, एक-एक गरीब मुसलमान, गरीब पिछड़ी जाति के लोग, गरीब सिख, गरीब ईसाई गरीब टैन्कर, सब एक एक कर के मर जायेंगे। लेकिन आप बगल रखिये कि इस देश में जिस बात का सपना आप संजोते हैं वह नहीं होने देंगे। अगर वह सपना पूरा होगा तो इस देश के रहने वालों का सर्वनाश हो जाएगा। मैं चाहूंगा कि एक काम सरकार अवश्य कर दे विघटित होने के पहले, जाने के पहले, चाहे आर्डिनंस से चाहे जैसे भी, कि जनसंघ, जमीयते-इस्लामी, आर० एस० एस० और इस तरह के जितने भी पैरा-मिलिटरी साम्प्रदायिक दल हैं या ताकतें हैं, उन सब पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया जाए ताकि उनकी गतिविधियां बन्द हो जायें और इस देश की माइनारिटीज चैन की नींद सो सकें। (Time bell rings)

अध्यक्ष जी, एक बहुत बड़ी कांसिपिरेसी इस देश में चल रही है। जितनी भी उर्दू की संस्थायें हैं या मुसलमानों द्वारा चालित संस्थायें हैं उनको नष्ट किया जा रहा है। एक बहुत बड़ी कांसिपिरेसी अलीगढ़ युनिवर्सिटी को खत्म कर देने के लिए है। इसीलिए बार-बार अलीगढ़ में दंगा कराया जाता है। आज देश के कौने-कौने से मुसलमान या दूसरी जाति के लोग आकर वहां पढ़ते हैं और अलीगढ़ मुसलिम युनिवर्सिटी एक शैक्षणिक संस्था है, आज इस देश के साम्प्रदायिक दल नहीं चाहते कि मुसलमानों की सबसे बड़ी संस्था रहे। वे चाहते हैं कि वह बरबाद हो जाए। जो कांसिपिरेसी इस बात की वहां पर की गई है उससे साफ लगता है कि वहां के वाइस-चांसलर मिस्टर खुसरो नहीं चाहते कि वह युनिवर्सिटी बन्द कराई जाए। लेकिन जबर्दस्ती सरकार युनिवर्सिटी को बन्द करा देती है इसलिए कि जनसंघ के लोग यू० पी० सरकार के मुख्य मंत्री पर दबाव डालें कि युनिवर्सिटी को बन्द करो ताकि वहां से लड़के भागें। आप सोचिये, जहां इतने छात्र, इतनी बड़ी संख्या

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

में केरल से, बंगाल से या दूसरी जगहों से आते हैं, ऐसी यूनिवर्सिटी को आपने बन्द कर दिया। इस बीच इनके आने जाने पर उनकी सुरक्षा में कितनी तन्हाही हुई। मुझे ईरान का एक विद्यार्थी मिला। जिस वक्त अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी बन्द हो रही थी, अलीगढ़ में वह चढ़ा। दो लड़के थे, हमने कहा कि तुम क्यों अलीगढ़ से जा रहे हो। अंग्रेजी में बात हुई उसने कहा कि इसलिए जा रहे हैं कि वहां दंगा हो गया। हमने पूछा तुम अपने को वहां सुरक्षित नहीं पाते हो? तुम कहां जाओगे। उसने कहा कि मैं ईरानियन एम्बेसी में जाऊंगा, वहां जाकर ठहरेगा। जब यूनिवर्सिटी खुल जाएगी तो आऊंगा। आप जरा सोचिये कि इसका क्या असर पड़ेगा विदेशों में। सबसे बड़ी संस्था, मुसलमानों की सबसे बड़ी आकांक्षा, सबसे बड़ी यूनिवर्सिटी की आप जबरदस्ती बन्द कर देना चाहते हैं। अब मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि फेजवाइज खुलेगा। क्यों? क्योंकि आपकी ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव कैपेसिटी नहीं है।

श्री उपसभापति : कृपया समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : आप अपने ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के माध्यम से दंगा नहीं होने देंगे? क्या यूनिवर्सिटी बन्द होने से दंग रुक सकता था। लेकिन नहीं, अपनी कमजोरियों को छिपाने के लिए दूसरे को दोषी बताया गया। यह जनता सरकार का सबसे बड़ा गुण है। 30 वर्षों तक ऐसा हुआ आप कहते हैं। आप करते क्यों नहीं? आप कहते हैं पांच दिन में हो जाएगा, फलां काम तीन दिन में हो जाएगा, दस दिन में हो जाएगा . . . .

(Interruptions)

श्री उपसभापति : कृपया समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : क्या आप अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी को बुलवाने के लिए जल्द से जल्द

कदम उठावेंगे और भविष्य में बिना वाइस-चांसलर के राय लिये बन्द नहीं करेंगे?

दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि क्या आप इस बात के लिए तैयार हैं कि इस देश में जो साम्प्रदायिक संस्थाएँ हैं, आर० एस० एस०, जनसंघ, जमीयते इस्लामी या और कोई भी जो इस तरह की धार्मिक संस्थाओं से शक्तिशाली बनते हैं, उनको आप बैन करेंगे।

तीसरा प्रश्न यह है कि क्या मोरारजी भाई साम्प्रदायिक दंगों को रोकने के लिए इस देश में हर जगह, केन्द्रीय सरकार से भी, जनसंघ घटक लोगों को डिसमिस करेंगे? चौथा प्रश्न यह है कि क्या आप इस बात का आश्वासन देंगे कि आइन्दा से कड़े हाथों से जहां कहीं भी दंगे होंगे आप उसमें रक्षा करेंगे? क्या आप इस बात का आश्वासन देंगे कि इस देश में साम्प्रदायिक दंगों को रोकने के लिये एक स्पेशल ट्रेंड पुलिस का निर्माण करेंगे? छठी बात यह है कि क्या आप इस बात का आश्वासन देंगे कि इस देश के जो माइनोरिटी लोग हैं उनको अधिक से अधिक पुलिस विभाग में रिक्रूट करेंगे और ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के ऊंचे ओहदों पर, की-पोस्टों पर माइनोरिटी के लोगों को उन का विश्वास प्राप्त करने के लिये नियुक्त करेंगे?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Sir, this is a subject which, as one hon'ble Member said, is a heckneyed subject. That was his word. I would not have used the word "hackneyed." But I would have said that unfortunately communal riots continue to happen in this country. They have never stopped happening. This is one of the tragedies of our country. I am afraid the hon'ble Member who spoke had his own idea of the history of communal riots and occurrences. He seemed to think that great many more communal disturbances have occurred during these two years than had ever occurred before. This, I think, is not historically correct. But leaving that aside,

his point was whether the Aligarh University will be allowed the freedom that it needs and will not be close down under Government orders or closed down only with the concurrence of the Aligarh University. It has always been so. Even on this occasion the district authorities felt that it would not be wise to reopen the University on the 2nd of July. The Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University said that he had already informed the students and, therefore, they would start coming. This was also mentioned to me by the Aligarh University Vice-Chancellor. I told him that it would be wiser to do it in phases. But it is for him to decide. We would have no objection if he tells us what he is going to do so that we could make adequate security arrangements. I am glad that he did accept the advice of doing it in phases and that is how it is happening. So I do not think there is any difficulty in that.

Secondly, he asked whether we are prepared to come down strongly on communal organisations. Certainly. I think there can be no question about it. But it must be defined as to what is a communal organisation. A communal organisation is one which does not believe in secularism and which is intent on creating trouble, otherwise any organisation can function freely so long as it does not create disturbances.

