

AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT (SHRI B. S. MURTHY) : (a) There is only one Central Food Laboratory established under the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, 1954, which is located at Calcutta. Necessary information regarding samples from Delhi analysed at the Central Food Laboratory, Calcutta, is given below:—

Year,	No. of samples analysed	No. of samples found adulterated
1967 .. ..	168	104
1968 .. ..	130	64

(b) The number of persons convicted during 1967 was 433 and during 1968 was 390.

(c) The provisions of the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act have been made more stringent.

The following steps have also been taken for prevention of food adulteration in Delhi:

- (1) The Delhi Municipal Corporation has employed 8 wholetime Food Inspectors to lift samples under the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act. Besides, all Sanitary Inspectors in Delhi have been delegated the powers to act as Food Inspectors under the Act.
- (2) The Delhi Municipal Corporation have designated one Assistant Health Officer specially for implementation and co-ordination of prevention of food adulteration activities in Delhi. All Deputy Health Officers, Assistant Health Officers and Chief Sanitary Inspectors of Municipal Corporation of Delhi, are empowered to exercise the powers of of Food Inspectors.
- (3) One Municipal Prosecutor assisted by Assistant Municipal Prosecutor has been engaged exclusively by the Delhi Municipal Corporation for dealing with the cases under the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act in the Courts.
- (4) The Food Laboratory of Municipal Corporation, Delhi, has been fully

equipped and staffed to deal with the problem.

- (5) A separate squad of Food Inspectors has been appointed by the New Delhi Municipal Committee for checking food adulteration.
- (6) Frequent raids are conducted.
- (7) A very close check is being kept on the sale of unwholesome food, stuffs exposed to dust and flies.
- (8) The Central Bureau of Investigation and Delhi Administration review and coordinate the activities in this field.

#### SHIFTING OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN DELHI

95. SHRI B. C. PATTANAYAK : Will the Minister of HEALTH, FAMILY PLANNING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Delhi Development Authority has planned to shift some of the colleges and schools from the city; and

(b) if so, the names of the schools and colleges served with notices for shifting ?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH, FAMILY PLANNING AND WORKS, HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT (SHRI B. S. MURTHY) : (a) and (b) The Delhi Development Authority have not taken any action for the shifting of schools and colleges from the city; nor have any notices been served in this behalf by the Authority.

12 NOON

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

##### ACTIVITIES OF SHIV SENA AND THE SITUATION ARISING OUT OF THE RECENT VIOLENT DISTURBANCES IN BOMBAY

SHRI SYED HUSSAIN (Jammu and Kashmir) : Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the activities of the Shiv Sena and the situation arising out of the recent violent disturbances in Bombay leading to loss of life and Union property.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the city of Bombay was exposed to the

[ Shri Y. B. Chavan ] most reprehensible violence and destruction of public and private property for four or five days from 7th February. It all began when demonstrators mobilised by the leaders of the Shiv Sena to obstruct the Deputy Prime Minister during his visit to Bombay on 7th February turned violent and had to be dispersed by lathi-charge and use of tear-gas. Prohibitory orders issued on the same day banning processions and meetings were defied and curfew had to be imposed from the evening of 8th. The city continued under curfew during most parts of the following days. Even so there was extensive rioting and arson in many parts of the city necessitating resort to firing by the police on several occasions. It is regrettable that 52 persons lost their lives in the police firings and about 127 persons were injured. Over 4,500 arrests have been made. There has been considerable loss of private property and a great deal of destruction of public property belonging to the Central and the State Governments, and also the Municipal Corporation. It is estimated that Railway property worth about Rs. 5 lakhs has been damaged. Nineteen police chowkies, 103 milk booths and 20 BEST buses were burnt. One hundred and seventy-one buses and 400 BEST chowkies or shelters were damaged or burnt. Municipal property also was damaged on a large scale. Private vehicles too did not escape damage and shops and hotels were also the targets of loot and arson. Over 200 persons are reported to have been injured otherwise than by these firings and two persons are also reported to have died as a result of injuries received during the rioting.

We have been deeply distressed by these happenings. I have no doubt that this House will join me in deploring in the strongest possible terms the use of violence to focus attention on issues of public importance. In a democracy problems have to be solved by discussion and persuasion, and no quarter can be given to forces which seek to disrupt the peaceful and orderly life of the community. The State Government have dealt with the situation firmly.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):  
Not at all.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : . . . and would no doubt put down with a firm hand any attempt in future by any section of the people to take to violence.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, this statement is most unsatisfactory. It is a cowardly statement.

شری سید حسین : یحیٰ شو سینا  
جس کی وجہ سے وہاں کئی بار دنگے  
فساد ہوئے ہیں اور سرکار نے کوئی  
موثر کارروائی نہیں کی ہے جس کی شہ  
پا کر آج تقریباً ہر اسٹیٹ میں  
کسی نہ کسی شکل میں ایسی  
پرائیویٹ سینائیں موجود ہیں - تو  
تو میں جاننا چاہتا ہوں کہ سرکار  
نے پارلیمنٹ میں ایسا کوئی قانون-  
بل- کیوں نہیں پیش کرتی ہے -  
جس کے ذریعہ ایسی سیناؤں کا قیام  
ناجائز قرار دیا جائے -

†[श्री संयद हुसैन : यही शिव सेना जिसकी वजह से वहां कई बार दंगे फसाद हुए हैं और सरकार ने कोई मुअस्सर कार्रवाई नहीं की है जिसकी शय पाकर आज तकरीबन हर स्टेट में किसी न किसी शक्ल में ऐसी प्राईवेट सेनाएं मौजूद हैं तो मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि सरकार पार्लियमेन्ट में ऐसा कोई कानून बिल-क्यों नहीं पेश करती है जिसके जरिए ऐसी सेनाओं का कयाम नाजायज़ करार दिया जाए ?]

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, this question of taking any legal action agai; or the banning of, the organisation has been many times considered in the House and I have explained the difficulties in this matter, b:cause in order to ban an organisation, I

tt ] Hindi transliteration.

think it is very difficult to resort to legal action as such. The only way is to fight this organisation, as I said, firmly on the field its ideology which is reprehensible.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Your Maharashtra Government is encouraging it.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I do not agree with that.

blem of Shiv Sena and the question of rioting etc. I think he has taken necessary steps about it. Of course, it is quite true that they did not anticipate the trouble on the scale on which it ultimately occurred. That fact is there. But when they were facing the problem, they did not show any weakness. They have dealt with the whole situation very firmly. That is shown by the way in which they have dealt with the rioting mob.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You bring a parliamentary enquiry. Are you ready for it?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta^ I will come to you; please sit down. Mr. Mani.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : Sir, I would like to raise two or three points of clarification because this is a very important matter. I want to talk to the Home Minister somewhat frankly. May I ask him whether it is not a fact, and this suspicion is very widespread in the country, that some members of the Maharashtra Government are in sympathy with the objectives of the Shiv Sena though not with its activities?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes, with Mr. Chavan's blessings.

SHRI A. D. MANI : I belong to two States—Nagpur and Bhopal and I know very few of them have condemned the Shiv Sena. They use words that the Home Minister used like "deplore"—a timid word. Why can't you say you "condemn" the Shiv Sena? I would like the Home Minister to say that. Secondly, may I ask the Home Minister whether it is not a fact that during the disturbances, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Mr. Naik, made a radio broadcast and in that talk there was no reference to the Shiv Sena? At a time when the disturbances were breaking out, we expected the Chief Minister to go on the air and tell the people "These are the law-breakers." He did not do that. Thirdly, may I ask him also whether he has enquired from the Chief Minister of Maharashtra as to what was the propriety for the Government to give facilities to some people going and seeing Bal Thackeray in Jail and getting a statement from him and distributing it through the police to the press

t[ ] Hindi transliteration.

श्री सید حسین : حال ہی میں  
مہاراشٹر کے چیف منسٹر صاحب  
وی۔ بی۔ ناٹک جناب ہرم منسٹری  
صاحب سے ملے تھے اور کچھ با حبر  
حلقوں کے مطابق صاحب موصوف  
نے بھی اس شیو سینا آرگنائزیشن  
کو بین کرنے کی صلاح دی تھی۔  
میں جانتا چاہتا ہوں کہ مرکزی  
سرکار کا اس بارے میں کیا رد عمل  
ہے۔ اس کے ساتھ ساتھ یہ بھی جانتا  
چاہتا ہوں کہ اس پارٹی کے جو لیڈر  
ہیں ان کو چھڑانے کی کون کوشش  
کر رہا ہے۔ اور اس بارے میں کیا  
صورت ہے؟

I want to be clear about the matter.

†[श्री सैयद हुसैन : हाल ही में महाराष्ट्र के चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब वी० पी० नायक जनाव होम मिनिस्टर साहब से मिले थे और कुछ बाखबर हल्कों के मुताबिक साहबे मौसूफ ने भी इस शिव सेना आर्गनाइजेशन को बैन करने की सलाह दी थी। मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि मरकजी सरकार का इस बारे में क्या रुढ़े अमल है। इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूं कि इस पार्टी के जो लीडर हैं उनको छुड़ाने की कौन कोशिश कर रहा है और इस बारे में क्या सूत है?]

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, I did meet the Chief Minister and I discussed the pro-

[ Shri Bhupesh Gupta ]

as if Bal Thackeray has become the Mahatma, Gandhi of Maharashtra ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The hon. Member is entitled to have his own views. But I cannot make a statement on the suspicion that he unjustifiably entertains. I cannot condemn a person on the basis of suspicion. I have no evidence, I have no reason to believe that any Minister in the Maharashtra Government is in sympathy with the Shiv Sena .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We have proof.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If you have proof you can certainly produce that proof.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Are you ready for a commission ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : There is no question of a commission here. Do not suppose that the Maharashtra Government has no autonomy under the Constitution.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I say, the Maharashtra Government was involved. I put it to you, it was involved, with your blessings.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : No, absolutely not. This, really speaking, is the manner in which you try to condemn the Congress Governments.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Are you ready for an enquiry ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Kaul.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar) : Sir, this is a very important matter. Why should we not have a one-day debate on this issue ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : That we shall consider.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA : Otherwise only certain points of view would be represented. Therefore, it is necessary to have one day's debate on this issue and it is for Government to find time for it.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras) : Sir, let there be a discussion on this matter or Members whose names are not here may also be called.

