

**DEBATE ON MOTIONS REGARDING SITUATION ARISING OUT OF COMMUNAL RIOTS IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY (SPECIALLY ALIGARH AND JAMSHEDPUR DURING 1978-79) AND THE ROLE OF RSS DURING THESE COMMUNAL RIOTS AND ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY POLICE-PAC-BMP ON MUSLIMS IN UP AND BIHAR. (EXCERPTS FROM THE DEBATES IN BOTH THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LOK SABHA (4<sup>th</sup> AND 5<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1978), RAJYA SABHA (20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> NOVEMBER 1978; 11<sup>th</sup> JULY 1979 AND 16<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER 1981).**

*(In this important debate former Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Leader of the opposition Y.B. Chavan and the Prime Minister Morarji Desai and many other veteran parliamentarians participated. Then Prime Minister Morarji Desai conceded on the floor of the house in the Lok Sabha that UP PAC committed excesses against Muslims during 1978 communal riots in Aligarh)*

**THE DEBATE OVER COMMUNAL RIOTS IN ALIGARH AND OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY IN LOK SABHA ON 4TH DECEMBER 1978.**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Prof. Samar Guha.

**PROF. SAMAR GUHA (Contai):** I beg to move:

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the subject that we are going to discuss to-day is a very sensitive one. 8 hours time has been allotted for it. I do not know in what mood our friends on from all sides will participate in this debate, whether it will be an acrimonious debate accusing one another, apportioning blame on one another, levelling allegations against the former government or present government or we will approach the problem with a national perspective and constructive attitude so that the problem of communal troubles can be resolved with a national will and not with any desire for having any political gain out of this debate.

With this preliminary observation, Sir, I want to draw your attention that earlier, by communal troubles or problems, we used to understand that there was some sort of trouble between two religious communities like the Hindus and Muslims.....

Now, I want to know one thing about the communal riots. Is Aligarh the only incident? Hundreds and thousands of such incidents have happened earlier also and these are happening now as well. Are the atrocities on Harijans a new thing in our country? It is a social crime which has existed for thousands of years and it is the result of that.

Sir, what I was trying to impress on the Hon'ble Members of this House is that unfortunately the bad issues relating to minorities, relating to Harijans have not been discussed by us in this House. Only the communal happenings or atrocities on Harijans have received the attention of the House in a disproportionate way. I want to draw your attention again to the institution of Minorities Commission.

You know, Sir, Mr. Chavan and other Hon'ble Members will also remember, that in 1950 after the Nehru-Liaqat Pact, we had our Minister for Minorities Affairs here and they had their Minister for Minorities Affairs in Pakistan. Its known that not only at the state level or the district level, but they failed everywhere in achieving the desired objectives. Now, we have constituted the Minorities Commission. I am afraid, it will not be of any help, any utility at all. Why? I will, come to that later. Similarly, the setting up of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes or reservation of seats for them, will not tackle the real problem, nor we will be able to find a solution tragic happenings in the country that we have today. As I said, it will not solve the basic problem...

There are only a few criminals and unsocial elements taking advantage of certain factors prevailing in our country, and of the situation whenever there is any communal or caste riot. In Aligarh, was it a communal or religious issue which was involved? There were certain conditions there. The criminals and un-social elements etc. took advantage of those conditions. What did we do? Immediately, we the politicians tried to take advantage of the position and to exploit the position for party purposes and political purposes. And there is a competition between one another in issuing statements and in going here and there and bringing the issue before Parliament.....

I am not going into the social and cultural and other aspects. In our country culture, art, music is a unifying factor. When you hear Bismillah Khan or Bade Ghulam Ali Khan or Vilayat Ali Khan's music, do we think that we are hearing the music of Muslims or when Ravi Shankar plays sitar and we hear that music, do we think that

we are hearing the music of a Hindu? In India we have developed such a wonderful cultural synthesis, a wonderful synthesis in art. But we have not applied our mind to the basic issue. I will end by saying only one thing. The Minorities Commission will not do; the Scheduled Castes Commission will not do. I will conclude by making an appeal to all the political parties to give up behaving like political vultures or political rats. Only then it will be possible for us to tackle the communal and caste problem in our country

**SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola):** I rise to participate in the discussion on the motion moved by Shri Samar Guha on a subject which is at once of a very serious import and importance for the whole country. The first and foremost point that I would like to make is that communal riots have been taking place in our country because of the chauvinist attitude of the majority community, because one thing that has to be remembered is that communal riots can never take place in any community at the instance of a small minority.

In the pre-independence period it was said that this was done at the instance of the British who used the divide and rule theory and provoked, but after independence, if the majority community had adopted a correct approach towards the minorities there need not have been any recurrence of communal violence in this country. In this context, I want to put the blame squarely at the door of those who have been preaching Hindu chauvinism, Hindu Rashtravad equating nationalism with religion.

The first test of fascism, chauvinism, racial or religious.

Hitler told his people that they belonged to the Aryan race, which was superior to all other people and race of the world, and he inculcated that fanaticism into the minds of the young people of Germany.

Similarly, Mussolini also started the fascist movement in Italy, which in its very meaning shows, a political party representing a nationalist reaction against socialism and communism. This is the meaning of the word "Fascism". It was started in 1922 by the people who came to power in Italy, the Fascist Party of Italy, by violent means, and he died only in 1943 with the defeat of Fascism, of Italy and Mussolini. So, the basic characteristic of fascism is chauvinism. Narrow sectarian religious fanaticism, which is inculcated in the minds of the people.

The second characteristic is to create a fanatic cadre of people and give paramilitary training. If you see, the RSS cult was based on the Hindu Rashtravad, fanaticism inculcated in the minds of the people who were caught young.....

**AN HON'BLE MEMBER:** You have been a member of that....

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** I have told you, before that. That is why I can say with knowledge. It is to catch them young in the name of sports they come and they are told all those historical stories, entirely loaded in favour of one religion, one community, against other communities, against Gandhi, against Nehru, against everyone and, then, brain-wash them, make them fanatics with blinkers on.

When such a generation is created, what you see is (persons like) Navmans in Aligarh. It is not that Balasaheb Deoras or Subramaniam Swamy or somebody has to give an order. What has happened in Aligarh it most unfortunate. Do not go by my report. I reproduce here quotations from the report given by an independent body of Shri Mukundan C. Menon and Shri Sumanta Banerjee who belong to an organisation which is headed by Shri Gobind Mukhoty who, during the Emergency, was a champion of the Janata Party.

So, no one can make an allegation that they are biased. What do they say in their report? Just read that and come to your own conclusion. Quoted at length from that report. Report to People's Union for Civil Liberties (Delhi). *ALIGARH RIOTS*, 5<sup>th</sup> October 1978 by Mukundan C. Menon and Sumanta Banerjee.

<http://www.sacw.net/article9347.html>

According to the report: "The RSS elements tried to take possession of the Muslim premises in the locality about two weeks back asking them to vacate the houses or face dire consequences" . Let us see the role of the PAC. This report was made some time back. The report says that the PAC made indiscriminately firing against the people who were particularly residing in the Muslim locality. This is the charge. I will refer to the report of the Minorities Commission. This is what they have to say. Do not go only by that independent inquiry. This is what is said in the *Indian Express* of today: "The Minorities Commission has found that the Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) itself was involved in the recent Aligarh riots. It has demanded

its immediate removal from the city”. I do not want to read the whole report. Then there is Mr. Raj Narain’s statement. (*interruptions....*). It is stated further in today's *Indian Express*: "While the Commission has not said anything about the involvement of the RSS, it has pointed out that some members of the local unit of the Janata Party who were associated with the RSS took part in the riots. The role of Mr. K. K. Navman, the local Janata leader, (formerly with RSS) has been particularly mentioned”.

This is not the first time; Nowadays I find even Morarji bhai giving a certificate to RSS that it is only a cultural organisation (*interruptions....*). He never called it a communal organisation. There have been many inquiries. Take the famous Bhiwandi inquiry where Mr. Justice Madon was appointed Commissioner. What has he to say in his report?

*Page 22*: “The behaviour of a section of Hindu processionists, particularly the RSS and the PSP sections, was calculated to provoke and humiliate the Muslims. Provocative and anti-Muslim slogans were shouted and 'gulaal' was thrown in such excess that it annoyed even the police-officers and policemen present there.”

Again, what were the slogans shouted? He has quoted in the report on page 155. ‘Evidence has established that the following slogans were shouted by the processionists:

- “(1) '*Gali Gali Main Shor Hai, Sub Musalman Chor Hain*'.
- (2) '*Rashtriya Utsav Mandal Zindabad*. (Rashtriya Utsav Mandal is an RSS body).
- (3) '*Jo Hamse Takrayega, Woh Mitti Main Mil Jaigaa*'.
- (4) '*Aala Re, Aala Hindu Aala, Gela re Gela, Landya gela.*'
- (5) '*Landye Sarey Chor Hain.*'
- (6) '*Dr. Vyas Zindabad.*' (Dr. Vyas is an RSS man).
- (7) '*Uthao Lungi Bajee Pungi*'
- (8) '*Musalman Murdabad*'
- (9) '*Jan Sangh Zindabad*'

This is not my report. This is Justice Madon’s report.

- (10) '*Sadak Pe Hindu, Gali Me Hindu, idhar Se Hindu, udhar Se Hindu*'

- (11) '*Landya na Haklun Lawa*'  
(12) '*Hindu Dharamaeha Vijay Aso*' and  
(13) '*Hindu Dharam ki Jai*'.

What else is chauvinism if this is not chauvinism? This is the worst kind of chauvinism and of Hindu Rashtravad. What greater proof you require of those who are giving paramilitary training to the young men to make them fanatics in this country? It is these people who are guilty and so long this cult prevails no minority will be safe whether Muslims or Christians or anybody. In this Hindu Rashtravad when you invoke the *Chaturvarnasharam* and when you sing the glory of *Chaturvarnasharam*, even the Harijans will not be safe.

That is why the first and foremost thing that is necessary is to evolve a national consensus. All parties do not give any credence and do not harbour these tendencies which are a cancer. Any such tendency of chauvinist cult of narrow fanatic organisations if you tolerate under whatever guise, you are going to have a cancer in the body politic. That is why I say if you want to solve this, there is no use of waxing eloquent about generalities. If you want to uproot communalism from this country, then uproot the cult of chauvinism from the body politic of our nation. This is all I want to submit.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO (YB) CHAVAN (Satara):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am participating in this Debate, which in a very important debate from the national point of view.

Sir, for the last few weeks or for few months, I would say, the country is full of an atmosphere of conflict and confrontation between the different sections of the community, sometimes in the name of caste and sometimes these communal troubles. And I think, it is a very good thing that we have decided to discuss this question on the floor of the House.

Prof. Samar Guha in the beginning said that this question needs to be looked into from a national perspective. I don't think anybody would dispute that point. But discussing a question in national perspective does not mean to make it quite academic the results of which ultimately will lead to no conclusion. We are today provoked to discuss this question because of what happened in Aligarh. Therefore, Aligarh becomes very

important and symbolic. The sense of insecurity in the mind of minority of this country is the greatest disease that a democratic society can face. I would therefore feel that what has happened in Aligarh is something very serious. I know it has not only happened in Aligarh, because, that also has happened in Kanpur, Lucknow, Sambhal and many other places, and in Hyderabad also.

I don't say that it has only happened in UP It happened in different times, at different places. We have a long history of communal troubles in this country. At one time we used to say that there is a communal triangle, Hindu communalism, Muslim communalism and British Imperialism this was a triangle responsible for these types of communal troubles in the past. At the present moment there is no British Imperialism to be blamed or to be made a scapegoat of. But this problem is continuing. And if at all we want to meet this challenge or this problem seriously. I think, we will have to sit across and seriously think about what is responsible for it. The root cause for it is the communal politics in this country. It is no use running away from this fact. There is a certain communal politics. That communal politics has taken the place of British Imperialism now.

The ignorant people on one side are the Hindu section, and the ignorant people on the other side are the Muslim people and this communal politics is trying to take advantage of it and creating a situation which is ultimately leading to the killings of many people. The details of this, Mr. Sathe in his speech, has explained, shown how terrible a thing it can be. We have always found that this communal trouble starts from very small paltry incident. In case of Aligarh, it is very strange and rather shameful that the trouble in Aligarh did not took place only once but it took place twice in two phases -- once in October and then again in November. And administration of a state government, kindly excuse me I am not saying it because it is Janata Government. But if there is a state administration which cannot stop communal trouble communal fight, communal conflicts in one phase and which has the capacity of allowing it to happen in the second phase again deserves to be pushed out and kicked out of power. I should say it is a shameful incident.

**AN HON'BLE MEMBER:** What about Hyderabad?

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** If it is in Hyderabad, if it is in Bombay, if it is in any other place, I won't take any exception. Let us take the case of Aligarh, which is responsible mainly for the present discussion. (*interruptions*).....

If at all we had discussed about Hyderabad, I would have said the same thing, (*interruptions*)....

**PROF. SAMAR GUHA:** Sir, I have a point of order. Just now our friend, Mr. Chavan has said that we are discussing the situation in Aligarh. We are discussing the communal situation throughout the country.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** I referred to your speech and I said that it was good to consider the question in national perspective. But at the same time you cannot make it merely an academic and thin issue. We have to take certain concrete measures and Aligarh is a symbol of what is happening in the whole country. It is no use running away from the fact. What has happened in Aligarh? So, it is always said that the trouble starts from a small paltry incident. May be you could have avoided that paltry incident, but when a paltry incident develops into some sort of an explosive situation, it is not that paltry incident that is responsible for this trouble, but it is the atmosphere which is created before that paltry incident which is ultimately responsible for this and that is what was responsible for Aligarh.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour):** As the root-cause....

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** And the root cause is the communal politics and I endorse what Mr. Sathe has said that RSS has to take its share of the responsibility. ... (*interruptions*).

**SHRI R. K. MHALGI (Thana):** We know him for 30 years.

**SHRI YASHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** You know me and I also equally know you. We know each other. (*interruptions*)....

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** This is the price which the Congress has paid.

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** If we merely give compliments to each other, what is the use of it? If at all you want to find a solution to the problem for communal trouble in India, you will have to find an answer and solution to the problem of communal politics and the politics of *Hindu Rashtravad* is the root-cause of the whole trouble which must be accepted honestly and bravely.

Sir, the administration has to take the major responsibility in this matter. There are three aspects of the communal problem: the administrative problem, the political problem and the socio-economic problem. The socio-economic problems also have their own place in these communal troubles. In this, I would invite your attention to the administrative aspect. The best way and the best time to stop communal trouble are to stop it before it starts. It is very difficult to stop communal trouble when it once starts. The only right time when you can stop it is before it starts. You can stop it only if the administration has a better organisation of intelligence.... (*interruptions*).

What happened in Aligarh? There was only one incident. A procession took place in which certain provocative slogans were raised. Certainly it has contributed to that, but there was a hostility gradually being built between the Hindus and Muslims, in the minds of Hindu young-men and in the minds of Muslim young-men, but what we find is that in Aligarh, it is the Muslims who have become the entire target of the trouble. The intelligence is, therefore very important. Many Commissions have been appointed in the past, we are not dealing with this problem for the first time. We have appointed many Commissions and they have in detail dealt with the different aspects of this problem and they have also mentioned about the question of intelligence.

What type of intelligence have we got? The only intelligence that we get is that after the incident has taken place, many people rush there and make their own reports. We have by now got history of every town and every state. Normally, Hindu-Muslim riots take place in areas of urban conglomerations. These take place very rarely in the rural areas; sometimes, they do take place, I think, taking the history of the last thirty, fifty or eighty years, we have got the history of most of the important towns where the communal trouble takes place. Has the state administration at any time considered this aspect when they post somebody as Deputy Commissioner or Collector or Commissioner of a particular area, whether he will be competent to take care of that area?

**PROF. SAMAR GUHA:** I have suggested a special Inspector General of Police . . . .  
(*interruptions*)

**SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN:** I would say that the most important person in the police investigation and intelligence in these matters is not the I.G. but the head constable. He is more important because he sits in the police station and he knows who is what and knows what anti-social element is. Sometimes, unfortunately, they are hand in gloves with them... (*interruptions*).

We are a democratic country and there is bound to be government of different parties in different states and we have to accept this reality. But we must accept one point that when a communal riot is about to start or has started, no political person or persons who hold office must take any partisan attitude. Unfortunately, in the case of Aligarh, we have found that even the ministers have taken a partisan attitude. This has to be stopped. There is another aspect also. It has also a certain socio-economic aspect. It is a question of recruiting the people from minority communities in the law enforcement services.....(*interruptions*).

In the law of enforcement services, in the cadre of sub-inspectors, in the cadre of IPS (Indian Police Service) and even in the constabulary, which is much more important, you can recruit more people from the minority communities. The question of unemployment will also be solved. And there will be some sort of an assurance to the people of the minority communities. As I told you there is a political aspect of it. There it a socio-economic aspect. Poverty is being exploited by the veterans on both sides, and the leaders, to further exploit the position for political purposes. The common masses are being exploited - who unnecessarily fight and kill each other.

I am very glad indeed that the Prime Minister has called a meeting of the leaders of the parties and groups sometime next week, on 17th or so. He has invited us and certainly we will try again to put forth our detailed view in the matter. I did not want to attribute any motives to any particular person or minister. Really speaking, as far as communal troubles and problems are concerned, no aspect of question has, remained undiscussed threadbare. Everything has been discussed, not once or twice, but may be even a hundred times. But there has been no-follow-up. Sometimes we took it when we were there. We have certainly taken some firm action. The main point that I am trying to make is that we will have to take the matter very seriously. It is not merely a

question of Hindus and Muslim or of a minority triangle. There are also Scheduled Caste problems and other caste struggles. Let us not add to the burning problems, problems from which we are suffering by adding to them another new dimension for nothing. If we want to discuss this matter completely, forgetting our party affiliations in this matter, and reach the basic issues, it is good, but there is one issue unless we are prepared to face it boldly and courageously — I mean the question of communal politics and communal organisations the question of this communal trouble will not be solved by a hundred discussions like this. I would, therefore like to make an appeal to those in power, because they matter to-day. They must make up their mind and if they want to do it, I will say that we will certainly cooperate with them as far as possible, in this particular matter.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: (Diamond Harbour):** Sir, we thought that after the Janata Party came into power they would realise that they had come on a massive mandate where there was no space for communalism. But in this we see that their hands are there and it is no use denying; the fact... (*interruptions*).

Communal riots had been effective tools in the hands of the ruling class. Britishers had invented it and perfected it years of Congress rule followed the same pattern of administration and politics. What did the thinkers say? They say: “The need to restructure the administrative machinery in trouble prone areas to lend it greater credibility as highlighted by the Dayal Report on the 1967 Ranchi riots and the Reddy Report of the Ahmedabad riots in 1969.... How failure on this front can alienate people has been tellingly brought out by the Madon Commission Report on the riots in Bhiwandi, Jalgaon and Mahad, though the report coming several years after the disturbances, turned out to be largely an academic exercise.”

We must get at the root of the whole thing and not tinker with the surface. We have seen that whenever the Britishers wanted to confront or crush the big massive movement for freedom by the freedom fighter, or the trade unions or the kisans, they brought in a communal riot. Whenever the Hindus, Muslims and other communities joined hands against the capitalists, against the exploiters, there came a communal riot and jolt was given. That was the way it was bring done. It is strange that in 1971, when Mrs. Gandhi came back to power with massive mandate, and with the slogan *Garibi-hatao*, I am not going into that at the present moment — what happened in Aligarh? Soon after, there was a riot in Aligarh.

Now you see they have been shedding a lot of crocodile tears. I have got the figures, and the source in the annual report of the Home Ministry. In 1967, when Cong. (I) of Mrs. Indira Gandhi came to power there were 309 communal riots, Since then the riots are as follows: 1968-346, 1969-519, 1970-501, 1971-321 1972- 240, 1973-242, 1974-48, 1975-205, 1976-came down to 169, 1977-188.

So, the average of communal riots per year during the “golden rule” period was 286. We know that the RSS are hand in glove with communal forces. They are creating trouble; they have created trouble in the past. I had been to numerous places of rioting when Shri Chavan was the Home Minister.

**AN HON'BLE MEMBER:** Before or after?

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU:** Before, during and after. I had gone to Meerut, Bhiwandi, Ahmedabad, Ranchi and Bhagalpur. We understand one simple thing, the relationship of the government of Mrs. Gandhi with the RSS. We had a gentleman here. Shri Hans Raj Gupta. He was the second in command of RSS. He is the person who in a public meeting in Delhi stated that the Muslims have no place in Hindustan; they should go to Mecca; and the Communists have no place in India; they have to go to Kremlin, what was the reward that was given to Shri Hans Raj Gupta? The reward to him was a Padma Bhushan. I wanted to know how a man who was behind the bars was given a Padma Bhushan. I have got a long reply, justifying the award of Padma Bhushan. In recent communal there is another organisation called Anand Marg which was being financed by Mrs. Gandhi's Government..... *(Interruptions)*.

I have got documentary evidence... *(Interruptions)*.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, no doubt you have read the letter written by Shri Balasaheb Deoras during the Emergency of Mrs. Gandhi, praising her 20-point Programme and the discipline that the emergency had brought about. It was due to mutual understanding and friendship. Is it not a fact that Shri D.P. Misra, once the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh was in possession of photostat copies of revealing documents which he had collected when he was in jail and Mrs, Gandhi was aware of that fact? Yet, no action was taken against Shri Balasaheb Deoras, because they had an understanding. We know that.... *(Interruptions)*.

It is such an interesting fact about the Home Ministry here that if you want details about the communal riots, the follow up actions taken thereafter, the details of prosecutions and convictions, you cannot get it. With great difficulty I have been able to get some sort of figure which only covers up to 1972. The number of persons killed up to 1972, according to the figure that they have given, is 1073. Sir, that is the figure with the Home Ministry. Unfortunately, particularly Muslims in this country have been made pawns in the hands of unscrupulous politicians in the country who wanted to successfully entrench themselves in power.

For 30 years they have used the Muslims as pawns at the time of elections and then dealt with them in the way they liked it. There is no second way of describing it.

Sir, riots had been created in 1971. I already told Mrs. Gandhi came and what is the outcome? What happened after that? The resolution of the National Integration Council in its meeting held in June 1968, the recommendations of the Working Group of the Council in the meeting held on 27th November 1976 as well as the recommendations made by various Commissions of Inquiry were gone into.

It was said that generally the recommendation with regard to the legislative action have been fully implemented but with regard to the recommendation relating to administrative measures for preventing and controlling communal disturbances, there are certain aspects which have not received adequate attention. The trouble is you go through the drill and you go through the exercise, but when time comes for follow up action, you keep quiet and do nothing at all. Sir, the present government has made no worthwhile departure and I say that RSS has a big say in the functioning of the present government. I am very sorry to say that although we share the platform with them for saving democracy in the country, for saving the country from the hands of fascism, yet we cannot but condemn this, that since the present government has come a sense of insecurity has come into the minds of the Muslims because the RSS has not made a sincere departure from the past.. . (*Interruptions*).

Sir, what happened? Today we are talking about Aligarh. We condemn those who are behind it unequivocally without any reservation. We have heard the other day, within 6 miles of the then Prime Minister's residence at Sadar Bazar, near Jama Masjid, there was the case of Miss Farida, a girl of 21 who was shot three times when she was in the

second floor of her house. It happened in July. It is not RSS alone, it is the administrative machinery, it is in the Congress ruling 30 years that they have done it all the time. And it is being continued today.

Sir, if the Home Ministry lays on the Table of the House the strength of paramilitary and police forces in the country and the number of Muslims in that-you will be surprised to know that when the Meerut riot had taken place, Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, late Baker Ali Mirza, late NC Chatterjee and myself went there and we came to know that there is 42 per cent Muslim population in Meerut.

And there was not a single Muslim sub-inspector or inspector in the police force. We enquired about it. What is the explanation about this? How many Muslims are recruited every year in the defence services and how many Muslims are recruited in the paramilitary forces?

These are the things the House has a right to know. I know late Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad, the then Chief Minister of Kashmir, one day told me that since they came into power, they stopped the recruitment of cavalrymen from Poonch area. Why? Because they are all Muslims. They stopped their recruitment. I asked Sardar Swaran Singh, the then Defence Minister. Why is it so? There was no satisfactory explanation. That is the inside story.

There is an attempt, willy-nilly, sometimes you are caught with it, sometimes it is inside, embedded in your heart, that you want to establish a Hindu raj. We are not allowing that to happen, we are not allowing you to do that. It is neither here nor there, let its make clear to you.

**AN HON'BLE MEMBER:** But you supported them (Janata Party).

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU:** Became we wanted to save the county from fascism, that is the reason.

**SHRI SAUGATA ROY (Barrackpore):** RSS is not fascist?

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU:** Mr. Home Minister, I caution you that there is a big penetration by a set of people who believe in reviving Hindu raj in the administrative

machinery. When a police officer or an army officer retired, if he was a Hindu, he used to join the Jana Sangh, and if he was a Sikh, he went to the Akalis. This is a very sad state of affairs. Why is it that in the administrative machinery, in the police force, in the paramilitary forces in the military forces, there should be only people who believed in communalism as a basis of life? That is what was taught in the last 30 years and you must do away with it.

We went to Meerut during the riots in 1968. We went to the District Collector, four of us, and we asked him how many patients, riot victims, had been admitted into the hospital?

He looked into some sort of a register and said it was 53. We got out of his room, we drove straight to the hospital, we went to the Superintendent's room, and we wanted to know how many had been actually admitted. The number was 110. That is the type of figure. No action had been taken against the man who was sitting as the District Magistrate who was directly, openly abetting the criminals. Mr. Chavan was perhaps the Home Minister at that time, he has forgotten the statements that he gave. Mrs. Gandhi was the Prime Minister at that time. Everything is unchanged, the same thing, the same procedure, the same method.

In Aligarh, the People's Union of Civil Liberties went for a survey, and they dispassionately analysed the whole thing. They have revealed that the immediate cause was that a Hindu criminal wrestler named Bhure was stabbed by a set of criminal gangsters. I am told that this Bhure was very ardent Cong (I) supporter, but with the change of power, and the Janata Party opening the flood gates, with tickets for everybody, he switched over to this side, because they have no political character, neither here nor there. (*Interruptions*). The root cause, the beginning in Aligarh was this, my friends can bear me out, that it started with the stabbing of Bhure, and then it spread. People were waiting, and the district authorities naturally thought that they had a duty to do to please certain politicians, that if they pleased the set of politicians who wore in power, they were likely to be rewarded. Therefore, they shut their eyes. Things were allowed to deteriorate. And the people in Aligarh were agitated. As my Hon'ble friend has very elaborately stated just now, the Aligarh Muslim University Bill is very dear to them. They want the minority character of the university to be retained. That Bill was hanging fire then, it is hanging fire now.

No decision can be taken. We are a great set of people, we are prisoners of indecision. Why can't you have a national seminar, a national debate, on this and take a decision and once for all, and call it a closed chapter?

Madam, this was not done. Now the team PUCL is fully convinced that the Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) fired indiscriminately and deliberately made Muslim houses as target, particularly in the Manek Chowk area. Tall Hindu houses were used by PAC as watch towers towards aiming at Muslim houses, although they declared the official figure of deaths as is, in Manek Chowk area alone, there were 12 dead. In a report that has been submitted to the Janata Party High Command, there was a chapter which condemns the conduct of RSS and I am told that that particular chapter has been suppressed. We would like to be enlightened on that by the Janata Party High Command.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** Why don't you ask the PUCL itself?

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU:** We would like to find out from here. (*Interruptions*) Madam, the judicial enquiries, I am sorry to say, have become farce, time consuming and producing no result. (*Interruptions*).... Mathur Commission Report of 1971 on Aligarh riots, submitted after three years, was never seen by this House, never published and no action was taken.

Culprits, civil servants, policemen, who directly or indirectly connived remain untouched and not a single person in Aligarh has been convicted during thirty years when there were no less than six riots. I congratulate the brilliant people in Aligarh University, the students, the teachers and all categories of employees, who never allowed this wicked frenzy to enter the university campus at any time, although one of its clerks died of bullet wounds.

This Aligarh University Campus became a shelter for the riot affected people. The House must acknowledge that and convey its greetings to the Aligarh University students, teachers and employees. Certain suggestions ought to be made. But my time is short. I, therefore, request the government to take serious action. I would like to ask: what happened to the MPs Standing Committee about which the Prime Minister has talked about three or four months ago. I would like that also to be covered in the reply. We want a specific reply on the same. I do not want to say anything more.

**SHRI MN GOVINDAN NAIR (Trivandrum):** During the last two months the whole country was discussing the development at Aligarh. Commissions and counter Commissions have gone into it. The Minorities Commission also looked into it and submitted a report and now the Prime Minister visited Aligarh and with an Aligarh lock he tried to keep the riots under lock and key.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I would request the Hon'ble Members not to be so noisy.

**SHRI MN GOVINDAN NAIR:** The Business Advisory Committee has in its wisdom decided to discuss this question in this House. Well I feel that we are qualifying ourselves to be called the House of Elders: let the Rajya Sabha find out some other name for themselves!

That apart, after the reports that have already appeared including the Minorities Commission's report which appeared today, nobody can deny the role of the RSS in this affair, nor the involvement of the Administration. But I do not want to take up this question now — the question of Administration and its role — since, on the 17th, the Prime Minister is calling a meeting and there we will have an opportunity to discuss the whole affair.

As one of the leaders of the Opposition pointed out, unless you are prepared to fight against communal politics, this kind of happenings will continue, as they are doing now and have done in the past.

I think, anybody in this country who knows the history of the RSS knows that they are spreading narrow Hindu chauvinism and anti-Muslim feelings among all sections of the society. I am not blaming people like Dr. Subramanian Swamy. They are innocent persons. There is a caucus at the top who plans these things and many people like him have been trapped. Unfortunately that organisation is spreading. It is attracting youngsters into its fold and they are being given paramilitary training. Most of them know how to use weapons..... . (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI RK MHALGI:** It is all imaginary.

**SHRI MN GOVINDAN NAIR:** It is not imaginary.

**SHRI RK MHALGI:** What experience have you about RSS? ..... (*Interruptions*)..

**SHRI MN GOVINDAN NAIR:** I should not be attacked by RSS here. I should be protected. They say that they are a cultural organisation. The culture that they are spreading is the culture of murder. In our State, recently, a number of Marxists were murdered...

**SHRI BAPUSAHEB PARULEKAR (Ratnagiri):** I can give you a list of hundreds of RSS workers who were murdered by Communists in Kerala... (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI MN GOVINDAN NAIR:** They perpetrate murders, murder of the culture of India. That is the most important thing. They are the anti-thesis of what Indian culture stood for. I have seen in my younger days the photo of Shri Ramakrishna in the dress of a Muslim fakir praying to Allah.

Is it not clear to them as to what was the message that he wanted to convey to the country? High tolerance and assimilation were the two characteristics features of our Indian culture, and they have destroyed these. They exploit the name of Swami Vivekananda. But they go against his teachings. That is what they are doing. My friends are laughing. You may laugh. But you will not be the people who will laugh last. They are defaming Indian culture. The most dangerous thing is that they are shattering the democratic and secular fabric of our country.

It was the combined effort of the social reformers like Swami Vivekananda and others and also the leader of the oppressed sections, combined with the national movement, that tried to build up a democratic society here and which finally culminated in the acceptance of our Constitution. Now the whole thing has been destroyed. So, if you want to restore the democratic and secular structure in this country, unless you are prepared to fight against the RSS and their friends, it will not be possible. The political wing of the RSS is the Jan Sangh. There is also another social wing which is called the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. They jointly function and unfortunately, neither the state government of Uttar Pradesh nor the Central Government here dare to take any action against the RSS-Jan Sangh combine because their very existence depends on their support. I am hearing statements after statements from the Jan Sangh...

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** There is no Jan Sangh.

**SHRI MN GOVINDAN NAIR:** I mean the Janata leaders like Shri Madhu Limaye, Shri Raj Narain. If it is only an inner fight to bring somebody into the ministry, I have nothing to say, but if they are very serious about what they say they have no place in Janata as long as the RSS-Jan Sangh combine is there in the Janata Party. So I would request them to come out if they are serious about building a democratic and secular society.

So also, when I heard my friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Basu, I was amused and I was taken aback and I wondered if even to-day Shrimati Indira Gandhi is ruling this country. Now Mr. Desai is there. He is ruling and what is happening in Aligarh or what is happening in other parts of the country to-day is something for which this government is responsible....

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU:** You did not hear me full.

**SHRI MN GOVINDAN NAIR:** I heard you fully.

**MR CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Basu, he heard you without..... (*Interruptions*). Please do not interrupt him.

**SHRI MN GOVINDAN NAIR:** I request him to come out of his present alliance with RSS-Jan Sangh combine.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU:** We do not trail behind anybody.

**SHRI MN GOVINDAN NAIR:** I know. Where I differ with Mr. Samar Guha is he thinks that if the administrative machinery is set right, then everything will be all right. That is a failure. After independence, the social movement that was built up during pre-independence period was given up now for social-economic reforms you are depending upon the Collector and the Police Inspector. That is why I said — I am not asking you to come out of the Janata Party. When I say ‘You come out’, I mean: let us jointly go to the districts and convey this message to the masses and try to build a democratic and secular society and fight against casteism and communalism. It is only by fighting casteism and communalism that we will be able to build a secular and

democratic society. In that let all the secular and democratic minded peoples join together and I want them to fight against the narrow chauvinism of the RSS and their friends.

**SHRI GM BANATWALA:** Madam it is very tragic that even after 31 years of independence communal carnages continue to rock the country. From Belchi to Aligarh, it is a sordid record of oppression and violent persecution of the minorities. It is most unfortunate that during the recent times... like communal disturbances display is a rising trend.

Madam, during the sixties, the communal disturbances had reached as high a figure as 500 in a year and they declined to about half by 1974. In 1974, the number had come down to 348. In 1975, there was a further decline to 179 and in 1976 there was a further decline to 169. We therefore see that up to 1976 the graph of communal disturbance showed a steady decline. But with the coming of the Janata party into power unfortunately this graph has started rising. Whereas in 1976, 169 was the figure, in 1977, it went up to 188 and in 1978, 171 has already taken place up till now.

The point is not the number of riots. The point is that the graph now shows a steady rise. The number of communal riots indicate that there should be no room for complacency. The fact is that there is not only a rising trend in communal riots, but there is also an increasing intensity in these communal riots. Riots in Aligarh have exposed this fact. We find that the present Aligarh riots take us back unfortunately to the dangerous sixties with all the major riots in Ahmedabad, Bhiwandi and other places. What happened in Aligarh today unfortunately revives the painful memories of the ghastly killings of Jabalpur in 1959. Such has been the increase in the intensity of the communal violence that now rocks the country.

Madam Chairperson, what happened in Aligarh cannot be dismissed as new one incident in a chain of incidents. There is a qualitative difference, not only in the matter of intensity but also in the matter of nature of incidents. Never before has it happened that within a span of 31 days communal killings flare up again in the town. This is a matter of disgrace for the administration. Sometimes we were told and even the Prime Minister said the communal riots are a blot on the country. Why blame the country. He had said it in the Rajya Sabha why defame the country? The communal riots that are taking place are because of the administration. What happened in Aligarh?

I must say to the credit of Hindus in Aligarh that when a killing of the Muslim minority started on the 5th of October, the common Hindus did not participate in that. It was a communal carnage perpetrated by the RSS hooligans and the common Hindus did not participate in that thing.

But Madam Chairperson, we have all records broken because in a matter of 31 days that again on the 6th November, the same town was rocked with ghastly killings of the Muslim minority.

This is a matter which is a great slur on the administration. What happened in Aligarh? This was perpetrated by the RSS hooligans aided and abetted by the PAC and the law and order machinery which was said to exist over there. This is what Mr. Inder Malhotra says in the *Times of India* in the issue date 11th November, 1978: “for the fresh flare-up in that unfortunate university town, exactly one month after the October 5 riot, bespeaks so alarming a situation that only those indifferent to national unity can fail to sit up.”

Therefore, there is a need for soul searching. Let us not merely hang our heads in shame. Let us have soul-searching and let us face the facts as they are. It cannot be denied that the poisonous indoctrination by the RSS has a major hand in the carnage of the minority community. I will not dwell on this particular subject for it is well known. I will merely quote from a weekly magazine *Sunday* dated 5-11-78. At page 25, it says: "Mr. Golwalkar categorically said in 1939 that the “non-Hindu people in Hindustan must either become part of the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but these of glorification of the Hindu race and culture...”

Madam Chairperson, I must say that after the coming of the Janata party in power, there is also a qualitative difference to the poisonous indoctrination. Formerly the RSS called for the Indianisation of Muslims and other non-Hindus, but, today they are so emboldened that they call for not merely Indianisation but Hinduisation of all the Muslims and all the minorities. (There is) an editorial written in the *Organiser* dated 10th September, 1977. There, in the editorial, it gives a call not merely for Indianisation, but it is emboldened to say that there must be Hinduisation of all the minorities here in the country. I know that the time is limited at my disposal, otherwise I would have read out the entire editorial.

