

are unanimous in their resolve to ensure that peace and harmony was maintained and to participate unreservedly in the quick rehabilitation of all affected persons. Prime Minister has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 25,000 for providing immediate relief. About the administrative action being taken, I may mention that a large number of persons have been arrested in connection with the specific offences. A special investigation team has been

4. It is a matter of deep concern' to us that communal violence has claimed a number of innocent lives and has also led to loss of property in Karimganj and some other places in recent months. This House will recall that had written to all Chief Ministers soon after the Ranchi riots and had impressed upon them the need for utmost vigilance and firmness in dealing with communal trouble because the very foundations of our national honour and integrity are involved in this matter. This House is also aware that a Commission of Inquiry was appointed to go into some of the major disturbances that took place in 1967. Action has been initiated to revive the National Integration Council in which the fundamental problems of national integration can be considered dispassionately and long term solutions found for meeting evils like communalism and regionalism. A great responsibility lies on the Administration as well as on all political parties to ensure that communal harmony is not allowed to be disturbed. I have emphasized this in all the meetings of the Zonal Councils which have been held since August, 1967.

5. I assure the House that the Central Government would use all their power and influence to uphold and protect the right of citizens, irrespective of the religion they profess, to live and work in peace and with honour. Government would welcome any suggestions the Hon'ble Members may have to make in this matter.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now one thing is certain that I would give opportunity only to those who have given the Calling Attention Notice and T cannot be having a huge debate on this

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):
Sir, can we not put questions?

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The point is this that it is not very difficult for us to be a party to all the Calling Attention Notices but generally we do not do that unless the matter is a very important one.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can leave that to my discretion.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): By the ruling that was given by you just now, think we are accepting altogether a new principle, *if* may urge upon you that in such matters of urgent public importance if some prominent Members want to have their say or ask for some explanation or want to make some suggestions, that should be allowed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can trust my discretion in the matter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, we are fully in your hands.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: On Calling Attention Motions generally the custom or the convention adopted is that all Parties, irrespective of whether their names appear in the list or not, are given a chance. That has been the practice here. Now what you suggest is a departure.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): On a point of order, Sir, those who take the trouble to give their names should be called first. It does not matter whether he is the leader of the Party or the deputy leader of the Party.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are right, Mr. Tariq.

24.3.67.

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : سر، پہلے

تو میں ملٹری جی کو دھکیے وں
دیتا ہوں کہ موقع پر وہ وہاں گئے
اور انہوں نے زخمیوں کی دیکھ بھال
کی اور ان کو مدد دی اور اس طرح
ایک آپریشن انہوں نے کریت کیا
سرکار کے ہارے میں۔ کہا یہ درست
ہے کہ کریم گنج میں فسادات ہونے
سے چار پانچ دن پہلے کچھ لوگ
ایک پریسنگ کمپنٹی کے لوگوں کی
دائیں پکڑ پکڑ کر ان سے کہتے تھے
کہ تین چار دن میں دیکھ لینا کہ
کیا ہوگا؟ کہا یہ بھی درست ہے
کہ جس وقت فسادات ہوئے تھے
کچھ لوگ جو ایک مکان میں پناہ لینے
گئے تھے پولیس نے تھوڑے چھوڑ
کر ان کو مکان سے باہر آنے پر مجبور
کیا اور جب وہ مکان سے باہر آئے تو
ان پر حملہ کیا گیا جس میں چار
آدمی وہیں موقع پر زخمی ہوئے
اور دو وہیں پر مر گئے؟ اگر یہ
درست ہے تو میں ہوم منسٹر صاحب
سے یہ پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کیا
سرکار کوئی کارروائی کر رہی ہے ایسی
مہرکات کو روکنے کے لئے؟

†[**آئی۔ اے۔ ایم۔ طارق :** سر، پہلے تو
میں منتری جی کو غصہ دیتا ہوں کہ مہرکے پر
وہ وہاں گئے اور انہوں نے جھگڑائی کی دیکھ بھال
کی اور ان کو مدد دی اور اس طرح ایک
ڈیمونسٹریشن انہوں نے کیا سرکار کے بارے
میں۔ کیا یہ درست ہے کہ کریم گنج میں
فساداات ہونے سے چار-پانچ دن پہلے کچھ
لوگ ایک پارٹیکولر کمیونٹی کے لوگوں کی
دائیں پکڑ پکڑ کر ان سے کہتے تھے کہ
تین چار دن میں دیکھ لینا کہ کیا ہوگا؟
کیا یہ بھی درست ہے کہ جس وقت فسادات
ہوئے تو کچھ لوگ جو ایک مکان میں پناہ لینے
گئے تھے پولیس نے تھوڑے چھوڑ کر ان کو
مکان سے باہر آنے پر مجبور کیا اور
جب وہ مکان سے باہر آئے تو ان پر حملہ
کیا گیا جس میں چار آدمی وہیں مہرکے
پر جھگڑائی ہوئی اور دو وہیں پر مر گئے؟
اگر یہ درست ہے تو میں ہوم منسٹر
ساحب سے یہ پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کیا
سرکار کوئی کارروائی کر رہی ہے ایسی
مہرکات کو روکنے کے لئے؟]

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Sir, from my talks there with local people and officers I did not get the impression that they had any intimation of the tension mounting the way it did on the 2nd March. There was some petty quarrel, as I have said, and I met those boys involved in the quarrel, particularly the Muslim boy who was supposed to be responsible for this. He was a boy of 14 years of age and in this connection I may say that this quarrel between a boy of 14 years of age and a boy of 16 years of age was not considered to be something very serious. Then again, Sir, I had discussions with the local people and local officers also. That very day they never expected any communal tension as such. As a matter of fact—this is just for the information of my friends only, I do not want other Members to react again sharply—that day there was a very well-organised big demonstration by the Communist Party in the town.

