

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): What is that?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI. AKBAR ALI KHAN): Statement laid on the Table.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is not proper. Today is the last day of the Session. I realise It but he should say something. 'Red and Blue Book' he has said.

**MOTION RE SHIV SENA AND THE I
 SITUATION ARISING OUT OF THE
 RECENT VIOLENT DISTURBANCES
 IN BOMBAY—contd.**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I request the Members to co-operate and finish their speeches in ten mmutes so that many other Members may be accommodated. Dr. Bhai Mahavir (*Interruptions*) I have allowed Mr. Abid Ali and others also 10 minutes.

डा० भाई महावीर (दिल्ली) : वाइस चेयरमैन महोदय, शिव सेना के सवाल पर जितनी गरमी और जितना उत्साह भरा विवाद इस समय सदन में हो रहा है, उससे अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि 8 और 9 फरवरी को जब शिव सेना का राज बम्बई के अन्दर था, उस वक्त लोगों के मन की और जो शान्तिप्रिय नागरिक थे, उनके जान व माल की क्या स्थिति थी। हमारे मित्र श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने बहुत जोरों से कांग्रेस दल के ऊपर और खासकर श्री यशवन्त राव चव्हाण के ऊपर इस बात का आरोप लगाया कि उन्होंने शिव सेना को बनाया और उन्होंने उसको बढ़ाया। लेकिन कांग्रेस की तरफ से उतने ही जोश के साथ इसको इन्कार किया गया और कहा गया कि कांग्रेस वाले तो इसके खिलाफ रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सारे वाद-विवाद के अन्दर जो बात कांग्रेस दल की तरफ से शिव सेना के लिए कही गई और की जानी चाहिये थी, वह यह

कि यदि कांग्रेस वाले इसके समर्थन में नहीं थे, यदि वहाँ महाराष्ट्र की सरकार ने शिव सेना को रोकने के लिए और शिव सेना को इस तरह से दुर्दम्य न करने देने का फैसला किया था, तो फिर 8 और 9 फरवरी को इस तरह क्यों होने दिया? मुझे याद है कि जब मुझे पिछले साल बम्बई जाने का मौका मिला था, तो एक साहब बम्बई पुलिस की बड़ी तारीफ करने लगे और कहने लगे कि यहाँ पर पुलिस इतनी कार्यक्षम है कि यदि सुई गिर जाय और आप रिपोर्ट दे दें, तो एक घंटे के अन्दर पुलिस उसके बारे में खोज करके आपको वापस दे देगी। यह कार्य क्षमता जिसके बारे में बम्बई की नगरी एक गर्व करती थी, बम्बई का नागरिक इस तरह का अभिमान करता था, तो क्या उस दिन बम्बई की पुलिस इतनी कार्यक्षम रही कि उस दिन सारा बम्बई जल रहा था और शान्ति-प्रिय नागरिकों के घर लुट रहे थे, दुकानें जल रही थीं, जो फायर इंजन आग बुझाने जाती थी, उस फायर इंजन को जला दिया जाता था और फिर कहा जाता है कि कि इसमें कांग्रेस सरकार का और कांग्रेस का समर्थन नहीं था। अगर हम यह कहते हैं कि इसमें कांग्रेस का समर्थन नहीं था और जैसा आबिद अली साहब कह रहे हैं कि वहाँ पर महाराष्ट्र की सरकार बैठी हुई थी और इसलिए ऐसी बात नहीं होने देगी, तो मेरा यह निवेदन है कि वह बैठी ही नहीं थी बल्कि सोई हुई थी और 8 और 9 तारीख को तो बि कुल ही सोई हुई थी और उसको जगाने के वास्ते सारे बम्बई की चीख पुकार काफी नहीं थी।

8 और 9 फरवरी को जो कुछ वहाँ पर हुआ, उसके बारे में चिट्ठियां आई हुई हैं और जो कुछ इस संबंध में समाचार पत्रों में छपा था, मैं उसके वर्णन में नहीं जाऊंगा। मैं केवल इतना ही कहूंगा कि जो लोग वहाँ पर थे, उन्होंने बतलाया कि बड़े-बड़े पेड़ जिनको गिराने के वास्ते घंटों तक आदमियों

[डा० भई महाशिर]

को बेहतर करनी पड़ती है, कुल्हाड़ी लेकर वहाँ पर गिराये गये सड़कों को रोकने के वास्ते ताकि कोई रिलीफ वैन न जा सके, कायर इंजन न जा सके। तीन-तीन घंटे तक लोग पेड़ गिराने के काम में लगे रहे, भगर फिर भी पुलिस को पता नहीं हुआ और न ही पुलिस उस स्थान में पहुँची। वहाँ पर उस समय कोई कानून ही नहीं था, कोई किसी तरह का हाकिम ही नहीं था और न ही कोई हुक्म ही चलता था। वहाँ पर केवल गुन्डा राज था और सब यह है कि उन दिनों वहाँ पर गुन्डा राज हो गया था। इसलिए सोचना पड़ता है कि महाराष्ट्र सरकार को उस समय क्या हुआ था? क्या सांप सूँघ गया था, क्या महाराष्ट्र की बम्बई पुलिस की कार्यक्षमता पंख लगाकर उड़ गई थी, क्या सारे पुलिस के अधिकारी और पुलिस के कर्मचारी भाग पीकर सो गये थे? हुआ क्या था? यह सवाल है, जिसका जवाब कांग्रेस की तरफ से नहीं दिया गया। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग पुलिस थाने में रिपोर्ट करने जाते थे, उन्हें जवाब दिया जाता था कि कुछ ही दुकानें जल रही हैं, यह कहते हो, तो साथ वाली क्यों नहीं जल रही है, कुछ दूसरों को आग क्यों नहीं लगाते। सरकार ऐसे ही सुना करती है। अगर ऐसा करेंगे तभी बेलगांव मिलेगा, नहीं तो बेलगांव नहीं मिलेगा।

आज आरोप इस बात का नहीं है कि महाराष्ट्र की सरकार ने शिव सेना को पनाथा या नहीं बनाया। लेकिन यह सच है यशवन्त राव चव्हाण उनके किसी प्रभाम

के अन्दर गये थे और महाराष्ट्र के कांग्रेस के प्रधान भी किसी प्रोयाम में गये थे। इसके बारे में सफाई यह दी गई है कि जैसे गांधी जी जिन्ना साहब को बुलाते थे, वैसे ही वे भी गये थे। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एनालाजी इतनी दूर की है कि उसको खींचकर सारे इस मामले का एक मजाक करने के सिवाय और कोई निष्कर्ष नहीं निकलता है। शायद "सिन" को हेट करने के लिए गये भगर "सिनर" हो गये। यह मानता हूँ। परन्तु मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यह सारी बातें नहीं थीं, तो फिर वहाँ पर महाराष्ट्र सरकार जिसका आज मैसूर के साथ सीमा विवाद चल रहा है, खासकर बेलगांव जिले के बारे में, उस जिले के बारे में महाजन कमिशन ने जो रिपोर्ट दी है, उसमें बेलगांव जिला महाराष्ट्र को क्यों नहीं मिलता है। इस बारे में कहा जा सकता है कि महाराष्ट्र सरकार और शिव सेना एक मत नहीं है। अगर यह बात सच नहीं है तो लोगों को सोचने का कारण है कि वहाँ पर शिव सेना के इस आन्दोलन से महाराष्ट्र सरकार को लाभ हो जायेगा। एक तरफ तो तूफान भवेगा, आग लगेगी और फिर यहाँ पर असन्त राव नायक कहेंगे कि देखिये कितना बड़ा सेंटिमेंट है, कितना बड़ा लोगों के अन्दर इस बारे में अशान्ति का वातावरण है और इसीलिए बेलगांव महाराष्ट्र को मिलना चाहिये। यानी हेतु क्योंकि एक थे और इस तरह के हेतुओं में एकता दिखलाई देती है, इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता है कि अगर महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने इस बारे में कनाइव नहीं किया है, तो ये सारे दंगे जो वहाँ पर हुए हैं, उन्हें देखने के बाद यह कहा जा

सकता है कि महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने इस संबंध में कम से कम कोई सतर्कता नहीं बरती और न ही इनको रोकने की कोई कोशिश की।

"He had the support and cooperation of the PWP, the SSP and the PSP."

इसी तरह से महोदय यदि मुझे आप जाजत दें, तो मेरे पास इस सम्बन्ध में बहुत कुछ तथ्य हैं, जिनको देख कर मैं कह सकता हूँ कि शिव सेना के जो अपने इरादे थे, जो खराब इरादे थे, उनके बारे में कोई भ्रम नहीं रहने दिया। फरवरी 3 की जो टाइम्स आफ इंडिया की रिपोर्ट है, उसमें बाल ठाकरे ने कहा है:

"Bal Thakerey announced that he had accepted offers."

एक और बात है। इस समय हमारे भिन्न जिनमें श्री राजनारायण भी हैं बहुत जोरों से शिव सेना को बुरा भला कहेंगे। लेकिन उनकी जो पार्टी है और उसने जो रोल भ्रदा किया है, वह उन दिनों के समाचारपत्रों को देखने से भालूम हो जाता है। यहां पर बाल ठाकरे ने कहा है :

"He announced that he had accepted the offers of help by the Peasants and Workers Party and the Chairman of the Maharashtra SSP, Dr. V. B. Kaldate in conducting the agitation."

एस० एस० पी० की तरफ से उनको सहायता की आफर की जा रही है और वे उस को स्वीकार कर रहे हैं।

यह उनका अपना दावा है और यह बात उन्होंने 3 तारीख को कही थी और ये उनके शब्द हैं:

"The police would not be able to cope with the situation in the State. The Army will have to be called in."

बाल ठाकरे ने जिस वक्त पब्लिक सभा में सार्वजनिक सभा में भाषण दिया था तो उन्होंने लोगों में पूछा कि अगर मुझे पकड़ लिया जायेगा तो तुम क्या करोगे। उस समय भीड़ ने जवाब दिया कि जब तक तुम्हें नहीं छोड़ा जायेगा तब तक बम्बई जलनी रहेगी। तो क्या महाराष्ट्र की सरकार के कानों में यह आवाज नहीं पहुंची। क्या श्री बसन्त राव नायक को यह बात सुनाई नहीं दी कि वहां पर क्या खिचड़ी पक रही है और किस तरह का बाबेला पैदा होगा और उसको रोक सकेंगे। लेकिन उनके दिमाग में तो एक भूत खड़ा हो गया था और एक भस्मासुर पैदा हो गया और जब वह भस्मासुर उन्हीं के सिर पर हाथ रखने के लिए दौड़ा तब उन्हें भालूम हुआ कि यह बड़े घाटे का सौदा है। भस्मासुर पैदा कर देना आसान है, परन्तु उसको काबू में रखना मुश्किल है। इस तरह से बम्बई की सरकार ने लापरवाही बरती और सोचा कि यह दंगे करेंगे तो हमारा काम पूरा हो जायेगा। अगर कुछ गालियां पड़ेंगी तो इन्हें पड़ेंगी।

[डा० भाई महावीर]

हम सबके सामने कह देंगे, देखो, महाराष्ट्र की जनता और महाराष्ट्र के वोटर्स, हमने तुम्हें बेलगांव ला दिया है। अगर इस बारे में गालियां पड़ने की नीयत आयेगी तो शिव सेना वालों को आगे कर देंगे। अगर इस तरह से कोई भी व्यक्ति धमकी दे कि बम्बई जलता रहेगा, फीकों को बुलाओगे तो फीज भी नहीं रोक सकेगी। महीने भर पहले बम्बई में इस तरह की समाएं हुई थीं और उन समाओं के होते हुए भी जो कुछ वहां पर बाल धाकरे बोलते रहे, क्या बम्बई की सरकार को सुनाई नहीं दिया। अगर नहीं सुनाई दिया तो बम्बई की सरकार इतनी इन्फिजियेन्ट है, इतनी कार्यक्षमता रहित है कि उसको रहने का अधिकार नहीं है।

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

और अगर उन्होंने सुनने के बाद भी उसको होने दिया तो उनकी नीयत के बारे में यदि सदन में संदेह प्रकट किया जाता है तो आप इन सदस्यों को कैसे दोष देंगे और कैसे . . .
 (Time bell rings.) महोदया, बाकी के हिसाब से मुझे भी समय मिलना चाहिये।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:
 Please wind up.

डा० भाई महावीर : ठीक है। मैं कोई ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा, लेकिन जो कुछ मैं कह रहा हूं वह रिपीटीशन नहीं है। इसके साथ ही महोदया, जो आगे हुआ है वह यह कि दंगा खत्म हो गया लेकिन शिव सेना ने जो कुछ आगे कर रखा है उसे देखा जाय। मेरे पास एक पत्र की फोटोस्टेट कापी है जो शिव सेना के आफिस से वहां के किसी एक नागरिक को, जो जनता सेवक लाज में रहता है भेजा गया। आप की अनुज्ञा से 23 फरवरी की यह चिट्ठी है। 8 और 9 फरवरी की आपने बहुत सी दान सुनीं, वहां के एक टैक्सी ड्राइवर ने मुझे एक चिट्ठी लिखी थी। उसने लिखा था कि 9 तारीख को मैं सुबह निकला और 6 मील के फासले

में बने 6 बार कम से मटैक्सी में जा कर इधर उधर देखा लेकिन मुझे एक पुलिस वाला भी नजर नहीं आया। एक जगह तीन बसें जल रहीं थीं। 6 लाख की प्रापर्टी भस्म हो रही थी लेकिन उस को देखने वाला कोई नहीं था। लोग आ जा रहे, मोटरें इधर उधर आ जा रहीं थीं, लेकिन कोई राज्य कर्मचारी वहां नहीं था। इन्हीं खबरों में मैंने देखा, पड़ा कि प्लाजा सिनेमा के सामने सात पुलिस कांस्टेबलों के हाथ बांध कर उनको गोक रखा गया। सात पुलिस कांस्टेबल जहां हों और गुंडे चाहें जैसे हों, लेकिन अगर उनको गुंडों के सामने हाथ बांध कर खड़ा किया जा सकता है तो मैं समझता हूं कि बसंतराव नाइक ने अपनी सारी पुलिस को उस के हाथ बांध कर गुंडों के रहम पर छोड़ दिया था। अगर यह बंबई में हुआ है तो इस का परिणाम सारे देश को भुगतना पड़ेगा। बंबई नगर आज तक एक प्रतिष्ठा रखता था कि वहां आज तक इस तरह के अगड़े नहीं होते। वह एक कास्मो-पोलिटन शहर है इस प्रतिष्ठा पर, उस की इस गरिमा पर जो कालिख पोती है हमारी वहां की सरकार ने अपनी क्षमता की कमी के कारण या अपनी एक तरह की कनाइवेंस के कारण, जो वह शिव सेना के इस सारे हुड़दंग को रोक नहीं सकी है इस कारण से वह उस आरोप से बच नहीं सकती। लेकिन इन दंगों के बाद भी जो होता रहा है वह यह है कि शिव सेना के आफिस से कोई जनता सेवक लाज है उसको 23 फरवरी को यह पत्र भेजा जाता है और जो कुछ इस में लिखा है मैं उस सारे को तो नहीं, किन्तु कुछ को पढ़ कर कहता हूं कि यह एक कंप्लेंट है मेरे पास :

"In this matter Mr. Basarmal, who is the owner of the lodge, deserves death punishment."

यह थोनर आफ दि लाज को लिखा है कि तम डेथ पनिशमेंट डिजर्व करते हो। आगे

चल कर लिखा है कि यह इतना किराया लेता है कि :

"In this connection he deserves beating and looting."

इसके आगे लिखा है :

"Please note that you all came from Pakistan and robbing the people of India. This cannot be tolerated. Any trouble to the passengers will be met with full might. Since we are the local people of this Girgaum area, it is our duty to look into the matter and see that Mr. Basarmal, Mr. Nathani, and Mr. Dharmadas are kicked out from the lodge and if necessary we will see that the above three persons never enter into the Girgaum area. Wait and see. The consequences will be disastrous for you, Dear Sir."

