

MOTION RE THE SITUATION ARISING OUT OF THE RECENT COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES IN AHMEDABAD AND OTHER PLACES IN GUJARAT—contd.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) IN THE CHAIR]

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, my predicament of sadness can be summed up by this couplet:

“हम आह भ्रा करते है तो हो जाते ह
बदनाम
वे कल्ल भी करने हैं तो चर्चा नहीं होता।”

कुमारी शान्ता वसिष्ठ (दिल्ली) : अगर पहले बोले होते तो यह नौबत नहीं आती।

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN: I shall reply to you when you make a speech. Don't interrupt me please.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: I am not interrupting; I am telling you what you should have done long ago.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN: When I am on my legs and you speak also, it means interruption. I am not going to yield to your interruptions.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: You should have done this long ago. It is now too late in the day.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Order please.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is with anguish and grief that I have risen to speak, and I am very glad that Mr. Vasavada and my other colleague except the Jana Sangh Members and now the non. Member, Kumari Shanta Vasisht, do share the grief, the shame and humiliation at the butchery that taken place with no action on the part of the Gujarat Government and the complete failure of their police machinery and complete failure of their Intelligence Department. These are not my words but the words of everybody. Otherwise, why should Mr. Morarji Desai have gone to fast unto death to atone for the sins some of the people of Gujarat had com-

mitted against the minority community in Ahmedabad?

(Interruptions)

I will come to you later, but I have to single out you also.

Now Mr. Vasavada said—he may be right as far as his information is concerned—that he had received only 150 compensation applications. May I add to his knowledge that in the office which I run for relief work I have got 5,000 applications for compensation cases? Mr. Vasavada has referred to a particular number of people killed. May I tell this hon. House that it does not include those 17 persons returning from the Khwaja Ajmer fair who were butchered at Ambalayan by stopping the train and who included three ladies? He has not said a word about those who are butchered at Sabarmati, at Ranip and at Kali. May I draw his attention to this also that on the 18th, when the riot took place, there was no curfew? Until the 19th there was no curfew. And if on the 19th the curfew was imposed, it was imposed within the walled city of Ahmedabad and not throughout the municipal area of Ahmedabad, with the result that the worst holocaust and the worst acts of barbaris—murder, loot and what not—took place. These are the words of Badshah Khan

“क्या क्या नहीं गुजरी इन गरीबों के ऊपर”

No action was taken. Even then I am fully supporting the Government. What happened in Ahmedabad is not all. It has happened in Kheda, in the land and birth-place of Sardar Patel, whose son and daughter are the hon. Members of this House. It has happened in Kheda where our elderly statesman, Shri T. K. Patel, an hon. Member of this House, happens to reside. Now I am not relating all the facts. I am conscious that now I am replying particularly to Mr. Vasavada giving him all this additional information. Probably he may not be knowing all this, and I am just adding to his knowledge in this regard.

Now Dr. Antani has come out with a theory, irresponsible and mischievous, that Mr. Yunus Saleem came with silver bullets.

DR. B. N. ANTANI (Gujarat): Thank you for the compliment.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : That is no compliment. If Dr. Antani could prove his allegation, then Mr. Yunus Saleem should go, and if he cannot prove his allegation against Mr. Yunus Saleem, then Dr. Antani should go for creating an atmosphere of this kind.

Then, Sir, I am to reply also to Mr. Rajnarain. He began well but ended in his true Rajnarain style. He did not demand the dismissal of the Gujarat Government; on the contrary, he demanded the dismissal of the Indira Gandhi Government. Suppose I demand his dismissal, it is even difficult to remove him from this House because he is so hefty. Anyway since he is not present and he had begun well, I only appreciate the first portion of his speech.

Then, Sir, Mr. Bhandari spoke about the Ahmedabad riots in his own way. Now I want to draw his attention to the fact that a riot took place near a *medini*, which is 65 miles away from Ahmedabad. The *medini* is received in its course by the non-Muslim residents also. This *medini* is not of Muslims alone. This *medini* consists of a *dhobi jamat* and *Dhed jamat*. As a whole they are Hindus and Muslims. This *medini* consists of the whole *Harijan jamat* and their leader is there. When they reached the shrine, there the people take a pledge, the Muslims, and the non-Muslims known as Dheds. There are two *mujavars*: one is a Hindu gentleman and the other is a Muslim gentleman. Then each member of the communities, because of the *sufistic* secular ideal, they throw flags on the tomb, and in ninety nine cases it is the Dhed flag—Dheds are one of the most oppressed and suppressed class—which sticks on the tomb. Then the people shout, "Here is the saint who has showered his blessings on the meanest of the mean." This is how it goes on, and then the community is treated. This is an annual *fair* and this *medini* was inaugurated by one of the Ministers of the Gujarat Government, Mr. Chimanlal Patel. This is an annual affairs and the cows of this Maharaj are venerated. The Maharaja is inside the temple and these cows returned at the same time. But unfortunately some of the cows strayed into the procession kicking about, and they were to be warded off.

Now this created a misunderstanding. And when this misunderstanding arose immediately the Muslim leaders run

to the temple to dispel the misunderstanding. Mind you, what had taken place was outside the temple walls where the other *sadhus* with their *chamchas* and *chillums* were sitting. It had no reference to the *sadhus* who sat inside. I have given in writing to Shri Jairamdas Daulatram that this *medini* is of this type. The *medini* takes out a *rath jatra* and when it passes the mosque, the Muslims come out of the mosque and they pay respects to this Maharaja and this Maharaja gives money to the mosque. This is the secular character of this *medini rath jatra*. Now, what happens is that that apology was not accepted and why was it not accepted? Because one *Jaggara*—*Jaggara* means of quarrelsome person—happens to be Secretary of the local Jana Sangh of Ahmedabad. The Hindu Raksa Samiti . . .

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan) : To whom was the apology tendered? To the Sadhus or to the Maharaj?

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : What to do; you will not take us inside.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : The question is, where did this *Jaggara* come in the picture?

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : Because the *Jaggara* was on the scene to create *Jaggara*. You have seen the havoc and you cannot escape the blame. The Hindu Raksha Samiti people come and . . .

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : We cannot accept a wrong charge.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : You can verify and I will correct myself. If I am wrong I will apologise and you should also apologise.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, if this apology had been accepted things would have been over. One Amubhai Shukla, a Congressman comes to the Maharaj and says: साधु किसी की माफी कबूल नहीं करता। Mr. Jamuna Shankar Pandya, President of the City Congress, comes and asks the sadhus to get out. The Muslim leaders waited till midnight and they were not taken by the police there and the sadhus said—I am not talking of the reverend Sadhu who is still revered among the Muslims—the outside sadhus said

nothing doing and the result was that the Muslim leaders had to leave that place because they were being surrounded by the sadhus. Then it starts on the 18th. I ask you : if your temple or a church or any place of worship is desecrated you say it is very hurting then equally you have to accept this position. On the 18th night at Khadia the mosque is desecrated and what do the people of Khadia say? They say this is the Stalingrad, the stronghold of RSS and Jana Sangh.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: Is that so? Could you tell the House who got elected from Khadia to the Municipal Corporation ?

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN: I will show you from the papers I will give you the facts. Next morning on the 19th.

(Interruptions)

That is how this happens. It is you alone who are shouting; it is the guilty people's mind. The rest are quite sympathetic.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: Who got elected from Khadia? That will show what you say is correct or not.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN: I am giving you incontrovertible facts. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, next day things happen. This very Minister returning in the evening from a programme, who had inaugurated this *Medini* told me Mr. Yunus Saleem and the Parliamentary Secretary, Anwar Baig: 'when I was returning on the 19th evening my daughter told me how holy has come up now' and the Minister asks whether this is holy day. He asked the constable what was happening and he says: the city is burning from the 18th and this is the 19th and no curfew is imposed. He says he rushed to the C. M.'s house and asked: are you aware of all this? And he says yes. Be it noted that on the 18th all the GPCC members were assembled at the Congress House but none of them cared to go even to the temple to see or do anything to stop these things. There is nothing on record. But if any such thing had been done I will be too glad to hear that. Now, it has happened in Baroda; it has happened in Palunpur; it has happened in various places and why has it happened? I will come to that afterwards but this

question has also a political aspect. I will come later on to the Jana Sanghis and other in detail but this has got a little political aspect. And that aspect is one, Mr. S. K. Patil, defeated in his own Bombay town got an asylum in Gujarat at Banaskantha and there he propounded a theory of coalition with likeminded political parties, Swatantras and Jana Sanghis and today we see them all sitting together. His dreams have come true.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : इन लोगों को अपोजीशन में मत बैठने दीजिए, ये सारी जमात को बदनाम करते हैं, इनको उधर जगह दीजिए ।

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN: It is a fact. When the minority leaders Jagjivan Ram and Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed cautioned and wanted clarification from President Nijalingappa as to what was going on, action is not taken against Mr. Patil but action is taken against them just like the case of Muslims who have become the victims of butchery and oppression because of this axis that was going on.

Now I come to the other thing. It is Mr. Peerzada who sends a telegram to our beloved Prime Minister and the words are 'we are being slaughtered like animals and our property destroyed like anything. Please send the military.' Ultimately all hopes failed to get any police protection and like the father of my community who was nothing but a mirage to Gujarat, the birth place of Gandhiji, nobody came forward to lay down their lives. None came forward to tell the people: what are you doing? This is butchery. And where did all this happen? In the labour area where the INTUC is most powerful and who did it? The lower elements of the society. But why was not any information given and if any information was given why was no action taken? I will come to the sequence of events. Mr. Peerzada sends this telegram. It was good of the Prime Minister, it was good of the hon. Home Minister, Shri Chavan, to take interest because it concerned the very existence of the minority community.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is a feeling on this side that Mr. Shyam Dhar Misra has not got out of the habit of the Treasury Benches.

SHRI S. D. MISHRA (Uttar Pradesh) : He is already here mentally; I am here physically only for the time being.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : Then in the military cantonment area it is a tragedy that one of the inmates of the Ashram had to suffer. That is Ghulam Rasool Qureshi. The mob went to Gandhiji's ashram but was the police there? No. It was good of the ashramites to creat a ring around him and stake their all for saving him. I salute them for that and Ghulam Rasool Qureshi was saved. But was his son saved who happened to have married a Harijan girl, a completely secular marriage according to Mr. Mohan Dharia but to which I am apposed?

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Gujarat) : She is not a Harijan girl, my friends.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : All right, I will correct myself. She is a Hindu girl. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : You are misleading the House. Don't mislead the House. You said Khadia was the stronghold of RSS but has it any member in the Gujarat State Assembly?

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : I will come to the Gujarat State Assembly. Mr. Chavda, just as I represent the minorities you also represent the minorities. Let it be well known. I am referring to the cantonment area. Why was the Commer Hostel, a purely Muslim hostel in which non-Muslim boys were there ransacked completely and the boys had to flee for life? Where was the police then? Not only that. Mr. Chinoy of Bombay Garage said he had to flee for his life. It was not only in the bank area but I am talking of the cantonment area where the Ministers are there.

Now coming to the sequence of events there are three things that had preceded. One is the Al Aqsa mosque.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (M. P. BHARGAVA) : You have taken 15 minutes.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : Let somebody give me time. It is my own people at Ahmedabad and I come from Gujarat and I am the lonely Member sitting on this side.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : They are all our people, not his people alone.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : You are also my people, I agree. Now I come to the Quran affair. When the Quran affair happened it happened before my house. My people were beaten up at midnight. I told to Mr. Morarji Desai: this is the telegram. He said if there was anything you don't put it here. He was then my leader and I respected his wish. And besides the honour of Gujarat Government was my honour and even today it is so.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is not so now.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : It is. You outsiders have no business to interfere in our internal matters.

And believe it or not I was the one man in Ahmedabad to say: who has the audacity and cheek to sell Quran in the lorries? But that Muslim is not being found. Then came the other affair; it was about the loudspeaker. Even in the Governor's meeting, even in the Parliamentary Secretaries' meeting, because the time was over, it was not done.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Momin, your time is also over.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : I have not come even to the conclusions. I cannot help it. You have to permit me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : No, no.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : All right; let me have a few minutes and let me finish it. This is very important, very heart-burning. But I do not want to disturb the good work done by Khan Abdul Ghaflar Khan for restoring peace. I still know there is goodwill among my Congress members wherever they may be sitting. We want peace; we shall establish peace and keep the pledged word we have given to Mr. Morarji Desai. It was the Muslim leaders he said who have taken the path of peace and we shall work in that path for peace. Now, coming to these three incidents. I can understand that the Chief Minister was summoned here by the Prime Minister or

requested to come here, whatever it may be. The Home Minister went to Ahmedabad. I thank him for his visit. The Prime Minister makes an air dash from Kohima. I feel grateful to the Prime Minister for showing concern at the butchery that was going on. Without even taking a cup of tea she went to the Jagannath temple and asked a plain question : Where is the temple which has been desecrated? Also, where is the mosque that has been desecrated before the eyes of the police? The police station is like this and the houses were burnt like that. The mosque is like this and the houses were burning like this. What more testimony do you need than the testimony of Badshah Khan himself? He said that the Government had failed. Now, are our Muslims devoid of all sentiments or the Muslims of any country. It has had a direct bearing on the Rabat issue. Because the feelings were so ruffled, quite naturally we got the treatment known as rebuff. In due course, the Ahmedabad riots were quelled. If the military had acted or if the police had acted or even if the riot scheme was enforced, it could have been quelled immediately. Now, Sir, two words only remain. What are we to do for the protection of our life and property? What are we to do with the Hitendra Desai Government? It is a Congress Government. We do not want to topple it. We do not want to go from the frying pan to the fire. There is the Swatantra Party. There is no socialist party or any other party of leftists. After what has been done, were the anti-social elements arrested? Even three days back I read in the papers that two truck loads of ammunition were caught hold of. After all these, two truck loads from Bapunagar were seized. Therefore, I demand nothing but justice from the Hitendra Desai Government. I do not want any political party or any individual to fish in troubled waters.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : I have to do justice to Members.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN : One minute more. I want to assure them that whatever may be our differences on the question of this Congress or that Congress, I stand for the promotion of peace. I stand for Hindu-Muslim unity. I stand for respecting your temples, whether you respect my mosque or not. I shall respect them because:

“सदा आती है मस्जिद से अल्लाहो अकबर की
और मंदिर से राम और भगवान की,
ऐ खुदा तू ही बता इन दोनों आवाजों में
तेरी कौन सी आवाज है ? ”

As a little soldier I am on the side of Shrimati Indira Gandhi as far as the Congress is concerned. I am proud of this moment and I convey my thanks to all sections, except a few, including my own people for the concern which they have shown, for the sympathy which they have shown and for the goodwill they have shown. I am personally grateful and I convey our thanks to our Prime Minister. The answer she has given for stamping out communalism is democracy, secularism and socialism. The fate of others is they will be thrown into the dustbin of history. The leadership and the programme of Shrimati Indira Gandhi is a victory for victory and a defeat for defeat. I conclude by saying

मादरे हिन्दुस्तान - पाइन्दाबाद ।

Thank you very much.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, in a debate of this sort, it is necessary that we should be clear about the facts, the dominant features of the situation. Secondly, we should analyse the reasons for this phenomenon, not merely the apparent and immediate, but also the deep-rooted and the latent reasons which cause communal riots. Certainly we must also chalk out a way so as to prevent them in future. Now, it is admitted on all sides that the Ahmedabad tragedy was one of the most ghastly occurrences in the history of our country since independence. What are the dominant features of this tragedy? In my opinion, the Ahmedabad tragedy is not an isolated phenomenon. It is the latest, the most grotesque and the most gruesome of the incidents which have been going on in this country for the last few years. We have had Ranchi. We have had Meerut. We have had Nagpur and we have had Indore. Ahmedabad caps it all, with the most extensive destruction of life and property, with the most gruesome exhibition of inhumanity etc. Ahmedabad is a landmark in the occurrence of communal disturbances in this country. The second feature of the tragedy is that the premonition of the coming events was there. The authorities in the State should have been alert.

[Shri K. P. Subramania Menon]

In fact, it has been pointed out in the press as well, I think, in the Home Minister's Consultative Committee, that the Government of India themselves had warned the Gujarat State Government as long ago as may last of the possibilities and probabilities of a communal situation arising out of the prevailing tension in the State. Now, there is a State Government which absolutely refuses to take note of the warning given by the Government of India and which, on its own, should have found out what was going to happen or what was happening, but it refused to do it. We must find out the reasons for that. The third and the most important feature of it is this. It is particularly rather tragic for people like us who believe in the destiny of the working-class that the class which should historically and objectively be the guardian of the unity of the people and which is the most consistent, persistent and intrepid opponent of racial, religious and communal obscurantism, itself has been the object or, the victims of this communal poison. Now this is a tragedy which is more serious than the occurrence itself. It has got very serious implications for the future of our country, not merely for Ahmedabad. We saw it in Indore, we saw it in Nagpur. This is a situation which calls for special heart-searching by the leftist parties themselves.

The fourth feature of this situation is that communal incidents in the country are in inverse proportion to the level of political consciousness or the level of the leftist and democratic movement in the country. You would have noted that the communal incidents took place in precisely those areas . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You may continue after lunch. The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

The House adjourned for lunch at one the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock. THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) in the Chair.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I was referring to the correlation between the development of the democratic and left movement in the country and the incidents of the communal riots. As you would have seen

from the records, it is clear that the location of communal disturbances is increasingly in places where the left movement and the democratic movement is weak, and this has got a lesson for all of us who have got the integrity of the country, the unity and the solidarity of the people at heart, and that lesson is that the only antidote to communalism is development of a rational movement of the people based on scientific principles and opposed to all sorts of obscurantism, religious, communal or even moral. Therefore, those who have got the unity of the people, the development of the economy and the solidarity of the country at heart should strive hard to see that the people are led through channels which are scientific in thought, which are rational in action. This is one of the ways of overcoming this phenomenon.

The fifth feature of this situation is that the riots, as we have seen in Ahmedabad, were not just accidental. were not the result of sudden emotional upsurge but have been in a way planned and well directed. This is clear from some of the press reports. Here is Mr. Ajit Bhattacharjya of the Hindustan times, he says :

“Areas of mass pillage and arson were horrifying, but far more sinister were specimens of pre-planned, selective destruction. On many roads, especially in the suburbs, where the communities were intermixed, every house and shop belonging to a Muslim had been gutted. It was as if they had been marked in advance.”

This is a serious situation. It is not as if the whole thing was done in spur of the moment, but planning had gone behind the whole messacre by some people whoever they may be, who were interested in seeing that these incidents were utilised for the destruction of the minority community.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated) : If you are sure there was a plan, that it was very carefully arranged and everything, then who did it? If there was somebody, who was it who did it? :

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : I will tell you of course. This question Mr. Ramachandran has asked. Some of the reports suggest that the R. S. S. and Jan Sangh were behind this. For example, in the Hindustan Times report

it has been pointed out: "Two days before the temple incident, Mr. Balraj Madhok, the Jana Sangh leader, was warning Ahmedabad citizens of an 'inevitable' Pakistani attack on Gujarat while casting doubt on the loyalty of Muslim leaders".

SHRI NIRANJAN VARMA (Madhya Pradesh) : He has not incited anyone.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : In any case I will have to go by press report. Again it has been said :

"According to local reports the first cases of arson after the Jagannath temple incident occurred after some time, in a locality some distance away in which the Jana Sangh and RSS organisation is particularly strong."

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : This was what Mr. Momin was referring to.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : I have no idea about Ahmedabad. This is what has come in the press report. It has come in the Hindustan Times ...

SHRI NIRANJAN VARMA : That may be Karanjia press also.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : It has come in Hindustan Times.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is not a Muslim paper ?

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : It is run by Mr. Birla whom you all revere. We do not revere him. This is the thing. This particular feature is that this has been preplanned.

Again, here is another thing. Shrimati Manjim Bai who has given a report about these incidents in this paper...

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : Which paper ?

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : It has come in "Secular Democracy", editor Shrimati Subhadra Joshi. She has given extracts from certain Gujarat newspapers. Here the translation of the Gujarati extract says:

"Ratan Lal Gupta on behalf of Hindu Dharma Raksha Samiti announced

through this handbill a public meeting on 19th September at 7 P.M. It talks of the Muslim communalists, insult to Hindu temples and scriptures and calls upon people to join the meeting in large numbers to hear of the future programme."

Again in another handbill issued without name or anything it says:

"It rouses the Hindus to action for: Dharma Yuddha (Righteous War) when Hindu religion is being dishonoured and facts are sought to be superseded. It calls upon Hindus to give all cooperation in the programmes of Hindu Dharma Raksha Samiti and to boycott economically and socially the community whose members have dared dishonour Hindu religion".

Again, we have known about some of the speeches which the Jana Sangh and the RSS leaders have made especially suggesting that the Muslim people should become what is called part of the Hindu nation.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : No, do not try to mislead.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : You subscribe...

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : Who told you ?

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN (Maharashtra) : They want Rama and Krishna to be adopted.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : 'Indianisation' has been said.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : And there have been insinuations that the Muslims are not loyal to India and that they should be treated as aliens in this country.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : It has not been said.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : This has been said in many places. (Interruptions) I do not understand Hindi. You speak in Hindi. The last point that I want to make is that the Gujarat Government had signally, miserably failed in quelling the riots. Here again, I will go through the Hindustan Times cuttings.

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN : Whose paper is that ? ,

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : The cuttings of Hindustan Times.

AN HON. MEMBER: He will quote Mrs. Subhadra Joshi now.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : It has been said—

“For the first two days, the Gujarat Government did not take any action to curb the riots.”

Not only that. What needs to be looked into is the role of the Government.

“Not only did they not mitigate the evil influence of rumours, but have also turned a Nelson's eye to wards those out to create trouble. During this period, whenever the custodians were approached for help by the harassed citizens, the reply invariably was something as follows: ‘Do not panic’. People are a bit angry. They will be all right after letting out the steam.”

Again,

“Houses were burnt in the neighbourhood of several police posts and the police looked on helplessly on the plea that they were under the order not to use force.”

This is the miserable situation. The police was not initially called out to quell the riots and even when they were called out, they were not asked to act at all, they were to take a soft line. This is a criminal neglect on the part of the Gujarat Government and this has to be looked into.