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated) : Sir, I have no desire to make allegations of any kind. But I am certain that the issue raised is very important. Bombay not only belongs to Maharashtra, but it is the pride of India. We are all interested in seeing that Bombay functions smoothly and properly. Now, this Shiv Sena has been the focus of attention for two or three years. Does it come within the ambit of the proposition laid down by the President yesterday : "The country also faces the danger of violence from certain extremist political groups?" That was the statement made by the Government through the President. Does the Shiv Sena come within the ambit of that proposition which the President laid down in his Address? We want to know what the aims and objects of this association are and how it has been functioning. What are the agitations in which it has taken part ? There should be a proper White Paper so that allegations and counter, allegations are not constantly made and we have an authoritative statement from the Government about the growth and functioning of this organisation, and in particular, whether the Shiv Sena is engaged in igniting the streets. After it had ignited, it is also clear that all the rowdy elements and all the unlawful elements in Bombay joined in this holocaust that happened. All these matters have got to be carefully analysed. And we want information from the Government on these points, in particular, as to what are the deeper causes. Why has the Maharashtra-Mysore dispute been allowed to linger on for so long so that it provides the gun powder for this. Then there are so many problems which have remained unsolved in regard to the slums and planning of Bombay. All these add fuel to the flame, and it is time that the Government gave urgent attention to these matters and that the issues were raised to a higher level so that these problems could be settled in a cool and peaceful atmosphere.

SHRI A. P. JAIN (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I will take just one minute.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am in a great difficulty. There are 18 names here.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Sir, on a point of order . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh):  
Sir, on a point of order . . .

SHRI A. P. JAIN : Sir, just one minute,  
not more than one minute. I heard the Home  
Minister . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : I think, Mr. Ajit, if  
there is time I shall call you, but I would like  
to go in the order of names that are here.  
Kindly excuse me. . . (*Interruptions*) Mr.  
Kaul, have you put your question ?

SHRI A. P. JAIN : Sir, I want to know  
whether the Home Minister is willing to  
have a debate . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have given,  
Sir, a notice of a motion for a full-fledged  
debate. This subject has got to be debated in  
this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : We shall consider it.

SHRI A. P. JAIN : Since you have allow-  
ed him, let me have one word. I want to  
know if the Home Minister is agreeable to  
have a full-fledged debate.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It shall be consi-  
dered.

SHRI M. N. KAUL : What is the answer  
to my question, Sir ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Is the Home Minister  
going to answer Mr. Kaul's question ?

SHRI Y. B./CHAVAN : Sir, no question  
has been asked. He has expressed certain  
views. He wants certain information and a  
white Paper. I shall certainly be willing to  
give whatever information we have about it.

SHRI DAHYA BHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat):  
Sir, one would have expected at the time this  
calling attention motion came that the Home  
Minister would furnish us with a list or at  
least the full details of what happened, how  
many people died, how much property was  
destroyed, etc. We have not been supplied  
with anything of this kind. I am also not  
satisfied with the Home Minister's answer. I  
live in Bombay I have just come from  
Bombay I know it is going to take a lot to  
convince the people that the Shiv Sena  
activities were not encouraged by many high-  
ups in the State Government in Bombay.

It is a most deplorable thing. Violence is  
certainly deplorable, but the attitude of the  
authorities and the halting manner in which  
action was taken leaves much to be desired.  
Violence could have been curbed if firm  
action had been taken initially. Is the Home  
Minister in a position to tell us why there  
was so much hesitation and why action was  
taken after two or three days of this orgy of  
violence ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The honourable  
Member says he was in Bombay and he has  
all the information. But certainly he is  
misinformed. Action was taken from the  
very beginning . . .

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No,  
no.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: No,  
no. Nobody in Bombay says this.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Action was taken  
from the very beginning. The police resorted  
to firing, lathi charge, tear gas, from the very  
beginning. This is a matter of fact. If you  
want to say, "No", you are certainly free to  
say "No", but I must repeat "Yes".

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Shri Sundar S'rg'h  
Bhandari.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Or<sup>^</sup>s): Sir,  
my name is the next. In a calling attention  
motion . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would like to tell  
you this. I have got 18 names here. I am  
trying to ask each party leader, if he is there,  
to say some-thing, and if there is time I shall  
come to the rest of the names; otherwise, I  
will not be able to give an opportunity to  
everyone. I can assure you if there is time I  
am most anxious to see that everyone on the  
list is called.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Sir, let us  
go according to the order.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I am making it  
perfectly clear that whenever there are so  
many names I see certainly that each party  
has its say, and if there is still time I shall  
come to others.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maira-  
shtra): What about others, Sir ?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Those who are not on the order paper need not be anxious. If there is time I shall certainly give an opportunity to others.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I shall ask for an elucidation.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you follow my direction you will also get a chance.

SHRI DAHYA BHAI V. PATEL: Mr. A. D. Mani and Mr. M.N. Kaul are both independents. They do not represent any party, but you have called them. If you have given priority to them, why not to our party? Ours is the largest opposition party.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no such question. Why are you losing your sense of fairness and justice in regard to me? I try to act in the best manner possible and you can have trust in me. I am sure Mr. Lokanath Misra will get a chance.

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) :**  
क्या यह बात सच है कि 7 फरवरी की घटनाओं के पहले भी लगभग एक महीने से शिव सेना के नेता श्री बाल ठाकरे ने इस बात की घोषणा की थी कि केन्द्र के जो भी मंत्री आयेंगे उनको बम्बई में प्रवेश करने नहीं दिया जायगा? उन्होंने अपने भाषणों में अपने श्रोताओं से यह भी कहा था कि अगर इस काम में उनको जेल में डाला जाय तो आप सब उस समय बाहर आइये और बम्बई को तब तक जलता रखिये जब तक कि फिर से सरकार मुझे छोड़ कर बाहर नहीं लाती है। अगर सरकार के ध्यान में इस प्रकार के भाषण आये हैं तो 7 फरवरी तक इन मामलों को बढ़ने क्यों दिया गया और इसके लिये पहले से ही रोकने वाली कार्यवाहियाँ क्यों नहीं की गई? यह मेरा पहला प्रश्न है। मेरा दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि क्या सरकार का यह मत है कि महाजन कमिशन की रिपोर्ट महाराष्ट्र सरकार के लिये स्वागत-योग्य न होने के कारण श्री बाल ठाकरे के द्वारा महाजन कमिशन की रिपोर्ट के विरुद्ध इन कार्यवाहियों को महाराष्ट्र सरकार चुप रह कर

प्रोत्साहन देना चाहती है और इस तरह से केन्द्रीय सरकार और देश के ऊपर किसी निर्णय को थोपने की कोशिश कर रही है। अगर यह बात सच है तो इस सम्बन्ध में केन्द्रीय सरकार का क्या दृष्टिकोण है?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Well, Sir, as far as the preparations about preventing the Central Ministers from going there are concerned, they had certainly declared their intention before hand. I visited Bombay on the 27th. I was the first man to face these demonstrations. At the same time Sir, it is true that Mr. Thackeray was making statements which were undesirable. I cannot say what was the assessment of the Maharashtra Government and why they did not take any preventive action. It depends on the assessment they made, on what they could do. Probably their anticipation has gone wrong. I said that. But immediately when they saw that there was a chance of the whole thing developing into violence they certainly introduced Section 144.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI:  
Only 144?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : What can be done?

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** उनके भाषण अगर आपत्तिजनक थे तो उनके विरुद्ध कोई कदम पहले ही उठाना चाहिये था।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: . . . Section 144 to prevent such a situation from the streets of Bombay. That was the intention. They could make a statement. Now, the honourable Member has attributed motives to the Maharashtra Government whether the Maharashtra Government wanted to do some such thing through the Shiv Sena. I think this is very unchair-table and very unfair.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI:  
No, this is correct.

SHRIBHUPESH GUPTA: First of all, we are shocked by the statement that has been made by the hon. Minister in this

House which does not give any indication of the seriousness of the problem and the monster which has been let loose in the city of Bombay. The Shiv Sena has been built by a number of Congressmen in Bombay and among them, I regret to say, are initially Mr. Chavan and Mr. Naik certainly I do maintain it and you will find in to-day's 'Statesman'—he does not take it into account a report appearing which says something about the statement by the President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress. It charges the Maharashtra Government for having allowed things to develop in this manner. It writes:

"The support of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress to the Shiv Sena is clear from one or two facts. The Maharashtra Pradesh Congress leaders saw nothing wrong in attending the anniversary functions of the Sena's mouthpiece at a time when the Sena's violent postures had reached their peak in Bombay city".

Congressmen are joining the frontiers of Bal Thackeray and associating with him. This is what the 'Statesman' wrote not a Communist paper. It says:

"Moreover, the Congress organisation at least that which is controlled by the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee has not at all been averse to the Shiv Sena chief, Mr. Bal Thackeray, getting more prominence in Bombay city."