यह तब आफिस आफ दि शिव सेना, गिरगाम रोड बम्बई-2 का है मिस्टर् बासरमल, जनता सेवा लाज, 343, गिरगाम रोड बम्बई-2 को। चूंकि यह दंगा शान्त हो गया हो, चाहे उस की आग बुझ गयी हो, लेकिन शिव सेना के कारनामों की वजह से, शिव सेना की चिट्ठी और उसके विषय पर प्रचार की वजह से जो आग सने महाराष्ट्र के निर्दोष और सरल हृदय युवकों के अंदर लगा रखी है वह आसानी से बुझने वाली नहीं है और इस आग को जो ऐसे दल हैं जो केवल वोटों की गिनती की तरफ देखते हैं, जो चाहते हैं कि वहां से किसी प्रकार एक सीट जीत सकें बढ़ाते रहते हैं ताकि समय पर उन की स्थिति बन सके। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के बारे में रिपोर्ट है कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के दोनों दलों ने फैसला किया कि हम आपस के मतभेदों को भुला कर शिव सेना के आन्दोलन को अपने हाथ में ले लें।

"We should take over the agitation from the Shiv Sena."

अब वह उस आन्दोलन को अपने हाथ में ले

नहीं सके इस लिए खिसियानो बिल्ली खम्मा नोच रही है। भूषण गुप्त बड़े नाराज हैं। यह जो कुछ हुआ उस का क्रेडिट वह लेना चाहते हैं। हमारी उनके साथ हमदर्दी हो सकती है, लेकिन मेरा निवेदन है कि...

(Time bell rings.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot go on like this. Nobody will be able to speak.

डा० भाई महावीर : मैं दो मिनट में खत्म कर दूंगा। इस सारे मामले के अंदर जहां पर हम ने क्षेत्रीय भावनाएँ पैदा कीं, जहां पर क्षेत्रीय भावनाओं को भड़काया गया और उन के आगे इस तरह का बवंडर खड़ा हुआ, एक विषय वृक्ष खड़ा हुआ, उसके लिए आज सारे देश की जनता को सोचना पड़ेगा और हमारे शासन को और यहां जो दल बैठे हैं, जिन के जिम्मेदार सदस्य यहां बैठे हैं, उनको सोचना पड़ेगा कि हम इस को कैसे रोक सकते हैं। हम देखें कि हम किस को बढ़ावा देते हैं। कहीं हम छोटे जिले को कहते हैं कि हम तुम्हारा राज्य बना देंगे, हम को वोट दो, कभी हम झारखंड में जाकर प्रचार करेंगे कि तुम्हारा राज्य अलग हो जायगा, तुम हम को वोट दो, तो यह सारी बातें वोट तो शायद न दिला सकें लेकिन इस से देश में जो विघटन की प्रवृत्तियाँ पैदा हो रही हैं उन को रोकने में हम इस प्रकार सफल नहीं होंगे। इस लिए मेरा निवेदन है कि आज अपने देश में जरूरत इस बात की है कि हजारों सालों से हमारा देश एक रहा है किन्तु उस की एकता राजनीति पर निर्भर नहीं थी। राजनीति के चलते राज्य मिलते थे, लड़ते थे, गड़बड़ करते थे, लेकिन हमारी संस्कृति ने इस देश को एक रखा। हमारी धार्मिक भावना ने इस देश को एक रखा। हमारे राम-कृष्ण ने और हमारे महान ग्रन्थों ने इस देश को एक रखा। उन की उपेक्षा कर हम देश को विघटन की ओर ले जा रहे हैं। शिव सेना का एक छोटा सा बुलबुला था। वह रहे या न रहे लेकिन जो प्रश्न उसने देश के सामने खड़ा किया

[ड० भई महावीर]

है उसपर सभी मननशील लोगों को विचार करना चाहिये और देश के भविष्य को, उसके उज्ज्वल भविष्य को निभाने की, बनाने की नीयत से इस प्रश्न पर विचार करके एक सही दृष्टिकोण बनाना चाहिये और इसके लिए निश्चय करना चाहिये।

श्री अनन्त प्रसाद शर्मा (बिहार) : यह गलत बात है कि कांग्रेस झारखंड को प्रोत्साहन दे रही है।

ड० भाई महावीर : मैं आप को नोट दिखा दंगा। मेरे पास छापा हुआ है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rajnarain.

SHRI A. D. MANI: One has already spoken from this side.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. Mr. Dharia. Please keep yourself within ten minutes.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am participating in this debate with a heavy heart and at the outset. I would like to express my deep regrets for whatever happened in Bombay. I do feel that these acts committed by the Shiv Sena and their followers have certainly brought a black name to my own State for which I am not here to speak with any boast or pride but my head bows down with shame.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I have been listening to the criticism that is being levelled against the Maharashtra leaders particularly against our Home Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, Mr. Naik, Mr. Vasant Rao Dada Patil, President of the Pradesh Congress Committee and the Congress Committee. I am not here to defend Mr. Chavan although Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said that he is my prophet. That is not correct. I do like him as a leader not only of our State but also as a national leader. At the same time this House has witnessed on some occasions that whenever I differ from Mr. Chavan not somewhere or in some lobbies but even on the floor of the House, I have shown the courage to differ from him. But particularly in

this respect may I bring to the notice of this House that in the month of November, 1966, Mr. Chavan, while addressing a meeting of the Progressive Group in Bombay, declared that the Shiv Sena is a fascist organisation and should be curbed immediately? He was the first Maharashtrian to say that. Madam Deputy Chairman, even afterwards, in the month of August, 1967, in Dadar Mr. Chavan was reported very widely by the Times of India and the other press outright deploring the activities of the Shiv Sena. And the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee also immediately after that speech of Mr. Chavan passed a resolution and without taking much time of the House, I may read only a few lines. It said:

"The Executive Committee of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee deplore the activities of the Shiv Sena which have created a feeling of uneasiness among certain sections of the population of Greater Bombay, especially those belonging to some of the Southern States. It declares unequivocally that it believes in the right of every Indian, irrespective of language, caste or creed, to reside in any part of the Republic of India and carry on the avocation he likes. It reaffirms its faith in the multi-cultural character of our people and pledges to do all it can to give the fullest opportunity of growth and development to all the linguistic groups which have settled in any part of Maharashtra and made it their home. It assures them that they are as much part of Maharashtra as the Marathi-speaking people and are entitled to the fullest protection of the State."

This resolution was passed on 24th August, 1968. A similar resolution had been passed in the year 1967. Madam, it was Mr. Chavan who declared this organisation as a fascist organisation. But it is against him that allegations are made—that he has several links with the Shiv Sena and that he is the person who is the

creator of the Shiv Sena. Madam, I have brought several issues of this "Marmik" the mouthpiece of the Shiv Sena and everywhere you will find that Mr. Chavan is being criticised. Here in this issue Mr. Chavan has been shown as Raghava-Peshva, i.e. the one who killed his cousin, thereby suggesting that Mr. Chavan is killing Maharashtra State itself and the interests of Maharashtra.

श्री राजनारायण : उनका मतलब यह है कि वे अपने कजिन भारतीयों को मार रहे हैं।

DR. B. N. ANTANI (Gujrat): Are you sure it is not elephant's teeth? SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Not at all.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: Thank you.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: And there are issues after issues—I have no time to explain all this . . .

श्री राजनारायण : एक ब्राह्म और दिखा दीजिये।

श्री एम० एम० धारिया : वहाँ उन्होंने यह सब बताया है।

Her Mr. Chavan is shown as a hen and it is said: If he is not prepared to help Maharashtra, what great leader is he? So it is Mr. Chavan who is criticised by being converted into a hen. There are so many such cartoons where Mr. Chavan has been condemned. Here, in this issue of November 1968, prior to the riots in Bombay, the President of M.P.C.C. is shown with a dagger in his hand and as if thrusting his dagger in the back

श्री राजनारायण : यह कहाँ लिखा है कि शिव सेना की पीठ में मार रहे हैं।

श्री एम० एम० धारिया : मैं आप को भेज देता हूँ।

श्री राजनारायण : वे दक्षिण भारतीयों की पीठ में मार रहे हैं।

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I will send

this issue to you. Mr. Rajnain, at least you should have that much courtesy not to pass your comments without looking at the pictures. So I will send this issue to you. It is written here, Mr. Vasantao Dada Patil is saying that we shall be losing Belgaum because of the Shiv Sena. This is in the month of November 1968, prior to these riots. So the approach of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, the approach of the Chief Minister, the approach of the Home Minister are all clear.

Madam, we are asked to say why Mr. Vasantao Dada Patil and the Chief Minister addressed that meeting of the Shiv Sena, why they went to that "Marmik" function. Mr. Vasantao Dada Patil was not clear as to whether he should go or should not go. But he felt that thousands of youngsters would be rallying there and so he went there and the Chief Minister also went there. But they showed courage in pointing out to them "Yours is a wrong path." Mr. Vasantao Dada Patil said there "if you want more employment, it is not by ousting these South Indians."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I interrupt?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; Each Member has only ten minutes _____

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He has yielded.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; That is all right. But there is the time-limit.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Time-limit is all right. Now, is it his contention that "Marmik" invited all these great men of the Maharashtra Congress knowing fully well that they would be criticising the Shiv Sena and asking the youngsters present at that meeting not to join the Shiv Sena? Was that the conception of the invitation when it was issued?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Madam Deputy Chairman, when they were invited, naturally they were invited M

[SHRI M. M. DHARIA] guests. The question was whether it should be accepted or not, and the occasion was the anniversary of that weekly "Marmik". Therefore, Mr. Vasantao Dada Patil said that it was only by setting up more and more industries it was possible to provide employment for thousands of not only Maharashtrians but also outsiders. Madam, when people come to Bombay or other industrialised cities, whether it is Calcutta or Madras, I am not here to blame anybody who comes from Kerala or from other States. I know the life they lead in those jhuggies, in those slums. There is no water to drink. It is the worst, filthiest possible area where they reside. If at all anything is to be blamed, it is the poverty of the people which is to be blamed. May I request hon. Members to understand the problems that have arisen? How did this Shiv Sena come into existence? It is because of the unemployment of the local workers in various areas. Industrial estates were established; their lands were taken; assurances were given "Yes, your children, your boys, will get employment in all these places." But they did not get any employment. Therefore, Madam, it so happened that the boys who were loitering around because of unemployment...

SHRI K. DAMODARAN (Kerala): Unemployment exists in other regions also.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I agree. But here because of this taking over of their farming lands, because of the establishment of these industrial estates where they were doing farming, they lost their farms and they had no employment even when these factories were coming up. So, there was dissatisfaction and this dissatisfaction was part of the Shiv Sena. I am not blaming anybody in any part of the country. It is a national problem. Then afterwards, there was the contest between Mr. Barve and Mr. Krishna Menon. It was most unfortunate that the Maharashtrian elements mobilised, because

of the Shiv Sena and other groups, on the side of Mr. Barve and the other elements rallied themselves round Mr. Krishna Menon...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Plaut wind up.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Madam, too many allegations have been made...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then I may have to wind up the debate at 5 O'clock if every one wants more time. I have got here 37 names.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Madam, I shall be very brief. Then soon after the election, unfortunately Mr. Barve died. Then there was a contest between Mrs. Barve and Mr. Krishna Menon. That opportunity was again taken advantage of by the Shiv Sena to have its own hold and unfortunately during this period, those capitalists whom Mr. Bhupesh Gupta referred to, wanted to defeat the Communists in Bombay—they wanted to get rid of the Communists in Bombay—and they joined hands with the Shiv Sena. Thus the Shiv Sena which was a group of workers who had come together because of unemployment, became a political group. And it is again the Congress Party which fought this Shiv-Sena in the Municipal elections of Bombay. Mr. Naik never goes for any election propaganda in Municipal elections. But here he went to all the constituencies, and it was Mr. Naik, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, who fought the Shiv Sena at the political level. In Poona I was myself in charge of the election campaign and you are aware that it was there that the Shiv Sena had its first, major set-back. A. V. J. that was under the guidance and supervision of Mr. Chavan and the M.P.C.C. leaders.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are a member of the Shiv Sena.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: It is the Congress Party which fought the Shiv Sena at the political level, and the Congress Party has failed in making

this attempt. All necessary action was taken by the Government of Maharashtra. Now it is being said that the Government of Maharashtra did not function well.

Had the military been called and had there been a lot of firing, perhaps any untoward turn might have taken place. And possibly, an explosive situation would have been created all over the Maharashtra State in every city and every town. Everywhere, here, you will find that there is a pavement all over the roads. It becomes absolutely difficult to meet all this situation. It was this Government which alone remained firm with all of them. Sixty people were killed because of this firing. May I know whether there is any other State in our country where sixty persons have been killed? Of course when the trouble was started by the Shiv Sena, the Maharashtra Government had taken all care to see that this did not take place. Madam I do realise . . .

SHRI YELLA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): But they were all supporters of the Shiv Sena.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Madam, Deputy-Chairman, please try to understand this. When they started the firing, please do not forget that several innocent persons also have been killed. At the same time, you also know that in the city of Bombay, out of a population of 50 lakhs there are nearly 14 lakhs to 15 lakhs of people who reside on foot-paths and in slum areas. And those who reside on those foot-paths might not have joined that movement. But, they would have also been the victims of this firing. Don't forget that. In a city where more than one million people reside on foot-paths, are they to be killed by these police people? If the whole situation was to be saved from this trouble a lot of precaution was necessary. And all that precaution was first taken. And then this trouble took place. Please do not underestimate the whole matter. Taking

all these factors into consideration. Madam, my submission to this House is that there is a problem of local unemployment. I can say that this Government has declared that for the posts below Rs. 500, local persons would be employed. Only the other day there was an advertisement in the Times of India by the Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd., Nasik Division. They put out an advertisement on the 14th March, 1969 in the Times of India, Delhi Edition, for nearly 21 posts out of which 12 posts were for salary below Rs. 500. Instead of publishing this advertisement in the local papers, this was published in the Delhi edition of the Times of India. Only on the 24th March, 1969 Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed declared that for the posts carrying below Rs. 500, local people should be employed. On the one hand you give all these assurances in the House and on the other hand you publish a sort of advertisement. This is what is happening. This advertisement is by the Hindustan Aeronautics' Ltd., Nasik Division just to employ about 22 persons out of which 12 posts are at a salary below Rs. 500. The advertisement is done in this paper and not in the local paper.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: Now you must wind up.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: My submission is that this is a national problem. I do not want to blame any State for that. We must create employment opportunities to the rural people.

Here I would like to draw the attention of this House to one fact that when the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee has been taking some progressive views and taking progressive action, instead of blaming the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, let us all sit together and find out a proper solution. It is bad to treat this issue as a political issue and try to exploit something out of that. If the Opposition people are criticising the Maharashtra Government, they can do so. I would

[SHRI M. M. DHARIAJ only like to point out to this House that we should not go on deciding an issue like the border issue in this way. There is a feeling over the border issue. The M.P.C.C. have not taken up the case. They have therefore left it to the Central Government to decide it so as to see that such a bitterness is not developed. If this is allowed to be done, naturally the people will take undue advantage of it. I may appeal to this House not to blame the Maharashtra Government. There are hundreds of people from the other areas and they are all spread all over Maharashtra. They have all remained peaceful. And it is the duty of the Maharashtra Government to protect these people. If there is such a trouble anywhere, we, as Members, have to rush to that place and put a vi end to that. In this, I am sure the Maharashtra Government would not lag behind.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA I hope this House will appreciate the difficulties faced by us.

Thank you very much for the opportunity given to me to speak.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): Madam, Deputy ChairmaVi, I want to make one submission. Actually no members from Madras had been called and only the Maharashtrians were called to speak.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN-. You see a question arose as to whether we should go by the names as given in the order paper. It was then said that we must go one by one. I am following the list of names given by the Congress as well as the other list!

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: I only request you to give us some chance.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sorry at this stage you have no chance to speak.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa): We shall not sit beyond six I suppose.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, देखिए जब आप मुझको बुलाती हैं. एक न एक ग्रह खड़ा हो जाता है। हम चाहते हैं...

(Interruptions) THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let us be serious with this. I shall allow you ten minutes only.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maharashtra): Even if we have not given names, we must be given some chance.

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ (Mysore): I have a submission to make.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What do you want, please?