The RSS and communal hatred are inter-related and the RSS has a long record of involvement in communal disturbances. Such have been the findings of Justice Jagmohan Reddy who enquired into riots at Ahmedabad and other Gujarat towns in 1969, Justice DP Madon who enquired into the riots at Bhiwandi, Jalgaon and Mahad in May 1970 and the Vyathayathil Commission which enquired into the Telicherry incidents. There is not much time and I would only say that the Aligarh riots were pre-planned and this is quite obvious from the various facts and I need not give more information. I would like to quote from the *Economic and Political Weekly* dated 18th November, 1978 where at page 188, the facts are clearly brought out about the involvement of the PAC I may read out from the same magazine, page 188, the findings of the People Union for Civil Liberties. It is stated: "The Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) of Uttar Pradesh too betrayed Hindu communal sentiments by shooting and killing innocent and unarmed Muslims." There was such an orgy of violence created by the PAC themselves that there is a lot to say. When the procession came after snatching the body of Bhura shouting 'khood ka badla khood', not only the processionists but the PAC themselves also indulged in looting etc.

I would give the example of a shop at Phool ka Chauraha. The PAC entered the shop and looted it. In their frenzy of looting the shop, they even dropped their cartridges in that particular shop. I have with me as many as four cartridges dropped by the PAC in a Muslim shop at Phoola ka Chauraha. How will the PAC account for the loss of these cartridges? With your permission, Madam Chairperson, I hand over these cartridges of the PAC rifles to the Hon'ble Minister to make an enquiry and find out how the PAC have accounted for the lots of these cartridges. Then, bombs have been used to blast the house of the minority communities by the RSS hooligans. Here is the photograph of a bomb with the military marking on it. Will the government try to find out how these bombs manufactured in the Indian Ordnance Factory have found their way in the hands of the RSS?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** That point has already been made. Will you kindly conclude now?

**SHRI GM BANATWALA:** Since the time is running out, I have skipped over a lot of details. To conclude, I must say that there is a complete shaking of the confidence of the minorities in the law and order machinery. Let there be a complete re-

structuring of the Provincial Armed Constabulary. Let there be an anti-riot force, specially equipped to face these situations; and they must have a proper representation of the Muslims and minorities in them.

Let there be a ban on the paramilitary activities of RSS *shakhas*. The Minister of State, Shri Patil had made a very uncharitable remark when the students of the Aligarh Muslim University approached him. He said that the Aligarh Muslim University was creating tension. With all apologies to you, Madam Chairperson, this is published in newspapers. An apology is due from him. The Aligarh Muslim University students and others have been peaceful, and their role has been appreciated by one and all.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Banatwala, you must conclude. I am sorry you are overstepping your limit.

**SHRI GM Banatwala:** Finally, I must say that there must be an occupational rehabilitation of the victims of the riots, so that the perpetrators of the riots do not get away with the fruits of the riots. The Commission that is appointed must be a 3-man commission, with one member at least from the minority community, Muslims.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Banatwala, I just wanted to draw your attention to the rule that is there. You said through me you will hand over whatever you were displaying to the minister. I think you should do it directly; it is not customary, and it is not within the rules to do it through the Speaker in the Parliament. You can always do it personally.

**SHRI GM BANATWALLA:** I will hand it over to you. It is such a serious matter.

**SHRI CK JAFFER SHARIEF (Bangalore North):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me the opportunity to take part in this discussion which is of vital national importance ... (*Interruptions*). Communal riots in free and a secular India are the most disgraceful and painful things. The occurrence of riots in various parts of the country has kept us in an overwhelming atmosphere of hatred and bitterness. It is high time that we pondered over this problem which is eroding the nation's solidarity. Sir, the recent attacks on Muslims, on Harijans and on Sikhs is a clear evidence of the existing conditions of minorities in this country, the attitude of the government and the attitude of the majority.

As has been rightly pointed out by one of my friends from the other side who were talking, he was trying to tell that during the regime of Congress, the Muslims never had the courage to speak. I want to set the record straight. It is not true. There were Muslims even during those days who fought, who spoke the truth courageously and gallantly and who were never afraid of expressing their points of view which were in the larger interest of the minorities.

Maybe there were few people who were *Kumbakaran* then. But even now there are *Kumbakaran* present in the ruling party (an obvious reference to Sikandar Bakht). So there is nothing to point out that only Congress is responsible. Even the Janata Party is equally responsible today.

It is very unfortunate that the majority community does not realise that when a person takes birth in this country, he does not make an application to Brahma that he should take birth in a particular community or a particular family. Otherwise there would have been many Sanjay Gandhis or Kanti Desais. Sir, I am one of those who have been taught from childhood in the Congress organisation, from the days of Jawaharlal Nehru: “*SARV DHARMO SAMANTVA, SABHI DHARAM SAMAN HAIN, SABKE EK HI MAYNE HAIN*”. So, we always thought that all religions are same.

Now I would like to quote what has been said by one Mr. C. P. Rajendran from New Delhi in the *Indian Express* dated 2nd December, 1978. He said in his letter to the editor as follows: "RSS is supposed to be a cultural-organisation which has nothing to do with politics. According to its supporters the main aim of RSS is to form a united Hindu community. But how will drills and other military-type training help Indian culture? Why is RSS building military-type cadres? Is it only with lathis and drills that our culture can be made good and the country united? RSS is growing stronger day by day. They are utilising their people in the government for this purpose. They are trying to inject children with their philosophy. The recently-held children's camp had a march past by children holding toy guns in their hands.

What does this demonstrate? Why is the RSS or any other communal organisation bold enough to raise its head today?

In another prominent weekly of this country, it has been written: "Fascists can't fight fascism: Today, the Prime Minister has lost the support of all his colleagues barring the Jan Sangh-RSS rump which hold him captive."

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** Where are you quoting from?

**SHRI CK JAFFER SHARIEF:** From the *Blitz*, your favourite. I come from the land of Tipu Sultan, who was a gallant freedom fighter, who fought the British tooth and nail, who was the first freedom fighter of this country. If the government wants to learn how to run this country with a secular character, they should read how Tipu Sultan had conducted his administration, how secularism prevailed during his regime, I do not know why the Prime Minister is allergic to banning the RSS. We pleaded with him that if he did not want to ban the RSS he could at least ban its drills.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** You also went.

**SHRI CK JAFFER SHARIEF:** I also went but when they knew me to be a Muslim they threw me out. If any section of the people of this country is living under the illusion that they can by their mighty force crush some other section of people, they are living in a fool's paradise. We are born Indians, we are going to live as Indians and be buried in this soil. We are not going to be cowed down by any threat of attack on us. Let me make it very clear that if the government do not want to take steps to eradicate this communal tension, if they do not take precautionary measures to curb this kind of tendency be it attack on Harijans, Sikhs, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, Muslims or backward classes, we are not going to tolerate it.

Let me make it clear that if the government does not rise to the occasion and take the necessary steps, the day may not be far off when we will have to think how to defend ourselves. We are not for the offensive, but the right of defending ourselves cannot be taken away by the government.

If the government fails to do it we will have to think how to defend ourselves and protect the lives and properties of our own people. Therefore, I humbly appeal that it is the duty of the majority community to live in amity with the minorities and not to show its strength or might. People cannot live in this country without understanding and love and affection for each other. The minorities cannot live in this country by

trying to fight or antagonise the majority. We minority will have to live by earning the goodwill of the majority, and the majority should not consider that the minority is at their mercy. Shri VK Malhotra was telling us how the Hindu community has been very generous to the Muslims. I am really ashamed to hear such a kind of speech. We are not at the mercy of anybody. We are born Indians we would like to die as Indians. Nobody's mercy is necessary. Therefore, a change of heart is necessary.

Government will have to curb anti-social and anti-national elements. The whole drawback is that when the Janata Party came to power, they released not only political prisoners that one can understand, but also all the anti-social elements. They have also become freedom fighters of 1977, and today under the Janata raj, they have got the licence to do anything, because they have the support of the Prime Minister, their party and cadre. Therefore, it is a larger problem. I rather felt ashamed when I saw these people going to Gandhi Samadhi and taking oath there that they are going to live up to the ideals and expectations of Gandhiji's Ram Rajya and now making it a Ravan Rajya. I cannot really understand that. If they really love Gandhiji, if the Prime Minister is a true Gandhian, he must demonstrate and exhibit how Gandhiji's ideals can prevail.

We cannot forget that great man who gave his life for our cause. On this occasion it is the bounden duty of every one of us to remember and to express our gratitude to that noble soul, who lived and died for our sake.

With these words, I would appeal to the government to ban the RSS, if not the whole RSS, at least punish those who are guilty. I would respectfully appeal to the ruling party to forget about the party affiliations. Party affiliations are different. Everybody goes on airing that 'everybody else wants to make political capital out of communal riots.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please conclude.

**SHRI CK JAFFER SHARIEF:** I therefore humbly request the government to make up its mind to set the house in order and they must pull up the respective state governments where were the atrocities are committed, may be on Harijans, Sikhs or Muslims or whichever weaker sections it may be. It is the bounded duty of the Central Government to deal with such things with an iron hand.

Lastly, one point: the role of PAC. I have gone to Pantnagar and I have myself seen the various reports which have suggested that the character of PAC will have to be changed. As has been stated by the earlier Speakers the character of PAC will have to be changed. The minorities will have to be given due representation in PAC so that the minorities can have confidence in it. In all the administrative forces due representation should be given to the minorities like Harijans, the backward classes and the weaker sections. Only then confidence can be restored in the minds of the weaker sections of the people. Otherwise, it is not possible, mere words or making statement or talking loudly in this House will not do. I hope the government will endeavour itself at least in future to cut down all sorts of these inhuman tendencies which are raising their ugly head in the country. With these words, I conclude my speech.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Dr Subramaniam Swamy.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** I welcome the motion put forth by Hon'ble elder parliamentarian, Prof Samar Guha. I think it is absolutely necessary to discuss this issue as honestly as possible. But what happened in all such type of discussions whether it is now or whether it has been in the past, the discussion on communalism ultimately boils down to the question of relationship between Hindus and Muslims and the manner RSS is involved. This seems to be the pet theme in all such discussions. Actually the issues are much larger and have to be looked at in that larger perspective. It is clear that today in this country we have a vast number of communities. Many of them have tensions at different points or time. There are tensions even between one Hindu and another Hindu community, for instance, on the question of interpretation of Ramayana, in South India there is a great deal of tension between two different castes.

There are tensions even amongst the Muslim community between Shias and the Sunnis and riots have practically taken place every year on account of it and obviously there cannot be an RSS hand in the Shias-Sunnis riots and nobody claims it. Obviously, there are a large number of such tensions. There are, as one of the Hon'ble Members here just referred to, tensions between the Akalis and the Nirankaris. Again the RSS has got nothing to do with it. I am sure the Hon'ble Members who are rather negatively very fond of the RSS and mention its name almost like a mantra every time

would also concede that the RSS has nothing to do with it. I would like to see the debate on the subject in a dispassionate way taking the whole picture into account. It is a question of communal attitude; it is not only the question of Hindus vs. Muslims but even within Muslims and within Hindus there are various sub-communalism's which ultimately add up to the total communalism in the country.

I would, therefore, like this discussion to get away from this kind of pet fault-finding and pet or rather quack prescriptions that periodically come from that side. The question of Hindus vs. Muslims is not a question of a large community vs. a small community.

Their argument is that a small community because of its size needs protection and it is unduly apprehensive and insecure in an environment of this kind. Let us take the smallest community in this country, the Parsi community. I know quite a bit of the Parsi Community. My wife is a Parsi. It is not only the Congress (I) leader who has a privilege of marrying a Parsi. I also have that privilege and, I think, there are many others who have that privilege. The Parsi community is the smallest microscopic community in this country, probably less than 100,000. They face no tension with the majority community. The question is why, what is special about the Parsi community? Do they not have their own identity? They very much have their own identity. Do they not have their own religion? They very much have their own religion. Do they not have their own belief? They very much have their own belief; in fact they have a strict belief.

There was a tremendous opposition to anyone of their community marrying outside their community, the kind of opposition there would be when a Muslim marries a Hindu or vice versa. But still the fact of the matter is that the Parsi community does not feel any insecurity. In fact, when the Britishers left India, they asked the Parsi Community whether they would like constitutional guarantees to be put in so that they are protected and they said, "We have no fear from the people of India. We do not want any such constitutional guarantees." And today they are there in all prosperity. I think, it is not a question of smallness that is really at issue. But surely, the significant fact is that nobody seems to be taking up the cause of Parsis because the Parsi community has no political value.

There are only 100,000 people and that means about 40,000 votes. They are all concentrated in Bombay. Obviously, it is not very, useful and productive politically to take up the cause of the Parsi community. This, in my opinion, really goes to the heart of the matter as to why whenever we discuss communalism, we do not discuss communalism within the Hindu Community or communalism within the Muslim community and that we always discuss communalism between Hindus and Muslims because of the political advantage that is to be gained by talking in these terms. I would again ask, if you consider the question of size, take even a district where the Muslims are in a great majority, are there no riots there? There are riots. Take a district where the Muslims hold important offices like the district magistrate. For example, take Sambhal district where the Muslims constitute 75 per cent of the population there and the district magistrate there, till recently was a Muslim. But still a riot took place there in which the Members of both communities whatever the proportion -- I am not very much interested or impressed by the proportion figures -- the Hindus and the Muslims died there.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** You continue tomorrow.

***(LINK FOR THE DEBATE ON 4TH DECEMBER 1978***

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**THE DEBATE OVER COMMUNAL RIOTS IN ALIGARH AND OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY IN LOK SABHA CONTINUED NEXT DAY ON 5TH DECEMBER 1978**

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay-North-East):** Madam Chairman, I barely spoke for four minutes yesterday and I had pointed out that whenever we talk about communalism in Parliament, it ultimately boils down to a discussion of Hindu-Muslim conflict and also the alleged role of the RSS in that.

I have always wondered why there is never a discussion of intra-Hindu communalism or intra-Muslim communalism, such as between Shias and Sunnis about which there are riots every year, between Brahmin and non-Brahmin and all kinds of communalism that is there in the country. That is what we should be concerned with. But, unfortunately, there are no political dividends to be gained by this and that is why every discussion ultimately comes around that and does not go to the root of the issue.

Therefore, I wanted to bring out the fact that it is not a question of a minority; it is not a question of smallness of a community. I pointed out that the Parsi community which is the smallest minority in this country feels no insecurity in his country.

There must be some study made as to why is it that some other communities feel this way..... (*Interruption*). Marrying a Parsi is not the privilege of the people on the other side only.... (*Interruptions*)

The RSS is being constantly brought here to seek some political advantage. It is a growing organisation, it is a patriotic organisation. They do not know of any other way to stop its growth. This kind of irresponsible charges may be made all the time on the floor of the House, but when you pin them down and ask them to produce the facts, they are not able to produce the facts. I want to know why is it that the previous government, despite the fact that it was armed with the Prevention of Unlawful Activities Act 1967, further strengthened in 1972, by the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, had not filed a single case under the Act against the RSS. That was because they have no proof. I will read out to you, very briefly the Question that came up in Parliament on 8th May, 1975.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please try to conclude.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** I have hardly spoken. You are ringing the bell!

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I am sorry. You have to conclude.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** On 8th May, 1975, Starred Question No. 214 was put by Mr. Dattopant Thengari and several others. The question was: "Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state; (a) the number of cases and the number of persons involved in each case, state-wise, wherein courts of law have decided during the last three years that the RSS has been responsible for acts of violence." This was a straightforward question. The second part of the question was about acts of violence engaged in by the CPI. The answer to this Question was read out by Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, who functioned then constitutionally as the Home Minister — whether he was actually the Home Minister or not, I do not know.

His answer was: “ (a) to (c). In 1972 and 1973, there were no cases in which a court of law decided that the RSS had been responsible for acts of violence. Information in regard to 1974 is being collected from the state governments and Union Territory Administration.

At the same time, it says: "In 1972 and 1973, some Members of the CPI were convicted in some specific cases involving acts of violence.... ” Here is a Parliament Question which clearly says what is what...

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please conclude.

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** Again the question comes up on the issue of riot reports. Riot report after riot report has exonerated the RSS, whether it is Ranchi or for that matter the Bhiwandi report which Mr. Sathe quoted. Today Mr. Sathe is minus his topi; when he puts on his topi, he takes leave of his senses. I do not know why. The fact of the matter is this. He read out the Bhiwandi report. Nowhere does the Bhiwandi report mention the RSS; it mentions the Congress Party, it mentions the PSP, but it does not mention the RSS. This was a misreporting on his part...,

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please conclude.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU GANDHI (Chikmagalur):** Madam Chairman, the subject of communalism is an exceedingly important one because, in fact, we believe that it is central to the unity and strength of our country, and this is why... (*Interruptions*)...

I think the Hon'ble Member who spoke last rightly pointed out, and I would support him, that communalism does not relate merely to the chauvinistic feelings or friction between Hindus and Muslims but also to other minorities, and even, I would say, the tensions which are now being created between different castes and the attitude of aggressive groups and dominant groups, whether they are socially dominant, economically dominant or merely numerically dominant, towards those whom they consider to be weaker than themselves. And the present general atmosphere of violence does contribute to the aggravation of tensions.

Now, I want to make it clear that I do not think that Hinduism is, in any way, threatened either by Islam or by Christianity. I say this because this is sometimes the basis of the propaganda that is made. What does threaten it is those who want to narrow down the breath of its vision and the grandeur of its whole concept and the wide sweep of its thought. India has an age-old tradition of acceptance of the fact that there are many ways to truth and of giving respect to different religions and different approaches. It is this tolerance which has given Hinduism its resilience, and therefore its sustaining power. It is India's capacity for synthesis and adaptation that has created our composite culture which can flourish only in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and accommodation.

This has been the Congress creed and our aim. Now, I must admit that as human beings we Congress men and women sometimes faltered and failed to live up to our high precepts. But I think that the people and the administration knew that we stood firmly for secularism and that we shall continue to do always. As I said, it is the very core of our existence and, we think, the existence of the country.

Now I would like just to say a word about the Aligarh Muslim University, because this was mentioned by some Hon'ble Members. I was advised at that time that this Bill (Aligarh Muslim University Minority bill) would strengthen secular elements and therefore generally strengthen the Muslim cause. It was never our intention to hurt their feelings in any way, or to weaken the university or to change its character. So when certain representatives and different delegations came up to me I agreed to reconsider the matter. We did indeed express this view later on in our election manifesto. Any discussion with regard to questions concerning the minorities should be taken only after the fullest consultation with all groups of them. I am afraid that we did not give full consideration to this at that time. However, the situation is always too delicate, for their sentiments to be wounded.

Now I should like to add my voice to the many Members who spoke yesterday in expressing my appreciation and in congratulating the faculty and the students of the Aligarh Muslim University for the help and succour which they gave to the Hindus and the Muslims who were victims in the Aligarh riots and also to the many Hindus and Muslims who helped one another at such a time of distress. As I was passing through Aligarh station by train, many people came from both communities and gave

me a vivid account of the mischief that was done and the many acts of violence as well as of this help and the humanitarian work of the students and the faculty.

If there was a newspaper report attributing the remark to me that I did not need Muslim votes, I can only reiterate very strongly that it is entirely false and baseless. Speaking about what Dr. Sushila Nayar has said recently, I have referred to the atrocities on Muslims, on Harijans and on Adivasis and the hardships they have to suffer. I have also referred to the barbarous shooting in Pant Nagar in which the victims belonged to different castes, but my speech also covered economic and foreign policy issues.

Would it be fair to Harijans or the Adivasis or the Muslim minority if we were not to refer to these matters? Why are we discussing them here today? Would the Muslims and others be safer if such attacks are hushed up? I have said and I ask again what meaning can democracy have for the man whose house and belongings are destroyed and his loved ones killed and for those whose lands are being snatched away. who are beaten or maimed? ..... (*Interruptions*).

**AN HON'BLE MEMBER:** When?

**SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU GANDHI:** At any time..... (*Interruptions*). I am not excusing any riots which took place at any time, before, now or which may take place later. We have to condemn all riots anywhere, where people have suffered. I have always condemned every riot and every act of barbarism which has taken place anywhere.....

With regard to democracy, I would like to say that democracy can survive only on the basis of socialism which stands for economic justice, and secularism which stands for social justice.... (*Interruptions*)... It does not help to misrepresent others, nor is it my intention to do so. Other Hon'ble Members ably quoted facts and figures.

If the Jana Sangh and RSS are mentioned, it is certainly not out of any allergy to them, but because of the ideology of Hindu militancy and supremacy, and the mention of Hindu Rashtra which they have been preaching, and of the remarks regarding Little Pakistans within India and so on, which we hear from time to time. (*Interruptions*) Paramilitary training to children and young people is not conducive either to

communal harmony or to giving a feeling of security to Members of other communities. Photographs have appeared and all newspapers and other reports have mentioned children with imitation guns. Naturally, I have no inside information. I know only what has appeared — (*Interruptions*)

**AN HON'BLE MEMBER:** You never had any. It was all hear-say.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU GANDHI:** Consistently the newspapers have mentioned with regard to Aligarh and certain other matters the names of important people of the local RSS (*Interruptions*). The names in the FIR read out yesterday were those of one group; as far as I know. (*Interruptions*) The philosophy of the dominant partner of the ruling Janata Party is responsible for creating an atmosphere of fear and insecurity in the minds of minorities and weaker sections. It is no use blaming the administration unless we know that they have been given firm and clear instruction which they have defied.

One point which I have always emphasised—I am glad to say that one Hon'ble Member from the ruling party who spoke yesterday also said so—and which I should like to reiterate is the importance first of trying to prevent tension from coming to the boil and secondly to take the firmest measures if there is any trouble; right in the beginning as soon as trouble appears. From this point of view it was certainly a mistake to lift the curfew and endanger the lives of people as happened in Aligarh from what I can see from newspaper reports.

Our policy was not evenly implemented but we did try to take a large number of minority personnel in the police and other services at all levels... (*Interruptions*)

Employment opportunities must be given to them in industry also. Whenever there was a new industry established Muslim minorities and other weaker sections and those who were dislodged by the start of new industrial undertaking should be given jobs there first. It is equally necessary to ensure that every subject in our education programme gives the child the right attitude towards its fellow citizens and other religions languages and so on. This we have tried with some success.

I wonder if the government is giving full consideration to the repercussions which might arise out of the Anti-Conversion Bill which is on the anvil. A secular attitude

must be an essential requirement for all officials, teachers and others in responsible positions. I entirely agree that questions regarding communal tension law and order situation and violence are national questions. But some of the issues raised and the manner of mentioning them did not indicate that the ruling party is entirely of this view. I have earlier spoken very strongly about the Jan Sangh, about the RSS. Some member said that no case had been brought out. I think it was mentioned yesterday again by an Hon'ble Member from that side, not from our side. It is not a question of who throws the first stone. It is very difficult to prove who threw the first stone. The question is what is the atmosphere? An atmosphere of bitterness and hatred is spread through statements. I have mentioned some of these things: Little Pakistan or something like that; or a whispering campaign which inflames hatred. It is this which creates an atmosphere in which any child can be induced to throw a stone or do something like that which can spark of such a situation. Why is it that at other times similar acts do not have repercussions?

Things are normal if a Hindu and a Hindu fight and the matter ends there. But if the same fight is on a very trivial matter between a Hindu and Muslim why should it immediately degenerate and rouse such passions? Some propaganda has been going on which creates this sort of atmosphere. My humble submission is and it is not at all with a view to get any political advantage. I do not think any political advantage is gained out of communal violence... (*Interruptions*). Everybody suffers; the Muslim suffers and the Hindu suffers and if there is any gain at all it must be a very temporary gain... (*Interruptions*)....

The sort of remarks that were made here earlier by people belonging I believe to the Jan Sangh.....

**DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:** There is no Jan Sangh; why don't you get out of that psychosis?

**SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU GANDHI:** I think you were one of the strongest spokesmen of this so-called group... (*Interruptions*) Shall I say a segment of the Janata Party? They have a very definite view. I have stated with great humility that today, if we are discussing this matter, it is not to blame either the Jan Sangh or the RSS; they have been propagating a point of view which was very dangerous to the unity and integrity of this country. Because if any one group which is unsafe, or even if not

actually unsafe, feel that they do not have equal opportunity, and it is obvious now that the Muslim minority does feel this... (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI RAM DHAN:** What about Andhra Pradesh?

**SHRIMATI INDIRA NEHRU GANDHI:** I am not justifying anything. But just because something happened in Andhra Pradesh, you cannot say that Muslims are feeling safe in other places. Something was said about the Parsi community. It is because they are so small that nobody thinks of them as a threat. They are living in one or two places. But Muslims are spread all over India. When I speak of minorities I think of other minorities also. In different places other communities are in a minority. There are towns and villages where other people are in a minority, I would ask the Hon'ble Members of the other side who belong to what used to be the Jan Singh. They say it is no longer there. Most of us here see it is very much there and in a most dominant position. The other constituents of the Janata party should try to wake up to the realities of the situation and the dangers to our country, from their point of view.

I am not saying that Jan Sangh should be removed from government but there must be an effort to at least convert them or at least try to show them that their attitude will not be tolerated. If you use RSS, for instance, for adult education, then this kind of attitude is spread, it is not curbed and contained.

The RSS is called a cultural organisation. Well, culture is a word which covers many things. But culture is equally dangerous if communal feelings are spread. Whether it is culture, politics or education, the main thing is that this kind of attitude must be curbed by the government. Otherwise not only will communalism grow there will be growing violence and it will affect the country in many other ways and endanger our unity and what we have struggled and stood for.

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Bombay North-West):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the House must proceed to record its profound gratitude to Mrs. Indira Gandhi for having made a very profound contribution to the great debate upon this sensitive problem which has baffled the nation for over a century. She told us in sonorous terms what none of us knew before. She told us that riots are bad!

Almost as an after-thought, very reluctantly, under compulsion and under some amount of barracking from the Janata benches she admitted that even the riots which took place during her regime were bad. There must be something wrong, Madam, with our Parliamentary procedures that a member can get up, make a speech, utter lies, make false charges, and then get away from here without even sitting to listen to what is said by others by way of defence or without having to answer any inconvenient questions. Since she is not here, I propose to ask a few questions which I hope Mrs. Gandhi's able advocates present here — I find that Dr, Seyyad Muhammed has also just left— she may someday answer, if not on the floor of the house at least somewhere else.

**AN HON'BLE MEMBER:** There is no advocate of Mrs. Gandhi here!

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI:** I propose to level no charges. I propose to ask some questions. And I am tempted to ask these questions because as a lawyer I know that sometimes when we cannot find the ostensible answer to a crime, we investigate first as to who has benefited by the crime, who is the beneficiary of the crime. That provides a useful line of investigation and even produces very fruitful results. I want to ask: was there a single election meeting in Chickmagalur in which the Aligarh riots were not exploited by Mrs. Gandhi for the advancement of her election prospects? She made the utmost use in every single speech.

I was there in Chickmagalur and I had the good fortune to listen to some of her addresses. She exploited to the utmost all that happened in Aligarh and I am sure that some votes, at least, must have gone in her favour as a result of the propaganda which she carried on. Now, therefore, if you cannot otherwise determine the cause of the Aligarh riots, if one finds that soon after the riots somebody has tried to drive the utmost benefit out of the crime. I think it is a safe and reasonable presumption, to start with, that he had something to do with, the riots.

Now, I go further. She told us very innocently that on some day, she was passing by a train at the Aligarh Railway Station when some unknown people, whom she did not identify and whose names are not known to us -- for aught we know they might be her paid hirelings -- went and reported to her something and told her that she alone is the only protector of India's Muslims. She deliberately indulged in a half truth, which is more dangerous than a falsehood. She did not tell us that just before the Chickmagalur

election and on the eve of the start of the riots in Aligarh, she visited Aligarh. She visited Aligarh on the pretext of attending a wedding in a friend's family. I hope somebody will take proper instruction and tell us whether this allegation is true or false.

The second allegation is that, having gone to Aligarh, she was closeted in the secret conclave meeting with the Commissioner of that place Mr. Tandon, whose name occurs very prominently in some of the newspaper reports about the Aligarh disturbances.

**AN HON'BLE MEMBER:** Then why is the administration sparing him?

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI:** I don't know why. No proper enquiry or investigation has proceeded on these lines that Mrs. Gandhi was present in Aligarh, shortly before the riots commenced, that she was present in Aligarh and talked to the law and order authority in the region shortly before the riots commenced and that the riots commenced shortly before the Chickmagalur election and that, at the Chickmagalur election, she took the utmost, advantage of the riots which have taken place. If you make an investigation on these lines, you will come to realise that the riots could have been caused by the beneficiaries of the riots: and, in this case, the beneficiaries of the riots have been Mrs. Gandhi directly and, indirectly, those who are her political followers.

That to Mrs. Gandhi and her followers, her getting elected from Chickmagalur was a matter of life and death cannot be denied; that they had set a tremendous store on the Chickmagalur election, that on that depended the political future of Mrs. Gandhi, cannot be denied. And if a few innocent heads roll in blood, Mrs. Gandhi is not the one to give up that method if it advances her political interests and gets her a few votes. Did it or did it not happen that, to perpetuate herself in the Emergency, she did not mind thousands of heads of Muslims rolling at various places?

I do not wish to reinforce this again because, I do not wish to pour salt on the wounds that are still fresh, I do not wish to touch spots which continue to be raw. But is she or is she not a living example of the repudiation of Gandhiji's teachings that ends alone do not justify means, that the means if they are impure make the ends impure. She has

always repudiated this thesis. To her it does not matter; so long as her interests are advanced, she will not mind if a few innocent lives are taken away in the process.

**SHRI CK JAFFER SHARIEF (Bangalore North):** On a point of order. Is he discussing how to curb communal riots or is he discussing Mrs Indira Gandhi?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please sit down. Please do not interrupt.

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI:** Let me remind the House of the opportunism of Mrs. Gandhi and her party which now makes accusations against the Janata Party and the RSS. Yesterday I found that their vociferous Member of Parliament, my very dear friend, Mr. Vasant Sathe, mentioned the Madon Report to which. I think, reference was made by Mr. Mohd. Shafi Qureshi also. The Madon Report indicated the Shiv Sena for having started the communal disturbances in Bhiwandi and at other places. Yet, they forgot all that and they entered into an electoral alliance with the Shiv Sena in the city of Bombay. Throughout the Emergency, they remained in alliance with that communal organisation and they continue to remain in alliance in the city of Bombay and in the state of Maharashtra.

What has happened to those gallant leaders of the Muslims who are pretending to protect the rights of the Muslims? They only talk, and when it comes to execution of principles which they preach, the practice seems to depart vitally from their preachings.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please try to conclude.

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI:** An attack has been made upon the RSS. Somebody has told us that the RSS is receiving paramilitary training. I wonder how many of them have read the definition of 'paramilitary' training. What is paramilitary training? If taking up a lathi and learning a bit of lathi practice or doing little bit of drill and improving, your physique is paramilitary training? I think Mrs. Gandhi and the Congressmen will have to write a fresh dictionary because no dictionary will support this kind of a definition. And if they had the evidence that the RSS was receiving paramilitary training and they had that evidence, I presume, not for the first time after March 1977 but before 1975, why did they wait until they decided to supplant democracy in this country or for the RSS to be banned in this country? Therefore,

when they today make an affirmation that they have the evidence about their paramilitary training, it is a bogus claim, It is a false claim. I do not belong to the RSS. I never belonged to it, and now in the evening of my life I do not propose to enter it either. But I must say as a lawyer, that there is no evidence and that the accusations are totally false.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please conclude.

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI:** I will take only one minute more. The Constitution of India ensures, by its Constitutional provisions, that there shall be secularism. Article 15 of the Indian Constitution ensures the equality for all. The other Articles ensure secular character of the country and the fundamental freedoms of all. I now want to ask those great champions of Muslim rights this question: I ask Shri Banatwala who sits there: When Article 15 was suspended what were they doing? Nobody at that time raised any finger against it.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat):** The communal situation as obtaining today is a matter of grave concern and anxiety for, I suppose, all of us cutting across the party affiliations and loyalties represented here. But what has practically disappointed me is that everybody has taken to the method of indulging in some kind of academic exercises, jargons or cliché without going to the root cause of the problem. The situation is such that it is not only the wishes, not only the jargons which can strike at the real problem, but the situation needs a well concerted and multi-pronged attack. Communalism is raising its ugly head. It is a hydra headed monster which is to be fought and it has to be defeated completely and finally. This communalism has posed a challenge to the feelings of secularism and nationalism. Now, I think the House is posed with the question: shall we allow this Indian society of ours to be permanently divided on the basis of communal consideration? I think the Indian society cannot afford to be divided on communal lines. Communalism, which I have described as a hydra-headed monster, is a challenge to all those people who cherish the belief and faith that Indian nationalism should remain secular and free from all shades of communalism, chauvinism, obscurantism. This is again a challenge to all those people who want to fight the common and real enemies i.e. the neo-colonialist exploiters, the age-old poverty and ignorance and ever widening chasm of disparity between a very few and vast majority of our countrymen. Coming to the point, the Prime Minister has been pleased to give some statistics with regard to communal incidents in our country.

I am not going to analyse the statistics whether they were on the decline or on the increase but these very statistics convey a theme that even today the social, economic conditions which breeds communalism do not only continue to exist but are being expanded. It also proves that the steps so far taken with regard to curbing the communal forces in the country have not yet had the desired effect.

It also goes to prove that there are certain forces which cannot be curbed merely by a plethora of jargons or wishes or by expressing certain good wishes. It is necessary, therefore, for us to go into the root causes of communalism now spreading in our country. It is well known that not merely what outwardly had happened should be considered but what was behind the riots that should be our primary consideration if we are really to put a stop to the occurrences of communal riots in our country. Communal riots in our country have seen legion committees and commissions of inquiry have also been legion. All of them or many of them have gone into the real cause. If we have got the time to put them together, we will find that there are in general, mentioned certain conditions which breed a feeling of communalism. Let me catalogue them. The root cause of communal disturbances is the forces which sedulously keep the mistrust between the communities alive and exploit it for its own purpose. Tension mounts not only spontaneously but also due to the concerted efforts of a group interested in stirring up emotions on communal lines. The Vyathayathil Commission had given a catalogue of certain circumstances where well organised communal forces act in a prejudicial manner. It's very important recommendation number one says:

- (1) "Rousing communal feeling in the majority community by the propaganda that the Muslims are disloyal to the Nation." This is one of the important recommendations made by the Committee appointed by the Government itself.
- (2) "Deepening the fear in majority and playing upon that fear complex.
- (3) Infiltration into administration and inducing the Members of the civil, police and army services into adopting communal attitude.
- (4) Spreading rumours to widen the communal cleavage and giving to any incident or movement a communal colour."

These are the general recommendations. All these recommendations are irrelevant to them. Aligarh provides a singular example. If we go into certain statements made by

some of the responsible persons regarding Aligarh, the position will be very clear. I quote below the statement of one person:

“From all accounts, it is clear that it was an organised force under the leadership of RSS actively aided and abetted by the local police and the Provincial Armed Constabulary that was responsible for the bloody programme of Aligarh..... The close liaison between the City Magistrate and the PAC Commanding Officer on the one side, and RSS elements on the other could be clearly seen by everybody.”

So, it is clear. Now, I do not want to go into that in detail. But the one point I want to emphasise is that on earlier occasion the RSS involvement in the communal riots was identified by many committees and commissions of Inquiry. But the situation has become all the more worse today.

In the past RSS was not a part of the government. Now, the RSS believing in the particular theory and ideology of establishing Hindu Raj, have not only extended their area of operation but they have also extended the area of operation into the seat of power. They are not only in the seat of power at the Centre, but they are in the seat of power in the states also. This is a new element which cannot but create a sense of fear and insecurity among the minorities. It is for the government and the Janata Party to make it clear that this new development would not have a grip over power or maintain a stranglehold over power, and the life and property of the minorities would be as secure as the constitution guarantees. I have got some words for the Janata Party men. I want to quote just what Mr. Madhu Limaye said. There are radical elements in the Janata Party. There are some people in the Janata Party who want to fight the monster of communalism and they have their faith in secularism and nationalism free from communalism and chauvinism. Mr. Madhu Limaye said, “My complaint with the RSS is, first, its organisational principles are inimical to the concept of pluralist democracy; secondly, the ideology of Hindu Raj is alien to secular democracy which is part of the Janata Party creed.”

Therefore, I hope the Janata Party would adhere to the..... . (*Interruptions*).....

That he says. Therefore, I think the Janata Party Members, those who are really against the forces of communalism, should rise to the occasion and should really create an atmosphere wherein the communal forces do not get an upper hand in their

party. My last point is that there is a circular still in vogue in the country. Muslims can be recruited in the PAC? If it is a fact I think government should come out with a statement. Therefore, I want the Home Minister to make a statement clarifying the position as to the representation of the minority community in government services, in the police, in the army and in other parts of the administration. I have some suggestions to make.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Sorry, you should have made the suggestion first.

**THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI MORARJI DESAI):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are having this debate on a very sensitive issue and it is very vital for the well-being of our country. If we can keep out politics and political considerations, we shall be able to find a solution which will free us from this shame of communal troubles. There are communal troubles. Then, there are troubles about Harijans. There are other troubles which take place between communities.