Then he demanded firm action. Whenever anything like a communal riot takes place. I have no hesitation in assuring him that firm action will be taken. Firm action has been taken in the past and we will see to it that whenever there is even a suspicion of any disturbance taking place we shall take all possible precautionary measures.

Then he asked whether the minorities will be given scope for employment in police and administration. Certainly they will be. In fact, there has been no restriction whatsoever.

After the first troubles in U.P., after the Aligarh incident, where this particular point was raised great emphasis was laid on it. Then the Government gave specific instructions that every effort should be made to recruit as many Muslims as possible in the police force. But very few came forward.

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH** (Andhra Pradesh): What is the percentage of Muslims in U.P.?

**SHRI H. M. PATEL**: I am talking about U.P. This is what we are trying to do. The point was whether we shall give hereafter. I am not talking about the past. It is about the future only that one can give an answer. There is no restriction at all. There was recently a recruitment, by examination, of Sub-Inspectors. There were 6,000 applicants for it. From the Muslims there were less than 600 application and of the successful ones there were only 42. Now, this was by a proper Public Service Commission. It is not a question of restriction of any kind being imposed. So far as the administrative services are concerned, it is open that these are all competitive examinations open to everybody. For some reason or other it is a fact that Muslims do not come forward in as large numbers as they could perhaps come.

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH**: This is not correct.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : श्रीमन्, ऐसी बात नहीं है। आज हमारे देश में मुसलमानों के लड़के नौकरी के लिए मारे-मारे फिरते हैं, पिछड़ी जातियों के लड़के नौकरी के लिए मारे-मारे फिरते हैं और ईसाइयों के लड़के नौकरी के लिए मारे-मारे फिरते हैं। ऐसी हालत में आप कैसे कहते हैं कि ये लोग नौकरियों के लिए आगे नहीं आते हैं ?

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH**: There is a clear discrimination so far as Muslims are concerned.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I am no saying anything which is no based on statistics. If they do not come, we can't help it. Otherwise, wherever they do, they are taken. After all, there has never been any restriction on them. The only thing is, there is no reservation as there is for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and so on. (Interruptions) If you have to speak you may speak and then I will reply to the questions you may put. Now I am replying to his questions and let him be satisfied.

I think the hon. Member wanted to know whether to stop communal disturbances we will organise special cells.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: Not special cells but a special police force to control communal riots.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: We cannot have a special police force all over the country, but we certainly can and will and we have already issued instructions that in all sensitive areas in every State the State Government should organise special police cells to see that in these areas information can come quickly and steps are taken promptly in order to stop them. I think these were the Questions.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, this is, I think, for the third time or so that we are discussing this problem and it is good that we are discussing, by way of a Calling Attention, this great problem which is menacing not only secularism and democracy in the country but the country's unity is well. This Calling Attention relates to the communal incidents that have taken place in Aligarh, Jamshedpur and some other places. I think we should begin by recalling some of the official statistics. According to the computation or compilation of the information by the Home Ministry, almost 200 communal incidents—as they call them—took place in the year 1978, up to November. And if you take those incidents that had taken place between November and the year-end, the total figure would be more than 200.

So we can safely say that in 1978, the second year, roughly, of the Janata rule, more than 200 communal incidents—both major and minor—had taken place in the country. And during this year, according to the information supplied on May 5 in this House, in January, 12 communal incidents had taken place resulting in the loss of 4 lives and 100 injured; in February, the corresponding figures were 14 and 41; in March, the number of incidents is 23, the number of the persons killed is 2 and the number of the injured is 79. That is the first quarter of this year. According to the under-statement by the Home Ministry, 49 communal incidents had taken place, 8 had lost their lives and 220 people had been injured. This, of course, is a gross under-statement of the situation. But, nevertheless, I think I should bring it to the notice of the House. And, Sir, according to them i.e., the Home Ministry, the communal incidents during the first quarter of this year had taken place in towns with a population of a lakh and above. These cities and towns are Hyderabad, Mysore, Bhopal, Jabalpur, Ratlam, Nanded, Kanpur and Delhi. And since then, more communal incidents have taken place in the second half of this year. As you know, among those are the recurrence of incidents in Aligarh. Communal incidents have taken place even in West Bengal in Nadia district and also in Jamshedpur developments had taken place in certain incidents had taken place in other parts of the country also. So we are in the midst of unceasing, continuing communal incidents as they call it—some, they say, major; others, they say, minor. But the Jamshedpur and Aligarh riots are rated as major incidents.

Now why these taking place? We are told that they had taken place earlier also. Yes, they had taken place earlier. In fact, I have got all the figures for the last 10 or 12 years. Several incidents had taken place in the last decade. And there was a time when the number of incidents

was even higher than 200 a year. This has also happened. But one new thing now is that these incidents are taking place against the background of a political situation when the communal forces are receiving direct encouragement from the seats of political power. This was never there to this extent before. Even before, certain communal elements undoubtedly had infiltrated into various services and walks of life and even in the Government. But, by and large, they are communal forces, certified communal forces, as we know them. I think my friend.....

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: I know what you are going to say. We know how secular you are. We know what you know about it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: ... the Jana Sangh friend, will not mind it. They were not in power. Now during the last two years they have not only been in power but also they have been controlling almost three State Governments.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Dada, if you would permit me, we also know that your people have been instrumental in siding with people who created the Ahmedabad riots. You yourself went there. I remember the incidents brought publicity to you also. So all these things are mutually understood.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That I had created the communal incidents, I had instigated the communal incidents, even a mad man will not say. If I go to Ranchi and seek asylum there, nobody will say that.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: You sat in the car of a goonda, who was a known communal trouble-maker. I have got with me the press cuttings.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Very good. Your memory is good, at least. Very good. You are a doctor.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: So you concede this point.

SHRI B. V. ABDULLA KOYA (Kerala): According to them, that goonda would be a Muslim.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now I am coming to the real goonda. Sir, I did sit in a car which belonged to somebody and then he was arrested in some case. That was a car brought by some local MLA. Well I may sit in a taxi, I may sit somewhere and I may go in a train, if he leaves his people there, I cannot be blamed for it. That has been debated and thrashed out in this House.

But what is happening now? The RSS-Jana Sangh leaders are sitting in the seat of power in the Governments, the Central Government and the State Governments and in the key positions in the administration. That had never happened before. I am not saying that Dr. Bhai Mahavir is sitting there but there are others. This is a new development. Sir, the power structure of the country has passed largely into the hands of the communal forces so much so that a Member from this House, belonging to the Janata Party, Shri Ladli Mohan Nigam, Vice-President of the Madhya Pradesh Unit of the Janata Party was saying that they had to choose between Gandhi and Ghouse. Never before such a proposal was made.

And in fact there is something in it. They are sitting in the seats of power. And this is one thing, Sir, which has precipitated the crisis and that crisis has developed within the Janata ruling conglomerate. A voice has been raised today very powerfully and strongly within the Janata Party itself, apart from what has been said a number of times in this House. Many of the Janata Party MLAs, MPs and Ministers have been expressing their concern about the Janata power being grabbed by the RSS-Jana Sangh elements. Everyday we read it in the newspapers. It is said in conventions, it is said in meetings, it is said in public statements and it is said in



[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

articles coming from the people who belong to their party.