We know how in the last general elections, against Mr. Krishna Menon, the Shiv Sena workers were used as Congress volunteers. He has to explain many other things. Mr. Bal Thackeray said that the country needed a Hitler. His movement is directed against the Left Communist working classes and their movement and is deliberately using pick axes, etc. We know that Bombay has the problem of unemployment which has got to be solved. Bombay has the problem of housing which has to be solved. The boundary question has to be solved peacefully on the lines of the National Integration Conference Resolution but the Shiv Sena has nothing to do with all that. These are pretexts just as Hitler used Lebensraum and other things as a pretext for pouncing upon the German civilisation. This hoodlum party, M3RS/69—5

the organisation of the Shiv Sena, is used as a pretext with the advice and encouragement of the Maharashtra Government in order to crush the leftist movements and also to press their demands for the boundary at the cost of the people, at the cost of the citizens of Bombay. That must be understood. How is it that with the Shiv Sena there was a pact? Mr. Morarji Desai is sitting here. He went on the 7th of this month to Bombay and you will be surprised to hear that there was a pact between the Police Commissioner Mr. Madok and the Shiv Sena leader as to how Mr. Desai should travel, where he should go, whether he should accept a memorandum or not. The Shiv Sena did not keep to this pact—this is what Mr. Madok said. Do I understand that such hoodlums are to be treated as equal parties by the Maharashtra Government for the Police Commissioner to enter into a pact with the Shiv Sena leader as to how the Deputy Prime Minister should travel? Is it not a fact that the I.G. went to the jail and asked the Shiv Sena leader for a statement? Who is ruling Bombay? Is it Bal Thackeray or the Government of India or the Government of Maharashtra? 'The Statesman' has given that Mr. Naik the Chief Minister, came before the A.I.R. but that Chief Minister, who shoots down the workers, did not have the guts even to utter the name of the Shiv Sena, leave alone condemn it. It pointed out:

"Even the Chief Minister's speech on All India Radio which carefully avoided a reference to the Shiv Sena's involvement ..."

Imagine how the lions would have roared had it been the Communist Party or other leftist parties. When it comes to the Shiv Sena they cower in fear because they are a part of it and that is why when he went to the A.I.R., he did not even mention the name of the Shiv Sena, least Bal Thackeray, their progeny, the Frankenstein, the monster they have created with their own hands should try to smite their hands. That is the reason. Why was the Military not called the moment it started? What happened to the Intelligence? You have a Bombay Intelligence which provides you with a lot of information. How is it that the Police or the Intelligence of Bombay did not have any Intelligence?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: In Bombay they have the Special Reserve Police,

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Chavan is fond of having special powers, Emergency Police, the Central Reserves the Border Police, the Army, Navy, etc. but when it comes to the Shiv Sena nothing works. This is not a political party. It is a fascist, violent, display organisation of hoodlums and reactionaries maintained and bolstered up by some of the factions of the monopolists in Bombay or encouraged and developed by Mr. Chavan's party, the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress. In this House you will remember that I drew attention to a cartoon in the Shiv Sena's organ 'Marmik' where Mr. Chavan was shown as the unifier of the nation and we of the Opposition as scoundrels. I produced it, and asked, how is it that Mr. Chavan is praised by Marmik, the Shiv Sena organ and we are all despised as anti-national. It should be explained. Mr. Naik did not do anything. Not only that. The Police was paralysed and a section of the Police encouraged this . . . (*Interr-OPfipns*). We know how to fight the Government and we have done such things in Calcutta and we know what happen.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: In order that other Members may get a chance

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My charge is two-fold, firstly, the Shiv Sena has been built by the Congress leaders, and I regret to say by Mr. Chavan and Mr. Naik and Mr. Naik is still in it and other Congress leaders are also in it. Therefore it is a case for enquiry. We cannot leave it in the hands of Mr. Naik. Secondly my suggestion is, this Shiv Sena should be suppressed. Let us not talk about its being constitutional etc. It is not an accredited political party. It is a hoodlum organisation, a gangster organisation let loose against the people of Maharashtra, and against the people generally because they are attacking not only Southerners and Northerners, but also Maharashtrian. Therefore this organisation, this agency of gangsterism should be . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : You must finish.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have information that the American Embassy is financing the Shiv Sena. Therefore measures should be devised to suppress this organisation. Paper quota should not be given to that organ. Other measures should be taken. The Shiv Sena activities should be suppressed with an iron hand, if necessary by the Central Government coming in.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If one Member however eminent and senior he may be, can take up all the time of the others where am I ? I will give you another two minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My suggestions are, nothing short of a parliamentary enquiry would satisfy us. Nothing short of measures to suppress the Shiv Sena shall satisfy us. With regard to other matters I need not state them now. Besides, we should not trust in this matter the Maharashtra Government. Finally, the Army should be asked to stand by and it should be utilised the moment the Shiv Sena comes. It is not a party issue. Those stand for decency and secularism realise that Bal Thackeray and this-hoodlum organisation must be suppressed in the city of Bombay and if the Home Minister cannot do it he should resign and get away. Mr. Naik should be removed from his position if he cannot do it. I have asked for a debate on the subject. I hope there will be a debate where we can make other suggestions and expose the complicity between the Government and the Maharashtra Congress with the Shiv Sena leader.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rainarain.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Silence.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन् क्या श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण साहब बतायेंगे श्रीमन्, बड़ा हल्का हो रहा है ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is this ? Mr. Chavan should reply to me. I have made suggestions also.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I really wanted to reply to you, but then immediately the Chairman called the other hon. Member.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is not fair.



MR. CHAIRMAN: I have been in the wrong.

SHRI Y-B. CHAVAN: I am willing to reply now.

The hon. Member, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, made very angry observations; I have nothing to do about his anger by having tried to understand his question it can be broken into two or three aspects. First of all he tried to criticise the Shiv Sena in a particular manner. I would like to tell him that it was I who first publicly condemned the Shiv Sena as a fascist organisation; I am on record to that effect.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Repeat it again.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I will repeat it again. Not only have I said it in this House but I was the first man to condemn it publicly in Bombay also. Well, Sir, the hon. Member is trying to be unfair to me; I expected him to be just. He said that I am responsible for the Shiv Sena. If he is satisfied with that sort of a feeling I have nothing to say about it; I can only say, Sir—because I do want to be apologetic about it—I can only say with my sense of honour that this is the unfairest and the meanest statement that can be made about it.

well, Sir, about other matters I can say that everything should be done to defeat the purpose of the Shiv Sena because that certainly is a great disgrace on the public life of Bombay; I have no doubt about that. But certainly, Sir, to deal with organisations one has to have some method about it. He says it is an organisation of monsters. But there are other national political parties who have collaboration with them. What am I supposed to do about it ? Well, Sir, if I may say so, the P. S. P. had some sort of alliance with that body for the municipal elections. What am I supposed to do ?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : Sir, he has brought in the P. S. P. and so I should have my say on it.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Yes, but let me now complete my observations. I am not making any allegations; I have merely made a statement of fact; I mean, I don't want to say good or bad about this matter.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : You have not made a fair statement on the stand the P. S. P. had taken. So I must be given a chance, Sir.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Certainly you can have your say.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Surely.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have not said more than merely mentioning a fact that in the Bombay Corporation elections the P. S. P. had an alliance with the Shiv Sena; I have not said anything more than that, and some of them are even pressing for Bal Thackeray's release even now. So, Sir, this is about one thing.

Now I would like to say about the Maharashtra Government, particularly about its Chief Minister, Mr. Naik. Since Mr. Naik is not present here, I think I may certainly defend his honour. I mean, if he wants to remove Mr. Naik, he cannot do so merely by his statements here because, fortunately, Mr. Naik does not stand on the mercy of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes, but he stands on the mercy of Shiv Sena.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : No, not at all. {Interruptions}. No, he had the courage to take action against Shiv Sena.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, he is on the mercy of Shiv Sena.

MR. CHAIRMAN : To make such remarks is not just.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA : The hon. Home Minister has not replied to one aspect of the question whether Shiv Sena is a progeny, of the Congress, or a progeny and splinter group of the Sampooran Maharashtra Samiti, or the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti, on which all the hon. Members sitting here were represented.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, I am glad he brought it up because I did not want to go into that aspect, and he did not allow me to complete even the other aspects. It is completely wrong to say that it has anything to do with the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee. I would like to say that the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee is on record

[Shri Y.B. Chavan] condemning, sometime in 1967, the activities of Shiv Sena; you will see it is on record, their resolution is to that effect.

He mentioned one fact and I know some facts about it. The President of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee went to one of their functions to tell them that they were going on a wrong way because they were trying to mislead the younger generation. He had the courage to go to their platform and tell them that they were going on a wrong path.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The Bombay P.C.C. President started it . . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am giving the explanation. It was in condemnation of Shiv Sena; it was to tell the young people that they were being misled about this matter. It was the duty of a public worker to go and tell them about it. It is no use merely condemning things. He did not run away from the scene. It was very courageous of him to go and tell them what type of organisation theirs was. Sir, I would like to say this; as a matter of fact, the regional feeling which, really speaking, is now smouldering in the city of Bombay, was taken advantage of by the Sarnpoorna Maharashtra Samiti and the party to which the hon. Member belongs.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, Sir, this is a thing I protest against. This is not what Mr. Bal Thackeray said; he did not involve the Communist Party.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, let us follow certain rules of procedure.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What are the rules of procedure ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Others come in also, and they should have an opportunity to speak.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Instead of answering the charges he accuses us. Is this the answer when so many people have been killed ?

Mr. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rajnarain

**श्री राजनारायण :** जरा सोच समझ लीजिये कि मैं फिर खड़ा होऊँ या नहीं। अब

अगर खड़ा हो जाऊँगा और आप बैठायेंगे तो बैठूँगा नहीं। जो डीसेसी का यहाँ नाम लेते हैं . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rajnarain.

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, मैं आपके द्वारा श्री यशवन्तराव जी चव्हाण, घर मंत्री, से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह हमारी इस भावना को कद्र करेंगे कि यह शिव सेना जनतंत्र के लिये कलंक है, . . .