These are all troubles which were not there before the British government came in. There were only communal troubles. The Hindu-Muslim troubles started first in 1893 in this country. Let history be properly seen. And this was the creation of the British government. But when we blame the British government, have we not to blame ourselves? Why did we play to their tune? But we did. There is attack and counter-attack. I do not know whom to blame, to blame the first man who threw the stone or, one who retaliated and over did it. Both things are equally blameworthy in my mind. That is the attitude I have always adopted in dealing with these matters. There has been response to it. That is why I also encouraged in pursuing this attitude even more.

I went to Aligarh recently and met as many people as wanted to see me. I discussed with them and I appealed to them, and I found that they were all amenable to reason, but many of them had suffered from prejudices and passions.

Now, when it happens in the highest political tribunal of this country, what shall I do about the rest of the people? That is why I am appealing to my friends here not to be carried away by political considerations in this matter, and blaming this side or that side. I take no consolation—even if it is one—that there are less incidents now than some time before, and that there is a better handling of disturbances than there was before. That is not the solution. The solution is to find out the best way of seeing that

these things do not occur at all. Till then, we will suffer from these things and, if we are not careful, these can never be stopped. This kind of attitude cost the life of the Father of the Nation. That came out of this poison. It did have an effect... (*Interruptions*)... He (Nathu Ram Godse) was not a member of the RSS when he committed the murder, but he was in the RSS before. I myself have said that.

But it is not merely one man who has gone wrong. It is the general atmosphere which is responsible for it which makes people mad. And when we go on here, shouting at each other in the manner in which we do it here, will this not create a riot if you are outside? It is only because of the restraint in the House, that we do not come to blows. Otherwise, the way we exchange epithets, I don't know whether it will not lead to it. But all this goes out from here. We have therefore to set an example: that is all I am saying. And how does it help us to throw blame at each other I do not know. The cancer has gone deep and it has to be eradicated. That is how we should apply our minds to the problem. There can be no justification for anybody to bare any communal consideration, and yet, are there any sections of people for whom one can say that there is nobody with a communal feeling? That is the inheritance we have got: it is that which we have to live down. But how to do it is the main question. We can do it only if all of us get united in this matter, irrespective of political views, and apply the solution that we find without any bickering, without blaming each other. Then only we will be able to find a solution.

I have therefore invited a conference of all parties on the 17<sup>th</sup> (Dec.1978) to consider this calmly and to come to conclusions which will help all of us to fight this cancer and eradicate it. It is easy to blame the government at any time, and government cannot take refuge under the pretext that these things happened before and they were more before and are less today. That is no satisfaction or consolation to me or to my colleagues. It is certainly government's responsibility to see that if such troubles take place, they are scotched as fast as possible, and the guilty are punished without any political considerations whatsoever and in a manner which will set an example for other people to follow. This has been the attitude of government throughout. To blame any one person or any one body would be totally wrong, because it is not one body which is responsible.

When political passions arise in a democracy and we are not able to cooperate even in matters like this, why blame communal passions then? Communal passions have no

such justification. We are a democratic people. We believe in democracy. Then there can be political differences. There are bound to be political parties. But should not the political parties work together, and even when they have differences, should they not give expression to their differences in a manner which does not create passions? This may be an expectation of perfection perhaps. But can we not approximate to it? That is all that I want to know.

It is only in the last several centuries that we have gone down. Even the British government could take advantage of it and could incite these passions and foment these troubles—only because we were willing to oblige. We have inherited the capacity of quarrelling with each other, and that is what we have got to eliminate. It is not so easy, but it has to be done. Therefore, it is in education that we have to bring this up, so that the younger generation is free from this cancer. We are applying our mind to this to consider how best this can be done.

But it is not something which can be easily found and declared. But I am sure that in a short time we will be able to find a proper solution for it in consultation with all people. It is, therefore, that we are consulting all people; even if we are blamed, we do consult them, and we would try to take them with us, and we would like to go with them wherever they are reasonable or where they have only this attitude in mind. These communal troubles are sometimes more and sometimes less. But they go on.

There have been several complaints in the matter of deployment of Aligarh PAC in that the PAC has done a lot of harm by acting arbitrarily against only one community. That has happened because in the PAC there is very little representation of the minorities. I find that that is true; there is a smaller representation of the minorities. Are we responsible for it? Is not the previous administration responsible for it? Why did they not see to it that this had not happened? I am trying now to see that all the police forces have a proper and adequate representation of all communities. That is what I am trying to see. That is what I did in Bombay, and that was why we were able to hold this in check; we had comparative peace and amity between all communities there. But what could happen there can happen in the whole country. It is fact that it cannot happen. But all of us have to contribute to achieve this. No one person can achieve it.

When a person like Mahatma Gandhi who gave his life for it could not achieve it what can one person do? All of us can do it together. That is why I would like to appeal to my friends. I do not want to blame anybody here or there. That is happening, I find, in the debate. But how will that help? That does not help. It has been pointed out by my friend there that my colleague said something. My colleague had to give, in reply, several facts when he was provoked. I would certainly say that he ought not to have been provoked.

We have appointed the Minorities Commission for the first time in the history of this country and yet attempts are being made to put up the Minorities Commission against the government. I don't know why that is being done.

**SHRI CM STEPHEN:** Was Mr. Masani (Minoos) our member?

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** I don't want to go into it. I know what has been done. Where have I said that only one side is responsible? I have never said that. That is not my thesis. But after all what is the purpose of the Minorities Commission? The purpose of the Minorities Commission is to see that no injustice is done to the minorities, that there is no oppression of the minorities. It is also to see that this question of minorities and majorities is forgotten and there is no minority and no majority in this country. There they will have to help.

They must not be parties to this. So that has got to be seen. And this is where we must be helpful to them and not try to do anything which will make them go in another direction. That we have to see.

We have so many problems in this country which we have inherited: communalism, casteism and so on which create divisions. From these some groups, from these come internal quarrels, dividing and sub-dividing all the while. We have got to give up this sort of division and take to spirit of integration and unity.

So, that is what we have got to arrive at. We are trying to find the best solution for that purpose find I hope my friends in the opposition would cooperate with us.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola):** You have not said anything about the paramilitary communal organisations. Are you trying to defend, cover up or to protect them? What

have you got in mind about it? If that thing remains, communal poison from this country cannot go. What have you got to say about those paramilitary organisations?

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Don't keep on repeating it.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** As I have said, already and I would like to say again that all communal organisations must cease—not one, but all. I don't want any educational institution on a communal basis. But can I achieve it in a day? I have got to see that that happens. But for that, we have got to work together. That is what we are trying to do.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** At least proper paramilitary training. . . (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** What is the meaning of paramilitary training? Without any paramilitary training, my friend there is more than that. It is not paramilitary training which is responsible for it. (*Interruptions*) If he wants that I should blame, I should agree with him in blaming the RSS for this purpose, I cannot oblige him, because a Commission has been appointed and a judge is going into it. If the judge finds it, I will certainly not hesitate to take the strongest action possible against whoever is found responsible. But before that, I cannot give any opinion which would not be fair to anybody. How can I do it? I cannot come to a judgement and I refuse to do so. I refuse to discuss this question because I do not want to prejudice the working of the Commission in one way or the other.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** Don't try to side-track the ... (*Interruption*).

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** I go straight at the problem. I am not going to be involved in that controversy, if my friends want to do it. I won't be involved in it. Let him not attempt it. Whatever he may try to do, I won't get provoked; I won't be involved. There you won't succeed. Sometimes evils are better avoided and wrong advices must always be avoided. This is what I believe in. I am not trying to accept any wrong advice.

That is all that I would say. I do not want to speak anything long on it because I do not want to speak, even indirectly which might contribute to increasing the tension. I do not want to do it. That is the first precaution that we have to take and I beg of my

friends also to do it. Then only we will be able to find a solution. This is a matter of common concern for all of us. It is not a matter of concern only for us, it is a concern for all. Therefore, even apportioning blame here and there will not do. We have got to see that we remove this cancer and I would appeal to my friends to co-operate with the government in this matter.

**SHRI SAUGATA ROY:** Madam, I want a clarification. He has not said anything about the role of RSS, about Shri Kalyan Singh, who is the Minister of Health in UP, a known RSS man. What was he doing at the time of the Aligarh riots?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** That is under enquiry.

*(Prof. Samar Guha replied to debate as he was the mover of the motion.)*

**PROF. SAMAR GUHA:** Madam, at the end of this marathon debate, in which 30 Members participated, I can offer only one recipe, which will mitigate communal and caste violence almost drastically. If one single political recipe is accepted by all of us, this communal violence and caste violence can be mitigated drastically. Will the Members of this House and all political parties agree that any reference, any mention of any kind of caste violence or communal violence or caste issue or communal issue will be made an election offence? If it is made an election offence, and accordingly if the Representation of Peoples Act is amended to the effect that no reference either to any caste or communal problem would be allowed, you will see how drastically the communal and the caste troubles are mitigated in our country.

There has been a lot of chest-beating and a lot of crocodile tears have been shed, but when I use the word, I use a very strong word with all sense of responsibility and consciousness that we indulge in some kind of political vulture-ism when we discuss the problems of minorities, or of the Harijans or Adivasis our eyes, the eyes almost all the political parties including ours, I should say, are on how to catch the vote of the minorities, the vote of the Harijans and the vote of the Adivasis.

Therefore, there is a competition among one another as to how to create an impression as to who are the better champions of the cause of the minorities or of the Harijans or Adivasis. Therefore, I would suggest that if you make an amendment in the

Representation of People Act that any reference to caste or communal issue would be made an election offence, you will see the result out of it.

**SHRI DN TIWARY (Gopalganj):** It is already there.

**PROF. SAMAR GUHA:** No, but I say 'out of that'. By communal hatred I mean reference of the communal issue, reference to the caste issue and reference of the Harijan issue. Make it a national issue, depoliticise it, keep it above the political party and then you will see how it can be done.

Madam, what a strange thing it is that not a member of this House has said that he was in Aligarh or in Hyderabad or anywhere and no member of any political party has risked his or her life to save the life of a Harijan or an Adivasi or a minority. The test is there. Don't take it that I am parading anything for myself, but I have earned the right to speak something about it. My half remains in Dacca and the other half is here. I was born and brought up at Dacca and I am here. I am a victim of political communalism. I know what the feeling of the minorities is because I was, for many years, in Pakistan jail also. I can tell this House that in the 1946 Noakhali riots, when the police could not enter the riot area, I with two of my Muslim students of Dacca College entered into that area for 5 days with the peace mission.

My life was endangered many times and two Muslims saved me and when I reached back Chaumani, Acharya Kriplani, Sarat Chandra Bose, PC Ghosh and all these national leaders reached there and I communicated to them what actually happened. It is known to Dacca people. Many times I was in the Hindu-Muslim processions, peaceful processions, to stop communal riots.

When I was arrested and I was kept in a Pakistani jail in Dacca I interrogated the DG of police; "Why have you arrested, me? Am I a fool? Yes, I was opposed to partition. It is easy to break a piece of glass just by a stroke, but it requires many hundred degrees temperature to melt it and fuse it to make it one. I know, I had been in a revolutionary party, but I know it was the people's revolution for re-unification of Bangladesh or Pakistan with India. Why have you arrested me? Why have you kept me in detention?" Then, what was the answer? The answer was: "Samar babu, you will not be allowed to mix with Muslim boys."

When I was in Dacca, in Pakistan, I used to observe Netaji's Birthday, Azad Hind Day and all days in which Fazlul Haq and all the ministers presided over the meetings. For that reason, I can also say that in my constituency when I was elected from there, there was not a single instance of any caste violence, any violence against a Harijan, any violence against a caste Hindu or any violence against Muslim minorities. I have the right to say. I would have been happy if Mrs. Gandhi had said: "Yes, I have gone to Aligarh, I have faced the people, I have faced the rioters, the hooligans, the criminals. If she had said it, I would have given my salam to her. On the contrary...

**PROF. DILIP CHAKRAVARTY:** She organised it...

**PROF. SAMAR GUHA:** She muddled her maiden speech with the poison of political communalism. She said at the beginning of the speech that this communal issue should be treated as a national issue, it should be kept above politics. Then what did she do?

She stooped so low as to say as if she was the only defender - she used the word - she posed herself as the only defender of the cause of minorities, Harijans, Adivasis. It is her language. She even went to the extent of saying that in her regime Muslims, Harijans and Adivasis had at least the hearing of her government in regard to their grievances, but now they are not getting even a hearing.

My apprehension was that his debate would turn into an acrimonious accusation against each other. Everybody would appear to be more virtuous than the other. What have we done? We have proved to be mere sinners. Have I not the statistics do I not know? I was born and brought up during the most critical period of our national life when there was communal rioting all over the country. Do I not know what happened during last few years? I did not cite a single incident about any communal happening. I did not cite any data or facts about any communal incident. Why? Because. Whether it happened during the regime of Mrs. Indira Gandhi or whether it happens today, every Indian, every true Indian, nationalist Indian, who has faith in Indian ideology, in the outlook of India's universality, in the ideology of the universal value of Indian synthesis, about faith, culture and religion, would feel ashamed if there is any single incident of any violence against any minority or any Harijan or any Adivasi.

Mrs. Gandhi paraded herself as a great defender of minorities. What did she do in the three elections? Gone to Chickmagalur, she posed herself champion of Muslims and Harijans. Going to Samastipur and Fatehpur, she became the champion of the caste Hindus, the Brahmins, the Bhumihars, the Rajputs.

**SHRI P. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Chittoor):** She never said.....

**PROF. SAMAR GUHA:** She criticised the reservation for backward classes, it is known to everybody. Not only that. She tried to instigate communal hatred in the minds of the Muslims minorities about Aligarh. Is that the way of really feeling for the minorities? As I said, like political vultures, most of the political leaders of the political parties exploit the miseries of the minorities, the miseries of the Harijans and the Adivasis with an eye only on their vote. She was for eleven years ruling this country.

I ask you, Mr. Chairman did she utter a single word about any constructive suggestion, any positive proposal, either economic or social or cultural or of any kind that her government undertook.

For eleven years she ruled the country. She never took any positive steps or any constructive steps to deal with the problems of the minorities of Harijans or Adivasis. She could at least suggest what step the Janata government now should take. Did she make any single suggestion, any single constructive proposal that these are the things that the Janata government should pursue? She mentioned about education a little but what did she do?

I was there in this House when the Aligarh University Bill, without giving any notice, was passed, because at that time she wanted to placate the minorities. I tabled the 80 amendments and on each amendment I spoke. Let us make it an issue that no educational institution should be run in the name of any religion. No educational institution having any communal or religious affinity should get any kind of aid or help from the Central government. I was opposed and I will be opposed to it. It will be a conscience vote on my part. The first thing that this Government should do, if they really want to change the history, is that name of Banaras Hindu University should be changed to Banaras University and the word 'Hindu' should be dropped. They should have the courage to change the name of Aligarh Muslim University to Aligarh

University. Do you want to perpetuate the minorities in the name of religion? When you retain the word 'Hindu' what do you do? You are giving help to the University?

The offer, the government is instigating a separate identity and that is what the previous government had done for thirty years, from the days of the great Nehru to those of the great daughter, they maintained the same thing. Let there be a theological University.

Let there be a University teaching only a theological subject. Let there be Aligarh University teaching a theological subject. Science - is it a communal subject? Arts - is it a communal subject? Geography - is it a communal subject? Biology - is it a communal subject? Engineering - is it a communal subject? Medical - is it a communal subject? Yet if we retain the minority character or the Hindu character I will oppose it.

My party, I feel, has a tendency of competition because now if the Aligarh Muslim University Bill is passed just to give the minority character give them aid bring the minority boys up. The minority boys, the economically backward class boys should also be included and the job security should be there not only for the scheduled castes but also for the poor minority boys, the julahas, the weavers and others. They should also be included. That is called the correct approach. I am asking, if there any person in India who can say that he really established the emotional integration of the people? Only one person it was Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, only one in the history of this country. In the Azad Hind Fauj there was no distinction between Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian and there was socio-cultural revolution. Hindu temples in the whole of Malaysia and Burma were open for Muslims the Muslim mosques were open for the Hindus and the Gurudwaras were open for Hindus and Muslims. I was trying and pressing them to have a film, it is only that way you can see Gandhiji was great, but even Gandhiji failed to achieve Hindu-Muslim Unity. Only one person did it and it was with blood not with slogans, not with speeches, but with the blood of the martyrs. Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian - all fought together, died together and shed their blood together. This saga of martyrdom christened emotion the philosophy and the ideals of Indian nationalisms.

I pressed and pressed them to have a film on Azad Hind Fauj. If you allow me a digression, in 1946, there were some peace meeting addressed because the Dacca communal riots were going on. It was arranged by a British Commissioner.

The first meeting was to be addressed from the side of the Congress - I was then the Secretary of the Relief Committee - and the Muslim League. In the first meeting, in which 95 per cent of the audience were Muslims, about twenty to twenty five thousand people were there after the Muslim league leaders spoke, I spoke for an hour. I did not say anything. I spoke about Netaji, how Netaji founded Azad Hind Fauj and how Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian all shed their blood together. After the speech was over, I found that tears were rolling down in the eyes of thousands of persons. In the night, in the same place, when I was crossing the river Muslim boatman, he did not know me he was saying, that Babu, he said if we are going to have a feeling of that type, there would be no Hindu-Muslim riots. Perhaps that was the best prize of my life. I didn't disclose my identity. It was dusk.

This House would be assured to know that in 1940, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel showed that film on Azad Hind Fauj all over the country. Now, after that, there had been several reprints, but all the reprints have been destroyed, not only withdrawn, but destroyed such a valuable document of the whole Azad Hind Movement, Azad Hind struggle. You will not find even a single print anywhere. It was done in whose regime? In Mrs. Gandhi's regime. I could not get even a single film about Azad Hind Movement. Now they are talking a lot about RSS. What was the meaning of this debate? I am sorry that this debate was agreed upon because it has not helped us in any way either to create a sort of assurance of faith in the minds of minorities or the Harijans. But it has only aggravated and created new tensions, it has only created suspicious, it has only created some sort of a danger and it has only created a feeling as if in India the minorities, the Harijans and the Adivasis are in perpetual danger. Should it be the outcome of this debate? Should that have been the object of this debate? During the debate, RSS was kept as a *Shikandi* and the target was the Janata Party. With the stick of RSS, all of them tried to beat the Janata Party.

If Mrs. Indira Gandhi was here I would have asked her, "Madam, after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, when RSS was banned, had there been no communal riots in India? Had there been no violence against the Harijans and the Adivasis? If RSS is responsible for the communal riots, how could that happen?"

During all the wars, the three Indo-Pak wars and Indo-China war, your government took the help of RSS in maintaining traffic, in helping police and others, in giving aids and helps at all the stations all over India. Government did it. If RSS was so bad, what did you do? Why do you blame us? You have been in power 11 years. Why did you not ban it? Why did you not outlaw it? Why did you not take the sternest steps against it?

If paramilitary training is given with lathis what is your Congress Seva Dal doing? How are they being given training? In all the meetings, they have lathis in their hands. If the lathi is the symbol of paramilitia training, then the Congress Seva Dal would also have been equally guilty. If there had been any Hindu having been affected by Hindu *rashtravad* by anybody, the Hindu Mahasabha preached and is still preaching Hindutva every month that book is coming out. For 700 years, we were under the rule of Mughals and Pathans. There were only 15 per cent Muslims in Delhi. That means, you had something of the Indian culture, of art and music, as we find today, and it was the synthesis of Hindu-Muslim culture. There was the Sufism, Nanak, the Kabir and the Dadu. What did they preach? Is it that aggressive nature of Islam? If it has got any lesson, it has got the lesson in India. They were conquered in a way by the soul of India, by the concept of universal brotherhood of India, by the concept of *Sarvadharam Samanvaya*. That is the concept of India. That is the achievement. No Hindutva, no Islamism can curb the spirit of India. She could do it. She could take positive steps. Why did she not take any positive steps? There have been so many communal riots. Can any political party say that the hand of any member of theirs is not soaked to the innocent blood of any community?

I know, in 1946, what happened. Even the two communist leaders, and I know, Abdul Halim, was saying one day frantically, “What has happened? I cannot trust my Hindu comrade working together for 20 years, for 30 years, for even 40 years.” That was the feeling that was created at that time.

Supposing any member of any political party is found to be involved in any incident then the whole political party is to be blamed. Give us the name. If anybody in the Janata party is still found to belong to RSS or it is found that he has taken part in any communal offence or caste offence or Adivasi offence, either we expel him or men like us will be expelled from the party. There is no quarter in the Janata Party for any communalism or any casteism. Either Janata Party will exist or communalism and

casteism will exist. The two cannot exist together. Therefore, those who accuse, they accuse us only for political purposes, for nothing else.

I have almost concluded. One word and I will finish. I have an appeal to make through the Hon'ble Minister to the Prime Minister and to all Members including the absentee Members. Would we pledge to observe a National Unity Day for the emotional integration of the Indian people? Would we fix up a day and on that day would we take a pledge that (1) we would de-politicalise communal, caste and Adivasi issues; (2) we would not issue any statement in the name of any political party; and (3) we shall act jointly in communal, caste or any kind of violence and we shall work and act jointly as in the National Integration Council. Would we take this pledge? Many biographers of Gandhiji missed one important aspect. Since September 1945, Gandhiji, in his prayer meetings, did not project the image of any person except one person, and that person was Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

On innumerable occasions, he was praising the achievement of national unity by him, how he brought together people of various castes, creeds, communities, regions, languages and what not. I would draw your attention to the last speech of Mahatma Gandhi on 23rd January, 1948.

It was the last speech of Mahatma Gandhi. Most of the biographers missed it. It was about Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. Gandhiji said: "Neither do I observe my own birthday, nor do I observe the birthday of any person. I do not believe in the birthday of anybody. But this is the birthday of a person who symbolises the concept of national unity and whose achievement will remain immortal because he has shown how the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs can live together and die together and how to build the concept of one, indivisible nationalism." It is on record.

I would make this appeal: let the 23rd January, 1979, the birthday of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose, be observed as the National Unity Day with the object of creating a feeling of emotional integration of the Indian people with that immortal slogan of Netaji: *Ittefaq, Etemad and Qurbani* (Unity, Faith and Sacrifice) for the future of Indian nation.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** We take up the substitute motions moved by the Hon'ble Members. I would, first, like to know the intention of the Hon'ble Members, whether they want to withdraw or they are pressing.

**PROF. SAMAR GUHA:** I shall make an appeal. The Prime Minister has agreed, and he is convening a meeting of leaders of all political parties. I will make a request that all their thinking and suggestions should be taken into consideration.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Most of the Members are absent. If they are absent I will have to put their motions to vote. Now, Shri Rudolph Rodrigues. He is not here. I have to put his substitute motion to the vote of the House.

The question is: "That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely: "This House, having considered the situation arising out of the recent communal riots in different parts of the country, strongly feels that the government should urgently evolve the practice of *suo-moto* placing before Parliament a statement on any communal disturbance as soon as possible after its occurrence anywhere in the country, impose collective fines on the people of the areas affected, ensure more than adequate minority representation in the police personnel in communal trouble spots, hold officers responsible for law and order accountable for communal disturbances in their areas, while taking immediate steps to give the police forces in the country a proper motivational trust, forthwith ban all provocative communal activities emanating from any quarter whatsoever and periodically call together all religious and cultural groups to foster a spirit of oneness in our land." The motion was negatived.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Now, last but not the least — substitute motion by Shri Banatwala.

**SHRI GM BANATWALLA:** I appeal to the House to accept my substitute motion.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** You are pressing?

**SHRI GM BANATWALLA:** It is not to be withdrawn. I am sure the House will accept it.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I am putting it to the vote. The question is: That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely: “This House, having considered the situation arising out of the recent communal riots in different parts of the country, expresses its serious concern on the rising trend and increasing intensity in the communal riots in different parts of the country and the continued insensitivity of the government thereto, and recommends to the government to take appropriate measures in the matter including among [Mr. Chairman] others the creation of such a special anti-riot force at the Centre, and securing of such a restructuring of Provincial Armed Constabularies and law and order machinery in the states, as would have adequate inclusion of Muslims and other minorities.” The motion was negatived.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The discussion has concluded.

***(LINK FOR THE DEBATE ON 5TH DECEMBER 1978***

[https://eparlib.nic.in/handle/123456789/1047?view\\_type=search](https://eparlib.nic.in/handle/123456789/1047?view_type=search))

#### **REFERENCES:**

**PAC was involved in Aligarh riots, says minorities panel;** by Kuldip Nayyar, NEW DELHI. *Indian Express*, December 3, 1978.

(*Indian Express* front page: Aligarh riots. The role of KK Navman, the local Janata leader, has been mentioned).

The Minorities Commission has found that the Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) was involved in the recent Aligarh riots. It has demanded its immediate removal from the city. In its 20-page report submitted to the prime minister the Commission suggested the formation of another force drawing Members from the minority communities as well, for replacing the PAC. While the Commission has not said anything about the involvement of the RSS, it has pointed out that some Members of the local unit of the Janata Party, who were associated with the RSS, took part in the riots. The role of KK Navman, the local Janata leader, has been mentioned. (KK Navman was president district Janata Party, a known RSS member who later became BJP MLA from Aligarh in 1989).

<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/editorials/december-4-1978-forty-years-ago-aligarh-riots-5476978/>

***INDIAN EXPRESS: Masani quits Minorities Commission. May 30, 1978:***

Mr Masani is relinquishing charge as chairman of the Minorities Commission. He said the reason for his action was that three major assurances given to his colleagues and himself when they responded to the government's invitation had not been honoured. He is giving up the chairmanship after three years. "The government was to consult the Commission on all relevant matters concerning the minorities and give considerable weight to our recommendations. On the very first occasion, however, that arose for such consultation the Commission found itself ignored and bypassed. It was a crucial matter concerning India's largest minority, namely, the Bill which was proposed to be introduced in Parliament to amend the Aligarh Muslim University Act," he said. Masani said the Commission's letters to the government on the matter went unanswered.

<https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/editorials/may-30-1978-forty-years-ago-masani-quits-minorities-commission-5196226/>

### **A Report to People's Union for Civil Liberties on Aligarh Riots of October 1978; 5 OCTOBER 1978 by Mukundan C. Menon & Sumanta Banerjee.**

"The recent communal disturbances in Aligarh were caused by a series of tension-ridden events which were allowed to develop from June this year, by both the local Janata Party leaders and the city administration. It reached the tragic climax on October 5, 1978 when Hindu communalists ran berserk against poor Muslims. The Provincial Armed Constabulary of Uttar Pradesh echoed the some Hindu communal sentiments by shooting down and killing innocent and unarmed Muslims."

<http://www.sacw.net/article9347.html>

*(The Mathur Commission, for instance, took three years to write its report on the causes and consequences of the 1971 Aligarh riots. The report was never made public nor was anyone punished by the government).*

### **ALIGARH SITUATION DEBATE IN RAJYA SABHA ON 20-21 NOVEMBER 1978**

#### **November 20:**

**(Shri Bhupesh Gupta)**.... Sir, it leads to no conclusion. We say something, the government says something and the matter ends. We want something more than that.

The situation is far too serious. What happened is extremely grave and a matter of shame, and the government itself is making statements. We see that Mr. Morarji Desai has made a statement. Somebody justifying the RSS, others having reservations and so many other things are being said. Sir, the PAC question has come in today's newspapers. We find Mr. Morarji Desai saying that the special police will be organised. We want to have our say also. How do we say? This House should take it up in a manner when the Parliament's opinion is regarded, when the government is given the direction. I know this government may not follow our direction because they are in the habit of violating the direction of the Rajya Sabha. But here on this matter, if they have the moral courage, they should come and face a motion. Sir, on such a motion the government falls.

Imagine, Sir, what would have happened in a corresponding situation for example, in the United Kingdom. There would have been a 'no-confidence motion' and many other things. Here, Sir, the government is accountable—not merely the UP government, the central government is accountable. And the government is accountable—not riots and disturbances and whether it has got some connection with certain things in the power structure of the country. Therefore, I would request you, Sir, kindly admit the motion. The motion for consideration is there. We have already given and you have admitted. And we should start discussion. On that, we shall give an amendment saying that having considered the same, the House is of the opinion that the following things should be done. This is how we want to tell, and I hope you will agree that the matter merits this consideration.

**RAJYA SABHA 21 NOVEMBER 1978. DEBATE ON A CALLING ATTENTION MOTION UNDER 174 TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE: Increasing Trends of Communal Riots in the Country with Particular Reference to Recent incidents in Aligarh.**

**SHRI SD PATIL (MOS HOME):** Government appreciates the concern which has been expressed generally about the situation in Aligarh and I feel I should deal with it before I come to the general situation—the subject matter of this Motion.....  
(Interruptions)... Sir, so far as Aligarh is concerned there can scarcely be any doubt that it must cause all of us deep anxiety and apprehension. It arose out of a prevalent state of tension owing to a rivalry in a wrestling bout. It resulted in the stabbing of a rival wrestler who belonged to anti-social elements and his death on 5th October,

1978. When his dead body was taken away in a procession, anti-social elements resorted to arson, looting and stabbing. Eleven persons were killed and 34 injured. Fifty six shops/houses were set on fire/looted and the loss of property was about Rs. 3.3 lakhs. The officers on the spot who allowed the dead body to be taken away have been transferred pending further action. UP government has appointed a Commission of Inquiry with Shri S.K. Verma, retired Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court as its Chairman to inquire into the riots. Its terms of reference are as follows: —

(a) ascertaining the facts regarding the incidents including the number of casualties and the causes which led to those incidents resulting in injuries to public servants and others.

(b) assessing the manner of handling of the situation by local authorities concerned and ascertaining particularly, whether adequate steps were taken and also whether the force used (including firing) was justified and commensurate with the requirements of the situation.

(c) assessing and fixing the responsibility, and the extent thereof, relating to the said incidents. The Commission shall complete the inquiry within a period of four-months. The report of the Commission is being awaited.

In the meantime, on 6th November 1978, consequent to rumours spreading over a stabbing incident between two persons both belonging to the minority community, communal trouble again flared up. On 8th November, there were several incidents of stabbing and firing by Members of public. Police had to open fire. Sixteen persons lost their lives in these incidents and the number of injured is 32. Thirty four houses were affected by arson and looting and the loss of property is about Rs. 1.75 lakhs.

UP government has decided to extend the term of the Verma Commission to cover these communal riots as well. The Central Government rendered appropriate assistance to UP government at their request by despatching units of CRPF and BSF to Aligarh. The chief minister, UP, has announced financial assistance up to Rs. 5,000 for each person killed and Rs. 500 to each individual who received serious or a minor injury. It has also been decided to give financial assistance to those whose property was destroyed/looted. The Prime Minister has also contributed Rs. 75,000 from the National Relief Fund. There were no incidents after the 8th November but on the 19th afternoon there was a cracker explosion in which two persons received minor injuries. Prompt action was taken to apprehend 7 culprits. The situation is still tense. The present need, therefore, is to ensure by vigilance and deployment of security forces to

defuse the situation and this is being attempted by the UP government and local authorities. It is up to us also to ensure that nothing is said or done which would feed the fire of communal feelings in the area.

I would appeal to all sections of the House to exercise their restraining influence on the various elements both local and outside.

The government has to await the report of the Commission regarding the incidents and the causes leading to them, the manner of handling of the situation by local authorities, and assessing and fixing the responsibility relating to these incidents.

I would like to assure the House that neither the central nor the state government will shirk from their responsibility for dealing adequately with those responsible, whoever they may be.

As regards the general communal situation, while there is no cause for complacency, it appears that overall conditions are somewhat improving and the situation appears to be under control. I would not like to enter into comparison with past figures, on the basis of which the position is not unfavourable, but the fact remains that even a single incident is a matter that should be classified as disgraceful. This problem was discussed by the Prime Minister with the leaders of the Opposition parties in Parliament. The Chief Ministers' Conference held in the month of September also discussed this question and the need for taking strong and deterrent measures to stop communal riots occurring anywhere in the country was highlighted. Suitable guidelines have been issued to government both officially and semi-officially from the Prime Minister to the chief ministers. There is reason to believe that generally the overall situation is under control and even the expected repercussions of the most regrettable communal incidents in Aligarh have been avoided.

**PEAREY LAL KUREEL:** The Uttar Pradesh Janata Party General Secretary, Mr. Ram Saran Das, has held certain sections of the Janata Party, the *Rashtriya Swyam Sewak Sangh* (RSS) and the district administration as being chiefly responsible for the communal riots in Aligarh. Mr. Das, who is a member of the three member fact-finding Committee appointed by the party to inquire into the Aligarh riots, has submitted his report to the state party Chief, Mr. Abbas Ali and a copy to the national party president Mr. Chandra Shekhar. He has sent the report to all the Janata prominent Leaders.

**DR. VP DUTT (NOMINATED):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, one speaks in anguish really on a matter like this I have the feeling that the situation that is gradually and, in fact, very fast emerging in this country is reminiscent of the situation on the eve of independence when organised reactionary forces spread the poison of communalism and hatred and brought about a holocaust, a carnage in this country. Sir, today, I feel that for the first time after independence the Muslim does not feel secure in the country—physically or psychologically—and it is a matter of shame for all of us. What has happened in Aligarh is a matter not only of shame but it is a matter for soul-searching for all of us. It should have smitten our conscience. Unfortunately, the conscience of some does not seem to exist at all. This caste and community warfare that is now being incited in the country will ruin this country.

Sir, as civilised Indians and civilised human beings, we have to find an answer, we have also to look into the causes. Sir, what are the root causes? First, I will come to Aligarh. What is the root causes of the trouble in Aligarh? In this connection I should like to say—the Hon'ble Prime Minister is not here but the minister of state for Home Affairs is here—that a government which cannot control a riot in one town for over a month, what more incompetence can be there of the government? In one town there have been two waves of riots. And now from all the reports that one is getting, there may be a third wave also.

What is the root cause of this? Sir, I cannot do better than quote what our esteemed colleague, Shri Harkishen Singh Surjeet has said in his report from Aligarh as to the root cause of the trouble. I would like to add that he is not an enemy of the government and the Janata Party. If anything, one may say, maybe from a distance, he is a friend of the Janata Party and the government. This is what he says:

"...from all accounts it is clear that it was an organised force under the leadership of the RSS, actively aided and abetted by the local police and the Provincial Armed Constabulary, that was responsible for the bloody pogrom in Aligarh". Again he says: "All the accusing fingers in Aligarh not only of the Muslim minority but all secular minded and democratic people are pointed at the RSS leader Krishna Kumar Navman, for the holocaust in Aligarh."

And just one or two lines in his report which are so poignant and which, in fact arouse anger in our hearts about persons of a particular community, first being burnt and then being hanged, about the houses of the Muslim community being singled out for attack. And he mentioned the case of a young boy, Salim, who was recently married and burnt alive. His father has been demented by the sight of his son burnt alive and now wanders around carrying the photograph of his son and daughter-in-law with all their belongings gone when their houses were razed; women sit outside waiting. I saw a cart outside a house in which along with ashes were the bones of those who had been burnt. The people in this area told me of eight killings there."

Sir, all the newspapers, all the independent evidence is clear on this that there was the hand of this communalist and fascist force, the RSS, behind the rioting. In fact, I must pay a tribute to some of our leading newspapers for having fearlessly exposed the causes and the actual developments. In fact, it is not only this riot that has taken place and these forces having incited. In fact, if you go into the question of all the riots that have taken place and the various commissions of inquiry that have been held, you will find that in a large majority of them, even the commissions themselves have said that the RSS and the Jana Sangh were largely responsible. Sir, I do not have the time to give all the instances, but I will mention only two.

The Vyathayathil Commission inquiring into the riots at Tellicherry said very categorically that it had no doubt that "the Jana Sangh has contributed in a large measure to the creation of communal tension in Tellicherry which led to the disturbances", and, I am quoting: "There can be no doubt that the RSS is a blatant communal organisation." Then, Sir, Mr. Justice Jagmohan Reddy who enquired into riots in Ahmedabad and other Gujarat towns has said that this evidence as a whole indicates that the police had reason to believe that some local Jana Sangh leadership and workers were actively participating in the riots though these officers in their affidavits had not given any such indication and in the cross examination attempts were made to.... such participation. Then he says: "Another noticeable feature of which we must make a reference is the definite part played in various districts which were affected, by the workers of the local Jana Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha organisations or by persons having leanings towards them. There is evidence definitely that they took a leading part in the districts of Amreli, Banaskantha, Mehsana and Baroda and there is evidence to show that they were inciting, the crowds to riot". Justice Jagmohan Reddy has said this regarding Gujarat.

Now, Sir, what more evidence is needed to prove that these people are behind these riots? We know their philosophy. Sir. I would like to draw the attention of the House to a statement that the RSS Chief Mr. Balasaheb Deoras, has made recently on 19th November (1978), at Lucknow at a rally where six ministers of the UP government were present. There he announced that the RSS had decided to allow such Muslims and Christians as were ready to accept Indian culture and traditions, to join the RSS. They will be allowed to enter the RSS organisation in a limited manner. That means that all the other Muslims and Christians did not believe in Indian culture and tradition and that they were not a part of the Indian culture.

