

[Sh-i T. K. Patel]

cannot be distributed but can only be used to enlarge this Board's activities.

Mr. Chairman, I am confident that these suggestions would merit sympathetic consideration at the hands of our Finance Minister.

6 p., M.

SHRI GULAM NABI UNTOO (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Budget is always a reflection of the economy of the country. We have to see the Budget presented before us by the hon. Finance Minister in the background of the circumstances that our country is facing, in the tin-background of two previous aggressions on our borders and other natural aggressions in the form of drought and rising prices as prevalent in the country and in these circumstances there could not have been any better compromise or alternative than what has been presented by the hon. Finance Minister. Yet one cannot escape noticing the rising prices in tin-country, the challenge put forth by the growing population, the grip of the Big Business and the monopolist tendencies developing in the country and these require a new reorientation or rethinking about the economic policy of our country and I feel that the secret of developing our economy, if we want to give a new lead to our country, is by decentralising and nationalising the secret of every well-developed economy, that is, the institution of banking. I would submit that unless we take this step we will be failing in leading our country as the aspirations of our people demand and if we overlook or ignore that step we will have to produce the same *status quo* or the same compromising Budget as has been produced this time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You can speak tomorrow.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

DISURBANCES IN CALCUTTA AND ALLAHABAD

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):
Sir, I call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the disturbances in Calcutta and Allahabad.

THE MINISTER OF HOME
AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN):

Sir, I regret to inform the House that communal incidents took place in Calcutta and Allahabad last week. According to the information received from the State Government, the trouble is reported to have started when the holi revellers indulged in excesses on March 15th in Central Calcutta area and the situation took a serious turn during the afternoon, following the hurling of a cracker at a canning stall. Cases of stabbing and arson were also reported from some areas of the Calcutta North Division. On March 16th there was recrudescence of tension in certain areas within the jurisdiction of Beliaghata Police Station of the North Division and Jorasanko Police Station of the Central Division. A Basti in Motilal Sen Lane was attacked with crackers and brickbats. The State Government undertook prompt and effective action on the 15th itself. The police fired tear gas shells and resorted to lathi charge at a number of places. Curfew was imposed in four police station areas and orders under section 144 Cr. P.C. were promulgated in nine other areas. On the 16th, the police had to open fire to disperse a violent mob. Prompt police action and extensive precautionary measures had brought this situation under control.

The Prime Minister paid a visit to Calcutta on the 17th and visited some of the affected parts of the city. The

met a large number of leading citizens representing different parties and communities. She also made an appeal to the citizens of Calcutta for the maintenance of communal harmony and peace. The Governor of West Bengal had also been visiting the affected areas of Calcutta almost every day and has had talks with the representatives of different sections of the people of Calcutta in an effort to restore normalcy.

Upto March 17, 1968, 13 cases were registered in connection with the disturbances. 12 persons have been arrested in this connection. In addition 238 preventive arrests have been made. Casualties reported so far are 3 dead and 32 injured. Curfew has been partially lifted with effect from yesterday, but strong police arrangements continue to be maintained.

In Allahabad, the incidents began on March 16, 1968 as a result of colour throwing of holi revellers on a Muslim. Cases of arson and stabbing were reported. Curfew was immediately imposed in the affected areas. Some cases of arson and stabbing were reported on March 17 also. A meeting of responsible citizens of the city was held on March 17 to appeal to citizens to maintain peace. The curfew has been relaxed now. Three persons are reported to have died in these disturbances. The authorities have arrested 500 persons for their anti-social activities.

I had made a personal appeal to all Chief Ministers of States to take strong measures against elements responsible for creating communal tension. I have suggested recourse to the provisions of the Indian Police Act, 1861, or the comparable State law on the subject, whereunder additional police forces can be quartered in affected localities and the cost of such police recovered