Let us consider what are the reasons, the immediate and the more deep-rooted. In our opinion, the immediate reason for these riots to take place and for the Government of Gujarat to keep quiet initially was that the Gujarat Government itself was psychologically conditioned to tolerate communal parties and communal influences and communal riots because it is politically aligned with the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Parties. This is a fact.

SHRI NIRANJAN VARMA: What about Jagatdal ?

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: This is an innovation.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: act of history, of politics

Every one knows that the Government of Gujarat was aligned politically...

SHRI NIRANJAN VARMA: I am asking you about Jagatdal.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: Secondly, the leaders of the communal parties and the RSS were spreading all sorts of rumours and stories to incite the passions of the Hindus, to incite the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus, to attack the Muslims and the newspapers were also there. Even I should say that the All India Radio was ready to broadcast without checking a rumour that the city's milk supply was poisoned. Even the All India Radio was used to incite communal poison.

AN HON. MEMBER : Mr. Gujral's radio.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : While this may be the immediate reason, there are more deep-lying, deep-rooted reasons. As you know, Sir, the bourgeoisie class which rules this country is already in a crisis and in order to divert the attention of the people from the burning problems of the country, their existence and their struggle, these things are resorted to, by all sorts of subterfuges, to divert their attention and to channel it through destructive and disruptive channels, and communal riots are one of the actions through which they achieve this end. We have seen; we have heard, for example, Mr. Chavan himself admitted in this House that the Shiv Sena is part of the conspiracy of the big business in Bombay to destroy the working class movement in Bombay. Similar is the case with the communal disturbances in other parts. This is a part of the conspiracy of the big business in this country to divert the attention of the people, to divide the working people and to disarm them in their struggle against the ruling class. That is why in the period of economic crisis, in the period of mounting unemployment, in the period of rising prices, the communal incidents are also on the increase because this is an easy way of the bourgeois—landlord class to divert the attention of the people from the burning problems which they face.

Therefore what should be our approach to the solution of this problem? If you think of it more rationally, more scientifically, there can be no solution to the

problem of communal disturbances as it is seen in history that even in the developed capitalist countries the communal disturbances are the order of the day, because capitalism can exist only by dividing the people on racial, communal, caste or other lines, by dividing the unity of the people. We have seen in America how the minority Negroes are oppressed. We have recently had instances of communal disturbances in Northern Ireland and such other parts of that country. Therefore this is part of the capitalist mechanism of adjusting to the needs of capitalistic exploitation of the people. Therefore, unless the very basis of the society is changed, unless the basis of the landlord-capitalist rule is eliminated from the country, there can be no lasting solution. But at the same time, governments, parties and movements which are loyal to the unity of the country, which are loyal to the unity of the people can exert...

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN:
Secular ones.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: Considerable pressure in preventing these things, as we have seen from what is happening in West Bengal. In West Bengal though there is a strong Communist movement, leftist movement, there also communal disturbances occur and the Government there is in a position, has the will, to put down the disturbances with an iron hand.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: It took one week in Jagtal.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: It took only four days and consider the difference—how the West Bengal Government is dealing with the communal situation and how the Gujarat Government is dealing with it.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: The poor Chief Minister of West Bengal.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: That is a different thing. Lastly, it is important to remember that the oppression of the minorities is part of the oppression by the majority of the people of this country, by minority of capitalists and landlords. Today we find that the oppression is not merely of the Muslims but of the Harijans, the tribals, the working people. The majority people are members of this regime of the landlords,

of the capitalists, and the oppression of the minority forms a part of the larger oppression of the majority of our people by the landlord-bourgeois regime which is out to defend itself against the people as a whole. And therefore, it is important that if we are to save our country from these dangerous situations, it is necessary that we should have a movement of all the oppressed people, of the Harijans, of the tribal people, of the working people, of the religious minorities, and lead that movement towards a better life and a better society in this country.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I am grateful that Mr. Mani has brought this issue before the House and, may I add, he made an excellent speech in moving that we consider this matter? I wish he were here because at one point I wanted to join issue with him even when he was speaking. I would do so very briefly and then go on to cover what I consider are the other salient points.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: It is not only Mr. Mani. There are other movers, twenty, of the motion.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I am not bothered about that. I am referring only to Mr. Mani's speech. I appreciated what he said. But at one point I wanted to join issue with him then and there but the Chair would not allow it at that moment. He referred to what Mr. Chavan, the Home Minister, is supposed to have said that we should recruit Muslims into the police and the Army, and Mr. Mani said that this is the most dangerous thing that anybody can do. I asked him a question. Supposing there was a bar of some kind against the Muslims joining the Army or the police, tacit or explicit, wholly or partly, then lifting that ban cannot be in any way dangerous. If the Home Minister were here...

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: He is represented.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: ... I would have liked to ask him why it is that he now raises the issue that Muslims should be admitted into the Army and the police. Till now has there been any bar of any kind, of any degree, against this kind of recruitment? What he said implies that there has been some tacit disapproval of that kind of thing; otherwise he need

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not have come and said what he said. Nevertheless, What he said is absolutely correct and there is nothing dangerous about it. What was dangerous was the previous situation. A correction of a wrong cannot be dangerous.

Having said that—I am sorry Mr. Mani is not here to hear what I say—let none of us in the House look at this matter as an admission that this communal problem has come as a sudden eruption now in the wake of what happened in Ahmedabad. This is the oldest cancerous poison in the body politic of India. It was there during the 200 years of British rule. It was this poison which cut India into two. Its till remains with us after 21 years of freedom. If I were asked what is the greatest shame in this country today after 22 years of freedom, I would say it is this communalism in the body politic of our country.

I want to refer to Mr. Chavan again. He said you can probably prevent an eruption of communal tension, but once it breaks out, nobody can control it for some time ; it runs riot like a forest fire. I think this is true, and in dealing with any guilt of the Gujarat Government, fancied or real, we must keep this in mind, that once a communal riot starts it is not easy to control the fires of communal passions. We discovered it during the days of partition: nobody could control it. The thing got completely out of hand. We have, therefore, if we are wise people, to concentrate on prevention, doing everything that is humanly possible, that this thing becomes less and less possible in this country.

I remember Acharya Kripalani once saying that Gandhiji's martyrdom put away for ever communal tensions in India. What an illusion? In spite of Gandhiji's martyrdom we are where we are now. What happened in Gujarat or Ahmedabad is almost the same as what happened during the partition days, savage lynchery, brutality which can shame even the brutes. So what is it that we can do, Sir ?

When the trouble erupts it becomes a police problem. It is no longer a problem of culture education or anything. Once butchery, violence and brutality start, it becomes a police problem, and if the police are not alert, if the forces of law and order are not ready to tackle a situation of that kind, then the Government

becomes guilty. We might today look at this problem from different political points of view. Some are interested in judging Gujarat guilty. Some are interested in judging that Gujarat is not guilty. We are all trying to make political capital out of this shameless tragedy. Let us refrain from doing so. With the best of goodwill let us all admit that there was partial paralysis of the forces of law and order in Ahmedabad for two or three days. I would add that this can happen in any State in India. It can happen in U.P. It can happen in Kerala. It can happen anywhere. When a sudden eruption takes place the administration gets temporarily paralysed. That does not mean that it did not happen in Ahmedabad. There is ample testimony of impartial observers, writers in the press and of people who have talked about it that for two or three days the entire machinery of law and order got paralysed in the face of this situation. This should not happen because we may have to live with this trouble and we must be prepared for this trouble at two ends—one at the end of the law and order position and the other, taking all preventive measures.

Now what preventive measure can we take? We have the national integration programme. We have been talking and *nauseam* about everything that we have to do to bring about national integration, and at the end of it all this happens in a State which ordinarily is one of the best in India, well-governed and one of the best organised in India, and in some ways more loyal to Gandhiji than many other States. It happens there. So the tragedy deepens. The preventive things that can be taken come at once into the domain of education and culture. I held our present system of education as mainly guilty in a matter of this kind. Everything changes in this country but education does not change. What the British people have left have goes on unchanged and we are all engulfed in that system of education.

We had an Education Commission which produced an excellent report. When that report was discussed on the floor the House, I told Dr. Sen who was the then Education Minister that if he succeeded in implementing even 10 per cent. of the recommendations of the report of this Commission, he would go down as an immortal in the history of education in India. He has not been able to do that. He left suddenly. A new man has come

If you talk to him you will hear of the many insurmountable difficulties in implementing what the Commission has asked for. If our educational system remains what it is we are not going to deal with this problem effectively at all at the needed levels of education and of culture. We are now having a phenomenon of religious revivalism in this country. Religious revivalism is one thing and religious renaissance is another thing. Revivalism is crude and dangerous; it hands over, religious values and traditions to the fanatics. But if it is religious renaissance then it picks up the best in religion and culture and stresses such things. I am afraid this religious revivalism is one of the crudest things happening in this country. It can be met not by the police or the army, but only by the right type of education and by spreading the idea of the composite culture of India. That India's culture is a composite culture is something which does not go into the syllabus or the curriculum of studies of any school or college. There is no such thing as an undiluted Hindu culture in this country. Anybody who says there is should be sent to a lunatic asylum. There is no such thing as a dominant Muslim influence in this country, though they remained here for several hundreds of years as the rulers. And the British were here with all the impact of their political system. But you cannot say Western culture dominates India. Luckily for us we have a magnificent composite culture. If we can, from the primary school through the secondary school, through the colleges and the universities in India, propagate the idea that Indian culture is a composite culture of which any nation can be proud and into which has come Hindu culture, Muslim culture and Western culture and every kind of culture and tradition the world has known, and if we can make our students inherit this composite culture, then when they grow up they will build up a better India than the terrific kind of thing that we are seeing in front of us to-day. Who will change the educational system? I once asked Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: "You are giving so much time to industrial development; you are giving so much time to many other things. Have you ever been able to give any time to educational reconstruction?" He said "I am Sorry, I have not been able to give time to it." Somebody has to give time. Parliament must insist that somebody should give time because if you are educating the children, boys and girls,

young men and women, millions and millions of them, in the wrong direction why do you expect them to go in the right direction suddenly in a crisis? You are pushing generations into the wrong direction and you expect that they will go in the right direction when you want. It is to tally wrong. So we must overhaul this system of education, so that from childhood onwards our boys and girls will grow up in the tradition of mutual respect for each other's religious traditions and cultures and in love with the wonderful treasures that lie locked up in the different cultural traditions of India. Our education is not doing its duty. I am sorry the Education Minister is not here. I have talked to him. He is conscious of this. But everybody seems to be helpless.

Now, apart from this, there is such a thing as adult education. Every time the Budget has been discussed on the floor of this House, I have brought up this subject. There is really no nation-wide programme of adult education in this country. Adult education is not literacy only. I was once invited to the United States by one of their leading Adult Education Associations, and when I went into their areas of work, I did not find illiterates there; I found doctors, lawyers and men of the highest eminence coming into the arena of adult education, because adult education is education in the living challenges of current situation. There is no such thing here. We do not educate the adults at all. More than 300 millions of our people are illiterate in this country or are only semi-literate. And the entire body of boys and girls, millions of them, go along with the old system which the British have left behind. We must attend to this thing. It is easy to sit here and say "Something has gone wrong somewhere; so crucify somebody; throw a stone at the Gujarat Government, throw a stone at the Jan Sangh, throw a stone at the Muslims or throw a stone at Ramachandran because he is talking nonsense of this kind on the floor of this House." All this is easy. But this work is very hard—building up the foundations of a new national outlook, which we are not doing. So this problem remains unsolved.

There is only one or two things that I would like to add. One Deputy Minister's name has been mentioned. There was a concentrated attack that that man had gone there and fomented or encouraged

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all this trouble. I think there can be no greater nonsense than this. No single man can create a trouble of this kind. Somebody can help, somebody can hinder but the trouble burst from a background.

SHRI S. D. MISRA : Nobody said that.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: But to put any blame like this on one single man is not proper. But if this is true then this must be studied carefully. He is a Deputy Minister of the Government. He should be given an opportunity to explain what happened. He should be heard. It is no use making wild accusations about a Deputy Minister and give no chance to him to exonerate himself. If it is true, then he does not deserve to be a Deputy Minister. If it is a untrue then those who told these lies about him must take back these lies. You cannot leave such a matter in the air untouched.

I would plead with all the strength at my command that no political party should try to make political capital out of this shameless tragedy. It is a shame on all of us. It is a shame on both the wings of the Congress. It is a shame on the Jan Sangh. It is a shame for the Communist Party. It is a shame for each one of us. None of us can escape from this shame. Nobody can say that one particular group is responsible. All of us are responsible. It is in that spirit that we should approach this problem. Thank you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, I agree that we should discuss this matter dispassionately and from a broad national angle, and party divergences, group divergences should not be allowed to colour our consideration of this matter and prejudice our ideas and capacity to analyse why such a thing has happened. Here we, those who are secular, whether one is sitting here or there, have no differences that secularism has to be upheld and communalism has to be put down and stamped out of our public life. Over that matter there is broad agreement. There may be divergences as to how the problem should be viewed. There may be differences in regard to the analysis. (*Interruptions*) There may be divergences with regard to the assessment. For example, I may say something

about the Gujarat Government and my friend, Mr. Misra or somebody may not like it. But that does not make him communal, nor am I guided in this matter by narrow considerations. Surely if other facts are there, they should be given, because we should take the bona fides at least in such matters among the anti-communal, secular forces and parties in this country and then proceed to discuss this matter. But if we bring in, or inject into the discussion, narrow considerations, division in the Congress, division between Communists and non-Communists, then, of course, nothing can be done. Of course, there will be some differences, and serious differences, with those who believe in communalism. But there are many amongst us who, despite other ideological and political differences, are in agreement as far as the fight against communalism is concerned. How it is to be done—that may give rise to certain divergences, differences in approach or method, and so on. Let us, therefore, discuss this matter in that light.

Riots are nothing new in this country even after independence. Recently the Home Ministry of the Government of India circulated certain papers to the members of the National Integration Council and these papers show that every year over the last four or five years, several hundred communal incidents have been taking place in the country, some major, some minor, some leading to a catastrophic development or holocaust of the kind we saw in Ahmedabad, others not so serious. But we have seen that we have been living with communal incidents. Not only communalism which is in the minds of the people, but the manifestation of this disease or malady in our body politic is already there in the form of big or small, major or minor, incidents all over the country. Ahmedabad is no exception to this. It is not as if Ahmedabad has suddenly shown something which is ghastly and tragic and the others are all free from this. If you go into its past over the past four or five years, practically every State in India, at one time or the other, has been effected by the communal poison leading to communal incidents for which we all must share the shame and sorrow. The Ahmedabad incident or the disturbance there is unprecedented since the days of the partition of the country. In its brutality, in its magnitude, in its savagery, in its arson and looting on a

mass scale, it has surpassed the past record barring, of course, the communal disturbances that accompanied the tragic partition of the country. Therefore, we will have to take note of it and try to learn from what happened in Ahmedabad so that we guard against similar things overtaking us in other parts of the country in future. Now it is not possible for me to go into the details of what happened. You will be surprised up till now we do not know how many people have been killed. We know the casualties in the Second World War. We know the casualties in the First World War. We know the casualties in the Indo-China border conflict. We know the casualties in the Indo-Pakistan War. But surprisingly when in Ahmedabad our compatriots killed one another, we do not know even the casualties, how many have been killed, how many have been injured, how many houses have been burnt. Is it impossible for the Gujarat Government, or, for that matter, the Central Government, to make a study, to make a reasonable assessment, as to the number of human lives lost? I do not know why it should not be possible. I blame the Central Government and the Gujarat Government, both. We are getting accustomed to the killings of this type. This seems to have become a part of our life. We need not bother about whether a Hindu kills a Muslim or a Muslim kills a Hindu. No matter who kills whom in a communal riot. I do not look at it from that angle. But the very stabling is stabbing the heart of India and that pain should be felt by all men wherever you live, whether you live in Manipur, or Maharashtra or Himachal Pradesh. The Ahmedabad riots and the killings there should be taken as the killing of the very basic concept and the ideas of our civilisation. That is how we should view this matter. Nothing of the kind has been done. The Central Government sends commissions for finding out so many things. But here it did not send even a responsible officer of the Investigation Department to find out as to how many people have been killed. It is no use only saying that the Gujarat Government has not done it. Surely it has not done it. But what are you, the Central Government, doing here? I should like to know that. The Gujarat Government has been at fault in many ways. To that I shall come. But the Central Government too has its own responsibility.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, according to our information, not less than 3,000 people

have been killed. It is not 450. It is not less than 3,000 to 4,000. But nobody who has made some assessment would say it is less than 2,000 . . .

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : What is the source of your information ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Listen. I do not claim perfect truth. I am placing before you the figures that I have. I should be very happy if it is less. Mr. Chavda, bear with me, I am not a man who has gone to the streets there. When Mr. Chavan says 450, can I not say a little more if I think it is so according to my information? (*Interruption*) Do not laugh. Mr. Chavan said 450 and you did not ask Mr. Chavan, "What is the source of your information?" because the figure is low. The moment I say it is 3,000 you immediately challenge my statement.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, Mr. Chavan mentioned it in the statement laid by him on the table of the House in answer to Question No. 65. You did not care to read it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have read it. Do not blame me on that. You seem to have faith in Mr. Chavan. I am glad you have faith in Mr. Chavan. I do not have faith in him, Mr. Vice-Chairman. After all, they had been kith and kin. Faith does not depart from them. But in this matter I do not have faith in him.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA (Bihar) : Your faith or lack of faith has to be tested.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Surely. Do it.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : May I ask you a question, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta? You began by saying that it will go up to 4,000..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Some say so.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : Then you came down to 3,000 and you ended up at 2,000. What I am saying is only this...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am coming to that. I have got that figure. You allow me to finish.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I only repeat what you have said in your argument. You have said, "I have no faith in Mr. Chavan." Is this difference in the numerical figures, the difference between faith and non-faith?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is philosophical and numerical. That is both philosophical and numerical. Mr. Vice-Chairman, let us not debate here as to how many figures have been given by the various sources. It is quite possible that some people have exaggerated it, some people have belittled it. But I am bringing to your notice the different figures that have been given. Is it not the duty of the Central Government to go into this question to find out what exactly is the position rather than rely on the report given by the Gujarat Government? This is what I am saying. Now, I will give you some figures.

On the 19th September 312 dead bodies were cleared from the Civil Hospital wards. This is the information that we have collected. Check it and if I am wrong I should be only very happy. On the 20th September the corresponding figure of dead bodies in the Civil Hospital in Ahmedabad was 691. On the 21st September it was 945. The total comes to 2,048 according to this. Now Mr. Chavan should come and tell us that this is wrong. I am not cooking up figures here. This is our information collected from various sources. People have discussed the matter, have gone into this matter. Now you find out the facts. Then again some of the dead bodies had come through the Vadilal Sarabhai Hospital and Lallubhai Hospital as well. And these figures do not include some 1,014 dead bodies which were sent without postmortem at all. However, after the 22nd they stopped sending the dead bodies to the hospitals and hundreds were sent straight to the cremation grounds at Dhudeshwar Shamsan where they dug pits to bury the killed and so on. Here is a statement I have made. Tell us it is wrong. Now, this is something very serious. Therefore, I say gross underestimation of the persons killed has been made. It would not be, according to me, less than—from whatever materials I have got—3,000. Therefore, correct me, Mr. Chavan. The Parliament will continue to examine it, and correct it and tell us. Both the Centre and the Gujarat Government should go into it again and say that it is wrong. As far as the number of the injured is concerned,

I am not taking it into account. It is impossible because many people do not go and report even for fear of being arrested or of being subjected to all kinds of harassment. Therefore, it is not possible. You can understand that how many people must have been injured. As far as the destruction of property is concerned, some people have given the figures like this. The Gujarat Chamber of Commerce says it is Rs 35 crores. It says the loss of property is to the extent of Rs. 35 crores including the loss, I believe, incurred by the mills and so on. There is a Gujarati paper called "Vyapar". According to it the figure is something different. According to it, it is a little over Rs. 40 crores or so. These are the figures obtained through various sources. These will have to be gone into and found out what happened. Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is not merely the number of people killed. You should consider the brutalities, the manner in which they were killed. Bon fires were created where children cut into pieces, were thrown in. People were taken out of their houses and thrown into the bonfire. The hooligans went with lists in their hands in search of their victims, brought them out from their houses—the hooligans who went in maddening crowds—and throw into the fire that consumed them. That is what happened. I will also tell you. Seventy two people belonging to the minority community were brought out, lined up, and they were killed in a row in their places. I have got a whole list of these numbers which have been submitted formally to the Prime Minister, along with the statements made by the relatives of the victims, their mothers, and so on. How can you deny such things? Go into these records and then arrive at your conclusions. Such violence and brutality we have rarely known since 1947. Let us not try to conceal things because Pakistan might take advantage of it in the matter of propaganda; they do it in any case; they exaggerate figures, the Pakistan Radio. But how can we hide facts? We have to face the facts and the manner in which we face them and deal with them will create confidence in other parts of the world that we are a secular State and our secular ideals cannot be questioned even in the face of these grim calamities that took place in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat.

Now something about the genesis of these riots. It is very difficult to give a very comprehensive picture. But one thing I must bring to your notice. Mr. Sriman

Narayan, Governor of Gujarat, in a public statement said that the riots in Gujarat were the work of organised gangs. He repeated it several times when I met him. Now let us see how it happened. For the last several months, starting from the beginning of the year, communal activities have grown in Gujrat. On 27th January this year or so there was an R. S. S. camp in Ahmedabd where 1,700 volunteers attended and in that camp very inflammatory speeches were made by the R.S.S. leaders who addressed them. Now the records of these speeches must be with the Government if they have any source of intelligence. Surely some officials there, including the Governor, knew something about it. But perhaps they did not take it so seriously. Speeches were made that India would soon be attacked by Pakistan and that Gujarat would be the first target of attack, and many other things of that kind were said and the theory of Indianisation of Muslims was propagated there and explained there. They can see the records and find out what kind of speeches were made. Surely an R. S. S. speech is not something like Rabindra Sangeet; it must be something different. They are also secretly mad and others are not allowed to listen to them. I would be very happy if an R.S.S. speech is like music or a song or something from Ramayana and Mahabharata. But they are entirely different.