In this connection, Sir, I would like to say that this is the same invidious philosophy of the slogan of *Indianising* Muslims. I would say that if there is any organisation which needs *Indianisation*, it is RSS, because it is an organisation against the highest traditions of the composite culture of this country, it is an organisation against the highest tradition of tolerance of this country, it is an organisation against the highest tradition of justice in this country. Therefore, if there is any organisation which needs to be contained and curtailed and needs to be Indianised it is this organisation. One may ask why are they doing it at this time when they are in the government? Why are they doing it, this question has been asked. Their leaders have also taken this plea: how can they be doing it when they are in the government? Precisely for that reason because, to use the fashionable term of the Janata Party leaders themselves, of the non-performance of the government. This is not my phrase. It is their phrase. The non-performance of the government has created unrest in their own ranks, in the ranks of the RSS and there is growing dissatisfaction of the people and therefore the RSS wants to keep its ranks in check by spreading riots and saying that they were active and waiting for an opportunity. This is the reason why they are taking active part in it.

I would like to mention another thing in the case of Aligarh particularly. It is an attempt to frustrate all efforts to bring forward legislation on the Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) and it is an effort to paralyse that University so that no movement on the AMU Bill can take place. It is that which has been behind the Aligarh riots. Sir, may be rightly, perhaps rightly, the Janata Party leaders have been saying that the Congress leaders were frightened during the emergency and did not open their mouths. Well, the same thing is happening with them today. They are frightened today, their lips are sealed, their minds are clogged, their hearts have hardened and

they are unable to say anything. They are even unable to see what is visible. They are afraid of speaking. There are so many good people there.

In fact, our Vice-Chancellor is sitting there. There are many good people. Mr. Ramlal Parikh is sitting there. Mr. Surendra Mohan and many other good people are there. Why are they not speaking out when they are seeing these things? I cannot do better than quote what Mr. Inder Malhotra, resident editor of the *Times of India* has said: "Why are they not opening their mouth? Why are they frightened?" He says that this is now a part of the third power struggle that has started over the government in the Janata Party.

He says, the harm the Janata Party chief Mr. Chandra Shekhar has done to himself illustrates the point. I did not want to bring in the name of the Janata Party president Mr. Chandra Shekhar, not only because he is a member of the other House but because of the esteem and respect in which I hold him and I have held him all along. Unfortunately, they are all issuing statements which are baffling us and, therefore, I am looking into the cause of it. And Mr. Inder Malhotra says: "few leaders in his party or, for that matter, in any other, have secular credentials as impeccable as his. And yet, presumably in his anxiety to shield the RSS and thus his party as a whole, he has sullied his image.... Even friends and admirers of Mr. Chandra Shekhar have remarked that his equivocation over the role of the RSS at Aligarh has coincidence with a third possible switch in the Jana Sangh's position in the power struggle with the Janata."

It says first it was the BLD-Jana Sangh combine, then Jana Sangh-Morarji Desai-Chandra Shekhar combine and now, he says— (*Interruptions*)—these are not my words, these are the words of an independent journalist.... Anyway, he says: "But now that they are known to have drifted apart .... the Jana Sangh may well be reviewing its position. And, therefore, support of the Jana Sangh in the new power struggle was necessary. I am sorry for it. I do not gloat over it. In fact, I feel sorry that they should have been reduced to this position.

I expected them to take a very straight forward position. In this connection I would like to say that even their own party panel which went there headed by Mr. Krishan Kant have given the report that these forces, which I have mentioned and which they hesitate to name, have been responsible for the riot. In fact there are newspaper

statements by Members of the panel saying: "We authorise Mr. Krishan Kant to tell the party president, name the people and to name the forces which were responsible".

May be they are also playing the game of the Opposition. I do not know. But this is what they have said. In this connection, I would like to say that it grieves me that our respected President is going to Gonda for a function of Mr. Nanaji Deshmukh. I hope the Prime Minister and our respected President will review this position and in view of what is happening in Aligarh and elsewhere not go to this function. However, Sir, I would like to say that government has, after all, a responsibility. There is total failure of the law and order machinery and the administration. In fact, this failure could not have been more ignoble and more pronounced. I will only mention what one of the eminent editors, again not hostile to the Janata Government, Mr. Kuldip Nayar, has written on 8.10.78: "There have been confusing reports of what caused the Aligarh riots. But all are agreed on two points. One, the Muslims were the worst sufferers and secondly, the PAC did little to protect them. Both have an ominous connotation."

This is the reality. The law and order forces were hand in hand, hand in glove, if you would like to say that way, with those communal forces which were provoking the riots there. Therefore the government cannot disown its responsibility. Since I do not want to take the time of the other Members, I would just like to ask a few questions from the Hon'ble Prime Minister since he is going to wind up the discussion. Will he completely reorganise the PAC which is one of the chief culprits in this situation?

We would like to know whether he will reorganise this force so that its composition is such as to inspire confidence in the minority community. One of the urgent tasks is that the people, no matter to what faith they belong, should have confidence in the law and order machinery. Then, will he promise that the RSS *Shakhas* will be stopped completely. The Prime Minister made a statement the other day. I was very happy to read that statement. He said that there is no place for drills in the country. What is the need? There is no need for drills. But after he made this statement, some people rushed to him, put pressure on him and he said, "I was thinking only of Aligarh". Even if you were thinking only of Aligarh, will you please stop the drills completely first in Aligarh itself and then in the rest of the country?

Finally, Sir, will they have the courage to identify the real source of the trouble and will they take steps for the containing and the confining of these communal and fascist organisations like the RSS and the Jamaat-e-Islami?

**SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA (Bihar):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I share the pain and the anguish expressed by my Hon'ble friend. Dr. VP Dutt. But Sir, I was shocked to listen to the statement read out here in the House by the Hon'ble minister in the presence of the Prime Minister. Now, the government seems to be adopting an attitude of "judicial detachment". They say that a Commission of Inquiry has been set up and that they will, take action after the report is received. An Hon'ble Member from the ruling party elevated it to the level of "philosophical detachment". He wants the basic causes of all the social exploitation to be investigated. Meanwhile, what will happen? Meanwhile, the minorities will continue to be butchered. This is what has been happening in Aligarh. I do not want to refer to what others have said. But I will refer to what the Committees and Members of the ruling party themselves have said, the Committee headed by Mr. Krishan Kant and the Committee headed by Mr. Ram Charan Das, appointed by the UP Janata Party.

Majority of the Members of the executive of the Janata Party in Aligarh itself and the investigating team sent by the Civil Liberties Union from Delhi have all said -- my friend Dr. Dutt has already referred to Comrade Surjeet's findings -- that the riots are a one-sided affair, and organised only of murder, violence and terror organised by the RSS. And the RSS chief in Aligarh, Mr. Navman, who was arrested and then released on the instructions of the UP chief minister, gave out a theory that Congress (I) has done it and the Hon'ble Members sitting over there are repeating it. So they accepted Mr. Navman, the instigator of the riots at Aligarh, to be their leader, their ideologue, their line-giver and not their own honoured Members who have gone to Aligarh. who have investigated and who have seen things. I do not want to describe all that I have seen there, how houses had been burnt, how people had been killed, hanged, burnt alive and shot dead by the PAC, including a lame man who was walking on crutches. He was shot by the PAC. All this and even more has happened. When we gave the photographs of some of the killed persons to their widows and mothers they hugged the photographs and started crying. All that I have seen with my own eyes.

But, Sir, I want to bring before this House some new features of the Aligarh riots. There is no communal frenzy in Aligarh. Hindus and Muslims are living together in many parts of the city. They are running a joint peace committee in the city. In the University they are running a joint relief committee, which has collected Rs. 1,66,000 and distributed among the riot victims. It is wrong to say that the common people,

Hindus and Muslims, are participants in the riots. They are not. It is only the organised gangs which have organised the whole thing and are still trying to spread the poison. It is they who are doing it. It is not only the knives and illegal arms and licensed guns that are being used; some more lethal weapons are also being used.

Sir, from house No. 281 in Sarai Sultani belonging to Haji Abdul Hamid, Haji Abdul Aziz and Haji Abdul Hafeez I have brought these fragments of a hand-grenade. Now, these fragments have a story to tell. They are not a cottage industry product on which Janata government is so much emphasising. They are a product of the Ordnance Factory and here are the markings KF-Kanpur Factory and the number is 4-63 and 3/63. This is one of the fragments. Today's *Times of India* has published a photograph of these fragments including this portion which bears the markings. The Hon'ble minister may see. The photograph will not reveal the markings but I sent these fragments to you,

Sir, you may examine them and instruct the government to find out how ordnance factory grenades are finding their way into the hands of the RSS to be used against the minorities at Aligarh and in other towns of the country. This is how the RSS has gained from participation in the Janata government. They are getting weapons to kill the minorities. This is how they are utilising their position and organising riots. I have brought the proof. Let it be examined. I am not an expert. Let it be examined by the arms experts to find out from where it has come. I would like to know how they got it, from which ordnance depot or ordnance factory they got it, or from where they got it and how it was used. There are other fragments still there. Some live hand-grenades which did not explode have been handed over to the local authorities. And, Sir, what is the attitude of the authorities? The Commissioner of Agra Division, with his rich experience of butchering the Jatavs in Agra... Mr. Bishen Tandon....

**SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR:** The same Mr. Tandon who was very close to Mrs. Gandhi.

**SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN (Delhi):** He was planted there.

**SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR:** Let the antecedents of Mr. Tandon be known to the House. He is the same gentleman who had been the cause of atrocities..... (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA:** This Commissioner, Mr. Tandon, faced the District Magistrate and what did he tell him? "I will pack you off". And the same evening that District Magistrate was transferred. He said. "You son of a chamar, you want to protect the Muslims". . . . . (*Interruptions*)

No interruptions please. I am making my submission.

**SHRI HARISINH BHAGUBAVA MAHIDA (Gujarat):** He is touchy because he belongs to the RSS and Jana Sangh".

**SHRI INDREDEEP SINHA:** This Commissioner is the person responsible for the second wave of riots in Aligarh which took place in the first week of November. Against the order of the District Magistrate this gentleman lifted the curfew. For some time there was confusion in the city. One police van went on propagating, "There is curfew". That was under the instructions of the District Magistrate. Another van was going about saying: "There is no curfew; you can do whatever you like" That was under the instructions of the Commissioner. And whom does the UP government uphold? It upholds the Commissioner and transfers the District Magistrate because he wanted to protect the Muslims and he himself belongs to the Scheduled Caste. Similarly, the Senior Superintendent of Police, Mr. Prasad, was also summarily transferred because he belongs to a backward community; he could not be trusted. This is the behaviour of the Government.

And when Balasaheb Deoras goes to Lucknow six Ministers of the UP government attend his rally and one of them proudly goes in the RSS uniform. This is the UP government— packed with RSS people. It came out in the press. Probably he is Mr. Ram Prakash. Now, take the PAC. There is no Muslim in the PAC. I was a minister in Bihar in 1967. There was a riot at Ranchi. I went there and asked the officers how many Muslims in the armed police force were deployed there. The Chief Secretary told me that according to a circular of the Home Ministry of the government of India, issued as early as 1948, no Muslim were to be recruited in any of the armed police forces. This was the instruction from the government at India.

**SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR:** Your Prime Minister's instructions.

**SHRI INDRADEEP SINHA:** I do not know whether this circular is still there. I would like Shri Patil to inform the House whether that circular has been withdrawn. Even if it has been withdrawn yet there are no Muslims, no Harijans and no backward people in these armed forces of the state government. They are communally-infected. They participate in riots along with the rioters. They participate in plunder. This is what happened at Agra where I went. This is what they have done at Aligarh.

So Sir, what is to be done? Something needs to be done. I would plead with the government to please give up this attitude of "judicial detachment". They are "detached" when minorities are being killed. But they get alarmed with Navman is arrested. And Navman is released. Recently when I visited Aligarh on 19th November shops were closed. I asked why shops were closed. They said that the traders had gone on strike because some properties of this Navman who was absconding were attached. So they do not want him to be arrested. They want to kill and get away scot-free. And if they are arrested their henchmen will go on strike.

What should be done? I would suggest the setting up of a Parliamentary Committee consisting of Members of all parties from both the Houses which should immediately go to Aligarh. They should study the situation for two-three days at the maximum, come back and make concrete recommendations to the government about the law and order situation and how to restore normalcy. The UP government and the district administration have failed to restore normalcy. There may be another wave of riots if the situation is not tackled properly and immediately.

Secondly, Sir, this PAC, an armed gang of hooligans and looters and communal fanatics, should be disbanded lock, stock and barrel and a new police force composed of secular elements belonging to all castes and communities should be set up to deal with such problems. No government ministers should be allowed to visit the RSS camps. Those ministers who want to go to RSS camps should first resign from the government. I would support Shri Dutt that we request our Rashtrapatiji not to go to the RSS camp to be organised at Gonda.

Then, Sir, I was surprised to find in Aligarh that if a boy goes to purchase something from a shop, the shopkeepers asks whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim. If he is a Muslim the shopkeeper will not sell. This is what Navman has done. So I would ask the government to open government stores for the common people where nobody will

dare ask whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim. All the people who are accused of committing murders, arson and loot should be immediately rounded up and put in jail. Political pressure should not be allowed in the operation of law so that normalcy can be restored.

**SHRI M. KADERSHAH (Tamil Nadu):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the re-emergence of communal phobia promoting the outbreak of violence must be condemned in unequivocal terms. It is a sad reflection on our secular professions and a sad commentary on the political acumen and administrative farsightedness. The Aligarh incidents are the culmination of all these things put together. Surprisingly the social consciousness and objective assessment of the root cause have been shadowed by political manoeuvrings. It is with this sense of anguish that I would like to mention that political leaders had been behind these riots and some other leaders are trying to fish in the muddled water. What I find is that no one has cared to analyse the problem and find out a permanent solution. Our attempts have been only to accuse each other. Most of us are only perpetuating the technique of encouraging distrust and disharmony. Certainly in the case of Aligarh, a few hundred will be contributing to this communal outbreak. Have they become so complacent and unworthy to safeguard and protect the larger population from the onslaught of the few? Has the government machinery failed in identifying the persons? The judicial inquiry ordered by the government was a late decision when the initial fury of the violence had subsided. The police intelligence should have been more alert. Mere transfer of district officials will be mild punishment for curbing this sort of negligent functioning of police and magistracy. In this context the role of the PAC needs critical examination. In my view, as one of the deterrent punishments to be awarded for the outbreak of communal violence, the entire senior police force and the magistracy of the place should be personally held responsible and awarded exemplary punishment.

Sir, in this connection I would like to put a few questions before the Hon'ble Home Minister. There have been reports of heavy casualties due to PAC firing from the roof top of a school. Will the government state the circumstances under which the constabulary had to break open the school, had to climb the roof top and fire from there in a sundry fashion instead of grappling with the rioters on the ground? During the riots, both licensed and unlicensed guns were said to have been used. Why had the authorities not ensured that all arms in the locality were forced to be surrendered, particularly after the outbreak of the first violence in October?

It has been said that Indian army grenades were used during the riots. Will the government explain the circumstances under which army grenades came into the hands of the rioters unless it was part of a planned conspiracy to foment trouble and higher-ups were involved in fanning the flames of discord?

Also, is the government aware that the desire for land grab on the part of a rapacious set of unscrupulous persons has been at the bottom of these riots? If there had been the slightest vestige of such a suspicion during the October riots, one would have expected the government authorities to have exercised maximum vigilance to forestall and prevent further outbreaks. But this was not to be. Grievous damage has again been inflicted on the communities. It will not be very wise in a troubled situation to expand the area of trouble by insinuation, overt or covert. But on the other hand it is vitally necessary that forces which create and foment discord have to be identified and dealt with firmly. Will the government come out categorically that political forces have not been at the back of these riots in which many valuable lives and properties of the innocent citizens have been lost? Sir, the Minister of State has mentioned in his statement that the Prime Minister had instructed all the Chief Ministers in their Conference in September to enforce law and order in better manner but, Sir, the first outbreak was in October. The Prime Minister instructed the Chief Ministers in September and the outbreak occurred in October and again in November.

I would like to know whether that is the way of his colleagues in implementing the policies of the Prime Minister. I would like to give a few suggestions. The involvement of respectable citizens of the town and formation of peace committees in every area would have gone a long way in easing the situation. The trouble spots from the communal tension angle must be identified and reviewed periodically and appropriate action should be taken well in advance instead of waiting for the violence to spread and then initiating steps to check it. The formation of standing committees of every section of the society constituted as a regular feature in these trouble spots and active cooperation of the citizens should be obtained

The participation of elderly people and social workers of all shades of opinion would be a great healing touch. Government should adequately channelise its efforts to reassure both minorities and others about their safety. With these observations, I would earnestly request all the Members in the House to make a united appeal to the

citizens of our great country to shed communal approach and outlook from every possible angle. Let us resolve to dedicate ourselves to develop a secular country assuring faith and freedom in all the religions. Let us be kind to the mankind. Let us be generous to the society. Let us be faithful to ourselves and let us be honest to the country. With these words, Sir, I finish my speech.

**PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, as has been observed earlier in the statistics quoted by my friend, Shri Shiva Chandra Jha, communal riot is a regular feature in our public life even after Independence. During the British days, we talked of their policy of 'divide and rule' which reached its culmination when it resulted in the vivisection of the country. Now, after the achievement of Independence, we find that not a single year passes without communal riots in some parts of the country. The figure quoted by Mr. Jha was something like this. The highest figure is about 550 and the lowest figure is 169. This has been the record whether the government was the Congress government or some other government. There is not much of difference during the period of Janata Government. It is a matter for introspection on the part of those who are running the affairs of our country. It is not just a question of pointing out fingers to this side by the other side and to the other side by this side. The responsibility must squarely lie on all the sides. We have not been able to free ourselves from this cancer even after 31 years of Independence. Now, during the British days, it was in the interest of the imperialists.

A question has been raised as to what are the reasons behind it. But, side by side, a question must also be raised as to who are benefited by the communal riots or the riots between the forward and the backward classes or the riots between the Sikhs and the Nirankaris. This is another question which must be replied to. During the British days, the cementing factor was the national independence struggle against the British imperialism, In spite of that strong binding factor we were not able to avoid the partition of the country. Now, what is the cementing factor? Should we allow the caste war, the communal war to continue and just shudder when there is a talk of class war? Or, rather is that the real cementing factor? "And that has to be seriously pondered over if we really want that riots of this type should come to an end. There is nobody in this House who has spoken in favour of continuing these riots or who has not discussed without feeling of shame. But even then the riots persist. And Mr. Shiva Chandra Jha said that, perhaps, it is inherent in the present exploiting capitalist system, a system which is benefited from this. Sir, one factor seems very significant to me, When there are communal riots, we find that the law and order machinery is paralysed. I read a report that when there was this Akali-police fight in the capital itself on the question of Nirankari Samagam, high-ranking police officials were averse

to take any action even when looting and arson continued, when public property was being damaged.

It is said that in Aligarh too the same thing happened. But we know that the ordinary policemen come from the poor families. But when there is a question of firing on the poor workers and peasants during their movements, such weaknesses are not found, and those who are in charge, those who are at the helm of affairs ensure that the police behave properly. This is one aspect to which I draw the pointed attention of the House. So far as Aligarh riots are concerned, I did not go there. There are many eye-witness accounts of people who went to the site. The history need not be recounted. But one factor seems clear to me that the State Government miserably failed in discharging its duties. The State Government's bona fides itself has been questioned.

Two of its ministers have been openly blamed for securing the release on bail of those who were arrested in connection with the riots. This is a very lamentable situation. If the position of the state government is like that, it is very difficult to counteracting situation. But, what did the UP government do in this particular case? How, in a month's time, two riots could occur at the same place? It is said that the UP government abdicated its responsibility. So far as the Union government is concerned, it has got responsibility in regard to minorities. Its special responsibility in regard to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is enshrined in the Constitution. Besides saying that everything will be done and everyone will be punished, what specific steps were taken by the Union government in order to bring this situation under control? Aligarh is at a stone's throw from the capital itself. The Prime Minister did not find time to visit the place though he did not go to Chikmagalur. It seems the UP government was unable to cope with the task or was unwilling and the Union government abdicated its responsibility. Whether this particular party or that particular party was responsible for these riots is not the question. The fact remains that some persons must have been responsible for these riots. The riots have affected the people and many people have died. It is a fact that there was arson. It is a fact and it cannot be said that there were ghosts and spirits which were responsible for these riots. However, certain persons have been named. Naturally it is a question of a prompt and thorough inquiry, I am sure just a judicial inquiry which has been announced, but not instituted, only won't be able to serve that purpose. My esteemed colleague,

Shri Tirloki Singh ji raised a very pertinent point. He asked whether the government officials who would be found responsible and against whom complaints will be made will be allowed to defend themselves at the cost of the public exchequer. I would demand that not a judicial inquiry but an impartial public inquiry should be instituted into this matter if you really mean business.

It will help to weed out this cancer from our body politic. Eminent jurists should be appointed on this Commission. The present government is not averse to setting up a Commission. Members should be impartial men and before them everybody would be free to lay his charges and those who will be charged will have to defend themselves personally and not at the cost of the government. That is the one position that I want to take so far as this thing is concerned. Then, it has been found that responsible police officers who are supposed to be responsible, district officials and even the Divisional Commissioner have been held responsible for their behaviour which is inexplicable and which led to the worsening of the situation. If the government means business very deterrent action has to be taken against these people. So far as the particular part played by any particular party, whether the Jana Sangh or the RSS, is concerned, that also has to be again noted. But, at the same time, I am at a loss to understand what this philosophy of devotion to, and acceptance of Indian culture is that is being spoken of by the RSS and whether that has led to this situation which has ultimately culminated in the present riots. Then, Sir, there is another aspect of the matter which has been brought before the public by the *Times of India* of today, namely, that in this particular case there was the question of securing the land of poor Muslims involved and it was they who, to a matter of urgent public importance, became the worst sufferers. It has been said that the areas which were particularly susceptible were those areas which were trading centres and there these lands were the targets of many of the traders and many other rich people. That is another aspect of the matter. It has to be found out whether it was in their interest that this carnage was created. That also has to be gone into. Then all in all, I would demand that an impartial judicial inquiry should be instituted, a deterrent punishment should be given to responsible officials and before this inquiry the erring officials will have to defend themselves at their own cost and not at the cost of the public exchequer.

**SHRI SANKAR GHOSE:** After the Prime Minister speaks, the things are closed, What will happen to those Members who have given their names? You kindly extend the time, It is a matter of great importance and let the Prime Minister reply after all the speakers have spoken.

**SHRI BHPESH GUPTA:** It seems everything has to be done according to the convenience of the Treasury Benches because you said or we were given to understand that the way it was going on, it could continue beyond 5.00 O'clock, although you said that the Prime Minister will be speaking at 5.00. Now the position is this. After the Prime Minister speaks the debate closes because he is now winding up on behalf of the government. Instead of the minister who initiated the discussion on the other side, he will be speaking now. After that do we take that others will be speaking? If this is so then who replies to those speeches? Therefore, it does appear

that things have been settled that the Prime Minister will speak only after others have spoken, at 5.00 o'clock.

**SHRI SANKAR GHOSE:** The time should be extended.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Most of the time the Minister of State was here. He was not here, as you have seen. And now you say that it is 5 o'clock, he must speak and the matter ends there. What is the matter about it? Are you waiting on the pleasure of the government? If you are, then say this thing that the law must be laid down by the Prime Minister, the Rajya Sabha must go according to the convenience of the Prime Minister or the Treasury Benches. Say it. Why not say this thing? Otherwise everybody has to accommodate. Members will accommodate, but one person shall never accommodate and he is the Prime Minister of the country. Wonderful. It is called democracy and parliamentary dignity and procedure. Therefore I suggest that the discussion should continue and the Prime Minister should speak, as you have decided, after the speeches have been made.

I am surprised that the Chair is so helpless. You are not so helpless. I saw the Chairman was looking at the treasury benches before uttering every word. He does not look at us!

**SEVERAL HON'BLE MEMBERS:** No, no.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** I hope you will not look at that side. Look at this side. Majority is sitting here, not there. And then you give your ruling.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** No question of majority or minority.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Yes, it is. The majority of the House, I believe, wants the debate to continue and it should continue. We were told that every party will get more than one speaker. We have not been given more than one speaker. The bigger parties on this side have more speakers. Some of them want to speak. Even they should speak. But what about the smaller parties? Therefore, I say, let us go by some kind of reasonable arrangement.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE:** What is your decision?

**THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI):** I do not know why it is said that this is done for my convenience. I never asked for it, I never suggested it. But my friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, has me always on his brain. I cannot help it. I was asked to reply to it at 5. I came ten minutes before that time because it was necessary for me to be here at 5. Therefore, why should it be said that it is done for my

convenience? Did I ask for it at all? In the morning I was present when this was said. I did not say a word at that time. When it was decided nobody asked at that time that it should be extended further. It was then said that it is for a day. The day ends at 5. I should have liked to come at 4-30. Then it was said, "No, let the reply be given at 6". I said "All right. I have no objection" This is what was decided. At that time no body objected. Now to say that it should be extended and we should go on because all other Members wish to speak, I do not know whether this would ever be possible in this House on any subject. In this way I do not know how work will be transacted. I leave it to you. I have nothing more to say.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** I never said that Mr Morarji Desai wanted to speak at 5, I have no complaint against him. You will see that I never suggested that Mr. Morarji Desai wanted to speak at 5. The Chair said that. I am asking the Chair to reconsider. That is all. I feel now that if he has no objection let it continue. But I do have a feeling always that somehow or the other when the Prime Minister is involved the Chair feels helpless, That I do not like.

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR:** Do not cast reflections on the Chair.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** As the House knows, Mr. Chairman had set one day for the discussion of the subject. One day would normally mean the working time of the House and this morning also we have decided and it was announced that the Prime Minister would reply at five o'clock.

As regards all the Members whose names were given as participants in the debate, well, it is only possible if they keep to the time-limit they had themselves in a way agreed to through their Whips. But since that has not happened and since there is no unanimity about the extension of time, I don't think we can extend the time indefinitely. I suggest that the Prime Minister may kindly reply.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Then the time is over. If Prime Minister agrees..... *(interruptions). (At this stage some Members walked out).*

**SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI (PRIME MINISTER):** Sir, it is very unfortunate that my Hon'ble friends in the Opposition should have taken such an attitude, But, I am afraid, that seems to be a routine matter now and I can have no objection to it. They are free to do what they like. *(On the walkout by some opposition Members).*

This is the most unfortunate thing that has happened in Aligarh, and it is not a matter of credit for anybody; it is a matter of shame for all of us. I have no doubt about it. But then to say that it is the Janata Party which is liable to blame for it, shows what the motive is in the minds of those who are talking thug about it. It is said that more

such incidents have taken place during the Janata Party government than in all the thirty years before. And what are the facts? If I may read out only from 1967, and not earlier, when they were even more, then the House will have a proper picture of it. In 1967, there were 198 incidents; in 1963, 346, in 1969, 519; in 1970, 521; in 1971, 321; in 1972 240; in 1978, 242; in 1974, 248; in 1975, 205; in 1976 169; in 1977, 188; and this year up till now there have been 171.

Therefore, I leave it to the Hon'ble Members to judge what regards for the truth the Hon'ble Member has when he makes this charge, and to say that this happened only during the Janata Party government. States are responsible for law and order; they have got the authority; and not the Centre. And there are states which are not with the Janata Party; there are other parties governing there. There also there have been incidents.

There is no, justification for the incidents happening in Aligarh or anywhere else; on that score, I have no doubt. I won't say incidents were more here and less there or less here and more there. That is no satisfaction for me at all. I consider the whole country as one. This should not happen. And we are trying our level best to see that these communal frenzies do not lead even to one incident. But, for that, all of us will have to put our heads together and work for the common purpose: and not blame each other.

This is what we will have to bear in mind. This is a legacy which we have got for the last 85 years. It is not a new phenomenon of today. There were no Hindu-Muslim riots in this country before 1893. That is the history of this country. It was the Britishers who fomented it in order to serve their purpose and they went on fanning it, and that is how clashes went on taking place and ultimately they culminated in separate electorates which made it still worse. And that is how we acquired this legacy. Then there was partition. Partition had to be agreed to by us. Otherwise, we would not have been free, That is why we had to agree to it. We have agreed to it. But, as a result, there was a terrible holocaust at that time. That is also known. But after that the murder of Mahatma Gandhi gave sense to many people and there was a check on it. And again, these communal feelings which have been there for all these years come up from time to time. We have to work to see that these feelings are removed and all communities live in peace and amity and this is not made the cause for any quarrel between communities.

In Aligarh, what happened is a matter now under judicial inquiry. But the way it happened shows that it happened only, because of anti-social elements. I do not think the communities were involved in it. But the anti- social elements took advantage of this and made it communal to exacerbate feelings. That also must not be forgotten, This is how things are going on that is why we are not becoming successful in rooting

out the evil. But we have to root it out, and, therefore, I have to plead with all my friends. I do not want retaliation because that is not the remedy.

We have got to put our heads together and make arrangements whereby this thing becomes a thing of the past. This is what our aim is. And that is why we have appointed the Minorities Commission. I was busy with the Chairman of the Commission today discussing with him various matters including what had appeared in the press about his resignation or something of that nature, and I am quite sure that he was fully satisfied with our discussion because there is no question of our coming in the way of the Commission doing its work in the best way it likes. It is not for me to prescribe it for them. And we wish to make necessary changes in the Constitution. We had discussions on some of the matters which have been raised by some people, and there is a complete agreement between us. I do not think there will be any difficulty about it. It is, therefore, that we have got to see and I also want that the Minorities Commission does not merely enquire into their grievances to give protection but also to work to bring all the communities together.

This is what I suggested to them. It is for them, of course, to take whatever steps they want to take, and we will.... What has happened in Aligarh unfortunately is that strong action was not taken in time to stop the procession which was taken in the first instance. That should not have been allowed in my view. They snatched the dead body and took it away. That is what I am told. How am I to give any definite opinion about it? It would be very wrong. It is, therefore, that we have to wait for the enquiry Commission's report. And it is a judge who has been appointed, So, nobody need have any apprehension that the report will not be impartial and proper. And I have said elsewhere that whatever is the report, we would take strong, adequate action, against all those who are held responsible for it without any reservation, whether they are officials, non-officials, parties or anybody. Whether it is the Janata Party or whether it is the Congress (I) or any other party, we will make no difference in this matter whatsoever. Beyond that what assurance can I give?

Some people have said that if this continues, the Arab countries might stop oil supplies to us. I am quite sure the Arab countries are not under their influence; thank God for it, and I do not think that they will be so influenced even if some of our own friends try. But are they Indians or are they something else when they talk like this. That also must be very patiently considered by these friends. I would appeal to them not to do so. Only in order to condemn the Janata Party they must not harm the country. I have asked all the state governments to give full co-operation to the Minorities Commission whenever they go there, and they have all told me that they will do so.

There was some misunderstanding about the Commission's visit to Aligarh on the 9th or the 10th. I was not here. And it was suggested to him that there was curfew and, therefore, it was not advisable to go then, both by the UP government and by my secretariat here because I was not here. I have requested the Chairman, in all such matters, whenever there is any difficulty for him, to phone to me whenever he likes, wherever, I am. Even if I was in the North-east, he could have phoned to me. He says, "I didn't think I should do so". Now I said, "Please don't hesitate. These things must not happen." But he also told me, "We did not want to do anything because there is a judicial enquiry already set up and, therefore, we have also a limited scope in this matter." Therefore, there is no question of a difference of opinion between the Minorities Commission and ourselves in this matter. There cannot be. We have not appointed the Minorities Commission merely as a show. It is not a political weapon. We have appointed it in order to see that this question is very satisfactorily settled and we have peace in the country and no occasion arises for any such incident or any such grievance. That is what I would like to say. And it is not a fact that only one community is responsible for this. Both the communities are responsible for this that is, the majority and the minority. That has been known, that has been proved in the past. It is not only one community to blame. We have got to see, of course, the majority has to see that they do not give any cause for it.

That, of course is the duty of the majority also. But both have to co-operate and have to live as friends, as brothers. This is the spirit which we have got to cultivate and that is what we are seeking to do. Therefore, on this score, let there be no apprehension that the Minorities Commission will be hampered in any way in its work. That cannot be the intention of the government when it was appointed. There was a question of appointing only a Civil Rights Commission before. But we deliberately made it a Minorities Commission so that there is more confidence created. And all the Members of the Minorities Commission come from the minorities. There is no member, who comes from the majority community. Therefore, there can be no question of influencing them in a wrong way at all by anybody, On this incident also, I can understand the feelings of my friends; I can understand their anguish, I myself have that anguish. But should we not work together, co-operate in this matter and not doubt each other? That is why I refused to give any opinion about the responsibility of the RSS or the Congress (I) or somebody else. It is not possible for me to do that. It is only when the judicial enquiry discloses facts, and they give their view, that we will be able to form an opinion. And when that happens, we will certainly take all necessary, adequate, firm action to see that these things are not repeated in future.

I have also written to all the states to see that the officers are held responsible for incidents happening within their jurisdiction. But the officers also have their own difficulties sometimes, and every time it cannot be said that an officer has failed in

duty when something like that happens. So we have to be careful in the matter of judgment of officers. Otherwise they will get completely demoralised, and nothing will happen. They must also work with conviction and confidence. But if they don't do their duty properly, certainly the government will not excuse them.

The government will take action against them. They must take preventive action; they must take strong action if anything happens. If there is any failure in duty, then strict action will be taken by the government. 'That is what we propose to do, and that is what we have decided to do. That is what I have informed all the state governments and they also agree with it, not that they do not agree with it. There is no difference of opinion in this matter between any governments. And whether the government belongs to one party or another party that makes no difference to governments in a democracy. They have all to work together. They are all people's governments. They are meant for serving all the people, irrespective of parties. There can be no difference of view in this matter. That is where there is theoretical agreement. But sometimes you find some differences which have got to be resolved and it is fortunate - I am thanking the state governments also - that they have been cooperating and nobody has found any fault with the central government so far, in these 19 months, for any partiality towards any state government or any want of cooperation on the part of the central government with any state government, That is something about which we can take some satisfaction. And we have to keep up that and even make it better in future. I hope my honourable friends who have gone away will also cooperate in this matter. They have given expression to their disapproval. Well, that is all right; let them do so. But let that not come in the way of cooperating with the government in the matter of removing this evil altogether; make it a dream of the past, a bad dream, so that our society, our country, goes ahead with full steam and for full development. Thank you.

*(The House then adjourned at forty two minutes past five of the clock, till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 22nd November, 1978).*

(RAJYA SABHA 21 NOVEMBER 1978. DEBATE ON A CALLING ATTENTION MOTION UNDER 174 TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE Increasing Trends of Communal Riots in the Country with Particular Reference to Recent incidents in Aligarh.

[https://rsdebate.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/422986/2/ID\\_107\\_21111978\\_2\\_p167\\_p314\\_9.pdf](https://rsdebate.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/422986/2/ID_107_21111978_2_p167_p314_9.pdf)).

### **PM MORARJI DESAI IN ALIGARH**

*The Indian Express*, November 27, 1978: PM in Aligarh

The recent communal riots were not a matter of shame for Aligarh alone but for the entire country, Prime Minister Morarji Desai said in Aligarh. The history of the emergence of the communal phenomena in the country could be traced to the British days, creating a gulf of hatred between the two dominant communities, he said, adding that the majority of people in both communities was peace loving but the riots everywhere were started by a handful of persons. Desai charged politicians with fanning the embers of communalism by issuing tendentious and politically-motivated statements and counter-statements to serve their “political ends rather than the cause of the peace”.

He appealed to the Press to “expose” these politicians and not publish their irresponsible utterances.

[\(https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/editorials/november-27-1978-forty-years-ago-pm-in-aligarh-5465970/\)](https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/editorials/november-27-1978-forty-years-ago-pm-in-aligarh-5465970/)

### **WRITTEN ANSWERS IN RAJYA SABHA ON 23 NOV.1978**

*Visit of the Chairman, Minorities Commission to Aligarh after the outbreak of riots*

**DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state: (a) whether it is a fact that the Chairman of the Minorities Commission was advised by government not to visit Aligarh after the outbreak of recent riots there? And (b) if so, what are the reasons thereof?

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SD PATIL):** (a) and (b): Information was received on 8-11-78 from the Minorities Commission that they would like to visit Aligarh on 10-11-78. UP government was consulted. Since the situation in Aligarh was very tense that day and since the notice given was too short to make security and other arrangements, the Commission was advised to postpone the visit by 3/4 days. The Commission have since visited Aligarh from the 15th to the 17th November, 1978.

### **WRITTEN ANSWERS IN RAJYA SABHA ON 7 DEC.1978**

*Report of the Chairman, Minorities Commission regarding Aligarh riots:*

**SHRIMATI HAMIDA HABIBULLAH, SHRI PRAKASH MEHROTRA, SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state: (a) whether government have received any report from the Chairman of the Minorities Commission on recent communal riots in Aligarh? And (b) if so, what are the details thereof?