**श्री वाई० बी० चव्हाण :** मानता हूँ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** इस राष्ट्र के लिये कलंक है।

**श्री वाई० बी० चव्हाण :** विल्कुल सही है।

**श्री राजनारायण :** . . . और जिस किसी ताकत ने इस शिव सेना का संगठन कराया, इसको प्रोत्साहन दिया वह राष्ट्रीय एकता का भंगी है और देशद्रोही है, राष्ट्रद्रोही है। पहला सवाल तो यह है।

दूसरा प्रश्न। क्या श्री यशवन्तराव जी चव्हाण, घर मंत्री, को इसी सदन में जब बम्बई के दोरे से मैं आया था शिव सेना के सवाल पर हमने एक छोटा बयान किया था उस बयान की स्मृति है ?

श्रीमन्, देखिये, मैं सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों से आपके द्वारा निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि शिव सेना के प्रश्न पर केवल हल्के भाव से यहाँ सदन में चर्चा न करें, यह एक ऐसा प्रश्न है जो हमारे राष्ट्र को चबा रहा है, खा रहा है। यहाँ चाहे कोई कुछ कह ले, चाहे घर मंत्री जवाब दे ले या श्री भूपेशगुप्त कुछ प्रश्न कर लें मगर मूल प्रश्न की तह में जब तक नहीं पहुँचा जायगा तब तक हमारे राष्ट्र पर बहुत भयंकर संकट आयेगा। यह अनेक प्रकार से आ रहा है, चाहे वह शिव सेना का हो, या चाहे उसे महावीर दल कहें, या चाहे उसे मुस्लिम मजलिस कहें, या चाहे उसे गोपाल

सेना कहें, कुछ कहें, यह अनेक प्रकार से, अनेक शेष में, अनेक शकल में आ रहा है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ घर मंत्री जी से कि जरा धीरज से सोचें। इस सदन में इसके पहले भी बयानात हुये हैं और जब मैं बम्बई गया था तो वहाँ उत्तर भारत के लोग मिले थे और उन लोगों ने स्पष्टतः हमको कहा था कि बम्बई सरकार स्वतः, खुद ब खुद, इस शिव सेना को प्रोत्साहन दे रही है। वहाँ पर उस समय मुख्य मंत्री ने कुछ बयान दिया कि शिव सेना की कुछ एक्टीविटीज को वह बुरा मानते हैं मगर शिव सेना एज सच (खुद) को बुरा नहीं मानते, महाराष्ट्र सरकार का यह स्पष्टीकरण था कि शिव सेना के कुछ कार्यों को तो वह अनुचित कहते हैं मगर शिव सेना खुद ब खुद अपने में ठीक है। तो जो चीज अपने में गलत है उसको ठीक कहना, उसको प्रोत्साहन देना होता है, उसको संरक्षण देना होता है और मैं चाहूँगा कि घर मंत्री जी महाराष्ट्र सरकार के इस मकसद को, इस व्यक्त की गई भावना को, अच्छी तरह से जाने और पता करें।

श्री यशवंतराव जी चव्हाण 27 जनवरी को गये थे और श्री मोरारजी भाई 7 फरवरी को गये थे। इस सवाल का स्पष्टीकरण क्या सरकार करेगी कि मोरारजी भाई सकुशल चले जायें इस सम्बन्ध में पुलिस कमिश्नर और शिव सेना के लोगों में समझौता हुआ, मगर चूँकि वहाँ ज्यादा लोग आ गये जहाँ कि मोरारजी भाई को रकना था और शिव सेना का एक स्मरण-पत्र लेना था, चूँकि वहाँ इतनी भीड़ आ गई कि उन लोगों ने सोचा कि मोरारजी भाई का रकना संकट से खाली नहीं है। इसलिये चले गये और शिव सेना के लोगों ने इसको बहाना बनाया कि चूँकि पुलिस कमिश्नर ने हमको बचन दिया था इस जगह पर मोरारजी को रोकेंगे और वहाँ पर स्मरण-पत्र दे देंगे, वह नहीं दिया इसलिये हम स्वतंत्र हैं, जो कुछ चाहें

करें। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया तो क्यों नहीं किया इसका स्पष्टीकरण होना चाहिये।

क्या यह सत्य नहीं है श्रीमन्, कि बाल थेकरे से जेल में जाकर अनुनय-विनय किया गया अधिकारियों द्वारा और बयान कराया गया यह समझ कर कि अगर बाल थेकरे सार्वजनिक ढंग से बयान नहीं देते तो पुलिस, जिस पर जनता की, लोगों की, सुरक्षा का भार है उस पुलिस के अंदर इतनी शक्ति नहीं है कि वह बम्बई के अंदर नागरिकों को संरक्षण दे सके, इसलिये वह गये, जेल में जाकर बयान लिया और ले आ कर उसको प्रकाशित कराया।

क्या यह सरकार बतायेगी कि जो 4000 के करीब आदमी पकड़े गये हैं उनमें कौन लोग हैं, शिव सेना के बालंटियर कितने हैं, शिव सेना के बालंटियर कौन हैं? यह जितने गुंडे, जितने लफंगे और जितने असामाजिक तत्व हैं यह सब आज अपने को शिव सेना के कहते हैं। आज स्पष्टतः घर मंत्री को समझना चाहिये कि बम्बई में एक समानान्तर सरकार बनी हुई है, वह अपनी तरफ से आदेश पत्र जारी करती है, अपनी तरफ से परिपत्र जारी करती है, अपने को सरकार समझ कर काम कर रही है, श्री यशवंत राव चव्हाण की आंख और नाक के नीचे कर रही है, और फिर ऐसी बात होते हुए हमारे घर मंत्री चव्हाण साहब जो केन्द्रीय घर मंत्री हैं, बम्बई की सरकार की सराहना करते हैं, या उनको संरक्षण देते हैं, यह कह कर कि चूँकि मुख्य मंत्री यहाँ विराजमान नहीं हैं इसलिये मुख्य मंत्री की प्रतिष्ठा की रक्षा करना हमारा कर्तव्य है। यह कोई जनतंत्रीय आचरण नहीं है, जनतंत्रीय आचरण का निषेध होता है। यहाँ पर जो सत्य है उसी को सत्य कहना चाहिये। यशवंत राव चव्हाण साहब यह कह कर भले ही आज अपने कर्तव्य की पूर्ति समझें कि हमने कह दिया शिव सेना फासिस्ट आर्गनाइजेशन है मगर यह कथन कर्तव्य की पूर्ति नहीं है। कह दिया यशवंत राव जी

[श्री राजनारायण]

ने एक मर्चावा कहीं बर्यान में, मगर उसके विपरीत बम्बई सरकार के द्वारा, महाराष्ट्र सरकार के द्वारा आचरण हो रहा है, और एक समानान्तर सरकार बनी हुई है। उसका निराकरण करने के लिये बम्बई सरकार ने क्या किया ?

मैं जानना चाहता हूँ, पांचवाँ सवाल, क्या सरकार को इस बात की जानकारी है कि जो मरे हैं वह कौन हैं ? शिव सेना के लोग हैं, गुंडे हैं, लफंगे हैं, वह निरीह हैं मासूम हैं, निर्दोष हैं, जिसको इस बर्बर सरकार ने बर्बरता के साथ भूना है। छत पर बच्चे हैं, उनको गोली लगी है, धड़ाम से मरे हैं। शिव सेना के लफंगों पर, बदमाशों पर, असा-माजिक तत्वों पर गोली नहीं चली है। फिर भी सरकार कहती है हमने वहाँ पर पुलिस के जरिये गोली चलायी, पुलिस ने सहयोग किया। अगर तथ्य देखा जाय और जनतंत्रीय बुद्धि और व्यवहार हो, तो शिवसेना के कुकर्मों को आगे बढ़ाने में पुलिस ने सहयोग किया।

श्रीमन्, मैं बम्बई कारपोरेशन के चुनाव के मौके पर बम्बई मौजूद था, दो दिन का हमारा कार्यक्रम था। मैं शिव सेना का खुद भुक्तभोगी हूँ। क्या यशवंत राव चव्हाण को इस वक्त की जानकारी नहीं है ? श्री भूपश गुप्त ने थोड़े में कहा। उसकी पूरी बात जान लें। शिव सेना की शुरुआत हुई कृष्ण मेनन के चुनाव के समय से, शिव सेना की शुरुआत हुई श्री एस० के० पाटिल से, श्री एस० के० पाटिल की तरफ की सारी शक्ति, श्री पाटिल के प्रभाव में पनपने फिरने वाले पूंजीपतियों ने शिव सेना को अपार धन दिया उसके संगठन को बढ़ाया, जाल को फैलाया।

श्रीमन्, मैं आपके द्वारा घर मंत्री से जानना चाहूंगा कि 9 तारीख को जार्ज फर्नान्डेज के साथ क्या हुआ। जार्ज फर्नान्डेज की मीटिंग थी, वह मीटिंग स्थगित कर दी गई। शिव सेना के लोग वहाँ पहले से ही आ कर एकत्रित हो गये। अपने आदमियों को दफ्तर

में भेजते हैं और कहने लगे जार्ज को लाओ आकर बोले पब्लिक यहां आ रही है। तो जार्ज जब आयेंगे तो पब्लिक भी रहेगी। मगर शिव सेना के लोगों ने वितंडावाद किया। कहा : जार्ज बेलग्राम चलो, जार्ज बेलग्राम चलो। और सरकार ने उसमें क्या कार्यवाही की ? जार्ज फर्नान्डेज ने परसों हमको बताया कि जब वह गाड़ी में बैठकर गये और खुद देखा है घटनास्थल पर जा कर, तो पुलिस उनके साथ मजाक करती है। पुलिस के आफिसर कहते हैं चले जाओ, कोई रोक नहीं है। थोड़ी दूर जाने के बाद देखते हैं पुलिस का बैरियर बना हुआ है, रुकावट है, पुलिस के आफिसरों ने जार्ज की कोई मदद नहीं की। इस तरह से अगर चुनाव जीतने की साजिश होगी चव्हाण साहब, तो यह देश रसातल को जा रहा है इस पर गौर कीजिए।

दूसरी तरफ यह हुआ है कि वहाँ पर होटल वाले जितने थे उनको मारा गया। होटलों में शिव सेना के लोग क्यों गये। होटलों का क्या संरक्षण पुलिस वालों ने किया ? दुकानें लूटी गईं, उनके लिये वहाँ पुलिस ने क्या संरक्षण किया ? पुलिस खड़ी है और शिव सेना के लोग घुस-घुस कर भयंकर उत्पात कर रहे हैं, मार काट कर रहे हैं। ये सब काम हो रहे हैं ...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rajnarain, you kindly finish now. Others have to speak.