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ: It is the Mysore people who have suffered by the Shiv Sena. And so, we must be given a chance to speak.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I am the only person coming from that area.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not going to make any contribution if this debate goes on like this. Mr. Raj Narain. You please take only ten minutes.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, मैं आपके द्वारा सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों से एक विनम्र निवेदन करूंगा कि जो विषय की सम्पीरता है उसको अनावश्यक आक्षेप-प्रत्याक्षेप करके नष्ट न करें। पहली बात।

यहां कई परस्पर विरोधी धाराएं चल रही हैं। एक धारा तो विभिन्न पार्टियों की है और एक धारा पार्टी के अन्दर परस्पर विरोधी है। इन दोनों को मिलाकर जब डीक से अध्ययन किया जायगा तब वस्तु-स्थिति का सच्चा ज्ञान होगा। श्री धारिया जी को सुनने के बाद जब हम कुछ बात श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण के लिए कहें या श्री डी० एस० देसाई के सम्बन्ध में कहें या श्री

नाईक के सम्बन्ध में कहें तो यह नहीं समझा जाना चाहिए कि हम महाराष्ट्र के बारे में कह रहे हैं। हम यह मानते हैं कि महाराष्ट्र के लोग बहादुर हैं, देशभक्त हैं और राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्र्य संग्राम में उन लोगों ने अपनी आहुतियां दी हैं। यशवन्त राव जी को मान लिया जाता है कि यही महाराष्ट्र हैं या नाईक को मान लिया जाता है कि यही महाराष्ट्र हैं। यह बहुत ही गलत और भ्रष्ट धारणा है। अन्त में कहा धारिया साहब ने कि महाराष्ट्र के ऊपर इन्जाम है। हम कोई इल्जाम नहीं दे रहे हैं। जरा देखा जाय गम्भीरता से। इस संगठन की शुरुआत हुई 1966 से। उस समय महाराष्ट्र के घर-मंत्री कौन थे? श्री डी० एम० देसाई उस समय घर मंत्री थे। श्री डी० एम० देसाई और बम्बई कांग्रेस कमेटी और महाराष्ट्र कांग्रेस कमेटी दोनों जो प्रदेशीय कमेटियां मानी जानी हैं उन सब की सहानुभूति इस संगठन के प्रति थी और यह कहेंगे तो कुछ लोगों को बुरा नहीं लगना चाहिये कि श्री डी० एम० देसाई और श्री नाइक साहब में जो इस समय मुख्य मंत्री हैं और जो इस समय माल मंत्री हैं, इन दोनों में आपसी कटुता है, इन दोनों में विग्रह है, जैसे कि आज यहां देखा जाता है, कौन नहीं जानता है कि किसी समय प्रधान मंत्री जी चव्हाण साहब को उछालेंगी तो किसी समय मोरारजी भाई को उछालेंगी तो किसी समय दिनेश सिंह को उछालेंगी। तो यह चल रहा है। यह कोई अजीब नहीं है, बात को सत्य मान कर चलें।

तो माननीया, मैं जानना चाहता हूं, 1966 ई० से लेकर अब तक की "मामिक" अखबार की प्रतियां यहां पर देखी जाय, मामिक अखबार हर अंक में यह लिखता रहा है, कभी किसी कम्पनी का नाम ले लिया चाहे वह सरकारी हो या प्राइवेट हो और उसमें निम्न निकलनी थी कि इस कम्पनी में तमाम दक्षिण भारत के लोग रबे गये हैं, यह विद्वे

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की भावना लगातार 1966 ई० से बाल ठाकरे का "मामिक" अखबार प्रचारित कर रहा है, तो घर विभाग ने क्या किया। घर विभाग को इस तरह के लेखन-प्रकाशन पर कोई अपनी सम्मति, अपनी प्रतिक्रिया व्यक्त करनी चाहिये थी या नहीं।

आगे देखा जाय। यह सही है कि बम्बई में जो मध्यमवर्गीय पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं उनमें बेकारी है। मध्यमवर्गीय पढ़े लिखे लोगों में जब बेकारी होगी, जब पढ़े-लिखे बेकारों की एक फौज खड़ी होगी तो कहां पर, किस पर उसका हमला होगा। जाहिर है कि सरकार पर होगा जो प्रशासन के जिम्मेदार हैं उन पर होगा, क्योंकि जो प्रशासन के नियम हैं कानून हैं, जो कम्पनी उसकी नीति है और जो आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक व्यवस्था उसके चलते हैं कि उनको काम नहीं मिल रहा है और बेकारी बढ़ रही है उस पर होगा। तो जो वहां कांग्रेस के लोग शासन में थे उन्होंने सोचा कि जो पढ़े लिखे बेकारों की फौज सरकार पर हमला बोलने को है उस हमले का मुंह मोड़ दो, तो इन लोगों ने उकसाया कि तुम लोगों की जगह पर दक्षिण भारत के लोग आ कर भर गये हैं इसलिये जब तक दक्षिण भारत के लोग यहां से निकल कर, उठ कर, नहीं जायेंगे तब तक तुम लोगों के लिये जगह नहीं है। तो यह जो बेकारों की फौज की तोप का मुंह सरकार की ओर होना था, जो इसकी लड़ाई का मुंह सीधे सीधे सरकार की तरफ जाना था उसको सरकार ने अपनी कुशलता से दूसरी तरफ फेर दिया, उस तोप के मुहाने को दक्षिण-भारतीयों की तरफ फेर दिया और यह कह दिया कि अगर बेकारी का मसला हल होना है तो दक्षिण-भारत वाले जब तक यहां से नहीं निकलेंगे तब तक बेकारी का सवाल हल नहीं होगा।

श्री एम० एम० धारिया : यह कहा लिखा है।

श्री राजनारायण : हम बता रहे हैं।

श्री एम० एम० धारिया : ऐसा किसने कहा, कहाँ लिखा है ?

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rajnarain, your time is getting over.

श्री राजनारायण : मंडम, इस प्रकार टाइम ओवरन कहिये। बराबर सरकार की तरफ से, कांग्रेस की तरफ से, कांग्रेस के पक्ष से कहा गया। यहां श्री यशवन्त राव चव्हाण साहब ने कहा। यह प्रश्न एक राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न है। बम्बई में बेकारी का सवाल है और इस राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न का हल होना चाहिये तो इस राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न का हल होगा वहां मैसूर वालों को, केरल वालों को, मद्रास वालों को कत्ल करके। यह प्रश्न का हल नहीं है। इसी प्रश्न के हल के लिये वहां की सरकार ने इस शिव सेना का गठन कराया और उनको प्रोत्साहन दिया। अभी श्री धारिया के बयान का अच्छी तरह से विश्लेषण किया जाय। श्री धारिया ने कहा कि बेकारी है, लोग बेकार हैं तो बेकारी का हल क्या है। बेकारी का हल क्या कांग्रेस सरकार दे रही है। बेकारी को दूर करने की इन्होंने क्या योजना की है। तीन योजनाएँ बीत गई, चौथी योजना अपनी मां के गर्भ में समा गई, मगर कहीं कोई बेकारी का हल किया। और लगातार हर योजना में बेकारी बढ़ रही है, बेकारी दिन दूनी रात चौगुनी बढ़नी जा रही है।

अब आगे देखा जाय कि इनका एक मात्र प्रचार था, खुल कर के अखबारों में यह प्रचार हुआ कि लुंगी वालों को भगाओ, बराबर "मार्मिक" अखबार यह प्रचार करता था कि लुंगी वालों को भगाओ। तो लुंगी वाले तो बेचारे दक्षिण भारत के हैं, लुंगी वालों को भगाया जा रहा है। कहेंगे कि यह सरकार का काम नहीं है लेकिन मैं निश्चित मत का हूँ कि तीन दिनों तक जिस तरह से बम्बई जली उस तरह से अगर कोई दूसरे स्थान में जला होता तो और विरोधी दल की सरकार होती तो केन्द्र का हस्तक्षेप हो गया होता, केन्द्र अब तक

उस प्रदेश की सरकार को हटा दिये होती और वहां पर वह राष्ट्रपति के शासन को लागू कर देती। क्या हुआ केरल में जब कि वहां कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की सरकार थी। क्या हुआ बंगाल में जब कि वहां दूसरे की सरकार थी। यह हमेशा हुआ है। जर्मनी के इतिहास में देख लिया जाय, अमेरिका के इतिहास में देख लिया जाय, हर समय ऐसी बात हुई है कि जब अपनी सरकार है तो चाहे आग लगा दो, कत्ल कर दो, लेकिन तब चुप रहो कुछ मत करो और अगर दूसरे की सरकार में थोड़ा हल्ला हो तो जहां फेडरल नेचर स्टेट का है वहां पर केन्द्र उन राज्यों को दबा करके अपना खुनी पंजा जमा देता है। यही प्रवृत्ति यहां भी हो रही है।

क्या यह सत्य नहीं है, माननीया, मैं आपके द्वारा सरकार के पक्ष के लोगों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि 1967 ई० के चुनाव में शिव सेना ने कांग्रेस का पूर्ण समर्थन किया। यह सत्य है। देखा जाय। (Time bell rings.)

हमारे मित्र मोहन धारिया जी ने श्री कृष्ण मेनन का नाम लिया और कहा कि बाई चांस उनके विरोध में जो कांग्रेस के उम्मीदवार थे वह एक मराठी थे इसलिये मराठी की मदद शिव सेना ने कर दी, मगर मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि श्री डांगे मराठी हैं या नहीं। डांगे मराठी हैं और डांगे के विरोध में महेन्द्र खड़े थे जो गैर-मराठी थे और शिव सेना ने महेन्द्र की मदद की, डांगे की मदद नहीं की? क्यों। इसलिये ऐसा मत कहिये कि शिव सेना केवल मराठी, मराठी ही चिल्लानी हैं। शिव सेना के पास...

श्री एम० एम० धारिया : ऐसा मैंने कहा नहीं। मैंने कहा, जहां कृष्ण मेनन खड़े थे—राजनारायण जी को भी मालूम है—वहां, इस कांस्टीट्यूंसी में काफी साउथ इंडियन हैं। ऐसा मिसइंटरप्रेट न करें। मैंने तो इतना ही कहा। "इट वाज अनफारचुनेट" यह भी मैंने कहा। मैंने कोई गर्व की बात तो नहीं कही। ऐसा

मिसइंटरप्रेट न करें।

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, मतलब साफ है। शिव सेना जहाँ मराठी है, जहाँ कांग्रेसी हैं, जहाँ धनकुबेर हैं, वहाँ हैं। वहाँ शिव सेना है और जहाँ मराठी नहीं है जहाँ धन-कुबेर से टकराव करने वाले हैं वहाँ शिव सेना नहीं है। इस बात को ऐसे समझें। जब जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज का चुनाव हुआ तो श्री एस० के० पाटिल की गद्दी में, उनके पैसों के जोर पर शिव सेना के लोग फूलते थे, कूते थे, इतराते थे और उन्होंने जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज की जबरदस्त मुखातिफ की। इस को आप जानते हैं।

सरदार रघुबीर सिंह पंजहजारी (पंजाब) : मैडम प्वाइंट आफ ऑर्डर। मेरा प्वाइंट आफ ऑर्डर यह है कि जो आदमी अपने हाउस में अपने को डिफेंड नहीं कर सकता जो अपनी सफाई यहाँ नहीं दे सकता यहाँ उसका नाम लेना कहां तक ठीक है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rajnarai, please carry on.

श्री राजनारायण : आप किस बात के लिये कह रहे हैं क्या डिफेंड करना है। पाटिल साहब तो सुप्रीम कोर्ट से भी हार गये।

माननीया एक दूसरी बात मैं और बता दूँ। यहाँ पर एक बात बतानी है। किसी ने कहा जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज के बारे में कहा, तो मैं बता दूँ कि हमने 144 नहीं तोड़ा था, जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज ने नहीं तोड़ा था, जब सुप्रीम कोर्ट से पाटिल को हराया था, तो जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज के स्वागत का आयोजन वहाँ पर किया गया था उस स्वागत समारोह में जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज नहीं भी जाना चाहते थे, मगर लोग ले गये और वहाँ शिव सेना के लोग पहले ही जमा थे, उन्होंने ही कहा कि लोग स्वागत के लिये जमा हो गये आप चलिये। स्वागत तो हुआ नहीं, मगर वहाँ लोगों ने हल्ला ही किया शिव सेना के लोगों ने।

(Time bell rings.)

तीसरी बात यह कि बड़ा कैपिटल बनाया गया इस बात का कि संसोध के जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज ने भी श्री बाल ठाकरे की रिहाई

की माग की। बड़ा कैपिटल इसका बनाया गया कि संसोध ने ऐसा कर दिया। लेकिन मैं बहुत सफाई से कहना चाहता हूँ आज भी कहना चाहता हूँ पहले भी कहा है इस सदन में मैं साफ कह देना चाहता हूँ कि संसोध प्रिवेंटिव डिटेन्शन में किसी को बन्द रखने के विरोध में है संसोध कहती है कि तुम बाल ठाकरे को प्रिवेंटिव डिटेन्शन में रख कर उसकी छाती बढ़ा रहे हो उस पर सबस्टेंशल चार्जज लगाओ, उस पर मर्डर का चार्ज लगाओ, कल का चार्ज लगाओ, आगजनी का चार्ज लगाओ, लूट का चार्ज लगाओ, और इसे लगा करके मुकदमा चलओ, जेल में बंद करो। वह यह सरकार नहीं कर रही है।

श्री एस० एन० धारिया : कर रही है।
It is prosecuting.

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये मैं बताता हूँ। यह पुस्तिका है। यह हमारी नहीं है। इसकी कन्वीनर हैं सुभद्रा जोशी, यह है साम्प्रदायिकता विरोधी कमेटी, इसमें क्या लिखा है। हम जो कहेंगे तो इनको बुरा लग जायेगा मगर उन्हीं की बात को मैं पढ़े देता हूँ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is over. Please wind up. SHRI

RAJNARAIN: It says;

"Influence on Police"

"This is quite understandable that the police force in Bombay which was at one time considered to be the best in the world, has been immobilised so far as the Shiv Seha is concerned. Shri Bal Thackeray's paper, 'Marmik' is widely distributed among the police force. The police constables and officials do not merely read this fire-brand journal, but even freely distribute it."

तो यह सुभद्रा जोशी जी की जो कमेटी है, साम्प्रदायिकता विरोधी कमेटी, उसकी यह सम्मति है। हमारी यह नहीं है। तो "मामिक" अखबार पुलिस के क्वार्टर्स पर जाये, पुलिस के कैम्पों में जाये, पुलिस के लोग उसको जनता में वितरित करवायें और यह

सरकार चुप्पी साधे, यह अजीब सरकार है और फिर भी हमारे मोहन धारिया कहते हैं कि जो सरकार को उचित था वह सरकार ने किया। (Time bell rings.)

माननीया, चूंकि इसको भूपेश जी ने बार-बार कहा, दूसरे लोगों ने भी बार-बार कहा इसलिये मैं भी इस पर कहता हूँ कि "मामिक" अब बार ने लगातार इसका प्रचार किया है कि हमारा जनतंत्र में विश्वास नहीं है, हम फासिस्ट हैं। शिव सेना का अब बार "मामिक" खुद कहता है कि हमारा जनतंत्र में विश्वास नहीं है। फिर जब जनतंत्र में विश्वास नहीं है...

श्री ए० डी० मणि : कहां पड़ा ?

श्री राजनारायण : सब लिखा है। पढ़ो और मालूम हो जायेगा। शिव सेना की ओर से अनेक प्रदर्शन हुये हैं, बार-बार प्रदर्शन हुये हैं और उसकी रपटें हुई हैं और आप समझें कि यह जो उड़पी होटल के लोग हैं उनके होटल एसोसिएशन ने बाकायदा रपट लिखाई है कि कब-कब उनके साथ ज्यादाती हुई है लेकिन सरकार की तरफ से कार्यवाही नहीं हुई। क्यों नहीं कार्यवाही हुई, क्यों नहीं रपट दर्ज की गई, पुलिस दफ्तर किसके लिये था? ये सारी की सारी बातें हुई और फोर्ट एरिया में जो हाकर्स बैठते हैं उन पर खुल के हमला हुआ है, उनकी दुकानें तोड़ डाली गई। यह सब हुआ मगर पुलिस ने कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की है फिर भी धारिया का कहना है कि बम्बई की सरकार ने खूब अच्छी तरह से कार्यवाही की। 24 तारीख को शिवाजी पार्क में शिव सेना की एक सभा हुई और कहा गया...

(Time bell rings.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; It is time.