from the residents of such localities. I have further advised them that in States where a satisfactory law on the subject is available, the imposition of collective fines should also be seriously considered. I hope prompt and energetic action by State Governments and the efforts of all right-thinking citizens of this country to maintain communal harmony and isolate the mischievous elements will have salutary effect.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, this statement, I must say, is a stereotyped one. Let me say that I was in Calcutta for the last four days and I had the opportunity of going round the city including the area where Hindu communalists gathered and wanted to attack certain areas inhabited by the minority community. I went there along with the leaders of the United Front including Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee and others. I do not say how we were subjected to all kinds of abuses by those elements. Some of us were even assaulted and the slogan was, we do not want United Front, we do not want Communists and so on, clearly indicating that they had something up in their sleeves. Now, as far as the statement is concerned, it is very very unsatisfactory. We do not get any indication as to what has happened to our suggestion to the Prime Minister on Sunday. A delegation of the United Front headed by Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee in the Prime Minister—I was present also—and we made a suggestion that the army should be brought out to patrol the streets, especially the affected areas and that very effective action should be taken against hooligan elements, antisocial elements, and more arrests should take place; and also protection should be given to the minority community members in the areas where they live, instead of getting them out of their areas and shifting them somewhere.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

Xow, Mi¹. Vice-Chairman, ou tlie 14th this tiling started and it continued foi four days. Under the United Front Government we called out tlie Army and suppressed it within six hours. We asked the Prime Minister how it was that the rioting was continuing for four days. It started on. Thursday and went on during Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Even now the situation is nol normal. There is up explanation, abou"" this in the statement nor is there an attempt to understand this thing. \ agree that there was no communal tension in the city as a whole; it goes to the credit of my city. Even in the affected areas there is no such tension among the common people. The communal elements failed to rouse their fenzy and this was a very very hopeful sign. Therefore I agree that tlie people were not at all roused; even people who were vulnerable to this kind of propaganda were not roused but that made the goonda elements and the anti-social elements more desperate and they started organising. After they came lYomtluit area, they thought well, why nol al any basti of the minor *y community? But then we found arrests were very few. In the first four days only 108 persons were arrested. It is a strange thing. As we went there we saw they were abusing us; they were showing their weapons from outside the area and everybody knew who I hey were. They could be identified. In feci. I have got the names of those

I....pie here. Quito a good many of i hem well, please do not misunderstand me—belonged to Mr. Asoke Sen's group in that area.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No, No. You ask for clarification.

SHRIBHUPESHGUPTA: Ab. Vic Chairman, I am dealing with a situation.

I shall give the names. There was the Congress...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I am telling yon not to take the names but to ask for clarification. He has made a statement and you can ask' for clarification.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is a difficult situation; do yon want us to say something oi' not or do you want us to talk in the. air? I say this can be cleared; I have got the names and if you like I can give them. They were known people, very well known people. People were telling me, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, here is so and so, here is that gentleman standing in front and so ou. And then; were of course some USS and Jana Sangh elements also; that you can understand from the slogans.

Firstdl'all. arrests did not take place. Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is a very serious matter. When we give a call for a general strike immediately 500 to 600 what they call anti-social elements are arrested but here Jor four days rioting was going on i small scale. They were trying to create tension in the different areis but still the arrests made were only 108. When we went there we saw them standing in front of us, p-dice watching. I must say in the Bhawani Datta area. This was pointed out to the Prime Minister. I understand that, after she had left, some move arrests had taken place, but it remains to be explained why only 108 arrests took place during the first, four days when, in the case of a general strike, in a mallei- of few hours 50!) to (>00 arrests take place. It has to be explained. Then another Eea1 are ts this. We went to the Muslim .irea. Muslims are not given protection in their own houses. On the contrary the police officer is asking tlie Muslims to go outside, removing them and shifting them from these areas to

various places. Well, what happened in 1947 when, rioting started in imdivided Bengal, in the BeUaghata area? Gandhiji said: "No, they shall be given protection in their own homes. If you do not give them that protection, I go there." He went there and lived there to give them protection. Now, the police people are bragging. "We are removing them." Here I have got a telegram from the son of Syed Nausher Ali. "Myself and father safe at father's office." Here is a letter from the son of Syed Nausher Ali saying that they have been removed to their office and they are living there. I saw many people being taken away by the police. Is that how the minority community to be protected? I should like to know it from the hon. Minister. The?), preventive arrests did not take place. Even in their act, in their operation arrests were not taking place. Houses should be searched. People should be arrested. Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee was virtually manhandled by the police officers and he was given a punch. Mr. Niranjana Sen Gupta and Mr. Biswanath Mukherjee, both Ministers of the United Front, came and said this kind of thing. I do not know why they did it, but they did not assault me. Some others were assaulted. Police took no action. I saw it with my own eyes. You can understand, when the police behave in this manner, what they are doing in other cases. I am not saying that the police should have run amok, but they should have found out who these people were and what they were doing. They should have picked up the ring-leaders. They could have easily done that. We entered that area deliberately to ask them not to indulge in rioting against the minority community. This is a very serious thing, I tell you, Mr. Chavan. He advises us and seeks co-operation. We and the entire United Front went there. We said, Let us face this thing-----

SHIM SH KIKHAN (Mysore): Mr. Vice-Chairman, is this a Calling Attention motion or a speech, Sir?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Now, it is a serious matter.