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI DHANTK LAL MANDAL):** (a) A copy of a report forwarded to the government of UP has been received. (b) It would not be appropriate to disclose any details till the central government has had the benefit of the comments of the state government to whom the report has been sent.

**WRITTEN ANSWERS IN RAJYA SABHA ON 10 MAY 1979**

**Report of the Enquiry Commission regarding Aligarh Riots**

**SHRI M KADERSHAH, SHRIMATI NOORJEHAN RAZACK, SHRI ER KRISHNAN:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to refer to the answer to Starred Question 146 given in the Rajya Sabha on the 1st March, 1979 and state: (a) whether the report of the Judicial Enquiry Commission on the recent Aligarh disturbances has since been received from the government of Uttar Pradesh. And (b) if so, in what manner government proposes to proceed further in this matter. And (c) if the answer to part (a) above be in the negative, what is the reason for the delay in this regard and by when government expects the report?

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI DHANIK LAL MANDAL):** (a) No, Sir. (b) Question does not arise. (c) Because of the November 1978 riots as well as subsequent continuing tension in Aligarh, it was felt inadvisable by the Commission to start its work immediately. The Commission has given time till 3rd of May to all concerned for their written statements; the Commission has been given some extension of time for this purpose. The present term of the Commission is up to the 30th June 1979, but it appears that the Commission will take some more time before submitting its report to the UP government.

**11 JULY 1979: CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE IN RAJYA SABHA.**

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

**SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA (Bihar):** Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the recurrence of communal riots in Aligarh, Jamshedpur and some other places in the country and the steps taken by Government to meet the situation.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Minister

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

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

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

The proprietor was accordingly granted a licence. When the cinema opened on the 17th June, residents of the vicinity demonstrated and objected to the opening of a side exit gate. The police dispersed the crowd and the leaders were taken to the police

station for discussion. A crowd of about 300 to 400 persons assembled there and staged a demonstration. The police had to resort to a mild lathi-charge to disperse them. This was followed by a series of incidents of stabbing in which Members of both the communities were involved. Curfew was imposed immediately and some prominent leaders of both the communities were arrested. The Chief Minister visited Aligarh on 25th June and held discussion with local leaders and district authorities. As a result of the incidents of stabbing, 14 persons belonging to both the communities have died and till 4th July, 1979, 779 persons have been arrested. The state government has taken several steps to restore communal harmony.

District administration has already held discussions with leaders of the minority community for bringing about communal amity. A separate meeting was also called to restore normalcy in which Members of both the communities were invited. Peace Committees have been activated at the district and mohalla level. Searches have been made to unearth illegal arms. Units of PAC, CRP and BSF have been deployed in the city. State government has also declared Aligarh city as a disturbed area under the Disturbed Areas (Special Courts) Act, 1976. Eight localities have been notified under Section 15 of the Police Act for recovering the cost of maintaining additional police.

The Aligarh Muslim University which was closed earlier on account of the disturbances that had occurred early in May is being reopened in phases and it is hoped that it will be working fully very soon. For prompt investigation of the incidents and for apprehending the persons responsible for the reprehensible occurrences which took place at Dadri and at Aligarh on 9th May and 10th May, 1979, it has been decided that the investigations should be entrusted to the CBI, which is expected to complete the tasks quickly. The state government has also sanctioned a further sum of Rs. 3 lakhs recently for relief/rehabilitation purposes of the riot victims of the incidents of 10th and 11th May, 1979.

The communal riot at Jamshedpur, as the Members are aware, occurred in April, 1979. This House discussed the incident on the 24th April, 1979, on a Calling Attention Motion. Because of these riots, 117 persons lost their lives and 333 were injured. 68 cases of arson have been registered by the police involving 372 houses and shops. During April, 1215 persons were arrested. The affected persons were shifted to temporary camps where they were looked after. Commendable work was also done by private organisations.

I myself visited Jamshedpur on the 13th April, 1979 and again on the 17th April, 1979 to review the situation. Though the intensity of the violence and its magnitude subsided from 16th April, 1979 stray incidents of stabbing and arson and bomb explosions have unfortunately continued because of rumours and clandestine meetings of lawless elements. The state government has taken appropriate measures to contain the situation and to bring about normalcy.

Communal riot broke out in *Karai-ghachi* and 3 other villages in Chapra Police Station of Nadia district on 21st June, 1979. The immediate causes were a series of dacoities in Hindu and Muslim houses, dispute over cattle, grazing of cattle on private lands and inter-community marriage. The state government deployed State Armed Police and units of Eastern Frontier Rifles and BSF in the affected areas.

Curfew which was imposed in Krishnagar town on 22nd June, 1979 has been gradually relaxed. The state Chief Minister also visited badly affected villages on the 24th June, 1979. So far, on account of various incidents 23 persons belonging to both the communities were killed; 4 persons were killed in police firings. About 672 houses of both the communities were burnt. Till 25th June, 1979, 450 persons had been arrested. A sum of Rs. 5 lakhs has been sanctioned from the Chief Minister's Relief Fund for reconstruction of houses and other relief materials have also been distributed.

Because of these communal incidents there had been an exodus of persons belonging to minority community to Bangladesh. According to information furnished by the state government, around 7,000 persons belonging to minority community had crossed over to Bangladesh, in the wake of communal riot. Till 3rd July, 1979, 6,977 Indian nationals belonging to the minority community have returned through the two reception centres at Bhatgachia and Hatkhola.

On 2nd July, 1979, a false rumour was spread about the molestation of some women and the district administration of Purnea deputed a section of armed force with a Magistrate to village Jabe under PS Bhawanipur as a precautionary measure. There were some cases of assault on sections of minority community. With a view to control the situation, police opened fire and the mob dispersed. There were no casualties. ADM Purnea visited the village on the 2nd and 3rd July, 1979 and formed a Peace

Committee comprising of important people of the locality including the village Mukhia. The committee Members assured that rumours will not be allowed to spread.

On 4th July about 12 noon, a mob of about 5,000 collected on the outskirts of the village and set fire to a few huts and started shooting arrows as a result of which two persons died on the spot. One more person who was victim of arson succumbed to his injuries later on.

Police fired 10 rounds of teargas to control the mob but this was not effective. Firing was ordered thereafter as a result of which one person died on the spot. On the same day (4th July, 1979) in village Madhonagar under Dhamdaha PS, a mob indulged in arson. One person was killed and 5 injured. The DM and SP with armed force rushed to the spot. When the situation started deteriorating the DM, Purnea issued orders to shoot at sight any miscreant/arsonist.

On 5th July, 1979 there were cases of arson in village Dabha, 31 huts were burnt and one person was found dead in an isolated place near the village. On 6th July, there was further trouble. When the police reached there, about 2,000 persons fled away. 46 persons were arrested. On the same day 30 residential huts were set on fire in village Jameda in Rupoli P.S. The Police had to open fire in village Dhansarin in Bhawanipur PS to disperse a riotous mob as a result of which one person was killed and two injured. No incident was reported on the 7th and the 8th July and thereafter. The situation is now generally under control and vigilance is being maintained. Persons arrested so far exceed 507, number of persons killed 11, injured more than 17. In order to provide relief to the riot affected persons, Rs. 30,000 in cash and goods worth Rs. 15,000 have been distributed.

Members are aware that the Jagjivan Ram Committee on communal harmony met a number of times to consider and recommend permanent measures for solving the communal problem in the country. Officers from the Ministry of Home Affairs were deputed to different state capitals and sensitive districts known for communal troubles to review the existing administrative arrangements and other measures in the field. I have recently drawn pointed attention of the chief ministers of the states and Lt., Governors of Union Territories to the deficiencies noted in the field during these visits and I have requested them to take specific measures to remove the various shortcomings. A dialogue has been initiated with state governments already.

The first such meeting was held in Delhi where the representatives of the government of UP and Bihar were present. Another meeting is going to be held on 22nd July, with the representatives of governments of Maharashtra and Gujarat. It is proposed to cover the remaining states in quick succession.

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

The Hon'ble Member referred to measures like economic measures which means removal of unemployment, bringing in economic equality and the policy regarding education. On these basic questions the government in their respective ministries are taking steps for this purpose. In fact one of the basic tenets of the Janata Party's policy is with regard to the removal of unemployment which is at the base of removal of poverty. So far as economic equality is concerned, that again is something which must be aimed at; but it cannot be achieved in a short time. In the same way we have a new policy of education which has only recently been announced. It is to be tried out to see how far it will succeed. Certainly, its aim, again, is to see that secular ideas are fostered. Unfortunately none of these things has so far been successful.

The suggestion then was that in sensitive areas we should take special steps. We are taking special steps in the sensitive areas for tackling these things through peace committees, all-community peace committees, and other methods of seeing that the people can live together in harmony. There was a reference to the National Police Commission and it was said that there should be democratisation. I must say that I have not understood what the Hon'ble Member really desires. If he means that there should be an elected head of the police organisation that is something which I do not think the government is yet ready to consider. But certainly we do wish to see that the police is a satisfied force, the police is a more understanding force and better trained

so as to understand also the problems of the people so that they may tackle these whenever communal disturbances occur, in a more understanding manner. I am afraid, Sir, beyond this there is nothing that I can say.

**DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA:** The riots that took place during the days of communal politics before the partition of the country, the riots that are taking place now and the riots that have again recurred after the break-up of Pakistan, are not of the same character and of the same kind. We will have to clearly understand why the causes change and the characters change but still the hatred remains. The hatred remains because there is-a certain section among our people which is committed to seeing that this hatred is not allowed to be eradicated. There was tremendous hope among the Muslims when the Janata Party came to power because they believed that the Congress having failed to curb and control these riots, because of the new alliance between the RSS and the Jamaat-e-Islami the whole atmosphere of hatred would disappear for some time.

And for a few months so long as the euphoria lasted, if you will see the situation in India, there was some basis for that hope. But, Sir, lepers do not change their colours; they come into their own. And that is why you find that not only have the riots started recurring but there is more and more aggravation of the communal situation. That is a matter of shame and that is a matter of regret for us. A matter of shame because despite all the resources at our disposal, what have we been doing? In this regard, Sir, I would like to quote from a note submitted by Mr. K. F. Rustamji, one of the senior most and highly respected police officer, to the same Jagjivan Ram Committee to which the Home Minister referred. Sir, there is a very significant analysis of the riots that have taken place for the last decade or so. And I am quoting it so that we may dispassionately and objectively understand it for I believe that there are very few among us who really would like to see that this communal hatred is allowed to prevail. But whether we like it or not, the secular forces in India, as Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan has repeatedly said, always become timid before the communal forces.

This is what Mr. Rustamji says: "This is why a riot does not occur in a sleepy little village of UP where all suffer equally, nor in a tribal village of M.P. where all live safely in their poverty. It occurs in Muradabad where the metal workers have built up a good industry; it occurs in Aligarh where lock-makers have made good; it occurs in

Bhiwandi where powerloom rivalries are poisonous; it occurs in Hattia and Ahmedabad and Hyderabad and Jamshedpur where there are jobs to get, contracts to secure, houses and shops to capture; it occurs in Agra and Ferozabad, and in all the other towns where economic rivalries are serious, and have to be covered up with the cloak of communalism. In all these places the economic reasons are the compelling ones. But unskilled administrators find false explanations to make out that Muslim aggressiveness started the riot, as if this was sufficient to justify all the damage done."

I do not want to completely exonerate the Muslim communalists if they had been guilty of any such generation of hatred. What are the facts? The facts are that in every riot in recent times the sufferers at the hands of the rioters are mainly Muslims and the police who are supposed to protect them, they also launch attacks on the Muslims and more Muslims are killed at the hands of the police than even at the hands of the rioters. This is the tragedy. That is why they say: What is the idea of your becoming ministers, somebody becoming President, somebody becoming a central minister, somebody becoming a chief minister, when 99 per cent of your own people are living in this danger and in these atrocious conditions?

It is this which has to be understood. And that is what has not been understood, because we have bureaucratized the whole approach to communal riots. I cannot expect anything more from the Prime Minister, Morarji Desai. His approach is that of a fire brigade. He does not want communal riots as he does not want fire. So he waits for a riot to take place as the fire-brigade wallahs wait for a fire to take place and the moment the sounding is done, the fire brigade goes. It quenches the fire, comes back, again waits for a fire to take place somewhere else.

This is the approach, for he is more bureaucratic than the worst of bureaucrats. That is why, despite all this talk of his administrative efficiency, more and more riots are taking place; despite all the commitments that the Janata Party made in its manifesto, he has failed in implementing them. The causes which are leading to this situation, year after year, month after month, are not being understood.

Things which in the past never occurred are occurring now. At least in the past when the fire brigade went, it was able to control the fire and there was no more fire. But here Aligarh is a classic example: The fire brigade goes; the fire is extinguished; by

the time the fire brigade has gone back, another fire takes place; again the fire brigade goes, and so on. What is all this?

Does it not show that this government is incapable of controlling even a minor incident, that this government has failed so miserably? The Home Minister with all his rich bureaucratic background comes forward and trots out the same kind of reasons. My question to him is: Are these not the same reasons given year after year, every now and again? Where has this kind of understanding led us to? To more and more riots: Will you not go into the root of the problem. The Jagjivan Ram Committee was appointed more than a year ago. It has met. It has had three meetings. This is a serious matter. Appointment of committees is done in order to shelve the issues, not to solve them. What was expected from the Jagjivan Ram Committee?

It should have given more urgent and serious thought to the solution of this problem. It could have met for a few days together and tried to thrash out the problem. Why send officers to find more facts? What more facts you want? We know what are the facts. Your intelligence officers are in collusion with those forces which want to maintain and perpetuate this hatred between the two communities.

Your police officers are made to understand: kill Muslims and your promotions will be secured. Why don't you go into these facts and realities? That is why I am quoting again the conclusion of Mr. Rustamji, one of our fine officers and who is even today a member of the National Police Commission. This is what he says: "I point my finger unhesitatingly against our administration which is breaking down at a terrific rate, which does not have the talent, the support, the well-prepared security schemes, the resources, the laws, the manpower and not even the confidence which would enable it to look below the surface and uncover the true causes of communal rioting and deal with it effectively". Mr. Rustamji wrote this on 31st May. Today the situation is worse and there is complete collapse of the government.

Never before has a no-confidence motion come at a time when the greatest threat to the existence of any government could have been more genuine and real. What should I ask the Home Minister? I do not know whether he may be there tomorrow or not. But what I would like to plead in this House is this: Forget the Home Minister. We are a sovereign body. Forget that we belong to this party or that party. That is not important as far as this question is concerned. It is a matter of national concern and we

have got to make a determined effort to see that the causes for which the Father of the Nation laid down his life and the foundations on which our Republic is built are still safe. Because of the bungling of these people and because of the wrong approaches of the bureaucrats and because of the erroneous training given to our police officers and policemen, we should not allow the future of our country to be jeopardised.

**SHRI HM PATEL:** It seems the Hon'ble Member has no desire to have any reply from me since he is not sure whether I will be here tomorrow. But I would like to tell him that I am as greatly concerned as he is about this question.

I have also read Mr. Rustamji's article. Mr. Rustamji is a member of the Jagjivan Ram Committee of which I am also a member. We are doing our best to find some answer to this question. Perhaps my Hon'ble friend may also have read another article by Mr. Rustamji in which he described how on trivial questions communal riots taken place. Some trivial incident takes place. Immediately a whole structure is built around it, rumour is spread and trouble starts. Just like this the trouble started in Purnea. A totally false rumour is spread. Whoever spreads it, it leads to communal riots and loss of large number of lives, property and also causes human suffering. It is also a fact that this is not a major reason and it is not really for serious reasons also that these occur.

But, ultimately, there is the economic cause also as has been said in Rustamji's analysis. Economic causes are also the major causes for these riots. It is not easy again to take steps to see that these riots do not occur at all. But what one can do is to try and see that gradually these are rooted out. After all, my honourable friend said that for thirty years we have been struggling, whatever may be the government. But we have not so far succeeded in this. I can assure you that this government is certainly fully aware of the seriousness of this matter and would like to do everything possible to see that communal riots, communal disturbances, do not occur and would welcome any suggestions and any constructive suggestions that they can offer would be welcomed.

In fact, this is precisely what the Jagjivan Ram Committee is attempting to do. So, my honourable friends, you can see that in spite of all his magnificent analysis and argument that he has put forward as to what is happening, what is most desirable, he has no definite solution for this matter. The answer again is that it is the mental

attitudes which have to be changed. I agree with him also. That is also one of the reasons. But he said, of course— unfortunately he said that and although he said it, I think he was not politicising it and he could not help saying—that there are certain sections of people who have these mental attitudes. I think it may be certain sections. But I can only say that there is no doubt that it is these mental attitudes, wherever they may exist, which are responsible for this trouble and we have to try through various means, education and others, to see that these stopped or removed for good.

Well-meaning citizens who feel that this sort of thing should have been done are willing to get together and try to do this, they are not doing it. We are not doing it. We are talking about it only. When something terrible happens, we say: “Yes, Why not let us all get together, discuss this thing and find out the ways and means of doing it?”

We ought to do this thing. We must know the sensitive areas. There are certain areas like Aligarh. It has happened there. But he does not realise—he has forgotten perhaps—that Aligarh has been the place where communal disturbances have occurred again and again, year after year. Why? There may be some reasons for that. Certainly, it is a place where disturbances happen and there are other areas also where they happen.

**AN HON’BLE MEMBER:** Jamshedpur.

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

**SHRI HM PATEL:** Sir, this is a subject which, as one Hon’ble Member said, is a hackneyed subject. That was his word. I would not have used the word "hackneyed." But I would have said that unfortunately communal riots continue to happen in this country. They have never stopped happening. This is one of the tragedies of our country. I am afraid the Hon’ble Member who spoke had his own idea of the history of communal riots and occurrences. He seemed to think that great many more communal disturbances have occurred during these two years than had ever occurred before. This, I think, is not historically correct. But leaving that aside, his point was whether the Aligarh University will be allowed the freedom that it needs and will not

be close down under government orders or closed down only with the concurrence of the Aligarh University. It has always been so. Even on this occasion the district authorities felt that it would not be wise to reopen the University on the 2nd of July. The Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University said that he had already informed the students and, therefore, they would start coming. This was also mentioned to me by the Aligarh University Vice-Chancellor. I told him that it would be wiser to do it in phases. But it is for him to decide. We would have no objection if he tells us what he is going to do so that we could make adequate security arrangements. I am glad that he did accept the advice of doing it in phases and that is how it is happening. So I do not think there is any difficulty in that. Secondly, he asked whether we are prepared to come down strongly on communal organisations. Certainly. I think there can be no question about it. But it must be defined as to what is a communal organisation. A communal organisation is one which does not believe in secularism and which is intent on creating trouble, otherwise any organisation can function freely so long as it does not create disturbances.

Then he demanded firm action whenever anything like a communal riot takes place. I have no hesitation in assuring him that firm action will be taken. Firm action has been taken in the past and we will see to it that whenever there is even a suspicion of any disturbance taking place we shall take all possible precautionary measures. Then he asked whether the minorities will be given scope for employment in police and administration. Certainly they will be. In fact there has been no restriction whatsoever. After the first troubles in UP, after the Aligarh incident, where this particular point was raised great emphasis was laid on it. Then the government gave specific instructions that every effort should be made to recruit as many Muslims as possible in the police force. But very few came forward.

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

**SHRI HM PATEL:** I am talking about UP. This is what we are trying to do. The point was whether we shall give hereafter. I am not talking about the past. It is about the future only that one can give an answer. There is no restriction at all. There was recently recruitment by examination, of sub-inspectors. There were 6,000 applicants for it. From the Muslims there were less than 600 applications and of the successful ones there were only 42. Now, this was by a proper Public Service Commission. It is

not a question of restriction of any kind being imposed. So far as the administrative services are concerned, it is open that these are all competitive examinations open to everybody. For some reason or other it is a fact that Muslims do not come forward in as large numbers as they could perhaps come.

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** This is not correct. There is a clear discrimination so far as Muslims are concerned.

**SHRI HM PATEL:** I am not saying anything which is not based on statistics, If they do not come, we can't help it. Otherwise, wherever they do, they are taken. After all, there has never been any restriction on them. The only thing is, there is no reservation as there is for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and so on..... (*Interruptions*).

If you have to speak you may speak and then I will reply to the questions you may put. Now I am replying to his questions and let him be satisfied. I think the Hon'ble Member wanted to know whether to stop communal disturbances we will organise special cells.

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

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

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

And if you take those incidents that had taken place between November and the year-end, the total figure would be more than 200. So we can safely say that in 1978, the second year, roughly, of the Janata rule, more than 200 communal incidents—both major and minor—had taken place in the country. And during this year, according to the information supplied on May 5 in this House, in January, 12 communal incidents had taken place resulting in the loss of 4 lives and 100 injured; in February, the corresponding figures were 14 and 41; in March, the number of incidents is 23, the number of the persons killed is 2 and the number of the injured is 79. That is the first quarter of this year. According to the under-statement by the Home Ministry, 49 communal incidents had taken place, 8 had lost their lives and 220 people had been injured.

This, of course, is a gross understatement of the situation. But, nevertheless, I think I should bring it to the notice of the House. And, Sir, according to them, i.e., the Home Ministry, the communal incidents during the first quarter of this year had taken place in towns with a population of a lakh and above.

These cities and towns are Hyderabad, Mysore, Bhopal, Jabalpur, Ratlam, Nanded, Kanpur and Delhi. And since then, more communal incidents have taken place in the second half of this year. As you know, among those are the recurrence of incidents in Aligarh. Communal incidents have taken place even in West Bengal in Nadia district and also in Jamshedpur developments had taken place and certain incidents had taken place in other parts of the country also. So we are in the midst of unceasing, continuing communal incidents as they call it—some, they say, major; others, they say, minor. But the Jamshedpur and Aligarh riots are rated as major incidents. Now why these taking place? We are told that they had taken place earlier also. Yes, they had taken place earlier.

In fact, I have got all the figures for the last 10 or 12 years. Several incidents had taken place in the last decade. And there was a time when the number of incidents was even higher than 200 a year. This has also happened. But one new thing now is that these incidents are taking place against the background of a political situation when the communal forces are receiving direct encouragement from the seats of political power. This was never there to this extent before. Even before, certain communal elements undoubtedly had infiltrated into various services and walks of life

and even in the government. But, by and large, they are communal forces, certified communal forces, as we know them. I think my friend.....

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

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

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

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

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

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

**DR. BHAI MAHAVIR:** So you concede this point.

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

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

The RSS-Jana Sangh leaders are sitting in the seat of power in the governments, the central government and the state governments and in key positions in the administration. That had never happened before. I am not saying that Dr. Bhai Mahavir is sitting there but there are others. This is a new development. Sir, the power structure of the country has passed largely into the hands of the communal forces so much so that a member from this House, belonging to the Janata Party, Shri Ladli Mohan Nigam, Vice-President of the Madhya Pradesh Unit of the Janata Party was saying that they had to choose between Gandhi and Godse. Never before such a proposal was made. And in fact there is something in it. They are sitting in the seats of power. And this is one thing, Sir, which has precipitated the crisis and that crisis has developed within the Janata ruling conglomerate. A voice has been raised today very powerfully and strongly within the Janata Party itself, apart from what has been said a number of times in this House.

Many of the Janata Party MLAs, MPs and ministers have been expressing their concern about the Janata power being grabbed by the RSS-Jana Sangh elements. Every day we read it in the newspapers. It is said in conventions, it is said in meetings, it is said in public statements and it is said in [Shri Bhupesh Gupta] articles coming from the people who belong to their party. We now see a mass exodus, Members leaving the Janata Party. Why has it happened? Sir, it has happened because of so many reasons. They are the failure of policies, betrayal of the people and betrayal of their own election pledges some of them offered during the time of the election. And one major factor which has played a very important role is that the Jana Sangh and the RSS men are in the seats of political power in the state's structure. Sir, when these forces came into existence and formed the government, we came to the conclusion and made-it known that incompatible forces have come together and they could not reconcile.

This is what we said in this House and in our written documents, and what we said has been proved correct not because we were very perfect but because we knew that those who come with democratic and secular background could never reconcile with those who had come from communal and anti-secular background. Those who have been reared up in the tradition of Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi could never ultimately reconcile and live together under the same blanket with those who have been nurtured in the tradition of Hedgewar, Nathu Ram Godse and Golwalkar. We knew them. That is why we said it. This is what is happening. This break-up and the collapse of the

Janata regime, the Janata rule here is to be viewed against the background of the situation, one feature of which is the diabolical communal aspect.

It is a matter of satisfaction for us that all the people the secular forces rising all over the country, the working class people coming together, have created such an impact on the seats of power, in the corridors of power, that this regime is collapsing under the impact of the mighty upsurge of the secular as well as all those forces and the revolt against communalism. This is what I say. This is why this development has to be viewed against this background. After that, if you say, there is no such serious situation, well, what can I say? My friend, Mr. H. M. Patel, will not understand this and in that way not prepared at the moment.

The fall of this discredited government under the weight of its own seat, compounded by the encouragement and abetment to the communal forces, bears testimony to the fact that here was a government unworthy of being entrusted with the responsibility, and nemesis has come in the two and half-years that they have been in power. As far as riots are concerned, well, these are there. They have been encouraged. This, I say is the fear.

As soon as the Janata Party came to power, Balasaheb Deoras undertook a countrywide tour in which he twisted his ideas and secondly, he was received by Jamaat-e-Islami. It seemed there was developing or there developed some working relation between the two. Here I give you one or two examples. In one of the writings, *Dawat*, a paper of Jamaat-e-Islami, gave a certificate to RSS chief Golwalkar that in the evening of his life he was having second thought in regard to his attitude towards Muslims and towards the Muslim Personal Law. That was Jamaat-e-Islami speaking, not me. At the same time we find that even in many other places Jamaat-e-Islami is welcoming them. *Dawat*, an organ of the Jamaat-e-Islami of November 1, 1977 had published a report about an indoor meeting of the Hindus and Muslims organised by the Jamaat-e-Islami and addressed by the RSS leader. The paper did not name the leader nor the place where the meeting took place, but it gave extensive quotations from what is called the frank speech of the RSS leader.

There was an RSS camp in Delhi in June 18, 1979 where the RSS general secretary; Mr. Rajinder Singh, charged the Muslims and Christians for having extra-territorial loyalty. Then you find Balasaheb Deoras, chief of the RSS, has claimed during the

Janata rule very soon the RSS volunteers' strength would jump up to 50 lakhs -- 5 millions. The RSS volunteers get training not only in the use of lathis but also, we are told, in bomb throwing, dummy bombing and so on. Only last year you saw that 15,000 young children, boys and girls, were collected in a camp in Delhi and they started their march with toy rifles, lathis and arms. You do not see young boys and girls marching with toy rifles for serving the cause of peace.

We are not a military nation. This was the sample of the kind of training they are giving. I have come across a statement by Rajinder Singh, general secretary of the RSS, in which he said that during the last one and half years the Membership of the RSS has grown by 30 per cent.

In fact it is much more than that. And he was proud of it. He said that even in Kerala where he did not have more than 95 '*shakhas*' last year, they have now 1,300 '*shakhas*'. Everybody knows that all over the country the RSS '*shakhas*' are growing apace. More '*shakhas*' are cropping up in cities and towns and even in some villages and they are proud of it. Simultaneously the slogan of '*Hindu Rashtra*' has been raised. Previously, many years ago, we heard the slogan Indianisation from Mr. Advani, Mr. Vajpayee and the RSS camps. Now they do not say Indianisation of Muslims. Now it is 'Hinduisation' and 'Hindu Rashtra'.

Propaganda literatures are coming out. I can give you many instances as to how this propaganda is going on. Do they not poison the minds of the people? Do they not spread communal hatred? Do they not orientate people towards communal outlook? Do they not encourage forces of disruption and lead to communal hatred?

This is what is happening. Why? Because they want to capture political power. Even now, Mr. Morarji Desai, the Prime Minister of the country depends on the RSS and Jan Sangh to remain in power. And for this he is paying a price, I believe. It is a matter of concern for everybody when the Prime Minister of a secular State with its secular traditions, has to depend on RSS and Jan Sangh, having lost all the support among the secular forces. I would like to know how many supporters the Prime Minister of India has today, as I speak, among the Lok Sabha Members minus the RSS and Jan Sangh would like to have a count of heads.

We will find that he has very few people with him who are not either Jan Sangh or RSS. Their number is small. Yes, this is the reality. It is understandable. But it is shocking and dangerous because the RSS and Jan Sangh elements constituted 90 Members out of 302 Members of the Janata Party in the Lok Sabha. With fifteen gone and many others are also leaving, their ninety still is there.

This is the situation. Would that situation not encourage communal forces? RSS and Jan Sangh are realistic people. They do not believe that in one jump or in one shot they can capture political power. They know that this takes time to have a decisive control of the State. They work out their strategy towards this end. They have been doing it during the last two years. In the first place they see to it that their number in the Assemblies and the Parliament increases. They have purpose in view. And they have an organisation for that. And they have build up that organisation. Today they have created a situation when the Prime Minister dose not dare utter a word against the RSS in public, or even in private. I have not heard Mr. Morarji Desai saying a word against the RSS nor have I heard the Home Minister uttering a word against the RSS by name and yet, Sir, he had the gumption in this House to come and tell yesterday that the CPI had instigated the policemen.

But he would never say that the RSS has instigated the Jamshedpur riots despite the fact that Mr. Dina Nath Pandey was leading the riots, an MLA belonging to the Jana Sangh and the RSS. No, he will not say that. They have been kept silent by their moral servitude and surrender to the communal forces which this government has done. That is all that I can say. And that is the crisis now. Now, Sir, what happened in Jamshedpur? It is our concern. Therefore, today, I have no hesitation in saying that we must face squarely and boldly the threat that is coming from them. I appreciate the Janata Members, the secular-minded people. Well, I may disagree with them on many matters of internal and external politics. But I do agree with them when they come out against the RSS and the Jana Sangh and express their concern in defence of secularism at least. Sir, how can I not? After all, we are Indians and we are secular, divided among various political parties, persuasions and affiliations. But secularism is the fundamental basis of our national unity and national existence, well, not to talk of national pride and honour.

If it is threatened and menaced and if some people come up against it, naturally, we look upon them with hope and admiration despite our other differences with them ....

(*Time bell rings*). Now in Jamshedpur, in the Mango area or whatever you may call it, the police was inactive and when the riots took place, when the incidents took place, the police did not prevent the crowd from gathering. Even during the period of the curfew, all sorts of things, looting, arson and murder, were going on and they did not take any action. The military police was there. Remember, Sir, I brought to the notice of this House even before a pamphlet in Hindi issued by an organisation connected with the RSS in which it was proclaimed that in the event of attacks from the Muslims or the Members of the minority community, the police forces, the military police in particular, would take the side of the communalists and the RSS. That was said.

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

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Anyway, you find it out, Dr.

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

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** The RSS minister, Shri Shankar Prasad, was seen organising these things and he prevented the army from being called out in time. It has come up in the Bihar Assembly and now I find he is already in the present ministry well, the reconstituted ministry, after the change of leadership there. Sir, it is here that the Muslims were affected, the Members of the minority community. Forty thousand Members belonging to the minority community were in the camps. Not that there were no Hindus in the relief camps. Some Hindus have also suffered.

But do you know what they are doing? They are blaming others. You will be surprised.... (*Interruptions*). The Home Minister is sleeping. Mr. Minister you sleep when the riots take place. Here Sir, the Jamaat was telling that the communists were posing a threat to their religion.

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

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** At least not in this. At least not this. You know, the Jamaat was telling this and they are in collusion with others. As you know, they are against their own community. When Mr. Bhutto was hanged, the entire Muslim community in the country was indignant and they protested against it. But the Jamaat supported the hanging of Mr. Bhutto and supported the military regime in Pakistan.

They still support Zia-ul-Haq's regime and thereby they even go against the Muslim sentiments, the sentiments of the minority community But the RSS now...

Sir the RSS was holding its regional conference in Jamshedpur before the riots and in that conference many things were said. The conference was held in the Co-operative College of Jamshedpur and permission was given to hold the conference by the Vice-Chancellor of the University despite the opposition from the teachers and the students and even from the principal of the college. And, Sir, the Vice-Chancellor of the Ranchi University is an RSS man. Well, Sir, now you can forget all these things. Finally, Sir, the great Balasaheb Deoras, the adviser to the Prime Minister of the country in the corridors of power here, the minister of the Janata power, the real monitor, the high priest, the inspirer, the organisational prop and the main stay of the Janata power headed by Mr. Morarji Desai, had addressed a rally at Jamshedpur and there he said that while the Muslim countries do not allow anywhere any temples or mandirs to be built, we allow everywhere mosques to be built. Is it to be said in this manner? Sir, these are the utterances. I can give many instances.

And then, Sir, my friend, Shri O P Tyagi, has brought the Freedom of Religion Bill. Again a great provocation to the Members of the minority communities, not only Muslims, but also Christians and others.

Up till now the government has not the courage to say that it is against that Bill. Even when they are falling, even when they have fallen, people sometimes, when they are about to die, tell the truth for pleasing God.

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

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

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

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Sir, I would consider it a rare achievement on my part if this wonderful handsome man, energetic man, can be rescued, if I can rescue him,

from the clutches of Balasaheb Deoras. I would consider it to be a rare privilege and a matter of happiness. But you will never meet that honour and privilege.

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

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Stalin? Stalin is dead.

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

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Anyway, you try that and I won't object to that. Can you dare to take me out of the clutches of what you call communism by indulging in and encouraging dual Membership? You can't just do that. So, Sir, I say this is what has happened. Now, I have cited enough facts, enough facts I have given. In Nadia riots have taken place recently. You will be surprised to know that we are Members of the Committee, my friend, Shri H.M. Patel, is a member of the Jagjivan Ram Committee on harmony, and I am also a member. He has mentioned about it in his speech. At the Committee meeting on the list of last month, well, many chief ministers did not come. Of course, I did not like the chief ministers not coming.

When the Committee was formed, it was decided that it was on the personal basis that the chief ministers should be there and not by proxy. But what happened? The chief ministers, most of them, are not taking any interest. There was one from the ruling party. Mr. Chandra Shekhar was from the ruling party. Mr. Chavan, Mr. Stephen and I were from the opposition. Others were ministers, some chief ministers and the Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University. Many chief ministers did not come. Mr. Jyoti Basu did not come. Along with others, many other chief ministers were also absent. Another minister came from West Bengal, we travelled together from Calcutta. That minister gave a very happy account of the situation in West Bengal. Only I protested against it.

Sir, almost simultaneously the riots were taking place in Nadia. The minister from West Bengal who came to the Committee told the meeting of the Committee on Harmony that he had been in consultation with the chief minister before coming and that the situation in West Bengal was good on the whole. He said that there was no communal tension. He said that West Bengal was free from communal tension. Well,

when we were travelling next morning by plane, we were both reading the incidents that had taken place. I say this thing by way of giving an illustration. Sometimes, even the secular forces and the left forces are complacent about these things.

I will just give a few suggestions. I do not want to say much. It is well known that the Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University was forced to close down the university on the orders of the District Magistrate. I will suggest that the recommendation of the Minorities Commission should be made public. I am finishing after giving the suggestions. That report should be made public.

We were told, at a meeting on the 17th December last year, by the chairman of the Minorities Commission that there was an interim report which the government not only did not publish and also did not implement.

Therefore, we would like to have the report and to implement it after consultation with all the concerned forces. Sir, we are a little disturbed to learn that the RSS is objecting even to the existence of the Minorities Commission. This is a disturbing factor. Sir, such commissions are needed, not namesake commissions, hut real commissions. I have to give one or two suggestions only. I will give all the suggestions to the Jagjivan Ram Committee or Communal Harmony.

My suggestion is that the political parties or other Members should bring their suggestions in writing and place them before the committee to be accepted. Here I mention another thing. A question was asked about the representation of the minorities in the police forces. I was a little surprised when the Home Minister evaded the answer. This question was raised at the meeting of the opposition leaders and the chief ministers with the Prime Minister. It was held on the 17th of December last year.

There this question came up and Mr. Morarji Desai himself said that the minority communities were not having their representation in the police forces and the PAC. In fact, it led to heated exchanges with the chief ministers of Orissa and Bihar. Now he says that he does not know anything. He was present there. It was pointed out that not even six per cent belonged to the minority communities in the Provincial Armed Constabulary. Sir, in many places, in the police force and other forces, it is so. I am finishing now. Members of the minority community should be appropriately represented in the state and central government forces. That was the suggestion made.

It has not been implemented. There should be proper and adequate representation of all communities in the police force. That is not being done.

Sir, there were proposals for organising in a better way the intelligence services with a definite training and orientation for fighting the communal forces. That is not done. In fact, now-a-days, in the government literature nothing is said against the RSS. We get plenty of literature and nothing is said against the RSS or the communal forces by name. Nothing at all. It is a strange situation. Well, all the commissions that have taken place had mentioned them by name. But now they do not do so..... (*Time bell rings*). Sir, now that you are ringing the bell, finally, as I sit down, all I say is, we are looking forward to, perhaps, I hope, better times. The RSS and the Jana Sangh have been in seats of power. There must be a positive strike there. And unless these seats of power in the administration and educational institutions and the official news media like the AIR, TV, etc. are purged of these RSS and communal forces, you can never even put up pretence of fighting against the communal forces, and they will continue to be strengthened. The RSS forces have taken the Janata power as their power. Just as the landlords have taken the Janata power as their power to go against the Harijans, similarly, the communal forces, whether they are the RSS or others, have taken the Janata power as their power and they are holding the country to ransom.