Then certain incidents took place. A procession came out and that procession was brought out by the Hindu Raksha Samiti, the Jan Sangh, the R. S. S., the Hindu Mahasabha and the like. They said "*Gaddar hai Musalman, bhejo usko Pakistan.*" That was the slogan. Everybody in Ahmedabad heard it. Surely the authorities must have heard it. It came out in the newspapers also. There was a procession on the Al Aqsa mosque business and there was a slogan that whoever touches the Muslim culture and so on, will be fought against. People understood that to be against the Israelis who they thought were responsible for sacrilege of the mosque there. Anyhow, these things were going on.

Then, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the incident of Quran took place in March where a lari with Quran in it is supposed to have been hit by a lorry or rather a police truck, and naturally some communal Muslim elements took advantage of it to rouse communal passions. Some of them were arrested after that incident

but most of them were released on the recommendation of some friends of the Congress Party; I am not concerned with the Syndicate or any other faction because at that time they were all together. I would never believe Mr. Mishra would be involved in any such thing, no matter where he sits. Some Congressmen were responsible for it; I do not care which faction they belonged to. On their intervention these people were released. Do you know why they were released? A deal was arrived at between the communal Muslim elements and some sections of the Gujarat Congress, because the municipal elections were to take place in June and they thought that they should get the Muslim support in order to face the Swatantra Party and others. Therefore they exploited communalism for electoral purposes. You can check up this information, whether it is true or not. Then came the Ramayana incident. A kind of story was spread that Ramayana had been kicked. This time the Hindu communalists got active and spread communal passions, but nothing was done by anybody in the Government to go into this matter and tackle this problem.

Then I must say that my friend, Mr. Bhandari, has got a lovely friend and colleague, Mr. Balraj Madhok. He is like a comet and goes everywhere. Mr. Balraj Madhok appeared on the horizon in Gujrat suddenly and he addressed the Rifle Training Club in Ahmedabad. (*Interruptions*) I am not saying anything against you.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: I am here physically present to contradict it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Because you sit with me and with Mr. Mishra, you must be a better man. Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there Mr. Balraj Madhok gave an exposition of the theory of Indianisation of Muslims; it is a very favourite theme of my friend, Mr. Madhok. In the other House wherever he gets a chance, he gives his theory.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: Your friends in that House will deal with him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why does he go and address the Rifle Club without me? That way, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Pakistan's attack and other things were spread and it was said that Gujarat

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would be the first victim and so on. Naturally feelings were roused. The Government knew it but it did not do any thing. They are very much afraid of doing anything against the Jan Sangh, whether Mr. Chavan or anybody else. I am not saying that they should oppress them but they should at least take note of these things, that such propaganda was going on.

Finally came the Jagannath Temple incident. You know some mela was there and in the course of that mela some untoward incident took place and it is a fact that some stone fell on the outer wall of the temple and it was spread that two sadhus were killed. This incident was exploited but even then the Government did not act properly to intervene in it.

Now here have got some 3 P.M. photographs for the benefit of my friends. Here is the photograph of a mosque, and the whole of this very big mosque called Idgah is destroyed and it is in shambles. The picture would show that this place lay exactly near a police *chokki* called Idgah Gate. And yet a very strongly built structure could be demolished to pieces, could be reduced to mere shambles in that manner, too freely, at leisure, with the police doing nothing. Now here is another picture. Find out where is the police station and ask the police what the police were doing when this had been destroyed in this manner. Here are other pictures. Here is a picture, Mr. Vice-Chairman, of Pattaninagar in Chamanpura where all the huts stood, and they were all destroyed, and you can see in the picture the complete destruction. Not one survived the destruction. Here is another picture, the scene of Kabbadi market section, an iron scrap market, which was wholly burnt out. Every shop here belonged to the Muslims. It is situated in Baherampura ward. I would like to know what the police were doing. Here is another picture, of Gandhi Chawl, a labour colony. Gandhi Chawl is in Asarwa ward near Chamanpura. Almost all quarters were reduced to dust as this picture would show. This was also predominantly Muslim inhabited. I would like to know what the police were doing. Here is another picture. This is a place where Muslim houses lay in between Hindu quarters. All the household materials were brought out like this with the

Muslim inhabitants driven out or killed when they refused to go out. Then a bonfire of all their property took place. It is exactly on the road that is there.

(Interruptions)

Here is another picture of Chamanpura-Asarwa wreckage where every hut of the Muslim labourers was destroyed. All Muslim labourers had stayed here. Several cycle shop in the city belonging to Muslims—like the one seen in the picture—have been destroyed. The overall number of the cycles so destroyed easily exceeds ten thousand.

Then there are other pictures also of destruction.

SHRI S. D. MISRA : I would like to know from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta if he can show the picture of the car in which he travelled with the late Mr. Siddiqui when he toured Ahmedabad.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I will come to that. Why do you get up? Obviously, I went to Ahmedabad to survey the riot-affected areas. Anyway don't get upset. I am not anxious to look at photographs of mine.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : We want the photo of the car in which you and Mr. Yella Reddy travelled, in the car of the late Mr. Siddiqui.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am glad you are found of my photograph. Here is another picture of the Hindu houses which had been burnt.

SHRI B. V. ABDULLAH KOYA (Kerala) : I wonder why people laugh at this tragedy of this country.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now these incidents took place when the police had become inactive. Now let me come to the role of the police and the administration. My friends should not get upset. We have criticised the State Government previously. It does not mean criticism against you or against him or against anybody.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : Your time is up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I will take as much time as Mr. Rajnarain took

or for that matter Mr. Sunder Singh Bhandari took.

The first thing is that the administration failed. It did not take any preventive action when it should have been taken. It did not start propaganda and other activities before September, when it was known that the situation was getting very explosive—number one. Number two; for thirty-six hours the police were not to be seen, and here was no action. Even when the police came out, they were not issued firearms. They were given some batons and lathis, with which, obviously, they could not control the violent riotous crowds. Number three; even when they came out, one of the Superintendents or others passed the order, "Do not try to control the crowd—which they were morally bound to do. Try to control yourself." The police were asked not to control the crowd but to control themselves so that they would not take action. Number four; when the military were called, belatedly though, again they also were not properly used even then because always, as you know, the authorities take it into their head that to employ the military is to admit the failure on the part of the police and the normal administration. This has been the experience everywhere, and in this case too they were inhibited by the fear of being exposed to the kind of criticism that they were not efficient in dealing with it and that is why the military had to be called out. Now this is a very serious matter; before the riots started, and even after the riots started, no significant arrests took place. Arrests took place only when Mr. Chavan went there, and there again the real ring leaders were not arrested.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, the riots started at 3.30 on September 18, and the arrests were made at 5.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Some arrests. The major arrests of the real ring leaders, even when Mr. Chavan was going round there, did not take place. What is the use of arresting the smaller fry?

Now the police should have known this fact, this revealing fact I am giving you. Now, if you look at the *modus operandi*, you will find that most of these *Dharias*, which were used, were newly made. And the suggestion was quite clear. Some people were getting them

prepared. And yet no action was taken Mr. Vice-Chairman. Then I heard the report of the All India Radio giving the story of milk having been poisoned, and within hours contradicting the same story. Whoever was responsible for it certainly contributed to rousing communal passions. Then what happened? In some places the State Reserve Police actually participated in the riots. The ordinary police did not take part but in many cases they connived at it and they remained inactive. The properties were looted and the houses were burnt. People were killed, all this when the police were standing by. At the same time the S.R.P. there was taking part in the riots. Reports have been made by people belonging to the minority community who had suffered in their hands. They have not yet been gone into properly.

Now these are facts. You can deny them, but surely some of these would come up before the Inquiry Commission. Mr. Vice-Chairman, that is how it happened. The failure of the police and of the administration is not just and ordinary failure. There seemed to be some calculation behind it. As far as the Gujarat leaders belonging to the Congress or the Government are concerned, they had the idea that the Jana Sangh would be their future friends and hence they did not like to go against the Jana Sangh or the R.S.S. We know their feelings of friendship and so on. Even if a brother goes to kill somebody else, another brother should stop it. But that was not done because of political expediency or certain other considerations.

Here I have got the list of people who have seen the people committing murder, arson, loot and so on. Their names have been given to the authorities, but they are not being arrested or prosecuted. Some arrests have taken place, but many of the ring leaders have gone scot-free. They are moving about but nothing is being done. There is collusion between them and the police administration or local administration—whatever you call it Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is how the riots took place. Major riots, whether in Calcutta in 1946, or in Bengal in 1950, or in other places, could not have taken place to the extent they did had it not been for the fact that a section of the police and of the administration was with the rioters and sympathetic to them. That has been our experience.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : How do you conveniently forget to mention the Jagatdal riots in the 24-Parganas district in West Bengal, the recent riots?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not see why my friend should quarrel with me. I do not wish to quarrel with him. I understand that that riot took place.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : I did not want to quarrel with you. I was only placing facts before you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The Jagatdal riot is bad and it has been suppressed. But will you compare the Jagatdal riot with what happened in Ahmedabad? That is the trouble. I am glad you have not now brought the story of Rabindra Sarovar stadium.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : A hundred persons were killed in the Jagatdal riots.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Wherever riots take place, whoever are the authorities, it is the duty of the authorities to quell them. And if my Government there has failed, criticise them; I will not object, but do not bring in the Jagatdal riot. I can cite hundreds of riots but I am not talking about all the riots. There are incidents almost every day and at some place or other it takes place. But there is a holocaust the like of which has not taken place over the last twenty-two years since independence. It could be compared only to the ghastly holocaust of partition days when we know what happened. Don't bring in other things. Surely my friend is entitled to criticism and surely he should help us also in fighting this as I should help them. There is no question about it. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Administration has failed.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : Sir, how much time is being allowed to Members? We should get our time party-wise.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : Only one Member from our party has spoken.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : They should get more time; I am not objecting to it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : We do not have plenty of time for everyone to be given as much as he wants.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : Only one Member from our side has had a chance.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : You will get your chance.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The hon. Lady never protested that day. She always protests at wrong times.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : Don't confuse issues. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am asking whether time is being allowed partywise or is it 15 minutes for each Member? If it is partywise our party should get one-sixth.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : They should be given more time but I am sure they will not need all that.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : The debate will have to continue tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : Please wind up now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now, these are the facts that I have placed before you. Who is responsible for it? Somebody must be accountable for it. When some incident took place here in November, 1967 near Mr. Kamaraj's house in connection with the anti-cow slaughter demonstration we did not bother as to which side Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda belonged. We demanded his resignation and he had to go.

AN HON. MEMBER : But he has come back.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He has not come back as the Home Minister.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : Now you are not demanding Mr. Brahmananda Reddy's resignation; the situation has changed, is it?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : At least I do not demand. You will demand and I may not help you.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : Why do you not demand?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh) : How does Mr. Brahmananda Reddy come in here?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is for the two ladies to settle. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I say that Mr. Hitendra Desai is in charge of the Home Department apart from being the Chief Minister. He is answerable for this. Imagine if Ahmedabad had happened in Calcutta some of our friends here would have demanded Central intervention. I am not demanding Central intervention now. But can't the Congress find out another Chief Minister for Gujarat? Why should Mr. Hitendra Desai be there? They can surely find another Chief Minister. *(Interruptions)* Mr. Vice-Chairman, Mr. Hitendra Desai should have gracefully resigned himself. Surely for Gujarat another Congressman could be found. All that we get is a fast by Mr. Morarji Desai—wonderful thing. A fast by Mr. Morarji and nobody bothered about it.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh) : It stopped the riots.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It was not a fast that was needed. In order to over-haul the Administration, create confidence amongst the minority community those people who have committed dereliction of duty, to put mildly the Chief Minister should have been removed from positions of power and authority. I remember at the Srinagar meeting of the National Integration Council last year in June it was Mr. Morarji Desai who said in his speech that if riots broke out in any place the magistrate should be held personally responsible and that they should be answerable for the riots. It should be taken as failure on their part. That was the statement made by Mr. Morarji Desai before the National Integration Council at Srinagar and when these riots had occurred in Ahmedabad surely Mr. Morarji Desai could not expiate the sin of the Administration by going on a fast. *(Time bell rings)*.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : Mr. Indulal Vagnik was also on fast.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, these things happened. As you know when Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan went there all the Muslim refugees were forcibly removed from the camp. There were 35,000 of them and many of them were in private places. They were all forcibly removed. Why did not the Gujarat Government allow

him to meet Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Why is it? *(Time bell rings)* I am finishing.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Sir he is not obeying the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not mind more time being given to them.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: The Chair has been asking you to finish. You are not entitled to half an hour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am very much entitled to half an hour. I am one of the movers of the Resolution.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : I am also one of the movers of the Resolution and I should also be given half an hour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That you can take up with the Chair.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Sir if he goes on like this then we. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not preventing her. Why should she prevent me?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): Please wind up now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have got a lot of other material.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: You must obey the Chair and sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If Mrs. Yashoda Reddy tells me I will sit down If you tell me I won't sit down. You know very well you cannot make me stop. I will go on speaking and you also go on. Neither you are hearing me nor I will hear you.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: You must obey the Chair. For the last 15 minutes the Chair has been asking you to finish and you are going on speaking. It is very wrong.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have not become the Deputy Chairman. I am not going to discuss with you.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: You cannot take away other peoples time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You settle it with the Chair. Mr. Vice-Chairman, how much time have I got? I am not going to listen to that lady.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : You please wind up now.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : He should.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am not going to wind up because this is a calculated disturbance.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : The bell has been ringing for the last 15 minutes and you are not ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why is she standing up against? Sir, has she taken your permission to stand up?

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : ... listening to the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, I ask you; has she taken your permission to stand up?

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : You must obey the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : She has not taken your permission. She must sit down.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : Please take your seat. He is winding up now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, I am very grateful to you. At least for once she has listened to you.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : You also listen to the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am addressing the Chair.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : Not only address the Chair, but you should also obey the Chair. Obey for a change.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I say for once you have listened to him.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : You also listen. I always obey the Chair. Do not worry about that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, she is displaying obedience in disobedience.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : No, no. Obey the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My friend's sense of obedience is queer. She says she is obeying and then without your permission she gets up. She demonstrates disobedience and then she asks me to obey and then she disobeys you.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : Let him obey you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : You should have wound up by now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : She cannot prevent me from speaking, but you can. She cannot do that.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : He is taking so much of time. Is he speaking from the Government side and how long will he speak?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : We will get our time, he has assured us.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Can I proceed? People may like feminine interruption, but I simply dislike it now. Anyhow, I have placed before you some of the facts. I think these should be gone into. To the best of our knowledge, we have put these facts before you and they are certainly serious. I have given certain facts and figures also. You may question them, but try to find out.

Finally, before I sit down my request is this. The Central Government should make an assessment of what happened in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat. It is not Central intervention. They should make an assessment not only with regard to the loss of life and damage to property but also about the genesis of this riot. From that we may learn a lot of things. My second suggestion is that proper rehabilitation facilities should be given to the countless members of the minority community who have suffered. As far as I know, no member of the majority community is in any camp, but nearly 35,000 belonging to the minority community were in camps. Their problem

has not been solved. In addition, another ten to fifteen thousand were in private houses. More money, Rs. 10 crores, should be given to the Gujarat Government. This money should be utilised properly for their rehabilitation. The third point I should like to make is that the workers are not being taken back, workers belonging to the minority community. It seems a strange understanding has been arrived at between the millowners and the INTUC. Unless the workers returned within the eighth day, they would not be taken back. Even when they returned, they were asked to explain why they were absent on account of riots and so on. That, again, is wrong. All the workers belonging to the minority community should be taken back, as soon as they returned to their jobs. Here again I must point out this time unlike on previous occasions, the millowners, some of them, seem to be sympathetic to some section of the rioters belonging to the majority community. In the past they had always taken interest in enforcing law and order, so that the mills could be run. This time they were not interested even in running the mills when the riots were taking place. This and other aspects of the matter should be gone into. Proper committees and other things should be formed.

Again, I would demand that Mr. Hitendra Desai has no right to remain as the Chief Minister of Gujarat. Another man with moral conscience should be taken. He should be found from other Gujarat Congressmen and made the Chief Minister. I am not suggesting any change of Government. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I say that in Gujarat it was the work of the administration and the rioters to the common end of creating disturbances there. It is the Gujarat administration, because of its politically expedient reasons, because of their new found friendship and alliance with the Jan Sangh and the R.S.S. on the part of some leaders, which gave encouragement to them to prepare the ground for the rioting. When all of us travelled in Gujarat they were sitting in their homes. They made the police ineffective and did not even call the military in time. The lesson is whenever there is a riot, immediately the military should be called and deployed no matter in which part of the country such riots take place. The whole thing has to be gone into. Let the Commission discuss it and settle it in their own way, but we in Parliament are entitled to agitate our machinery here the Central Government and other

agencies, to find out the whole truth and let us know what happened. The shame of Gujarat must not be repeated. It is not enough to say that Gujarat is a slur on us. We must show by action and deed that we shall not allow such riots to take place. That is all what I have to say. I know Kumari Shanta Vaisht. I would never accuse her of communalism. She may differ with me on political grounds, but she is one who has always spoken, against communalism, against riots and I shall be delighted to hear a good speech by her. I assure you ...

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: You have taken enough time and there is no time left.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You may go on speaking till midnight in the House and I shall listen to you. I say the Ahmedabad riots should be viewed and studied in the larger national interest. Serious lessons should be drawn. It was a challenge to our very title and claim to civilisation and our friends who are upset by the Rabat incident are not upset by what happened in Ahmedabad. They think that Rabat has tarnished our name but they forget what Ahmedabad did to the fair name of this country, the honour and prestige of this country. I say, again, go into this. Let Parliament know from the Government sources also as to what they think about the disturbances rather than just dish out here some of the meaningless reports sent to them by the inefficient Gujarat administration, which is responsible in its own way by its acts of omission and commission for the holocaust that caused the loss of no less than three thousand human lives and enormous destruction to property.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: Does Bengal send correct reports?

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं साधारण तौर से इस विषय पर नहीं बोलना चाहता था ।

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA (Assam): My name is there

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): It is still there.

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA: You are allowing leader to speak for 55 minutes. Members are called serially, but you are picking up the Front Benchers ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : You will get a chance.

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA : No. I should be allowed now. I record my protest against the manner in which you are conducting the House . . .

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं केवल इस विवाद में इसलिए बोल रहा हूँ, क्योंकि मैं स्वयं अहमदाबाद राइट्स के बारे में जानकारी प्राप्त करने के लिए गया था। मैं दो दिन वहाँ था। मेरे साथ उस समय के कांग्रेस दल के उपनेता थे, जो आज हमारे दल के नेता हैं श्री श्याम नन्दन जी मिश्र और चौधरी ए० मोहम्मद जो हमारे दल के सदस्य हैं, वे भी साथ गए थे। हमने वहाँ जो कुछ देखा उससे सचमुच शर्म से सिर झुकता है, इसमें कोई बात नहीं है। बड़ी दर्दनाक कहानियाँ हमने सुनी और देखी। दो दिन तक हम बराबर घूमते रहे उन इलाकों में जहाँ झगड़े हुए। हम हिन्दुओं से मिले, मुसलमानों से मिले, अज्ञात रूप से मिले, जानकार रूप से मिले, अफसरों से भी बात की, गरीबों से भी मिले, उनकी शोपड़ियों में भी गए, सब जानकारी प्राप्त की। जो कुछ वहाँ हुआ, उससे सचमुच हमारे देश के नाम पर बड़ा आघात लगा है। आज 22-23 बरस की आजादी के बाद अगर हम कम्युनल राइट्स की चर्चा इस बृहद रूप से, करे; क्योंकि वह चर्चा आवश्यक हो गई है, बृहद रूप से साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हों, तो हमारे लिए बड़ी शर्म की बात हो जाती है। लेकिन आज उन कम्युनल राइट्स को लेकर अगर उसके हम गलत नतीजे निकालने की कोशिश करें, तो वह भी बड़ा दुखदायी होता है। अहमदाबाद में जो साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हुए, कुछ लोग उससे राजनीतिक लाभ उठाना चाहते हैं, कुछ लोग किसी को दोष देते हैं, कुछ लोग किसी को दोष देते हैं। मेरा यह मंशा नहीं कि मैं किसी को दोष दूँ, मैं किसी की सफाई के लिए भी नहीं खड़ा हूँ।

मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जो जुडिशियल कमीशन बैठा है वह बतायेगा कि यह दंगे क्यों

हुए और इनके होने में किस का दोष था और किसने अपना फर्ज पूरा नहीं किया। अध्यक्ष जी, हमने वहाँ जा कर देखा। हम लोग कितनी ही लोकैलिटीज में गये। सुनहरी फ्लैट्स गये बापू नगर गये, वहाँ कोई एक दरगाह है, वहाँ भी गये और जो कुछ हमने देखा उससे हमें बड़ा दुःख हुआ। वहाँ एक मस्जिद पूरी जल गयी है। उस सबको देख कर हम लोगों को बहुत दुःख और तकलीफ हुई, लेकिन उस के साथ हमने एक बहुत आश्चर्य की बात देखी। हमने वहाँ जिससे भी बात की—मुसलमानों से भी बात की और हिन्दुओं से भी बात की, हम बापू नगर कालोनी में गये फ्लैट्स में गये, तीन, चार मोहल्लों में गये जहाँ कि बृहत् रूप से दंगे हुए थे। वहाँ हमने गरीबों को, हिन्दुओं को और मुसलमानों को इकट्ठा किया और सचमुच पता लगाने की कोशिश की। हम दो, तीन चीजें खास तौर से जानना चाहते थे। उसमें पहली बात तो यह थी कि पहले से अहमदाबाद में कोई दंगे फसाद की भावना थी या नहीं थी, इत्तला थी या नहीं सरकार को इसकी, कोई आफवाह थी क्या? दूसरी बात हम यह जानना चाहते थे कि कहां से दंगे शुरू हुए और किन लोगों का इनमें ज्यादा हाथ रहा। हमें जो बातें पता लगी, उसको जान कर हमें आश्चर्य हुआ; क्योंकि दंगे तो इस देश में बहुत होते रहे हैं और जैसा कि गुप्त जी ने अभी बताया और जिक्र किया संख्याओं का, वह कुछ मेरे पास भी है। हमने उनको कलेक्ट किया है, लेकिन उस बात से नतीजा यह निकला कि रूरकेला की तरह लेबर फोर्स इस दंगे में ज्यादा शामिल हुआ। यानी श्रमिक वर्ग, जो मजदूर फैक्ट-रियों में काम करते हैं, कालोनीज में और फ्लैट्स में रहते हैं उसने एक आंदोलन के रूप में इसमें काम किया।