SHRI SHER KHAN: We are sitting here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You get up whenever questions are being asked. After I finish, you ask it. *(Interruptions)* Classification is not question. The hon. Minister does not say anything about it. *(Interruptions)* I cannot understand why I am being disturbed. You do not like this thing to be heard. If you do not then I will say more on this. You have to hear this thing. Rioting takes place to the shame of our people . . .

SHRI M.M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): It is too much to say "You have to hear such things" and all that. I just cannot understand it. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta must know his limitations. This is a Calling Attention motion. I have observed the time. The time that was taken by the hon. Minister was hardly four minutes and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has been speaking for ten minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is all right.

SHRI M.M. DHARIA: I would like to know it. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): What is your point of order?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: When was it decided that on a Calling Attention motion I should stop after four minutes? Mr. Dharia, I found, on a Calling Attention, went on to speak for half an hour.

SHRI M.M. DHARIA: When? *(Interruption)* Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am not bothered about it, but he said: "You have to listen to all these things."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Kindly listen. You have to kindly listen.

THE VICE-CHARIMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Be brief.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: understand it. If Mr. Dharia so feels, I shall tell him 'please' a hundred times. I do not stand on prestige. "You have to listen" is forceful English. That is all.

SHRI M.M. DHARIA: Go on.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is one point. Action had not been taken, not that in every place it was so bad, but in some places it was really very bad. And then we implored the Prime Minister to call out your army.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You have said that,

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are not asking them to shoot them. We said that the army should patrol the streets. It has a good psychological effect, especially when the police, we, find quite a large number of them, are infected with the communal virus. Nothing has been done.

Mention should have been made of the presence some days earlier of Mr. Golwalkar. Five thousand volunteers marched and paraded and many things are said. Surprisingly enough Mr. Bijoy Singh Nahar, a former Congress Minister, and Mr. Nepal Roy, a former Congress M.L.A., were closeted with Mr. Golwalkar at a secret session. This everybody knows. They are well known for Dandas ami other things—these gentlemen. Therefore, we do not know what passed between them and Mr. Golwalkar, but it is quite clear that many people feel that after Mr. Golwalkar visited some worthies of this type, things developed there.

SHRI P.N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Golwalkar of the R.S.S.;

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Guruji Golwalkar of the R.S.S. There is no reference whatsoever. Yet 5,000 volunteers with lathis and other things marched. There was a demonstration. There was a slogan that the United Front should be finished and "that."

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan): By whom?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: By these people.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: Where?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In Calcutta.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: Was it a procession;

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Not as a procession. You can realise it, If Mr. Bhandari marches in the maidan with a lathi on Saturday and if on Sunday he gives this slogan, the lathi and the slogan have to be connected. (*Interruption**)

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: I cannot understand you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am sure that you will condemn this.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: What is the truth about the whole thing?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You may question your friends there. They nearly attacked me. You will not do it.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: I can understand it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I can understand your feelings. Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee knows it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): There are other persons.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will ask a few more questions. Now, therefore, this is another thing. It is not so simple as all that. Political motivation is quite clear.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Whatever it is, it is a Calling Attention motion and not a debate. You have asked clarifications. Now, let me ask of he persons who are signatories to this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let me finish. Now, with regard to Allahabad, it says: "Central responsibility. Local authorities unable check. Worsening situation". This is a telegram which I have received from Allahabad only this morning. Now, since you would not even allow me to speak on it, all I can say is that in the West Bengal situation, the people have shown magnificent restraint and the communal propaganda has not been allowed to spread. Even in the affected localities, the masses have not come out. It is an affair of the goondas and professional hooligans, who had been left there by the Government. Therefore, I submit that the army should have been called out immediately in order to patrol the streets. Drastic action should have been taken. The ringdead rs and anti-social elements, no matter to which community they belong and in this case most of them would belong to the majority community, should have been arrested, including all communities. This should have been done. Then, the Muslims should have been given protection in the very area where they live, instead of being asked to leave those areas, which creates a very bad situation altogether, uncertainty and insecurity on their part.