AN HON. MEMBER: Right or Left Communists?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Right or Left, that does not matter here but the demonstration was certainly a peaceful demonstration and naturally, therefore, the police had to concentrate on the arrangements for that demonstration. One has to do that. If things had gone out of your hands, then you would have asked: 'Why did you not make arrangements?' Naturally it was the duty of the administration to make preparations for it. So that morning it was not anticipated that there would be any communal tension. This is what I found from my local enquiries. As for the other thing, the area where these houses were burnt, etc. is a small area, with very narrow approaches. It is full of tree growth as is normal in that part of the country. Also the whole area was crowded and the police had to throw tear gas. Some people did show me some tear gas shells which were found in their houses or near their houses. It is quite possible that in the confusion they must have been thrown because in the crowd the people who were doing all sorts of things were spread all over and so it was very difficult for the police that they could throw the tear gas shell in any particular direction. I personally think that no unfavourable inference need be drawn from this particular incident.

شبى اے - ایم - طارق : کیا یہ

درست ہے کہ سرکار نے رائچی میں جو فسادات ہوئے، کوہاٹی میں ہوئے اس کے لئے انکوائری کمیشن مقرر کیا ہے - کیا میں ہوم منسٹر سے امید کروں کہ ان فسادات کے بارے میں بھی وہ ایک انکوائری کمیشن مقرر کریں گے جس سے معلوم ہو کہ کیا ہوا -

میں چوآن صاحب سے یہ بھی جاننا چاہتا ہوں کہ کیا یہ حقیقت نہیں ہے کہ راستریہ سونم سیوگ سنگھ کے سویرا گول والکر کو سانچر میں جانے کی معافیت کی کئی تھی اور ایسے موقع پر جب وہاں کمیونل ٹینشن تھا وہ سرکار کی بات کو ایک طرف چھوڑ کر وہاں گئے - مجھے ان کا احترام ہے لیکن جب کمیونل ٹینشن ہو تو کیا سرکار کے لئے یہ ضروری نہیں تھا کہ ان سے دوستانہ طریقہ پر یا سرکاری طور پر درخواست کرتی کہ وہ نشریف نہ لے جائیں - لیکن جب سرکار نے احکام کیا اس کے بعد بھی وہ گئے - تو میں ہوم منسٹر صاحب سے توقع کرتا ہوں اور ضمانت چاہتا ہوں کہ چاہے اسمیں کسی مائنڈرٹی کے لوگ ہوں وہ سختی سے کام کریں گے اور منافقت پھیلانے کے مزید موقعے نہیں دیں گے ؟

†[श्री ए० एम० तारिक : क्या यह दुस्त है कि सरकार ने, रांची में जो फसादात हुए गौहाटी में हुए, उसके लिये इन्क्वायरी कमीशन मुकरर किया है। क्या मैं होम मिनिस्टर से उम्मीद करूँ कि इन फसादात के बारे में भी वह एक इन्क्वायरी कमीशन मुकरर करेंगे जिस से मालूम हो कि क्या हुआ? मैं चव्हाण साहब से यह भी जानना चाहता हूँ

†[] Hindi transliteration.

[श्री ए० एम० तारिक]

कि क्या यह हकीकत नहीं है कि राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ के सरब्राह्म गोल्वालकर-को सिलचर में जाने की मुमानियत की गई थी और ऐसे मौके पर जब वहां कम्यूनल टेंशन था वह सरकार की बात को एक तरफ छोड़ कर वहां गये । मुझे उनका एहतराम है लेकिन जब कम्यूनल टेंशन हो, तो क्या सरकार के लिये यह जरूरी नहीं था कि उन से दोस्ताना तरीके पर या सरकारी तौर पर दरखास्त करती कि वह तथरीफ न ले जाएं । लेकिन जब सरकार ने एहकाम किया उस के बाद भी वह गये । तो मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से तबको करता हूं और जमानत चाहता हूं कि चाहे इस में किसी माइनरिटी के लोग हों वह सक्ती से काम करेंगे और मनाफकत फैलाने के मज्जीद मौके नहीं देंगे ?]

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: As far as the matter of enquiry is concerned, I would leave it to the State Government to take a view on it because I find that there are even now undercurrents of tension in that area. Whether such an enquiry is going to help in the removal of the tension is a matter of judgment because in Karimganj things are very much under control but in the rural area I cannot say that it is free of tension even to-day. Secondly the only question that I could have thought of is to add these incidents also for enquiry by the Dayal Commission which has been appointed but personally I am against it because if we go on adding incidents for enquiry the Commission possibly would never be able to submit its report. What I am more inter-(I in is that this Enquiry Commission goes into the general causes and gives us some recommendation which can be very speedily implemented. So as far as the enquiry part is concerned, I would leave it to the judgment of the Enquiry Commission.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: What about the Qdlwalkar report?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN. About Gol-walkar report, I have not got any

particular information. I¹ would not say any thing against anybody unless I have evidence about it.