दूसरे हमने देखा कि अफवाहों ने बड़ा काम किया है। हम लोग इस नतीजे पर पहुँचे कि कम्युनल एलीमेंट हिन्दुओं में भी रहा और मुसलमानों में भी रहा और उसने इस फसाद

को बढ़ाने और उत्पात करने में काफी काम किया। बड़ी कम्युनिटीज से छोटी कम्युनिटीज पर उत्पात हुए, लेकिन 18 तारीख को अफवाहें फैलाई गईं। भाई राजनारायण जी ने तमाम बाग़ों यहां रखी हैं, लेकिन 18 तारीख को जब प्रोसेसन जा रहा था, उस समय गावों को ले कर साधुओं से जो झड़प हुई, उससे कुछ ऐसे अफवाहें हिन्दुओं के दिमागों में पहुंचायी गयी, घर-घर में कि जिन के अनुसार तमाम साधुओं को मार डाला गया, मंदिर तोड़ डाला गया, मंदिर लूट लिया गया और दूसरी ओर उसी दिन 18 तारीख को मुसलमानों में यह फैलाया गया कि बापू नगर कालोनी में, सुनहरी फ्लैट्स में मुसलमान लूट लिये गये। यह उन लोगो ने हमारे सामने कहा है, बयान दिया है कि मुसलमान जिबह कर दिये गये और उनकी मस्जिद लूट ली गयी और दरगाह को जला दिया गया जो कि 18 तारीख को नहीं हुआ था। गुजरात गवर्नमेंट ने 18 तारीख को ही सबको एलर्ट कर दिया था। करफ्यू तो नहीं लगा, लेकिन उस दिन कोई उत्पात भी नहीं हुआ। रात को 12 बजे एक या दो आरमन के केसेज हुए और कोई केस नहीं हुआ। 19 तारीख की बात है। शाम होते होते इन अफवाहों ने इतना काम किया कि बहा के हिन्दू एलीमेंट और मुसलमान एलीमेंट जो भाई-भाई की तरह रहते हैं, एक दूसरे के दुश्मन बन गये। मैंने अहमदाबाद में एक खास बात देखी कि वहां लोकैलिटीज में मिक्स्ड पापुलेशन है। कही ऐसा नहीं है कि जहां हिन्दू ही रहते हो या कही ऐसा नहीं है कि जहां केवल मुसलमान ही रहते हों। हमने देखा कि अगर एक मकान में 20 या 50 फ्लैट्स हैं, तो 25 में या 40 में हिन्दू रह रहे हैं और बाकी में मुसलमान रह रहे हैं और यह भी नहीं कि वे सब हिन्दू या मुसलमान एक साथ रह रहे हों। वहां भी बटे हुए हैं। तो इस तरह की मिक्स्ड लोकैलिटीज में हुआ क्या कि अफवाहें इतनी फैलायी गयी कि अहमदाबाद

के बार्डर पर भी अफवाहें फैल गयी और लेबर फोर्स जा कर बाहर के गांवों में भी कह आया। उन्होंने कहा कि हिन्दुओं, अपने हिन्दुओं की रक्षा करो और मुसलमानों को कहा कि अपने भाई मुसलमानों की तुम रक्षा करो और इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि 19 की शाम होते होते चारो तरफ धावा बोल दिया गया। वहां सैकड़ों लोकैलिटीज हैं, लेकिन सैकड़ों कि बात गलत है; क्योंकि हमने उनका नाम भी नोट किया है, 15, 20 लोकैलिटीज में यह कार्यवाही शुरू हुई। स्वभावतः मुसलमानों की ज्यादा हत्या हुई और हमने जगह जगह, जिन 15, 20 लोकैलिटीज में हम गये, हमने यह पता लगाने की कोशिश की कि कितने लोग मरे हैं। यह पता लगाने की कोशिश की कि कितने लोगों के मकान जले हैं और कितने लोगों को चोट लगी है। हमारी संख्या जो आती थी तरह तरह के सोर्सेज ने वह 500 से अधिक नहीं थी। मैं यह बात इसलिए नहीं कहता हूं कि चव्हाण साहब ने 435 की संख्या दे दी है, उनकी बहुत सी बातों से मेरा डिसएग्रीमेंट है, लेकिन हम लोगों के अनुसार 500 आदमियों की हत्या हुई और मैं वाक्य के 15 दिन वाद गया। उसके बाद हत्याये नहीं हुई और कुछ भले ही हुआ हो, लेकिन हम लोगों को नम्बर शही मिला।

वहां का रिलीफ वर्क हमने देखने की कोशिश की। वहां लोग गये और हमने नाम नोट किये हैं कि हम लोग कहां कहां गये। एक दरगाह है वहां शाहआलम की। वहां 800 मुसलमान रिफ्यूजीज बैठे थे। उनको काफी तकलीफ थी। हमने अपने आदमियों से उनके लिए कहा, कोशिश की और चीफ मिनिस्टर के पास हम गये। उन्होंने बताया कि क्या क्या इंतजाम हुआ था और क्यों यह कुछ इंतजाम नहीं हो पा रहा है। उन्होंने बताया कि यह 20 दिन का वाकया हो गया। अब हम लोग कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि यह रिफ्यूजी लोग वापस जायें, लेकिन यह वापस नहीं जा

[श्री एस० डी० मिश्र]

रहे हैं। यह बात ठीक है कि उन्होंने रिलीफ वर्क बहुत अच्छा किया। उन्होंने यह आर्डर किया कि जितना पैसा ड्राउट प्रोग्राम में और फ्लड रिलीफ में जिस नाम से दिया जाता है, वह उसी हिसाब से इसमें भी दिया जाय, जैसे किसी का मकान वह गया, तो उसको 1000 रुपया दिया जाता है, किसी की क्राप बह गयी तो उस को 500 रुपया दिया जाता है, तो इस तरह से किस की झोपड़ी है, किस का मकान है, इस सबके लिए उन्होंने उस एरिया का सर्वे किया और वह हम लोगों के जाने तक कंप्लीट हो चुका था कि कितने मकानों के लिए कितना रुपया दिया जायगा। चार कैटेगरीज बना दी गयी थी और वह रुपया उनको ज्यादातर लोन या सक्सीडी के रूप में दिया गया है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि रिलीफ वर्क वह बहुत अच्छा कर रहे थे।

एक बात यहां आयी जिससे मुझे बड़ा दुःख हुआ। राजनीतिक बात इसमें आ गयी। मैंने देखा कि गुजरात कांग्रेस कमेटी को, आपस में अगर किसी को मतभेद हो तो कह दें, लेकिन वहां मैंन जाकर देखा कि जितना अच्छा काम गुजरात कांग्रेस कमेटी ने किया है, उतना अच्छा काम और कोई दूसरा प्रदेश नहीं कर सकता। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश का हूं, लेकिन मैंने देखा कि वह तो मुबह से शाम तक उस काम में लगे हुए थे और इस के साथ ही मैं आई० एन० टी० यू० सी० की भी बड़ी तारीफ करूंगा। जब वहां हजारों लोग बेरोजगार हो गये, उसी समय चरम सीमा पर रिलीफ वर्क हुआ है और उस समय 22 और 23 तारीख को 35 हजार लोग रिलीफ कैंपों में आ गये। वह सब मुसलमान नहीं थे। हमने इस बात को जानने की कोशिश की कि उनमें कितने मुसलमान हैं और कितने हिन्दू। हमें पता लगा कि हिन्दू भी रिलीफ कैंपों में गये। हमने यह जानने की कोशिश की कि उनको जरूरत

थी या नहीं। तो हम को बताया गया कि 30-35 हजार जो रिफ्यूजी आये थे, उनमें हिन्दू भी थे और चूँकि हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों के अलग-अलग कैम्प थे, इसलिए उन 5, 6 हिन्दू कैम्प में 4 या 5 हजार हिन्दू रिफ्यूजी रहे होंगे। उनको भी पैसा दिया गया, खाना दिया गया और आई० एन० टी० यू० सी० न एक बड़ा काम यह किया कि जिन-जिन घरों के आदमी बेकार हो गये थे या इनवेलिड हो गये थे उनके लिए उन्होंने मिल ओनर्स के सामने यह बात रखी कि उनके घर के किसी एक आदमी को उनको नौकरी में जरूर रखना होगा। यह शर्त उनके सामने रखी गयी कि अगर उसका लडका है तो उसको नौकरी दी जाय और अगर उसका लडका नहीं है तो और कोई जो वारिस हो उसको नौकरी देनी ही होगी ताकि उसके घर वालों का काम चलता रहे और मुझे आई० एन० टी० यू० सी० वालों ने बताया कि वे इस काम में सौ फीसदी कामयाब रहे।

एक चीज और कहना चाहता हूं। मैं जब दरगाह शाह आलम में गया था, तो उस समय वहां रिलीफ का काम हो रहा था। उसमें अच्छे मुसलमान वर्कर्स भी थे। वह लोग हम से मिले और उन्होंने कहा कि एक बात हमें समझ में नहीं आयी है कि इस प्रकार के रायट्स में कांग्रेसी मुसलमान क्यों ज्यादा मारे गये? हमें खुद इस बात पर अचम्भा हुआ। (Interruption) हमारे बहुत से साथी मुसलमान हैं, अकबर साहब हैं, चौधरी साहब हैं...

श्री पीताम्बर दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आप यह कहते हैं कि कुछ नेशनलिस्ट मुसलमान हैं। तो क्या आप यह मान कर चलते हैं कि कुछ मुसलमान नेशनलिस्ट नहीं हैं?

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : जी हां, मैं यह मानता हूं। मैंने कहा कि कम्युनल एलीमेंट एक्सट्रीमिस्ट हिन्दुओं में भी आ गये हैं और मुसलमानों में भी आ गये हैं। वही फसाद के कारण हर जगह हो रहे।

तो हमने उनसे बात से सवाल किये और इस नतीजे पर हम आये कि इस रायट्स में ज्यादा नहीं तो कुछ स्टुडेंट्स का हाथ भी हो गया। बड़े ताज्जुब की बात है। यू० पी० में हमारे यहां भी बहुत रायट्स होते हैं, गुजरात से कम नहीं बल्कि उससे चार गुने होते हैं और भी प्रदेशों में होते हैं, उनकी फिगर्स हमारे सामने हैं, लेकिन हमने कही नहीं देखा कि स्टुडेंट्स इसमें बहुत दखल रखते हैं। लेकिन हमने यहां यह देखा, पता नहीं माफ़ेजी किननी बढ़ा दी गई और रयुमर-मांगरिंग कितनी कर दी गई कि बहुत ज्यादा लेबर फोर्स और कुछ स्टुडेंट्स भी उसमें बंध गये। उसका नतीजा हुआ कि दो तीन दिन तक जो कुछ हुआ है वह हमारे सामने है।

हमने यह भी पता लगाया कि पुलिस ने कितनी फायरिंग की और कितनी बार फायरिंग हुई और कितने लोग मरे। तरह तरह से पता लगाया, केवल आफिशियल सोर्स से ही नहीं, तो हमें बताया गया, उसका रिकार्ड है, हिस्ट्री में कही इतनी फायरिंग नहीं हुई, बीस वर्ष के देश के इतिहास में यह एक रिकार्ड है, 48 घंटे में अहमदाबाद में लगभग 65 बार पुलिस के जरिये फायरिंग हुई और लगभग 600 राउंड फायरिंग हुई। मुझे यह बताया गया। यह एक देखने की बात है।...

श्री प्रतुल चन्द्र मित्र (बिहार) : वहां युनाइटेड फ्रंट गवर्नमेंट थी और इतने आदमी मरे और एक भी फायरिंग नहीं हुई, लाठी चार्ज नहीं हुआ। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी वहां गवर्नमेंट में थी।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र :... अगर मैं गलत होऊँ, तो सरकार उसको गलत कहे, मगर मैं तो एक रिसपांसिबिलि स्टेटमेंट कर रहा हूँ कि 48 घंटे में करीब करीब 65 बार फायरिंग हुई।

श्री को० प० सुब्रह्मण्यम मेनोन : कितने दिन के बाद।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : 48 घंटे में 19 तारीख, 20 तारीख और 21 तारीख को। 18 तारीख को कोई बात नहीं थी। अब जो यह कहते हैं कि करफ्यू नहीं लगाया गया, तो 19 तारीख की शाम को वाकया शुरू हुआ है और 19 तारीख को ही करफ्यू लागू हो गया। यह आफिशियल रिकार्ड है, होम मिनिस्ट्री के रिकार्ड में है, होम मिनिस्टर बतायें, यह सही बात है कि 10 बजे रात से उस दिन करफ्यू लागू हो गया। अब यह कह जाता है कि पुलिस नहीं आई। पुलिस तो वहां थी और 19 तारीख को कहा गया और महाराष्ट्र से या कहां से आर्मी आई और 21 तारीख की दोपहर तक आर्मी आई और वह देरी इसलिये नहीं हुई कि गुजरात गवर्नमेंट चाहती थी कि देरी हो, बल्कि 19 तारीख को उन्होंने रिवेस्ट किया और 21 तारीख को सुबह से आर्मी ने टेक ओवर कर लिया और 24 घंटे का कम्प्लीट करफ्यू कर दिया।

तो जो बातें मैं कहता हूँ, वह इसलिये नहीं कहता कि उनको सपोर्ट देना है। बड़ी दर्दनाक कहानी है। हमने और जगहों की फिगर्स इकट्ठी की हैं, यह फिगर्स होम मिनिस्ट्री की फिगर्स हैं। गुजरात में 1963 से लेकर 1968 तक, श्रीमन्, करीब करीब 29 कम्युनल रायट्स हुये और इसी समय में बिहार में 572 हुये और महाराष्ट्र में 598 हुये। उतने ही पीरियड में इतने हुये। हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश को भी सौभाग्य प्राप्त है 133 का और वेस्ट बंगाल में, श्री गुप्ता को सौभाग्य प्राप्त है, 375 का। तो हम क्यों यह बात कह रहे हैं। यह इसलिये कह रहे हैं कि गुजरात का फेयर नेम गांधी जी से जो एसोशियेटेड रहा वह सदैव रहा, यह इतने दुर्भाग्य की बात है, यह इतने शर्म की बात है कि अहमदाबाद जो कि गांधी जी की देन है, जहां गांधी जी का आश्रम है, साबरमती आश्रम है, वहां यह हुआ और इससे बड़ी दुःख की बात कोई नहीं होगी...

चौधरी ए० मोहम्मद (बिहार) : साबर-
मती आश्रम में तो जैसा कि मोमिन ने कहा
कि उनकी लाइफ बचाई गई, मिस्टर कुरेशी
की ।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : ... कि साबरमती
आश्रम पर भी दो बार अटेक हुआ, यह
अखबारों में आया । इतनी कम्युनल फ्रेंजी
बढ़ी कि वहां दो बार अटेक हुआ । तो किस-
लिये मैं यह बातें आपके सामने कह रहा
हूं, मैं इसलिये आपसे यह बातें कह रहा हूं कि
यह एक समझने की चीज है, इस नेशन की
जिन्दगी में, इस देश की जिन्दगी में ये तमाम
चीजें, तमाम बातें क्यों हो रही हैं, हजारों
रायट्स क्यों हो रहे हैं । आज यह रायट्स
एक सिम्प्टम है । अभी श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी
हमारी प्रधान मंत्री हैं, अभी तक रही, हमारे
कांग्रेस के चुनाव थे, क्या क्या कम्युनलिज्म
नहीं लाई । श्री फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद साहब
ने मुसलमानों को अलग करने की कोशिश
की । क्या वह कम्युनल रायट नहीं है ।

श्री के० एस० चावडा : कम्युनलिज्म है ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : गलत बात
बोलते हैं ।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : वह सबसे वेस्ट
कम्युनल रायट है । कम्युनलिज्म है । उसमें
मैं कम्युनल रायट ही कहता हूं । यह सब
दिमाग बनाता है । यह कम्युनल रायट है ।
आज यह कहा जाता है, फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद
साहब आते हैं, बयान करते हैं, क्या करूं मैं,
मुझे गुजरात नहीं आने दिया गया ...

चौधरी ए० मोहम्मद : रांची से वह भाग
कर चले गये ।

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY :
Shame.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT :
Shame.

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : वही मैं कह रहा
हूं । रांची में गये, मेरे पड़ोस की बात है,
रांची में रायट था और रांची के मुसलमान
कहते थे कि रुक जाओ और वह वहां मे भाग
कर चले आये और यहां एक एक आदमी
बयान देने के लिये जाये ।

श्रीमन्, सलीम साहब का जरा किस्सा
सुनिये । अभी एक साहब सलीम साहब के
सपोर्ट में खड़े हो गये । वह हमारे आनरेबिल
डिप्टी मिनिस्टर हैं, मैं उनके खिलाफ कुछ
नहीं कहता, लेकिन मुझे एक या दो बात ही
कहनी है । गुजरात के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने मुझे
मालूम हुआ है कि प्रधान मंत्री को उस बारे
में चिट्ठी लिखी । हम लोग जब गये तो
तीनों आदमी तब थे । जगह जगह प्रेस वाले
और पचासों आदमी आये और उन्होंने कहा
कि आप ऐसे ही मिनिस्टर बनाते हैं जैसे
कि यहां आते हैं । आप लोग यहां आये, मुसल-
मानों से मिले, हिन्दुओं से मिले, सब को मम-
झाया बुझाया, कुछ नहीं कर सकते तो हमदर्दी
तो की, दोनों तरफ को देख कर आये लेकिन
वह ऐसे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर हैं कि आये और रेलवे
स्टेशन पर दो सौ आदमी, दो सौ मुसलमान
जा रहे थे, यू० पी० को, अजमेर को या कहां
कहां और गवर्नमेंट ने टिकट दिया था, वह
पैसा मांगते थे और गवर्नमेंट ने पैसा दिया कि
वह जावें, उनको रोक दिया, वह कैसे डिप्टी
मिनिस्टर हैं कि हाथ पकड़ कर लौटा लाये ।
डिप्टी मिनिस्टर ने पकड़ कर के, 70 आदमियों
को ले कर के कहा कि तुम्हारा स्थान रिफ्यूजी
कैम्प है घर नहीं है और उसके बाद सारे को
लौटा दिया । सलीम साहब ने अहमदाबाद
में यह सारा किया जो कि सचमुच में शर्म-
नाक स्टोरी है । मुझे शर्म आती है कि भारत
सरकार मे ऐसे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर हैं ।

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY :
Shame.

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : उन्होंने क्या स्टोरी
दी, स्टोरी यह दे दी कि गुजरात गवर्नमेंट वहां

के मुसलमानों को पैसा दे कर भगा रही है और प्रदेशों में, पंजाब में, य० पी० में, काश्मीर में। बात सही और था। तो गवर्नमेंट ने इनको फिर रोक दिया। जब मुसलमानों से हमने पूछा तो उन्होंने हमें सही बात बताई। मैं तो हिन्दू हूँ लेकिन यह हमारे साथी तो मुसलमान यहां बैठे हैं, यह भी उस टाइम में वहां थे, इनसे पूछा जाय, इनको बोलने का मौका दिया जाय। मुसलमानों ने कहा कि हम लोग तो राजी-खुशी जा रहे थे, हम अपने घर जा रहे थे, जबरदस्ती नहीं जा रहे थे, पांच आदमी घर वे है जो कि वहां हैं, हम एक मुसीबतजदा हैं, हमारे पास पैसा नहीं था, हम घर जाना चाहते थे, जब सरकार ने स्कीम बनाई कि हमको पैसा देंगे, हमको टिकट देंगे, तो हमने सोचा कि चले जायें, महीने दो महीने चंडीगढ़ चले जावें, अजमेर चले जावें, बम्बई चले जावें और फिर अपने घर चले जावें। तो फिजीक्ली स्टेशन से जा कर के सलीम साहब 70 आदमियों को उतार कर लाये और अखबार को बयान दे दिया कि गुजरात सरकार जबरदस्ती पैसा देकर के बाहर भेजती है। जितने भी प्रेस वाले आये वह हम लोगों को कंडेम करने लगे कि साहब आप लोग पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर हैं, कैसी बातें आप करते हैं, आप आइये, मदद करिये, देख कर चले जाइये, भाषण करिये या नहीं करिये। लेकिन अगर कोई ऐसी बात आप करते हैं, जिससे कि उत्तेजना फैलती है, जिससे कि तनाव फैलता है तो वह अच्छा नहीं। वहां के अधिकारी परेशान। अब वह बड़ौदा गये और वहां परेशानी। तो मैं तो यह कहता हूँ कि सलीम अफेयर खुद एक बात है जिसकी जांच होनी चाहिये। क्यों प्रधान मंत्री चुप हैं। यह बतावें कि गुजरात के मुख्य मंत्री न उनको लिखा या नहीं? क्या लिखा है? उनके सम्बन्ध में वह क्यों चुप है? आठ मिनिस्टर को निकालना हो, पोलिटिकल डिफरेंस हो तो फौरन चिट्ठी से जवाब मांगती है, राम सुभग सिंह को और चार को निकाला

गया और जिसके लिये वजह है निकालने की उसको रखे हुये हैं, चिपकाये हुये हैं, क्योंकि हम कह रहे हैं, यह गलत है। हम कहते हैं कि हम गलत हैं तो उसकी आप जांच किजिये। आप गुजरात में जाइये, गुजरात वालों की क्या फीलिंग हो गई है। हितेन्द्र देसाई से हमको कोई मतलब नहीं, सही है तो रहे, नहीं है तो नहीं रहे, मेरी समझ में उनको रहना चाहिये, उन्होंने सेवा की है, लेकिन गुजरात में जाइये, बच्चे बच्चे के दिमाग में यह बात है कि भारत सरकार के कुछ लोग जो आते हैं, जो तीन एम० पीज० गये थे, उनका नाम मैं नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ, उनके भाषण से उत्तेजना हुई।

चौधरी ए० मोहम्मद : वह वर्किंग कमेटी के मेम्बर हो गये।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : नई वर्किंग कमेटी के नये मेम्बर हो गये।

(Time Bell Rings)

श्रीमन्, इन तमाम बातों को मैं इसलिये कह रहा हूँ कि उस पर सोचना चाहिये और मैं तो यह मांग करूंगा, एक सज्जन ने कहा था मैं उसको दुहराता हूँ कि यह गुजरात राय-ट्स का सवाल नहीं है, यह हिन्दुस्तानी दिमाग का सवाल है, उस हिन्दुस्तानी दिमाग को, उस दिमाग को कैसे ठीक करेंगे, तो आप सोशल कमिशन बनायें, नेशनल कमिशन बनायें, कुछ बनायें, इसको सोचिये तो। जब आपको दिक्कत होती है तो नेशनल इंटरगेशन कमेटी को बैठा लेती है, साल भर भूले रहते हैं, प्रधान मंत्री भूल जाती है और जब दिक्कत हो, किसी को रन डाउन करना हो तो नेशनल इंटरगेशन कौंसिल बैठा दो... चलिye, चार आदमी बैठकर किसी को रन डाउन कर दीजिए ऐसा नहीं होनेवाला है। यह डिज़ीज नेशनल है, यह प्राबलम नेशनल है, इसकी ओर सोचना होगा। इस प्राबलम में एक प्राबलम जो मुख्य प्राबलम मुझे लगती है वह यह है कि जो मैंने अपने उत्तर प्रदेश में देखा है और उसके साथ जब मैं गुजरात को जोड़ता हूँ, तो श्रीमन्, वह अनुभव

[श्री एस० डी० मिश्र]

यह है कि जितने रायट्स हुए हैं, उनमें 75 परसेन्ट रायट्स प्रोसेशन से शुरू होते हैं, चाहे हिन्दुओं का प्रोसेशन हो, चाहे मुसलमानों का प्रोसेशन हो। इस बार गुजरात में उर्स का प्रोसेशन चल रहा था, मुसलमानों का, उसी से दंगा शुरू हो गया। कभी रामायण के नाम से, कभी रामलीला के प्रोसेशन से दंगा हुआ, कभी मसजिद में बाजा बजने से या प्रोसेशन निकालन से होता है। तो ऐसे प्रोसेशन्स को प्रोटेक्शन देने की किसी की जिम्मेदारी होनी चाहिये और वह कैसी होनी चाहिये क्या होनी चाहिये, इस पर सरकार को विशेष तौर से ध्यान देना चाहिये।

एक चीज मुझे भूपेश गुप्त जी को कहनी है। अभी जब वह बोल रहे थे, तो जैसे वह स्टीम रोलर की भाषा बोलते हैं वैसे बोलते चले गये। एक बुरी बात वह कह गये। हम लोगों ने उस वक्त भी उन्हें इन्टरप्ट किया था कि भाई जरा वह फोटो भी दिखा दें, जिसमें मियां सिद्दीकी के साथ कार में वह घूम रहे थे...