Finally, the co-operation of the public should have been sought in this matter. I think the Government of West Bengal is

standing on its prestige. The Commissioner of Police and Shri Dharma Vira think that if the array is called out, then it would be an admission that the local authorities, the police and the Governor have failed in their duty. This is a wrong conception. We called the army at once in the United Front Government. We never felt that by calling the army we would be losing out prestige. On the contrary it was appreciated by the people of Calcutta, by members of both the majority and the minority communities. Therefore, I say there has been a gross failure on the part of the local authorities. They are making it a police issue. The police prestige and the prestige of the local administration has been placed above the requirements of the situation. Therefore, I demand that these actions be taken and proper investigation be made into the affairs as to how things could happen. For four days it continued. The same thing with regard to Allahabad, and we should like to know a little bit about Shri Golwalkar's speech. They should tell us that. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Shrimati Indira Gandhi went there and did nothing. The whole thing is directed against the United Front and the popular forces in West Bengal. My friend, Mr. Dharma, will please note these things.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Chitta Basu. Only clarification.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Sir, you should hear me. I will not take as long a time as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has taken, but you should also give me time to speak.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
बाइस चैयरमेन साहब, देखिए एक नियम
आप किसी पर लागू करें और एक नियम दूसरे

[श्री राज नारायण]

पर ल गू करें, यह नहीं हो सकता, हम सब लोग
बोलेंगे ।

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, on a point of order. The Chair is the custodian of the rules of procedure of the House and also the rights of Members. Few Members etc one Member should not take all the time as if Members sitting here are only to hear them for nothing. The rules provide that only clarificatory questions should be asked and the Minister should reply. If anybody wants to make a speech, then he should ask you for a debate and that ample time should be given. Now there is no time for this.

श्री राजनारायण : इसको डिबेट में बदल दीजिए ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I agree that you are the custodian of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): As there are more than half a dozen Members, I would request that only points be put in so that he may clarify. Otherwise it will be a debate, and I am sure all of you will help me to carry on this work according to procedure.

श्री राजनारायण : नियम में आपको हक है कि चाहें तो इसको डिबेट में बदल दें । सवाल यह है कि मुल्क को बचाना है या बिगाड़ना है । भूपेश ने आपके सामने कुछ तथ्य रखे हैं, हम लोगों को भी तथ्य रखने दीजिए ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
देखिए आपका नाम नहीं है ।

श्री राजनारायण : हमारा नाम क्यों नहीं है, इसका भी एक राज है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
मैं आपको मौका दूंगा । Mr. Chitta Basu.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Sir, you know the Prime Minister had been to Calcutta and she is reported to have remarked that we wake up only when there is trouble. This is sufficient indictment upon the administration in West Bengal today. There was shameful communal riot in the city which continued for four days, and the reports which I possess say that some organised efforts on the part of some communal forces, reactionary forces and some political elements also were there behind the sporadic incidents that were sparked off on a particular day during the Holi. Now the question comes that during these four days the police did not take any preventive measures. As has been correctly pointed out by Shri Bhupesh Gupta . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Why do you repeat what Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said?

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I am not repeating. Only about 100 persons were arrested. But every police station officer knows who are the bad elements, who are the anti-social elements, who are the trouble-makers, and they possess the list of such kind of persons. But no preventive arrests were made. No action was taken to prevent such type of ugly incidents. Again I may say in this context, having regard to all these things, there was no preventive measure from the side of the police, and these goonda elements, anti-social elements and communal elements were doing whatever they wanted to do during those four days. Having regard to all these things, may I know from the Home Minister— now I come to my questions—what

were the actual preventive measures taken by the administration there to prevent all those things? That is number one. Number two, may I know whether there was any intelligence report—he should hear me—whether there was any intelligence report . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): He is following.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How do you know he is following? He is talking to somebody. He cannot follow two things at a time.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: May I know whether there was any intelligence report? What were these intelligence people doing during these four days and previous to that? Did the administration have any intelligence report about the possibility of this kind of ugly communal incidents? Again, may I know from the Government whether there was any dereliction of duty on the part of certain police officers? Because our allegation is this that this type of communal riot cannot take place unless there is collusion or connivance of the administration with certain elements who indulged in this kind of riot. Again may I know what relief measures the Government has taken in the matter of those riot victims and whether the Government is prepared to institute a probe in order to fix the responsibility for this kind of communal riot taking place in Calcutta? Again may I know what steps other than the administrative ones have been taken or are contemplated to be taken for fighting the communal forces on the basis of popular co-operation?