SHRI A. D. MANI; May I ask the Home Minister whether it is not a fact—I have a bunch of newspaper cuttings on the subject—that even in Assam and in the Indian press the full facts about these unfortunate incidents at Karimganj have not been properly reported? From the way in which *ihe* Home Minister is narrating, it seems to be a trivial matter. May I ask him to give us a more comprehensive report because the very publicity of these trivial incidents will act as an antidote to the present fever going on in Karimganj? Secondly, has the Government under consideration any legislation to deal with communal activities, a special legislation of the kind of the Unlawful Activities Act which was recently passed by the Parliament because the Indian Penal Code at present is very defective for dealing with these communal incidents?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: The hon. Member I must say—he is well-intentioned in this particular matter—is off the mark. I quite see that these very petty incidents are leading to quarrels. That is exactly why we will have to think about the matter very seriously. It is not the petty incidents that are really responsible for the quarrels but I find the atmosphere in this country is surcharged with communalism. Therefore any small incident or any quarrel between two boys or a quarrel between marriage, processions develops into some ugly incidents. That really speaking is the most important thing that we have to consider. There are two approaches to this. One is the administrative part of it. For the administrative part, there not enough legal authorities to enforce laws. I personally think that there are enough legal authority. It is not a question of there being any lack of law and so one more would not be necessary. It is a question of cons!-int vigilance and taking preventive action—very ruthless action—to avoid these. I am trying to impress on

the State Government this aspect. Secondly—which is the more important part and that fact I would emphasise with all the emphasis at my command—there is something like communal politics in our country which is mainly responsible for this sort of atmosphere in the country and in that matter I would like the co-operation of all the political parties, of every public spirited man in this country.

श्री जगत नारायण (हरियाणा) : वजीर साहब ने अभी कहा कि 7 तारीख के बाद कोई खास इन्सिडेंट नहीं हुए हैं। मैं उनके नोटिस में 10 तारीख के 'टाइम्स आफ इंडिया' की खबर लाना चाहता हूँ—

"About 2,000 persons, some armed with guns and other lethal weapons, attacked the Railway Protection Force personnel on patrol duty at Badarpur near Karimganj in Cachar district on Thursday evening delayed reports received here said yesterday."

इस पर काफी लम्बी रिपोर्ट है। वहाँ पर दो हजार आदमियों ने रेलवे प्रोटेक्शन फोर्स पर हमला किया। आगे उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि गांवों के मकानों को बिसमार कर दिया और लूट भी लिया। 7 तारीख को आप वहाँ तशरीफ ले गए थे, उसके बाद का यह 10 तारीख का वाकया है।

इसके साथ ही मैं उनकी खिदमत में यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि वे यह दुरुस्त फरमाते हैं कि कन्ट्री में एटमासफियर बहुत खराब है, इसको दुरुस्त करना चाहिए। उन्होंने यह भी कहा था अपनी तकरीर में कि लाचित सेना के मुताल्लिक वे कोई एक्शन लेने को तैयार हैं और आसाम गवर्नमेंट को भी कह रहे हैं। लेकिन अखबार में यह खबर भी है—

"Threatening letters addressed to some non-Assamese businessmen in Jorhat asking them to leave Assam within one month have been received, police sources said.

According to the police, these handwritten letters had been posted by the Jorhat branch of the so-called Lachit Sena, the underground organisation, which stands for secession of Assam from the Indian Union."

तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इन तमाम बातों को मद्देनजर रखते हुए—वे चाहते हैं कि हालात ठीक हों—वे क्या कर रहे हैं और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को क्या इन्स्ट्रक्शन्स दे रहे हैं ताकि आगे ये तमाम बातें न हों। दो हजार आदमियों का 7 तारीख के बाद हमला करना और मकानों को बिसमार करना कोई मामूली बात नहीं है।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Yes, the hon. Member is right that I have mentioned 7th November because I had information in much more detail. Therefore I mentioned 7th March but some incidents took place even after the 7th March. As I was coming here, I got information about one incident where one village tried to go and attack the other village or other community and I am glad the Assam Government has already given them instructions to impose collective fine and on that village, a collective fine was imposed. So the police and the administration are up and doing about it.

श्री जगत नारायण : आसाम के चीफ मिनिस्टर इस मामले में क्या हिन्द सरकार की पूरी मदद कर रहे हैं और उसकी राय के मुताबिक चल रहे हैं?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I think so.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Unfortunately quarrel between two boys does not lead to this kind of explosion generally. It is not so bad as all that but some incidents are taking place. These are just pretexts. There must be deeper reasons for it and I am glad that the Home Minister has said that the situation is surcharged with communalism. But yet—he has said it—all the police forces were busy with or looking after the demonstrations by communists. Well, Sir, this is a very very important point in the same speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I appreciate it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Precisely this is my point. Government energies, specially of its Intelligence, are being used against the left and other parties, non-communal democratic parties, specially against legitimate mass movements, and this is what we find everywhere, so that they do not know exactly what is happening in the communal world by way of preparation, by way of incitement, by way of propaganda, by way of working for a kind of fight whenever the opportunity comes. Therefore I would like to know how the Government is going to tackle this problem—it seems they are not. The hon. Home Minister said that there are two ways of looking at it, administrative and political. I agree: it must be both. It cannot be either political, or only administrative; there should be a combination. But as far as the ruling party is concerned, Sir, I find the ruling party, in a political sense, deficient at the political point, and negligent at the administrative point, if not worse almost bordering on dereliction of duty. Is the ' hon. Minister not aware that in these places some of the police officials and others are definitely communal? Is he not aware that even in the 1965 communal riots in Calcutta mostly the Muslims were attacked by some people, and even Mr. P. C. Sen had to admit that some of the police officers, high officials, did not act and they paralysed a certain part of the administration? What assurance do I