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Let Mr. Bhupesh Gupta now show those photos.

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : जो मियां सिद्दीकी कम्युनिस्ट कार्ड होल्डर हैं। वह उनके साथ ट्रेवल कर रहे थे। बम एक्सप्लोजन में वही मियां सिद्दीकी मरे थे, क्योंकि वह बम बना रहे थे 18 अक्टूबर को। क्या उनका कोई लिंक इसमें है। जरा वह फोटो भी दिखाये होते जब वह दूसरी फोटोज दिखा रहे थे, मगर उन्होंने नहीं दिखाया। तो मैं श्रीमन् आपकी आज्ञा से 20 अक्टूबर के हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स में जो समाचार निकला था, उसमें से एक हिस्सा आपके सामने पढ़ना चाहता हूँ :

The caption goes—"Ahmedabad goonda sat on peace committee".

"A notorious Muslim goonda, who died while making bombs on Friday, is

reported to be linked with prominent Right Communist workers of the city.

According to reliable information, Mohammed Siddiq owned a car which was used for transporting top Communist leaders when they visited the city to make an on the spot study of the riot situation.

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, M. P. was also reported to have used the car of this leader of the underworld while he toured the trouble spot...."

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh) : Leader of the underworld.

SHRI S. D. MISRA : I am only quoting from the 'Hindustan Times.'

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : You said underground leader.

SHRI S. D. MISRA : You are defending him and he is defending you. I can understand that. The report goes on to say:—

"A highly-explosive bomb had burst in the early hours on Friday resulting in two deaths in the Muslim locality of Dariapur.

The deceased, Mohammed Siddiq, owner of the house, was reported to have amassed considerable wealth from anti-social activities like gambling and "worli matka". His Ambassador car was registered in the name of his wife, Khatoon Bibi. Right Communist Party leaders were reported to have used this car when touring the disturbed area."

This is the link that is going on between them. I have nothing more to say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Will you yield? Sir, will you give me one minute to clarify? Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not mind a report appearing in the 'Hindustan Times.' I could have understood if he had said all that on his own authority...

SHRI S. D. MISRA : Let me complete then. What happened was this. हम उस स्पॉट पर गये अहमदाबाद में जहाँ पर बम एक्सप्लोजन हुआ, उस घर में ही जहाँ मिया सिद्दीकी की डैथ हुई थी, वहाँ उस लोकैलिटी में सब से दर्याफ्त किया और मालूम

हुआ कि सिद्दीकी मियां का यह घर है, सिद्दीकी मियां कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के मेम्बर रहे, उनकी वह मोटर है, जिसमें नेता लोगों के बारे में चर्चा है, वह उसमें घूमते हैं और यही बम एक्सप्लोजन में मरे। इतना हम लोगों को बतलाया गया था। इतना ही हमने अब-बार में भी देखा। अब आप जो कहना चाहते हैं कहें...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am glad he has said that. First of all, I must take a serious note of what he said because he is an honourable Member of the House, my colleague. There is no such man in Ahmedabad who was a member of our party. Well, I say this thing and he can dispute it. I may state on the floor of the House that never such a man was a member of the Communist Party.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : Was he a member of the Peace Committee?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not know. You can find out. It is not controversial. Since my friend has made the accusation he can find out. With regard to the explosion and other things, my friend has gone there. I am not disputing it. But what have I got to do with that? Mr. Vice-Chairman, I went there for a day and slept in the Circuit House. During that day I visited various camps and used two or three cars. Curfew was there. Naturally, I do not know which car I was travelling in. I was taken in two or three cars. But I do not know anything about this car. Before I get into a car, Mr. Vice-Chairman do you expect me to find out from them their licence number, the police certificate, community and other things?

SHRI C. D. PANDE : You know who is your host.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Let my friend make this propaganda. This they have done enough. My host was the Circuit House. You were not my host. Go there and find my name in their register.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : It was at the insistence of the Communist Party that Siddiq was taken on the Peace Committee of Ahmedabad.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not know. The Peace Committee was formed

by the Inspector-General of Police and the Commissioner of Police. Blame them. Why did they take such people on the Peace Committee ...

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : You Party nominated him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : ... Do you mean to say that I should have the Police Commissioner's certificate for using a car? I do not know which car I used. Obviously, you cannot expect me to take down the car number, the colour of the car or the name of the owner of the car and all that. That is about all. Now this paper reports something. It is all very easy to say such things. Anyhow, Mr. Vice-Chairman if by chance, without knowing that I was getting into a wrong car, I travelled by it how can I be responsible for that? I hope my friend, Mr. Misra, will tell me. I am not disputing his right to say whatever he likes. I went there and sought the help of the Government. But surprisingly enough I was told that the Chief Minister did not like M. Ps. going round or meeting people. Mr. Fernandes made a statement that the Chief Minister would not help. I was surprised to hear that sort of thing ...

SHRI S. D. MISRA : Let him not make a second speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not know which car I went by. I do not remember which cars I used for ten miles and which I used for five miles. How do I know that? They are unnecessarily trying to pass on the blame to me.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi) : Mr. Bhupesh has given some clarification. May I have a little more light on what he said? For example, he has mentioned that the particular goonda was on the Peace Committee and he says that it was the Police Commissioner who appointed him on that Peace Committee. Has he taken pains to find out whether his party nominated that person on the Peace Committee, whether he was there as a representative of the Communist Party of India? Of course this report appeared many days back and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta must have had sufficient time to enquire about it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My party never did such things. I tell you we are opposed to communalism whether it

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

comes from this community or that community. Peace Committee people I do not even know. I went there, saw some places with the help of our party secretary and came away. That is all. But I can find out.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: Since the person was such a well-known goonda, my friend could have sought enlightenment from the Commissioner of Police why the Police Commissioner put him on the Peace Committee. That he should enquire.

4 P. M.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Is the Gujarat Government fond of Communists? Mr. Vice-Chairman, Mr. Hitendra Desai does not allow the Communist Party, the Communist Party (Marxist) and the S. S. P. to sit on the Integration Council there. (Interruptions) :

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : श्रीमन्, मैं इस बात की चर्चा कर रहा था और कोट कर रहा था कि वहां पर क्या कुछ हुआ। मेरा उद्देश्य वहां की घटनाओं को सदन के सामन रखने का है और जो कुछ मैंने देखा है उसको मैं सदन के सामने रख रहा हूं। मेरा इस तरह की बात कहने से न किसी दल से कोई मतलब है, न मुझे इस बात से मतलब है कि वह कार ब्लू रंग की थी, ब्लैक रंग की थी, उस कार का क्या नम्बर था, किस तरह की उसमें प्लेट लगी थी, वह कार अम्बेस्डर थी या फिएट कार थी, इन सब बातों से कोई मतलब मेरे लिये नहीं है। मेरा तो मतलब सिर्फ वहां की घटनाओं के बारे में सदन को बतलाना था। आज से लगभग डेढ़ माह से ऊपर हो गये हैं इस घटना को हुए और इस घटना के बारे में इस अखबार के अलावा और अखबारों में भी यह बात निकली है और इस चीज की अहमदाबाद में मैंने सब जगह देखी। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग यह बात मानेंगे कि उनके हर जगह पर एजेन्ट हैं और वे हर जगह पर घुस गये हैं। आज जब यह बात कही जा रही है तब इस बात को डिनाई किया जा रहा है और इसके पहले उन्होंने इस बारे में कुछ भी नहीं कहा।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In Gujarat we have done it.

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : श्रीमन्, आज जो स्थिति है वह बहुत गहरी और गम्भीर है और मैं उनके इस तरह के इन्वेन्स को नहीं मान सकता हूं। आज हमारे मित्र जो कुछ कह रहे उसके बारे में हमको सोचना पड़ेगा। कि वे किस मशा से यह बात कह रहे हैं और जो कुछ मैंने वहां पर देखा वह मैं आपके सामन रख रहा हूं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्चा): अब आप समाप्त कीजिये।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : मैं एक दो बात कहकर समाप्त कर दूंगा। श्रीमन्, एक चीज मैं और आपके सामने कह देना चाहता हूं। इन सब वाक्यात के बावजूद एक अच्छी चीज जो वहां दिखलाई दी और जो मैंने वहां जाकर देखी, वह मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूं। वहां पर एक कुत्तबी मुहल्ला है और उसमें एक रिटायर्ड चीफ जस्टिस रहते हैं। वह जो मुहल्ला है एक मिक्स्ड मुहल्ला है। वहां हिन्दू और मुसलमान दोनों ही जाति के लोग रहते हैं और वहां की आबादी करीब 8 हजार की थी। वहां पर जो हिन्दू और मुसलमान लोग थे वे 8 दिनों तक इधर उधर शान्ति के लिए दौड़ते रहे और वहां एक खून का कतरा भी नहीं बहा। यह चीज हमने वहां पर देखी। कही कही हमने यह चीज भी देखी कि मुसलमान हिन्दू को पनाह दे रहे हैं और हिन्दू मुसलमान को राहत और पनाह इस पागलपन के बावजूद भी दे रहा है। इस तरह से हमने वहां पर इस तरह की चीज देखी। इसलिये मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जहां पर कोई चीज गलत हुई है, उसे हमें कहना ही होगा और जो चीज सही है, जो चीज इंसानियत की है, वह भी हमें कहनी चाहिये। हिन्दुस्तान में और गुजरात में दंगे हुए। लेकिन पोलिटिकल मोटिव से गुजरात के दंगों के बारे में बड़ा चढा कर बात कहना मैं अच्छा नहीं समझता हूं, क्योंकि इंसानियत हिन्दुस्तान में और

गुजरात में अभी बाकी है। मैं एक बात और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। लखनऊ के माननीय सदस्य यह पर बैठे हुए हैं। आज इस देश की यह हालत हो गई है कि यहां पर हिन्दू मुसलमानों का झगड़ा होता है, शिया सुन्नी का झगड़ा होता है, कुम्हारों और चमारों का झगड़ा होता है और कम्युनल राइट्स होते हैं। कम्युनल राइट्स के साथ ही साथ अब कास्ट राइट्स और सब-कास्ट राइट्स होने लगे हैं। हमें इस बीमारी को किस तरह से ठीक करना चाहिये, यह बात सब हम लोगो को सोचनी होगी। हमारे जो लेफ्ट वाले हैं, वे कम्युनल राइट्स को लेबर में भी इस्तेमाल करने लगे हैं जो कि हमारे देश के लोकतंत्र के लिए, जिसे आप कहते हैं असाम्प्रदायिक लोकतंत्र, उसके लिए बड़ा खतरा हो गया है। आज कम्युनल एलीमेंट हिन्दुओं में भी है और कम्युनल एलीमेंट गवर्सटीय मुसलमानों में भी है और दोनों को हमे स्ट्रांगली कंडम करना चाहिये। लेकिन अगर कोई कहता है कि श्री हितेन्द्र देसाई को इस्तीफा दे देना चाहिये या श्री चव्हाण को इस्तीफा दे देना चाहिये, तो मैं यह नहीं समझता हूँ कि किसी के इस्तीफा दे देने से यह समस्या का हल हो जायगा। अगर इस तरह से इस्तीफा देने से इस समस्या का हल निकल जाता है, तो मैं इसका समर्थन करूंगा। लेकिन मेरा यह निवेदन है कि इस्तीफा से इस समस्या का हल निकलने वाला नहीं है; क्योंकि यह एक नेशनल डिजीज है और इसको नेशनल लेवल पर समझन की कोशिश करें तथा उसकी दवा करें। अगर आप कहते हैं कि हमने इसका डाइगनोसिस कर दिया और इधर उधर इंजेक्शन दे दिया है, दाहिने हाथ में दे दिया है और अब यह बीमारी ठीक हो जायगी। ठीक है गुजरात में, इन्दौर में, महाराष्ट्र में, उत्तर प्रदेश में और उलाहाबाद में राइट हुए। उलाहाबाद श्रीमती इन्दिरा का जन्म स्थान है और श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू जैसे नेता वहां से आय हैं। तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस

तरह के दंगे क्यों हो रहे हैं। आज वहां पर 3 वर्षों से कारपोरेशन के चुनाव नहीं हो रहे हैं। क्यों नहीं हो रहे हैं; क्योंकि वहां पर भारी दंगे हो गये थे। इसी तरह से हमारे अलीगढ़ में दंगे हुए और कलकत्ते में दंगे हुए। तो हमें इन तमाम दंगों का नतीजा निकालना चाहिये; क्योंकि यह एक नेशनल डिजीज हो गई और इस डिजीज का एक नेशनल सोल्यूशन निकाला जाना चाहिये तथा भारत सरकार को इसके बारे में सोचना चाहिये। मुझे पूरा यकिन है कि नेशनल इंटरग्रेशन कौंसिल इसके बारे में कोई हल नहीं निकाल सकती है। श्रीमती इन्दिरा का वहां पर 2 घंटे के लेक्चर से इसका हल निकलने वाला नहीं है; क्योंकि गुजराल रेडियो तो 15 मिनट की खबरों में इन्दिरा का ही प्रचार करता है। (Interruptions) मैं इसे गुजराल रेडियो कहता हूँ, क्योंकि यह इन्दिरा का और उसकी सरकार का ही प्रचार करता है। आज गुजराल रेडियो एक ही दल, एक ही व्यक्ति का प्रचार करता है और जो मेरा दल है, हम लोग हैं, उन्हें निकम्मा कहा जाता है। इस तरह से हम लोगों के बारे में निकम्मा कहा जाता है और जो बच गये हैं, उन्हें लायक कहा जाता है। निकम्मों के बारे में ऐसा कहा जाता है जैसे कि हम लोग पापी हो गये हैं और इस तरह से एक एक बात को बढ़ा कर गुजराल रेडियो आजकल प्रचार कर रहा है। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि इन तमाम बातों से हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों का दिमाग जो अराष्ट्रीय हो रहा है, उसको भारत सरकार इन तमाम बातों से प्रोत्साहित कर रही है। मैंने अभी जो कुछ कहा उसको फिर रिपीट करना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि उस समय श्री चव्हाण साहब मौजूद नहीं थे। ये सब लोग खराब हैं, लेकिन जो आप लोग सरकारी बेंचों में बैठे थे, आप श्रीमान् नहीं, उस समय आपके साथ मैं भी था, तो उस समय राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव में जिस तरह से कम्युनल एलीमेंट को एक दल ने, कांग्रेस दल ने उभारा था, इसी तरह की

[श्री एस० डी० मिश्र]

बातों से कम्युनल गडबडी होती है, कास्ट फीलिंग्स बढ़ती है, दिमाग में कम्युनलपन पन-पता है। इस तरह की बातों में एक कम्युनिटी का, दूसरी कम्युनिटी के खिलाफ दिमाग पनपता है कि वह विद्रोह करे। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि जो माइनारिटी कम्युनिटी होती है, उसको नुकसान होता है। जो लोग यह कहते हैं कि मुसलमान अच्छे हैं, तो इस तरह की बातों से जनसंघ पनपता है और आर० एस० एस० बढ़ता है। आपकी पालिसी भी यही रही है और इस तरह की पालिसी से 10 आर० एस० एस० पैदा हो जायेंगे। इसलिए मैं मांग करता हूँ, निवेदन करता हूँ कि सरकार इसके लिये एक नेशनल कमिशन, सोशियल कमिशन या फिर राइट कमिशन बनाने की बात को गम्भीरता पूर्वक सोचे।

एक चीज कह कर मैं समाप्त कर दूंगा। मुझे इस बात का दुःख है कि मैं 18-19 अक्टूबर को अहमदाबाद में था। मैंने वहाँ पर देखा कि श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी विराजमान हैं। वे उस समय सरकेट हाउस में थी और उन्हें देखकर मुझे बड़ी खुशी हुई कि ये भी मदद करने यहां आई हैं। मैंने सोचा कि ये लफ्टिस्ट है, इसलिए रिएक्शनरी नहीं होंगी और बड़ी प्रोग्रेसिव होंगी और ये यहां अवश्य मदद करने के लिए आई होंगी। हमने इस चीज का पता चलाया और हमको यह पता चला कि ये गुजरात कांग्रेस के लेजिस्लेचर के एक मेम्बर से बातें कर रही है, जिनका नाम भी श्री गंगाराम रावल था जो कि डिसिडेंट बन गये हैं। (Interruptions) अब तो डिसिडेंट का जमाना बढ़ रहा है। धीरे-धीरे उनको भड़काया और उभारा और इस तरह से गुजरात गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ स्टेटिस्टिक्स इकट्ठे किये। यह बतलाया गया कि ये हाइएस्ट लेवल पर गुजरात सरकार के बारे में रिपोर्ट देंगी। वे वहाँ पर दो दिन रही। किसी ऐसे लोगों से नहीं मिलीं जो कि हाइएस्ट लेवल के हों।

(Interruption)

श्री ह्यातुल्ला अन्सारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

दोनों की बातों के बारे में आपको कैसे पता चला। क्या श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी या रावल में से किसी ने आपको बतलाया।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : जो वहाँ पर लोग थे उन्होंने हमें बतलाया और मैं वहाँ पर उनका नाम नहीं बतलाना चाहता हूँ। केवल वहाँ की सरकार को कंडम करने से, वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री को कंडम करने से इस समस्या का हल निकलने वाला नहीं है और यह एक गलत बात है। जब हम लोग वहाँ पर थे तो हमने भी मुख्य मंत्री, गृह-मंत्री, रेवन्यू मंत्री और रिहेबिलिटेशन मंत्री से कहा कि जो लोग पीड़ित हैं, जिन्हें नुकसान पहुंचा है, उनको मदद करने और उनको बसाने का बृहत कार्यक्रम होना चाहिये। हम सब लोगों ने, चौधरी साहब ने, मिश्रा जी ने चाहा और कहा कि जो मुसलमान दरगाह टूट गई है, जला दी गई है, उनको फिर से ठीक करने के लिए पैसा दिया जाय या फिर रुपया चन्दा करके दिया जाय। इसका नेशनल प्रोग्राम होना चाहिए। क्यों किसी के मन्दिर-मस्जिद गिराए जायें और फिर मन्दिर मस्जिद वही बनवाएं। आप बनवाएं या जैसा कोरिया में हमने देखा है, जो मन्दिर और मस्जिद हों वह घरों में रखिए, पब्लिक प्रापर्टी की तरह नहीं रख सकते। आप यही कर दीजिए। मैं एक मुझाब दे रहा हूँ। उसके बारे में प्रोटेक्शन के सम्बन्ध में, रिहेबिलिटेशन के सम्बन्ध में आप सोचें।

तो, श्रीमन्, मैं इतना ही कह कर समाप्त करूंगा कि जो अहमदाबाद में राइट्स हुए हैं, वह समुच्च बड़ी दुःखद बात है, राष्ट्र के लिए दुःखद है, केवल गुजरात के लिए ही दुःखद नहीं है। मोरारजी देसाई ने फास्ट किया। वह एक बहुत अच्छा काम किया। उसका उपहास करना कि मोरारजी देसाई ने जो फास्ट किया उसको राष्ट्र ने नहीं मुना, यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है। मोरारजी देसाई सिर के बल भी खड़े हो जायें तो भूपेश गुप्त उसे

होड नहीं करेंगे, लेकिन गुजरात वालों ने ध्यान दिया, उसका कुछ अच्छा असर हुआ। हमारे मंत्री जो, प्रधान मंत्री जी गए, उन्होंने कहा कि शासन ने अच्छा काम किया। कुछ उनकी दिक्कतें थी, कुछ उन्होंने किया। उससे पोलिटिकल चीजें नहीं निकालनी चाहिए, पोलिटिकल चीजें निकाल कर केवल अटेक नहीं करना चाहिए। हमें यह देखना चाहिए कि प्राबल्य कैसे मालूम हो, उसके लिए क्या किया जाय। मैं यहां बैठा हूं, चव्हाण साहब उधर बैठे हुए हैं, यह अभी कुछ दिन की कहानी है, लेकिन मैं उनके नेतृत्व में विश्वास करता हूं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : अभी भी ?