श्री राजनारायण : और इन कारनामों के बाद हमारे मित्र श्री यशवंत राव चव्हाण कहते हैं कि हम संरक्षण दे रहे हैं, चूंकि मुख्य मंत्री यहां विराजमान नहीं हैं इसलिए उनके सम्मान और प्रतिष्ठा की रक्षा करेंगे। इस तरह के संरक्षण से देश की असुरक्षा और अरक्षण होगा, देश खत्म होगा। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा, निश्चित रूप से इसका जवाब हो। जो लोग गिरफ्तार हैं, 4,000 के करीब खबर है, उसमें शिव सेना के

**[श्री राजनारायण]**

संगठन के कितने हैं, शिव सेना का ढांचा क्या है, उसका उद्देश्य क्या है, उसने किस उद्देश्य से और कार्यक्रम से अपने को गठित किया है, यह सब कुछ जानना चाहिये। लोग मरे हैं उनमें शिव सेना के कौन हैं और जो निरीह बच्चे मरे हैं, निर्दोष मरे हैं, मासूम मरे हैं, उनके मुआवजे के लिये सरकार ने अभी तक प्रयत्न क्यों नहीं किया और जिन लोगों ने बर्बरता के साथ गोली चलायी है उनके लिये वहां की सरकार कहां तक दोषी है? इसलिये मैं पूरा दोष आज महाराष्ट्र की सरकार को देता हूँ और उन अधिकारियों को देता हूँ जिन्होंने शिव सेना की गतिविधियों पर अंकुश नहीं लगाया। शिव सेना के जरिये वहां के नागरिकों की हिफाजत नहीं होगी। उनके ऊपर गोली चलाई गई। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा सरकार हमारे मुझाब को माने कि एक पार्लियामेन्ट्री कमीशन बैठे और उन तमाम घटनाओं की जांच करने के बाद आगे कौन कदम उठाया जाय इस पर विचार करे। क्या सरकार तैयार है कि एक इन्क्वायरी कमीशन वहां जाय जिसमें राज्य सभा के और लोक सभा के सम्मानित सदस्य रहें और सारी घटनाओं और सारे तथ्यों पर चर्चा हो वरना हमारा देश एक शब्द वाक्य जाल से, कानूनी बचत से, आज जहन्नूम में जा रहा है। मैं बहुत दर्द के साथ कह रहा हूँ। शिव सेना के बारे में यहां पूरे एक दिन का विवाद होना चाहिये। इस पर अच्छी तरीके से विचार हो और इस समय अन्य उदाहरण रखने का मौका नहीं है वरना मैं उन तमाम तथ्यों को यहां पेश करता।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, the hon. Member has asked me very few questions in this sense that he wanted to know about the Constitution of the Shiv Sena, etc This is a matter which I will have to find out from the documents and give it to him. Some time I will do that.

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He asked me whether I agree with him that the Shiv Sena organisation . . .

SHRI SYED AHMAD (Madhya Pradesh) : You are the Home Minister and you are not aware of the Constitution of the Shiv Sena ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am not unaware of it. But if at all the documents have to be produced, that will take some time. I have not learnt it's constitution by heart ; I cannot just reproduce it here.

The other thing that he asked me is whether I consider Shiv Sena as an organisation which has disgraced democracy. I entirely agree with him on that question. I have said that. I have maintained this position : I have taken this view even formerly.

He then talked about the people who were arrested and asked how many of them are Shiv Sena volunteers or sympathisers. The information that I got from the Maharashtra Government—they have made this statement—is that bulk of them are sympathisers and volunteers of the Shiv Sena.

In the case of persons who died it may be possible that some innocent persons are involved. On such occasions innocent persons do fall victims to firing. I do not say that there may not be innocent persons involved. I have heard of at least one case of a girl who was standing on the balcony having been killed in the firing. It was very sad : I am sure that that girl was innocent. But it is very wrong to say that all of them were innocent. It will be very wrong to say that.

About what happened to Mr. Fernandes's meeting I have no facts and I cannot make any statement about that.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD (Uttar Pradesh) : What about the Enquiry Committee ?

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, हमने तीन चार सवाल किये और उनका कोई जबाब नहीं आया।

**श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) :** और भी सवाल करना चाहते हैं।

**श्री राजनारायण:** श्रीमन् मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पुलिस आफिसरों ने जाकर श्री बैकरे का बयान लिया या नहीं? श्री मोरारजी देसाई के समय पुलिस कमिश्नर और शिव सेना के लोगों के बीच में समझौता हुआ या नहीं? वहाँ पर पैरल सरकार है या नहीं? इन सवालों का कोई उत्तर माननीय घर मंत्री ने नहीं दिया। ये मूल प्रश्न है क्योंकि इससे यह सिद्ध होगा कि सरकार शिव सेना के सामने नतमस्तक हुई है और शिव सेना की गतिविधियों को बढ़ा रही है।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Well, Sir, I did try to find out about that and it is a fact that the Police Commissioner had told even Shri Morarji Desai that if the demonstrators were peaceful, then possibly he may step on the way and take the memorandum, because that is the normal way of dealing with demonstrations.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): This is not the normal way. Our experience is . . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It may be your experience.

**श्री राजनारायण:** एग्जिमेंट में लिखा गया है। शिव सेना की तरफ से पुलिस . . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have myself many times . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : When Indira Gandhi goes, we are put in prison by hundreds. Leftists are put in prison by hundreds.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Govinda Reddy.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : We know how the people in Bengal are treated by the Central Ministers. Nobody talks to them. Why this favouritism to the Shiv Sena ?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : I must very strongly refute the charge made by the Home Minister . . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have not made any charge.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : ... that the PSP had an alliance with the Shiv Sena. It is not a correct fact.

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(Interruptions.)

AN HON. MEMBER : It is correct.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : Please wait. It is true that the Bombay unit of the Praja Socialist Party had an adjustment of seats with the Shiv Sena. (Interruptions). Please wait. With regard to municipal elections in Bombay, there was absolutely no alliance, but after the elections when they found that the activities of the Shiv Sena were not in the national interest and they were not democratic, the PSP made it clear that they were not going to cooperate with the Shiv Sena in the municipal affairs and that they would like to sit in a separate block, which is a fact.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE : The hon. Member should know that they had walked out of the Bombay Corporation meeting held recently along with the Shiv Sena in protest when they were not allowed to discuss adjournment motion.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : Let me go on. We must go into the causes . . .

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) : Sir, I have not so far intervened, but let the record be very clear. It is on the suggestion of the PSP that Mr. Nath Pai, along with his colleagues, went to the Yervada jail and he had requested that Shri Bal Thackeray should be released, when we had been making this demand that the Maharashtra Government should remain firm. It is the PSP, it is the SSP, it is the leaders of the Swatantra Party, who were making a demand for the release of Shri Bal Thackeray. Let that be made clear.

(Interruptions.)

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, चूंकि एस० एस० पी० का नाम लिया गया है, इसलिए हमें इस बारे में कहने का मौका दिया जाना चाहिये।

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : We must go into the causes of these Bombay disturbances. The main reason why this took place was that the Shiv Sena, along with some other parties, have been demanding the inclusion of Belgaum in Maharashtra. After the reorganisation of the States, certain border disputes were there but the

Government of India, in spite of repeated demands made by the States concerned, never made any attempt to solve the border disputes. With regard to Belgaum and ether areas they did make an effort. The Mahajan Commission was appointed and it submitted its report. It should have been considered as an award and implemented. In spite of the fact that for the last one year or so the report was before the Central Government, they did not implement the award given by the Mahajan Commission. And this led to this dispute. If only the Central Government was firm in accepting it and implementing the award of the Mahajan Commission, the Bombay holocaust would not have happened. What has happened, Sir ? Most of the Maharashtrian—may be rightly—are entertaining the same hopes\* feelings and emotional oneness with the people of Belgaum and they want that this area should come to Maharashtra. When that was the situation, it is quite likely that many officers .....

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA : May I ask one clarification from the hon. Member ? Is the hon. Member expressing his personal view or expressing the view of the PSP, including the view of Mr. Nath Pai and Mr. Gorty ?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : Let me tell you, Sir, with regard to the border disputes, all the political parties in India are divided, including the Congress Party. At one time all the States in India were ruled by the Congress Party, at the Centre as well as in the States, and they could have settled it amicably without any trouble and without asking the people to go in demonstration against it. They did not do it. The Congress Party or the Maharashtra Congress hold one view. The Mysore Congress holds another view. Even the Mysore man, who is the Congress President, has failed to solve this problem. It was at his instance that this Commission was appointed and he has failed to solve it. All the political parties—the SSP, PSP, Swatantra Party and to some extent the Jan Sangh—are divided on the border issue and particularly with regard to the Mysore-Maharashtra border. The officers of the Maharashtra Government, particularly in the police and the armed police, felt one with the Shiv Sena or any

other political party with regard to Belgaum. So, the Government of India should have expected, when such a situation arose, that the police officers and the armed police would not evince as much interest or they might not be impartial. They should have foreseen these things and they should have sent their own military and armed police to protect the lives of millions in Bombay and their property. What has happened in Bombay is that the targets of attack were mostly South Indians—people from Mysore, people from Kerala, people from Madras and Andhra—were attacked. Their person might not have been attacked, but their properties were looted. This is not the first instance. This is not the first time that such a holocaust has taken place in Bombay. This is the third or fourth time that the hooligans, under the advice and under the management of organisations like the Shiv Sena, have looted properties belonging to South Indians. This is the third or the fourth time. The Government should have taken proper care to see that these elements were rounded up. They had given public notice. When Mr. Chavan went to Bombay he was prevented. They did agitate against his entry into Bombay. They had given a public call, but the Central Government and the State Government did not take proper care and did not take proper precautions. I would like to ask the Home Minister whether they had rounded up some of these elements, the leaders, before the 27th or immediately after the notice was served by Mr. Bal Thackeray and, if so, how many were arrested before the 27th, when Mr. Chavan went to Bombay. I would also like to know from him how many shops and hotels were looted, particularly those belonging to South Indians and non-Maharashtrians. Properties of non-Maharashtrians had been looted by these hooligans and it is said, according to the papers, that some of these stolen properties are found in some of the middleclass families. It is very preposterous, very dangerous to think that such a thing has happened in Bombay. We will all have to hang our heads in shame with regard to the happenings in Bombay. If M. I would like to know from the Home Minister what steps the Government is taking to see that there is normalcy there. The non-Maharashtrians are feeling insecure, their life is insecure, their property is insecure. What steps is the Government

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy] of India going to take to see that they are protected and they return to Bombay ?