These are the questions to which I want to know the answer from the Home Minister.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Now the Prime Minister is on record as having stated publicly that these communal disturbances in Calcutta are politically motivated. That is what the Prime Minister has said. This is an open statement. It is an open public statement that has appeared in the press. It is reported that the Prime Minister has made some such report to the Congress Party and it has appeared in today's paper. I would like to know what are the political forces behind it, how they prepared for it and how it could happen. This is the first thing I would like to know. Our information I am also giving as far as we know. A senior police official has said that though it began with Holi, that was a small affair, but the moment it happened . . . *(Interruption.)* Please do not disturb me. A senior police official has said that the number of persons involved in the Holi incident with which the whole thing started was very small, but the moment that incident took place organised gangs came far outnumbering them and they were from the majority community. This is the version of a police official. Who are those organised gangs? They know, the police officials.

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar): United Front is the most organised gang in Bengal.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: He knows himself that he is now talking nonsense. He talks many times sense—He now knows he is not talking sense and he knows that. That is the irony.

Now, let me come to another point. In the Rajbag area there is a pocket called Sakarapara. Those who are engaged in the trade of bangles or something like that are there. It is the Bengali name, Sakarapara. And

[Shri Hirer) Ghosh] Sanku Biswas is their leader, let me tell you. And they are responsible for riots in this Rajbagan area, and Sanku Biswas is a well-known Congress figure then¹.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBARALI KHAN): All right.

SHRI NIBEN GHOSH: I have not finished. Do not get that impression. I am asking questions. So, I would like to know whether this is a fact or not. This Sakarapara area has been a trouble spot for a pretty long time. If there is any will on the part of the administration to quell the riots, they can do so within two hours—that is our experience—il' they want to. When they do not want it, they want it to spread; then, of course, nothing happens. They know all of thorn. They are on their list, those who are engaged in those activities. They can prevent or arrest them in one sweep, within one hour.

Let me tell you another incident, how it happened.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAB ALI KHAN): No, no.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Please do not disturb me. It will help the Home Ministrv. I am not in a carping mood. It is a serious tiling. I am saying things seriously. In another instance, a gang of 50 or 60, with the knowledge of the police, assembled that night. They drank wine and all of them go1 drunk. And with revolvers from five up to eight, they went on shooting. The police knew it. When approached, the police officials—they know all of them—say, we are helpless; because in the higher-up there is a pull, you cannot touch the ni. So, these things occur. Tliat is another example that I give you.

Now, the military point has been made.

It is strange why the military

was not put on patrol on the streets. I would like to kow, and I would like a probe. My suspicion is that if you corrupt and poison the atmosphere in West Bengal and if the communal virus reaches the people, then perhaps—I do not know—your Atulya Balm and others think that they can have things in their own way because this

I is . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): There is no question.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: . . . ouster of the Ministry was not liked by Atulya Babu. I would like to know whether he and his gang¹—because I have given an instance -had any hand in it because Sanku Biswas is a well-known Congress leader. Perhaps he was a goonda also, and . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You kindly sit down.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: This is a question. I am not indulging in rh et eric.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Even in a definite question, one or two supplementaries can be asked. But you have put four questions. What more do you want? Mr. Jagat Narain.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Do not do that, please. I am finishing. Please do not disturb.

Secondly, the moment there was an RSS rally Iv Calcutta, we had a suspicion that something was brewing up in Cakutta . . . (LUrr-uptiims.) And I would urge upon the Government. In view of all that has taken place not only in Calcutta and in oilier places, a non-official probe by a high-

level body should be set up, to probe into all these things. Who does not know that Guruji Golwalkar is associated with Gandhiji's murder and that the RSS was banned? This Government realised that. These are on record. So, we must have something . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Jagat Narain.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: A non-official committee. I quite agree . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I have called Mr. Jagat Narain, Please sit down.