श्री राजनारायण : हमारा आन्दोलन अब ऐसा होगा कि सरकार को फौज और टैंक का प्रयोग करना पड़ेगा।

श्री राजनारायण : हाँ, बहुत जल्दी कर रहा हूँ। माननीया, जब अब बारों में बयान आया कि फौज और टैंक का प्रयोग सरकार को करना होगा हमारे आन्दोलन को दबाने के लिये, तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि बम्बई की सरकार, महाराष्ट्र की सरकार ने क्या किया। उसके ऊपर क्या ऐक्शन हुआ। पुलिस कमिश्नर और डिप्टी पुलिस कमिश्नर दोनों का दोष समझाया जाना चाहिये। पुलिस कमिश्नर एक दफले साहब हैं, वह दफले साहब जिनके बारे में हमने पहले भी कहा था कि उनका डी० एस० देसाई साहब से काफी ताल्लुक है। दफले साहब कहते थे कि किसी तरीके से नायक साहब बदनाम हों और 2 तारीख को ऐलान हुआ है कि कोई भी केन्द्रीय सरकार का मंत्री आ जायेगा तो केन्द्रीय मंत्री के लिये बम्बई बन्द, केन्द्रीय मंत्री यहां प्रवेश नहीं कर पायेगा। यह बाकायदा फैसला हुआ है। इस फैसले को देखते हुए जब 7 तारीख को मोरारजी देसाई वहां गये तो समझौते पर आ गये। यह दफले साहब का समझौता क्यों हुआ, पुलिस कमिश्नर ने समझौता क्यों किया? जो मेरी जानकारी कराई गई है वहां के लोगों की, उन्होंने माननीया, यहां तक कहा है कि वहां के लोगों ने वादा कर लिया था कि हम मोरारजी साहब को रोकेंगे मगर जब कि पुलिस कमिश्नर ने देखा कि डिप्टी पुलिस कमिश्नर की नीयत खराब है, हम पुलिस कमिश्नर को बदनाम करने की और मुख्य मंत्री को बदनाम करने की, तो जब वहां पथराववाजी हुई तो उन्होंने गाड़ी बढ़ाई, उन्होंने गाड़ी रोक ली नहीं। (Time bell rings.) यह कमिश्नर का काम है।

इसी तरह से आर्थिक सहायता किसने दी? रामकृष्ण बजाज मधु मेहता और फादर फेरर का नाम ही नहीं आया। फादर फेरर ने भी खूब सी० आई० ए० का पैसा दिया है

और उसकी बदौलत खूब गुलछर्रा उड़ाया है, खूब हथियार दिये हैं और संगठन बढ़ाया है।

एक हमारे माननीय मित्र अभी सदन से चले गये, भाई महावीर जी, जो नये हैं। चहकते हैं बेचारे, मैं प्रसन्न हूँ। मगर शिव सेना के बारे में जन संघ के लोगों ने इसी सदन में पहले जिन जज्बात का इजहार किया उनको भी देख लिया जाय। क्योंकि जब शिव सेना की एक्टिविटीज के लिये बाल थैकरे मान गया कि जांच होनी चाहिये लेकिन साथ ही साथ यह भी कहा कि हमारी ही जांच न हो कि हम फासिस्ट हैं, आर० एस० एस० की एक्टिविटीज की भी जांच होनी चाहिये क्योंकि वह हमसे ज्यादा फासिस्ट हैं, तब से गुरु गोलवलकर उसके खिलाफ जहर उगल रहे हैं। अब गुरु गोलवलकर जी की तोतारटत हमारे भाई महावीर जी भी बोल गये...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your fifteen minutes are over. Now wind up.

श्री राजनारायण : दो मिनट में खत्म कर दूंगा। सिनेमा घर पर लिखा हुआ है, शिव सेना की इजाजत से यह फिल्म चल रहा है। बकायदा लिखा है। तो सरकार क्या करती है, उस सरकार ने हिम्मत क्या की उस साइनबोर्ड को हटा कर फैंक देने की? वहां सिनेमा चलेगा शिव सेना की इजाजत से, वहां लोगों का आवागमन होगा शिव सेना की इजाजत से। एक पेरलल गवर्नमेंट वहां बन गई और यह नालायक अधी सरकार—महाराष्ट्र की सरकार और केन्द्र की सरकार—अधी भी है, लंगड़ा भी है, बहरी भी है, न सुनती है न देखती है न चलती है। तो शिव सेना का कुफल क्या हुआ उसको मैं बताता हूँ कि उसने मराठी और गैर मराठी का भेदभाव बढ़ाया। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि कहीं दूसरे राज्यों में भी ऐसा आन्दोलन चल पड़े कि महाराष्ट्र के जो लोग सर्विस में हैं, पेशों में हैं, उनको वहां से हटाया जाय—

मैं चाहता हूँ कि दूसरे राज्यों के नगरों में उसकी नकल न हो क्योंकि यह एक गलत बात काम होगा, राष्ट्रीय एकता को भंग करने वाला काम होगा, यह घृणित कर्म है—तो उससे बचने के लिए उभाय करना होगा।
(Time bell rings) मजदूरों में फूट नहीं डाले, मजदूरों में फूट डालने के लिये पूँजीपति और सरमायादारों ने सस्द दी है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is enough. Please wind up.

श्री राजनारायण : और बेरोजगारी के विरुद्ध जो जम कर संघर्ष होना चाहिये था उसकी ओर से सरकार ने मुँह फेर लिया। सरकार की कुनीतियों और कुकर्मों के कारण...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No more. Mr. Muniswamy.

श्री राजनारायण : इसलिये मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि माननीया, कि यह संगठन ताना-शाही संगठन है, अधिनायकवादी संगठन है, इस संगठन को जल्दी से जल्दी खत्म करने के लिये कदम उठाया जायेगा तो वह देशहित में होगा।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have called Mr. Muniswamy.

श्री राजनारायण : बम्बई की सरकार से इस्तीफे की मांग होनी चाहिये।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nothing more will go down. Mr. Muniswamy.

SHRI BRAHMAN ANDA PANDA: On a point of order. Every time we discuss here a Motion or a Bill, the ; Chair complains that so many names are there and so little time is available. If we are to be realists I suggest this. The Leader of the House is here. I would request him to he in the BusiViess Advisory Committee. I When you allot time you see that i every person whose name is there

[Shri Brahmananda Panda] gets a chance; otherwise, what are we here for? We are not here only to hear one person from this side and another from that side. Otherwise you decide that only a dozen people out of 250 will speak and the others will only hear. Something has to be done. My suggestion is to give a chance to every name that is there even if we are to sit till 8.30 in the night; if not, we should adjourn at five.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: ' I have two lists. Which list you refer to? I tried last week to stick to the names on the Order Paper. The House generally did not like it and it said it must be divided between the two sides. It is very difficult for me. Mr. Muniswamy.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: This problem has to be viewed from different angles. I do not personally like to defend a particular Minister or a particular party. We are concerned with the activities of the Shiv Sena and the situation arising therefrom as a result of certain disturbances. The basic problem in this activity is of course based on the socio-economic problem. Even during the Second World War, it was due to the hegemony over Europe by Britain. Hitler thought: 'Why not we have the *same* hegemony?' So he started the war against Britain. Then what is the trouble between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins in Madras? The trouble was that the Brahmins had all the good things. So the non-Brahmins thought: 'We should also have them and so we should fight'. So everywhere the problems arise out of socio-economics situation. There is nothing wrong in having the Shiv Sena or the Lachit Sena etc. We do not have only a Vahara Sena. If that happens, it will be a happy situation. For every there is ample reason for its constitution. The sponsors never thought for a moment that this Shiv Sena would transgress its limits. They wanted to draw 'Ganesh' and they have drawn a monkey. After drawing

the monkey, if it is intoxicated Naturally it does its job in its own way. What has happened is, some undisclosed person—whom I do not want to name—who is behind this might have said; 'Do this, let us see what happens.' So we are not here to say who the person is, who the party is. There may be parties and parties. Well, what they do is: they simply put up show publicly just to assert that they have not given their support to Shiv Sena, but all the same, Shiv Sena people get their support in an undisclosed manner. And we are very sorry because of that for this party or that party, and I am not enamoured of any particular individual, whether Mr. Chavan or whether Mr. Naik. Whoever it is they have put in the best efforts possible to curb it. But what they did initially was that they thought that it would be useful for them and for the country. But nobody ever expected that the Shiv Sena would transgress the limit and go ahead with a thing which nobody would like. But nobody has come forward with the categorical assertion of condemning it; nobody has condemned it so far. They have only said that Shiv Sena activities are deplorable, that what they have done is very bad, that it is a fascist organisation. But all these things are of no use. We have to condemn it, or we have to ban it. But banning it is rather very difficult according to the Home Minister. Well, let them not ban it but let them at least curb it. By curbing what happens? The other States, where there are other Senas like this Shiv Sena operating in the States—like the Gopal Sena or the Lachit Sena—they will follow suit to curb the activities of those Senas. We know what had happened in Gauhati; Marwaris have been murdered there and their shops have been looted. Here what happened in Bombay. In Bombay, Shiv Sena activities resulted in looting only the Madrasis in a big way, in looting their hotels, the Brahmin hotels, and

the big Brahmin hotels have been looted. And Sindhi businessmen have been the victims of their fury; I was amazed to see in Bombay when I was going to airport that a whole building of the Sindhis had been demolished. What is the result? The result is; in their anxiety to better their lot they never wanted to do any harm, but in their frenzy, with a view to getting what they had not been getting all along, when they wanted to get what they ought to have got, they saw that others are there to take away what they are entitled to, and so they visited their wrath on the others in their frenzy, and the poor victims, for no fault of their own, suffered the ravages wrought by Shiv Sena. An hon. friend here said that if the State Government had taken action even four days earlier they could have shot over a lakh of people—bent on havoc—sleeping on the pavement. I do not think Maharashtra Government is such a blind Government to shoot at random all and sundry, to shoot the poor persons taking rest on the pavement. They know whom to do, and whom not to do. They all thought that it would stop there and will not assume more proportions. But when it tried to go out of hand, what they did was to bring the situation under control, and they have brought it under control.

Now the whole trouble is how to solve this problem. The only way to solve this problem lies in the recent decision that has been taken in the Srinagar conference called for achieving the integration of India. But not ever) one grain of it we have been able to achieve when we look at the disturbances created by the Shiv Sena in Bombay. The Shiv Sena has created disturbances to such an extent that we are afraid that any day India may be balkanized as the East European countries. I am afraid that India may be balkanized, or Indianized in the sense that each State will have its own autonomy to such an extent that even Madrasis cannot

get into Maharashtra without a passport—matters may come to such a stage—because the first enemy of Indian unity has been the reorganisation of India into linguistic States. And having created the linguistic States, these are the necessary corollaries which we now see, and in our anxiety to have Indian unity, we have created disunity, and it has been of our own making, by our own actions, by our own inactions. Therefore, I would say, Madam, that this House must seriously consider the problem posed by Shiv Sena instead of condemning this party or condemning that party. I am not bothered about this party. It needs nobody of this party to support Mr. Chavan because Mr. Chavan is a great man; he is a national leader. He will never think for a moment that India should be disunited in the way in which in his own State he sees it. I think he is shedding tears every day, and I am sure he would have had no sleep in those days when Shiv Sena was at its worst indulging in violent activities. They need not support him or even give him any help. He can defend himself. I do not want any of our Members here to support him. What we should do is; we must condemn it unequivocally. Whatever has been repeated in the resolution that has been passed in the BPCC is not one of condemnation; it is one of deploring Shiv Sena activities. What is it mere deploring? We deplore several things. But it does not end there. What we should do is: we must condemn it in unequivocal terms. And the main sponsor of Shiv Sena is Bal Thackeray, I think he is now young but he may be very soon an elder statesman. I only wish that he reforms his views and guides his own son—the Shiv Sena—in such a moderate way as to see that other States, which are now in their initial stages follow the example of his Shiv Sena, not in the way in which he has now shaped it, but in the way in which he is going to reshape it hereafter by modifying it, by revising

[SHRI M. R. MUNISWAMY]

its constitution and by doing all that is necessary to present it as an excellent model to others, and to see that the State of Maharashtra, especially the city of Bombay, which is a cosmopolitan city, retains its cosmopolitan character. They were saying that it was a composite State and that the city of Bombay was a cosmopolitan city. And to get the separate State of Maharashtra there was so much of blood shed, so much of bitterness, later, hatred went against the others, against the Saurashtrians, and how a Saurashtrian Sena seems to be coming up. Till recently they are the people who have built this city which is having several storeys in each of the magnificent buildings. Even now I see that buildings With 27 storeys and 28 storeys are there. And we should not see that they are demolished. I only want every Member of this House to express his condemnation in unequivocal terms and to see that the Shiv Sena is now curbed at the initial stage rather than allow it to assume dimensions when it becomes very difficult for us to put it down. As a last word I wish to say that if we really want to have India as a united country, not balkanised, or Indianized in the manner I put it, we must see that the States are not only having the linguistic and provincial attitude, but see that such an attitude does not transgress the limit. Without causing hatred towards other persons, they must on the other hand absorb, inspire and invite other persons to come and render service there, at the same time seeing that they are not deprived of solutions to their economic problems and social problems.

With these words I only want every one of us to condemn Shiv Sena unequivocally and see that it does not come up again in the form in which it presented itself recently, and thus keep the fair name of Maharashtra and more especially of the leaders of that State.

Thank you, Madam.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM

(Nominated): Madam Deputy Chairman, I shall try to be very brief in view of the pressure on your time, and for the sake of the speakers who might follow. I do not want to take any party point of view in dealing with this matter. The matter is really far more serious than any party consideration.

I would like to go into the basic factors which are responsible for the upsurge in Bombay and its repercussions elsewhere, and also deal with the violent aspect of the upsurge. Personally I consider the Shiv Sena problem, basically, initially, primarily, as an off-spring of socio-economic inequalities. During the last twenty years a section of our Indians in Maharashtra, in Bombay city, has seen certain sections making substantial progress economically and socially, and the expectations aroused at the end of our successful struggle for independence were shared by everybody, and therefore, in due time, they became more and more conscious that they had been left behind. I believe it would have been prudent and long-visioned action if the Government in every region had prepared plans, though long-visioned yet for speedy implementation, for the lifting up of those who were backward. And while we may deplore and condemn—as I do deplore and condemn—the incidents which have taken place in Bombay—and I have a few suggestions also with regard to meeting such situations in future—I think, unless the Government in each region deals with this problem of planning—for speedy implementation—the upliftment of the backward sections of the people, we are bound to have trouble here and there and repercussions of it everywhere. I do not want to elaborate this point further.

My second point is that we should not commit the mistake which the British did in dealing with our movement. We should not allow a movement to develop a momentum if we regard that movement as one taking a direction which is wrong in our view. We ought to act immediately

and try to control and curb it at the very commencement of things.

My third point is that, in these days, however much we may regret, it is not possible to expect, for some time to come at least, that the local police will be alert enough, energetic enough and ready enough to act in time and control a situation. There are certain psychological emotional factors in this matter which I do not want to elaborate but I think it is the duty of every State Government the moment they have given a chance to the police to control a situation and. ^{try} ^{na} that they are not able to control it then within a few hours the State Governments must make 'a show of strength and in this I do not-exclude even the posting of the military. The military may never have to function, it may never lead to any killing but the show of adequate strength behind the administration will be a great preventive factor and that will lead to far less casualties and to the control of the situation in a shorter time.

My next point is that in this unfortunate development in Bombay all communities have suffered; people from every State in the south, even people who belong to Bombay and Gujarat, friends who are as much indigenous as anybody else, Marwaris and others have suffered; U.P. people have suffered; people from Bengal have suffered, people belonging to my own Sindhi community who are still trying to set themselves on their feet and even some Maharashtrians have suffered. There are always certain elements who take advantage of what might be called the demonstrations in the streets, or democracy in the streets, or mob action in the streets. Certain unsocial elements take advantage of it and create difficulties for everybody. Therefore I am strongly of the opinion that those sections of the people who are in danger when such movements develop ought to be given facilities for self-defence, it is not possible for the police to be in every lane and street of a city. It is not fair to the Government nor even fair to the police itself to expect that they

will safeguard every shop and every house in a city. We must therefore give facilities to those sections which are weak or are in danger to defend themselves. This may be a temporary arrangement but it is vital.