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : मैं समझता हूं कि वे लीडरशिप दे सकते हैं। तो उनकी इन तमाम बातों को संचना चाहिए। जब ये भूल जाते हैं कि हमारा नेतृत्व नहीं है, तो कभी कभी गड़बड़ा जाते हैं। वह बात दूसरी है, लेकिन इन बातों पर वे अगर इंडिपेंडेंट दिमाग से सोचेंगे तो मुझे पूरा यकीन है कि राष्ट्र का हित होगा।

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated) : Sir, on a point of order. Does the old rule of catching the Speaker's eye still prevail or is there any new rule ...

(Interruptions)

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to make one suggestion ...

SHRI M. N. KAUL : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I should like to have your ruling on that point because we have been waiting.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : I will try to accommodate as many Members as possible.

SHRI M. N. KAUL : Some Members are taking 45 to 55 minutes with the result that other Members who have also got something to contribute, are squeezed out and one has to enter a protest...

SHRI A. D. MANI : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the time for the Opposition is limited. Mr. Chagla has been waiting for two days.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : I will try to accommodate as many speakers as possible.

SHRI A. D. MANI : You will have to impose a time-limit.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : After all the opposition parties have their own time and they can use it as they choose...

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. N. KAUL : If they do not stick to the time-limit, then the time limit should be abolished and let the debate go on and if you deem fit closure be applied.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : There is no closure.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : Mr. Purkayastha.

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, we have been discussing the disturbances in Gujarat for so many hours. What happened in Gujarat has shocked all right-thinking and secular-minded people of this country. It is bound to do so because it has happened in the Gandhi Centenary Year and at the birth place of Gandhiji. I need not go into the details of the incidents that have occurred in Gujarat because many of the speakers who preceded me have narrated vividly about the happenings in Gujarat. Every right-thinking Indian must hang his head in shame at what has happened in Gujarat. As members of the majority community we cannot disown our responsibility for what has happened in Gujarat, and as an Indian I hang my head in shame. Before the partition we used to blame the British Government for all communal riots. We used to say because of their policy of 'divide and rule' communal riots were taking place in India. When India was partitioned, when the new Constitution for free India was framed enshrining secularism as its basic principle, we thought that communal riots would end. Thereafter, whenever communal riots took place in India we used to blame Pakistan and say that these riots

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were the repercussions of what had happened in Pakistan. But since 1964 no riot has taken place in Pakistan while in India since 1964 hundreds of riot have taken place resulting in the loss of hundreds of costly lives. In Gujarat what has happened is the result of an organised attack. The Governor of Gujarat, Shri Shriman Naryan said before a Press conference, "Behind the riots there are organised groups which must be exposed and crushed." If there were no organised groups behind these riots, then, riots would not have spread in such a short time to distant areas. The scale and the intensity of these riots suggest that there are organised groups behind it and those who are aware of the situation in Gujarat, they are aware that since the beginning of 1969 communal forces are playing their part in vitiating the life of Gujarat. In January 1969 a communal para-military organisation held its camp in Gujarat preaching communal violence and suggesting that Muslims should be asked to quit India. Before the happenings in Gujarat in September last a communal leader visited these places and spoke to the people to Indianise the Muslims, suggesting and insinuating that the Indian Muslims are not loyal to India. That organisation spread its ramifications all over northern India. Unless such organisations are banned in India many communal riots will take place in India. Prevention is better than cure. If preventive steps are taken, I am sure, there will be none here to criticise the Government for any lapses. After what has happened in Gujarat many leaders of political parties, many press representatives, have visited those places and have analysed the causes for the riots. But there is a common agreement on one point and that is the Government of Gujarat has miserably failed to protect the lives, honour and properties of the people there. If the Gujarat Government had taken timely action, the riots would not have taken place, the riots would not have spread to distant places, and there would not have been such large-scale disaster. I quote here from the 'Hindustan Times, —from an article written by Shri Ajit Bhattacharya —

"Even on September 20, by when the loss of lives reached three figures and the loss of property was in crores, the Chief Minister, Mr. Hitendra Desai, was broadcasting that the police was acting with restraint,

and there would be no alternative but to use force if the riots persisted."

It is a clear admission that till the 20th the police had not taken any action. When they finally deployed armed police, the armed police had no arms in their hands. They had only lathis in their hands. When the military reached there, it was not deployed with the speed and rapidity which the situation demanded. We heard that the Jan Sangh leaders were suggesting that Pakistani agents were responsible for the riots in Gujarat. . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Shri Jayaprakash Narayan himself suggested that.

SHRI M. PURKAYASHTA: If agents of a foreign country can create riots in this country, I do not know what happens to this country if it is attacked by a foreign power. Whether there are Pakistani agents or not, there are some people who are unconsciously playing into the hands of Pakistan. It has been proved by the Rabat Conference because the Rabat Conference gave a reproof to India on what happened in Gujarat. We say that Pakistan has robbed its people of democracy but do you know what the Pakistan Government did after the Gujarat riots took place? I come from a district of Assam which has a border with East Pakistan. When the news of the Gujarat riots reached East Pakistan, the East Pakistan Government deployed military in all the areas having Hindu pockets. Not only the Government but the progressive and democratic forces also asserted themselves. There Maulana Bhashani, the famous Muslim leader, gave a call for observing hartal in East Pakistan on the 3rd of October and asked the people to wear black badges and hoist black flags. But the democratic and progressive forces led by students and young men asserted themselves, journalists asserted themselves, poets and writers asserted themselves. Then Maulana Bhashani had to withdraw that call for hartal. If that hartal had taken place, I do not know what would have happened in East Pakistan. In our country so many news items about Pakistan are published but those news items which have a silver lining in the communal situation do not get any publicity in this country. These severe riots in Gujarat are unheard of since partition.

So I suggest that the Government should take certain preventive measures and the first preventive measure will be that the Chief Minister of Gujarat, Mr. Hirdendra Desai, who is responsible for not taking any steps to put down these riots should be asked to resign forthwith and if he does not resign, his Government should be dismissed forthwith. Our Home Minister is capable of taking such strong action. He dismissed the Haryana Government to prevent floor-crossing and it was a good example for others. Similarly if the Gujarat Government is dismissed, it will be a good example for other States and they will take preventive measures in no time in such cases.

It has become a practice that whenever any riots take place, an enquiry committee is set up. There also an enquiry committee has been set up but only the local officials of the Government which is responsible for such riots will place all the files and records before the Enquiry Commission. Do you think that they will be highlighting their own lapses? They will never do that. So such an enquiry committee is not going to serve any useful purpose. Therefore I again urge that the Government of Mr. Hirdendra Desai should be dismissed. In this connection I would also urge the Home Minister to ban the para-military organisation which is spreading communal tension and is vitiating the whole atmosphere in this country.

Lastly I will urge upon the Home Minister to make intensive propaganda throughout the length and breadth of the country about secularism. Without such propaganda, without educating the people and politicalising them communal disturbances cannot be prevented. With these few words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think this is a very important subject which is not being dealt with in a proper way because often politics is being brought to bear when we discuss the question of communal riots in Ahmedabad. Mr. Vice Chairman, the seven days that shook Ahmedabad and different cities in Gujarat brought not only a slur on the Indian democracy but I think this period shook the very secular fabric of this country. It will be wrong again to say that because an Enquiry Commission has been constituted,

we should wait for its report. Then I would think we are trying to evade the entire issue. We know that in this country after the Ranchi riots we had an Enquiry Commission; then there was another Enquiry Commission in connection with something else then one more in connection with the Kashmir affairs. Now everybody in this House knows very well the causes of the communal riots that take place. It might be a different thing whether the Gujarat Government took sufficient precautionary measures or not; it might be a different thing whether the Gujarat Government was capable enough to deal with the situation with the force that was at its command at that time. But it is much more important for us, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that our nation is now suffering from a cancer which should be eradicated at the earliest possible moment.

I am just now reminded of the riots that took place in Rourkela and Tata-nagar which were not in any way less shocking than what took place in Ahmedabad. There might be a dispute about the figures of deaths. It may run into more than one thousand. I know in my State when the communal riots took place, it was a three-digit figure though the Government had not openly given it. I am afraid the Gujarat Government might be playing the same trick and the Home Ministry here has given a report about the death casualties as given by the State Government, though the figure is much more than what we have been given to understand.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, here I want to say a few words about the failure of the Gujarat Government. I am not one with the hon. Member who preceded me demanding the dismissal of the Gujarat Government because if the dismissal takes place then I think the same Congress Party should have dismissed the Orissa Government long ago and also the Bihar Government when the Jamshedpur riots took place. So let us not have different standards for different States. If the Government sincerely feels that it could not tackle the situation properly in a particular State, then the State Government should resign. Let us accept that code of conduct and the Government should resign for whatever incompetence they have shown in dealing with such matters. So it will be better if we keep politics out of this question; otherwise

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we are not going to deal with the subject in a proper spirit.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am one with those friends who have already advocated in this House that enough preventive steps were not taken in Gujarat. We know the Quran episode; we know the Ramayana episode and also the episode with regard to the procession that took place in relation to the Al Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. But in spite of these incidents, in spite of these communal feelings that ran very high in Ahmedabad and other cities in Gujarat, the Gujarat Government did not take preventive measures because perhaps they felt that the tension was not sufficient to lead to communal riots. We do not require to see the tension in the streets. I have experience of some communal riots in my own State. I know on the previous day it was absolutely quiet and calm; all of a sudden something happens; tension spreads in a subterranean way and it spreads in such a way here and there that some incident sparks off a communal riot and any Government which is not alert will be helpless when the actual riots take place. That happened in Ahmedabad. So I do not agree with these friends who say that there was absolutely no tension before that because the reports from Gujarat clearly state that there was communal tension in certain towns and some of the political parties and elements were trying to take advantage of the situation.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, here some of the friends want to say that they give much more importance to Hindu communalism and perhaps they want to give less importance to Muslim communalism. I do not agree with those friends though, in a country like India, where the Hindus are in a majority, the Hindus have a greater responsibility towards the minorities. I do not deny that fact, but in communalism, whether of the Muslim brand or of the Hindu brand, they are the greatest friends because one communalism can feed to the other group, and the communalism of the other group can only feed the communalism to the first group. So always there is the marriage of convenience between two sets of people who are addicted to communalism. Some of my friends have simplified the issue very conveniently by saying that because of the capitalists and landlord combination

there are communal riots in this country and some of my friends like Mr. S. D. Misra have said even that all the leftist parties utilise the labour force for communal riot purposes. I do not agree with this because I know the facts of the riots that took place in Rouckela or in Ahmedabad. Then you will have to say that the INTUC, which controls the labour population in Ahmedabad, was a party to this. I do not agree with this fact. I do not agree that any of the leftist parties that are functioning in India, however anti-national some of them might be, will be taking advantage of the communal situation. I do not agree. I do not also deny the fact that sometimes the political parties in this country take advantage of the communal sentiments of the people, as the Congress Party has done—what you quoted—and I know of a recent example. Only six months back, two of the Congress leaders in a city were arrested under the Preventive Detention Act because they took out the image of a Goddess and danced before a mosque and tried to have a communal riot in that place. So let us not talk in these terms whether it is a Congressman or Mr. Bhupesh Gupta belonging to the Communist Party, because there might be some communal elements in so many parties, but it will be wrong again to say that the leftist parties in this country are taking advantage of the communal situation in this country. But one thing will have to be admitted that because of the religious bigotry and obscurantist tendencies in our Hindu society we have this Hindu communalism, whether there is some Jana Sangh person there or not. It would be again wrong if you try to oversimplify the whole issue. It would be wrong if you say that every riot has been engineered by the Jana Sangh or the R. S. S. I am not in any way going to say that they are not communal parties because I know they always take advantage of a communal situation wherever it occurs. Sometimes they might not be engineering it, but when a situation has occurred, they try to take advantage of that. I agree only to that extent, but it will be again wrong to simplify the issue and give all credit to the Jana Sangh and the R. S. S. thereby forgetting that in the Hindu society itself the forces of revivalism are at work. Whether it is led by the Jana Sangh or not, it is gradually gaining ground.

SHRI PREM MANOHAR (Uttar Pradesh) : Why don't you look up the

Government reports where they have said that out of 24 riots 23 have been started by the Muslims?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: To that I want to say this. Who begins is less important. I know of two or three places in my State where the provocation also came from the Muslim minority.

SHRI PREM MANOHAR: It is the Government of India's report; it is not the report of the Jana Sangh or of the R.S.S.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: You just hear me. I know it personally. I am not going to bank upon only the facts that the Government of India is giving. Somebody may again dispute them. I know myself and I know of two or three instances where the Muslim minority have provoked communal feelings. I only want to tell my friends of the Jana Sangh this. Who sparks it at a particular moment is not very important. It is much more important whether communal sentiments are aroused out of a small incident.

SHRI PREM MANOHAR: How do you say that the Communist Party and other leftists parties do not appear in the picture?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: I shall remember it and I shall reply. Just hear me now.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: Both, as you say, are important ones. In both the cases how it originates is important. It is originated and then it is followed up by the communal elements in both the communities. It happens like that.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: I want to answer that question also because, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you should not think that the Muslim community in India is the same community as it was in 1947, and I do not want to use any harsh words here. The angry young men of the Muslim community are also trying to show that they are not prepared in any way to tolerate the Hindu communalism in this country. Do not forget this attitude, and I should think that the Home Minister, when he replies, will bear me out that in most of the instances of this riot there has been provocation also from the Muslim side. In most of the cases angry young men of the Muslim community have been involved because of their provocation.

and I know of two instances myself in my life. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to say here also about that great case of music before mosque. I went to Mr. Chavan and told him about it because that case originated in my constituency and I know that for the last four or five years that case went on. And ultimately in the Supreme Court the Hindus won. But nobody can say that in that particular place, up till now, there has been any communal tension. Once you see that communalism is embedded in the society in a particular area, then a small incident can also spark a great riot, and it has taken place in different towns. So, though who provokes it is very important—I agree—we should not shut our eyes to the fact that this religious bigotry and this cult of hatred against different communities which are being preached in this country by religious bodies or by some of the political parties have a great role to play. I say this also because I do not want to simplify this issue by saying that only one party or the R. S. S. organisation is responsible. That will be oversimplifying the issue. That will be virtually denying the very fact that communalism is embedded in the society, in the Hindu society, and it is gradually growing with the change of circumstances. So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I do not want to equate this Hindu communalism with that of Muslim communalism, but I want to warn also my friends that those who want to support Muslim communalism because of the fact that the Muslims represent a small minority, they are also doing a great disservice to the nation because, once there is communalism even of the minority, the majority community will always get an advantage over them, and they will be the greatest winners in the communal riots as and when they take place in any area. And this has happened wherever there has been provocation from the Muslim side also. So I am not going to belittle the fact that in some cases the Muslims have also provoked the communal situation, but I want to say here that it is the responsibility of the majority community of this country to see that communal amity is preserved. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, again I want to say that in this country communalism is being equated with disloyalty. I am very much astonished that in this country communalism is being equated with disloyalty to our nation, and it is a most dangerous proposition that is being aired in this country. M

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Jana Sangh friends may get very angry, but is it not a fact that Mr. Balraj Madhok, in different meetings, went on saying that the Muslims of India should be Indianised? What is the spirit behind it?

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : मैं समझता हूँ कि उसके बारे में आपको गलत फहमी हो रही है।

श्री बांक बिहारी दास : गलत फहमी नहीं है।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : इसके बारे में उनका कहना केवल यही है कि धर्म के मामले में उनको पूरी छूट हो। लेकिन जैसे कि दीपावली है या और है उसमें सब हों, जैसे कि चन्द्र-गुप्त हैं, अकबर हैं, सब को एक सा मानना है। उनका मतलब यह है।

श्री बांक बिहारी दास : नहीं, वह मतलब नहीं है। मैं कंटेस्ट करता हूँ। अखबार में भी पढ़ता हूँ। लेकिन उसके आगे क्या है वह भी पढ़ता हूँ, मैं उनकी भावना भी अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ।

We have discussed for hours and hours. It is not a question of reading from news papers. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is a very dangerous proposition to say that the Muslims in India should be Indianised. The very idea behind such a proposition is to suspect the loyalty of every Muslim in this country, whether he is Dr. Zakir Husain who was the President of India or any other Muslim hon. Member of this House. I can understand a Muslim may be communal but to tell that a communal Muslim is also an anti-national Muslim is an absolutely wrong proposition and thereby we only give advantage to all the spies residing here. That is why I think we should deal with this matter completely differently. Is it not a fact that some of the papers that have been passed on from India to Pakistan have been passed on by the Hindus? Can anybody say that in this country always the Hindus have been loyal to this nation? Then don't you think that the Hindus also should be Indianised in this country? What do you mean when you say that Muslims should be Indianised? In politics I think these things should not

be brought in and we should deal with the communal issue in a different manner. A spy or a disloyal person is disloyal to the country whether he belongs to the Hindu community or Muslim community or Christian community and he should be dealt with in that manner but a communal Hindu or a communal Muslim should be treated in a different way because a communal Muslim can be loyal to this country just as a communal Hindu can be loyal to this country. Therefore I want to say again that this is a wrong proposition and this should not be encouraged in the interests of secularism of this country. We should not equate communalism with disloyalty or talk of Indianisation of a particular community. I would ask this question. Would you advocate that the one crore Hindus who are residing in East Pakistan should be Pakistanised? Would you not be creating a suspicion in the minds of Muslims of Pakistan that the one crore Hindus who are still there are disloyal to Pakistan and they are loyal to India? Mr. Vice-Chairman this is a very dangerous proposition and if you allow such sentiments to gain ground in this country I do not know how far we can protect our secularism in the country.

I have no time and so I do not want to say much on this but I do want to say that wherever there is communal tension and wherever there are communal elements working in the political or social field they should be put down with a strong hand. It is not being done now. In the case of Gujarat it was not done and it is not done in the case of many States where communal riots have taken place. I have seen with my own eyes police standing by idly and allowing persons to loot the houses of the minority community and this cancer has gone very deep because the entire society has been affected to a very great extent. We cannot say that the persons who are in the police, in the army and in the Administration are completely free from this cancer, and I want to warn the Home Minister that particular attention should be given to this aspect and anybody who is found in any way associating himself with any communal organisation or who is found preaching communalism should be brought to book and if he is in Government service he should be immediately dismissed. I know of cases and I have drawn the attention of Mr. Chavan but I am very sorry to say that

no action has been taken even by the Home Minister. During a communal riot last year in Cuttack town I gave instances to him in which I mentioned the names of certain lecturers who are members of communal organisations openly and who are also heading institutions like the NCC in these colleges. Till now one year has elapsed but that person is still a member of the communal organisation and still a lecturer heading the NCC organisation of that college. So if the Home Ministry does not look into these aspects and see that such communal elements are eliminated from the Administration and other educational institutions I think they will be abettors whenever there will be communal riots in this country. I hope the Home Minister when he replies will categorically state here that a searching enquiry will be conducted into the case of all those persons who are in the educational institutions and in the Administration to find out whether they are harbouring communalism or in any way encouraging the spread of hatred amongst communities in the country and see that such persons are not there either in the police or in the Administration or in the Services.

So also an atmosphere of communal amity has to be created. We have heard so much about the National Integration Council but is this the proper way to deal with communal situations? Do you think by inviting the nominees of all the communal parties, by appeasing the communal elements you could create healthy conditions in the country where there can be co-existence between the communities? Most of the communal riots have taken place, as it has taken place in Ahmedabad, because of the appeasement policy. Whether it is Hindu communalism or Muslim communalism, as long as the Government tries to adopt a policy of appeasement I would say that they will not only fail but they will also be putting a premium on such forces which are preparing the ground for the demotion of the very social fabric of this country.

I also want to draw your attention about text books in this country. I am very sorry to say that even after 21 years some of the text books, the history text books, are such that they do not help to create a healthy atmosphere within the premises of the educational institutions and I think the time has come when the Home Ministry and the Education Ministry should look into this aspect so that the students in those institutions

are properly taught to imbibe the spirit of secularism and not the spirit of communalism. Nowadays, as has been complained in this House about Ahmedabad also, some of the student elements are victims of this communal canker which is gradually growing in every State. I know in my State when they took out a procession of the goddess because of the Saraswati Puja they went before every mosque of the city, waited there for four or five minutes and danced there just to provoke the Muslim community and then if something happens the Home Ministry records will say that the provocation came from the Muslim community. Was the provocation not there when this procession with Goddess Durga or Goddess Saraswati went there and danced for five minutes with crackers in their hands? I have written so many times to the Home Minister about this question of music before the mosque. This is a very controversial subject. I am seeing every day in my State. Whenever there is a religious procession, a Goddess being carried in procession, in front of every mosque deliberately the procession is detained for five minutes, crackers are exploded and they dance there just to provoke and show to the Muslims that 'we are a superior race in this country' and then they proceed. If such provocations continue in this country I do not know what will happen. I cannot say that after the judgment of the Supreme Court there would be no music before the mosques because Government cannot stop it unless there is agreement between both the communities. But the Supreme Court judgment does not permit you to dance before the mosques just to provoke them and tell them that you have got such a right of having music before the mosque. It is going on every day before our eyes and we are absolutely helpless in the matter. Is it not proper for the Home Minister to clarify the position? I wrote to him one year back asking him to clarify the position *vis-a-vis* the judgment of the Supreme Court but I do not think so far the position has been clarified. Till now this is going on. This is definitely provocation and when some action is taken from the side of the Muslims then somebody will say that the provocation came from the Muslims. I do not want to say much more about it.

Then there is rumour which is also a very important factor and the Government has to be strict about it. Whenever there is communal tension there is

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deliberate attempt on the part of communal elements to spread rumours to see that other communal elements are also roused and such things took place in Ahmedabad also. On the 18th night a rumour was spread and spread successfully that a sadhu had been killed though there was no killing of the sadhu at all. But it went deep into the mind of every Hindu communalist who immediately without verifying the facts took that opportunity to have an onslaught on the Muslim community in Ahmedabad. Rumours therefore is a very important factor and the communal elements always spread rumours to create communal tension and riots. I think we should have a law, just as we had during war time, by which if anybody spreads any rumour which is found to be falsehood he should be severely punished so that the communal elements will not get any opportunity to create such situations.