If at any time there was any breakdown of law and order and if there was any justification for imposition of President's rule, it was here in Bombay where there was complete chaos. There was no law and order. There was a breakdown of the Constitution, the Naik Ministry should have been dismissed, President's rule should have been imposed and the Army should have been sent there. It is no use bringing in Mr. Nath Pai. What has Mr. Nath Pai done ? This is a matter which has arisen out of the Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute. You must give me more time, Mr. Chairman. There are people who entertain some doubts that the PSP had some sort of understanding. During these disturbances I am proud to say that the workers of the Praja Socialist Party went round wherever possible to restore order, to restore peace, to restore normalcy. Their effort might not have been big, but it is a fact and I am proud that they went round and tried to see that peace was restored in Bombay. What Mr. Nath Pai did was he wanted to see that this holocaust was put an end to, that peace was restored, that normalcy was restored, that there was law and order, that people lived in peace. That is what he tried to do. When he met Mr. Bal Thackeray, he did want to impress upon him that violence would not pay; that whatever might be the reasons for the struggle or whatever might be the justification for the struggle it was not proper that violence should be used. He tried to prevent these disturbances. He tried to see that peace was restored. That is what Mr. Nath Pai had done. The Praja Socialist Party has nothing to do with these and they have no truck with them. If at all anybody is to be blamed, it is the Central Government and the State Government who have failed in their duty to protect the lives and property of the citizens of Bombay, and they should be condemned.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान् . . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have got a number of others.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान्, हमारी केवल एक बात सुन लीजिये...

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SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY  
The Home Minister must answer first.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान्, मोहन धारिया जी ने जो हमारी पार्टी के बारे में कहा है उसका स्पष्टीकरण मैं एक मिनट में कर देता हूँ...

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I do not know ; the hon. Members are making long speeches. If I am supposed to reply to every speech, possibly I will have to make one dozen speeches. The hon. Member most of the time gave his explanation on behalf of his party and his colleagues. He is free to do that. As far as the questions are concerned, he only asked what is the number of shops of South Indians that were looted, etc. Whatever information I have got is subject to correction because this information I have tried to get on the telephone. My information is that the number of hotels that were looted is about 63 out of which 43 were of South Indians. There were also non-South Indian hotels. The number of shops looted is about 123, I am told, and those belonging to the South Indians are about 14.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Gross under-estimation.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : May be, but I am subject to correction. Whatever information I have got I am telling you. I know one diamond shop belonging to a Maharashtra was also looted. It may be that South Indians have suffered more, but hooligans have not made any distinction between non-Maharashtrians and Maharashtra in the case of looting.

(Some hon. Members stood up.)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am giving an opportunity to everyone to say something. But I cannot allow anybody who is not on the list to get up.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : The Home Minister did not answer the points that I raised. Firstly, the causes for the trouble. Then, what are they going to do about the Mahajan Commission Report? This is a very important matter. As he rightly put it, it may not be possible for him to reply to all the points made by the hon. Members. I demand that there should be a



thorough debate, one day's debate on this I continue. I am against it. Therefore, I would not also demand that there should be a commission of Inquiry to go into the whole happenings in Bombay.

**श्री राजनारायण :** मुझ को केवल एक मिनट में यह कहना है कि मोहन धारिया जी ने एस० एस० पी० का नाम लिया है तो एस० एस० पी० का यह सिद्धांत है कि प्रिवेंटिव डिटेन्शन ऐक्ट के अन्दर गिरफ्तारी नहीं होनी चाहिये और अगर किसी ने कोई अपराध किया है तो उसके ऊपर बाकायदा मुकदमा चले। हमारी मांग है कि ठीकरे के ऊपर बाकायदा कल्ल को इंस्टीगेट करने और अवेटमेंट का एक मुकदमा चलाया जाना चाहिये जो कि उन्होंने किया है और उनको हीरो नहीं बनाया जाना चाहिये प्रिवेंटिव डिटेन्शन ऐक्ट के अन्दर गिरफ्तार कर के। अगर इस पालिसी के तहत किसी ने कोई बात कह दी है तो ठीक है क्योंकि मोहन धारिया जी प्रिवेंटिव डिटेन्शन ऐक्ट में गिरफ्तार होंगे तो हम उसका विरोध करेंगे और भूपेश गुप्त जी प्रिवेंटिव डिटेन्शन ऐक्ट में गिरफ्तार होंगे तो हम उसका भी विरोध करेंगे। प्रिवेंटिव डिटेन्शन ऐक्ट के तहत गिरफ्तारी के

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Lokanath Misra.  
चाहता हूँ।

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY :** Mr. Chairman, the Home Minister did not answer two points which I made. I wanted to know how many preventive arrests were made before the 27th of January. Why did they not implement the Mahajan Commission Report which is mainly responsible for this holocaust in Bombay?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I do not have any information with me about the arrests before the 27th or after the 27th.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA :** I do not intend to make a speech. I have never allowed some other Members doing so because I am against, during a calling attention motion, anybody making speeches, whether it is Mr. Bhupesh Gupta or Mr. Rajnarain. I have been resisting it but all the same it

do it. Some allegations have been brought by Mr. Dharia that my party was involved in making the demand for the release of Mr. Bal Thackeray. I do not know who that particular party member is, but so far as the party is concerned, the party condemns the actions of Mr. Bal Thackeray and the Shiv Sena. In fact you may be remembering that two years before it was I who on the floor of the House brought the Shiv Sena matter for the first time. It was I who made allegations.-  
(Interruption) May be, rightly or wrongly. I condemn the actions of Mr. Bal Thackeray. I do not know whether he has made any demands at all. I have been condemning the Shiv Sena. Two years before I did it. None of you did it. Some of the Congress members were involved in it. Let me not get into a controversy.

I would ask two questions specifically of the Home Minister. I would like to know whether any action has been taken against the Police Commissioner, who must be a Maharashtrian I presume, for having got into this alliance with the Shiv Sena to allow a memorandum to be submitted in a procession to the Deputy Prime Minister of India, and whether the Deputy Prime Minister's prior permission or consent, whatever that may be called, had been obtained by the Police Commissioner before he could get into such an alliance with the Shiv Sena; whether it is an alliance or understanding or agreement, whatever it is, whether the prior consent and permission of the Deputy Prime Minister was obtained so that he could be stooped in the midst of a mob and a memorandum submitted to him. If that was not done and in spite of that without the permission and consent of the Deputy Prime Minister if any Commissioner had got into an agreement or contract or understanding with the Shiv Sena that he could stop the car and the Memorandum be submitted and that flared up the entire thing, has any action been taken against that Police Commissioner? This is number one.

Secondly, I would like to know whether any of the top leaders of the Congress Party even now has condemned the action of the Shiv Sena and whatever had happened in Bombay; whether any of them including Mr. Chavan himself who is the Home Minister of the Country, has paid a visit to

I Shri Lokanath Misra ]

Bombay City to pacify matters, to see that normalcy is regained. In the case of the earthquake there, we found the name of Mr. Chavan appearing in the next morning's papers regarding his visit to the Effected area. In the case of Bombay, may I know whether any of the top leaders of the Congress Party including himself and the Prime Minister, have condemned or they have ever thought of paying a visit to that area which has been so badly affected ?

Thirdly, the Home Minister gave certain information about South India establishments. May I ask him categorically hew many non-Maharashtrian premises oi shops or houses have been damaged and hew many non-Maharashtrians have been shot by firing ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The break-up of these establishments and the deaths, I do not have at the present moment. As you suggested, Sir, or as some other Members suggested, if this matter is going to be discussed further in the House, I have no objection to the discussion. Whatever information I will have at that time, I will give with the details of the brek-i p.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That matter can be considered.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : He has aksed me specific questions..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, at least one day we want.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I support it. Let there be a debate. Everybody will be in a position to know, and let there be no misunderstanding. I have also to say many things.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The hon. Member has raised a question whether the Commissioner had taken the previous consent of the Deputy Prime Minister about this matter. I do not think there was any agreement as such. But they were told—tha is my information—that if they were peaceful and if they could peacefully give a memorandum, they could do that. And I am told that after the Deputy Prime Minister reached the place, the Commissioner did mention this fact to the Deputy Prime

Minister. The Deputy Prime Minister did not say either 'yes' or 'no'. But when the Commissioner himself saw that the demonstrators were not peaceful and they were violent he did not stop the car. This is what happened.