We now see a mass exodus, members leaving the Janata Party. As I am speaking here, Sir, I am conscious that I am addressing towards a minority Government, a minority Government whose number has come down to even 250 or may be less in the House of 539 effective. Such is the Government I am talking to. In fact, this Government should have now gone out. But they are sticking on. Let the Constitution and politics take their own course. But I am talking to a minority Government in existence which has lost heavily and is tottering. Most of them are not here. This is the situation. Why has it happened? Sir, it has happened because of so many reasons. They are the failure of policies, betrayal of the people and betrayal of their own election pledges some of them offered during the time of the election. And one major factor which has played a very important role is that the Jana Sangh and the RSS men are in the seats of political power in the state's structure.

Sir, when these forces came into existence and formed the Government, we came to the conclusion and made it known that incompatible forces have come together and they could not reconcile. This is what we said in this House and in our written documents, and what we said has been proved correct not because we were very perfect but because we knew that those who come with democratic and secular background could never reconcile with those who had come from communal and anti-secular background. Those who have been reared up in the tradition of Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi could never ultimately reconcile and live together under the same blanket with those who have been nurtured in the tradition of Hedegwar, Nathu Ram Godse and Golwalkar. We knew them. That is why we said it. This is what is hap-

#### *urgent public importance*

pening. This break-up and the collapse of the Janata regime, the Janata rule, here is to be viewed against the background of the situation, one feature of which is the diabolical communal aspect. It is a matter of satisfaction for us that all the people, the secular forces, rising all over the country, the working class people coming together, have created such an impact on the seats of power, in the corridors of power, that this regime is collapsing under the impact of the mighty upsurge of the secular as well as all those forces and the revolt against communalism. This is what I say. This is why this development has to be viewed against this background. After that, if you say, there is no such serious situation, well, what can I say? My friend, Mr. H. M. Patel, will not understand this and in that way not prepared at the moment. The fall of this discredited Government under the weight of its own seat, compounded by the encouragement and abetment to the communal forces, bears testimony to the fact that here was a Government unworthy of being entrusted with the responsibility, and nemesis has come in the 2-1/2 years that they have been in power.

As far as riots are concerned, well, these are there. They have been encouraged. This, I say is the fear. As soon as the Janata Party came to power, Balasaheb Deoras undertook a countrywide tour in which he twisted his ideas and secondly, he was received by Jamat-e-Islam. It seemed there was developing or there developed some working relation between the two. Here I give you one or two examples. In one of the writings, Dawat, a paper of Jamat-e-Islam, gave a certificate to RSS Chief Golwalkar that in the evening of his life he was having second thought in regard to his attitude towards Muslims and towards the Muslim Personal Law. That was Jamat-e-Islam speaking, not me. At the same time we find that even in many other places Jamat-e-Islam welcoming them. Dawat, an organ of the Jamat-e-Islam of

November 1, 1977 had published a report about an indoor meeting of the Hindus and Muslims organised by the Jamat-e-Islam and addressed by the RSS leader. The paper did not name the leader nor the place where the meeting took place, but it gave extensive quotations from what is called the frank speech of the RSS leader. There was an RSS camp in Delhi in June 18, 1979 where the RSS General Secretary, Mr. Rajinder Singh, charged the Muslims and Christians for having extra-territorial loyalty. Then you find Balasaheb Deoras, Chief of the RSS, has claimed during the Janata rule very soon the RSS volunteers' strength would jump up to 50 lakhs—5 millions—The RSS volunteers get training not only in the use of lathis but also, we are told, in bomb throwing, dummy bombing and so on. Only last year you saw that 15,000 young children, boys and girls, were collected in a camp in Delhi and they started their march with toy rifles, lathis and arms. You do not see young boys and girls marching with toy rifles for serving the cause of peace. We are not a military nation. This was the sample of the kind of training they are giving.

I have come across a statement by Rajendra Singh, General Secretary of the RSS, in which he said that during the last one and half years the membership of the RSS has grown by 30 per cent. In fact it is much more than that. And he was proud of it. He said that even in Kerala where he did not have more than 95 'shakhas' last year, they have now 1,300 'shakhas'. Everybody knows that all over the country the RSS 'shakas' are growing apace. More 'shakhas' are cropping up in cities and towns and even in some villages and they are proud of it. Simultaneously the slogan of 'Hindu Rashtra' has been raised. Previously, many years ago, we heard the slogan 'Indianisation' from Mr. Advani, Mr. Vajyapee and the RSS camps. Now they do not say 'Indianisation of Muslims'. Now

it is 'Hinduisation' and 'Hindu Rashtra'. Propaganda literatures are coming out. I can give you many instances as to how this propaganda is going on. Do they not poison the minds of the people? Do they not spread communal hatred? Do they not orientate people towards communal outlook. Do they not encourage forces of disruption and lead to communal hatred? This is what is happening. Why? Because they want to capture political power. Even now, Mr. Morarji Desai, the Prime Minister of the country depends on the RSS and Jan Sangh to remain in power. And for this he is paying a price, I believe. It is a matter of concern for everybody when the Prime Minister of a secular State with its secular traditions, has to depend on RSS and Jan Sangh, having lost all the support among the secular forces. I would like to know how many supporters the Prime Minister of India has today, as I speak, among the Lok Sabha Members minus the RSS and Jan Sangh. would like to have a count of heads. We will find that he has very few people with him who are not either Jan Sangh or RSS. Their number is small. Yes, this is the reality. It is understandable. But it is shocking and dangerous because the RSS and Jan Sangh elements constituted 90 Members out of 302 members of the Janata Party in the Lok Sabha. With fifteen gone and many others are also leaving, their ninety still is there. This is the situation. Would that situation not encourage communal forces? RSS and Jan Sangh are realistic people. They do not believe that in one jump or in one shot they can capture political power. They know that this takes time to have a decisive control of the State. They work out their strategy towards this end. They have been doing it during the last two years. In the first place they see to it that their number in the Assemblies and the Parliament increases. They have purpose in view. And they have an organisation for that. And they have build up that

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

organisation. Today they have created a situation when the Prime Minister does not dare utter a word against the RSS in public, or even in private. I have not heard Mr. Morarji Desai saying a word against the RSS nor have I heard the Home Minister uttering a word against the RSS by name and yet, Sir, he had the gumption in this House to come and tell yesterday that the CPI had instigated the policemen. But he would never say that the RSS has instigated the Jamshedpur riots despite the fact that Mr. Dina Nath Pandey was leading the riots, an MLA belonging to the Jana Sangh and the RSS. No; he will not say that. They have been kept silent by their moral servitude and surrender to the communal forces which this Government has done. That is all that I can say. And that is the crisis now. Now, Sir, what happened in Jamshedpur? It is our concern. Therefore, today, I have no hesitation in saying that we must face squarely and boldly the threat that is coming from them. I appreciate the Janata members, the secular-minded people. Well, I may disagree with them on many matters of internal and external politics. But I do agree with them when they come out against the RSS and the Jana Sangh and express their concern in defence of secularism at least. Sir, how can I not? After all, we are Indians and we are secular, divided among various political parties, persuasions and affiliations. But secularism is the fundamental basis of our national unity and national existence, well, not to talk of national pride and honour. If it is threatened and menaced and if some people come up against it, naturally, we look upon them with hope and admiration despite our other differences with them... (*Time bell rings*). Now in Jamshedpur, in the Mango area or whatever you may call it, the police was inactive and when the riots took place, when the incidents took place, the police did not prevent the crowd from gathering. Even during the period of the curfew, all sorts of