have that in Assam it was not so, because I find, Mr. Chairman, that somehow or other the Intelligence in Assam is failing? Whether it is a linguistic riot, or it is a case of Assamese *versus* non-Assamese, whether it is Hindu-Muslim or some other, the Intelligence does not give any report at least in order to attract action by the administering authorities. Therefore these things have also to be done into. And, besides, is not the hon. Minister aware that literature is being circulated in this country which incites communalism, which wants to rouse communal passions? Is he aware that in so many riots communal killings and disturbances have taken place since the last General Elections? We do not see Government waking up to it and dealing with it in the manner it should be done. Mr. Chavan has expressed sentiments. But what are the concrete steps? I should like to know. He asked for co-operation of political parties. Which parties he wants the co-operation of? And how they are to do it? And what will be the forum of that co-operation? I would like to know whether at the political level the Congress Party itself is sure that it does not get involved in communal riots and other things as it got involved in Ranchi, for example. We should like to know all these things. Sir, I say the Union Home Ministry is failing, and the Union Home Ministry has a specific responsibility in the matter of maintaining communal harmony assisting the States in the matter and also taking the political initiative. But the Home Ministry's preoccupation has been its talks of plans against the left parties. So they do not have the time or the resources available for this kind of action, that which is needed to stamp out communalism in this country. I would like the hon. Home Minister to be a little more expansive on this subject and take us into confidence into the details. Tell us which paper, which party, which organisation, which voluntary corps is indulging in this communal provocation arousing passion against the minority community.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bih would also like to put a question.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall come to you after Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: So I shall answer all questions at one time as after a general debate.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Niren Ghosh. Please be brief because others also want to put questions.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Why should you be so hard on me, Sir?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am never hard. I am always very soft towards you.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: During the last one year there have been a series of attacks against a religious minority community—I do not call it a minority community in the national sense. Nationally speaking, it is not a minority community, but it is a religious minority community. It is the Muslims. Generally they have been attacked in various parts of the country, and generally the attackers and those who inspire the attacks have gone scot-free. They have not been generally apprehended. Nothing has happened to them. How in Assam I would like to know, Sir, whether after the Gauhati and Karimganj incidents—the Home Minister is very fond of defining the rule of law. I never agree with his definition of the rule of law, still, according to his own definition of the rule of law which is a mockery—the rule of law prevails in Assam, or it does not prevail. This is what I would like to know because, had it been another non-Congress Government, I know that very very harsh words would have been bandied about. There would have been a furore in both the Houses. But, here, because it is a Congress Government, generally our back benchers are silent, generally I say, not always. Now, Sir, I would also like to know whether the Home Minister knows that as a result of all these things a feeling of insecurity is current among the Muslim population of

India. There are five or six crores of them, not just a few thousands or a few lakhs and they feel a sense of insecurity now, feel that it is not just a secular State, that it is almost a Hindu State, Hindu trappings, Hindu imageries, Hindu behaviour and all the rest of it and under those trappings some sort of secular State—it is merely a garb. To some extent I also feel like saying that it is Hinduised; it is apparent as far as the secular ideal is concerned. Under that guise it is going on uninterrupted. And I would like to know whether the hand of any political party is involved in heightening political tensions. Are the utterances of Gururji Golwalkar or Shri Balraj Madhok, for example, are they in tune with maintaining communal harmony, or are they inciting hatred against one minority community? I would like the hon. Minister to answer this specific question. If it is so, I would like to know whether you think that communal propaganda should be banned, whether the Ministry can do it, whether it takes the view that at least communal propaganda should be banned when the Ministry could go out of the way sometimes. Even the right of preaching a doctrine was denied to Mr. Annadurai and a Constitutional amendment was got through. But time and again, since 1947—during the olden days it was inspired by the British but now—we have seen a holocaust of communal riots and generally the Muslims have been the victims on a huge scale. As far as my State is concerned, we know, and we have always fought against it, but, Mr. Chairman, no measures whatsoever have so far been brought forward by the Congress Government to fight this hideous menace. "Would he consider banning this? And I would like to know about the National Integration Council; on what basis will it function? Do you want our co-operation? In the olden days it was a packed body, if they tread along the same lines everything will be solved—that was the line. But if anything really purposeful is to be done, then there must be co-operation on terms of equality and on the basis of democracy, on the democratic idea, on the basis of the idea that 95 per

[Shri Niren Ghosh] cent, of the people must be guarded, at whatever cost. So I would like to know whether these steps will be taken.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) :

मैं गृह मंत्री जी का ध्यान आसाम के मुख्य मंत्री ने जो राज्य विधान सभा में 4 मार्च को कहा है उसकी तरफ आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा है कि पाकिस्तान के पड़ोसी सब-डिवीजन में अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय के साथ हुई घटनाओं की सूचना सरकार को मिली थी। ऐसा लगता है कि इसी से हमारी ओर भी तनाव बढ़ा था। उन्होंने यह उल्लेख किया है। तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आसाम के मुख्य मंत्री जी का यह वक्तव्य उनके ध्यान में आया है तो हिन्दुस्तान के पड़ोसी हिस्सों में जो घटनाएँ होती हैं जिसका परिणाम हमारे निकटवर्ती क्षेत्रों में होता है, जैसा कि हुआ है, तो इस संबंध में गृह मंत्रालय ऐसी घटना के बाद ऐसे कौन से कदम उठा रहा है जिससे इस प्रकार की घटनाओं को रोका जा सके।