I will give only two illustrations. There was trouble in Gauhati. About a thousand or 2,000 young Assamese friends who lost their temper ran into the market and because they were very angry with the local Marwari community they broke open their shops, damaged their shops and burnt their shops. After having burnt a major portion of the market they proceeded to the remaining portion of the market. And the first shop in that remaining portion—where there were about 22 marwari shops also happened to belong to a Sikh from the Punjab and when this mob of 1000 or 1500 people rushed over to that part of the market, it found a Sikh standing in front of his shop with his revolver in his hand. He did not shoot but he was ready to act if he was attacked and that single act of his acted as a preventive and that mob turned away from that place and his shop and other Marwari shops there were saved.

The second illustration is this. I happened to go inside the Parliament street very soon after that big demonstration and procession connected with cow protection. I found that the mob had entered the All India Radio, entered the rooms, damaged the machinery and burnt several things. They had also entered the Transport Ministry office, burnt a number of cars and damaged a large number of other vehicles. I proceeded further and I looked at the Reserve Bank. Not a single man had dared to enter the compound of the Reserve Bank; why? Because I found high up on the steps a single constable with the rifle on his shoulder. That single rifle prevented trouble in the Reserve Bank premises which means that, when the mob functions, unless you give facilities in anticipation to the sections which are in danger you will be precipitating the situation where there will be more killings, more bitterness and more repercussions in all parts of

the country. So I think it is not only wise but it is statesmanship, it is sound politics, it is sound administration to allow the weaker sections to have certain facilities for self-defence. Unless we do this, I am afraid the way things are shaping in the country there will be many many inter-regional, inter-sectional, inter-linguistic group troubles and that is a danger for our country.

In the end I come back to my first point and I plead with every Government that they must have a proper plan with a long vision for speedy implementation for the process of lift-in up the weaker sections of our people.

SHRI B. T. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Madam, at the outset I would like to condemn unequivocally, as my friend said here, this Shiv Sena movement and the subsequent riots. However as a citizen of Bombay city and connected with trade union movement and Bombay University for many years I would like to place some plain facts before the House because many Members are interested in knowing exactly what this business of Shiv Sena is. Madam, I would like to tell you and other hon. friends here that as the hon. Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram said, it is essentially a socio-economic problem. It is true but we must see with a discerning eye why such a situation arose, why a movement like this Shiv Sena is growing there. Unless objective conditions were there such a movement would not have grown.

“अतुल्ये पतितो बहिनः स्वयमेवो
पश्याम्यति।”

Fire fallen on non-grassy land dies out; unless there is dry grass there cannot be fire growing. Similarly unless there were objective conditions this movement would not have grown. And what were those objective conditions? In Bombay probably a million or nearly two million people are proletariat and it is worth while to note that it is also paradoxical—that the major strength which the Shiv Sena

derives, is from the working class and the lower middle class people. It is very strange because it is exactly that class which does not want such fascist movements but the fact is that the strength of the Shiv Sena is derived from them and the reasons are socio-economic. Maharashtrians by and large constitute the biggest portion of the working class and the lower middle class in Bombay city. Not only clerks, postmen, coolies, mill hands, engineering workers, dock workers, 60 per cent of all these kinds of people are Maharashtrians and out of them nearly 80 per cent come from one district, namely, Ratnagiri District, because it is a very poor district. And if these people get attracted towards such a movement, it is a very strange thing. As far as the malady or the disease or the cause is concerned, they would never have joined this movement because these are the people who have helped all the progressive causes. Here there are economic causes. Unemployment is the biggest problem in Bombay; of course that is the case everywhere in India but Bombay is a big city, it is a cosmopolitan city and naturally all the trouble starts in such big pockets all over the world. Unemployment was there and the Maharashtra Government, I am constrained to say, though I am a resident of Bombay, did not give sufficient attention to it. For example when Thana and Bhelapur area was industrialised thousands and thousands of people were uprooted from their land and it was promised that 90 per cent of them would be given some employment but hardly 5 per cent of them were given employment. Apart from that these people of the working class and the lower middle class are educated, they are politically conscious; they are conscious of their rights, they are conscious of their responsibilities also. They thought that there was no protection for them; they thought that their problems were not being appreciated by the Government. They thought that their problems were not being appreciated by the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee. They say that their problems are not being

appreciated by the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee because they say that technically the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee has no jurisdiction over it. That was the story of all other political parties also. There is no Swatantra or Jana Sangh in Bombay at all. Swatantra and Jana Sangh will never get roots in Maharashtra. Maharashtra is a hilly and rocky area and only hill plants will grow there. Weak and emaciated plants will never grow there. What about the other parties? There were a good number of the PSP; thousands of good young people were there in the PSP but unfortunately the 'all-India leader of the PSP left them and they deserted that gentleman. An other who wanted to form a national party preached the doctrine of equidistance and poor fellow he remained equidistant from everything. Then coming to communists, they are the most vocal elements. Communists are always arrogant. If he is not arrogant, he is not a communist. They always say, this Kamgar maidan belongs to us. Nobody can come here and things like that. They resorted to all kinds of closures, morch'as, hartals, strikes and everything. People were fed up. Not only it was not sufficient. God thought that this punishment was not sufficient. Then came the PSP of my friend, Mr. Rajnarain, on the scene and they also added fuel to fire. They adopted every kind of Bundh, except the population Bundh. Therefore, the public was absolutely fed up with these left parties also. All these virile people, two millions of people, who are the working-class and the lower middle-class people, thought they had no mother and they had no father. Then Mr. Thackeray came—he is out and out a fascist. I have no doubt about it—on the scene and began to give promises. We know all of us, in the case of political parties, one party or the other, false promises are always given. That is the fodder for elections. So, he also gave a false promise saying that all kinds of employment will be given to them and, therefore, the Shiv Sena swept the municipal polls in the Bombay elections. It

is bad for me and especially it is bad for my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, also, and it is worthwhile noting again that the Shiv Sena's spectacular gains are bigger in the working-class area. It is a very strange thing and it is a deplorable thing. In fact, it is a hotly debated issue for the progressive elements in this country. However, it happened there. As far as he was concerned, they wanted some cause. Without followers there is no leader. It was a god-sent opportunity given by the dilatory tactics of the Central Government. The border issue is the fodder. The bone of contention is the Belgaum city. Nobody cares whether some more industries come up in Belgaum city or not, but they are prepared to fight like "Sunda" and "Upa-sund'a" in the Puranas. That is the position. Therefore, Thackeray wanted to espouse the cause of Belgaum city and then all kinds of things happened. These riots also happened. I would like to tell you one more thing. The prohibition policy has given a greater gift to Bombay city. At least fifty thousand goondas in Bombay city are living on illicit liquor trade. They are most cosmopolitan in their outlook. They are prepared to join any movement as long as destruction is there. There is no Hindu, there is no Muslim, no Bengali, no Maharashtrian. Nothing of the kind. They just want trouble, so that they can thrive. They are in the forefront of the scene always when these people loot. And arson, everything is there. The most deplorable and the worst thing for which we have to hang our heads is this. Thousands and thousands of young children joined all this, because there are no adults, because they cannot go anywhere. Bombay city requires at least 5,500 playgrounds, but unfortunately there are not even 1500 playgrounds. There is no hobby also for these children. If you see the casualty list, you will be disheartened to see that at least fifty per cent of the casualties are between ten and twenty years of age. It is a great shame to our society and the way that society is being run. These things also happened, but the worst came out

[Shri B. T. Kulkarni] from our friends. When all this loot and arson and everything happened, the Bombay public was stunned and it was in dismay. All these political parties, every political party, began their acrobatics. The PSP leader, Mr. Nath Pai, made such acrobatics that he made himself a laughing-stock absolutely in the Thackeray affair. The communists and the SSP who want to champion the cause of the working-class, poured oil on the fire of Shiv Sena. They thought that Thackeray has gone to jail and here is the reservoir of energy and manpower. Let us grab it. I am not surprised at the communists. Communists can change their stand any time they like. At one instance Sheikh Abdullah is a revolutionary. At another instance he is a reactionary. Then, he is secular-minded and again communal-minded. Anything can happen. Communists change their stand so rapidly that even Hollywood actresses do not change their costumes so quickly. That is the position. They wanted to woo these elements. Therefore, even now the Bombay public think what is going to happen. Nobody is going to see what is the root cause of all this. However, I do not want to take more time. I would like to tell you that the entire Maharashtra, of course, including the Bombay city's working-class and lower middle-class area, irrespective of such incidents which may happen sometimes, are hundred per cent patriotic. They are not only hundred per cent patriotic. They are cosmopolitan by nature, patriotic in their behaviour and socialist in their actions. You may try to condemn either Mr. Naik or Mr. Chavan for political reasons. By condemnation Mr. Chavan is not going to die. Condemnations will make him a greater leader perhaps. They want to teach patriotism to Maharashtra. It is a surprising thing that they want to teach patriotism to Maharashtra. It is like carrying coal to New Castle or Ganga water to Varanasi. Who are going to teach us patriotism? Those people who some, times threaten to secede from India

those who have no respect for the National Flag, those who have no respect for the National Anthem, those people who have no respect for their motherland. Their motherland is J here, but their fatherland is some-! where. These people are trying to teach patriotism to us. It is a fantastic thing and a most presumptuous thing. Therefore, I would like to assure you that Maharashtra will always remain patriotic and will be in the forefront of noble causes. It will always give a helping hand to all the progressive causes anywhere, but at the same time, if anybody wants to try to malign us, the Maharashtra public will show them their proper place, whether they are fascists, communists or communalists.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): May I just make a submission? Prof. Kulkarni, in his eloquent speech, has referred to the Belgaum question, it is very refreshing and I want to pay my tribute to the hero of Goa, Ranade. He has given a statement that he will not shed a drop of blood on the border question. I want to pay my tribute to Ranade.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy. Let the debate go on. I think the Minister should reply at 5.30.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Minister does not reply. I reply.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sorry. He intervenes at 5.30 (*Interruptions*). I have got dozens of names I do not know where to end and where to begin.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I want to speak.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Five minutes each, if you can be brief.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Five minutes are not enough.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Madam Deputy Chairman, what happened in Bombay in February, we should all be ashamed of. It is true that some important leaders in the Congress Party, as well as in the

Govrnment in Maharashtra, have lent their helping hand to the growth of this monstrous party called the Shiv Sena. Some Members have accused that PSP had some alliance with the Shiv Sena. It is true that the PSP and the Shiv Sena had some electoral understanding during the Bombay Corporation elections. It was only a limited understanding we had, and that too the Bombay unit of the PSP had with the Shiv Sena. The Praja Socialist Party have entered into an electoral understanding for the distribution of seats in the forthcoming Bombay Municipal Corporation elections with a view to ending the Congress party's monopoly of power in the Corporation. It was only for this limited purpose the PSP had an understanding with regard to the distribution of seats in the Bombay Corporation elections.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am not interrupting you, but may I ask a point of clarification? It throws the PSP into a shadow. Will you give the same kind of categorical assurance, as Shri Dahyabhai Patel gave, that your party will have no truck with the Shiv Sena even for winning a few seats in the Bombay municipal elections?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Or with tiny communal elements.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Yes. It was not the Praja Socialist Party of all-India that did it.

SHRI A. D. MANI: You are not giving any assurance.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: It was only the Bombay unit of the PSP that had this limited understanding and we were not happy about it. Seeing as we do the monstrous things that have been committed by this organisation, Shiv Sena, no democrat, no decent person can ever have any understanding with such parties, whether in Maharashtra or in any part of India. We should desist from encouraging such parties for some political gain. For some political gain

some parties have joined hands with some organisations, communal, parochial and fascist organisations. I must admit we should not even think of joining hands with such organisations.

SHRI A. D. MANI: You should have done it.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I hope this advice he will give to Mr. Nath Pai and his colleagues in Bombay.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I want you to say that you will not do it.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: We will never do it again, and we have advised our Bombay unit in the last meeting of the Praja Socialist Party that even this limited understanding they should *not have had and now they should not have any truck with the Shiv Sena.

Somebody referred to the statement of the Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party. He forgot to refer to a statement which he had issued on February 10th. Shri N. G. Goray, Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party said:

"The ugly events in Bombay must be condemned unequivocally by all who stood for decency in life."

He further says:

"Those who are indulging in antisocial acts are dragging the fair name of Maharashtra and Bombay into mud. The P.S.P. in Bombay should not hesitate to condemn these actions and to dissociate itself from the Shiv Sena in case it is not willing to cry a halt".

This is what he said. So in unequivocal terms Mr. Goray condemned this Shiv Sena.

Mr. Nath Pai's name has been dragged in. I must admit and say that most of the P.S.P. workers during this holocaust had the courage to go about and advise the people not to indulge in such activities, and with great risk to their lives they did it, and we are proud of them. I must

[Shri Mulka Govinda Menon] ask whether any one of the other party leaders went about asking the hooligans to put aVi end or stop this orgy of violence in Bombay.

Madam Deputy Chairman, somebody has already mentioned that the main cause for the recent disturbances in Bombay was about the -Maharashtra-Mysore border, particularly with regard to Belgaum, the bone of contention, over which a struggle is going on. Unfortunately after the reorganisation of the States, some border problems were not solved, and we have insisted that these problems should be solved on some accepted basis and a Commissio'n should be appointed to go into these questions. They never paid any heed to our advice or to our demands. But at the initiative of the Congress Party and at the initiative of the Maharashtra Government the Congress Working Committee took a decision that it should be referred to a one-man Commission. In spite of the protests by the State Congress, by the State Government and by all the political parties in Mysore State, it was thrust upon Mysore. This one-man Commission. After having appointed this Commission these members made public declarations that the findings of the Commission would be accepted *in toto*. But what has happened? It is more than 1-1 [2 years since the Mahajan Commission made its report, and either the Central Government nor the State Government took any step to implement the recommendations of this Commission. I am not here to go into the merits or demerits of the award of the Commission, but when once a Commission has been appointed and its findings are given, it is the bounden duty of the parties concerned to accept and implement the award of the Commission. In my party they were not prepared to give evidence before this Commission, but I wanted that somehow or other this problem should be settled, that this agony should not be prolonged, that this spectacle pf a Maha-

rashtrian hating a- Mysorean and a Mysorean hating a Maharashtrian, should not be tolerated any longer and some solution should be found. Therefore, I advised my partymen that if the Commission gave an award, whether it went in our favour or against us, we must accept that award. Some of the parties did not go before the Commission, but the Commission gave its award, and it is the Central Government which has miserably failed in its duty to implement this award. It is a dereliction of duty, and I charge the Central Government with that. Unfortunately it so happens that the Home portfolio is held by Mr. Chavan who is interested in this. This should have been dealt with by the Prime Minister and the Commission's award should have been accepted. If that was done, there would not have been any cause or any reason for this agitation which took place in Bombay. This is not the first time that such ugly incidents have happened in Bombay. This is not the first time where properties were looted, where hotels have been ransacked, where people have been beaten. This is not the first time but this is the third or fourth time, but unfortunately whenever such things happen, the Maharashtra Government has been lenient towards the miscreants. The Maharashtra Police, the Maharashtra Officers, have not taken proper care to see that such hooliganism is put down. They have failed in their duty to give protection to the citizens of Bombay.

Madam Deputy Chairman, Maharashtrian may say Bombay is their city. It is not. Bombay is as much our city as it is theirs. Everyone has contributed for the growth of Bombay. All communities have contributed. AU languages have contributed. Today it has become an international city. We must be proud of it. When such is the case, parochial, communal elements in Bombay have gained the upper hand and have tried to see that non-Maharashtrians are rooted out from Bombay. I do not say that the entire Maharashtrian

people in Bombay are doing this, but certain elements encouraged by such organisations like Shiv Sena have taken recourse to this to see that the non-Maharashtrians are eliminated from the city of Bombay. It looks as though if the present things were to continue in India, a Maharashtrian will be a stranger in Mysore and a Mysorean will be a stranger in Maharashtra. This is a very strange phenomenon that in India we feel that we are strangers, a Maharashtrian hating a Mysorean much more than he hates a Chinese or a Pakistani and a Mysorean hating a Maharashtrian much more than he hates a Pakistani or a Chinese. This thing should not be allowed to continue.