Sir, I do hope this is the beginning of the end of the chapter, and we do look forward that these forces in seats of power and strategic positions will be taken care of and expelled from all the positions they hold. Otherwise, this country's democracy, secularism and national integrity will be in the gravest jeopardy, and those who are fighting them—no matter to which political party they belong to which political affiliation they belong—deserve a word of cheer and encouragement and we extend them full encouragement and support in their just, genuine and sincere struggle against the forces of communalism, national disruption and national ruin. Thank you.

**SHRI HM PATEL:** Sir, the Hon'ble Member spoke for over half an hour. And it was delightful to listen to him as it has always been. But there was really nothing so far as I am concerned to answer because, Sir, when he began, I thought he was going to make a serious speech, a constructive speech, but it was not to be. No constructive suggestions came from him as to what should be done.

He started off by saying that there were so many communal incidents in the year 1978, as many in 1979, and how, over the year, this has been more or less the same; and sometimes more and sometimes less, I thought that thereafter he would proceed to say something about almost an endemic problem of this country, and what should be the way in which we should tackle it. He is a member of the Communal Harmony Committee to which he is going to submit on his own personal behalf and on his party's behalf suggestions for preventing communal disturbances from occurring. He might have put those forward here but he has not done so. All he has delighted himself in is a diatribe against the RSS and so on. I do not wish to make this an occasion for answering him on these issues because they are not strictly relevant. We are concerned with the fact that communal disturbances have taken place and they have reared their head again. It is a matter of great regret.

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

A distressing factor in the history of communal disturbances is the failure of police intelligence to warn the authorities in time so that any trouble brewing could be nipped in the bud. So far we have seen that the government takes action only after the incident has taken place. They are not able to prevent the riots well in advance. It has been stressed repeatedly that the function of the police is not only to maintain law and order but also to be extremely vigilant so that any signs of the beginning of any communal trouble can be spotted early and remedial action taken.

Sir, we had suggested earlier that police intelligence should be organised as a separate force under a police officer of the rank of a DIG in each state. I would like to know what the actual position now in this regard is. Organising pre-emptive police intelligence force would be an invaluable step in the right direction. I am thankful to the Hon'ble Members for demanding that there should be proportional representation of the minority community in the police force and other paramilitary forces.

We have seen in Aligarh that the Provincial Armed Constabulary, and in Jamshedpur, that the Bihar Military Police, joined hands with the majority community in their attack on the minority community. If there had been proportional representation, this would have been avoided. But the Hon'ble minister is misleading the House by saying that Muslims are not coming forward to take up these posts. I would like to know whether the minister himself had not made two kinds of statements. On the one hand, he said that the Muslims are not prepared to accept the posts. On the other hand, he said that the Muslims are not performing well in the open competition. I would like to know which of the two statements made by the Hon'ble minister is true. I would like to know whether he is maintaining any record of the applications.

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

Firstly, will the Hon'ble minister place on the Table of the House the total number of communal riots from 1977, up to date, with number of casualties? I would like to know whether it is a fact that the attack on the minorities and the Scheduled Castes have increased during the last two years. Secondly, the causes look apparently small. But the incidents are fanned into flames of bigger proportion by interested elements, mostly political. Behind these communal riots there appears to be a political game. Why not the Home Minister is naming that organisation which is so widely known to be at the back of all these troubles? Why is he shielding the organisation? Thirdly, there had been an exodus of a large number of people belonging to the minority community to the neighbouring Bangladesh after the recent communal riots in Nadia district of West Bengal. Actually, how many of them have returned and what rehabilitative measures were taken by the government for the displaced persons?

Aligarh which is a centre of learning and education has been burning with communal frenzy and riots for about a year now and the government has failed to control the

situation. Why had not the local administration taken preventive and positive measures? Aligarh has a master plan to control communal riots. What preventive measures were taken and who is responsible for not sealing the vulnerable points before the flare-up? For example, what steps have been taken at Madargate, Upperkot and Shamshad Market, which are said to be the originating places of these troubles, to prevent bad characters or trouble shooters? If repeated communal riots are any index of the deteriorating law and order situation or the administrative incompetence, why should not the Home Minister resign? Aligarh is often rocked by communal riots. If you are not able to govern one city in the country, what right and what capacity you can have to govern the whole country? Who is responsible for all these riots? Is it the Home Minister or is it the officers? If it is the Home Minister, it is his duty to resign. If it is the responsibility of the officers, why have they not been sacked?

Do you think mere transfers will bring in the desired results? Is it not a fact that the increasing number of communal riots are clear writings on the wall that secularism has been torn to pieces? Why are the Home Minister and the Prime Minister not camping at the troubled areas like Aligarh to restore confidence among the people? What steps have been taken to win confidence of the minority community? They feel that they are living with a sense of insecurity. Why have peace committees not been fully vitalised and pushed into action for creating normalcy? Why have armed licences not been frozen? It is said that a number of people carry unlicensed arms. Why have these unlicensed arms not been seized by the government? It is also reported that bombs were hurled in places like New Market in Ranchi and in Jamshedpur. Some of the bombs are reported to have the mark of the army. How do the people get these bombs? Finally, Sir, will the Home Minister take this House into confidence and report if there is no hand of any foreign agency like the CIA, behind these riots?

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

**SHRI M. KADERSHAH:** But now it has increased.

**SHRI HM PATEL:** Please listen to me. I did not interrupt you when you spoke. You wanted answers and I am giving the answers. Thereafter there can be another debate if you like. The communal riots have gone on occurring. Mr Bhupesh Gupta gave statistics of several years. It is a serious problem, it is an endemic problem of our country. No government has, unfortunately, yet succeeded in overcoming it. It should be the duty of all of us to try and put our heads together to find answers and not merely go on saying why this is not done and why that is not done.

We should see what steps we have taken and the steps that we have taken have been narrated by me, they are there in the statement. In fact, I gave figures, I did quote figures to you and I will mention them again little later. So far as Aligarh is concerned, unfortunately it is very true that it is the one city in which there have been communal disturbances which have occurred, probably, more often than in any other city. It is true and, therefore, every effort is being made to try and normalise the situation there. The chief minister of Uttar Pradesh has been there. He has tried his utmost to see that peace committees are set up, mohalla committees are set up of the two communities, in order to see that disturbances do not take place. In fact, normalcy is returning. It is not as if there has been continuous trouble in Aligarh. After the trouble that took place last year there has been quite a longish period when there has been no disturbance, no trouble at all.

Then there came this question with reference to the Aligarh Muslim University Bill. Protests were put up here and some incident occurred at Dadri railway station which once again led to certain disturbances. That was not so much a communal disturbance as actually a trouble, it is said, between the police and the returning students. You mentioned about Shamshad Market etc. I may tell you that Aligarh, though it has a large University and a large number of students, unfortunately has no campus. A main street goes right through it which makes it difficult completely to keep out the so-called outsiders from it. In fact, in regard to the hostels the Vice-Chancellor himself admitted that unauthorised persons had been living in those hostels and therefore, when trouble arose they were not quite certain which groups started the trouble, whether the unauthorised persons who had somehow gone into these had done it or not. And, therefore, among the steps that he has taken now is to be very strict in the matter of those who are to reside in the hostels and to take firm steps in regard to that.

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

He also said that there was an exodus of minority communities to Bangladesh. There was certainly an exodus and I read out the figures, as given by the state government. I said that the figures were that somewhere around 7,000 persons belonging to the minority communities had crossed over to Bangladesh and subsequently till the 3rd of July 6, 6,977 of the Indian nationals of the minority communities had returned, and steps are being taken to rehabilitate them. You will see that a bulk of them have returned. He may be having in mind the larger figures which have been put forward by Bangladesh. It has not been possible to reconcile the two. Certainly if the Indian nationals go into Bangladesh, I can assure you that when the conditions return to normal, they would be anxious to come back to this country and there will be no hindrance, no difficulty, no obstacles placed in their way.

**PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE:** Sir, What are the interests that bring about these communal riots in various parts of the country? Dr. Zakaria quoted from an experienced police officer's comments. Therein a point was mentioned that the propertied people, out of economic rivalry—I am not quoting the exact words but only speaking from memory—create these communal riots. It is that point from which communal riots should be viewed that it is the vested interests who want that the common man should not come up. They try to weaken the common people economically by creating these riots between two communities, riots between different castes on parochial lines and in other forms. It takes different forms, Now the question is whether there have been any serious efforts to find out the forces which have been behind these communal riots.

The Home Minister has rightly said that the actual outbreak of the riots in many cases was over trivial issues; perhaps they were premeditated. I remember just after independence, in Calcutta there was a riot in the month of September, 1947. Nobody could say clearly what was the reason for the outbreak of the riots. When we were going about the city to propagate against the riots, to establish peace and peace squads, when shops were being looted by hoodlums, the then Police Commissioner, Mr. Chatterjee, with his police armed with revolvers was standing as an idle spectator. When we repeatedly pointed out why he was not taking any action, why he was not arresting the rioters, he said let it happen. That is another aspect which we must take into account.

My first question is whether any analysis has been made as to which are the forces which are behind such communal riots. Secondly, what has been the role of the administration and the police and whether any lapse on the part of the administration has been properly penalised? Take, for example, the behaviour pattern of the Bihar Military Police. I do not know why it is called military force. I have no idea as to why the armed constabulary of a state is called military police. Their behaviour at Jamshedpur came under sharp criticism. May I know whether any investigation was made and any action was taken against the erring policemen? Whether the same thing was done in regard to the armed constabulary, the PAC in Aligarh and elsewhere where these complaints have been made?

In West Bengal also, in regard to Nadia, so far as the attitude of the government there is concerned, the political will, I think, has been lacking. Our esteemed friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, does not allow any opportunity to have a dig at the leftist government. But in season and out of season it is his pastime to criticise other governments. Otherwise it is a moot point whether Mr. Jyoti Basu was ready to attend a particular meeting or not in regard to Nadia.

The Home Minister has stated that it was a culmination of the dacoities across the border. Now, what did our Border Security Force do? The riot in Nadia was quelled. Incidents occurred when two persons were killed. And various reports have come out. Whether 200 people came across the border or 2,000, the fact remains that there has been an explanation from the side of the Border Security Force that they were performing their duty excellently but that they were overworked and harassed and because of the rebellion of the CRP, CISF, etc., they have not been able to devote as

much attention as possible. Whether such lacunae, such lapses on the part of anyone in the administration or police was properly dealt with and action was taken is the question because that is necessary. I do not think that so far as the representation of all in administration or police is concerned, I am all for it and so as our Constitution goes, perhaps it is free for everybody to join any service or any occupation

So my specific point is whether the lapse in the part of the administration was properly dealt with. Two concrete suggestions I give. Joint bodies should be formed to keep a watch on the situation wherever any communal tension develops and there should be a link-up with the administration so that immediate action can be taken in the matter. We know that these communal developments break out in a very unforeseeable manner. Therefore, it is necessary always to be on the alert without allowing events to take their own course.

**SHRI HM PATEL:** Sir, it is perfectly correct that one should be always on the watch for possible danger signals with potential for possible communal disturbances. This is what I also mentioned in the statement I read out that we have written to the chief ministers to take special care about this matter and special care in respect of sensitive areas to their states to see that their intelligence organisation in regard to this matter; is properly organised that they get the earliest possible notice with regard to this. So far as the riot is concerned, I may say that in Aligarh, on the first occasion when the trouble took place, a committee has been appointed. Again with regard to the events in May, a similar committee has also been appointed to go into those occurrences.

In Jamshedpur, too, a judicial committee has been appointed. So in all these cases we always do try to find out how things happened, why they did happen, who was responsible, whether there was any lapse and, if so, whether that lapse could have been avoided and if any responsibility could be pinned on anybody or any group. So that is always done so that action would be taken. Unfortunately these inquiries do take longer than one would like. My Hon'ble friend seized upon some observation I may have made—I do not know in what context I said—that events must take their own course. I do not think I made it in the sense that.... I certainly was not saying that communal occurrences should be allowed to take their own course.

**SHRI SYED SHAHEDULLA (West Bengal):** Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, the matter has been elaborately discussed. So I will go over to the pointed references in the

statement of the Hon'ble minister. He attributed all these things to trivial occurrences. This was protested against by Dr. Zakaria also, though not with enough ground. Looking at the things one cannot say that they are trivial things that are occurring. Even imperialism goes deeper than this. He is only looking at the things superficially.

Then the second point is that he has always mentioned that it is a malady with our people and with our country. With all my strength I protest against the slander against the people of the country. About these communal incidents as has been stated by other Members also, he does not mention the political forces behind them. He will mention the people of the country, slander them, but he will not mention the names of the RSS or the Jamaat-e-Islami or other communal organisations. This he will go on avoiding naming the political forces behind these so-called trivial incidents.

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

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

Now some people say that the RSS people are encouraging all these things. The RSS is in the Janata Party now. They all seem to free the Congress of the blemish. But the RSS was nourished in the bosom of the Congress. It is only in 1936 that the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jana Sangh and the Muslim League were ousted from the Congress. The Congress had ceased to be the Congress which in its constitution had said that no communal force will be given any seat in the Congress. But even then we know from our past bitter experience how the secular forces failed to get better of the communal forces and how the latter had their day with the help of the British imperialism and the vested interests till the partition of the country. It is a sad story of the bourgeoisie failing to get a proper leadership.

Of course, I regret that our working class and its party could not come up to the task of fulfilling what the bourgeoisie failed to do. Now this bourgeoisie is putting the blame on the people of the country and all that. Well, the Christian came even before the Muslims came and the Muslims before they came here were traders. How did they get shelter in this country if this country was full of this malady? It is not so. I am proud of the fact that my country has a tradition which though not understood in the modern age as secularism, at least fits into the tradition of secularism, fits into the tradition of democracy. That tradition my country has.

So I will again protest against this thing. Even Shri Morarji Desai, the Prime Minister, has said that these communal riots have been there; but they have not been there always. I will not go into the details now. I know from my memory when I was a Congressman how I had to fight even the British officers. We had to unite the people of our place to fight back the communal forces that the British officers were trying to let loose.

I will not go into that in detail again. Yes, there are economic factors. Just as in the villages the Scheduled Castes are attacked for land, so also in the towns for shops and trades communal riots are taking place because earlier there were Muslim localities in central places in the towns and cities. But are economic jealousies sufficient to rouse the people unless political forces. RSS and the Jamaat are there... Some people are saying that they are free from all this.

The Jamaat-e-Islami had a conference in New Delhi when Shrimati Indira Gandhi was in power. It was apparent that the Jamaat-e-Islami was helped to organise the conference, and the "*Radiance*" came out with banners saying how the government had helped to organise the Jamaat-e-Islami conference. So the communal forces had never been isolated all these 30 years, and they have been in the body politic of this country. So far as the bourgeois is concerned, all the bourgeois parties have their share in organising these things. About chauvinism, we see in Nadia in Bengal "Amra Bengali". Anand Margis and the RSS all contributing to these things.

One sort of subjective chauvinism leads to another. One may attack a Hindustani Muslim in Calcutta and a communal riot may take place. These things occur in this country. If you go on campaigning against cow-slaughter and go on hunger-strike, the entire outlook seems to be similar to that of the RSS. So, you cannot say that the

entire thing is simply that helpless people are behaving like this or that. The entire thing is ensured by political forces. Not only the RSS but even Vinoba Bhave comes into the picture somehow or other however innocent his thinking is. The government talks of firm action. How many murders have taken place and how many people have been brought to book for murder of these men?

After all, many human lives have been lost and the perpetrators of the crime go scot-free. Because it is a communal riot somehow it cannot be done. Even the policemen seeing people burning houses do not take any action. They go scot-free. No specific case is launched. Where is firm action? We do not see firm action anywhere. All these 30 years how many people would have been hanged if specific action had been taken? How many people would have been imprisoned for 20 years, given life sentences if firm action had been taken? That shows what firm action has been taken. The merit of the police officer is not taken into account. The merit taken into account is how many bullet firings he resorted to and how many striking workers he killed. But the merit of the police officer is not seen in how many cases he tackled and prevented communal riots. So, he gets promotion on the communal riots. The more the communal riots the more the promotions he gets.

When Poland was freed, some imperialist power tried to organise riots. The new government said that the officers responsible for law and order would be imprisoned for two years if there was occurrence of riots. I will conclude with a few sentences...

**DR. VP DUTT (Nominated):** Mr. Vice-Chairman we are calling the attention of a crippled and crumbling government, of a very alarming situation which has arisen in this country. Unfortunately, with all due respect to the gentlemen occupying those positions, I will like to say that we have had a sleeping Buddha as our Home Minister and a holier-than-thou Buddha as our Prime Minister. The greatest failing of the two years of misrule of this Janata government has been to deal a virtual, fatal blow to the secular character of our state. There is no point in mincing words. I entirely agree with my colleague, my esteemed elderly colleague, who has just said, "Why are you afraid of identifying the forces which are behind this violence?"

We have no use either for Muslim communalists or Hindu communalists. I am as much against Jamaat-e-Islam as against RSS. The point is this Mr. Home Minister, if you will wake up for a few minutes politically and otherwise. Would you like to tell

us which is the greatest danger to the secular character of this country is? RSS or not? I would also like to say one thing. I want to tell you why I wanted to speak today. I had said a lot of things on this subject in this House before. I do not want to repeat them. I do not want to go into the history. I have quoted from judgments of commissions as to who was responsible for these riots. I am not going into that again.

Now, I went to Aligarh and what I saw was shocking. It was an eerie scene. It was not even peace. It was the lull of the graveyard. Some of us, my friends and I, political colleagues, we went to various mohallas. We talked to the people there. First of all, the very process of getting them out and talking to them was a task. I was wondering whether I was living in India or in a theocratic state of the 19th century or the 18th century. Not a soul in the streets. There was curfew. But the curfew had been relaxed at that time. Yet, we had to shout for people. Some children would come out and see who there was. Some people would speak from the windows. Some would look from the verandahs whether it was a friend or a foe or whether it was a policeman with a bullet or what was happening. And then, gradually, they were coming out and women wailed and cried. In one mohalla there was hardly an adult. All of them had been rounded up and most of them belonged to the minority communities. They were rounded up and taken to the prison. We tried to do whatever we could do at that time by trying to promote formation of peace committees and so on and so forth.

I would like to tell the Home Minister whether it was right or wrong—I am not going into that question—that the minority community in Aligarh has completely lost faith in the bonafides of the government.

I do not want to make a political speech and I am not making one. What I want to say is that when the whole community loses total faith in the administration that administration does not have any business to be there. That is what is happening there. What was being tried was to match up with the backlash of the majority community. The RSS hoped for the backlash of the Hindu majority community. The Jamaat-e-Islami is trying to make use of the same methods which the RSS has been adopting. As I said earlier, I have no use for both. But I know the gravest dagger is from these forces I have mentioned.

We went to the jail to see people who had been rounded up. I was ashamed that a seventy year old person—a Hindu—who had worked all his life for secularism and

against communal riots was in jail whereas another man who was one of the promoters for spreading hatred between the two communities was going scot-free. He was even going to the prison to give food to his fellows. Other respectable people were also in the jail whereas the *goondas* were out. I would like to know from the Home Minister—if he is there next week—whether he would go himself to Aligarh.

And whether he will spend a couple of days, if necessary a week even, and find out who were the forces behind these riots.

Secondly, I would like to say that one of the major problems has been the fact that there are people who do not want the Aligarh Muslim University Bill to be passed. Again and again I have been saying that the more you procrastinate over the Bill the more troubles will be there. Again, I would like to know from the Home Minister—if he is there next week— whether he would take steps to bring forward the Bill immediately with suitable democratic modifications and have it passed by both the Houses of Parliament so that this evil can be nipped in the bud. Thirdly, he was saying that Muslims are not coming forward. What steps have you taken in Aligarh for the creation of a mixed police force because there is no faith left in the existing police force?

**SHRI HM PATEL:** You cannot have a separate police force for each town recruited from that town. We have a police force for the whole state and recruitment to that force is open to everybody from the entire state. We shall make every effort to see— instructions have been issued on these lines—that all those who offer themselves are considered for recruitment.

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

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

**PROF. NG RANGA:** For that area.

**SHRI HM PATEL:** If that is possible, provided you have them. The Hon'ble Member referred to the crippling and crumbling government, and asked me if I will proceed to Aligarh, if I am here next week. I certainly would like to do that provided

my responsibility to the House does not prevent me from going there. If on every day there is a Calling Attention on various issues, I will have to be there in this House and then I cannot go. With your co-operation I may well be able to go.

[https://rsdebate.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/411651/1/PD\\_110\\_11071979\\_3\\_p176\\_p255\\_6.pdf](https://rsdebate.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/411651/1/PD_110_11071979_3_p176_p255_6.pdf)

**12TH JULY 1979: RAJYA SABHA: Communal riots in Aligarh and Jamshedpur.**

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH, SHRI F M KHAN, SHRIMATI SUSHILA SHANKAR ADIVAREKAR:** Will the minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state: (a) whether it is a fact that recently there have been communal riots in Aligarh and Jamshedpur, if so, how many times such riots took place in Aligarh and Jamshedpur during the last one year; (b) what were the circumstances leading to these riots; (c) what is the estimated loss of life and property during each of these riots; and. (d) what steps government has taken to rehabilitate the families of the victims of these riots?

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI HM PATEL):** (a) to (d) A statement is enclosed. The question was actually asked on the floor of the House by Shri Ghouse Mohiuddin Sheikh.

**Statement:**

1. ALIGARH: During the last one year, there have been three communal riots in Aligarh. The first communal riot took place during October-November, 1978. Tension started building up after a clash following a wrestling bout involving wrestlers belonging to different communities. On 5th October, 1978, a wrestler was stabbed. Following his death and forcibly taking away his dead body in a procession, communal riots broke out, leading to stabbing, arson, looting etc. The situation remained tense, but was slowly returning to normal. In November, there was a stabbing incident involving two persons belonging to the same community. This led to rumour mongering and was followed by incidents of stabbing and looting. During October-November, 1978 riots, 28 persons were killed and 79 injured. Property worth about Rs. 5.36 lakhs was destroyed or looted. When the chief minister, UP, visited Aligarh on 8-10-1978, he announced financial assistance to the tune of Rs. 5000/- for each person killed and Rs. 5001- and Rs. 2501-respectively to each individual who received a serious or a minor injury. The chief minister of J&K, who also visited Aligarh immediately after the riots, paid Rs. 5 lakhs for the rehabilitation of the riot victims. According to the available information, contributions amounting to nearly Rs.

20 lakhs were received from the various sources in the country. The Prime Minister had also sent a sum of Rs. 75,000/- from his National Relief Fund for providing immediate financial assistance. The government of UP has ordered a judicial enquiry into Aligarh riots in October-November, 1978.

The second communal riot in Aligarh took place in May, 1979 when on 9th May, 1979 there was a clash between some students of Aligarh Muslim University and the commuters at Dadri Railway Station. As a sequel to this incident, groups of AMU students went on rampage on 10-5-79 in the Civil Lines area and indulged in arson and other forms of violence. They set fire to a number of shops in Shamshad Market and also pelted stones at the police and the PAC. 5 persons lost their lives and 38 shops located in different localities of Aligarh were either burnt or looted. Total estimated loss is reported to be about Rs. 7.60 lakhs.

So far, 28 persons have been arrested. State government has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 3,00,000/- by way of financial assistance out of which Rs. 2,06,950/- have been paid to dependents of deceased and to the owners of burnt or looted shops. The remaining amount has been spent on repairs of affected shops.

The third communal riot in Aligarh took place in June 1979. According to the information furnished by the state government, the DM, Aligarh, had accorded permission to construct a cinema in August 1976. When the construction work was almost complete, a complaint was made that the proposed gate, on western side would affect the privacy of the houses of the adjoining Mohalla. The objections of the local residents were duly enquired into by the Entertainment Tax Commissioner and Divisional Commissioner. The state government after examining the reports from these officers and after satisfying itself that the objections of the local residents have been fully met, instructed the DM as licensing authority to exercise his discretion in the matter. The proprietor of the cinema was accordingly granted a licence. When the cinema opened on 17-6-79, a crowd of 300 to 400 persons assembled there and agitated a demonstration. The police resorted to a mild lathi-charge. This was followed by a series of incidents of stabbing in which Members of both the communities were involved. 14 persons were killed and 779 persons have been arrested. The state government has already taken steps to restore normalcy. They have declared Aligarh city as a disturbed area under the Disturbed Areas (Special Courts) Act, 1976. 8 localities have been notified under Section 15 of the Police Act for recovering cost of maintaining additional police.

2. JAMSHEDPUR: Jamshedpur witnessed a communal riot in April, 1979 The trouble started when the tribal people of Dimna Basti were refused permission to take out Ram Navami 'Jhanda' procession on a certain route. When the permission was refused, all the 72 Akharas which take out procession on Ram Navami Day, decided

not to take out procession until the question of granting permission to Dimna Basti people was resolved. This led to serious tension in the city. Leaders of two communities hammered a compromise for taking out a procession by the people of Dimna Basti avoiding sensitive residential areas. The procession in which a number of Muslims also joined was proceeding peacefully when one of the local leaders and a member of the state legislative Assembly insisted for the release of the priest who had been arrested earlier. The district authorities did not agree to this request. In the meantime, the procession was delayed and its size started increasing. It was in these circumstances that some brickbats, explosive etc. were thrown and the orderliness of the procession was broken up. As the news of the clash in the Mango area spread to other parts of the city, it led to fresh incidents of arson, looting stabbings etc.

According to available information, 117 persons were killed and 333 persons were injured. State government has so far sanctioned financial assistance to persons affected or families of the deceased to the tune of Rs. 19 lakhs with a provision of more money if necessary. The Maharashtra Relief Committee has sent a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs and has promised a further contribution of Rs. 5 lakhs. Tata Relief Committee has earmarked a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs. Thus, a sum of Rs. 62 lakhs-is available for relief and reconstruction work. The government of Bihar had already instituted a three Member Commission to inquire into the communal incidents in Jamshedpur during April, 1979. Though the intensity of the violence and its magnitude subsided from 16th April, 1979, stray incidents of arson and bomb explosion have continued because of rumours, clandestine meetings of the lawless elements. The state government has taken appropriate measures to contain the situation and to bring about normalcy.

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** I want to know from the honourable minister whether the Minorities Commission has submitted any report so far as riots are concerned. If so, what are the findings of the Commission? Have those findings been placed before the House? Secondly, in view of the fact that the Muslim minority has lost confidence and faith in the capability of the PAC and other governmental agencies, what steps have been taken to see that that confidence is restored? Thirdly, what steps have been taken to restore the means of livelihood of those people who have lost all their properties in the riots?

**SHRI HM PATEL:** I wasn't clear as to which reports he was referring to...

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** The Minorities Commission's findings.

**SHRI HM PATEL:** The Commission that was appointed in Aligarh in respect of the first riot, it has not started its work...

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** The Minorities Commission has been there.

**SHRI HM PATEL:** That is why I have asked which report you were referring to. The Minorities Commission's report was an interim report and it was sent to the state government for necessary action...

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** The Minorities Commission has sent its report both to the state government and the central government. ..

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please wait for the full reply.

**SHRI HM PATEL:** I am not saying 'no'. I have said it was sent also to the State government. The Minorities Commission is entitled to send its report straight to the state government concerned as also the central government, and the action that was to be taken and which could be taken has been taken. Not every recommendation has been accepted.

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** I wanted to know whether these findings have been placed on the Table of the House; otherwise, what is the use of these commissions? This Commission has become a puppet in the hands of the government. If it has no statutory powers, then it is of no use. This Commission is only an eyewash. It has only become an eyewash to all the minorities of the country.

**SHRI HM PATEL:** It has certainly not been laid on the Table of the House. I will consider his suggestion.

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** Why has it not been placed on the Table of the House so far?

**SHRI HM PATEL:** Because we did not consider it necessary for the reason that first of all it was not a statutory report in that sense. Whenever anything occurs the Minority Commission has a right to go there and submit not a report, but a set of recommendations for the advice and guidance of the government concerned. This is why we did not consider it necessary to lay it on the Table of the House. Now that you have made that suggestion, we shall consider it.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** He said he will consider your suggestion.

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** If you do not accept all their suggestions why did you establish the Minority Commission?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** What is your second supplementary?

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** What is the action they have taken in regard to PAC? What have they provided to the people who have lost all their properties and belongings in the riots?

**SHRI HM PATEL:** I have said in the statement itself that quite a considerable amount of money has been made available for the rehabilitation of those people.

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** What is this considerable amount? I want a specific answer. What is the amount you have given? How much have you spent on them? How many people have lost their lives? How many people have lost their properties? I want a specific statement from him.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** It is a big statement. Kindly go through it.

**SHRI HM PATEL:** The Hon'ble Member has not taken the trouble to read the statement which is laid on Table of the House. It says: When the chief minister of UP visited Aligarh on 8-10-1978, he announced financial assistance to the tune of Rs. 5,000/- for each person killed and Rs. 500/- for each injured person, and so on and so forth. The statement further says: The chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir who visited Aligarh immediately after the riots paid Rs. 5 lakhs for the rehabilitation of the riot victims. According to the available information, contributions amounting to nearly Rs. 20 lakhs were received from various sources in the country. The Prime Minister has also sent Rs. 75,000/- from his national relief fund. It seems he has not read this. It is a very lengthy statement.

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** What is the action you have taken against the PAC and other police and administrative officers?

**SHRI HM PATEL:** I would request the Hon'ble Member to take the trouble of reading the whole statement. It gives a very full account. If he wants anything further, I will be happy to give it if he meets me.

**SHRIMATI SUSHILA SHANKAR ADIVAREKAR:** The detailed statement the Hon'ble minister has laid on the Table, no doubt, gives a lot of information. But I would like to know whether the intelligence could give any information before the riot took place and if the intelligence had given you information before the riot took place, were any preventive measures taken by the government to see that these riots did not

take place? After the riots, has the government taken any precautionary measures to prevent their recurrence in future, such as, punitive tax, etc.?

**SHRI HM PATEL:** You are aware that we had a fairly long discussion precisely on this subject yesterday through a Calling Attention. A very detailed discussion took place and I indicated what the government did and how we tackle these situations. Communal occurrences are very difficult to ..... At least nobody so far has been quite successful in knowing that they are about to come. Nevertheless, we have requested the state governments to see that in sensitive areas they organise special cells for intelligence. As you probably know small incidents or something said, by any mischance if not scotched immediately, escalate and a communal riot of some magnitude develops. Communal riots are due to economic reasons and a number of other reasons. All one can say is that so long as our mental attitude does not change, I am afraid, there is no solution to this problem and this has not found any remedy for the last 30 years.

**16 SEPTEMBER 1981: SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176  
Reported findings of the Commission of Inquiry relating to Jamshedpur Riots of 1979.**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): We will now take up the next item, discussion under Rule 176. Shri Harkishen Singh Surjeet, I have to inform you that the time allotted is roughly about three hours....

**SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET:** Sir, we feel deeply pained to note that even after 34 years of Independence, we are faced with a situation that communal riots have become an annual phenomenon, that no year passes, when they do not occur in this state or that state. Now, Sir, the question has been raised whether this report is authentic or not. This report has been commented upon by all the leading dailies of the country. So far as we are concerned. Sir, there is no revelation in the report because I want to remind the friends here that immediately when the riots took place we came out with our criticism and understanding we wrote an editorial in our paper and we sent a delegation of Members of Parliament there who came and reported and whose findings were circulated to the papers. Our Politbureau also issued a statement. If I go into it and read it again, I find the assessment given by us at that time is fully corroborated by the important findings of the Commission, Sir, In the 22nd April 1979 issue of our organ '*Peoples Democracy*' it was written:

"What has been happening in the past week in the industrial city of Jamshedpur should awaken every Indian citizen to the grim situation, not only in that city, but throughout the country. While Jamshedpur is one of the worst affected cities to experience communal riots in the country, it is only a link in the chain of communal

and casteist riots. It was witnessed in Aligarh, Agra and a number of cities and villages throughout India, particularly in the North. All of them serve to remind us of the innumerable riots that overtook the country during the last three decades and more.

It is a shameful continuation of the inhuman carnage on both sides of the newly carved border when the independent states of the Indian Union, and Pakistan were formed in 1947. Every time such riots break out the monotonous ritual is observed; non-official leaders express sorrow and indignation and call for a "Communal consensus" to prevent further riots; judicial probes are appointed; government spokesmen promise 'firm action' against instigators. After this ritual is faithfully observed everybody goes home until the outbreak of another riot, in some place if not the very same one. What is required is not the observance of this ritual but the adoption of a new, sincere and determined effort to eliminate the root cause of communal tension. No amount of remedial action taken at the time of a particular riot or rendering relief to the riot victims, would cure the country of the malady—however important they are at the movement unless an intensive drive is organised to establish the superiority of secularism over communalism. Then another statement was issued by the politbureau in which we had stated very categorically about the incidents which have occurred there. In this statement we had said:

"The communal holocaust in Jamshedpur once again underlines the danger which the RSS constitutes to secularism and democracy. Delegations sent by all political parties, including the ruling Janata Party, to make an on-the spot study of the genesis and course of the Jamshedpur riot are unanimous that the tragic events that took place in the steel city were the result of deliberate planning and that the organisation that planned it was the RSS. As in other riots like Aligarh, the leading light among the organisers of the riot in Jamshedpur was a confirmed RSS leader who happens to be local Janata MLA. Reports of delegations making factual study of the Jamshedpur developments draw pointed attention to the omissions and commission of the administrative machinery.

While a section of the local officials were keen on rooting out the riots, others were working hand-in glove with the organisers of the riots. The Bihar Military Police (BMP), by and large, acted in concert with the RSS in the killing, looting, house-burning and other inhuman deeds -- all directed against the minority community. The Janata Government for its part failed in its responsibility in that even those in the political leadership who are not under the RSS influence felt helpless in the conditions of the internal situation in their party. The role of the Tata management in encouraging communal disruption should also be mentioned. The facts revealed concerning the Jamshedpur riots should, therefore, wake up every patriotic citizen of

India to the urgent necessity of fighting Hindu revivalism and disruption symbolised in the RSS.

Again, we sent a delegation of MPs and the delegation reported, I do not want to repeat the whole story, giving all the incidents which led to the riots on route No. 1 and all led to the riots route No. 14 and all that but this is what our delegation reported:

"As a compromise was sought to be worked out at this very time, and on the spot, the local MLA, Dinanath Pande, raised another demand the release of the Trivedi who had been taken into custody as a precautionary measure. He insisted that the procession would not move till this person was released. It was at this point that the brick bats began to fly. Thereafter followed the indiscriminate and inhuman attacks on Muslims in the city and widespread intensive attacks on Muslim bastis. The Jamaat-e-Islami, too, attacked a Hindu basti. In this situation, there were other elements ready to fish in troubled waters."

Delegation also said about the total failure of the administration. They reported: "Torn between its own duties and pulls from the top political authorities of the state and given their own caste and community inclinations, the local administration totally failed to tackle the explosive situation. And, as reported over and over again by different people to the delegation, sections of the Bihar Military Police, the general police force, etc. etc. also participated." This is what we had stated at that time.

Now we come to the findings of the Commission. All the leading newspapers have commented on it and I do not want to go into all the quotations given here in the report and the analysis made. But so far as RSS is concerned, on pages 31 to 33, a mention is made about the visit of Shri Deoras there and his speech which he has denied, but it is stated here that he said those things there and also subsequently at an open public meeting which he addressed. But I will come to that point later because it is not the speech alone, but his own writings. Even after this, there are sufficient writings which indicate the ideas which is advocating and propagating. It is stated here in the report:

"After giving careful and serious consideration to all the materials that are on record, the Commission is of the view that the RSS with its extensive organisation in Jamshedpur and which had close links with the Jan Sangh and the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, had a positive hand in creating a climate which was most propitious for the outbreak of the communal disturbances."

Then, again, about Shri Pandey, it is very categorically stated here: "The Commission, therefore, concludes that Shri Dina Nath Pandey was a member of the RSS, his

actions followed a line which was in fulfilment of the general scheme of the Hindu communalists of Jamshedpur and that they were also aimed at achieving the plan announced in the leaflet circulated by them. His conduct had, thus, directly contributed to the outbreak of the riot of Jamshedpur, on the occasion of the Ram Navami festival of 1979."

So far as administration is concerned, it is very clearly stated how it failed, how it collaborated. All these things are there. Then coming to elements responsible, it is on pages 108-110. There also, mention is made about the RSS, the different speeches, all the moves and other things. In the end it is stated: "In the chapter on the RSS, the Commission has already refer to the names of Shri D.N. Pandey, S.K. Prabhakar, Puran Singh, Ra-tan Lai, J.D. Patel and Banwari Lal Agrawal and the different incidents in which they were involved and have found that the hand of the RSS and Jan Sangh which is the political wing of the RSS is discernible behind the riot. Elsewhere the Commission has also held that the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh is the labour wing of the erstwhile Jan Sangh. The evidence established that Members of these organisations had taken active part in incidents which eventually erupted into the communal flare up. And in the nature of things, an organisation can work only through its agencies and Members."