Thank you.

SHRIM. C. CHAGLA (Maharashtra):

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think there is one point on which we all agree—every Member of this House, irrespective of parties or groups—and that is that we are all deeply distressed, any more, we are deeply disgraced by what happened at Ahmedabad. Now, Sir, I do not want to go into the causes of this particular riot. A Commission is going to investigate it. Nor do I want to allocate blame either to one party or the other, nor do I want to go into the sordid details of it. I would rather look at the matter from a broader point of view and try and understand why these riots take place and what we should do to prevent these riots from occurring again. It is really surprising to me it is painful to me that in a country like ours there should be communal riots. This is a country where Gandhiji lived, where Gandhiji gave his life for Hindu-Muslim unity. This is a country where our philosophy teaches us tolerance. I think if there is one aspect of Indian philosophy—I will not call it Hindu or Muslim—it is tolerance. All down the centuries we have shown tolerance. Hinduism itself has got so many schools. You can be an atheist. You can be an agnostic. You can be a theist and yet you can be a Hindu. Therefore, tolerance is basic to our philosophy. We have a Constitution whose very foundation is secularism.

Under our Constitution we do not have first class and second class citizens. Every citizen of India has the same rights and the same opportunities. Therefore, why is it that in our country riots take place? I can understand other countries which have got a legacy of hatred, which have not got the philosophy which we have, which have not inherited the traditions which we have, but the fact that this should happen in India, in the centenary year of Gandhiji, is a matter of pain and disgrace to everyone of us. Now, Sir, my own view is perhaps a little unorthodox. I believe in speaking my mind. I have never said anything which I do not believe. My own view is that this philosophy of separatism which is growing in this country must go. The minorities must feel that they are part of the national stream. They must feel that they are Indians, that this is their country, that their ancestors lived in this country and they are as much heirs to the culture and traditions of this country as the majority community. Now, Sir, when you go to the United States, you meet an American. You deal with an American. You never ask the question: Are you a Catholic, Protestant or Jew? You ask an American 'What are you' and he says he is an American. Why is it in India that we are labelled? Why is it that we are Indian Muslims or Indian Hindus or Indian Christians? It is wrong to permit religion to intrude into public affairs. Religion is a matter of my conscience. God is someone with whom I have communion. Why should I intrude my religion into public affairs? Why must I wear my religion on my sleeves? Why must I proclaim to everybody that I am an Indian Muslim or Indian Hindu or Indian Christian? That shows that there is this philosophy or this policy—I will come to the policy presently—of separatism and, believe me, we will never be able to put an end to this orgy of violence.

I have something to say about the Government. We must make it clear to both the communities that you are neither a Hindu nor a Muslim as far as public affairs are concerned, but you are all Indians. It is only when we have attained that ideal, when we have reached that point that a solution will come to our problems. Now, Sir, I think one speaker said that confidence must be instilled into the minorities. I agree, but confidence is a two-way traffic. The minorities must also inspire confidence in the majority. It cannot be a one-way

traffic. You cannot say, instill confidence, in the minorities, unless the minorities in their turn, inspire confidence in the majority. Therefore, till both sides feel that they trust each other, this tension will remain. Now, let me be quite blunt in this matter. As I said, I believe in speaking my mind. A large number of Hindus—I have so many friends—really feel that the Muslims have extra-territorial loyalty, that they have affection and regard in their relations towards Pakistan. Now, this is what the minorities must emphatically and unequivocally repudiate. To me Pakistan is a foreign country. It is a country which is hostile to my country. I have nothing to do with Pakistan. Merely because...

SHRI B. V. ABDULLAH KOYA : In the recent Indo Pakistan conflict, most of the Indian Muslim leaders proclaimed that they were loyal to this country and they had sent their sons to the war front.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : It is a wrong suspicion. I know that Muslims have given their lives in the Indo-Pakistan war. Some of the brave deeds were done by Muslims. I know all that. I am trying to end this situation. I am trying to diagnose it.

SHRI PREM MANOHAR : The slogan 'Pakistan Zindabad' was raised.

(Interruptions.)

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : Pakistan Zindabad slogans were raised. That shows ...

SHRI HAYATULLAH ANSARI : Are you sure that such slogans were raised? Were you there? As a journalist I can say that it is a solutely wrong...

(Interruptions.)

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : Order, please.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : I am not saying anything to which everyone of us should not subscribe.

SHRI HAYATULLAH ANSARI : He is a very good lawyer. He has put forward his case very nicely.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : I say that to me and to every Muslim here Pakistan is a foreign country. It is a country which

is hostile to my country, a country which has carried on a relentless campaign against us. The mere fact that Pakistan is a Muslim country makes no difference. Turkey is a Muslim country. What have we got to do with it? All the Arab countries are Muslim countries. This is my country. This is my home. I was born here. My ancestors lived here. I propose to die here. To me everything is Indian. Therefore, as I said, confidence is a two-way traffic. When I say that the suspicion is there I am only saying that there is a suspicion. Does anybody doubt that? A large number of Hindus to suspect Muslims and, therefore, it is the duty of the Muslims to repel that suspicion, to make it clear emphatically and unequivocally at every point of time that they are loyal.

SHRI SYED AHMAD (Madhya Pradesh) : Should I go on proclaiming that I am loyal? Am I supposed to shout on repudiation if some people suspect me? Suppose if Mr. Tankha said that he suspected me. Am I to repudiate it—him and everybody.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : Nobody suspects some persons. (Interruptions.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : Order, please.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : Now, let me come to the Government. My friend, the Home Minister, is an old friend of mine and I hope he is still my friend. I want to make a suggestion to him on this matter.

(Interruptions.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : Order, please.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA : Let them give up with dealing with 'public matters, from a communal point of view. (Interruptions.) Sir, I, am nobody's lawyer. I have nothing to gain from anybody. I have nothing to expect and nothing to fear but I have a right to say what I feel in my mind. This is a matter which is of the most vital importance to my country. As I said, I am not talking of Ahmedabad. I am not allocating any blame, but I am looking into the future. I want this to be one strong nation and my friends here should realise it. I am only saying what I think is right and si

[Shri M. C. Chagla.]

the only way to prevent these riots. Now may I ask the Government this, for heaven's sake stop dealing with problems from a communal point of view. Look at it from the national point of view. You are only aggravating the communal situation. Let me give instances. Why is it in an election you give tickets on communal or caste basis? Is this the functioning of democracy? Is this national integration? Why do you select a member because his community is in a majority in that constituency? If I had anything to do with the giving of tickets, I would send a man who did not have his community in a majority as a test of our national integration. The Home Minister knows it. You look at the names of the members and their constituencies and you see they have got a majority as far as caste or community is concerned.

Then take the case of uniform Civil Code which I have been advocating for a long time. What is the answer of the Government? The Muslims are against it. But other Muslims are also in support of it. Is that not a principle or a directive of State policy? Are you not bound by the Constitution? The Constitution says there shall be a uniform Civil Code, what has Government done about it? Simple answer : till everybody is agreed. This was the British answer; *laissez faire*. No social reform till everybody agrees. Why have you the directives of State policy in the constitution? You are bound to alienate somebody. But if it is a good thing, if it is in the interests of the nation, you must go ahead.

Look at Rabat. I was shocked to read the statement of the Foreign Minister. I will deal with it when the discussion comes. I was shocked to read the statement of the Foreign Minister that the delegation was sent to Rabat on the advice of some of his Muslim friends. What is the meaning of this? What is the meaning of Muslim friends? Therefore, you aggravate the communal situation. You make the Hindus feel that the Muslims have been advising the Foreign Minister to send a delegation to Rabat. Take advice from Indians, let me tell the Government, not Hindus or Muslims. Deal with the situation from an Indian point of view. Do not deal with it from a Muslim

or Hindu point of view. May be you may please the Muslims for the time being, some of them, but at what cost? You aggravate the communal situation; you have created more bitterness; you have brought about the hostility of the majority community.

I will not take much more time. It has been said about wars that wars are made in the minds of men. They are not made by arms and armaments, hostility or pacts or treaties, but they are made in the minds of men. That is the famous legend of UNESCO. I say the same thing about communalism. Communalism is created in the minds of men. If your mind is pure and undefiled then there can be no communalism and therefore we want a system of national education, education which will not emphasize communalism, which will tell young people. "This is your country, never mind your caste or community. You belong to India. This is your history going back to thousands of years." That is the education we want.

Finally, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is no greater art, there is no more difficult art to practise than the art of living together. We in this country knew the art at one time. I remember the days as young boy when Hindus and Muslims lived together, shared festivals, shared griefs. There was no communalism. They never fought with each other. One might go to a mosque, the other might go to a temple. As far as other matters were concerned they were brothers and sisters. But today it is different. Let me point out how difficult it is, the art of living together, whether it is husband and wife, father and son, brother and brother, on an individual plane. They have to learn the art of living together. You go higher up. In the nation different groups, different communities, different castes have to learn the art of living together. Go a little further, internationally. The art of living together is the art of different nations living together. Therefore, I want to end on this note we have to learn the art of living together. We have always to recognise that we are Indians first, that our religion is a matter of our private affair, not public affair, and so long as we look upon problems from an Indian point of view, from a national point of view, I think there is very little chance of communalism prevailing in this country.

SHRI S. SIVAPRAKASAM (Pondicherry): (Spoke in Tamil)*

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I thank you for having given me the opportunity to make my maiden speech in the august House today. I want to express certain suggestions about the communal riots of Ahmedabad of Gujarat State.

SHRI OM MEHTA (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Vice-Chairman, up to this the opposition has taken 300 minutes and the Congress only 120 minutes. So I request the Chair to rationalise the time.

SHRI S. SIVAPRAKASAM: The riots based on religion and community in Ahmedabad are regrettable. I convey my condolences to those families who have lost the precious lives of their dear and near ones.

श्री मानसिंह वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : इसके अनुवाद का प्रबन्ध है ?

SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, he is making his maiden speech. Let him be allowed to continue without interruption by other Members.

SHRI A. D. MANI: He is providing a translation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): You carry on.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: There is no arrangement for simultaneous translation in our House. What is the use of allowing him to speak in Tamil?

श्री नेकीराम (हृदियाणा) : मैं एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ मेरे साथी जो उनके बराबर बैठे हुए हैं, वे अनुवाद कर देंगे तो बड़ा अच्छा रहेगा।

SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN: He will give the translation. Let him speak in Tamil.

SHRI S. SIVAPRAKASAM: We see this sort of riots have been found not only in Ahmedabad but in different parts of the country for the last few years.

* English translation of the hon. Member's speech in Tamil, as given by the hon. Member.

It is a disgrace to our nation and our country. Religious people are saying that all religions are for only love and affection among mankind. But we find this unwanted and obnoxious fight only among them. This Government is not prepared even to think deeply about the root cause for the malady and is also very hesitant if it finds out the real reason for the same. For example, a few years before, a poster was issued by this Government to preach against untouchability among the masses. In the poster it was shown that a caste Hindu is calling a Harijan, "Day Pariah go away", and under the picture it was written that if it is called like this, he will be imprisoned for six months. Caste Hindus raised objections to these posters. This Government stopped the publication. This was during the Congress Party's days. But our DMK Party at its cost published the same poster throughout the State. I am narrating this only to show that this Government is hesitating even to do good things for the country. We cannot tread on the path of progress if the Government is afraid of opposition by the reactionaries in the country.

There is a couplet of Tiruvalluvar which says—

"Noy Nadi Ncy Mudal Nadi Adu

Thani kkum Vai Nadi Vaippaccheyal"

which means, medicine is to be given after the correct diagnosis of the disease. If it is not done, it will end in death. Communal disharmony is also a disease on the society of the country. The root cause of this is only superstitious beliefs. Great leaders of Tamil Nadu, Arignar Anna and Periar E. V. Ramaswamy, are responsible for the annihilation of all these superstitions from the countrymen in our State through their propaganda for more than three decades. The people of Tamil Nadu are now more for reason than for tradition. Therefore, communal riot of inhumanity towards the down-trodden is not showing its ugly head in our State. Of course, seeds were sown of riots and violence during the Congress regime in our country. But they have been averted by us. In our State, Sir, the Hindus and the Muslims are living like brothers of one family.

This Government is wasting money for so many unnecessary things but why cannot it spend money for propagating rationalism and progressive ideas among

[Shri S. Sivaprakasam.]

the illiterates? In the AIR, all are belonging to the upper class people and therefore it is not useful for the people and they are propagating the principles of the stone Age. They are against rationalism and therefore they are not doing propagation of rationalism. The future of the country will be doomed if the same is repeated through the very big institution of educating the masses. If this is the state of affairs in our country, we cannot proudly join with the other nations. It is not good to hide a wound without curing it with the proper medicine. This Government should chalk out schemes to make rational propaganda in the other States as our leaders are doing in our State. All the leaders of this country should be requested to join in this campaign.

To conclude, I want to say that unless this Government takes steps to eradicate the superstitious beliefs in the country we cannot prevent communal riots and I request this Government to take immediate steps.

In the end, I want to quote the two lines of my teacher, the revolutionary poet of our State, Bharathi Dasan—

Urudhi! Urudhi! Urudhi! Onre

Samooham Enornnarke

Erudhi! Erudhi! Erudhi!

which means that our community is one and indivisible and those who do not believe in this shall find no place in the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): The hon. Member has promised that he will give an English translation of his speech which will be incorporated into the records.

SHRI M. N. KAUL: We want something, some other Member can give a summary.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): I do not think it will be necessary. A summary would not serve the purpose. The whole speech should actually form part of the records. It has not been possible, unfortunately, to introduce simultaneous interpretation in this House as has been

done in the other House and I do hope that at least before the next session starts a similar arrangement will also be made in this House.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, are we going to sit up to 6.00?

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULAT RAM (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I had an occasion to go to Ahmedabad very soon after the height of the communal disturbances had been controlled and I stayed there for seven days, met all sections of the people and tried to understand the cause of the disturbances, the course of the disturbances, and the steps taken to control and confine the disturbances within manageable limits. But I do not propose to go into all those aspects of the disturbances. I think it is better that we wait for the findings of the Commission which has been appointed—when we might be able to get reliable data to form our conclusions and to frame our proposals.

I am confining myself to a very restricted scope for my speech. I want to make one or two concrete suggestions to Government in the light of many many years of communal disturbances in the country. I do not want to diagnose the disease or to go into what may be called the general aspects of the communal problem. But one or two concrete suggestions to the Central Government—which I think are inherent in India's situation—are very very necessary for adoption.

After all, what is India! India is nothing but a union of States. If there is trouble in any single State, it has its repercussions on other States—and may be the repercussions may be on another country—and it ceases to be a mere matter which concerns that State. The Indian nation is so composed on the basis of religion, community and other factors that people belonging to all the religions and communities are living in all parts of the country. So when anything serious happens in any State, the whole nation feels the impact of it. I have therefore always regarded that so far as public order is concerned, so far as the maintenance of peace in any State is concerned whether it is disturbance on the basis of community or religion, it ceases to be a matter concerning merely that State

It concerns the whole of India. As I said on account of the repercussions, the entire nation feels the effect of it. We see it in today's discussion in this House, possibly in the other House, and we have seen this repeatedly.

Therefore, I have a definite feeling that it is inherent in the Indian situation that whatever may be the wrong interpretation of our Constitution, or whatever may be necessary to re-deal with the Constitution, the Centre must actively come into the picture when there are communal or sectional disturbances in any part of the country. After all, Gujarat is India, so also Maharashtra, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu or U. P. It is all India. Therefore, I believe that the Centre must come into the picture, and I have two suggestions with regard to that.

As Mr. Chagla has said, communalism is first born in the mind. For weeks together, for months together, a certain amount of propaganda goes on either on the platform or through the press or otherwise, and that propaganda continues to inflame the communal feelings in our people. And when it has reached a certain stage, one single, small incident lights the fire and there is a big burst up. There was the subtle; latent disturbance of the mind already there. The feelings were aroused, inflamed, passions were at a height. Then comes a single incident and then we find that what was latent has become patent. Therefore, I suggest two things. The Centre, if it has not the power, must get the power to deal with the press and the platform even at the State level, where communal peace or communal discord is concerned.

Also, the Centre is further responsible for taking whatever other steps are necessary to be taken to preserve peace in a particular State for the situation has repercussions even on other countries.

Sir, when the Constitution was being framed we had deliberately put in a provision anticipating certain occasions arising under which the Central Government, with the vote of this House could acquire certain powers to legislate in respect of a State on matters within a State and take executive action in accordance with that legislation inside that State. There are also other items which such legislation can cover.

I am referring to article 249 of our Constitution. I will take just one minute to read the contents of it:—

“Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Chapter, if the Council of States has declared by resolution supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting that it is necessary or expedient in the national interest that Parliament should make laws with respect to any matter enumerated in the State List specified in the resolution, it shall be lawful for Parliament to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of India with respect to that matter while the resolution remains in force.”

So also article 162 relates to executive action under such laws. I feel that the earlier we are able to take some such action, the better it would be for the preservation of peace in the country. I know the difficulties. I know the resistance which will be coming from the States. But I feel that unless the Centre is able to take some powers, create an atmosphere which enables it to get this legislation through, we will find that in each State peace will be disturbed and it will have repercussion on the rest of the country. The national interest will suffer. International relations also will be prejudiced. And yet the Centre will remain helpless. The National Integration Council at the non-official level can hardly do much. A little atmosphere no doubt it can create. Therefore, that positive action by the Centre is necessary and was inherent in the situation, as was anticipated by the Constituent Assembly. We should take some steps to create a situation which enables us to get this thing through. After all, we represent the States here. That is why the Constitution has given to us that representative capacity of Council of States and a provision has been made that the Council of States can, by a certain majority, give this power to Parliament. These are in brief my concrete suggestions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : Mr. Chavda. Five minutes.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Gujarat) : Only five minutes? Mr. Vice-Chairman, the communal riots in Gujarat broke out in

[Shri K. S. Chavda.]

September, 1969 and in Jagatdal, 24-Parganas in West Bengal, in October, 1969. What happened during the Ahmedabad riots and during the Jagatdal riots is a matter of shame to all of us. It is a matter of shame for the country as a whole.

Sir, I am very sorry to read out a news item under the heading, "Gujarat riots a black spot". I am reading out from the 'Hindustan Times', New Delhi, November 22:—

"Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said today the recent communal disturbances in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat were a very big kalank (black spot) on the face of Bharatmata (Mother India).

"In a reference to the riots in her speech (at the AICC session here,...

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : Which A. I. C. C. ?

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : ... whatever it is.

"...Mrs. Gandhi said the AICC should also mourn those who died in Gujarat."

Of course, it was the requisitioned A. I. C. C. meeting. But, Sir, the Prime Minister of India did not say anything for the mourning of those who had been killed in the Jagatdal riots in West Bengal. It further says:—

"They were citizens of our country with equal rights guaranteed to them in the Constitution."

I should like to know, Sir, whether those who died in the communal riots in Jagatdal were not the citizens of India.

Again, on September 16, the plenary session of the Islamic Conference at Rabat had decided against India's participation. The riots in Ahmedabad broke out on September 18 and they were brought under control on September 21. On September 23 the Summit Conference at Rabat invited India to take part in the Conference and India's participation was welcomed by all the 25 countries, including Pakistan. Then, Sir, I fail to understand why Rabat is linked with riots in Ahmedabad.

Then, Sir, when the killing and arson started and when shops were being

looted in Jagatdal in the 24-Parganas, the police would not stop it. The fire-brigade could not work. The whole night the people lived in mortal fear. The riot lasted for about a week. The ruling party never attacked the United Front and the Communists in West Bengal either in this House or outside. Why, may I know, favouritism was shown to the United Front Government in West Bengal? Why is the Gujarat Government alone singled out? These are the questions which require an answer from the Government.

On September 18, Sir, some Muslims collected on the road near the Jamalpur Gate in Ahmedabad at the time of the Urs fair objected to cows being brought along that road. Some of them assaulted the sadhus and also attacked the Jagannathji temple in Ahmedabad. The policemen who were present on the spot informed the police control room and the senior police officers rushed to the spot and the situation was brought under control. Cases were registered and investigation was taken up immediately by the Superintendent of Police (Crime Branch). Some persons were arrested and more persons were rounded up during the night. The State Government at once announced to hold a high level enquiry. The curfew was imposed at 10 p.m. on September 19. The army was called to cope with the situation, but the army came very late. (Time-bell rings) Just only one or two minutes, Sir. Then the former Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, went on a fast till the riots were brought under control. His 11-days fast helped a great deal in bringing communal harmony in Ahmedabad and elsewhere in Gujarat. The situation was fast returning to normalcy, but the visits of three M.P.s. and then two M.P.s and then the visit of the Union Deputy Law Minister, Mr. Saleem caused a setback in the fast returning sense of normalcy. It was reported in section of the Press in Ahmedabad and in other papers also that the Central Intelligence had reported to the Home Ministry about the objectionable activities and utterances of the three bearded men who visited Ahmedabad during the riots. Will the hon. Home Minister place that report on the Table of the House?

Shri Bhupesh Gupta and Shri Yella Reddy, both Members of this House, visited Ahmedabad during the riots. There were some bomb explosions, Sir, in Ahmedabad. One Shri Mohamed

Siddique died on the spot in the Daria-pur area of Ahmedabad while making a bomb. The people of Ahmedabad were shocked to know that the late Shri Siddique a ring leader of bomb-makers, had lent his car to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Yella Reddy during their tour of Ahmedabad. It was at the instance of the Communists in Ahmedabad that the late Shri Siddique was taken in the Peace Committee. . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I thoroughly repudiate it. Again and again they are repeating it.