Madam Deputy Chairman, the Government of Maharashtra should squarely bear the responsibility for what has happened in February during these disturbances. They had a clear warning. ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must wind up. It is more than ten minutes. Members should also try to be very brief. It is no use repeating.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: I am brief. The Maharashtra Government had a warning that if this question was not solved, they would take to arson and looting. In public meetings the leader of Shiv Sena, Shri Bal Thackeray, made such statements. But the Government of Maharashtra did not take any preventive measures. They did not arrest the persons concerned or the leader of the party concerned. They did not take preventive measures by posting or by deploying the Reserve Police in delicate places where they were expecting trouble. For three days there was no Government in Maharashtra. For three days loot and arson went on, properties were looted, hotels were ransacked and people were beaten, but there was no Government in Maharashtra. Only after the fourth day the Government of Maharashtra took care to see that these disturbance's were not

allowed to continue. And they tried their best to put down this hooliganism. But for three days they did not; they should have taken precautions to prevent such a holocaust.

Madam Deputy Chairman, we must all learn a lesson from what has happened in Bombay. It might happen anywhere else. But we should see that such things do not happen again. We should see that the unemployment problem is solved and that the social inequalities that are now pervading through the life of our community are not allowed to continue any longer.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken more than 15 minutes. Please wind up.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: We should see that the disparities in income are brought down to the minimum. Madam Deputy Chairman, in India there are so many languages. (*Time bell rings.*) We are speaking different languages.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must wind up.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: We belong to different religions. But India is the one and the only country where we should all live as equal citizens in any part of the country.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Minister was to be called at 5.30. It is now 5.40. With the permission of the House, may I call upon the Minister to intervene?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Madam, I think . . . (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It cannot go on. Tell what time do you want to go on?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I do not wish . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please. I want to ask the House.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: No, Madam. It is your right to say anything you like. But when my name

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and situation arising

[SHRI A. G. KULKARNI]

is in the list, I must get a chance. ' Otherwise . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. I have got many names. If all of you want to sit and speak, then you can go on. Let the House go on. But I think there must be a limit to this kind of discussion and everybody cannot be called upon to speak. How is it possible?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: What is the limit? You have called other Members who are not in the list. We can accept your prerogative. But about those who have given their names, if you are not giving them any chance, what is this? I do not understand it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If all those who are on the list must be called, it is not possible. We must make it representative. I have not only the names of those in the list; there are other Members also.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: No name should be added to any list at all. You can do anything you like.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You please sit down. If the House wants to go on...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I want to take the sense of the House. Do you want to carry on? Are you willing to carry on? Otherwise, I would like the Minister to intervene.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: May I say something? I think the Minister should intervene after all the parties have spoken. As a matter of fact, my party has not yet spoken. The Forward Bloc Member, Mr. Chitta Basu, has not spoken; the Independents have not spoken. At least, we also have to have our say. Until we have spoken, the Congress Benches. . . (Interruptions)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

out of recent violent 6490
disturbances in Bombay

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. A. P. Jain has gone away. Yes, Mr. Chatterjee, you take five minutes.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I will speak for ten minutes.

Madam Deputy Chairman, this is a problem which has evoked different responses from different sections of the House, of course, all of them unified in condemning the Shiv Sena violence. But one thing has mystified me and it is this that everyone is fishing for objective conditions in order to support the Shiv Sena activities. Now, I really do not understand that. The Shiv Sena's activities, if they are based on objective conditions, then it must be said that these objective conditions are conditions of looting and rampage induced by a certain amount of frustration, induced into the ordinary people or the common people there, by a deliberate policy of deprivation and a deliberate policy of distribution of poverty among the local population. But to say that, is not to support the Shiv Sena's activities. But what I find here from the lips of certain hon. Members is as if the Shiv Sena young men who were led astray, they have to be pardoned and given some indulgence because of the objective conditions there. I find in such sentiments and the expression of such sentiments a certain kind of sympathy for this looting and plunder and stabbing and murder which I cannot understand. This is a thing which has to be...

AN HON. MEMBER: Who says so?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: . . . condemned. It is not a question of Shiv Sena young men dreaming of a brave new world. I was reading the statement of a very well-known trade union leader and he has said in his statement that the young men in Shiv Sena were dreaming of a brave new world. When you say that the Shiv Sena young men are misguided, that they are misguided by certain provln-

cialist elements, certain elements which are engaged in looting and filmier and rapine, how can you at the same breath say that these people were dreaming of a brave new world? To say that is to betray an element of sympathy for those persons who took the name of Shivaji and began to loot the shops and hotels of the South Indian people and who began to kill the South Indian people. This is not the way in which you can condemn those persons. It is true that certain misguided teen-agers might have been led astray into the so-called movement of the Shiv Sena. But to say that the teen-agers were misguided or misled or that they strayed into the movement of Shiv Sena should not lead us to show any sympathy for them.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair],

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, on behalf of my party, I must say explicitly and clearly that we are for linguistic boundaries of States and if there is a question of settling a boundary between Maharashtra and Mysore, our party has said that the village has to be the unit and that linguistic contiguity should be there. On the basis of linguistic contiguity and taking the village as the unit, this linguistic problem has to be solved and the border problem has to be solved. But when we say that, we also say this that on the basis of this border dispute or on the basis of the legitimate linguistic aspirations of the Maharashtrian people, the looters and plunderers cannot be asked or be allowed to raise their paradise and if anybody does it, well, they will have to be put down cruelly and mercilessly. If that merciless and cruel putting down of these people leads to any heart-burning or leads to any sympathy on the part of some interested people, those interested people have to be ignored.

I know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that Mr. Chavan went there and was 366 RS—6.

turned away from Bombay by the Shiv Sena volunteers. Mr. Chavan may say here at the present moment that the Shiv Sena is a fascist organisation. But I can only ask him: Next to himself in power and perhaps next in crime, if I may say so with respect, what did Mr. Naik, the Maharashtrian Chief Minister, do to see that this Bal Thackeray group was put down and was properly 'curbed with firmness and determination. That should have been done. But they simply played with fire. They thought that the Shiv Sena would come to their help perhaps in the mid-term elections or in the *ttexX* elections. We know how the Shiv Sena got into way. We know how during the election of Mr. Krishna Menon, the Shiv Sena people got support and funds from even certain foreign sources and they saw to it that Mr. Krishna Menon did not win. I have no great love for Mr. Krishna Menon, I can tell you. But what I am saying is, Krishna Menon or no Krishna Menon, when you find that a particular para-military force is being used by the Congress and is being encouraged by the Congress in order to help it in winning the election, then that is the thing which has to be put down. It is no use merely looking on helplessly and then saying again and again that this is a fascist organisation and as such, it should be put down. You know that they also serve who stand and wait. And standing and waiting, if I may say so, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is more dangerous than even encouraging actively. I must say that the Maharashtra Congress Committee, the Maharashtra Chief Minister and the Congress Government there have stood and waited and seen that this looting and rampage goes on. That is the thing which has to be put down. Who does not know that the local population is unemployed there? But let it be put in the heads of the common people, let it be explained to the common people that even if all the non-Maharashtrians are driven out from Maharashtra, the capitalists and the monopolists there

[SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE]

are not going to provide employment to all the Marathi-speaking people. I know that in Calcutta and Bengal there are certain ugly-headed, sinister, mischievous persons who try to spread the poison of provincialism amongst the Bengali people. But -we have given the right answer to them in the last elections. You know some separatist group, called Amra Bengali, when they tried to rule the roost, the Bengal political parties gave them the right rebuff by getting their deposit forfeited. That is the way in which the political parties should work. The political parties have to see that these separatist tendencies, these provincial tendencies, these chauvinist tendencies, have to be uprooted, they have to be nipped in the bud. If you do not do that, I will say your political party is not worth its salt. Mr. Vice-Chairman, when rampage and looting was going on in February certain political parties—and I must say with great regret that in spite of its great tradition including the Sam-poorna Maharashtra Samiti—gave a call for general strike. I must say it to the credit of the working people of Maharashtra, though Mr. Kulkarni said something slanderous against them, the young people refused to respond to that general strike call. I give all credit to them and I offer my salutations to the young people of Bombay. But the point is this. Why should such an irresponsible call for a general strike be given at such a time? I think all those political parties who gave the call for a general strike such as the Sampoorna Maharashtra Samiti or the Peasants Workers' Party, they cannot say that their hands are not soaked with the blood of the innocent people. Let them purge their conscience. Let them look deep into their own hearts and they must see that this sort of monkey tricks with the people's sentiments and their prejudices will lead the nation to *jahannum*, to hell. That has to be stopped.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): That has to be stopped.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I am winding up. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, all political parties, if they want to create health in the different States, must see that the poison of provincialism is not played with. They must not exploit the sentiments of the people for petty political ends . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Tiy to wind up, Mr. Chatterjee.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I was stunned to see, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the great trade union leader asking in his statement for the release of Bal Thackeray. This is not the question. The question is why this weakness for Bal Thackeray? Why should he be released when this gentleman was going in the streets of Bombay trying to raise the evil passions of the people there? Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is a question of sins of many political parties. Of course, I must say that Mr. Naik, next in power to Mr. Chavan, sitting in Bombay . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Chatterjee, the need is to give a chance to as many Members as possible.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I am stopping within one minute. I must say, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that Mr. Naik in spite of his being the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, in spite of having the source of power in his hands, he did not stir out. The Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee may say anything, but may I ask Mr. Dharia, who knows much about the Maharashtra Congress Committee, why did the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee take four hours in passing the resolution against the Shiv Sena? That only shows that within the ranks of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee there are persons sympathetic to the Shiv

Sena. Instead of taking four hours the resolution should have been passed within five minutes.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: On a point of clarification Mr. Vice-Chairman. The resolution on Shiv Sena was passed within half an hour and thereafter there was the meeting of the Parliamentary Board.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We can understand your difficulty. Your highest leadership could not draw up a charge-sheet for two weeks now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Your time is up. You have taken more than twelve minutes.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: One sentence only. . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): That will do. Mr. Kulkarni.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: ... This sort of underground sympathy should not be allowed in any form.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me a chance to speak though at the end. I do not want to repeat any arguments at all. I am happy, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that the House has today appreciated the difficulties of Maharashtra in facing the Shiv Sena problem. Also I am very happy to know that the action taken by the Maharashtra Government has been, by and large, approved...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: . . . though people think that more active steps should have been taken at an earlier stage. Here I want Mr. Gupta to understand one thing. He does not recollect the occasion when at the Flora Fountain some 84 people were killed in connection with Sam-poorna Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti agitation in police firing. So this is the police strategy. Even on the first day the Maharashtra Government were quite alive to their duties when fire was opened. But leaving

that thing aside, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want to make out three points.

AN HON. MEMBER: They were sleeping for four days, you do not know.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Here is the document which will substantiate what I said about Mr. Chavan. Will you yield? Here is a letter of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Will you both take your seats? Mr. Gupta, you have had your say. And you will have another chance to reply. I would request hon'ble Members to let the debate proceed in a smooth manner and let Mr. Kulkarni continue.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I have only three points to make. Mr. Gupta said something about the implication of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress with the Shiv Sena affair. I want Mr. Gupta to please understand this. It was Mr. Dange and his party which earlier started the Sampurna Maharashtra Samiti and even fanned these parochial feelings in Maharashtra. That is a fact.

Then, Mr. Vice-Chairman, here Mr. Rajnarain is advancing his advice on a national front and all that. He has given a sermon on national plane and how we should behave though he behaves in his own way. But his counter-part, Dr. Kale and Mr. Jambvant Rao Dhote, who is just like Mr. Rajnarain, are all along preaching violence in this affair because they want to take political advantage out of it. So I join you in the charge that all the political parties are to be blamed for this.

Then, again, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, our great friend—I am sorry he has run away—his counterpart in Maharashtra, Mr. Madhu Mehta—Rajaji's statement is there—brought that Bal Thackeray to De'hi and stayed in the Oberoi Hotel and met so many people, high-ups, in Delhi. What can I say about Delhi where all the

and situation arising

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

intrigues emanate? Here personalities, particularly, from Maharashtra are maligned. I charge the high-ups in New Delhi that they have seen Ba! Thackeray in New Delhi in the Oberoi Hotel. Let the Government say that this is not correct.

Having said all this I would ask where is the problem in Maharashtra. Even this moment the problem is there. But the biggest of all the problems for the last 14 years has been that Maharashtrian have waited for the solution of this Belgaum problem. I know their difficulties and would request this highest forum of the House to sit together. For 14 years our patience has been tested and I do not think that any sane political party or parties in Maharashtra can any more sit silent over this problem. Here Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy has mentioned the Mahajan Committee Report. If I quote from that Report I will take twenty minutes more. That Report is absolutely irrelevant. He has

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not applied the same yard-stick everywhere. For Belgaum he has applied one yardstick, and for Nippani, another yardstick. Now leave aside that. (Interruption) My point is, some people may say: Once the Commission has been appointed, why don't you accept it? Mr. Vice-Chairman, I ask, in this country up till now which commission's report has been accepted *in toto*? Was the Fazl Ali Commission Report accepted *in toto*? Was the Report of the Government that is fomenting all this *toto*? Mr. Vice-Chairman, if I want to hit right out, I would say that it is the indecision on the part of the Government that is fomenting all this trouble. If you had taken any decision whatsoever 10 years back, this situation would not have arisen. Mr. Vice-Chairman, as a responsible citizen of this country, I would say that whatever yardstick is applied, if the same yardstick is applied to all the problems then we are prepared to accept the report. Come on, let us

disturbances in Bombay

do it like that. If the yardstick he has applied in the report is applied *in toto* to all the problems between Maharashtra and Mysore, I am prepared to accept it. . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Are you supporting the Shiv Sena activities?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am not supporting. Your thinking and brains are perverted; you do not know that. What I wanted to say was that leaving the problem unsolved for 14 years has done the greatest damage to the relations between Maharashtra and Mysore and all the other neighbouring States. I want to say that I have nothing to plead for the Shiv Sena. You perhaps do not know that on the 10th February when there was a meeting with Mr. Chavan, some violence took place and I was blamed because I helped that Shiv Sena man to be caught and handed over to the police. I was the man to do it. You do not blame me for that? I am more patriotic than you are. This Belgaum problem should be solved once and for all, because the Maharashtrian people are not going to take things lying down. There is no purpose in creating a dispute like this. I would request the Government to take an immediate decision. Then there will be no Shiv Sena problem. We are more than a match for the Shiv Sena. About employment, etc., we will do it in our own way. We do not want anybody's advice on that. Here we want the help of you all in solving this Belgaum problem. You must all join us—Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Rajnarain, you all should come together and we should all come together and solve this Belgaum problem. Then there will be no Shiv Sena problem at all. Thank you.

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, as a member of the D.M.K. Party, the ruling party in Madras State, I must say that we have been the greatest sufferers on account of these regional and linguistic disturbances. Sir, it is very unhappy for us to note that about 55 people have died and about 170 people

pie have suffered grievous injuries. I wou'd like to know from the hon. Minister the number of persons from every State who died, the number of people from every State who were injured, and the number of casualties and the amount of loss or damage to life and property from every State. If a definite reply is given on this matter, then you will know the gravity of the trouble that we have been put to all this time. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, you know that Madras people are most peace-loving . . .

SHRI M. M. DHARI A: All the 60 persons who died were Maharash-trians.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What of that? It is all the worse.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): May I tell the House that Mr. Appan is on his legs?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: That we have seen.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: If a fair and unbiassed statement of facts about the loss of life and property and other things is given, State-wise, you will see that we have been the greatest sufferers. You know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that Madras has been known for its peace-loving nature, for its kindly nature, for our nature of being without any bias or prejudice against any linguistic or regional group. Our people have gone to various parts of the country because we were lacking adequate employment opportunities and we were given employment in various places because we have been doing very good work, efficient work and selfless work. Now this country has been propagating universal peace, tranquillity, national integration, international fraternity, social understanding, and efforts to end anti-social activities, regional, caste, communal, religious and inter-State strifes, prejudice, bias, bitterness, hatred, anti-democratic acts, violence, and things like that. I would request, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that a committee consisting of Members of both Houses should go into the re-

cent disturbances in the city of Bombay. As I have said:

"and having considered the same, this House deplores at the way things have happened in Bombay due to the activities of the Shiv Sena and propose that a committee consisting of Members representing both Houses of Parliament be constituted to go to Bombay forthwith to study. . . ."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Why are you reading your amendment?