Now, the hon. Member \_\_\_\_

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: All this decision taken by the Police Ccm-missioner ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It was not a decision.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Whether a letter is to be sent or whether to stop the car, is the decision of t he Police Com-missioner ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Well, Sir, I would like to tell the hon. Member tl at I happened to be in Maharashtra en the J0tb. While addressing a public meeting at lcfcail-karanji, I had condemned the activities of violence, and that has appeared in the Press. I do not know whether it has appealed in the papers which he reads. But I was not in Delhi. (Interruptions) I am sorry. If they did not think it necessary to publish it in the national papers, I cannot be blamed. But I took the first opportunity to condemn it and also to give advice that on such questions as border, we should not resort to violent methods. It is true that I did not rush to Bombay because I thought that my going there would be creating more problems to the police administration there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That was, really speaking, a matter that I thought..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why ? You are the Home Minister of the country. You should ask whoever..

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It is a matter of wisdom.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You went somewhere. They decided, because your route was different.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I gave my reason why I did not go. All the important leaders in Bombay have certainly condemned it in the proper manner.

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MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Shejwalkar. You will put only questions. I shall not take more than 10 minutes. I would like to exhaust the list of Members. We are going to have, most probably, a debate. I am considering the matter.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Still you will allow me two minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Leave it to me. I shall see.

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर (मध्य प्रदेश) :

सभापति महोदय, मैं आपका ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि अभी कहा गया कि पुलिस ने पूरा प्रयास किया स्थिति पर काबू पाने के लिए। वस्तुस्थिति ठीक इसके विपरीत है। अगर गृह मंत्री चाहें तो मैं नाम भी बता सकता हूँ। एक स्थान पर जब पुलिस स्टेशन पर सूचना देने के लिए नागरिक पहुंचे कि यह दुकान जल रही है तो वहां पर उनसे कहा गया कि आप जाकर दूसरी दुकानों को क्यों नहीं जलाते। पुलिस स्टेशन पर पुलिस आफीसर ने यह बात कही। अगर आप नाम चाहते हैं तो मैं नाम बता सकता हूँ। इस स्थिति में यह कहना कि पुलिस ने बड़ी अच्छी तरह से काम किया, कंट्रोल किया, यह कहाँ तक ठीक है, इसके बारे में जानकारी दी जाय। मैं तो यह देखता हूँ कि इस प्रकार के आन्दोलन या इस प्रकार की जो गुन्डागर्दी होती है उसके लिए कुछ न कुछ विशेष रूप से शासन की नीति जिम्मेदार है क्योंकि जब कोई किसी प्रकार से ठीक बात कही जाती है उसको कोई सुनता नहीं, प्रतिनिधिके रूप में आते हैं तो कोई सुनता नहीं और जब गुन्डागर्दी होती है तभी शासन का ध्यान आकर्षित होता है। तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि अब भी इस स्टेज पर भी इस प्रकार की समस्या को हल करने के लिए शासन के पास क्या कोई योजना है कि सारी प्रान्तों की सरकारों को बुला कर या जो देश के प्रमुख नेता हैं उनको बुला कर इस समस्या का हल निकाला जाय।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, he has asked me question on the merits of the

border dispute as such. I must say that Government has not taken any final decision about the Mahajan Commission's Report. Certainly, the National Integration Conference has suggested whether certain principles can be worked out on a basis. Even in that matter, the Prime Minister had made the point clear that even if such principles are evolved, it is not certain whether they will be applied to the Mahajan Commission's Report or not. She has not pointed out anything about this. This is merely a statement of fact of Government's position so far as the matter is concerned.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY-  
Sir....

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not allow anybody.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : He referred to the Mahajan Commission's Report. The National Integration Conference did not take into consideration what had already happened in regard to Mysore-Maharashtra. What the National Integration...

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : This is exactly what I have said. The Prime Minister made the position clear ; whether this will be applied to the Mahajan Commission's Report or not, she has not...

MR. CHAIRMAN : We will give an opportunity for a full discussion later. I have promised that I will list all these names.

Mr. Achutha Menon.

SHRI C. ACHUTHA MENON (Kerala): I will put a brief question. Was it not a fact that the Home Minister gave a chit of good conduct to the Maharashtra Government ? It appeared in the papers like that. He is even now defending the Maharashtra Government. From the whole series of events it seems that the Maharashtra Government had failed in its primary duty of protecting the lives of citizens there and the whole city of Bombay which had a glorious tradition in the national and the working class movements. The whole city of Bombay its whole population, was held to ransom by a fascist criminal gang for four days together, and the Government was unable

[Shri C. Achutha Menon] to prevent it. And we have also the instance of the Commissioner of Police coming into an agreement with the leader of this criminal gang. He is treated as a big man, like M. T. V. Gandhi, in the Yeravda Jail, going to him taking his statement and then releasing it through the Government agency. It would seem as if he could call the whole show and he could also call off the whole show. All these things happened.

Then, I put it directly to the Home Minister. There was a report in the Press to the effect that Bal Thackeray, before giving a lead to this kind of agitation—not agitation but arson and looting and goondaism—had come to Delhi and had consultations with the highest quarters inducing the Home Minister himself, and then dashed to Bombay to give the call for the agitation. I want the Home Minister to reply whether he is aware of these allegations and what he has to say with regard to these.

And then Sir, there were innumerable instances like this before. This is not a new thing. As many have stated, from the time of Mr. Krishna Menon's election, people of South Indian origin, people from Tamil Nadu, people from Kerala, were ill-treated. There was a ban on the showing of Hindi films produced in Tamil Nadu. There were all sorts of things going on one and two or three times before in Bombay there was looting and arson, not on such a big scale, they were minor incidents. All these years the Government kept quiet. Even now, the whole series of events show that the Maharashtra Government kept quiet. It was also suggested that the military might be called. Why did the Maharashtra Government hesitate to do it? So I want to put it to the Home Minister that the Government of Maharashtra was in collusion with the whole agitation of Shiv Sena and that is why they did not take strong action to suppress it.

There is another question. Lots of people have lost everything in these riots, arson and looting and all that. Would it not be fair, I put it to them, that the Maharashtra Government take steps in order to rehabilitate the poor shopkeepers who have lost everything? It may be a big sum but they have to do it because they have failed in

their primary duty of saving the life and property of the citizens. These are my two questions.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Let me, Sir, repudiate with all the emphasis at my command the allegation made by the hon. Member that Mr. Bal Thackeray came to Delhi and even discussed the matter with me. That is wrong, false and mischievous statement.

SHRI C. ACHUTHA MENON : You did not repudiate in when it appeared in the papers.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That he came to Delhi may be true. But that he came and discussed the matter with me is absolutely mischievous and a mean statement to make. This is merely showing anger. His anger may be justified. But at least I expect hon. Members to make responsible statements. I do not want to hold any brief for the Maharashtra Government. If the Maharashtra Government has erred, certainly it will face the consequences. What I am trying to say is that when it became obvious that the Shiv Sena was out to resort to violent activities they immediately dealt with it firmly. This is the limited statement that I am making.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Naik is not resigning.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It is no use betraying dislike for a person like this. One has to be very objective in these matters. I did say that the anticipation went wrong about the Shiv Sena and what they did at that time. I am saying where they were wrong. But immediately when they found that the Shiv Sena was trying to be violent they became active promptly. They took to tear-gassing, lathi-charge and firing and so on. That shows they wanted to deal with the situation very firmly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Many innocent persons were killed.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Murahari, also be brief.

SHRI C. ACHUTHA MENON : What about my other suggestion about compensation ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am sorry I missed that point about compensation etc. I do not know exactly what compensation is being considered. But I got the information that the Chief Minister out of his own funds has already announced Rs. 5 lakhs and they are also considering further help. This is the first instalment.

**श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या यह सही नहीं है कि शिव सेना का जो मामला है वह कई सालों से चल रहा है और शुरू-शुरू में कुछ कांग्रेसी मंत्री जो कि महाराष्ट्र सरकार के हैं, वे लोग, बाल थैकरे के साथ राय मशिवरा भी करते थे और उन्होंने उनको बढ़ावा भी दिया। हो सकता है कि आज वही शिव सेना भस्मासुर की तरह तैयार हो गई हो और कांग्रेस को भी खा जा सकती है। मैं जानता हूँ कि आज जो शिव सेना की शक्ति बढ़ रही है वह कांग्रेस को भी खा जायगी लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या यह सही नहीं है कि कांग्रेस के कुछ मंत्री—मैं सब को दोष नहीं देता लेकिन कांग्रेस में कुछ मंत्री जो कि महाराष्ट्र के हैं उन्होंने इसको शुरू-शुरू में प्रोत्साहन दिया और साथ ही साथ क्या यह भी सही नहीं है कि शिव सेना का इस्तेमाल किया गया वहाँ के चुनाव में। जो पाटिल साहब वहाँ है, या कोई हो, उनका इस्तेमाल किया वहाँ के कुछ नेताओं को हराने के लिये। और क्या यह भी सही नहीं है कि सम्पूर्ण महाराष्ट्र समिति जैसी संस्था महाराष्ट्र के बारे में जो कुछ राजनैतिक ढंग से वहाँ पर भूवर्मेन्ट चला रही थी उसको खत्म करने के लिये ही कांग्रेसी नेताओं ने यह जरूरत समझी कि बाल थैकरे ऐसे आदमी को वहाँ खड़ा कर दे और शिव सेना ऐसी चीज़ वहाँ खड़ी कर दी। इस सारी चीज़ की तो वहाँ से शुरुआत हुई और वह भस्मासुर आज यहाँ पर इस ढंग से तांडव कर रहा है। मैं सिर्फ महाराष्ट्र की बात ही नहीं कहता, मैं आज