things, looting, arson and murder, were going on and they did not take any action. The military police was there. Remember, Sir, I brought to the notice of this House even before a pamphlet in Hindi issued by an organisation connected with the RSS in which it was proclaimed that in the event of attacks from the Muslims or the members of the minority community, the police forces, the military police in particular, would take the side of the communalists and the RSS. That was said.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: What is that organisation connected with the RSS?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Anyway, you find it out. They should find out.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: You have mentioned it and so, you tell us.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The RSS Minister, Shri Shankar Prasad, was seen organising these things and he prevented the army from being called out in time. It has come up in the Bihar Assembly and now I find he is already in the present Ministry well, the reconstituted Ministry, after the change of leadership there. Sir, it is here that the Muslims were affected, the members of the minority community. Forty thousand members belonging to the minority community were in the camps. Not that there were no Hindus in the relief camps. Some Hindus have also suffered. But do you know what they are doing? They are blaming others. You will be surprised... (*Interruptions*). The Home Minister is sleeping. Mr. Minister you sleep when the riots take place. Here Sir, the Jamait was telling that the Communists were posing a threat to their religion.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: How can the communists do anything wrong?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: At least not in this. At least not this. You know, the Jamait was telling this and they are in collusion with others. As you know, they are against their own community. When Mr. Bhutto was

hanged, the entire Muslim community in the country was indignant and they protested against it. But the Jamait supported the hanging of Mr. Bhutto and supported the military regime in Pakistan. They still support Zia-ul-Haq's regime and thereby they even go against the Muslim sentiments, the sentiments of the minority community But the RSS now...

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Whom do you support? Mr. Bhutto?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I did not support Mr. Bhutto's policy. Never did I support it.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Why do you mention Pakistani affairs?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not support Mr. Zia-ul-Haq or the farce of a trial that took place. I did not support that action. Mr. Bhutto had persecuted the progressives and did many other things. How can we support?

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: They should have nationalists like those in the Communist Party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My friend interrupts me (*Interruptions*). I like him very much.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please finish.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir the RSS was holding its regional conference in Jamshedpur before the riots and in that conference many things were said. The conference was held in the Co-operative College of Jamshedpur and permission was given to hold the conference by the Vice-Chancellor of the University despite the opposition from the teachers and the students and even from the Principal of the College and, Sir, the Vice-Chancellor of the Ranchi University is an RSS man. Well, Sir, now you can forget all these things. Finally, Sir...

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Has he been appointed just now?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is all right.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: When was this Vice-Chancellor appointed?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Finally, Sir, the great Balasaheb Deoras, the adviser to the Prime Minister of the country in the corridors of power here, the minitor of the Janata power, the real monitor, the high priest, the inspirer, the organisational prop and the main stay of the Janata power headed by Mr. Morarji Desai, had addressed a rally at Jamshedpur and there he said that while the Muslim countries do not allow anywhere any temples or mandirs to be built, we allow everywhere mosques to be built. Is it to be said in this manner? Sir, these are the utterances. I can give many instances. And then, Sir, my friend, Shri Tyagi, has brought the Freedom of Religion Bill. Again a great provocation to the members of the minority communities, not only Muslims, but also Christians and others. Up till now the Government has not the courage to say that it is against that Bill. Even when they are falling, even when they have fallen, people sometimes, when they are about to die, tell the truth for pleasing God.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: They listen to the prophets in any case.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Well, at least one pagan will not listen to the prophet like me and that is Dr. Bhai Mahavir undoubtedly.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: We have a closer understanding and we do not have to listen to each other. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I would consider it a rare achievement on my part if this wonderful handsome man, energetic man, can be rescued, if I can rescue him, from the clutches of Balasaheb Deoras. I would consider it to be a rare privi-

[Shri Bhupsh Gupta]

lege and a matter of happiness. But you will never meet that honour and privilege.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Let us come to an understanding. Either you take me out of the clutches of Balasaheb Deoras or I will take you out of the clutches of Stalin.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Stalin? Stalin is dead.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: But you will never come out of that. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Anyway, you try that and I won't object to that. Can you dare to take me out of the clutches of what you call communism by indulging in and encouraging dual membership? You can't just do that. So, Sir, I say this is what has happened. Now, I have cited enough facts, enough facts I have given. In Nadia riots have taken place recently. You will be surprised to know that we are members of the Committee; my friend, Shri H. M. Patel is a member of the Jagjivan Ram Committee on harmony; and I am also a member. He has mentioned about it in his speech. At the Committee meeting on the list of last month, well, many Chief Ministers did not come. Of course, I did not like the Chief Minister not coming. When the Committee was formed, it was decided that it was on the personal basis that the Chief Ministers should be there and not by proxy. But what happened? The Chief Ministers, most of them, are not taking any interest. There was one from the ruling party. Mr. Chandra Shekhar was from the ruling party. Mr. Chavan, Mr. Stephen and I were from the opposition. Others were Ministers, some Chief Ministers and the Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University. Many Chief Ministers did not come. Mr. Jyoti Basu did not come. Along with others, many other Chief Ministers were also absent. Another Minister came from West Bengal. We travelled together from Calcutta. That

Minister gave a very happy account of the situation in West Bengal. Only I protested against it. Sir, almost simultaneously the riots were taking place in Nadia. The Minister from West Bengal who came to the Committee told the meeting of the Committee on Harmony that he had been in consultation with the Chief Minister before coming and that the situation in West Bengal was good on the whole. He said that there was no communal tension. He said that West Bengal was free from communal tension. Well, when we were travelling next morning by plane, we were both reading the incidents that had taken place. I say this thing by way of giving an illustration. Sometimes, even the secular forces and the left forces are complacent about these things. I will just give a few suggestions.

[The Vice-Chairman, (Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni) in the Chair]

I do not want to say much. It is well known that the Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University was forced to close down the university on the orders of the District Magistrate. (*Time Bell Rings*). You have come and started ringing the bell in such a manner.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): You have already taken half an hour. Mr. Deputy Chairman told me. Four or five speakers are interested in speaking.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will suggest that the recommendation of the Minorities Commission should be made public. I am finishing after giving the suggestions. That report should be made public. We were told, at a meeting on the 17th December last year, by the Chairman of the Minorities Commission that there was an interim report which the Government not only did not publish and also did not implement. Therefore, we would like to have the report and to implement it after consultation with all the

concerned forces. Sir, we are a little disturbed to learn that the R.S.S. is objecting even to the existence of the Minorities Commission. This is a disturbing factor. Sir, such commissions are needed—not nar -sake commissions, but real commissions. I have to give one or two suggestions only. I will give all the suggestions to the Jagjivan Ram Committee or Communal Harmony. My suggestion that the political parties or other Members should bring their suggestions in writing and place them before the committee to be accepted. Here I mention another thing. A question was asked about the representation of the minorities in the police forces. I was a little surprised when the Home Minister evaded the answer. This question was raised at the meeting of the opposition leaders and the Chief Ministers with the Prime Minister. It was held on the 17th of December last year. There this question came up and Mr. Morarji Desai himself said that the minority communities were not having their representation in the police forces and the PAC. In fact, it led to heated exchanges with the Chief Ministers of Orissa and Bihar. Now he says that he does not know anything. He was present there. It was pointed out that not even six per cent belonged to the minority communities in the Provincial Armed Constabulary. Sir, in many places, in the police force and other forces, it is so.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** Please conclude now.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** I am finishing now. Members of the minority community should be appropriately represented in the State and Central Government forces. That was the suggestion made. It has not been implemented. There should be proper and adequate representation of all communities in the police force. That is not being done. Sir, there were proposals for organising in a better way the Intelligence Services with a definite training and orientation for fighting the communal forces. That is not done. In fact, now-a-days, in the