These are some of the things which are stated here. Now I want to quote the reaction of the press, the comments made by some of the dailies of the country. The *Statesman* editorially commented: "It hardly comes as a surprise that the commission which inquired into the Jamshedpur communal riots of April 1979 has found the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh guilty".

Even at the time it was evident that the RSS camp held in the town a few days before the incident had created tension between the two communities. The Commission had observed that it was the RSS which had sown the 'seeds of hatred' by encouraging extremists among the majority community to insist on taking a certain route for the Ramnavami procession; this had not been allowed since 1970 as the route passed through a predominantly Muslim locality, again it has said, so far as the administration is concerned: "Firstly, it apparently bowed to political pressure (a Janata government was then in power) in allowing the procession to take the controversial route; secondly, sections of the Bihar Military Police acted in a shamefully partisan manner.... Then it goes on to say: "even though there has been earlier evidence of involvement of these forces in serious public disorder, they have not acted".

Then, Sir, the *Patriot* comments on this: "The preparations, the killings and the criminal administrative callousness are familiar to us who have watched Aligarh and

Moradabad and a dozen other towns. In Jamshedpur it was Mr. Dina Nath Pandey, Janata MLA, who led the rioting mob, in Aligarh (1978), it was Mr. K. K. Navman, RSS activist and Janata Party district leader, who was noted as a moving spirit." Then it is stated: "The Jamshedpur communal pattern has appeared with minor variations, year after year in one place and another causing death, arson and looting. This has inflicted deep wounds that continue to be borne with suspicion, sense of insecurity and fear turning into hatred." This is what is stated by the *Patriot*.

Then the *Times of India* has written: "The report of the three-man inquiry commission on the communal riots in Jamshedpur in April 1979 is a profoundly disturbing document-- It confirms the worst fears about the causes of the recurring nightmare. The commission has, for instance, censured even senior divisional and district officers for incompetence and worse, and returned against the Bihar Military Police the even more damning verdict of being 'in collusion with Hindu communalists.' An equally shocking part of Its findings is a clear indictment of the RSS, the Jana Sangh . and their trade union front, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, for fomenting communal tension and creating a climate in which the riot on the Ram Naumi day became unavoidable. The complicity of the RSS and its allies in communal riots has been a subject of heated controversy for years. Even when hinted at by commissions of inquiry and other independent authorities, it has been stoutly denied by the RSS and its supporters. Now the Jamshedpur commission has quoted chapter and was to press home the charge."

Then, Sir, the *Indian Express* has commented on this. While doubting the bona fides of the government in bringing this up in this moment, it has stated: "The RSS, however, will need to do a lot more of explaining to the public of its case. More effective will be a demonstration of the Sangh's readiness to make amends for any mischief committed by its Members. The BJP president, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, has done well to suspend the accused Bihar legislator from Membership of his party." This is what it states. And similarly a long article has been written by the editor of the *Hindustan Times* in which after nailing down the role of RSS it is stated that the administrative connivance has been there in relation to these incidents.

Sir, what is stated in this Report is not new. If one goes through the earlier reports of the various Commissions -- whether it is in relation to the riots at Tellicherry or Ahmedabad or the riots in August and October, 1967 at Ranchi, Hatia, Jaipur, Ahmed-Nagar, Sholapur or the Raghubar Dayal Commission or the riots of 18th September, 1969, Ahmedabad riots or riots at Bhiwandi, Jalgaon or the Mahad Commission of Inquiry -- all tell the same story. It does not mean that the RSS counterparts have no role to play. It does not mean that the Muslim communalism plays no danger. There also you find now the Jamaat-e-Islami during the last few

years has become so active; if you examine their documents, with the same slogans they are adding fuel to fire; and these counterparts of the RSS, are also creating a similar situation. When we go into the instances of minority communalism, the harm it does to the situation which is created, we feel concern and with it. And then. Sir.....

**SHRI (MAULANA) ASRARUL HAQ (Rajasthan):** What is the proof?

**SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET:** Wait. I will come to that. I will come to so many things. I am going to give you the suboot (proof).

Sir, in reality there are daily occurrences of these riots. Where the Report fails is that it fails to mention the real remedy and the real causes. Incidental causes, momentary causes are given and they give you the findings. But the real cause behind all these riots is that since Independence things deteriorated and now after 34 years we find that it is secularism which is being sacrificed in the country and the anti-secular ideas which are being advocated by various agencies are penetrating into the minds of the people, the youngsters and so on. These ideas are corroding democratic consciousness and ideas of secularism. And they are not only confined to those who follow the Jana Sangh. These ideas are affecting the minds of the people following the other political parties also. This is not so today only. I have got the experience of 1947 communal holocaust when I know that a few were left to defend secularism on both sides. And I am proud, Sir, that it was my party -- many of our workers laid their lives -- who defended the minorities on both sides. ....(*Interruptions*)

I will come to this. You wait. We supported and we opposed. But where were you? I will come to that later on. But what I want to mention is that the situation was such that they were in league with princes who were supplying rifles to kill the minorities. There were a few Congressmen left to defend secularism.

I know this because I was to protect Dr. Saiffuddin Kitchlu, the hero of Jalianwalla Bagh in Amritsar with 200 workers, and later was forced to come to Delhi because he was not safe at Amritsar where he had made tremendous sacrifices for the cause of freedom. I have seen it. That is why everybody has to search his heart, how deeply these ideas get infected.

Here, Sir, I want to just point out to my friends that they can deny this report, but they cannot deny the philosophy of RSS The *Organiser* is the mouthpiece of the RSS. And what are the ideas being propagated? I read extracts of an article which appeared in the *Organiser* of April 12, 1981 by Dr. Sadashiv Sanyal, a retired professor of Philosophy. What does he write? What are the ideas? And I will show the Jamaat-e-Islami is propagating the same idea and the propagandists of "Khalistan" are also

propagating the same ideas. They are creating disruption and they are creating a situation of disunity in the country.

Sir, it is stated in that article: "For a people living within a territory to become a nation, the minimum condition to be fulfilled is to have a growing aspiration to become a sovereign State. And when such sovereignty is realised, they become a nation-state". Then he goes on to explain that "during the British rule, India as a colonial State covered a territory that included Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan. The state of the Indian Union is now a sovereign State, after the Muslims got their own nation state. But the people of residual India are not yet an Indian nation. The Hindus are a nation, they do aspire to become a nation-state. And so do the communists, the liberal humanists (a la Mrs. Gandhi), the Christians (a la Mother Teresa) and again the Muslims. So they are all nations. India as a State is multi-national; so is it as a market."

The concept of the multinational country is not being advocated on the basis of the development of the society and the formulation of nationalities. It is being advocated on the basis of the various religious faiths in the country. It is said that on that basis these are different nations and on that basis it is multinational country.

The same ideas are being propagated by the propagandists of "Khalistan" and the same ideas are being propagated by the Jamaat-e-Islami. Again it is stated: "Criticising the present Indian State, it says that liberal humanists (have been) in power ever since 1947. We do not want them to remain in power. But how do they understand? "...have been exhorting the Hindus specially knowing fully-well non-Hindu non-liberals won't bother-to alienate themselves from their illiberal, inhuman Hinduism; but not only the Hindus but all the non-liberals, non-humanists would like to question the desirability of giving up their identities, self-respect..... value systems before obliging the brown sahibs and sahibas realising a dubiously modern State on the lines of their society and culture."

Then it is explained that "Hinduism is, historically speaking, the name of a total cultural system; logically speaking, of the total cultural system. The total cultural system is the open ideal system, which, when dynamically realised in history, appears to be a total cultural system at the given point of time, yet remains the self-same system." Then he goes on to say and ends up by saying: "to preach that religion and politics are mutually exclusive is to preach the liberal humanistic religion, it would imply that the State of the Indian Union need not or would not defend Hinduism from external aggression or internal repression and genocide. If the liberal humanist nationalists would tell the Hindu nationalists to don't get their Hinduism in public life and be liberal humanist in order to be good Indian, than they would be asking the

Hindus to cease to be integrated persons and would be driving them to dishonesty and schizophrenia, to doublethink and double-talk”.

Coming to the philosophy of Shri Deoras, I am not talking about the earlier things of Shri Deoras and Golwalkar, the *Organiser*, dated April 19, 1981, carries a speech of Shri Deoras. In the speech he argues about Hindu Rashtra and he elaborates the theory of Hindu Rashtra. He says, referring to the suggestion made by some people that the RSS should utilise the term "Bharatiya Rashtra instead of Hindu Rashtra", that the Sangh had no objection to that. "For us the words Hindu Rashtra and Bharat Rashtra are synonymous. However, why do some people insist on the word 'Bharatiya' in place of 'Hindu'? Probably, they think that the word Hindu lacks something and it smacks of something and undesirable. Will any self-respecting Hindu accept this and agree to its substitution? Secondly, those who insist on the word 'Bharatiya', though they do not actually say so mean it as a territorial concept. However, even when one uses the word 'Bharatiya', one will have to explain what it conveys. One will have to say that he who accepts Bharat as his motherland, and its ancient culture as his proud heritage, is a Bharatiya. And is not this Bharatiyata the same as 'Hindutva'? Thus in order to explain the concept of Bharatiya, one will have to come back to Hindutva. So what purpose is served by employing this roundabout explanation?"

Sir, I do not want to go into the earlier theories of Guru Golwalkar where he has praised Hitler and where he has praised racial theories all that he was advocating. Similarly it is these ideas which are being propagated by the Jamaat-e-Islami also in the name of Islam. If you want to know, I can produce a lot of literature about them. These are the ideas being propagated today by the advocates of Khalistan and so many divisive forces in the country. It is these ideas which are harming the unity of the country and the integrity of the country. What is being sacrificed in this is secularism. What is secularism? It is being understood as the propagation of all religions. I want to say that the first requirement of national solidarity -- because we talk about national solidarity a lot -- is loyalty to the secular idea which means complete separation of religion and politics.

Balasaheb speaks of toleration to other religions as the essential character of Hindus. Secularism, however, is not toleration of one religious group to others, but the determination of all the religious groups to make religion a pure matter of personal belief, and not allow it to penetrate the State and politics. Any political activity aimed at forging the solidarity of any religious group is thus alien to national solidarity. Secularism also means that the centuries-old organisation of Hindu society is completely modernised by cutting at the very roots of the caste system. The division of society into 'higher' and 'lower' castes, an extension of the original *Varnashrama* dharma of which the late Sarsanghchalak of the RSS, Guru Golwalkar, was an ardent

devotee is the bane of India, the biggest obstacle in the development of a modern secular society.

This, Sir, is not confined to the RSS alone. Even now what does the government do about it? I want to come to that point. If you go into the reports of various commissions, when they make mention, they make mention about the equality of religions, the propagation of all religious ideas, but they never make mention as to what is secularism and how to defend it. Without the propagation of secular ideas and complete separation of religion from the State, you cannot create a situation by which occurrence; of riots can be prevented in the country. That is why when it comes to the government, what do you find? They give patronage to these wrong ideas every day. Even now whenever ministers go to various congregations, when they attend various public meetings organised by such bodies which propagate obscurantist ideas, what do they do? Do they encourage the ideas of secularism? Not only that, since my friend asked me a question, I want to remind him that recently the Jamaat-e-Islami held a conference in Hyderabad. The Jamaat-e-Islami has given the slogan in Kashmir that Kashmir is not part of India. When the Jamaat-e-Islami held its conference in Hyderabad, unfortunately, Sir, the Prime Minister, who talks of secularism sent a message for the success of the Jamaat-e-Islami conference in Hyderabad. We should be ashamed of it. When one tries to utilise these occasions for narrow political ends, then secularism suffers. I would like you to find out who organised, who helped the organisation of, the Jamaat-e-Islami. You will find the state government also gave a tremendous help. This in fact increases the communal feelings. If you also want to adopt the same British methods, well, it is a different matter I want only to emphasise that secularism cannot be defended only by abusing some other parties ..... (*time-bell*).

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** You have taken thirty minutes. Please try to conclude.

**SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET:** I shall finish soon. Again I come to the media. I would like you to look into and examine the attitude on secularism; I am not only talking about the ideals of RSS. I know that there are many Congressmen, 80 per cent of them, who talk against RSS, but it is reality (that) their ideas are the same. I have found it not today; I have found it many times. That is what the position is. So I want you to examine what the media is doing. Do you find anything, any advocacy of secularism in the media? What it advocated there? I want you to examine *Door Darshan* and Radio. Everyday what is advocated is not secularism. That is why, when the report goes into the causes and gives a solution, it is a complete failure. This is not the only commission's report. You go into the library you find so many reports of so many commissions. And they are all a copy of the same when it comes to basic causes

and solutions. Some legal quotations are taken from here, some legal quotations are taken from there, but the operative part is the same, every report saying the same thing in the operative part, everywhere in mentioning RSS here, RSS there and in conclusions this should be done like this, that should be done like that. Everything is the same in all these reports.

There has to be a basic change in the attitude of the people. You go into the riots in Jamshedpur or in Aligarh. You find out what has been the attitude of the people and politicians. If you are honest enough, you will find out what the attitude was even of the Congressmen towards the riots. Did one of them come forward to defend the minorities at the cost of their own lives? That is what the ideas of secularism enables you to do. That is the sacrifice the secularism encourages to undertake. And this was what was done by us during those riots, during that criminal holocaust of 1947. That is why I say that this kind of a spirit is absolutely necessary. This is a very serious matter. One hundred and eight lives were lost in Jamshedpur, in an ambulance van scores of people were being burnt; the whole atmosphere is vitiated with hatred. In the name of religion hatred against people belonging to some other faiths is reached. If this is the philosophy you are advocating, then what is for you the value of humanity and human life? That is why I am raising this discussion seriously. Let us be very clear. I want to tell my friends who have association with RSS. These ideas cannot work. They will only destroy the human values of society; they will only do harm to the country. Let everybody have his own faith, free from any imposition. Let everybody be free to have his own faith. Our Constitution recognises full freedom for every faith. But at the same time they should not mix up religion with politics. These two things, religion and politics, should be absolutely separate. Religion is a means of communication between man and God. And let it be so. One should not be mixed with the other. Everybody must adhere to these principles. Today our country is facing a very serious situation. If we are not conscious, if these divisive forces are allowed to grow, then we will not be able to defeat conspiracies against the unity of the country. If the challenge of communal forces and other divisive forces is not met, whatever talks the Prime Minister and the Congress Party indulge in, apart from other problems which they have created, they will be creating still greater and greater problems for the country which will defy solution... (*time-bell rings.....*).

Therefore, with this appeal that all of us should imbibe the spirit of national unity, the spirit of sacrifice in defence of the minorities, in defence of ideas of secularism, so that we make the country free from the occurrence of communal riots and make it truly secular. I initiate this discussion.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Thank you. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am really quite.... about the explanation offered by the Treasury Benches for not having made this report available

to us. We have all agreed and we had shown our anxiety to discuss the report. We had also made a demand to discuss the entire communal situation in the country. It was because of my eagerness that I went to the Leader's chamber in the Parliament Houses and secured myself a copy of this report which was freely available to the ruling party. Dozens and dozens of copies were waved in the air, but not one report on this side of the House. So I went there and it was about 10'clock yesterday afternoon and from 1 o'clock yesterday afternoon to 5 o'clock this morning we were discussing something entirely different. We were discussing how to suppress the rest of the people in this country, not only communalists. Therefore, it was not humanly possible to study a document of this nature, authentic or otherwise. It was not possible to study it. We know why this matter has been brought up. It has nothing to do with communalism at all. The people who have asked us to discuss this report today, in their hearts, do not share the slightest concern for communalism.... I know exactly what their views on communalism are. To them communalism means benefit for their own community. And yet we know that this report is briefly discussed this afternoon because we want to divert the attention of people from more pressing issues before the country. There is nothing new about communalism in this. Nothing at all. Had the Members of the ruling party been serious.

They are concerned about human lives? Do not talk such nonsense. I hate this tin-pot patriotism, I hate this tin-pot nationalism and this tin-pot communalism. Do not talk of human lives. We know how much you respect them. Therefore, this is not a serious discussion at all. It is not a serious discussion because if they were concerned about communalism, they would have agreed to discuss the whole subject of communalism. Jamshedpur is not an isolated city existing in a vacuum. It is very much a part and parcel of a well-integrated society in which the dominant feature-- man-made and created by man and politicians -- is the enhancement of communalism, is to feed and breed communalism so that the government the ruling party or any other party, not excluding my own, collect vote for themselves. When it comes to elections, you want vote banks. But let me tell you that vote banks are only created by creating communal feelings. Otherwise, there are no vote banks.

**SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Tamil Nadu):** Also caste feelings.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Yes, caste feelings also. I used the word "communal" in the larger context. But I am glad that you corrected me every-time I talk about communalism, I also talk about casteism. Now, what is the main thrust of the ruling party? They want to castigate the RSS. I would like to castigate the RSS because the RSS is one element in the whole scheme of things which, I think, is not helping the cause of eradicating communalism. But it is not the only offender. It is only one of the many offenders. In fact, it is not the only party or organisation which lives on this.

There are any number, hundreds of them, in this country of every community. But they are not being castigated? Why? Because they do not provide vote banks. The RSS can be easily castigated because they are a very exposed group of people. Every morning you can see them doing exercises. They are not behind anything, in clandestine places, or in dark corners. I don't approve of them. But I would like to make one thing clear.

The RSS has been mentioned in any number of reports. The RSS has been mentioned in the case of Bhiwandi, many many years ago; the RSS has been mentioned in the case of Jalgaon; the RSS has been mentioned in the case of Manmad; the RSS has been mentioned in the case of Ahmadabad. I know that the RSS has been mentioned in the case of Aligarh, in the case of Moradabad, in the case of Godhra, in the case of Baroda, and in the case of Bihar Sharif. There are any number of places in the reports of which the RSS has been mentioned. But why is it that this government has done nothing about it apart from trying to raise a little political noise about it to increase and extend its vote banks? Why have they not done anything about it? The conclusion is only too obvious. The government is not interested in getting rid of communalism in any way in this country. The government stands to benefit considerably as a result of the communal feelings that are being fanned in this country. I am quite convinced in my mind, and I can give you incident after incident where I know that the communal riots have been created and engineered by the ruling party, wherever it found that it was losing its grip on the Muslim votes and this helps them to consolidate their hold.

I will give you one instance. I have forgotten the name of the town.... Yes, it is Modassa. In Modassa, there was total communal harmony. Unfortunately, Modassa happens to be just outside my constituency. I say this because, in my constituency, during the time I represented it, I did not allow any communal riots.

**SHRI P RAMAMURTI:** What is your constituency?

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Godhra. So, Modassa happens to be just outside my constituency and being very close, I saw it at very close quarters. A communal riot was engineered because the Muslims of Modassa were not supporting the Congress (I), and then came the question of compensation. In the payment of this compensation, amounts were fixed and it was decided that each one would be paid so much and that payment was made at midnight; on the day of the elections, just before the election day, on the same day in the early hours of the morning, compensation was paid. But for days they were left dangling and it was brought not by government officials or government officers.....

**SHRI SYED SIBTE RAZI (Uttar Pradesh):** It is a fiction, I think.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Sir, I have to say it with a very heavy heart that this RSS happens to be a God's gift to the Congress (I). (*Interruptions....*). For, without this RSS, I do not know what you would do or where you would go for your Muslim votes. I say this because I happen to know that every conceivable thing that you have done has damaged the Muslim community and it has never helped the Muslim community. The association of the Muslim community with the Congress (I) has been one of the greatest tragedies that has befallen my Muslim brethren in this country.

**SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK:** Shame, shame.

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** You have not visited all the places. You do not know their feelings. But they know this much, that you are making a political speech. Here is the verdict of the Commission that the RSS is responsible for this. You are killing them. (*Interruptions.....*)

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** If the Muslim knows who is who, you should know who is me. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:** You are an agent. (*Interruptions...*)

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Sir, we have a report here, an unread report. The people that are going to throw.... the other side have not read the report. May be, their office has done a little study and underlined a few passages for them, so that they can get up and quote it, like the other day what Mr. Salve did; the only thing he could read in the whole of the report that came to his notice was that immediately he saw the name of Balasaheb Deoras. (*Interruptions....*) They have not read it. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Salve, if you like to make a personal explanation, I will be ready to allow you. (*Interruptions*). I am allowing you to make it now.

**SHRI NKP SALVE (Maharashtra):** I do not want your charity.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Yes, unless I yield you cannot make it. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, this report is not likely to be read by them. After this evening they will sell it as 'ruddi' and make a tiny, little profit. (*Interruptions*). A profit which is denied to this side of the House. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** So far as the Jamshedpur report is concerned, let us look at the credentials of the author. We have there Mr. Jitendra Narain, a former Judge of the Patna High Court; it was headed by him. I believe that the Commission was appointed

by my party when it was on the other side. It is not the first mistake that my party has made. Nor will it be the last. But maturity will reach the ruling benches when they start admitting their mistakes. Unfortunately for the ruling party, they have sat with smug satisfaction for the last so many years and their leader says that she makes no mistakes and she is always correct. This is what has been responsible for the mistakes of this county. Mr. Jitendra Narain, it is reported, Sir, recently attended a meeting of the so-called intellectuals, organised and financed by the so-called Antulay... (*Interruptions*) for the purpose of 'strengthening the hands' of the so-called leader. (*Interruptions*). Now, he made a three or four minute speech in front of the august audience, in which the only point he had to make was that the hands of the Prime Minister should be strengthened. And, unfortunately, he thought that this was a contribution, strengthening the hands of the Prime Minister (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI SYED SIBTE RAZI:** We try to strengthen the hands of our Prime Minister and you tried to weaken the hands of your Prime Minister. That is the difference. That is why your government fell. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** I am surprised at this lucid analysis that the gentleman has hastily given. I did not think he was capable of it. (*Interruptions*). I may have weakened the hands of my Prime Minister, but I certainly strengthened the hands of democracy in this country. (*Interruptions*). And I would recommend the same medicine to you. (*Interruptions*). "The people have rejected your democracy:" this is a typical statement that illustrates the minds of all the Members of the ruling party. They think that democracy is ours, while dictatorship is theirs. (*Interruptions*).

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Will you kindly strengthen my hands by concluding your speech?

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Will you strengthen my speech by sitting back, leaning back and enjoying it instead of leaning forward? (*Interruptions*). Sir, there are causes as to why this happened in Jamshedpur of which all of you are guilty and some of us here are also guilty. There was a large hue and cry and all of you have contributed to it. It was about the Tata Zamindari in Jamshedpur. It was one way of trying to get at the Tatas. I have no objection if you get at the Tatas. I will help you. But the reality was that Jamshedpur was a beautiful city, a real source of joy and pride to us that an industrial city can grow in this fashion and then came the Tata Zamindari thing. The government took all the lands that were leased to the company. Sir, you will be surprised to know that the Tatas cannot build any living quarters, any staff quarters, etc. They cannot put up a fence. They cannot do anything in Jamshedpur to satisfy the needs of their employees for housing because every conceivable thing requires

government permission and you know what it is to take government permission. Mr. Antulay style....

**SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE (Maharashtra):** Everywhere you are seeing Mr. Antulay.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Every time I mention Antulay, madam, you get up. Therefore, Sir, all the lands are re-occupied by the government. Incidentally, Jamshedpur is the only steel city where land has been taken over by the government. Every other steel city or steel place is leased out to the company so that the company can develop it. Jamshedpur is the solitary exception because of the slogan of 'Tata Zamindari'.

Sir, where do these communal riots breed? They breed in bastis, in shanties, in unhygienic conditions, because the brains of the people who indulge in communalism are no different from those people from the Jhuggi-Jhonpri, from the slums and from the cess pools that we have allowed to grow all over this country because of the obdurate and obscurantist policy of this government which it has been pursuing during the last several years.

If you want an honest report on Jamshedpur, the root cause of it was that ever since the Tata Zamindari Andolan started and these unhygienic conditions have started growing in Jamshedpur. I happen to know Jamshedpur. My mother lives there and I have to go and visit it several times a year. I see it deteriorating in front of my eyes literally from visit to visit and the company, in spite of everything, in spite of the fact that they are not supposed to be in-charge of administration, are still spending, 3 to 4 crores of rupees every year in order to keep the services and to maintain them to the best of their ability under the restrictive circumstances that are imposed on them. It is this sort of atmosphere that creates communal problems. (*Time bell rings*) ...

Sir, I would like to take a few minutes more. There is an anatomy of communal riots and this anatomy does not change from one communal riot to the other. I will give you one single example which happened in my own constituency which will illustrate in nucleus how communal riots take place all over the country. A bus seat in a state transport bus, was sold twice to two individuals. It just so happened that the two individuals belonged to the two communities: the Shachis of the Muslims known as Sheikh Sahib and the other a Sindhi who came as refugees from Pakistan who had lodged there since Independence. Now, the same seat happened to be sold to them. They had a tremendous quarrel amongst themselves. They ultimately decided it amicably amongst themselves saying, "All right, let both of us go and wait at the back". They sat at the back. When they looked up, two opposite armies were facing

each other. Who created that communal riot? Mrs Gandhi, Sir, I remember once in the Lok Sabha, having mentioned that after all who creates a riot, is it the man who throws the first stone that creates a riot? For once Mrs. Indira Gandhi was very perceptive. It is not the man who first throws a stone that creates a riot. It is the faceless carriers of venom that go and spread the things in the various mohallas saying... And people pick up the first instruments that come into their hands and start moving in that direction to pick up a fight.

**SHRI SITA RAM KESRI:** Mr. Shahabuddin.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** You mean, Mr. Shahabuddin on this side and Mr. Kesri on the other side, two paragons of secularism will fight it out? (*Interruptions...*). Then, Sir, 25 shops were down and the firing had to be restarted to and four or five people were killed. Who started that riot? Sir, communalism is not a subject for making political capital. It is too serious a matter; it is a matter which will devour own country. And if you have any concern therefore for this country, don't use these excuses. I can appreciate one thing to divert the attention from Antulay...

**SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE:** Why do you....

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** I told you, you are bound to get up.

**SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE:** You go on talking about Mr. Antulay all the time.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** By all means....

**SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE:** Mr. Antulay is a Muslim. That is why .. (*Interruptions...*).

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Did you hear that innuendo, Sir?

**SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE:** We know your politics.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Are my politics anti-Muslim... whether my politics are anti-Muslim? (*The bell rings*). Anyway, Sir, I therefore, appeal to you. Don't use these subjects to divert the attention. I would not mention him this time. There are many issues on which you can castigate the Opposition.

**SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE:** That is why you made hangama scenes all these days.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** There are many issues on which you can attack the Opposition. There are many issues on which you can divide the Opposition. But, please, for God's sake, don't use communalism as one of the weapons of your armoury. Thank you, very much.

### **RAJYA SABHA DEBATES OVER JASHEDPUR RIOT REPORT 16 SEPTEMBER 1981. CONTD....**

**SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL:** Sir, at the outset, I may say that as far as the time is concerned, that is no doubt short, but the matter is so essential and important because... We have now the chance to get this verdict against the RSS which my friends on this side tried to prevaricate and Mr. Mody in his Speech in lighter vein rather was only trying to minimise the importance of this verdict. As far as the verdict itself is concerned, that the very Janata party which was in power that appointed an ex-High Court judge to be the Commission to inquire into all these things. Now that the verdict is against them they speak as if there is something wrong with it. They ought to have been bold enough to admit—as they have suspended Pande thinking that he is involved in it—that certain elements are there in this society in this secular India who are out to create these troubles. I lay special emphasis on this condemnation because I come from that part of the country, Jammu and Kashmir, which has the record of communal harmony. Under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, National Conference has been there since 1938 and not a single communal incident has taken place there. Even when we were fighting for our freedom, not even in those days such a thing has happened. It was the father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who came to Kashmir in 1947 while Sheikh Saheb was undergoing imprisonment at the hands of Maharaja Hari Singh. And at that time Mahatma Gandhi said that I see a ray of light in Kashmir. And it was because of that secular, socialistic and democratic set-up of India that we opted for joining India and opposed and fought Pakistan in three wars on the soil of Kashmir. Those are our principles. We adhere to those principles. Those are our convictions. But as far as the rest of the country is concerned, especially the northern and central India, this venom of communalism has taken a great toll of innocent Muslim life. Women, children, old and infirm people, simply because they are Muslim, or they were Muslim, Muslims are an anathema to certain particular persons in this country. Islam is an anathema to them.

As for patriotism, they do not hold monopoly in this. I would humbly submit, anybody can see the cases under the Official Secrets Act or other spying cases. Who are the accused there? Not the Muslims. It is non-Muslims. So, they do not hold monopoly. We have fought four wars; one against China and three against Pakistan. But still we have held to our conviction. Still we adhere to those principles. We get

pinpricks, no doubt, but we do not deviate from that path which we have chosen long since in 1938. Here in this connection, the first point is, I would submit, as far as my friends on this side are concerned, when my friend Dr. Bhai Mahavir says that this report is against Congress-I, then why they feel jittery about it? Why do they oppose discussion on this report? Why do they prevaricate things here, reading one sentence from here and the other sentence from there? We want the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. He just read one sentence. He should have completed the paragraph. When he was reading from that, he must have known that not a single Muslim came forward as witness. Whoever came as a witness was a non-Muslim. When a Commission sits, when a Commission of Enquiry sits, it does not summon all these persons by name. A general notice is issued that whosoever is interested and who knows something or anything about such incidents or about such holocaust may come forward. In this case, it was not that Shri Pandey was to be invited or he was to be summoned and so on. But you can see for yourself that all those persons who came forward and appeared before the Commission were non-Muslims and they spoke against the RSS because that is the truth. How can one hide the truth?

Now, take, for example, the role of the Bihar Military Police. What about that incident in which some helpless women and children, infirm and poor Muslims were put in an ambulance? Think of that incident. In that incident, the whole ambulance was burnt and all the inmates in that ambulance were roasted alive. Was it the action of the Muslims? Now, Sir, the basic trouble is the venom and poison of ... (*Time-bell rings*). Sir, I shall try to finish. The background has to be seen, the venom, the poison, of communal hatred, the intolerance and all that. There is one more thing which I would like to mention in relation to this communal hatred as against the Muslims, as against the Islamic countries. There are persons, there are some gentlemen, who advocate establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel, because, Arab countries are Muslim countries. They raise their voice against petrodollars, against oil and so on. But when they are asked to snap diplomatic ties with the Muslim countries, with the Arab countries, they keep back, they resile and they wriggle out of it because they know that they have to depend on these countries, it is only hypocrisy. The secularism they advocate is only hypocritical, it is just an eye-wash and it is only a window dressing. It is not reality. They are out to undo the Muslims wherever they find them.

Here, Sir, I will just mention one incident which will justify my point. This venom, this poison, of communal hatred is already there in the society. But the unfortunate part of it is that the civil services, whether it is in the centre or in the states, are affected by this poison. We have seen this in these riots. As far as the Bihar Military Police is concerned, this report points out about its commissions and omissions and they have pointed out that within 22 hours, they fired 108 shots and killed many innocent lives. Sir, I will not take much of your time. But my point is, we have to

think about some long-term remedies. Of course, everybody will condemn such incidents. But mere condemnation will not mean anything. Ever since the murder of Mahatma Gandhi, we have listened to such condemnations. But this has not brought about any improvement in the situation. What I suggest is that, as far as they, the Congress (I) Party, are concerned, they have got a trust from the people in 1980. It is you who have to learn the lesson, not the opposition; but the ruling party Members, the treasury benches, have to take the lesson from 1980 Muslims reported confidence in you and you are not to betray Muslims. As per your election manifesto you must give proper representation to Muslims in all services, especially in these paramilitary forces and in all services which are responsible for maintenance of law and order. That will create confidence among the masses, among the minority. That has to be implemented. If you do not keep that trust you shall have to suffer the same way—I will not name that party. So, you are to keep that trust and confidence. You have to gain the confidence of the minority community which is innocent and helpless. Therefore, as far as services are concerned, I would submit that due representation be given. It should not be only window-dressing, one person at the top and none at the bottom. I do not say, there should be any separate unit of any force of Muslims because that will only accentuate the problems. They should be given proper representation in all the services.

**SHRI P RAMAMURTI:** Sir, I am not going into the details of the report because there is no point in going into the details of the report. My friend, Dr. Bhai Mahavir, tried to find a lot of holes and contradictions in that report. But what I would like to point out here is, I wish that the discussion in this House had been much more serious so that we can find a solution to this problem. It is unfortunate that even after 34 years of independence, this problem, instead of mitigating, has aggravated. Now, Sir, let us find out what is the actual reason. I am not going too much into it. I would like to tell my friends of the RSS that if they go on protesting, the English proverb is there: The lady protests too much. The question is, what is the policy, what is the philosophy or what is the ideology that the RSS has been preaching to the people of this country? We are more concerned with that. The seeds of communal disturbances in the country are sown by the particular philosophy and ideology that the RSS people have been trying to preach in this country, and unless we are able to avoid that ideology, this virus cannot be removed.

Any amount of pabandi or any such thing on the RSS will not help this thing. So long as that ideology is rooted in this country, we will not be able to do that. Now, as far as this RSS ideology is concerned, somebody was talking about the Vyathayathil Commission report on the Tellicherry riots. I can talk with more authority on this subject for the simple reason that as far as my party is concerned, it has never been concerned with any riots and nobody can lift a finger against it.

Even Justice Vyathayathil said in his report: I have no doubt that the Jana Sangh has contributed in a large measure to the creation of communal tension in Tellicherry which led to the disturbances. The evidence goes to show that Hindus belonging to all political parties took part in these attacks on the Muslims. It is not disputed that none of the leaders of the Marxist Party took part in these disturbances. It is also in evidence that Marxist workers went in a car with party flag on the 29th evening and advised people to stop the rioting. That is the report by the Commission appointed when Achyuta Menon was the chief minister and Karunakaran was the home minister. Who did not visit that place? Now, Sir, that Commission has found that every party, including the Congress (I), was in that. Therefore, as far as we are concerned, there was a time in this country when Congressmen stood between the rioters. We had in Kanpur the great Ganesh Shankar Vidyarathi who sacrificed his life. Our party can boast that even in Jamshedpur.... (*Interruptions*). Even in 1978 we sacrificed; we had had many Vidyarathis who sacrificed their lives. Therefore, I am only saying (that we can say this. Now what is the reason for it? What is the philosophy there? I will just give you one or two things to show what it is, how venom is being spread among the young Hindu boys. They forget that when people were talking of the Indian nation....

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** What is the title of the book?

**SHRI P RAMAMURTI:** As far as this book is concerned—the title is *BUNCH OF THOUGHTS*. Mr. C Chandrasekharan, the under secretary of the Hindu Samrakshan Samiti, a prominent RSS worker in Tellicherry, says that Guru Golwalkar is the guide and philosopher of the organisation. Therefore, I am talking authentically. If I say it, somebody will object to it. But an organiser and a prominent RSS leader of Tellicherry said that Golwalkar is the guide and philosopher of that organisation. And what is the philosophy he has been preaching?

This is what we are concerned with. Talking of the Indian nation, he says: "They forget that here was already a full-fledged ancient nation of the Hindus and the various communities which were living in the country were here either as guests, the Jews and Parsis, or as invaders, the Muslims and Christians. They never faced the question how such heterogeneous groups could be called as children of the soil.... The Muslims were invaders. Therefore, they cannot be called as the children of India. They are not citizens of India. They can, if at all, be called as second class citizens of India... merely because by an accident, they happened to reside in a common territory under the rule of a common enemy." Just because they resided in a common territory under the British, how can you call them the citizens of the country, how can you call them the sons of the soil? This is the question.

Now I will give you some other things. At that time, the national leaders were trying to forge the national unity, the unity of all communities. I am not going into the question how far it succeeded, how far it did not and why it did not. These are questions on which there are differences between us and others. I am not going into those controversial questions. But the main question is; how does Guru Golwalkar treat us? After all, I had differences with Mahatma Gandhi in his approach towards this problem of Hindu-Muslim unity, but none the less none can question his sincerity, the sincerity of purpose for bringing about unity between the two communities and none can question the fact that here was a man who sacrificed his life in that great holocaust of 1947. We all pay homage to that spirit that animated him to sacrifice his life for bringing about peace among those people. What do these people say? What does Guru Golwalkar say about that? And all this was supposed to be for the achievement of 'Hindu-Muslim unity" and therefore of swaraj. This when we were talking of Hindu-Muslim unity for the purpose of bringing swaraj. He says, all this was supposed... "The credulous and freedom-loving Hindus believed in all that and prepared himself to sacrifice his Hindu-hood, all his age-old ideals, heritage and aspirations, as he was told by his leaders that without doing this Hindu-Muslim unity was not possible and without Hindu-Muslim unity swaraj could not be achieved." That is how he has scoffed at the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity. This is the whole philosophy with which he went on. One more thing. Our people submitted to the Muslim rule for more than a thousand years to the extent that even today we find people saying that Muslims were great and godly persons. Some even go to the extent of saying that we must destroy the statues of Hyder Ali of Mysore who jailed his Hindu king and usurped his throne, that he was an oppressor and that his son, Tipu forcibly converted countless people to Islam, demolished many temples and molested a number of women. To this extent the infatuation goes on. This is how the history is being taught here. The poison is being injected that the Muslims in this country of today are venomous and that their ancestors had molested women. Tipu, who fought the British in the early eighteenth century and who was one of the great patriots of this country, is depicted as the most rabid communalist and as having molested women. What else will happen if this venom is injected in the *shakhas* of young boys? Therefore, Sir, what I want to point out is that the RSS will not be able to render its bonafides to the people. However much it may protest and pick holes here and there in this report or other reports, the fact remains.... (*Time bell rings*). At least give my five minutes.