पिछले दिनों कुछ जगहों पर जो घटनाएँ हुई हैं उनमें एक दूसरी चीज सामने आई है और जैसा करीमगंज में भी हुआ कि शुरुआत छोटी होने के बाद, एकदम से पुलिस और एक विशेष समुदाय के बीच में वह झगड़ा बढ़ता है और लम्बा चलता है, एक विशेष समुदाय द्वारा नियमों की अवज्ञा करने की चुनौती के कारण वह घटनाएँ बढ़ती हैं, उसके कारण वह झगड़ा बढ़ता है, तो ऐसी हालत में उन परिस्थितियों में जैसा कि आपने सूचना दी कि वहाँ पर कलेक्टिव फाइन लागू किया, तो मैं गृह मंत्रालय से पूछना चाहूँगा कि कलेक्टिव फाइन से जो उस इलाके के लोगों को जुर्माना देना पड़ता है, उसके संबंध में उनको क्या कहना है क्योंकि जो अपराध करे, जो लाँ एण्ड आर्डर मेनटेन करने कराने में बाधा पहुँचाए, जिसकी

कम कर पुलिस के साथ लड़ाईयाँ हों, क्या उन घटनाओं के अन्दर भी हम कलेक्टिव फाइन की थियोरी को प्रोत्साहन देना चाहते हैं? तब तो इसमें यह चीज आएगी कि जो सरकार की मदद करना चाहते हैं, जो कानून का पालन करना चाहते हैं और जिन्होंने कानून का पालन नहीं किया, दोनों की अगर हम एक प्रकार से मुजरिम करार करके उनसे जुर्माना वसूल करना चाहेंगे तो उसका उन घटनाओं को बढ़ाने में जिन्होंने जुर्म किया उनके ऊपर हम वास्तव में जो असर डालना चाहते हैं उसका क्या परिणाम होगा?

सांप्रदायिक तनाव के प्रश्नों पर, सरकार के सेक्यूलरिज्म के नाम पर और बाकी सब बातों से किसने यह सब झगड़ा शुरू किया, किसने हमला किया, किस पर किया, ऐसे घटनाएँ हुई, ये चीजें आजकल एक आवरण में आती हैं और इन आवरणों से गलती कहाँ हुई, गलती करने वाला कौन था, इसके बारे में भ्रांतियाँ निर्माण होती हैं। उस में से हम इन समस्याओं का समाधान भी नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। हम सेक्यूलर स्टेट मानने वाले होते हुए भी जब कोई इस प्रकार का सांप्रदायिक तनाव हो, तो क्यों नहीं सरकार की तरफ से जो दोषी जाति है या समुदाय है या वर्ग है, जिसने वह घटना शुरू की, जो इसके शिकार बने, तकलीफ कहाँ से शुरू हुई, मुस्लिम ने की, हिन्दू ने की, किसी जाट ने की, किसी सिख ने की, किसी सनातनी ने की—हम क्यों नहीं पिन पौइंट करके उसे लोगों के सामने लाने की कोशिश करते ताकि लोगों को समझने में भी सहायित हो और जिनकी तरफ से यह दोष प्रारम्भ होता है उसको विचार करने की आवश्यकता पैदा हो कि इन घटनाओं को रोकने के लिये क्या कदम उठाने चाहियें और यह अगर बढ़ रही है तो कौन से कदम हम उठाएँ जिससे इनको बढ़ने से रोका जा सके। मैं चाहता हूँ कि

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दोषी लोगों को आवरण में रखने की बजाय उनको सामने लाना चाहिये। और हम चूँकि उनको सामने लाना नहीं चाहते, यह भी एक कारण है कि जिसकी वजह से सांप्रदायिक तनावों की जड़ में पहुँचने का हमें कई बार अवसर प्राप्त नहीं हुआ।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं सरकार से सिर्फ यही अनुरोध करना चाहूंगा, कि जो देश में कम्यूनल टेन्शन बढ़ रहा है उसे देखने के लिये जो नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन काउंसिल है जिसकी सभापति प्रधान मंत्री हों, उससे कोई हल निकलने वाला नहीं है। कुछ बुनियादी काम सरकार करे; जैसे कि हिन्दू मुस्लिम एकता के लिये पहले गांधी जी के जमाने में हुआ था उस ढंग का कार्यक्रम अगर सरकार के लोग, कांग्रेस की पार्टी और दूसरी पार्टियाँ मिल कर करें, तभी कोई बुनियादी शांति हम इस देश में ला पायेंगे। मैं सरकार से अर्ज करूंगा कि इस बात को सोचे कि नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन काउंसिल में प्रधान मंत्री को सभापति पद पर बैठा देने से कोई इंटीग्रेशन इस देश में होने वाला नहीं है। मैं दावे के साथ कहूंगा कि इस तरह के सरकारी नेताओं को इंटीग्रेशन काउंसिल का चेयरमैन बनाने से जो स्थिति है और बिगड़ेगी, उसमें कोई सुधार होने वाला नहीं है क्योंकि वह पक्षपाती है सरकारी नीतियों के और सरकारी नीतियों के बारे में बहुत आलोचनाएं होती हैं और उसके फल-स्वरूप भी कभी कभी कम्यूनल टेन्शन बढ़ जाता है। मसलन में उर्दू का ही सवाल आपके सामने रखना चाहूंगा कि जो मुस्लिम भाई हैं उनके दिमाग में है कि उर्दू को जो स्थान इस देश में मिलना चाहिये वह नहीं मिला है और उसी तौर से कुछ हिन्दू लोग ऐसा समझते हैं कि ये लोग ख्वाहमख्वाह उर्दू के बारे में हल्ला मचाते हैं, ये अलगाव का दृष्टिकोण रखते हैं, उसकी कोई न कोई मुखातिफत होनी चाहिये। इस ढंग से आपस में तनाव बढ़ता जाता है और यह भी सही है कि जगह