Government literature nothing it said against the RSS. We get plenty of literature and nothing is said against the RSS or the communal forces by name. Nothing at all. It is a strange situation. Well, all the Commissions that have taken place had mentioned them by name. But now they do not do so. (*Time bell rings*). Sir, now that you are ringing the bell, finally, as I sit down, all I say is, we are looking forward to, perhaps, I hope, better times. The RSS and the Jana Sangh have been in seats of power. There must be a positive strike there. And unless these seats of power in the administration and educational institutions and the official news media like the AIR, TV, etc. are purged of these RSS and communal forces, you can never even put up a pretence of fight against the communal forces, and they will continue to be strengthened. The RSS forces have taken the Janata power as their power. Just as the landlords have taken the Janata power as their power to go against the Harijans, similarly, the communal forces, whether they are the RSS or others, have taken the Janata power as their power and they are holding the country to ransom. Sir, I do hope this is the beginning of the end of the chapter, and we do look forward that these forces in seats of power and strategic positions will be taken care of and expelled from all the positions they hold. Otherwise, this country's democracy, secularism and national integrity will be in the gravest jeopardy, and those who are fighting them—no matter to which political party they belong to which political affiliation they belong—deserve a word of cheer and encouragement and we extend them full encouragement and support in their just, genuine and sincere struggle against the forces of communalism, national disruption and national ruin. Thank you.

**SHRI H. M. PATEL:** Sir, the hon. Member spoke for over half an hour.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Only half an hour?

**SHRI H. M. PATEL:** I said, over half an hour. And it was delightful to listen to him as it has always been. But there was really nothing so far as I am concerned to answer because, Sir, when he began, I thought he was going to make a serious speech, a constructive speech, but it was not to be. No constructive suggestions came from him as to what should be done. He started off by saying that there were so many communal incidents in the year 1978, as many in 1979, and how, over the year, this has been more or less the same; and sometimes more and sometimes less. I thought that thereafter he would proceed to say something about almost an endemic problem of this country, and what should be the way in which we should tackled it. He is a member of the communal Harmony Committee to which he is going to submit on his own personal behalf and on his party's behalf suggestions for preventing communal disturbances from occurring. He might have put those forward here; but he has not done so. All he has delighted himself in a diatribe against the R.S.S. and so on. I do not wish to make this an occasion for answering him on these issues because they are not strictly relevant. We are concerned with the fact that communal disturbances have taken place and they have reared their head again. It is a matter of great regret.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Why don't you say something because after all from the next week I may not even see you here?

**SHRI H. M. PATEL:** You may not see me here. But I am sure you will see me somewhere.

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR:** Is your eyesight failing?

**SHRI H. M. PATEL:** I will still be a Member of Parliament. I believe sometimes you will be moving outside

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** I should love to see you outside the Government.

**SHRI H. M. PATEL:** I am so happy that I would love to make you happy.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Therefore, Sir, let there be a contract. I will be seen by you to make you happy and you shall be outside the Government to make me happy.

**SHRI H. M. PATEL:** I do not wish to do anything of the kind. I believe in letting the events take their own course. At least let us express sentiments which might make both of us happy.

**SHRI M. KADERSHAH (Tamil Nadu):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir with a sense of deep agony and profound sorrow I rise to speak on this subject because this is not the first incident on which we are discussing this matter. On several earlier occasions also we have discussed this problem and again we are discussing it today. I want to know whether the Government has taken note of the earlier observations made by the hon. Members of this House. I would like to say that if the Government has not learnt any lesson from its past experience and if they have failed to see the writing on the wall, their fate is doomed.

A distressing factor in the history of communal disturbances is the failure of police intelligence to warn the authorities in time so that any trouble brewing could be nipped in the bud. So far we have seen that the Government takes action only after the incident has taken place. They are not able to prevent the riots well in advance. It has been stressed repeatedly that the function of the police is not only to maintain law and order but also to be extremely vigilant so that any signs of the beginning of any communal trouble can be spotted early and remedial action taken. Sir, we had suggested earlier that police intelligence should be organised as a separate force under a police officer of the rank of a D.I.G. in each State. I would

like to know what the actual position now in this regard is. Organising a pre-emptive police intelligence force would be an invaluable step in the right direction. I am thankful to the hon. Members for demanding that there should be proportional representation of the minority community in the police force and other paramilitary forces. We have seen in Aligarh, that the Provincial Armed Constabulary, and in Jamshedpur, that the Bihar Military Police, joined hands with the majority community in their attack on the minority community. If there had been proportional representation, this would have been avoided. But the hon. Minister is misleading the House by saying that Muslims are not coming forward to take up these posts. I would like to know whether the Minister himself had not made two kinds of statements. On the one hand, he said that the Muslims are not prepared to accept the posts. On the other hand, he said that the Muslims are not performing well in the open competition. I would like to know which of the two statements made by the hon. Minister is true. I would like to know whether he is maintaining any record of the applications. (Time bell rings). Sir, I have not even taken two minutes.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** You have taken seven minutes. You ask questions. This is a Calling Attention. You have to ask two or three questions and then conclude.

**PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal):** How can it be?

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR:** Let him carry on. Our other friends had carried on giving sermons after sermons.

**SHRI M. KADERSHAH:** This is a very sensitive issue.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** Dr. Bhai Mahavir, when I am in the Chair, I have to follow the rules. I

do not want to say anything what somebody else will do.

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR:** Sir, I am only saying that as an hon. Member of the House, let him also enjoy the same privileges which our friends like Mr. Yadav, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Jha have enjoyed.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** I am not expected to allow half an hour for everybody and I would not have allowed him if I would have been here from the beginning.

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR:** Is it our hon. friend's ill-luck that you happen to be in the Chair?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** He is cooperating with me. We have to do business in the House.

**SHRI M. KADERSHAH:** I would like to refer to the findings made by the various Commissions which had been appointed by the Government on communal unrest and the measures suggested by them to prevent recurrence. The fact that incidents continue to recur periodically shows that there is no political will and administrative calibre to implement the recommendations. It is time a fresh look is taken at these recommendations and sincere efforts are made to weed out the canker of communalism which off and on threatens to eat into the vitals of our society. Since, we had made our observations earlier, I would like to be brief and will put straightaway my questions.

Firstly, will the hon. Minister place on the Table of the House the total number of communal riots from 1977, up to date, with number of casualties? I would like to know whether it is a fact that the attack on the minorities and the Scheduled Castes have increased during the last two years. Secondly, the causes look apparently small. But the incidents are fanned into flames of bigger proportion by interested elements, mostly political. Behind these communal riots, there appears to be a political game. Why is



[Shri M. Kadershah]

not the Home Minister naming that organisation which is so widely known to be at the back of all these troubles? Why is he shielding the organisation? Thirdly, there had been an exodus of a large number of people belonging to the minority community to the neighbouring Bangladesh after the recent communal riots in Nadia district of West Bengal. Actually, how many of them have returned and what rehabilitative measures were taken by the Government for the displaced persons? Aligarh which is a centre of learning and education has been burning with communal frenzy and riots for about a year now and the Government has failed to control the situation. Why had not the local administration taken preventive and positive measures? Aligarh has a master plan to control communal riots. What preventive measures were taken and who is responsible for not sealing the vulnerable points before the flare-up? For example, what steps have been taken at Madargate, Upperkot and Shamsad Market, which are said to be the originating places of these trouble, to prevent bad characters or trouble shooters? If repeated communal riots are any index of the deteriorating law and order situation or the administrative incompetence, why should not the Home Minister resign? Aligarh is often rocked by communal riots. If you are not able to govern one city in the country, what right and what capacity you can have to govern the whole country? who is responsible for all these riots? Is it the Home Minister or is it the Officers? If it is the Home Minister, it is his duty to resign. If it is the responsibility of the officers, why have they not been sacked? Do you think mere transfers will bring in the desired results? Is it not a fact that the increasing number of communal riots are clear writings on the wall that secularism has been torn to pieces? Why are the Home Minister and the Prime Minister not camping at the troubled areas like Aligarh to restore confidence among the people? What steps have been

taken to win confidence of the minority community? They feel that they are living with a sense of insecurity. Why have peace committees not been fully vitalised and pushed into action for creating normalcy? Why have arm licences not been freezed? It is said that a number of people carry unlicensed arms. Why have these unlicensed arms not been seized by the Government? It is also reported that bombs were hurled in places like New Market in Ranchi and in Jamshedpur. Some of the bombs are reported to have the mark of the Army. How do the people get these bombs?