श्री जगत नारायण (हरियाणा) : मैं वजीर साहिब से सिर्फ दो या तीन सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : दो या तीन नहीं, एक सवाल ।

श्री जगत नारायण : मैं सिर्फ दो तीन मिनट में ही खत्म कर दूंगा । पहला सवाल मेरा यह है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने यह कहा है कि वहां पर कम्युनल झगड़ा कम था—बंगाल के बारे में, कलकत्ता के बारे में कह रहा हूँ—वहां पोलिटिकल झगड़ा ज्यादा था । तो मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वहां पर पाकिस्तान के और चीन के एजेंट ऐसे हैं, गुण्डे ऐसे हैं, जो कि इस तरह के फसादात हर महीने या हर दूसरे तीसरे महीने कलकत्ते में करवाते रहते हैं ताकि वहां की हालत खराब हो और हिन्दुस्तान के प्राइम मिनिस्टर और होम मिनिस्टर को वहां जाना पड़े, हालात को देखने के लिये । एक तो मैं उनसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कोई ऐसी बात है या नहीं है ।

जो इलाहाबाद में फसादात हुए उसके मुताल्लिक मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या शेख अब्दुल्ला की स्पीचेज ने कोई ऐसी

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एटमासफेयर वहां पर पैदा किया है जिससे कि वहां पर हिन्दू-मुसलमान फसादात हुए क्योंकि अलीगढ़ में, देवबन्द में शेख अब्दुल्ला की जो स्पीचेज हुई हैं जो काफी मेम्बरान साहबान को भेजी गई हैं, उनको मिनिस्टर साहब ने भी पढ़ा होगा, तो वह स्पीचेज बड़ी इनफ्लेमेंटरी हुई हैं, तो क्या इसकी वजह से वहां फसादात नहीं हुए ।

तीसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह प्रेस रिपोर्ट है कलकत्ता की 17 तारीख की, जिस समय वहां प्राइम मिनिस्टर गईं तो जो चीफ कमिश्नर वहां हैं उसने कहा कि फसादात रकबे में पांच हजार पुलिस के आदमी मने लगाए हुए थे और पांच सौ अफसर लगाए हुए थे । तो अगर पांच हजार पुलिसमैन और पांच सौ पुलिस के अफसर वहां हों तो वह कितना बड़ा इलाका है जहां कि इतना फसाद हुआ और पुलिसमैन उसे रोक नहीं सके और फिर वहां पर यह आर्डर देना पड़ा कि शूट एट साइट । यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वजह है कि पांच हजार पुलिसमैन उस अफेक्टेड एरिया में इसको रोक नहीं सके और क्यों नहीं लोगों को आराम पहुंचा सके । जब कि यह कहा जाता है कि दो घंटे में पुलिस सब कुछ ठीक कर सकती है ।

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh): I am sure every Member of this august House will agree with me in condemning the communal incidents whether they have happened in Calcutta or in Allahabad. Too much has been said about the incidents. I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether it is a fact that there were no areas of concentration of this trouble in Calcutta or in Allahabad, in either of these cities, whether the incidents have been stray incidents from place to place and whether it is a fact that but for the police, action in time might have taken an ugly turn.

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, मैं सिर्फ दो तीन बातें पूछूंगा। एक तो यह कि अभी मिनिस्टर साहब ने बताया है कि इलाहाबाद में रायट गुरु दृष्टा रंग डालने से। किसी मुसलमान पर रंग डाल दिया गया, हो सकता है कि यह बात ठीक हो लेकिन जितने भी फसादातों रहे हैं उसमें हम देख रहे हैं कि अफवाहें बेइतिहास काम करती हैं। मेरठ में अफवाह उठी कि एक लड़की को मोलस्ट किया गया, बाद में पता नहीं चला कि कौन लड़की थी, क्या था, बैसे ही गाय की बातें भी उड़ती हैं। तो क्या आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर ने इस बात का बिल्कुल पक्का कर लिया कि यही मामला हुआ था कि किसी मुसलमान पर रंग डाला गया और उसने नाराज होकर हमला किया। यह बात बहुत ही साफ करने वाली है। मैं बता दूँ कि ऐसी खबरें जो होती हैं, ऐसे बयान जो होते हैं वह कुछ मिसलीड करते हैं, मसलन आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर ने मेरठ के लिए कहा था कि वहां मरने वालों में ज्यादा तादाद हिन्दुओं की थी लेकिन मेरे स्थान में यह काफी नहीं था, उन्होंने कहा नान-मुसलिम थे लेकिन 17 में एक नान-मुसलिम था। मेरा खयाल है कि यही तादाद साफ हो जाती तो अच्छा होता।