जगह पर कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं, चाहे वह राजनैतिक लोग हैं, या कोई परदेशी ताकतें हों, उनकी एजेंड हों, हिन्दुस्तान में सेक्यूलरिज्म को खत्म करने के लिये एक खराब रोग इस देश में देने के लिये ये कम्यूनल दंगे देश में कराते हैं। तो मैं सरकार से यह पूछना चाहूंगा कि क्या सरकार यह नहीं समझती है कि इसके बारे में कुछ ऐसी व्यवस्था करें कि एक तो जो विदेशी एजेंटों के काम होते हैं उनको रोकने के लिये कोई बड़े पैमाने पर काम करें, जैसा कि हमारे साथी भूपेश गुप्त ने कहा कि पुलिस और इंटेलिजेंस का बहुत सारा समय जाता है पोलिटिकल पार्टियाँ और दूसरों को देखने में और उनको समय नहीं रहता है कि हिन्दुस्तान को तोड़ने की जो साजिश हो रही है उसके बारे में कुछ तहकीकात करें। तो मैं चाहूंगा बुनियादी तौर से हिन्दू मुस्लिम एकता के बारे में सिर्फ कोई आफिशियल दृष्टिकोण से नहीं बल्कि जनता के अन्दर में काम होना चाहिये। मासेज के लिये काम होना चाहिये, उसके बारे में सरकार के नेता लोग अगर सोचें तो इसका कोई हल निकल सकता है और मैं चाहूंगा, गृह मंत्री साहब इसके बारे में सोचें।

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: I only want to seek a few clarifications from the hon. Home Minister. The hon. Home Minister rightly said that the atmosphere in the country is surcharged with communalism and naturally many people, most people, are affected, whether they are in this sphere of life or in that sphere of life. Then one point was raised by some hon. Members as if these communal flare-ups are a special or particular or exclusive feature of the States ruled by Congress¹ Governments. May I know whether the Government or the Home Ministry is aware that only in the last three

[Shri B. K. P. Sinha]

days in Kerala which is ruled by the Left Communist Party, there has been an ugly communal incident within five miles of Trivendrum? Secondly may I know from the hon. Home Minister was there a Congress Government in Bihar when the riots in Ranchi and Sursua took place? That is the second point for clarification.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Did not the Bihar Congress Party participate in it?

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: May I know from the hon. Home Minister whether it is not a fact that in Sursua when there was some stone-throwing on an idol there was trouble and then thereafter, peace prevailed? Thereafter is it not a fact that some members of certain parties went from Patna, some of the Jana Sangh—everybody talks of the Jana Sangh—and some members of the Communist Party and so on, went there and organised a certain secret meeting in Sursua?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Absolute falsehood—

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Let the hon. Home Minister say that it is a falsehood.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: K. B. Sahai group men participated! in the killing. We know that. I think the Bihar Government must have known that. I entirely agree with the criticism that the Bihar Government should have arrested K. B. Sahai.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Let not my hon. friend get agitated.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Chairman, I deliberately did not mention it, but the hon. Member has now mentioned it. Let him take it that we know what the Bihar Government did. We also know that some of those in the K.B. Sahai group—not all—I say some of them, participated in the Muslim killing in Ranchi.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: I did not blame the Communists. I say some members of the Communist Party, may be in their individual private or personal capacity, went there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Name them.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: These show how things are happening and how everybody, whether he be a member of the Congress or a member of the Communist Party or of the Jana Sangh is affected by it.

The third clarification I want from the hon. Minister is this. He said on that day . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, this is a serious matter. I may tell you and the House through you that we have instructed our party members.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: ... in that we shall judge their role not only by what they say but by how many of them are killed by the rioters. We have asked them to go and die there and directly intervene no matter how many of us may be killed¹ in that process. That is the attitude of my party. Let the other party declare: let there be a competition among the parties to go and stop the riots and face death and knifing by the rioters. I am ready for it.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI (Assam): I accept the challenge of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. There are many examples. Many Congressmen died both in the old British days and after independence but how many Communists died?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am sure in the past you died but may I say . . .

(*Interruptions*) Sir, I should not be misunderstood. I never said all the Congressmen are communal. I say there are many Congressmen who are secular and I do maintain it. Certainly there are many Congressmen at all levels.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order. We agree with both. Sit down.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Mr. Chairman, it is the general experience of everybody in every country, in every age that the weaker a person's case is the greater is his excitement. Therefore I am not surprised at the hon. gentleman there getting excited at the slight mention of the Communist

Party, They are not all angels. Wo do nut claim to be all ang

The third is, the hon. Minister has said that there was a demonstration by the Communist Party on that day in Karimganj town. Now many participated in that. Did these men have any caste, religion, community or not? Where is the guarantee that tht' general atmosphere of communalism and excitement did not infect some of them" Will the hon. Minister ask the body which is going to enquire into the whole thing to find out whether some members oi the assembly that had collected there—I do not want to use the word 'mob*— *h>r* the purpose of demonstration also possibly participated in. the rioting.