Finally, Sir, will the Home Minister take this House into confidence and report if there is no hand of any foreign agency like the CIA, behind these riots?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Sir, I can assure the hon. Member that there is no foreign agency behind these riots. I can also tell him that every effort is being made to contain these riots. The hon. Member should have known from what has been said already, so often, that communal disturbances have been occurring ever since independence.

SHRI M. KADERSHAH: But now it has increased.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Please listen to me. I did not interrupt you when you spoke. You wanted answers and I am giving the answers. Thereafter there can be another debate if you like. The communal riots have gone on occurring. Mr Bhupesh Gupta gave statistics of several years. It is a serious problem, it is an endemic problem of our country. No Government has, unfortunately, yet succeeded in overcoming it. It should be the duty of all of us to try and put our heads together to find answers and not merely go on saying why this is not done and why that is not done. We should see what steps we have taken and the steps that we have been taken have been narrated by me, they are there in the statement. In fact, I gave figures, I did quote figures to

you and I will mention them again a little later.

So far as Aligarh is concerned, unfortunately it is very true that it is the one city in which there have been communal disturbances which have occurred, probably, more often than in any other city. It is true and, therefore, every effort is being made to try and normalise the situation there. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh has been there. He has tried his utmost to see that peace committees are set up, mohalla committees are set up of the two communities, in order to see that disturbances do not take place. In fact, normalcy is returning. It is not as if there has been continuous trouble in Aligarh. After the trouble that took place last year there has been quite a longish period when there has been no disturbance, no trouble at all. Then there came this question with reference to the Aligarh Muslim University Bill. Protests were put up here and some incident occurred at Dadri railway station which once again led to certain disturbances. That was not so much a communal disturbance as actually a trouble, it is said, between the police and the returning students. You mentioned about Samshad Market etc. I may tell you that Aligarh, though it has a large University and a large number of students, unfortunately has no campus. A main street goes right through it which makes it difficult completely to keep out the so-called outsiders from it. In fact, in regard to the hostels the Vice-Chancellor himself admitted that unauthorised persons had been living in those hostels and therefore, when trouble arose they were not quite certain which groups started the trouble, whether the unauthorised persons who had somehow gone into these had done it or not. And, therefore, among the steps that he has taken now is to be very strict in the matter of those who are to reside in the hostels and to take firm steps in regard to that.

The hon. Member has also men-

tioned that I said that the Muslim were not offering themselves for recruitment in the army and the police and so on. When I said that, I was only stating what had been the very recent experience in Uttar Pradesh. I shall be very happy if they will come along and we are actually making efforts now to point out to them that they will be welcome to join these. But they have to fulfil the normal requirements—both of education and other standards. For constable, tower standards are there; for Sub-Inspectors etc. the qualifications required are perhaps slightly higher. But I never said that the position was exactly the same every where. In some States the position of Muslims representation in these services is higher. But it is nowhere as satisfactory as it should be.

He also said that there was an exodus of minority communities to Bangladesh. There was certainly an exodus and I read out the figures, as given by the State Government. I said that the figures were that somewhere around 7000 persons belonging to the minority communities had crossed over to Bangladesh and subsequently till the 3rd of July 6, 1977 of the Indian nationals of the minority communities had returned, and steps are being taken to rehabilitate them. You will see that a bulk of them have returned. He may be having in mind the larger figures which have been put forward by Bangladesh. It has not been possible to reconcile the two. Certainly if the Indian nationals go into Bangladesh, I can assure you that when the conditions return to normal, they would be anxious to come back to this country and there will be no hindrance, no difficulty, no obstacles placed in their way.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it was just by way of repartee, but a remark that has been made by the

[Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee]

Home Minister in reply to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta displays perhaps an attitude which will not be required to meet the situation in regard to communal riots. The hon. Minister said: 'I believe in events taking their own course'. If this is the attitude even in regard to these things, or if that attitude of his influences the course of action of the Government in that matter also, then God save us. It has been referred to by many speakers that it is with a nauseating regularity that since Independence this phenomenon has been occurring all over the country—and actually from before Independence. Then it was said that it was due to the British policy of 'divide and rule'. But what is it that has been responsible for this regular occurrence after Independence has to be gone into. What are the interests that bring about these communal riots in various parts of the country? Dr. Zakaria quoted from an experienced police officer's comments. Therein a point was mentioned that the propertied people, out of economic rivalry—I am not quoting the exact words but our only speaking from memory—create these communal riots.

It is that point from which A.P.M. communal riots should be viewed that it is the vested interests who want that the common man should not come up. They try to weaken the common people economically by creating these riots, riots between two communities, riots between different castes on parochial lines and in other forms. It takes different forms. Now the question is whether there has been any serious effort to find out the forces which have been behind these communal riots. The Home Minister has rightly said that the actual outbreak of the riots in many cases was over trivial issues: perhaps they were permediated. I remember just after independence, in Calcutta there was a riot in the month of September, 1947. Nobody could say clearly what the reason for the outbreak of the riots. When we were going about the city

to propagate against the riots, to establish peace and peace squads, when shops were being looted by hoodlums, the then Police Commissioner, Mr. Chatterjee, with his police armed with revolvers was standing as an idle spectator. When we repeatedly pointed out why he was not taking any action, why he was not arresting the rioters, he said let it happen. That is another aspect which we must take into account.

My first question is whether any analysis has been made as to which are the forces which are behind such communal riots. Secondly, what has been the role of that administration and the police and whether any lapse on the part of the administration has been properly penalised. Take, for example, the behaviour pattern of the Bihar Military Police. I do not know why it is called military force. I have no idea as to why the armed constabulary of a State is called military police. Their behaviour at Jamshedpur came under sharp criticism. May I know whether any investigation was made and any action was taken against the erring policemen. Whether the same thing was done in regard to the armed constabulary, the P.A.C. in Aligarh and elsewhere where these complaints have been made. In West Bengal also, in regard to Nadia, so far as the attitude of the Government there is concerned, the political will, I think, has been backing. Our esteemed friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, does not allow any opportunity to have a dig at the leftist government. But in season and out of season it is his pastime to criticise other governments. Otherwise it is a moot point whether Mr. Jyoti Basu was ready to attend a particular meeting or not in regard to Nadia. The Home Minister has stated that it was a culmination of the dacoities across the border. Now, what did our Border Security Force do? The riot in Nadia was quelled. Incidents occurred when two persons were killed. And various reports