दूसरी बात यह कि यह कहा गया कि जब गुरु गोलवालकर जी गए थे तो वहां आर० एस० एस० की रैली हुई थी, इसके लिए मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है लेकिन यह कहा कि एंटी सोशल एलिमेंट को इलाहाबाद में गिरफ्तार किया गया है तो मैं पूछता हूँ कि क्या मौलाना अब्दुल रऊफ, एम० एल० सी० एंटी-सोशल है, क्या मौलाना असद मदनी एंटी-सोशल है, ये एंटी-सोशल एलिमेंट हैं, इनको क्यों अरेस्ट किया गया, उनके साथ और छः हैं और उन लोगों को भी अरेस्ट किया गया जिनको मैं हमेशा से जानता रहा हूँ कि वह कम्युनिज्म के खिलाफ बहुत सख्त

खयालात रखते हैं, हमेशा से उसके खिलाफ लड़ाई लड़ी है। तो मौलाना असद मदनी और मौलाना अब्दुल रऊफ को गिरफ्तार किया गया, और ऐसे कई नाम मेरे सामने हैं जिनको अरेस्ट किया गया और आज ही यह खबर मुझे मिली है, तो इनको क्यों किया गया इनका जुर्म क्या है।

फिर मैं यह पूछूंगा कि जो यह कहा जाता है कि यह चीजें चलती रहती हैं, हो गया, हो गया, अब नहीं होगा, तो यह कब तक ऐसा ही चलता रहेगा। इसमें आखिर क्या आप कोई स्टेप नहीं ले सकते? ऐसा नहीं हो सकता इसको खत्म कर दें। मैं यह भी अजं कसंगा कि आल इंडिया रेडियो का बहुत हिस्सा है इसमें लड़ाई लड़ने में, और फिर गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से जो स्टेटमेंट आते हैं उनमें पूरा एक्सपोजर नहीं हो सकता है। हमेशा ठंडी ठंडी बातें होती हैं। तो फिर यह क्यों होता है?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): The hon. Minister of Home Affairs will certainly agree that a kind of war has been going on throughout the length and breadth of India against the minority community, at whose instance and by whom we do not know. That is for the Home Minister to find out. In that view of the matter, the Calcutta incident is merely one such incident. Will the hon'ble Home Minister of Home Affairs- I am putting this question very seriously—set up a high-power probe body in order to find out who really are the elements who are organising these riots throughout India? It is not a question of one incident occurring in Calcutta and another one occurring in Allahabad. You will find that there is a chain, of communal incidents. And as soon as you find a chain of such incidents you have to admit that there is an organised effort behind these 'chain of incidents'. With the hon'ble Home Minister be conscious of this fact and find out who are organising these

coninual riots i If it: is said tliat it j is merely Pakistani and Chinese agents who are doing it, they are merely drea to ing who say so. Pakistani and Chinese agents oannot succeed in creating all India riots. If the Minister of Home Affairs says-that it is the Pakistani and Chinese agents who are creating these all-India riots, then I will ask what is the Home Ministry for. It is a self indictment of the Ministry of Home Affairs itself if the Home Ministrv merely sings to the tune of those Members who begin to say that this is the doing of the Pakistani and the Chinese agents. This is merely a way of evading the issue actually by saying these things. Those who say thes.' things they really want to shield the real criminals and r.val organisers. That is one thing, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir.

The second thing, Mr. Vice-Chairman, which I am putting to the hon. Minister of Home Affairs is this. It has come to our knowledge that whenever riots take place in Calcutta and whenever the police have to fire, they fire towards the minority community. It is our experience. By quoting instances I will not burden my question. Will the hon. Minister enquire why, when the Muslim community members are surrounded by gangs of goondas from the majority community the police turn their guns towards the minority community and create, more injuries by their firing at the minority community than at the goondas of the majority community ? This is' what happened in Calcutta. If the Minister of Home Affairs enquires, I think, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the hon. Minister will be able to find out that the police are conniving with tlie goondas of the majority community who create these riotfl and kill innocent Muslims.