(*Interruption*)

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : My request is, Sir, please do not allow interruptions. I will finish in one minute. The Union Deputy Law Minister, Shri Salcem, visited Ahmedabad on October 7. During his four-day stay in Gujarat, he contacted Shri Ibrahim Sulaiman Sheth, a Member of the Kerala Muslim League and other Muslim Leaguers, but he did not care to meet the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee. He went to meet Majlis-e-Mushavirat, but he did not allow workers including Muslims of different shades of opinion who went to him to inform him about the situation. I would like to know whether the Union Deputy Law Minister went to Ahmedabad to increase communal tension or to bring communal harmony. (*Time-bell rings*) One minute more. Before the riots broke out in Ahmedabad, there was a very big procession of Muslims against the burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : That has been mentioned.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : Some of the processionists shouted "Pakistan Zinda-bad" "जो इस्लाम से टकरायगा वो मिट्टी में मिल जायगा" ।

Gujarat being a border State, the Central Government should be very vigilant and should take immediate steps to check such matters. Therefore, Sir, it is useless to blame the Gujarat Government. The blame lies elsewhere. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAMNIWAS MIRDHA) : The hon. Home Minister.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, . . .

श्री पीताम्बर दास : मैं एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : We had fixed that at 5-30 the Home Minister would reply. I know many Members want to speak.

श्री पीताम्बर दास : मेरा निवेदन तो आप सुन लीजिए ।

SHRI B. V. ABDULLAH KOYA : Many allegations have been made against our party, but we have been left out. We suffer here also.

श्री पीताम्बर दास : मेरा निवेदन सुन लें, उसके बाद आप जो निर्णय करें . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : Let us proceed, please. I know that our Muslim League friends have not got an opportunity. You want another opportunity to speak. But looking to the shortage of time, as it has been fixed that the Home Minister would reply at 5-30 . . .

श्री पीताम्बर दास : मेरा निवेदन केवल सुन लें . . .

SHRI S. A. KHAJA MOHIDEEN (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, so many allegations have been made against us. Kindly allow Mr. Koya to speak.

श्री पीताम्बर दास : मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस अहमदाबाद के ऊपर इस डिवट में संघ और जनसंघ, ये दोनों एक तरीके से मुलजिम के कटघरे में खड़े किये गये हैं इस हाऊस में । चूँकि श्री मुन्दर सिंह भंडागी बिल्कुल शुरू में बोले थे और उसके बाद ये सारे चार्ज आये हैं, इसलिये अगर एक मुलजिम को सफाई का मौका 10 मिनट भी नहीं दिया जायेगा तो बड़ी ज्यादाती होगी । इसलिये मुझे सफाई के लिये 10 मिनट का मौका दे दें तो मैं . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) : जसा समय निर्धारित किया गया था उसी के हिसाब से चला जायेगा ।

SHRI B. V. ABDULLAH KOYA : Sir, of all the people I should have a chance.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: In all fairness, I think they must get a chance to speak.

SHRI A. D. MANI : I respectfully submit, Sir, that a Muslim League Member should be given a chance.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I suggest that Mr. Chavan may reply tomorrow.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: Yes, he may reply tomorrow.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Yes, he can reply tomorrow.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The Home Minister is tired. I think he can reply tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): At 6-15, Shri Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan is to speak and we have to wind up by then. I request the Members to co-operate. Let the Home Minister speak.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: All of us will finish by 6-15; he can reply tomorrow.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: As Shri Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan would be addressing us at 6-15, I do not know. . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I will finish before that, much before that. I never speak for long.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : It is not a question of your finishing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : How long will you take, Mr. Chavan ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : At least I will have to take half an hour.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : I will give

the Muslim League Member 5 minutes. Mr. Koya, just five minutes.

श्री पीताम्बर दास : एक बात मैं निवेदन कर दूँ :

“व्यक्ते ज़िब्रहा जानवर को भी देते हैं पानी पिला हज़रते इन्सान को आंसू बहाना भी मना”

SHRI B. V. ABDULLAH KOYA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, among the innumerable communal holocausts that have occurred in the country during the last 22 years, one has to say that the one that happened in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat is unique and unparalleled in the matter of destruction of life and property and the manner in which such destruction has taken place. Though the State Government puts the loss of life between 400 and 500, people who have made on-the-spot studies put it between 3,000 and 5,000. The loss of property has been terrible. The houses of people, particularly those of poor men, and innumerable mosques have been want only demolished. Besides, the business places have been looted and destroyed; rendering thousands upon thousands homeless. For want of time I will not read this whole thing.

The way in which Muslim houses and business places were picked up and destroyed and the implements that were used for such destruction indicate that the whole thing was deliberately pre-planned. Such planned destruction has taken place previously in other parts of the country, too. But the authorities concerned, with their security and secret agencies, have not been able to detect the preparations in time. The Home Minister says that he gave a warning about such matters even in the month of April or so of this year. Yet the State Government has not done anything to prevent such an outburst of inhumanity. Even when the orgies burst out, adequate and suitable action was not taken, and violence was not scotched promptly. The police made their appearance at their own time. Even then the tragedies went for a number of days with increased violence. Even when the army, which is expected to protect the country from internal as well as external aggression, came on the scene, not much difference was created in the situation. For several days after the appearance of the army, the atrocities went on without

abatement. Sir, do not all these things show that in our mother country, very strange things are happening in spite of the Government, Central as well as the State, possessing every paraphernalia which every other Government in the world possesses?

The State Government provided some camps for the people whose houses and belongings were destroyed and who became destitute. But it is learnt that adequate compensation and rehabilitation have not been effected. They say that the affected people have gone home from the camps; but when their houses have been destroyed and they have no place to go to, where would they have gone? It is said that people were forced to vacate all camps and go anywhere and that many of them have even gone outside the State in search of some asylum or refuge. *(Time-be-lings)* Yes, Sir, I am coming to my last point.

Again the same people bring in the name of the Muslim League whenever they choose for anything. For want of time I would only mention the aims and objects of the Indian Muslim League—

To uphold and advance the prosperity, strength and honour of the country and the happiness of the people;

To secure and maintain the rights of the Muslims and other minorities; and

To promote mutual understanding, goodwill, unity and harmony between the Muslims and other communities of the country.

Can anybody say that there is anything harmful in these aims and objects? Sir, people like me have sent their sons to the war front risking their lives. And let my friends, who criticise and question our loyalty, judge these things. During the days of the war with Pakistan we never worried about the lives of our kith and kin except the defence of the country. Forgetting all these things, if our loyalty is questioned, I should say, it is only doing injustice to us.

Sir, I have done.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have had nearly a two-day debate on what happened in Ahmedabad in the month of September. Every member of every political party

who has participated in the debate, has very rightly condemned the very shameful episode that took place in Ahmedabad. I am not speaking in a spirit of replying to the debate because that would be a wrong thing to do. There can be nothing like a reply in the sense that somebody has made certain points and those arguments have to be demolished. It is not in that spirit. At the same time I do not propose to hold a brief for the State Government or hold a brief against the State Government. That is also not my attitude in this debate. We have to look at this problem as a sort of challenge to the nation. What happened in Ahmedabad is not something which has happened in isolation. What happened in Ahmedabad is the culmination of what was happening in different parts of the country, particularly during the last two or three years. This country had a curse of communal riots for decades which ultimately resulted in the partition of this country. Unfortunately the two-nation theory has brought about the poisonous trends in this country. After the partition we felt that we succeeded in controlling this evil, but it seems that we have not. The basic question before us today is to find out why such things are repeating again and again. In order to look into the different communal riots that have taken place in the last two years at Ranchi, Allahabad, some incidents in Jammu and Kashmir, Maharashtra etc., the Government of India appointed a commission. We thought there should be a commission which would go into all these matters so that when it gave its assessment and views, we would possibly have a very correct analysis of the situation. And that commission is going into these series of disturbances and it is submitting its reports also. My main point is that these unfortunate things have again started in Ahmedabad. I do not propose to go into the genesis of what exactly happened because this is again a matter for inquiry by the Supreme Court Judge and two other Judges who are assisting him in Ahmedabad. I do not want to say something which possibly should be considered as a sort of interference in the actual inquiry. But I will certainly give some broad sequence of events that took place in Ahmedabad. Some honourable Members did make a mention of a certain communication which the Government of India sent to the Government of Gujarat in the month of April. I had myself made a reference to that in one of the

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meetings of the Consultative Committee which took place last month here. As you know, the Home Ministry has responsibility for any things and one of them is preventing communal trouble. Naturally, after the Ranchi trouble the Home Ministry has made it its responsibility to get information about the incidents that are taking place in different States and to objectively analyse those incidents and judge the trends to guide the State Governments, if it can, or at least to keep itself informed about what is happening. It so happened that from November, 1968 onwards unfortunately a series of incidents took place in Gujarat. Veralval was one of them. It was not as big as Ahmedabad, but it was certainly a serious incidence. Some three or four other incidents also took place. From this distance one can view this matter more dispassionately and objectively. We thought that it was rather an unusual trend in Gujarat and that it would be much better if we informed the State Government. This was how we felt about it. So, really speaking, this was an assessment that we made of the situation in Gujarat. And we informed them in the month of April. But that was about the incidents that took place before the month of April : From November, 1968 onwards, up to March, 1969. When I gave this information... (*Interruptions*)... we did not try to put the Government of Gujarat in a sort of dock. I was asked for information about certain facts which I gave. I cannot say that we had any information about what was likely to happen in September in Ahmedabad, or that we had warned them... (*Interruptions*). It is also a fact that some Members did make a reference to certain incidents that took place in Ahmedabad. One was about Kuran the other about Ramayan...

SHRI S. D. MISRA : May I know from the honourable Home Minister whether the circular that has been mentioned here was a general circular to all the States or was meant only for Gujarat ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : No, I am telling you that we send general circulars to all the States. At the same time I have myself written to the Chief Ministers a sort of general letter about the situation. But this particular communication which went from the Home Ministry was meant for the Government of Gujarat only because...

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : (Maharashtra) : What was the reply?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : To this there was no reply. May be, an acknowledgement might have come.

AN HON. MEMBER : Did you solicit any?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : No, we did not solicit any reply. We would have been glad if we had received a reply. We were only pointing towards a certain situation which was taking shape there and we thought it was much better that we shared our concern with the Government of Gujarat. But I am not saying this to put any blame at the doors of the Government of Gujarat. That is not the spirit in which I look at it. At the same time, naturally this honourable House could hold me responsible, could hold the Home Ministry responsible, to come and explain matters about certain unusual things that have happened. Naturally people are critical about the Gujarat Government. I would request Members not to be so sensitive at the situation that has arisen. People are bound to ask questions and we are bound to come and give replies about this matter. But it is no use getting rather sensitive in these matters. I have mentioned the particular events in sequence.

Now, let us come to what happened on 18th. I do not want to repeat the same thing again. There was the unfortunate incident about the Urs and the procession which had a chain reaction which ultimately led to the eruption of communal riots on 19th, even on 20th, 21st, 22nd. One Member asked me as to exactly what the time was when the army came in. I think one of the Members from Gujarat asked me that question. Naturally all the evidence on this point will come before the inquiry commission. Subject to correction, I am giving my piece of information.

On the 19th the Gujarat Government merely alerted the Army by saying that it is quite possible that they may require the help of the Army. As a matter of fact a proper demand for the Army was made on the night of the 20th. The Army units were in Jamnagar and some other distant places, they left those places and reached Ahmedabad on the

21st morning at about 10 or 10-30 and they were in position by about 1-30 or 2 o'clock. I must say after that things were brought under control. When I went to Ahmedabad two or three days later, the entire co-ordination was in the hands of the Army and other forces also which were sent there by the Government of India. The Gujarat Government also asked for some assistance from the Government of India and we sent some of our battalions of CRP and BSF and they reached there the next day. So the local police the BSF, CRP and the Army were looking after the arrangements in Ahmedabad for the rest of the time. Even now the Army continues to be present in Ahmedabad. Well, despite all these arrangements it is a fact that the worst had already happened. Now there are differences of opinion with regard to the figures of the dead persons. The hon. Member, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, has estimated it to be 3000 and some others have estimated it to be about 2000. Whatever information I got from the Government of Gujarat in this matter based on their records I have already mentioned in the Statement that I laid on the Table of the House. But some people are still insisting that...

SHRI A. D. MANI : What is the Army's estimate?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The Army has not made its own assessment because it was not supposed to make this assessment. *(Interruptions)* As this is a very serious matter, I will stand by my statement but if the hon. Member has got any specific information, I would appeal to him to supply it to me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, everything has been supplied to the Government of India in the form of a Memorandum.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am making one more suggestion to you that you make this information available to the Enquiry Commission also. That would be much better because it is very difficult for me to verify all the statements that are made here. When an Enquiry Commission is instituted, it is much better that this information is supplied to it. But at the same time, Sir, I must make one point that I personally feel that these figures are exaggerated figures. This is the one comment which I must

put on record that these statements tend to be rather exaggerated. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta goes to a further extent and says that a large number of bodies were not sent to the hospitals at all and they were directly taken to the cremation grounds or the burial grounds. Well, these are very serious matters if they are true and if there is any reliable evidence in this matter, it must be made available to the Enquiry Commission because this is exactly what the Enquiry Commission is expected to examine.

As far as the loss of human life is concerned, it is very, tragic. Even according to the information of the Gujarat Government a very large number of casualties have taken place. It is something abnormal. Some hon. Members did make a mention that instances have happened in Gujarat which have not occurred in other places—such type of instances—before. But one riot takes place which surpasses all the riots occurring in other places. Just imagine more than 400 people being killed ruthlessly and the manner in which they were killed; I think such a thing is certainly a matter of shame for this country.

About the other losses. Sir, when I went round, I was terribly shocked. A large number of shops of both the communities were burnt. There were burnt shops of the Muslims as also of Sindhis and other people. I also saw some mosques that were burned down. I must say that the feelings of the Muslims naturally must have been very badly hurt on these occasions.

Sir I would be doing injustice to the people of Ahmedabad if I do not mention one thing. In my tour of Ahmedabad I saw cases of terrible tragedies, worst enmity between the Hindus and Muslims, but at the same time I also came across mohallas of poor people, both Muslims and Hindus, living together peacefully throughout this period of eruption of communal riots in Ahmedabad. So this is the real hope of this country that even in this madness there is a feeling of humanity among the different communities. The Muslims called on me and said "Here are the Hindu minorities in this mohalla; better come and talk to these people." I saw that in the Muslim majority areas there were a few Hindus who were protected and in the Hindu majority localities there were some Muslims who were protected. We saw these things

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side by side; this is a silver lining in the whole situation.

Now, Sir, Members were concerned about the rehabilitation of these people. In the two or three days I was there, I saw that the Government of Gujarat was trying its best but the problem was formidable. I remember having seen one of the camps; it was popularly known as the police Stadium Camp. There were more than 10 thousand people; it looked like a yatra.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Jamalpur? The Muslim majority protected the Hindus there.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : This is what I was referring to.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Today these minority community people are subjected to police terror.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, I was saying that the refugee problem was a very terrible problem, because that shows the feeling of insecurity among the minorities.

(Interruptions)

Later on there was one controversy to which reference was made by some hon. Member; it was about the visit of the Deputy Minister, Mr. Saleem. (Interruption) He has not submitted a report to me but he came and reported to me what happened in Ahmedabad. He did not send me any written report. Possibly he must have written to the Prime Minister but he came and told me all about what happened. It was such a huge task to look after so many persons in the camp. That was the explanation of the Gujarat Government. Some members wanted to go to their home-towns. But Mr. Saleem also heard that some people were being forced to go away.

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That is why he wanted to check this situation along with some other members who were with him. He went to the places and talked to some people. According to him there were some people who felt that they were being compelled to go. So he persuaded the local authorities to take them back to the camp. This is what happened. And then, this has created a misunderstanding between the local administration and Mr. Mohammed Yunus Saleem. But I do not think, as far as I can see, that he had done anything wrong there. Only because

he happens to be a Muslim he went to places where the Muslim minority were in difficulty, and if he tried to be a little more sympathetic towards the Muslim minority, there should be a sense of appreciation about it.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : Is it the only point on which the complaint has come to the Government of India ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Yes.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : These were many more points against Mr. Yunus Saleem.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am talking about the information that reached me and I really wanted to know from Mr. Yunus Saleem. But to take this position is not right. Really speaking, there ought to have been greater appreciation of the fact that here is somebody who has come all the way from Delhi. Only because he happens to be a Muslim and a Minister or a Deputy Minister of the Government of India . . .

AN HON. MEMBER : Yes it made all the difference.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That was not the attitude of the Gujarat Government but it is the attitude taken by some of the Members here. (Interruptions) I am sure the Gujarat Government treated them well. They gave them all the co-operation and assistance. (Interruptions) I have no doubt about it. I am only commenting on the attitude of some Members here.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : May I know whether the Gujarat Government has written to the Government of India about his visit, about the evil effects thereof? It should be clearly said whether the Government of India received any intimation about his activities there. That is the main thing.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Well, at least personally I have not received any letter as such. (Interruptions) At least I do not remember to have received such letters. If I have received any such letter, I do not know. At least I have no specific memory of having received a letter making any specific allegations against any Minister as such.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : On a point of explanation.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : No, I don't yield on this point. Please sit down.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : Can the imputation be made against any Member that it was on communal grounds that the complaints were made against the Deputy Minister ? Because the complaints had also been made by the State Government, which cannot be charged with any kind of communalism, it would be highly unfair, I think, to make any imputation against any Member.

(Interruptions)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am not talking like that and I am not making any allegation against anybody. I am merely giving the facts as I know them; nothing more than that.

(Interruptions)

Why don't you listen ? Sir, I do not want to go into the details of what happened there. Really speaking, the most important matter which concerns this hon. House is how do we deal with this problem. That ultimately is the basic problem. What happened in Ahmedabad may happen anywhere in the country. I cannot say that other places are very holy places and it has only happened in Ahmedabad because it is Ahmedabad. It is not so. The conditions in the country are such that it can happen anywhere. And we are to find out how is it that these things are happening and what is the root cause of this matter. There I must say that we will have to search our own hearts for that. Some Members did say that there is a suspicion about the Muslims. I was rather surprised to hear the speech of my hon. friend, Mr. Chagla, because I have great regard for him and for his secular attitude in these matters. But I must say the way he presented the question certainly does not help to solve the problem. He said that he has many Hindu friends who think that there is a suspicion against the Muslims because they are not Indians or they are not loyal to India. That is the suspicion. Only because some people have a suspicion, could it be taken as a matter of fact ? Having a complex of suspicion is not a sign of health, mental health; I mean, the people who are having the suspicion must be given the treatment. It is not expected that those people against whom he has suspicion must come and plead with him. When this argument about Indianising the Muslims is being made, I must say that this is the worst that can happen in this country. When we say that Indian Muslims required to be Indianised, it means you

presume that they are not Indians. And creating this type of feeling against a large minority of India is the greatest crime that can be committed in this country. There may be individuals here and there—I do not say there are none. There may be unpatriotic people among the Hindus also. We all know that. May be there are some Muslims also who are unpatriotic. But are we going to take these exceptional cases and brand a whole community as unpatriotic and anti-national ? Sir, this attitude is the basic cause of this thing. We have created a sort of a big divide in the minds of Hindus and Muslims that only the Hindus are very national and those who are not Hindus are not national. Once we create this feeling, ultimately Ahmedabads are bound to happen.

Sir, after this the National Integration Council met; the Standing Committee met, and they considered this question. And the basic cause they have emphasised is this, and they have suggested very important solutions for this. They have suggested that it is much better that all the political parties in this country, whether they are secular or whether they are non-secular, whether they are communal or whatever they are, must undertake to take the responsibility of having a joint campaign, a mass campaign, to educate the minds of people. As I said, also this problem can be handled at two levels. One is at the administrative level. I do not think it is necessary for me to go into the details of administrative measures because, according to me, there is always a failure of the administration whenever there is a communal riot. I mean, it cannot be said that there was no failure on the part of the administration. There is always the failure of the administration and the only way of stopping communal riots is to prevent them. They must be prevented from happening. Once a communal riot starts, it is always the case that in a couple of days worse things happen, and then the administration gets into the position to look after itself and look after the aftermath of these riots. So, if there is proper intelligence about what is happening, if there is no complacency and there is the attitude of taking note and cognizance of the matters which are happening around, and of acting firmly at the very beginning, I am sure the riots would never take place. Wherever the administration has not shown this uprightness and this alertness, communal riots have erupted in the worst form.

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There are many other things also but along with these administrative measures the most important thing that has to be done in this country is for the leaders of public opinion, particularly political leadership, to take the responsibility of educating the minds of people. I have no doubt that the only thing that is responsible for the communal riots is the communal politics in this country. It is either Hindu communal politics or it is Muslim communal politics. I don't say it is a one-sided affair. Obviously this is certainly fair and therefore we have to take note of this particular aspect and see that this communal attitude in politics is completely eradicated. This alone will help. I know it is not going to be a very quick process. It is going to be a very slow process which will take years. But unless we make a beginning this will never happen.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : You make a programme.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That is why a decision has been reached with all the political parties. I am very glad that all the political parties which attended that conference—we called a conference of all the political parties—everyone including the Muslim League, Mushawarat, even Jana Sangh and other people who came to argue ultimately agreed to one thing namely that they will join a joint campaign. A sort of organisational committee is being appointed which will go into the question of preparing a programme and starting this joint campaign.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : In every State.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The idea is to start in the capital of every State to begin with and then possibly it can go downwards also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The conference unanimously rejected the theory of Indianisation.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Whatever they rejected, they have all agreed to participate in the joint campaign. As long as they have done that it is enough.

SHRI S. D. MISRA : What does the Home Minister think of politicians demanding votes on communal basis, on caste basis ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I do not know; we have not yet known politicians who do not do this.

SHRI GANESH LAL CHAUDHARY (Uttar Pradesh) : What is your reaction to this ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I would request everyone to search his own heart about it to see if he has not made use of religion, caste and other things for getting votes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are asking us to search our hearts but some have become heartless.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If I have to give judgment on the particular type of politicians possibly we will have to give judgment about all of us. It is not necessary for me to do so.

Sir, I will not say more because I had promised that I will not go beyond 6.15. The purpose of this debate was to underline the poisonous situation that is developing in the country and the result of the debate will be good if we succeed in creating a feeling in the country that every person in the country, to whichever caste, to whichever religion, to whichever region, he may belong, is an Indian citizen with full rights of protection and all the facilities that a citizen is entitled to get. If we create that feeling I am sure this poisonous atmosphere will be completely eliminated.

Thank you very much.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, one question.

SHRI S. D. MISRA : I would also like to put one question.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : Mr. Mani, have you got anything to say after this full debate ?

SHRI A. D. MANI : I only want to thank all the hon. Members who have taken part in the debate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) : The House stands adjourned till 11.00 a. m. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirteen minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 25th November, 1969.