गृह मंत्री जी से आंध्र की बात भी कहता हूँ कि आज वहाँ मुल्की और नान-मुल्की का चल रहा है और वह भी कांग्रेस की ही करतूत है, वहाँ के कांग्रेस के कुछ नेताओं ने अपने ही स्वार्थ के लिये वहाँ पर भी इस तरह का एक एजिटेशन खड़ा किये हुये हैं। तो अरल में कांग्रेस के ही चलते-चलते हम देख रहे हैं कि अपने स्वार्थ के लिये कुछ नेताओं ने ऐसी संस्थायें खड़ी कर रखी हैं और ऐसे भूवर्मेन्ट्स खड़े कर रहे हैं जो कि आगे चल कर द्रविड़ कपगम् से भी बहुत ज्यादा खतरनाक नतीजे पर देश को ला सकते हैं और मुल्क के टुकड़े भी कर सकते हैं। इसलिये मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि गृह मंत्री साहब इसके बारे में कोई ठोस कदम उठाने के लिये तैयार हैं। यह सारी शुरुआत जितनी भी है चाहे वह मुल्की और नान-मुल्की की हो, चाहे वह शिव सेना की हो, चाहे वह और किसी सेना की हो, हमने सुना है कि कन्नड़ में भी कोई सेना तैयार हुई है, यह सब किसने की ? तो इन सारी चीज़ों को खत्म करने के लिये ठीक ढंग से काम करना पड़ेगा और ठीक ढंग से खत्म करना पड़ेगा क्योंकि किसी चीज़ को शुरू शुरू में प्रोत्साहन दे दे और जब वह एक बड़ी शक्ति बन जाय तो उसके बाद आप हजारों गोलियाँ चलायें या प्रिवेंटिव डिटेन्शन में रखें उससे कोई चीज़ होने वाली नहीं है। जैसा कि श्री राजनारायण जी ने बताया, एस० एस० पी० प्रिवेंटिव डिटेन्शन के खिलाफ रही है और अभी भी है, चाहे वह बाल थैकरे हों या और कोई हों। लेकिन जब कानून के खिलाफ कोई काम होता है उस वक़्त ही सरकार उसके ऊपर ढंग से कार्यवाही क्यों नहीं कर पाती और उसको शुरुआत में ही खत्म क्यों नहीं कर देती, यह मैं जानना चाहूंगा। और मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या गृह मंत्री जी इसके लिये तैयार हैं कि यहाँ एक पार्लियामेंटरी कमेटी इसके बारे में बने जो कि वहाँ पर जा कर पूरी तरह से इसकी तहकीकात करे और तहकीकात कर के एक रिपोर्ट पेश करे।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The hon. Member has consistently made suggestions. Many hon. Members have asked whether any Maharashtra Government Minister was involved in it. I have no information. I have no evidence to make such a statement. I cannot make any irresponsible statement like this.

About the action to be taken, certainly, I am one with them that whatever legal action can be taken against these Senas will have to be taken. But we will have to fight these ideas because these are wrong ways of fighting for public causes. And this is the basic thing about the Shiv Sena also.

About the other matter, he said that they are against preventive detention. There the trouble starts. I am asked why preventive action was taken, and when action is taken they say they are against preventive detention. How is one to function in this matter?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : This is no argument. There are many provisions in the Criminal Procedure Code including section 151.

श्री जगत नारायण (हरियाणा) : मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उन्होंने "स्टट्समैन" की यह खबर पढ़ी है : "Three days of terror in Bombay" जो कि कल के "स्टट्समैन" में छपी थी। अभी अभी होम मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि वह सिर्फ 10 तारीख को वहाँ थे और उसमें यह लिखा हुआ है :—

"Mr. Chavan was in Maharashtra during these days but he did not consider it necessary to visit Bombay or to do anything about the matter."

तो उसके जवाब में उन्होंने यह कहा कि मैं 10 तारीख को वहाँ था, मैंने कंडेम् किया लेकिन मैंने जाना बेहतर नहीं समझा। उनकी नालेज में होगा कि जब कलकत्ता में डिस्टरबेंस हुआ था तब प्राइम मिनिस्टर खुद वहाँ पहुँची थीं और वह वहाँ जा कर लोगों से मिली थीं और वहाँ की हालत को दुरुस्त करने की कोशिश की थी। तो होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने यह

मुनासिब नहीं समझा कि जब कि बस महाराष्ट्र में ही थे वह बम्बई में तश्रीफ ले जायें और वह वहाँ जा कर लोगों से मिलते और हालात को दुरुस्त करने की कोशिश करते ताकि जितनी बदतर हालत वहाँ हुई है वह न होती ? पहली बात।

दूसरी बात मैं उनसे जो पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उनकी इल्म में यह है जो कि 14 तारीख के इंडियन एक्सप्रेस में छपा है कि वहाँ के बम्बई प्रदेश कांग्रेस के प्रेसिडेंट का यह बयान है जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि बाल थैकरे ने यह साफ तौर पर कहा कि पेरी जो शिव सेना है यह फासिस्ट है और मैं फासिज्म में बिलीव करता हूँ और उसके साथ ही 2 तारीख को जब उन्होंने एजिटेशन शुरू की तो उन्होंने यह कहा कि अगर गवर्नमेंट ने पुलिस से हमें दवाने की कोशिश की तो हम नहीं देंगे जब तक कि मिलिटरी नहीं आयेगी, गवर्नमेंट को मिलिटरी से हमको दवाना पड़ेगा। क्या होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने यह बयान बड़ा है ? अगर ऐसा है, अगर वह इसको फासिस्ट समझते हैं, अगर वह समझते हैं कि हमें हर सूरत में डिफाई करना है, फासिज्म में बिलीव करते हैं तो क्यों हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार इस मामले पर विचार नहीं करती कि शिव सेना को बैन किया जाय। यह मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ।

तीसरी बात यह कि पार्लियामेंटरी कमिशन के लिये यहां कहा जा रहा है लेकिन अगर वह यह नहीं करते हैं तो जो नाथ पाई साहब ने कहा था कि इस मामले के लिये सुप्रीम कोर्ट का एक जज लिया जाय जो कि थारो इक्वायरी करे तो क्या श्री नाथ पाई की इस तजवीज को वह माने के लिये तैयार है ताकि एक थारो इक्वायरी हो, ताकि सारा कुछ पब्लिक के सामने ठीक तौर पर आ जाय कि वहाँ पर क्या हुआ है और क्या नहीं हुआ है और किस ढंग से वहाँ पर इतनी खराब हालत क्रिएट की गई है।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, the hon. Member has asked for information. I can give him information. He read out something that I was in Maharashtra for these three days. It is not correct. On the 8th and 9th I was in the South. I reached Poona on the 9th night, I was nearly hundred miles away from Bombay. When I heard details of these things I did talk to the Chief Minister on the telephone and asked whether I should come. But he was in charge of the matter. He said that action was being taken in a proper manner and I should not rush there. I think by my going there, instead of helping him, I might have added to his problem. Therefore, I did not go. About other things, I have already answered.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : श्रीमन्, यह निश्चित है कि यदि कोई यह कहे कि कांग्रेसियों का रोष है तो कांग्रेसियों का भी दोष नहीं है और मैं, श्रीमान होम मिनिस्टर साहब की इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि यहां पर पुलिस ने जो कुछ भी सम्भव था, किया किन्तु वास्तव में वह जन-विद्रोह था। तो क्या चव्हाण साहब इस तथ्य की जांच करेंगे कि इस जन-विद्रोह को दबाने के लिये शिव सेना का जन्म जिन कारणों से हुआ और एक प्रवृत्ति देश में यह चल रही है कि काश्मीर में गैर-काश्मीरी न जायें, असम में मारवाड़ियों का बहिष्कार हो और दूसरे स्थानों में भी जैसे मैसूर का इलाका है वहां पर और उसी प्रकार से आन्ध्र प्रदेश में जो हो रहा है इन्हीं बातों का एक परिणाम यह भी है कि महाराष्ट्र में हजारों नवयुवक आज बिना रोजगार के फिर रहे हैं और उनको रोजगार न मिल कर बहारी व्यक्तियों को वहां पर रोजगार दिया जा रहा है। उसका भी एक परिणाम यह हो सकता है। अगर यह परिणाम सही है तो ऐसी भावनाओं को दूर करने के लिये आपकी सरकार और महाराष्ट्र सरकार क्या कर रही है जिससे बाकी भारत के जो व्यक्ति वहां पर जा कर बसे हैं उनकी सुरक्षा हो। यह सारा देश एक है और सब जातियों के और सब प्रान्तों के लोगों का वह रहने का स्थान है इस भावना

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को जड़ प्रदान करने के लिये आप क्या सक्रिय कदम उठा रहे हैं ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, I have no doubt that every non-Maharashtrian citizen of Bombay has a claim for protection by the Maharashtra Government and the Government of India. I have no doubt about it and if the Maharashtra Government fail in their duty, certainly they do not deserve to be the Government which they are. I have no doubt about this basic position. Barring this sudden explosive situation that developed there, I think the Maharashtra Government is taking, and I am sure they will take, all the steps to give the necessary protection to the citizens.

#### STATEMENT OF BILLS ASSENTED TO BY THE PRESIDENT

SECRETARY : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement showing the Bills passed by the Houses of Parliament during the Sixty-sixth Session of the Rajya Sabha and assented to by the President.

##### STATEMENT OF BILLS

1. The Delhi and Ajmer Rent Control (Nasirabad Cantonment Repeal) Bill, 1968.
2. The Central Industrial Security Force Bill, 1968.
3. The Judges (Inquiry) Bill, 1968.
4. The Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill, 1968.
5. The Madras State (Alteration of Name) Bill, 1968.
6. The Appropriation (Railways) No. 5 Bill, 1968.
7. The Appropriation (Railways) No. 6 Bill, 1968.
8. The Deposit Insurance Corporation (Amendment) Bill, 1968.
9. The Food Corporations (Amendment) Bill, 1968.
10. The Banking Laws (Amendment) 1968.
11. The Essential Services Maintenance Bill, 1968.
12. The State Agricultural Credit Corporations Bill, 1968.
13. The Legislative Assembly of Nagaland (Change in Representation) Bill, 1968.