These are a few matters which I would like the hon. Minister to clarify. Lastly I would urge that nobody organised by the Government can control the minds of the people. For that it is necessary that you should have a non-official organisation drawn from all parties, all communities, with the right type of people manning that body and that body should carry on incessant propaganda so that communalism vanishes from even the subconscious of the people here. Unless you do that mere administrative steps in my opinion are not going to solve the problem.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated): May I have a word. Mr. Chairman because you have called nobody from the Central sector?

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: Mr. Chairman, if people get excited and if people lose their heads a little either on the right or on the left I think it is understandable but what haa struck me most in the debate today is the little hot brick which the Home Minister has thrown on the floor of this House, when he said that. the whole country was surcharged id communalism.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maharashtra): That is true.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I am not saying whether it is true or not. His words, coming ss they do
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from the mouth of one of the most sober and level-headed of our Ministeis, our Home Minister Mr. Chavan, made me sit up. Is this evil as deep-rooted, as widespread, as to make him say that the country is surcharged with communalism? If it is, then what are we doing about it? India was partitioned on this issue. We have now lived twenty years under the Republic of India and the majority political party, the Congress, bas held office not only in Delhi but in

i of ihe States till now. Their il sponsibility in this matter is greater than that of anyone else in this country. How does the Home Minister make a statement like that and not tell us at the same time what are the steps he has taken, what are the steps he would take, not as Home Minister but also as representing the ruling party, to pluck this canker out of the heart of India? Now, I am not sure whether his statement that the whole country is surcharged with communalism is fully right. Large areas of this country are free from this kind of communalism. I can give facts and figures to show that these patches of communal frenzy are scattered in this country. They are certainly symbolic and are straws in the wind. We must recognise that. But let us not create any scare. The other day my friend Mr. Dahyabhai Patel waxed eloquent and said: "Ban the Communist Party". But why did he not say also—"Ban the communal political parties"? But perhaps if everybody takes to ban everybody

, what is left behind? Banning may not be the solution. Banning can temporarily give a setback to something but the major issue, the biggest issue, is for the Congress Party, the ruling party, and the Central Government and the State Governments to guarantee that no one preaches communal hatred in any part of thfe country. Take what steps you like. Official steps, non-official steps if you want, but I do not see really any such thing happening. There is so much talk about this National Integration Council and the nation is slowly disintegrating. I put it back to the Home Minister that we value his level-headedness, we value his approach to the problem but if he merely says that the country is surcharged with

(Shri G. Ramachandran] communalism and then he does not tell us what is to be done today, tomorrow and the day after, then he is simply throwing, as I said, a hot brick on the floor of the House and leaving it there.

Mr. Chairman, I will add only one more word. I know that these minority communities are not happy. The Muslims, for instance. I do not know whether I should soil my tongue by calling them a minority community. They are as big and important a community as any other in this country. Six crores is not a small number. Then the Harijans call themselves a minority community; they are also several crores. And I say this, Mr. Chairman, and I hope the Home Minister realises this and keeps it in his mind that the Muslims are not happy in India, as happy as Gandhiji wanted, as happy as Nehru wanted, as happy as we want them to be. All the time amongst themselves in their groups they express their diffidence about the situation in India. Somebody said here they feel insecure. I do not know if it is so bad as that but this is true that they are not as happy as they should be within the Republic of India. And this is equally true of the Harijan community in this country. I have very many good friends among the Harijans. I have not met one of them including my friend, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, who is satisfied with the position of Harijans in this country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But Mr. Jagjivan Ram is secure.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: You are also secure. You are very secure.

Sir, therefore I want the Home Minister not merely to state the problem and having said it in the accentuated manner in which he stated the problem—it shook me a bit—he i duty to this House and to this country to tell us what is to al ho will do, what he will call upon us to do.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Sir, this question time has been turned into a free-for-all debate, but I certainly welcome this debate because some valid points were offered, some constructive suggestions also have been made.

by some Members. I would like to repeat some of the things I have said but I hope they will be taken in a proper perspective. When I say that the country's atmosphere is surcharged with communalism it should be taken in a proper sense. I do not say that the whole country is on fire with communal trouble, but I see even small incidents developing into some sort of ugly situations and emotions are surcharged with feelings, and I do not want to underestimate that. It is true because I find that communal incidents have taken place in practically almost all the States.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Eight States.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: In more States. I find that they have taken place in States where the Congress is the ruling party and in States where the other political parties are also the ruling parties. In Kerala it has happened. In Mysore it has happened. In Andhra it has happened.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In Maharashtra it has happened.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: In Maharashtra, in U.P. in Bihar, in Bengal and in Assam it has happened. That is why I said that no part of the country can be said to *be* completely free from it.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: What then is the perspective with which you are approaching it?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am coming to that. Please listen. The hon. Member was somewhat unfair to me when he said that I am not indicating what we are doing about it. I said that I took note of it. I did not wait for the State Governments to act on this. As far as the administrative parts are concerned, I have got limited powers, limited in the sense that I can certainly provide some direction to their thinking in this matter. I can give them police force when they want. As far as administrative is concerned, the State Government should do it.

SHRUTI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I make a suggestion ...

SHRT Y. B. CHAVAN: You can como and moot me.