So long as the RSS is not prepared to repudiate openly the sayings of Guru Golwalkar no credence could be given to all that. That is what I want to say. Secondly, Sir, I would also ask the government of India what it has done about the agreement we had in the National Integration Council to co-operate with the government of India. I brought a resolution that this ideology must be fought together so that Indian people

do not become its victims. What is it that they have done? All such resolutions were adopted by the National Integration Council.

Sir, one more point. What are our media doing? Secularism does not mean preaching of religions. Secularism means separation of the State from the religions. Everybody has got to.... One can follow any religion one wants. We have no quarrel with that. But the State should have nothing whatsoever to do with any religion. We hear the media today. (*Time bell rings*). I am finishing. One sentence. Here is the (government controlled All India) Radio. At Tirupati (temple) it goes on in the morning singing the *Venckateshwara stothra*. Somewhere else it is reciting Quran and at yet another place it is singing Bhagvad Gita, and yet at some other place something else. What is this? The Prime Minister goes to these temples. Let her. I have no objection. But why are all these things popularised on the radio.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Mr. Koya.**

**SHRI BV ABDULLA KOYA:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is a pity that the Jana Sangh and the RSS have again been accused of persecuting the minorities, especially Muslims, after the guilty role in the assassination of our beloved Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, by no less a body than the Jamshedpur inquiry commission. Formerly the Madon Commission's report on Bhiwandi riots and the Reddy Commission on Ahmedabad riots accused the RSS. Some of us who have direct knowledge of the role of the RSS in the country have been trying to focus the attention of not only the government but also the good, peace-loving people of India on, the treacheries and anti-Indian activities of the RSS and the Jan Sangh. There is a well-rooted conspiracy in India to work against the secular nature of our Constitution by calculated, well organised methods of riots, arson, plunder, etc. This is what has been happening in every part of the country one after another. In my own state of Kerala, where the Muslims, Hindus and Christians live in a most tolerant and brotherly manner, we had an unfortunate situation a few years ago, as mentioned by many of our friends, at Tellicherry when Muslims lost their houses, mosques and shops, marked specially for such destruction by RSS volunteers brought from outside.

If there is any wise-full purpose to be served by such commissions, the government should take all kinds of remedial measures. First of all, adequate representation should be given to the minorities in the police, army and other paramilitary forces and even in government services. The culprits, whether they are in government or otherwise, should be suitably punished. The victims should be compensated adequately and without delay. Ample security measures should be taken in the trouble-spots by arresting all the goonda elements and disbanding communal minded security forces like the Bihar Military Police. Lastly, a new system of education should be imparted

among the students, teaching them religious tolerance, character-building and the life histories of the great men of all religions. I hope that these remedial measures which I have suggested will not be objected to even by my friends like Mr. Advani.

Let me say a few words about Jamaat-e-Islami. I for myself do not agree with the policies of the Jamaat-e-Islami. But I find that whenever the RSS and the Jan Sangh are accused of creating violence of something like that, the Jamaat-e-Islami is also brought in. But I do not find anything against them by any commission whatsoever. It was a mistake on the part of Mr. Piloo Mody to criticise Shri Jitendra Narain who acted as the head of the commission. Because it suited him, he has accused Mr. Jitendra Narain. Unfortunately he has forgotten the most important part that his own government was a party to the appointment of this commission.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA (MOS HOME) REPLY TO THE DEBATE:**

Sir, all those who spoke have gone now and nobody is here to hear the reply. Sir, in this discussion on the reported findings of the Commission of Inquiry relating to the Jamshedpur riots of 1979 seventeen speakers have participated and almost all of them have quoted extensively from the report. You can do anything; you can do any bloody thing. You are not dependable and you are not reliable. That is why they do not rely on you excepting Mr. Piloo Mody who wanted this Zamindari to be banned.....

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** Sir, how far it is possible for me to quote from this report I do not know. Of course, I have got the report officially. But since it is not laid on the table of the House it is a secret document for me. So it is not possible for me to quote anything from the report. But I have to rely upon the quotations given by the speakers from the report itself. Sir, the first speaker who spoke, Shri Harkishen Singh Surjeet made many points and analysed the situation in the country and the communal tension in the various parts of the country. But, at the same time, he also made some allegations. I thought that he would confine his speech only to the report and about the findings of the Commission. But he went to the extent of saying that the Prime Minister of the country is also associating herself with communal organisations like the Jamaat-e-Islami by sending a message to its Hyderabad conference. It is far from the fact to say like that, because she sent the message to the 1500<sup>th</sup> Hijri Celebration organised by the Celebration Committee at Hyderabad and she does not send a message to the Jamaat-e-Islami Conference. This is just by way of clarification to the Hon'ble Members.

The next speaker was Mr. Piloo Mody. Sir, I can understand his agony. When he was speaking, he was vomiting anger. I can understand his agony because he was very badly defeated in Godhra, and I was the man who was campaigning against him during those days from the Congress (I) side, our candidate won and he was defeated.

Ultimately he blamed the Congress Party that the Congress incited the Muslims of Modassa. But, Sir, it is only because he lost the election in Godhra. Then, many other Members have participated in the debate and they have made many points from the report. But I would not like to go through it. But I would like to reply to some of the points which they have put to me by way of questions.

Dr. Bhai Mahavir pointedly asked me a question as to why the Commission appointed to enquire into the riots of Aligarh was wound up by the Congress government. Sir, this Commission was appointed in 1978, and they were expected to submit a report within four months. With that condition the Commission was appointed. But they did not submit the report and went on seeking extensions, one after another, and in April 1980 again they came with a request for extension up to 18 months. They had completed 18 months already. They had to examine 200 witnesses. Out of 200 witnesses, during the course of one and a half years they examined only 8 witnesses and they wanted to continue as if it is to be continued for ever. That has created a situation where the atmosphere became tense and, therefore, it was thought necessary that the government should wind up that Commission because the Commission was not able to submit its report in time. After inquiry, against those who were found culprits action will be taken by the government, so far as Karpuri Thakur matter is concerned, Sitaram Kesri Ji has already clarified that it was not the Congress (I) party but the Janata Party which removed Karpuri Thakur.

**SHRI ABDUL REHMAN SHEIKH:** But Congress (I) supported the Sundar Das Ministry.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** Mr. Sheikh has put a question pointing out that in all the Commissions of Enquiry, whether it is Bhiwandi Commission or other commissions, there is a specific finding that the RSS is involved in all these riots and what action the government has taken against the RSS people. These commissions are appointed by the state governments and it is for the state government to take action against those who are involved in the communal riots. They have taken action against individuals who were found involved in the riots. There is no action taken by the state governments against the organisation as such.

Recently, we have informed the state governments about the RSS organisation. I will come to that later on. He said that the government had imposed collective penal tax on a village which had helped the victims of the riots. I want to know the name of the village which was involved in the attack on the Muslims and of those who helped so that I can write to the state government. The Hon'ble Member can give the names to me so that I can write to the state government and then they can take action on that. He also asked about the anti-riot force which was announced by the government.

Eight battalions have been created for easing communal tension and for tackling communal riots. Whenever there are communal riots, these battalions go into action. Care has been taken to recruit Members of the minority community also in these battalions. Scheduled Castes are also there because they have reservation. Shri Yogendra Sharma pointedly asked about the ban on the RSS and the action taken by the government. I have already replied on the 7th May, 1981. I would like to read here what I said at that time so that the Hon'ble Members can know about it. I said: "In the interest of minimising communal tension and preventing communal disturbances, the state governments were advised to consider the imposition of restrictions on the holding of RSS *shakhas*, particularly in public places like parks, school buildings, etc. through the judicious exercise of powers confided by law, particularly in areas which are known to be communally sensitive or prone to communal disturbances. Subsequently in the light of some orders issued by the government of Uttar Pradesh and Kerala and the provisions of Section 7 of the Assam (Maintenance of Public Order) Act, other state governments were advised to consider either amending the respective Police Acts on the lines of the Kerala amendment, or incorporating in the Public Security Act, if any, a provision analogous to that of Section 7 of the Assam (Maintenance of Public Order) Act or issuing instructions on the lines of those issued by the government of Uttar Pradesh for banning the holding of RSS *shakhas* in public places or in the premises of educational institutions run or aided by the government or local bodies. In the context of these suggestions, the state governments of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan have indicated that they are seized of the matter. The state governments of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and Manipur have indicated that they have in view the question of legislating on this subject. In the case of Haryana, the state government do not consider a ban to be necessary in the state at present. However, the state governments are alive to the situation for taking appropriate action when the situation demands it."

The state governments of Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Tripura have stated that appropriate instructions as considered necessary by them have been issued to the subordinate authorities. The state government of Meghalaya feel that the provisions of Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1953 as adopted by the government of Meghalaya are sufficient to meet the requirements. The state government of Nagaland, Sikkim and West Bengal have also considered these suggestions and are of the view that no specific steps in this regard are required at present. This is, Sir, so far as the RSS banning is concerned.

Sir, the Hon'ble Member has also put a question about the National Integration Council. In the meeting of the National Integration Council it was decided that the Information and Broadcasting Ministry should be requested to see that they can broadcast such programmes which can remove the communal tension and bring

communal harmony. The Information and Broadcasting Ministry has issued orders for the active involvement of Radio, TV, etc. for communal harmony.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** The Home Ministry has also written to the Films Division for producing such films which can help in the communal harmony. (*Interruption*). I will complete now. I know that everybody is tired. Sir, Mr. Gupta was just referring to the '*Bunch of Thoughts*' which was also quoted by Mr. Ramamurti. He said that the '*Bunch of Thoughts*' is nothing but a history book. If it is a history book, then I will say that it is a distorted history because of description and the paragraph about Tipu Sultan, which Mr. Ramamurti read, is far from the facts. Sir, recently I came across a book, "The Sword of Tipu Sultan", it is written by Mr. Gidwani and he is a Hindu writer. And in that book he has described how Tipu Sultan was a patriot, how he saved the Hindus as well as the Muslims. He helped not only the people of this country but also the foreigners particularly the ladies who were caught by the army. He helped them and sent them to their respective countries. So, if such a patriot is described as a staunch Muslim and that he had molested the women, nobody will believe it. Sir, I do not want to say many things about this report. But whatever questions the Hon'ble Members have raised, I tried to reply and I hope that they are satisfied.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** The House stand's adjourned sine die.

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**23<sup>rd</sup> NOVEMBER 1978. Article captioned 'Aligarh and after'.**

**SHRI BHISHMA NARAIN SINGH:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state: (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to an article captioned "Aligarh and after" appearing in the '*Indian Express*' of the 18th October 1978, apportioning blame on some central agencies for their inability to foresee the Aligarh riots; and (b) if so, what is government action thereto?

**(Written Answer) THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI DHANIK LAL MANDAL):** (a) Yes, Sir. In the article, a blame has nowhere been apportioned on any central agency; (b) Does not arise.

**6<sup>th</sup> December 1978 Minorities Commission's suggestion on autonomy for the Aligarh Muslim University:**

**SHRI RABI RAY:** Will the Minister of EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE be pleased to state: (a) whether it is a fact that the Minorities Commission has suggested to the government to restore autonomy to the Aligarh Muslim University; (b) if so, what are the details of the suggestion made; and (c) what is government's reaction in this regard?

**THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER):** (a) and (b) The Minorities Commission, in order to give full autonomy to the University and to make the Court democratic has made the following suggestions: (1) The representation of the Faculty, other than professors, on the Court should at least be equal to the number of professors on the Court; (2) No representation has been given for the several hundred non-teaching employees of the University on the Court and these provisions should be reviewed; (3) AU elections should be held by the system of single transferable vote instead of by simple majority; and (4) The constitution of Teachers' Association and other staff associations should be prescribed by the teachers/staff themselves instead of by the Ordinances. The Bill amending the Aligarh Muslim University Act is before Parliament. Appropriate amendments of the Bill in the light of the suggestions of the Minorities Commission, if necessary, may be introduced by Government.

(19 March 1979: Rajya Sabha: Report of the Minorities Commission on the Aligarh Muslim University (Amendment) Bill, 1978 and related papers. (Placed in Library. See no. LT-4103/79).

**Report of the Minorities Commission (for the period from 1st January, 1981 to 31st March 1982) of the Minorities, Commission and related papers**

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI RAM DULARI SINHA):** Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy (in English and Hindi) of the Fourth Annual Report of the Minorities' Commission for the period from 1st January, 1981 to 31st March, 1982, together with Memorandum of action taken thereon [Placed in Library. See No. LT8356[84]

**19 February 1981: Recommendations of Minorities Commission regarding Riot Victims**

**SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT, SHRI JK JAIN:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state; (a) whether it is a fact that the Minorities Commission has recommended that riot victims or their survivors should be given generous cash assistance by government; (b) if so, the salient features of the recommendations; and (c) what is government's decision thereon?

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA):** (a) and (b): The Minorities Commission has recommended that adequate monetary assistance should be given to the victims of communal riots to enable them to rebuild their houses, shops burnt or looted during the riots, and to victims who are killed as a result of the injuries during the riots. The families of those whose earning Members are killed should also be given adequate monetary assistance to enable them to maintain themselves and in addition employment should be provided to one member of each of the affected families. (c) A scheme to speed the process of rehabilitation of victims of communal riots, in the light of the recommendation of the Minorities Commission, is under consideration of government.

**5TH MARCH 1981: RAJYA SABHA: Recommendations of the Minorities Commission.**

**SHRI BD KHOBRADE, SHRI FM KHAN:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state: (a) whether government have received the recommendations, of the Minorities Commission; (b) if so, what are the details in this regard; and, the question was actually asked on the floor of the House by Shri B. D. Khobragade. (c) whether government have accepted the recommendations, if so, by when these are likely to be implemented?

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA):** (a) to (c) The Minorities Commission have so far submitted two Annual Reports for the year ending 31st December 1978 and 31st December, 1979 respectively. Both these Reports along with the Action-Taken-Memoranda were placed on the Table of the House on the 9th July, 1980 and 22nd December, 1980, respectively.

**SHRI BD KHOBRADE:** Sir, I am not putting the supplementary but my first objection is that I had asked the question about the 1980 report because it was supposed to be presented to the government very recently and my question referred to that. My question was whether the 1980 report has been submitted to the government or not? There is no reply to that.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** He has said that the report along with the Action-Taken-Memoranda has been placed on the Table of the House. What remains?

**SHRI BD KHOBRADE:** Sir, I am talking about the 1980 report.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I do not think you have seen what has been laid on the Table of the House.

**SHRI BD KHOBRAGADE:** Sir, my question is whether the Chairman of the Commission has submitted the report for 1980 and, if so, what are the recommendations thereof. And, if not, when it will be submitted?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The answer is there that it has been laid on the Table of the House.

**SHRI BD KHOBRAGADE:** Sir, 1978 and 1979 reports have been placed on the Table of the House. My question is whether the report for 1980 has been submitted by the Commission to the government and, if so, what are the recommendations thereof and whether that report will be placed on the Table of the House? And, one more thing that I want to know is, why the Chairman of the Commission, Justice Ansari, has been removed from the chairmanship?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** That is a different matter.

**SHRI BD KHOBRAGADE:** I want to know, if it is a fact, why has he been removed from the chairmanship before submitting the report for 1980 and what are the reasons for that.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** The report for 1980 has not been received so far.

**SHRI BD KHOBRAGADE:** Sir, my second supplementary is to what extent the recommendations that were made in the 1978 and 1979 reports have been implemented?

For example, Sir, I understand that there were certain recommendations made regarding the representation of minorities in government services, and I understand that the representation of minorities in government services is negligible, and in that case what steps have been taken in view of the reports of the Minorities Commission to implement the recommendations contained in these reports and get due and adequate representation for the minorities? That is my first question. And, secondly, what are the reasons for removing Mr. Justice Ansari from the chairmanship of the Commission.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** That does not arise.

**SHRI BD KHOBRAGADE:** ...before the end of his term.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** Sir, so far as Justice Ansari is concerned, he has not been removed. He completed his tenure.

**SHRI BD KHOBRA GADE:** He is wrong. The statement is wrong.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** After completion of the term...

**SHRI BD KHOBRA GADE:** He has still to complete five months of service. He has not completed his tenure and, therefore, this statement is wrong. Sir, I think the Hon'ble home minister can reply that correctly.

**SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN:** Mr Chairman, apart from the Annual Reports of the Commission, the Commission has been submitting a very large number of ad hoc reports from time to time to the government on matters of public concern, on specific subjects, problems and incidents. Those reports have never been tabled before the House, and they contain many important conclusions and recommendations. I would like to know from the Hon'ble minister the reason why these reports have not been tabled before the house, and the status of those conclusions and recommendations. Also, Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out to the Hon'ble minister that in other commissions, when a sitting member is appointed as the Chairman, the Chairmanship is counted as a separate term all together, not as continuation of the Membership, and I think Mr. Minister would be wise to check that position with regard to UPSC and other similar bodies.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** Sir, the reports, special and official, have been referred to in the Annual Report of the Commission itself and the Action Taken Memorandum also...

The ad hoc reports and other reports submitted by the Commission are also covered in the Annual Report and the Action Taken Memorandum shows it. It has been clearly stated in the resolution appointing the Commission, which also laid down the terms and conditions of the Commission, that the Commission will submit, an Annual Report to the President detailing its activities and recommendations. The Annual Report together with the Memorandum outlining the action taken on the recommendations and explaining the reasons for non-acceptance of the recommendations, if any, insofar as they relate to the central government, will be laid before each House of Parliament. Hence, in terms of this resolution, it is already placed on the Tables of both the Houses of Parliament.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Now, Sir, the reports are submitted and the memoranda relating to the action taken on them are also given. But it does appear that when it comes to actual practice, these things are not implemented. What is conveyed to the

House is the decision of the government as to the action they think they have taken. Now, Sir, many of these recommendations are important. I know, for example, when my friends were there in the government, the Janata government... He is already smiling. The moment I mention Janata government, he thinks he has got a debating point. But it is true. In December, it was found out that the interim report of the Minorities Commission relating to the Aligarh riots of December, 1978, was not only not implemented, but was not even published and made known and it was only under pressure from Members of Parliament and others that the report was ultimately made known. Taking advantage of a supplementary, the Home Minister delivered an undelivered lecture, which has nothing to do with the subject at all. I am not doing that. All I ask is, is the government aware that these decisions they take are not implemented, that in some cases, even some of the things are suppressed, as was done in the case of the interim, report of Mr. Ansari? Ever since Mr. Ansari gave them that interim report, on the Aligarh riots, he seems to have incurred the displeasure of some people -- I am not saying they were at that time in the government; I am not, interested in them... incurred the displeasure of some people, communal minded and others, may be, and, Sir, many of the things have not gone as they should have. Do I have, an assurance from the government that whenever such reports are given, action will be taken on them? Government should not only notify the House through a memorandum all the decisions they have taken, but tell us how exactly these decisions are being implemented and the real importance lies in the implementation. Many good decisions the government has taken. Recommendations are also good sometimes, very often, but unfortunately, they are not implemented at the lower level at which they should be implemented. Why are the PAC recommendations not being recommended? Didn't the Minorities Commission make some recommendations about the police?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Will you come to your question?

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** When I ask a question, you say, do not ask the question. Why has the recommendation of the PAC Uttar Pradesh not been implemented?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** That is the question.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** Sir, there are certain matters which pertain to the state government. So far as the recommendations which pertain to the state government, we have to send them to the state government for taking necessary action. The report on communal disturbances in Aligarh we have already sent it to the UP government for taking necessary action.

**SHRI BD KHOBRADE:** This is wrong.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** Sir, so far as the recommendations of the Commission are concerned, they are of a recommendatory nature.

**SHRI BD KHOBRAGADE:** Are they unanimous?

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** All are recommendatory. They have no executive power. So far as the tenure of the Commission is concerned, the resolution is very clear. It is given that it is to be three years' tenure for a member and chairman. So, Mr. Ansari had completed his three years' tenure.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** But that you have already said.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** So far as difference of opinion between the Members is concerned, the government is not aware about it. We are concerned with the report which we received from the Commission.

**SHRI BD KHOBRAGADE:** The reply of the Hon'ble minister is very vague. He must clearly mention whether the report that he has received was unanimous and approved by all the Members.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** It was not unanimous.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Last question, Mr. Dhabe.

**SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE;** Mr. Chairman, Sir, may I know from the minister the date of appointment of the Chairman. Mr. Ansari? Secondly, may I know whether the Commission has got any executive status and also whether it has submitted any ad hoc or interim report as has been mentioned by Shri Shahabuddin? I would like to know how many reports, whether ad hoc or interim, have been submitted. Also, will you assure this House that you will provide us with the list of such reports and also lay them on the Table of the House?

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** So far two reports have been submitted and both the reports have been laid on the Table of the House along with the Memorandum of action taken.

**SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE:** I asked about ad hoc reports and also about the date of appointment of Chairman. I asked whether the Commission has got statutory executive status.

**SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:** No.

**30 APRIL 1981, RAJYA SABHA: Minorities Commission report on Moradabad Disturbances:**

**SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state: (a) whether it is a fact that the Minorities Commission visited Moradabad on 28th, 29th October, 1980 and submitted a report to government; (b) whether it is also a fact that the report rejects the local administration's theory of premeditated and deliberate intention on the part of the minorities community to attack the police and to create a disturbance; (c) whether it is also a fact that the report found the official figures of casualties as not correct; (d) whether it is also a fact that the report found the PAC guilty of weapon killing, injuring and looting of Muslims and recommended the PAC should not be deployed in sensitive situation until it is reorganised and reconstituted; and (e) if so, what follow-up action has been taken by government in this regard?

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA):** (a) "The Minorities Commission visited Moradabad on the 28th and 29th October, 1980. The Commission, however, has not submitted any report to government so far; (b) to (e) Do not arise.

**14 SEPTEMBER 1981: RAJYA SABHA: REFERENCE TO THE REPORTED FINDINGS OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON THE COMMUNAL RIOTS IN JAMSHEDPUR IN APRIL, 1979.**

**SHRI NKP SALVE (Maharashtra):** Sir, two news items have appeared in different newspapers today and these caused grave concern throughout the country. One of them is about a report which refers to the heinous crimes committed by RSS... (*Interruptions*) in instigating passions and creating frenzy... (*Interruptions*). Why he is so much perturbed, may I know. . .

**SHRI LAL K ADVANI:** Let there be a full discussion, we have no objection . . . (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Uttar Pradesh):** It is a manipulated report... (*Interruptions*). There is manipulation.

**SHRI LAL K ADVANI:** Let the report be laid on the Table . . . (*Interruptions*)

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Please take your seats. That report, I am told, is perhaps with the state government and it has to be laid on the Table of their House, I do not know. I do not know whether it is here... (*Interruptions*). If the report is made

available here, then there should be a proper motion for discussing it here. Then we can discuss it... (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI NKP SALVE:** I will take only two minutes . . . (*Interruptions*). No technicality must be brought into this. So far as the report is concerned, it is a disgrace to the nation ... (*Interruptions*). The crime was committed by an association which was connected with the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, an association which has been systematically whipping up communal frenzy in this House and outside... (*interruptions*).

**SHRI P RAMAMURTI:** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are all so deeply exercised over... (*Interruptions*).... We are deeply exercised over the report that has appeared in the press this morning over the Jamshedpur communal riots. Even at that time we had raised this question why these communal riots had taken place. It is not the first time that I am raising it. At that time itself—your government was not there; the Janata Government was there— we had raised this question. Therefore, Sir, we want to discuss this question and.... (*Interruptions*).... We want to isolate those forces in this country which do not stand for secularism, which stand for communal riot in this country. We want to discuss the whole question. Therefore, I would urge upon the government to place a copy of the report immediately on the table of the House and if necessary, extend this session of Parliament in order to enable us to have a full discussion on that—a meaningful discussion on that.

The report should be in our hands. We should not just shout slogans at each other. Therefore, let the people also have the opportunity and let the other people also have the opportunity to defend themselves. We want to be fair to everybody. Let there be a complete discussion, a full discussion, a thorough discussion—if necessary, for two days. Let there be a complete discussion. Sir, instead of shouting and holding up this House... Therefore, Sir, I would request you to convey to the chairman and also request the government and leaders to convey to the government that it is necessary that a discussion on this problem of communal riots in this House should take place in order to isolate those forces in this country which are working for communal disharmony and communal disunity. Therefore, Sir, I ask them to extend the session of the House so that we can have a thorough discussion on this..... (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARANI (Maharashtra):** Sir, I rise to support the demands made by all Members of the House for a discussion. Sir, in 1979 when this incident took place, we were one with the Congress-I Members to demand for appointment of a commission, and after pressure from the Centre as well as the chief minister, a commission was appointed. Sir, secularism of the country is a very important object of our culture and we demand a discussion on it. As the Leader of the House has said, it can be brought under a motion or a calling attention; it is for you to

decide. My anxiety is that the discussion should be confined to this commission's report as well as to what happened at Moradabad and Aligarh, and this occasion should not be made use of to divert the attention on Mr. Antulay's case... (*Interruptions*). This deserves a discussion... (*Interruptions*).... I request you to be here to listen to us, not as the chairman did; he promised me but has gone away. So I desire that you please sit here and listen to us on the discussion on Jamshedpur and the carnage at Moradabad and Aligarh which also should be discussed.

**MAHENDRA MOHAN MISRA:** Sir, the Commission says in its report that "while the seeds of communal hatred were sown by the Sarsanghchalak of the RSS Balasaheb Deoras in his speech on April 1979, Mr. Dina Nath Pandey, the then Janata Party MLA representing Jamshedpur (East) constituency directly contributed to the outbreak of riot, according to the findings of the Commission". The report further says: "After giving careful and serious consideration to all the materials that are on record, the commission is of the view that the RSS, with its extensive organisation in Jamshedpur and which had close links with the Jana Sangh and the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, had a positive hand in creating a climate which was most propitious for the outbreak of the communal disturbances."

The commission on Mr. Dina Nath Pandey's role before and during the riots concludes "Shri Dina Nath Pandey was a member of the RSS, his actions followed a line which was in fulfilment of the general scheme of the Hindu communalists of Jamshedpur and that they were also aimed at achieving the plan announced in the leaflet circulated by them"..... (*Interruption*)...

**SHRI LAL K ADVANI:** I said that my party would be happy if there was a full-fledged discussion on the issue of communalism itself, including Jamshedpur, including Aligarh, including Moradabad. Sir it is significant that both these Commissions of Inquiry, namely on Jamshedpur and on Aligarh, were constituted during the Janata regime, but the Commission of Inquiry on Aligarh was wound up, its report was not brought before the House. I regard communal riots as a stigma on the face of the country and my party would be willing to make full contribution to ensuring that riots in this country, come to an end, but, Sir, I submit that communal riots cannot come to an end unless they are insulated from partisan politics and I am sorry to say that very often .....

During the period 1977 to 1979, riots took place in Aligarh in Jamshedpur, in Nadiad, in Sambalpur, in Hyderabad. I would have welcomed a Commission of Inquiry on all these riots. In some it was appointed, but... (*Interruptions*)... Communal harmony, or national integration, is an important issue. Just as communal harmony and national integration are important issues, political integrity is also an important issue—integrity in public life. I would not like the issue to be used only as red herring to

divert attention from an issue that has been before the whole country. (*Interruptions*). Therefore, I welcome a discussion.... (*Interruptions*) ... on Jamshedpur.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Hegde, please go on.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Antulay... (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE (Karnataka):** You call them to order. The Leader of the House has completely resigned to the situation— I am sorry both the Leader and the Chief Whip of that party are present here—and what has been going on... (*Interruptions*)... I do not understand why our friends on the other side... (*Interruptions*)... Sir, I cannot understand the totally unjustified misapprehension of the friends on the other side about the opposition not wanting also a thorough discussion on the Enquiry Commission Report. But I do understand this sudden sharpening of their reflexes on this particular issue. (*Interruptions*)... Your reflexes have been suddenly aroused... (*Interruptions*)... We are equally exercised over the findings of this Commission, but we do not know what exactly are the contents in the report. They are depending upon the press reports. As long as a copy of the report is not placed on the Table of the House, we cannot accept whatever they are saying. (*Interruptions*)... Sir, Jamshedpur was not the only place where communal riots had taken place. It goes to the credit of the Janata government that when it happened, immediately a Commission of Inquiry was appointed. (*Interruptions*)... We do not want to bury the reports of the Inquiry Commission. It looks only comical on their part that having burnt all the Inquiry Commissions' reports such as the Shah Commission, the Gupta Commission and so on (they should be showing a copy of this report... (*Interruptions*)...

Now it looks very comical on their part to demand a sudden discussion. We are for the discussion. Let the report come for discussion. Jamshedpur as compared to Moradabad was nothing. How many communal riots have taken place during the last one year? (*Interruptions*)...

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** I would like to tell Hon'ble Members that we shall now adjourn for lunch. In the meantime, during the lunch period, I will consult and convey the feelings of the House to the Hon'ble chairman and, if necessary, I will have a discussion with the various leaders of the parties in the House also. Perhaps notice for Calling Attention has also been received by my office this morning. We shall consider it as to in what form and in what phraseology we can raise it sometime afterwards—not today.

**SHRI DINESH SINGH (Uttar Pradesh):** Sir, may I make one suggestion? Since the Minister of State for Home Affairs is here I would request the government to place a copy of the report as early as possible on the Table of the House.

**SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE:** This report cannot be laid on the Table of the House. It can be placed in the library for the Members to see.

**SHRI LAL K ADVANI:** Very many documents are circulated by the government of India. So, even this document can be circulated to the Members.

**SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE:** These are two different things, I am objecting to laying it on the Table of the House.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** I hope the Home Minister will make it available in the library.

**Jamshedpur riots: Commission blames RSS for outbreak of communal disturbances. INDIA TODAY: October 15, 1981.**

<https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/indiascope/story/19811015-jamshedpur-riots-commission-blames-rss-for-outbreak-of-communal-disturbances-773322-2013-10-31>

*(The three-man commission set up by the Bihar Government to affix responsibility for one of the most destructive communal riots in the nation's history - the three-day violence that claimed 120 lives during the April 1979 Ramnavmi celebrations in Jamshedpur - submitted its report).*

On August 31 the three-man commission set up by the Bihar Government to affix responsibility for one of the most destructive communal riots in the nation's history - the three-day violence that claimed 120 lives during the April 1979 Ramnavmi celebrations in Jamshedpur - submitted its report.

Now the report itself has generated an uproar with the Jagannath Mishra government swiftly taking steps to bring those indicted by the report to trial and the powerful Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), whom the report has chiefly blamed, fighting back. The RSS is taking the line that the commission and particularly its head, retired Patna High Court judge Jitendra Narayan, was biased and is planning to challenge the commission's findings.

According to some legal experts the report has been fashioned in such a way that it lends itself to various conclusions. On the one hand, the commission very clearly concluded that the RSS, with its extensive organisation in Jamshedpur, had a positive

hand in creating a climate which fostered the outbreak of communal disturbances and specifically singled out RSS chief Balasaheb Deoras and Bihar MLA Dinanath Pandey for inciting violence.

### **Devastation in the Jamshedpur riots: Who was to blame?**

On the other hand, according to opponents, there are many substantial points of evidence cited in the report itself which virtually knock the bottom out of the commission's conclusions.

Specifically, the commission found that the speech made by Deoras a few days before the Ramnavmi celebrations made the stand of the extremists amongst the Hindus all the more rigid and determined to retain the route of their Ramnavmi procession which was the primary cause of the trouble. Regarding the role of Dinanath Pandey, the commission held that Pandey was a member of the RSS and his actions followed a line which furthered the general schemes of the Hindu communalists, as described in a leaflet they had circulated. The leaflet asked supporters to defy the authorities as the police force was with them. Pandey's actions, said the commission, had directly contributed to the outbreak of the riot.

The commission rejected the allegations Pandey made in his deposition before them: he had stated that the riots resulted from a plot to mislead the Muslims and further claimed that a Communist Party of India (CPI) leader was seen setting fire to a house during violence. Pandey was promptly suspended by Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) chairman Atal Behari Vajpayee after the report was made public. The commission also confirmed reports of collusion between the Hindu fanatics and the Bihar military police and pointed to the failure of the administration to provide protection to the minority community.

### **Controversy:**

Chief Minister Jagannath Mishra while releasing the summary of the commission's report said, "It (the report) has squarely blamed the RSS, Jan Sangh (now the BJP) and its labour front, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, for authoring, inciting and fomenting the riots." Expressing a counter-interpretation, Thakur Prasad, former Janata minister and former vice-president of the Bihar Jan Sangh and RSS counsel before the commission, asserted that the commission had held that the Muslims had made preparations for the riots and, quoting from the report, he claimed the commission's findings showed that the Muslims had started the riots by attacking the Ramnavmi procession.

### **Pandey: Brain behind the riots?**

Immediately after releasing the report Mishra recommended to the Centre that a cabinet sub-committee headed by himself should be formed to scrutinise the commission's findings and work out measures to ban the RSS and like organisations, including the Jamaat-e-Islami. He also announced that three special courts would be set up to try cases launched against persons accused in the report.

Aside from the controversy over the findings of the commission per se, the opponents of the report have raised doubts over the impartiality of the commission's head, Justice Jitendra Narayan. The commission itself was set up by Karpoori Thakur on the eve of his ouster from chief ministership after the Jan Sangh Members withdrew their support. Ramsunder Das, who became chief minister with their support, announced the Members of the commission, handpicked Narayan to head the body and Jagannath Mishra maintained the status quo for obvious reasons. Kailash Mishra, president of the BJP and finance minister at the time of the riots, charged that Narayan was netted by the Congress(I) lobby and had no option but to do the bidding of the chief minister. "After reading the whole report it would have been better to have had it signed by Jagannath Mishra himself instead of Justice Narayan," he said.

Other Opposition sources pointed out that the government gave Narayan the red carpet treatment in August, taking him by saloon car to Bombay to participate in Antulay's conference of intellectuals where he reportedly spoke on the need to strengthen the hands of Mrs Gandhi. It is further rumoured that after submitting a report to the liking of the government he is to be rewarded with a new assignment. Narayan himself has refused to comment on the charges. When contacted by *India Today* he said, "Don't drag me into controversy. Judges are people of ivory towers and I don't want to step out. Whatever I wanted to say I said in the report."

Whatever the nature of the report it has raised a political controversy which according to many was timed so as to divert the nation's attention from the Antulay affair and at the same time it has made it difficult for the RSS to defend its role in the face of the publicity blitz launched by the Mishra Government.

<https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/indiascope/story/19811015-jamshedpur-riots-commission-blames-rss-for-outbreak-of-communal-disturbances-773322-2013-10-31>)

**17 May, 2006 RAJYA SABHA NCM report on Aligarh riots.**

**SHRI RAJEEV SHUKLA:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state: (a) whether it is a fact that National Commission for Minorities has submitted its report to government over the recent Aligarh riots; (b) if so, whether it is a fact that

the NCM in its report has incriminated the state government for its inept handling of the situation; (c) if so, the relevant details thereof; (d) whether government has taken any action on the basis of the report; and (e) if so, the details thereof?

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SHRIPRAKASH JAISWAL):** (a) Yes, Sir. (b) The report draws attention to the fact that the incident happened due to some administrative lapse on the part of the state government as well as total failure of district administration. (c) The report has highlighted that the guidelines given in Prime Minister's 15 point programme were not observed and recommends constitution of a balanced police force in the state with proportionate representation of all communities including minority communities and a time-bound enquiry into the Aligarh incidents by a sitting Judge of a High Court; (d) and (e) A copy of the report has been sent by the commission to the state government of Uttar Pradesh, who are primarily concerned with it, and the state government is taking appropriate action in the matter.

### **29 July 1971 COMMUNAL RIOTS IN ALIGARH**

**SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state: (a) whether the government of India have received a report from the UP Government regarding the Commission of Enquiry's findings on the Aligarh communal disturbances on the 2nd March, 1971. And (b) if so, the details thereof and the reaction of the central government thereto?

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL (SHRI RAMNIWAS MIRDHA):** (a) No, Sir the inquiry is still in progress. (b) Does not arise.

*(Noted human rights activist Late Prof. Iqbal A. Ansari writes in his book "THE MUSLIM SITUATION IN INDIA" that once Prime Minister Morarji Desai conceded in the Parliament that UP PAC committed excesses during 1978 riots in Aligarh (Page No. 184).*

<https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.201762/page/n195/mode/2up>

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