have come out. Whether 200 people came across the border or 2,000, the fact remains that there has been an explanation from the side of the Border Security Force that they were performing their duty excellently but that they were overworked and harassed and because of the rebellion of the CRP, CISF, etc., they have not been able to devote as much attention as possible. Whether such lacunae, such lapses on the part of anyone in the Administration or police was properly dealt with and action was taken is the question because that is necessary. I do not think that so far as the representation of all in Administration or police is concerned, I am all for it and so as our Constitution goes, perhaps it is free for everybody to join any service or any occupation.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND (Punjab): Only on paper.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Many things are on paper, Mr. Anand. But if recruitment to the police force is done or if recruitment to the Administration is done on a communal basis, whether that will be any solution and whether that will improve the communal situation, that is the question which we must face. I remember what has been the outcome of the Congress unity slogan, I mean, of filling up the Administration and police and para-military forces on the basis of communal ratio. I think that will aggravate the situation. So my specific point is whether the lapse in the part of the Administration was properly dealt with. Two concrete suggestions I give. Joint bodies be formed to keep a watch on the situation wherever any communal tension develops and there should be a link-up with the Administration so that immediate action can be taken in the matter. We know that these communal developments break out in a very unforeseeable manner. Therefore, it is necessary always to be on the alert without allowing events to take their own course.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Sir, it is perfectly correct that one should be always on the watch for possible danger signals with potential for possible communal disturbances. This is what I also mentioned in the statement I read out that we have written to all the Chief Ministers to take special care about this matter and special care in respect of sensitive areas in their States to see that their intelligence organisation in regard to this matter is properly organised so that they get the earliest possible notice with regard to this. So far as the rest is concerned, I may say that in Aligarh, on the first occasion when the trouble took place, a Commission has been appointed. Again with regard to the events in May, a similar committee has also been appointed to go into those occurrences. In Jamshedpur too a Judicial Committee has been appointed. So in all these cases we always do try to find out how things happened, why they did happen, who was responsible, whether there was any lapse and, if so, whether that lapse could have been avoided and if any responsibility could be pinned on anybody or any group. So that is always done so that action would be taken. Unfortunately these inquiries do take longer than one would like. My hon. friend seized upon some observation I may have made—I do not know in what context I said—that events must take their own course. I do not think I made it in the sense that . . .

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: I said it by way of repartee.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Repartee may be a different matter, may be with reference to whatever he was saying. I certainly was not saying that communal occurrences should be allowed to take their own course.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: It was in a different context.

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLA (West Bengal): Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, the

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matter has been elaborately discussed. So I will go over to the pointed references in the statement of the hon. Ministers. He attributed all these things to trivial occurrences. This was protested against by Dr. Zakaria also, though not with enough ground. Looking at the things one cannot say that they are trivial things that are occurring. Even imperialism goes deeper than this. He is only looking at the things superficially. Then the second point is that he has always mentioned that it is a malady with our people and with our country. With all my strength I protest against the slander against the people of the country. About these communal incidents, as has been stated by other Members also, he does not mention the political forces behind them.

He will mention the people of the country, slander them, but he will not mention the names of the RSS or the Jamiat-i-Islami or other communal organisations. This he will go on avoiding, naming the political forces behind these so-called trivial incidents.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: It does not politically suit him.

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: This is so not only today. Go back to more than fifty years and see the old bunch of letters written to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. Pt. Motilal Nehru wrote to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, "The liars and slanderers call me as a beef-eater throughout U.P. and say that I am responsible for the defeat of the Swarajya Party." My family had been in the Congress from 1890 to 1947 when we came out of it and joined the Communist Party; we then moved over to the communist path. So I know from my memory and experience how we had to fight the communalists even at the time of the Congress. Now some people say that the RSS people are encouraging all these things. The RSS is in the Janata Party now. They all seem to free the Congress of the

blemish. But the RSS was nourished in the bosom of the Congress. It is only in 1936 that the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jana Sangh and the Muslim League were ousted from the Congress. The Congress had ceased to be the Congress which in its constitution had said that no communal force will be given any seat in the Congress. But even then we know from our past bitter experience how the secular forces failed to get better off the communal forces and how the latter had their day with the help of the British imperialism and the vested interests till the partition of the country. It is a sad story of the bourgeoisie failing to get a proper leadership. Of course, I regret that our working class and its party could not come up to the task of fulfilling what the bourgeoisie failed to do. Now this bourgeoisie is putting the blame on the people of the country and all that. Well, the Christian came even before the Muslim came and the Muslims before they came here were traders. How did they get shelter in this country if this country was full of this malady? It is not so. I am proud of the fact that my country has a tradition which though not understood in the modern age as secularism, at least fits into the tradition of secularism, fits into the tradition of democracy. That tradition my country has. So I will again protest against this thing. Even Shri Morarji Desai, the Prime Minister, has said that these communal riots have been there; but they have not been there always. I will not go into the details now. I know from my memory when I was a Congressman how I had to fight even the British officers. We had to unite the people of our place to fight back the communal forces that the British officers were trying to let loose. I will not go into that in detail again. Yes, there are economic factors. Just as in the villages the Scheduled Castes are attacked for land, so also in the towns for shops and trades communal riots are taking place because earlier there were

Muslim localities in central places in the towns and cities. But are economic jealousies sufficient to rouse the people unless political forces, the RSS and the Jamait are there? Some people are saying that they are free from all this. The Jamat-e-Islami had a conference in New Delhi when Shrimati Indira Gandhi was in power. It was apparent that the Jamat-e-Islami was helped to organise the conference, and the "RADIANCE" came out with banners saying how the Government had helped to organise the Jamat-e-Islami conference. So the communal forces had never been isolated all these 30 years, and they have been in the body politic of this country.

So far as the bourgeois is concerned, all the bourgeois parties have their share in organising these things. About chauvinism, we see in Nadia in Bengal "Amra Bengali". Anand Margis and the RSS all contributing to these things. One sort of subjective chauvinism leads to another. One may attack a Hindustani Muslim in Calcutta and a communal riot may take place. These things occur in this country. If you go on campaigning against cow-slaughter and go on hunger-strike, the entire outlook seems to be similar to that of the RSS. So, you cannot say that the entire thing is simply that helpless people are behaving like this or that. The entire thing is ensured by political forces. Not only the RSS but even Vinoba Bhave comes into the picture somehow or other, however innocent his thinking is.

The Government talks of firm action. How many murders have taken place and how many people have been brought to book for murder of these men? After all many human lives have been lost and the perpetrators of the crime go scot-free. Because it is a communal riot somehow it cannot be done. Even the policemen seeing people burning houses do not take any action. They go scot-free. No specific case is laun-

ched. Where is firm action? We do not see firm action anywhere. All these 30 years how many people would have been hanged if specific action had been taken? How many people would have been imprisoned for 20 years, given life sentences if firm action had been taken? That shows what firm action has been taken. The merit of the police officer is not taken into account. The merit taken into account is how many bullet firings he resorted to and how many striking workers he killed. But the merit of the police officer is not seen in how many cases he tackled and prevented communal riots. So, he gets promotion on the communal riots. The more the communal riots the more the promotions he gets. When Poland was freed, some imperialist power tried to organise riots. The new Government said that the officers responsible for law and order would be imprisoned for two years if there was occurrence of riots.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): You have now to conclude.

SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLAH: All right, I will conclude with a few sentences. On Nadia I will have to say something.

The Government has to specifically issue instructions that they would take action against the officers if there is any occurrence of any riot and if there is a failure on the part of the Government officers to maintain law and order. This is their duty, not just keeping quiet. Anyway, so far as Nadia is concerned, it has been stated by the honourable Minister. I would say the West Bengal Government do not look, they have not been looking, into these things this way. They look at it that some reactionary forces, some political forces are doing this. Firm action should be taken against the real perpetrators of this crime and at the same time organising campaigns against these reactionary for-

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ces. All political forces, particularly the Left Front parties, should be united, warning people against the disruptive and reactionary forces. The West Bengal Government has to see the real malady; otherwise, this malady cannot be cured... (Time bell rings).