SHRI BIJUPESH GUPTA: Y« a meeting of all the secular parties and tell them all the secrets that you know about the various communal organisations and their activities, so that they are on guard. They would be the sentinels on communal differences. We shall extend our co-operation to you.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Therefore, as I have indicated, the very idea of appointing some sort of Commission—why some sort of—a regular Commission under the Commission of Enquiry Act, on the initiative of the Central Government, is to give some Central direction to the problem, to focus the attention of the State Governments on this problem and to make them think seriously about it. If they do not want to enquire about it, even then we do not want to be merely idle spectators in this matter. As regards administrative matters I have indicated the steps that can be taken. Wherever possible we want to step in and try to help them in making an assessment and whatever the powers are of this Central Government in this matter can be exercised. At the same time I do not want merely to confine it to administrative aspects and spheres. There are certainly some political aspects of the problem. I would say that this sort of exaggerated statements also are responsible for these communal tensions, like saying all Muslims are unsafe in this country, this is becoming a Hindu State . . .

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I have not said that.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am not replying to you. Do not think that I am merely replying to what you said. There are many others also who have said it. I am certainly looking into the matter.

I was rather surprised at the communal thesis of the Communist Party.

SHRI BIJUPESH GUPTA: What is that?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I do not reply to you. I looked at Mr. Niren Ghosh. He said that this Government is becoming a Hindu Government . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I said all the Muslims are unsafe. I said and I repeat it . . .

{Interruptions}

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do not quarrel.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I do not want to quarrel in this matter. I would like merely to suggest, let us not try to look at it from any party interests. This also is an important point. Communalism is something invisible. It can be found in the hearts of many workers among many parties, practically all the parties. It would be wrong to say that there would be no communal thinking man in any particular party. Therefore, I used the words 'communal politics'. Communal politics in this country is something which we have to think about very seriously,

I now come to the hon. Member, Mr. Bhandari. He only said about what happened on the other side of the border on the Pakistan side.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: I only quoted.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I know what you quoted. I have also got Press reports giving some information. Even there I was told that the Pakistan authorities acted very promptly. This was the information I got in Karimganj itself. We should not look at this matter from the point of view of what others are doing. It is our responsibility to do the right thing at the right time. This is how we have to look at the problem. It is not a question of reciprocity in this matter. It is our claim that we are a secular State, that we are a secular people, and we have to act accordingly, whether the other party does it or not. Naturally, if the minorities on the other side are affected, we will be concerned. I know what steps should be taken, but it is a different matter in a different sphere. I do not want to go into that.

Then, Sir, the hon. Member made some criticism about the collective fine or punitive tax. Punitive fine is a very extreme step, but if extreme

[Shri Y. B. Chavan]

steps are required, they should be resorted to. TMs is what I feel about it. I do not say that punitive fine can be applied or imposed at every place, in every situation. It is not an answer. But if it is an answer, we should not be afraid of using it. It certainly involves some discrimination.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There are communal elements in the administration. Purge them.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I understand your criticism. As I have said, everywhere, when I said that the whole atmosphere is surcharged with communal feelings. It sometimes takes possession of all of us.

HON. MEMBERS No.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: There are also some communal elements even in the Communist Party. That was why Dr. Ahmed was dropped from the Politburo.

(Interruptions)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am not yielding. Now, coming back to this, with reference to the Karimganj affairs, for example, I must say that the leaders of the minority community themselves told me this. I was very proud of some of the officers in Karimganj. Karimganj is the headquarter of the subdivision. The district headquarter is Silchar. All of us know it. The leaders of the minority community told me that they were saved because of the very right I. os taken by the Deputy Commissioner. In this particular case he happens to be a Hindu. I was very proud of it. They told me that if this man Un*I not acted in time, probably there would have been more losses.

One word more. Invisible feelings there sometimes. We will have to take note of it. The hon. Member put questions. Certainly it is not a 'innulv of the Congress administration to have communal riots. It is not at all. It is not true. At the same time I do not want to merely throw the blame on any particular party in this matter. I would like all parties to think in a fair way in this matter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are Un; ileal' . . .

Mil. CHAIRMAN. No, no. Papers to be laid on the Table.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

I: APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS (1966-67) OF RAILWAYS IN INDIA

II. BLOCK ACCOUNTS, BALANCE SHEETS AND PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNTS (1966-67) OF GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

III. Amur REPORT, RAILWAYS, 1968

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under clause (1) of article 151 of the Constitution, a copy each of the following papers—

(i) Appropriation Accounts of Railways in India for 1966-67 (Parts I and II) [Placed in Library. See No LT-439/68.]

(ii) Block Accounts (including Capital Statements comprising the Loan Accounts), Balance Sheets and Profit and Loss Accounts of Indian Government Railways. 1966-67 [Placed in Library. See No. LT-440/68.]

(iii) Audit Report, Railways, 1968. [Placed in Library. See LT-43'8/68.]

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR EXPENDITURE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL FOR THE YEAR 1967-68

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement showing the Supplementary Demands for Grants for expenditure of the Government of West Bengal for the year 1967-68.

STATEMENT RE GROUNDING OF M. V. "VISHVA SHANTI" NEAR CONSTANTZA PORT IN RUMANIA ON 1ST MARCH, 1968—continued.

MR CHAIRMAN: On 12th March, 1968, Prof V.K.R.V. Rao laid a statement on the grounding of M. V. "Vishva Shanti" near Constantza Port in Rumania on 1st March, 1968. Any Member who desires to put questions may do so.