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Anyhow, Sir, I do not think I would have taken more than 5 minutes . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): It is no use. You were not here when the amendments were moved. Now it has not been moved.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: "..... the facts in detail and about the loss of life and property and to recommend suitable measures to prevent such recurrences and to do necessary things against all those responsible.."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Appan, your amendment has not been moved. Do not read it.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Anyhow, Sir, what I would suggest to the hon. House is that these regional imbalances and Industrial inequalities should be removed. This Government should come forward and start many industries in other parts also. People from our parts who have suffered most in Bombay should be given better treatment, equal treatment and better justice.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. A. D. Mani. He is the last signatory to the motion.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, some of the activities of the Shiv Sena have disfigured the public life of Bombay—the cosmopolitan life of Bombay—and its activities

[Shri A. D. Mani]

have been condemned, I am glad to say, by all sections of the House. This poses a serious danger to the nation's good.

Sir, many references have been made that the Shiv Sena organisation is a fascist organisation. I may point out here that the Shiv Sena, as far as I know, has no written constitution. Its membership is said to be about 3 lakhs and the members pay Re. 1 as their annual subscription. That means the revenue is about Rs. 3 lakhs per year. It has got a bank balance of Rs. 35,000. Shri Bal Thackeray has gone on asking the industrialists to contribute to this organisation. More than that, Sir, the character of this organisation is reflected in the fact that the entire power of the Shiv Sena is concentrated on Bal Thackeray. As far as Bal Thackeray is concerned, he has stated publicly that 'I am a dictator'. Why should we have so many rulers when today we need a Hitler in India? In another speech he declared that whoever gives employment to the Maharashtrian is ours whether he be Tata or Birla or anybody else.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Where from are you reading?

SHRI A. D. MANI: It is from *Link* magazine of 1968 issue. 'Marmick' is a journal which has set up a high level of vulgarity in this country. Unfortunately, this journal has not come under the scrutiny of the Press Council. There are unthinkable references to the Prime Minister of India in that journal. I do not want to mention what those references are.

Speaking about some men, Shri J. P. Narayan and Shri Achuth Patwardhan have been referred to as women during the difficult days. This is the kind of writing. This is what they wrote about Shri Achuth Patwardhan.

My hon. friend Shri Kulkarni referred to the Belgaum problem and wanted a speedier solution to the border question. I would like to

point out that there is no point confusing the Shiv Sena agitation with the deep sense of frustration and resentment which is now being felt in Maharashtra as well as in Mysore about the non-settlement of their border questions. The Shiv Sena agitation started much earlier than the border question. Shri Thackeray, in his journal, publishes regularly the number of concerns which are employing non-Maharashtrians. The number of non-Maharashtrians employed are all being published in this journal. What it seeks to do is to create linguistic hatred against the South Indian community particularly in Bombay. I happen to be an ex-South Indian having left Madras 35 years ago and made my home in the hospitable city of my hon. friend Shri Shukla, in Madhya Pradesh. I really do not have any links that way with the State in which I was born and had my education. I have enjoyed the hospitality and generosity of the people of Madhya Pradesh and I had very few links with the State of Madras—Tamil Nadu, as my hon. friend Shri Appah might say. What happened is that in Bombay it has been estimated that the number of Tamilians and Keralites is about 4 lakhs while in Madras the fact is not well known that there are as many as 7 lakh Marathi-speaking people residing in the Tamil Nadu. When I was a student in a College, the members of the family of Dr. Selvankar—Dr. Selvankar is our envoy in Hanoi—came to Tamil Nadu and they are speaking Tamil far more fluently than the Marathi language. The people of Madras have always regarded the Marathi-speaking people of Madras as contributing to the economic and cultural life of the State and there has been no discrimination whatever on that ground.

Sir, I feel that at the moment there are already many other Senas like the Lachit Sena, Sardar Sena and so on. There was also a Sena in Bengal. There they put up some candidates for the elections. In Bihar also there are a Magadh Sena. So, there are many genu.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): It is now time to wind up.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Since we have expressed our views very strongly and this issue na"; made some impression on the people, at least the Minister of State should tell us that if it comes to that, he is prepared to declare the Shiv Sena organisation as unlawful and is also prepared to impose a ban on similar organisations; there will be no lawyer friends on this side and even Shri Bhupesh Gupta will not stand up and say that civil rights are being infringed if you ban an organisation of this character.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated) :
Stood up.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): It cannot go

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Sir, I have represented Karwar-Belgaum and Shimoga district for over sixteen years and I was born in Udipi, where hotel owners have been oppressed during Shiv Sena riots.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): I am afraid I cannot accommodate.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Sir, I come from the border areas en account of which the recent riots occurred in Bombay and therefore I should be allowed a chance.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Alva, will you please take your seat? I know all that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): A certain procedure has to be followed in this House.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: I come from that area where riots have taken ilace.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): You could have given your name much earlier. You could have signed the Motion.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: You can just give me five minutes. I lived in Bombay for 40 years. I come from Udipi . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Well, then I am afraid I will have to call everybody whose name is before me. I cannot be partial to some Members.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: No, Sir,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Let the House decide this. Ten names are before me.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: I am in a special category.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): I am putting it to the House. Why are you agitated?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): You have already called the Minister, Mr. Shukla.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: I am in a special category, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): I will leave it to the House. If the House is willing to sit I am prepared to call everybody.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: I am in a special category. I come f-om that area.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I think Mr. Alva may be allowed two minutes and then the Minister may be called.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: I think he may be given a chance (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): If every Member begins to say something or other when the Chair is on its legs it is not possible to conduct the proceedings. I am trying to take the House into confidence. I am not deciding anything on my own. If the House is prepared to sit and hear all the honourable Members . . .

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No, no. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): I am coming to that. Will you not allow me to put the proposition? If the House wants

any particular Member to be allowed, I am prepared for that also. Is it the wish of the House that I call Mr. Alva and then I call the Minister?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): All right. Now, the Minister.

SHRI S. K. VISHAMPAYEN- (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Vaisham-payen, nothing further.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: It is a very bad affair. I am a Member from Belgaum and Karwar. You have used your discretion very badly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is this Mr. Vice-Chairman? It is quite right.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is very gratifying that the activities of the Shiv Sena and the tendencies behind those activities have been condemned by all sections of this House. The origin of this problem is very well known and various views have been propounded as to whether the activities of the Shiv Sena and the effects of those activities have been properly met by the local Government or not. Sir, it is absolutely beyond doubt that the Maharashtra Government right from the very beginning has been try-to do its best to curb the activities of the Shiv Sena. It is very unfortunate that the tendencies that the Shiv Sena has been trying to promote have been taken advantage of by various political parties for making political capital out of it. Actually this particular matter has given them the greatest boost. If the political parties had sot tried to make political capital out of what the Shiv Sena was trying to do or out of the tendencies that the Shiv Sena was trying to promote,

then, this matter would not have become so serious. We know, Sir, in various parts of the country such feelings of regionalism, parochialism, have raised their ugly head. It is not only in Maharashtra. Maharashtra is no exception to such feelings. We have seen such feelings in Assam, in Bihar, in Andhra Pradesh and various other parts of the country. In some way or the other such feelings have been coming up. And here in this particular case this particular problem became compounded because of political exploitation, a very very insidious political exploitation, of those tendencies. Even in this debate, Sir, we have seen attempts that are made to malign one political party or the other, to malign one political leader or another. This itself indicates the basis of the very illness which has given this monstrous shape to this problem. It is beyond doubt that the PCC of Maharashtra right from the very beginning has been trying to fight out this menace and it has successfully done so. I am not speaking here on behalf of the Pradesh Congress Committee, but the facts on record show that they not only fought this menace in Bombay, but in the civic elections in parts of western Maharashtra successfully put down the tendencies which are represented by the Shiv Sena. It is absolutely baseless to say that the Pradesh Congress Committee has been trying to be sympathetic or that it has been trying to exploit this kind of a thing. This is contrary to the fact that I have in my possession here.

Certain allegations have been made against the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. Here again not only on the political front, but also on the administrative front, all the efforts have been made by the leadership to curb the activities of the Shiv Sena and it is not only uncharitable, but it is absolutely wrong and it is contrary to the facts to say that he ever tried to promote or take advantage of the activities of the Shiv Sena.

Some allegations, absolutely false allegations have been made against the Home Minister. It is absolutely wrong to say that he ever went to their functions or contributed any article to any of their magazines. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's facts regarding that are absolutely incorrect and there was nothing of that sort. The Home Minister was actually the first national leader to condemn the activities of the Shiv Sena way back in 1966 when he was the Defence Minister of the country, when he was not dealing with this problem at all. In one of his speeches in Bombay he attacked the tendencies and the activities of this Shiv Sena group. Therefore, it is all the same unjust to make any allegations against him when he was the first, the very first, among the national leaders, to take up cudgels against this kind of activities and this kind of tendencies, and to stand up against it in the stronghold of this particular Shiv Sena.

life of the city of Bombay. I would give you certain figures which will show that in this disturbance that took place there, the miscreants did not distinguish between person and person-. They were only* out for loot, arson and for creating trouble. Out of 2,371 South Indian

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: I am coming to that afterwards.

Out of 2,371 South Indian hotels only 56 were attacked. Out of 2,371 only 56 were touched during these disturbances. And out of those hotels that were damaged 10 hotels belonged to the Marathi-speaking people. About 201 shops were attacked out of which 54 shops belonged to the Marathi-speaking people. Out of 201 shops that were attacked only 18 belonged to the South Indians in Bombay. This shows that they made no discrimination while attacking. Fiftyfour shops and ten hotels belonging to the Marathi-speaking people were attacked, destroyed and ransacked. Out of 201 shops only 18 belonged to the South Indians. This figure shows that when they were trying to destroy or loot public property or property belonging to various individuals, they were not going by this linguistic group or that. Whatever came in their way, whatever was possible for them to loot and destroy, they did it. So, to give it the shape of a quarrel between the Maharashtrians and the non-Maharashtrians or the South . Indians, is completely wrong, and contrary to facts. Here the situation worsened because of the anti-social elements who took advantage of the agitated feelings of the people. Now, the question is asked: What was the Government of Maha-rashtra doing? I say it took the necessary action It was very strict about it. But probably its anticipation went wrong. They did not correctly anticipate the intensity of the feelings. They did not correctly anticipate the difficulties that were going to follow. This is the most that can be said about

the conduct of the Maharashtra Government.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Wrong assessment.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: Maybe wrong assessment but it will be completely wrong to say the there was any motive behind it or that they were deliberately trying to foment things like these. It is absolutely contrary to commonsense to believe that any Government, whether it belongs to the Congress or any other party, SVD or the UF, would deliberately try to foment this kind of thing. We do not believe in it until there are positive proofs to do that and here in j Bombay, we have the proof to show ! that they were trying to prevent it, they had anticipated something, they had taken some precautionary measures but those precautionary measures were not enough. I would have been probably better if they had taken more precautionary measures and that would have probably curbed the menace in the earlier stages. This is the most that can be said but I must pay my tribute to the Maharashtra Government for the strong and very very firm way in which they tried to tackle this problem and I am gland that they have so strongly put down this problem and this struggle and I hope in the future these troublesome elements wiH not have the courage to again rampage the city of Bombay and create this kind of trouble.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: In both the broadcasts of the Chief Minister unfortunately he did not rise to the occasion by naming the Shiv Sena and condemning it and Bal Thackeray was raised to the status of Mahatma Gandhi, this pibmy was raised to the status of Mahatma Gandhi by permitting Nath Pai to go there.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: I would request him not to go by these things, whether something was named or not. It does not matter. What matters is the action. The strong action that was required to curb these

tendencies has been taken and the" Chief Minister is on record and on various other occasions he has taken the strongest possible action . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: One world . . .

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: I am not yielding. The Government of Maharashtra and the Chief Minister of Maharashtra took the strongest possible action and he has used the strongest possible language that is possible for a Chief Minister to condemn these activities. So it does not matter what he spoke in one broadcast or what he did not. I do not think it really matters at all.

Some Members have mentioned the problem of border disputes between Maharashtra and Mysore and they have said that this is the cause of the trouble. I do not like this indirect justification of what was done by the Shiv Sena in Bombay. It is not a question of border dispute. There may be order disputes here and there and thi, border dispute unfortunately has been lingering on for a long time.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is a tragedy.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: That is a tragedy but people must understand the complexities of the border problem. This is not a simple border problem. This is mainly a human problem and this human problem has been made very complex by very very unethical political exploitation by various political parties. This problem has become so complex that to-day no speedy solution is possible. We have been trying to evolve a national consensus.. We are not a party either to this solution or that solution. What We what is a national solution to this problem. There is j only one way to solve this problem. / Only a national consensus can brina I about a national solution and until that is brought about, acceptance of I this Commission's report or that Com-I mission's report is not going to solve

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: I would say that the demand coming from the Member opposite is rather funny. Let me explain this matter. When we came forward with a proposition to arm the Government of India with the power to ban such organisations, the very Members sitting opposite protested most loudly against it. The Government of India when it promulgated the Unlawful Activities Ordinance, had taken this power to ban organisations of this kind.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: I am not yielding. Mr. Gupta is off the mark. Under the P.D. Act you cannot ban any organisation.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: No. I am only saying that when we wanted to have power to ban such organisations which were doing anti-national work and indulging in violence, which wanted to overthrow the Government.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: It is not a question of political party. Any organisation that wants to overthrow an orderly Government, a legally constituted Government by

violent methods or which preached violent methods could be curbed by a ban under the powers that the Government wanted to take but these very people apposed it. There is no question of political parties but any organisation like the Lachit Sena or the Shiv Sena or any other Sena can be banned under that power that we wanted to take but these very Members said that such powers should not be taken by the Government and we have discussed this matter and ultimate}}' the Unlawful Activities Bill was shrunk to a size where the Government was given the power by this House to ban only such organisations which worked for secession from the country. Only in regard to secession activities it became the 'anti-secession Bill'. The rest of the powers that the Government wanted to take were not given to the Government by this hon. House because of the opposition of the Members who are to-day speaking and wanting the Government to ban this. They must realise that the Government have no power to ban any organisation in this country. To-day no organisation in the country can be banned by the Government and therefore it is futile to make a demand that the Government should ban this organisation or that organisation. Whatever the organisation, it cannot be banned. If you want to take my personal advice about it, I would say that such organisations and such tendencies cannot be fought by banning them like this. We have to meet them at all levels. We have to meet them at the political level. We have to meet them at the social level. We have to meet such tendencies at the economic level and fight them and only by such fighting at all levels in the political, economic and social fronts that you can destroy this kind of tendency which promoted Senas like the Shiv Sena. By just banning them we do not solve the problem. We do not want to ban the Communist Party, the Marxist Party and there is no question of banning the parties because we have not the rjower We want to fight all these unhealthy tendencies in our public

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI
(Assam): On a point of clarification. Mr.
Bhupesh Gupta is

distorting one speech made in a particular set of circumstances because he does not refer to the subsequent speeches made in relation to the same Shiv Sena in very strong terms because the subsequent activities of the Shiv Sena merited the use of such strong terms. Why does Mr. Bhupesh Gupta not refer to a subsequent statement where the Home Minister says that Shiv Sena is a fascist movement? He has to take such statements together in the proper sequence, and not take one statement in isolation, a statement made a year ago—in 1966—and distort it without connecting it up with a subsequent statement made a year later—in 1967.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not wish to be disturbed.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI: It can also distort many statements of the Communist Party taking each in isolation. How can we tolerate his insinuation to us or to the Congress.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, you please control him. I must have my time. This sort of interruption I do not like. What prevented Mr. Chavan . . .

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI: Would you please go through Mr. Chavan's subsequent statements?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will go through.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI: If you have not gone through them may I read them out for you? Mr. Chavan has called the Shiv Sena a pernicious fascist movement, (*interruptions.*) Congress has no support for Shiv Sena.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Not three. Members at the same time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, will you kindly ask him not to interrupt me any more?

My time is being eaten up by such interruptions.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, just one clarification. I only want to tell Mr. Bhupesh Gupta that he has half-read that portion. He left it at the following sentence: "It was the tradition built up by great men like Lokmanya Tiiak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Mahadev Govind Ranade." But the following sentences immediately follow this sentence.—"Now the people associated with the Shiv Sena had come under bad influence. Instead of condemning them, one must go among them and talk to them, try to find out from them what their problems were and wean them away from bad influence." This is what the Home Minister had also said in the same statement read out in Part by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. You please accept this also, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta; otherwise it will be distorting that statement.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All right; you may now sit down and allow me to proceed. (*Interruptions*) First of all it is no use thumping the tables. (*Interruptions*) I cannot read the whole thing; give me time then. (*Interruptions*) I am not allowed to proceed even.

! THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): If your turn all the hon. Members to allow Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to finish his reply. His time is limited; fifteen minutes at the most. You continue, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I take serious exception to the manner in which I am being interrupted the moment I referred to Mr. Chavan after I read out a passage from this brochure. There are many things said here but this is also said. Well, I have read it out from there; it is in paragraph

3 on page 2 of that particular statement, of that document. Well, in that portion of the document Mr. Chavan did not call the Shiv Sena

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All right Let me proceed. You have said what you felt saying. I am very glad. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: An organisation which let loose one community against another, an organisation which burns shops, commits arson, an organisation which does all kinds of things, an organisation which exploits the discontent of the people in order to see that one community kills another community or chucks out one community to the exclusion of other communities, such an organisation, according to the definition of Maharashtra Congress leaders, is a patriotic organisation, it cannot be called an unpatriotic organisation. Yet, Mr. Vice-Chairman, when Marxist communities find others were put in jail, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda of the Congress Government made a statement calling them unpatriotic, and the chorus voice of the Congress Party had immediately got up in support of that infamous statement by Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda—I want to make that very clear. Then again I will point out, well, I am very glad Mr. Alva referred to that lady, and I hope the lady will understand how I interrupt sometimes. Anyhow that is

Now Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Maharashtra Chief Minister spoke over the radio, and never he mentioned anything about Shiv Sena. When he came to Delhi the pressmen asked him, and he exonerated really the Shiv Sena by saying, "The Bombay riots were caused by *goondas* who had no connection with politics." What a facile statement. Are they mere *goondas*? Well, is Mr. Bal Thackeray a *goonda*? You sent your Inspector-General of Police to negotiate with him. (*Interruptions*) Is he just a *goonda* in your eyes? In my eyes he is a hooligan—let me put it that way. But that is not the point. While you are dealing with Mr. Bal Thackeray, he is a *gfionda* according to Mr. Naik. Then why was the Inspector-General of Police sent to negotiate with him?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Again and again Mr. Kulkarni, you are disturbing me too much, and I must say: if you disturb me too much, be ready for such disturbance on my part. When you spoke I did not do anything. When Mr. Dharía spoke I was not even present in the House and so there was no question of my disturbing Mr. Rut now you can be out and I shall reciprocate it. Why are you disturbing me again and again. Now let me come to my theme. Here the position is simple. The Maharashtra Government is responsible. I want to point out to the House very clearly and reiterate On the basis of information with me that the plot was a joint plot by the Maharashtra Government and the leader of the Shiv Sena in order to create certain conditions so that the Union Government

would be forced to accept their position on the question of the border dispute but things went out of their hands, I agree.

Then in this debate, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not bother about Mr. Abid Ali indulging in tirades against Communism. Here you see my friends of the Maharashtra are more angry with the leftists; they are more angry with the Communists; they are more angry with the working class movement but they are not angry with the Shiv Sena, in which part of India, Mr. Vice-Chairman, do we not have unemployment? In which part of India do we not have the housing problem? In which part of India do we not have the problem of the backward people or the economically backward people? But in most parts of India fortunately today we do not have an organisation like the Shiv Sena functioning in that manner, indulging in orgies of violence, like what they have done recently in Bombay. You see we should analyse why this Shiv Sena has arisen. If it is a question of unemployment and the housing problem only then a similar organisation in some form or another would have come into existence, for example, in Calcutta. (*Time bell rings*) No. no. (*Interruptions*) You may not like it. I am not speaking to you. Hon. Members can go. I am speaking to Parliament.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Will you face the Chair? I will give you two minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would tell the Congress Members they are welcome to leave the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Please wind up in two minutes.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You see how they are intolerant. The Maharashtra Congress is responsible for building up the Shiv Sena; the Maharashtra Congress is bloody criminal

in this matter. I want to say here that Mr. Naik and Mr. Chavan are the godfathers of the Shiv Sena.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have got here a copy of a letter from one who claims to be from the Congress but he has not signed his name. Anyway, by the style Mr. Dharia can enlighten me on the subject. He says here: 'To cite one more proof may I also inform you on solemn oath that Mr. D. S. Desai the Revenue Minister is actively participating in the activities of Shiv Sena. He attends various meetings of the Shiv Sena workers at Nasik and Deolali at the residence of Mr. V. P. Pradhan and Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, Congress M.L.A.'

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Sir, again one more wrong statement is made by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. In the very papers Mr. S. M. Joshi has also denied . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is a letter which is written by a Congressman.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: On a point of order. The other day when there was a discussion on the Birla affair the Finance Minister when he was replying was practically attacked from all sides, from his side mostly. Then there was not even a murmur from those benches. But now that Mr. Chavan is involved they are making so much noise. Am I to understand that this is part of the inner party struggle inside the Congress?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): This is not a point of order. Will you take your seat? I see no point of order Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, may I request you to wind up quickly?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is what I am trying to do but you see what is happening.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): According to

rules you can have 15 minutes at the most. You started at 6.40. For interruptions I will give you two more minutes and you must finish.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, this is not the way. You should have stopped them. Why did you not exercise your power and stop them when they interrupted? It is very wrong.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान्, एक प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर है। अगर किसी वक्ता के पन्द्रह मिनट के समय में से 13 मिनट डिस्टर्बेंस और इन्टरप्शन्स में बर्न जायें तो शायद उस को दो मिनट कैसे देंगे।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: T.V- debate has to go on. The amendment's will have to be moved.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): But you can have only fifteen minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, we have forestalled your suddenly adjourning the House. The amendments have to be put to the vote before you can adjourn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Of course the amendments have to be voted upon.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very sorry at the manner in which this is being done. The country should be free of the complicity of the Maharashtra Congress with the Shiv Sena and company. I know what they are doing there. The Shiv Sena is also backed by the CIA, it is well known. It has been stated on the floor of the Maharashtra Assembly that an American Consulate man met Mr. Bal Thackeray about the time when the disturbances started. It has also been alleged that an Indian employee in the American Consulate there maintains regular contact with Mr. Bal Thackeray. It goes without saying that an organisation like Shiv Sena would not rise so quickly without very heavy financial assistance which of course comes from the monopolist class and also from the CIA organisation in Bombay.

The CIA is interested in undermining our entire political structure and they are no respecter of parties. Only some reactionary parties they like and the Congress today is more and more inviting the affection of the CIA authorities in this connexion. (Interruptions) I know that Maharashtrian[^] can shout; go and shout against the Shiv Sena. We are also Bengalis. (Interruptions.) The Bengali fibre is as good as the Maharashtra fibre.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta you must conclude now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are not stopping them. Why are you asking me all the time?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Because according to the rules you can only have 15 minutes. You have at least taken 20 minutes. This is not fair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why don't you stop them?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): I have tried to stop them

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You only ask me to stop all the time. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Now you have to wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am winding up but I must not be disturbed.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: If you make irresponsible statements you are bound to be disturbed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If you don't give me protection you are not worth sitting in the Chair. I am sure you will give me protection and prove your worth.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar): Sir, on a point of order. The remark against the Chair should be expunged.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There you are; again.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA: His remark against the Chair should be expunged.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What I said was, if he does not give me protection . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I have to give protection to the whole House, not to one Member only.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are never telling any of them to stop.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): I am telling every body.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No; you are not mentioning anybody by name.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): You cannot go on; you must wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No. I will not wind up. Not at all. You must understand that we would like to have some self-respect left. This will not do. This is very very bad; because they are large in number and you belong to the Congress Party. Why don't you ask them? I-will not wind up. Let the House continue.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): The House will not continue.

(Interruptions)

May I request hon. Members not to get excited? We have gone through the debate; we are coming to the end of it. Have patience for a little while. Conduct your proceedings gracefully and let it not be said that Rajya Sabha is an unworthy House.

7 P.M.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान्, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है और वह यह है कि नियम के मुताबिक जो जवाब हो रहा है उसके लिए 15 मिनट का समय है। इस तरह से 15 मिनट का समय जवाब के लिये हुआ

और इन 15 मिनटों में अगर महाराष्ट्र के सम्मानित कांग्रेसी सदस्यगण 13 मिनट तक अव्यवस्था करते रहे, तो इस तरह से जवाब के लिए 2 मिनट ही मिले।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): There is no point of order.

श्री राजनारायण : नियम के अनुसार श्री भूपेश गुप्ता को 15 मिनट बोलने के लिए मिले हैं और वे 15 मिनट बिना किसी अव्यवस्था के होने चाहिये।

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You cannot treat me like that. You know it very well, gentlemen.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Will you please take your seat? Now, there is no point of order in what Mr. Rajnarain has said. I have been closely having an eye on the watch and I want to be fair to all sections of the House. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has been on his legs for twenty minutes now.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: How-much of it in interruptions *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not going to sit. Today I am not going to sit. Use your force. Use your force. I am not going to sit. *(Interruptions)*. I have not finished. They engage me in a controversy outside the scope of the reply. Then you say it is time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Now, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is vulgarisation of parliamentary procedure. I need not be told about parliamentary procedure by anybody in this House. Fifteen minutes are given for reply. Ten minutes are not given for entering in to a controversy or being forced into a controversy. It has been done in this case by the hon. Members on that side. So, let me proceed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Will you take your seat first?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes. "

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Now, this is not the first time that hon. Members are being interrupted either on this side or on that side. That is a regular parliamentary practice. Therefore, all the remarks that you have been passing are very unfair and the Chair strongly resents all those remarks.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You may resent it. But it is not interruption. It is obstruction, I say deliberate obstruction.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): It is nothing now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am prepared to accept interruptions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Now you proceed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, it does not leave a good taste in the mouth, I can tell you, when I see some Congressmen in high position behave as if they are partisans of the Congress Party. They have to behave impartially. I have no particular person in mind. You can imagine who that person is. Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am sorry that allegations have been made even against our party and I have to reply to them. The Communist Party has never had anything to do with the Shiv Sena. It is the biggest target in Bombay of the Shiv Sena. Our people have been killed by the Shiv Sena. We had to encounter their frontal fight, when Congressmen retired in cowardice and fear before the Shiv Sena, some of them helping the Shiv Sena.

Mr. Dharia referred to the fact that so many Maharashtrians had been killed. Well, according to the information supplied by the authorities in those days of the February disturbances, sixty people were killed. According to us, it is an understatement. Many more have been killed. Many or most of them are Maharashtrians. I

am sorry for them. Naturally many of them are innocent, but what happened? The Maharashtra Government failed to take preventive measures, failed to control the rioters when they were out in the streets. Then, they came down upon them and indulged in wanton police firing and an orgy of police repression, as a result of which many innocent citizens suffered. There again I think the criminal behaviour of the Maharashtra Government is displayed and exhibited. On the one hand, they allowed the Shiv Sena to attack people. After they went through the Shiv Sena's programme of arson, the police forces attack came. You shot down our people in Maharashtra in the streets and injured five to six hundred and put many innocent people in prison. That is an infamy. That is a shame. Therefore, let them not imagine that we are not sympathetic to the victims of wanton police repression. In fact, I would demand a thorough enquiry into the entire disturbances in the light of the suggestions made by Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy. If the Maharashtra Government is above board, is he prepared to face an enquiry? Mr. Dharia wants the Birlas to face an enquiry. I agree with him. But will he agree with me? I demand an enquiry, under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, into the disturbances in Bombay.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: This is most unfair. You have not yet realised the consequences and, therefore, I do not support it.

(Interruptions).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would not take much of your time, nor would I like to annoy anybody on the last day, but I shall be failing in my political duty if I do not give expression to the anguish, indignation and feelings of millions of our countrymen against the Shiv Sena and their atrocious and criminal activities. That is why I am speaking more from my heart than from my head. In fact, heart and

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] head, both, are blending together in the speech.

We have been accused of taking political advantage of it. What political advantage have we taken out of if I should like to know it. The only party which is taking political advantage, among the political parties, is the Congress Party which thinks that in the Bombay city they have to rely on the Shiv Sena as a second string in their bow in order to meet the challenge of other political forces and anyhow to maintain themselves. You will be surprised to hear and I have got proof here that even in the internal factional fights within the Congress Party the Shiv Sena is being used.

Finally, before I sit down, I say the Police Commissioner and other high police officials and the Chief Minister and certain other Ministers are there in league with the Shiv Sena. Police records will show. And Mr. Bal Thackeray visits the houses of Ministers very regularly and high officials regularly. If Mr. Bal Thackeray is such a goonda according to them to be despised by them—I say he should be despised—why is he being received in ministerial homes, in the homes of officers, the Inspector-General of Police and the Commissioner? This needs to be explained also, but this has not been done. It is not a question finally of passing a law to ban an organisation. That is fundamental and we can discuss it, but certainly existing laws can be used. The Criminal Procedure Code has not been used against the Shiv Sena for preventive action. The Preventive Detention Act, which is used against political parties and trade union organisations, is still on the Statute Book. Since it is on the Statute Book why was it not used for apprehending Mr. Bal Thackeray and his gang of hooligans and rioters before it was too late? I should like to know it. Why is Mr. Bal Thackeray being treated as if Mahatma Gandhi is in jail today? The Inspector-General of prisons looks after him. Political leaders of certain parties are allowed to go and meet him

and statements are prepared as if from a Round Table Conference. They are from the prison bars to be issued only to the people of Bombay. All that I ask in this connection is, if Mr. Bal Thackeray has the hold of Bombay's peace, then what is the need for having Mr. V. P. Naik, as the Chief Minister State? I should like to know, a run and again, who is the real ruler of Bombay city? Is it the Congress Chief Minister, Mr. V. P. Naik, or is it Mr. Bal Thackeray, a prisoner and inmate in the jail? This is what I would like to know.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we know very well that as regards the unemployment and housing problem, the Shiv Sena can never solve it. On the contrary for a solution of this problem of unemployment and housing what we need is the unity of the entire people of Bombay, Maharashtrian! and non-Maharashtrians, workers and others, sections of the people. The Shiv Sena by dividing them, by attacking and letting loose one against the other is disrupting the struggle for a solution of the problem of housing and unemployment. As far as these problems are concerned, they are shared problems all over the country. For this we need basic changes in the economic structure, in the life and social structure, but that cannot be done so long as the patrons of the Shiv Sena, the Maharashtra Government, are happily in the seats of power. They build up Mr. Bal Thackeray as a Frankenstein monster and when the Frankenstein turns against, they say something against Mr. Bal Thackeray, but Mr. Bal Thackeray and Mr. Chavan are in external love. They cannot be separated. Separation may take place under certain contingencies and situations. Mrs. Yashoda Reddy and others will tell you that in their conjugal life sometimes the husband and wife quarrel. Conflicts and differences do occur. One shouts against the other, but the main tie is not dissolved on account of that. Political unity has come between Shiv Sena on the one hand and the Congress on the other, for reac--

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA); I shall now put the amendments to vote.

1. "That at the end of the Motion,
the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the Shiv Sena is a dictatorial organisation, engaged in plotting the subversion of the democratic system and the democratic set-up and shattering the social order by violating national unity."

The motion was negatived.

2. "That at the end of the Motion,
the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House deplores the utter failure of the Government of Maharashtra to take effective measures to curb the anti-social— anti-national activities of the Shiv Sena and recommends to the Government to set up a Committee consisting of Members of

The motion was negatived.

3. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely: —

"and having considered the same, this House takes serious view of the advent of the Shiv Sena in Bombay and its violent and disruptive activities, and urges upon the authorities concerned and the people to curb them." The House divided.

Aves—11

Noes—65

AYES—11

Appan, Shri G. A. Chatterjee, Shri
A. P. Gupta, Shri- Bhupesh Mani,
Shri A. D. Menon. Shri
Balachandra Panda. Shn
Brahmananda Rajnarain, Shri
Reddy, Shri Mulka Govinda
Reddy, Shri Yella Somasundaram,
Shri G. P. Varma, Shri Man Singh

NOES—65

Abraham, Shri P. Amla, Shri Tirath
Ram Anandan, Shri T. V. Annapura
Devi Thimma^reddy,
Shrimati Arora, Shri Arjun
Bhatt, Shri Nand Kishore
Bindumati Devi, Shrimati Bobdev,
Shri S. B. Chandra Shekhar, Shri
Chaudhrv Shri Ganeshi Lal
Chavda, Shri K. S.

[RAJYA SABHA]

Patel,

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Prinati *The*

endment No. 4 of

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AN (SHRI M. P.