SHRI H. M. PATEL: The honourable Member has been good enough to analyse the situation as to how these things occur and I will certainly take full note of it. I do not think he expects any particular answer.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Dr. Dutt, only two minutes, please.

DR. V. P. DUTT (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman we are calling the attention of a crippled and crumbling Government to a very alarming situation which has arisen in this country. Unfortunately, with all due respect to the gentlemen occupying those positions, I will like to say that we have had a sleeping Buddha as our Home Minister and a holier-than-thou Buddha as our Prime Minister. The greatest failing of the two years of misrule of this Janata Government has been to deal a virtual, fatal blow to the secular character of our State. There is no point in mincing words. I entirely agree with my colleague, my esteemed elderly colleague, who has just said, "Why are you afraid of identifying the forces which are behind this violence?" We have no use either for Muslim communalists or Hindu communalists. I am as much against Jamat-e-Islam as against RSS. The point is this Mr. Home Minister, if you will wake up for a few minutes politically and otherwise. Would you like to tell us which the greatest danger to the secular character of this country is? RSS or not? I would also like to say one thing. I want to tell you why I wanted to speak today. I had said a lot of things on this subject in this House before. I

do not want to repeat them. I do not want to go into the history. I have quoted from judgments of Commissions as to who was responsible for these riots. I am not going into that again. Now, I went to Aligarh and what I saw was shocking. It was an eerie scene. It was not even peace. It was the lull of the graveyard. Some of us, my friends and I, political colleagues, we went to various mohallas. We talked to the people there. First of all, the very process of getting them out and talking to them was a task. I was wondering whether I was living in India or in a theocratic State of the 19th century or the 18th century. Not a soul in the streets. There was curfew. But the curfew had been relaxed at that time. Yet, we had to shout for people. Some children would come out and see who there was. Some people would speak from the windows. Some would look from the verandahs whether it was a friend or a foe or whether it was a policeman with a bullet or what was happening. And then, gradually, they were coming out and women wailed and cried. In one mohalla there was hardly an adult. All of them had been rounded up and most of them belonged to the minority communities. They were rounded up and taken to the prison. We tried to do whatever we could do at that time by trying to promote formation of peace committees, and so on and so forth. I would like to tell the Home Minister—whether it was right or wrong—I am not going into that question—that the minority community in Aligarh has completely lost faith in the *bona fides* of the Government. I do not want to make a political speech and I am not making one. What I want to say is that when the whole community loses total faith in the administration, that administration does not have any business to be there. That is what is happening there. What was being tried was to match up with the backlash of the majority community. The RSS hoped for the backlash of the Hindu major-

rity community. The Jamat-e-Islami is trying to make use of the same methods which the RSS has been adopting. As I said earlier, I have no use for both. But I know the gravest danger is from these forces I have mentioned.

We went to the jail to see people who had been rounded up. I was ashamed that a seventy year old person—a Hindu—who had worked all his life for secularism and against communal riots was in jail whereas another man who was one of the promoters for spreading hatred between the two communities was going scot-free. He was even going to the prison to give food to his fellows. Other respectable people were also in the jail whereas the goondas were out.

I would like to know from the Home Minister—if he is there next week—whether he would go himself to Aligarh and whether he will spend a couple of days, if necessary a week even, and find out who were the forces behind these riots.

Secondly, I would like to say that one of the major problems has been the fact that there are people who do not want the Aligarh Muslim University Bill to be passed. Again and again I have been saying that the more you procrastinate the Bill, the more troubles will be there. Again, I would like to know from the Home Minister—if he is there next week—whether he would take steps to bring forward the Bill immediately with suitable democratic modifications and have it passed by both the Houses of Parliament, so that this evil can be nipped in the bud.

Thirdly, he was saying that Muslims are not coming forward. What steps have you taken in Aligarh for the creation of a mixed police force because there is no faith left in the existing police force?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: You cannot have a separate police force for each

town, recruited from that town. We have a police force for the whole State and recruitment to that force is open to everybody from the entire State. We shall make every effort to see—instructions have been issued on these lines—that all those who offer themselves are considered for recruitment.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): He means that some Muslim policemen might be posted in Aligarh.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Nobody says no. I was saying that you do not necessarily recruit only from Aligarh. About the mixed police force. I accept the suggestion.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: For that area.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: If that is possible, provided you have them.

The hon. Member referred to the crippling and crumbling Government, and asked me if I will proceed to Aligarh, if I am here next week. I certainly would like to do that provided my responsibility to the House does not prevent me from going there. If on every day there is a Calling Attention on various issues, I will have to be there in this House and then I cannot go. With your co-operation, I may well be able to go.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Now, we shall take up 'Special Mentions'. Mr. Anand. Only five minutes.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: I am thankful to you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will not take the sixth minute; I will finish before 5 minutes. I am thankful to you for allowing me to mention a very important matter.

SHRI AMARPROSAD CHAKRABORTY (West Bengal): I am also on the list.



**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** No, the list which has been given to me has been completed. I am sorry. The Deputy Chairman gave me this list. This is finished.

**SHRI AMARPROSAD CHAKRABORTY:** I gave my name.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** The Deputy Chairman gave me this list. In addition, Mr. Dutta has spoken. Now, the Minister has already left. If you had given it earlier, I would have accommodated you.

**SHRI AMARPROSAD CHAKRABORTY:** I had given the name. I hoped you would call me.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):** May I read out the names? It is finished. That's all. Mr. Anand, please.

#### REFERENCE TO THE ATTARI RAILWAY STATION

**SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND (Punjab):** You start counting my five minutes from now. I have to mention about the chaotic condition, crowded counters, stranded passengers, no night accommodation and long queues in simmering heat at Attari Railway Station, resulting in death of waiting passengers.

Now, Sir, Attari is a historical town. It has gone down in history because the great warrior of the Sikh-British War, Gen. Sham Singh, belonged to District Attari. The town had been in great neglect since the partition. It lies exactly midway between Amritsar and Lahore, two big cities in the pre-partition Punjab. Now, Sir, with the improved situation between the two countries, Attari was opened up as the main point of entrance for passengers coming to India from western borders. Sir, the railway services were also

improved. A railway train was run from Lahore to Amritsar. Now what has happened is that there is total lack of perspective in all things that you do. Before the easing of the situation, it was only about 250 people who used to cross on both sides between Pakistan and Punjab (India). Now, Sir, over 2,000 people are travelling both ways. I have a cutting with me from the 'Tribune', a very liberal and conservative paper, and cuttings from the writing of a correspondent that I sent along with a press party, from my own paper 'Nawan Zamana'. The 'Tribune' correspondent says:

"The passengers are packed in the trains like sardines. The trains cover a distance of barely 55 km between Lahore and Amritsar in six hours."

Then, Sir:

"The platform was littered with baggage. There was hardly any room to move from one counter to another. The children were crying and their parents were rushing hither and thither for a glass of water for them."

Then, Sir, the trains come generally late and the clearance of passengers takes so much time that the trains have left for Amritsar and the passengers are stranded, and those who are cleared from Attari have to pay exorbitant rates to the 'taxi-wallahs' to reach Amritsar. But by the time they reach Amritsar all the trains for Delhi have left. The railway station at Attari is without any proper shelter, without any drinking water and without any doctors. Nearly 40 Customs counters there are always crowded. Sir, those who come to India with great hopes think the very first impression they get is so horrible that they believe that it is a bad omen that they are beginning their journey thus. I myself have travelled by the Frontier Mail when I come from Jullundur often.