There is a third thing. We know and everybody knows that riots occurred, in the Narkeldenga area. It .is

alleged that some Muslim youngmen cast aspersions upon some Hindu ladies who were taking bath in a tank. That is the story. I believe that this story is absolutely a false story. But it is a fact that the roits took place near a barrack where policemeu were putting up. And there is information to hand that these policemen who were in the police barracks came out and took part in the riots. They were actually the first rioters; they created riots. Will the hon. Minister enquire into this thing'

Lastly, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I myself went to the Raja Bazar area, where the riots took place. Every one was pointing out, both the Hindus and the Muslims, to the spot on the street where stabbings were taking place in front of the Y.M.C.A. building on Keshab Chandra Road. The police was not posted there. For obvious reasons the police was 200 yards away from the place where these goondas sallied from to kill Muslims. Even rickshaws taking Muslims were stopped and the Muslims in them were stabbed. The buste" was being pointed out by everybody but no police guard was posted in front of the bustee. Will the hon'ble Minister, in the fair name of India, in the fair name of secularism, in the name of humanity, in the name of the minority communities who are as much citizens of this eountry as any other citizen of the majority community, look into this question and will he find out who are these police officers conniving at these rots and who are rioting themselves? These are my four questions.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह बंडारी : मैं गृह मंत्री जी से एक स्पष्टीकरण चाहूंगा। पहले मेरा निवेदन है कि यहां पर श्री भूपेश गुप्त के द्वारा एक ध्यान आकर्षण का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया गया, जिसमें मंत्री महोदय ने वक्तव्य दिया है -शुरूआत की गई थी और कुछ चीजें जोड़ी

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

गई। "हिन्दू" शब्द के साथ तो कम्यूनलिज्म शायद ऐसा चिपका दिया गया है कि वह मज्जागत हो गया है—हिन्दू कम्यूनलिज्म, कम्यूनल हिन्दू और माइनारिटी कम्यूनिटी। अब मैं समझता हूँ कि गृह मंत्री महोदय भी क्या उसी थियरी में विश्वास करने हैं कि हर एक हिन्दू कम्यूनल है? हर एक हिन्दू आर० एस० एस० का है या हर एक हिन्दू जन संघ का है। मुझे तो खुशी होगी अगर हिन्दुस्तान का हर एक हिन्दू आर० एस० एस० का हो जाय या जन संघ का हो जाय। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के कार्यकर्ता जब उस जगह गये और उनको वहाँ के लोगों ने हट आऊट किया तो हट करने वाले अशोक सेन की पार्टी के दिखाई दिये या विश्वास की पार्टी के दिखायी दिये।

दोनों पर आरोप लगा है, श्री नीरेन घोष और श्री भूपेण गुप्त की तरफ से, कि वह कांग्रेस के लोग थे। परन्तु क्योंकि वह बदकिस्मती से हिन्दू थे इसलिये उनमें भी जन संघ और आर० एस० एस० उनके अंगों में से, उनके चेहरों पर से प्रकट होने दिखायी दिया।

मेरा निवेदन है कि एक आरोप लगाया गया है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने यह कहा कि कम्यूनल रायट पोलिटिकली मोटिवेटेड थे। मैं चाहूँगा कि वहाँ के डिस्टेक्नेन्स को पोलिटिकली मोटिवेटेड कहते समय प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने उसको 'कम्यूनल रायट' भी कहा है या नहीं इसके संबंध में भी... क्योंकि यह तो मैं मान सकता हूँ वहाँ पर कुछ घटनाएं हुईं, वह पोलिटिकली मोटिवेटेड हैं या नहीं इसके बारे में आप स्टेटमेंट दें। मैं इसका स्पष्टीकरण चाहूँगा कि क्या प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने इन दोनों बातों को कहा कि वहाँ पर जो कम्यूनल रायट हुआ वह पोलिटिकली मोटिवेटेड था। दोनों जगहों पर होली के अवसर पर यह घटना हुई। होली के अवसर पर हुई इसलिये कोई प्रीप्लॉड का कन्सेप्शन उसमें से करते हैं? तो मैं यह पूछना चाहूँगा

क्या होम मिनिस्टर या गृह मंत्रालय इस होली के त्योहार को कम्यूनल त्योहार मानता है। मुझे तो मालूम है हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय डा० जाकिर हुसैन भी रंग खेलते हैं, होली मनाते हैं। क्या होली का त्योहार कम्यूनल त्योहार है? इसलिये तो समझ में आ सकता है कि होली का त्योहार था और यह कम्यूनल त्योहार है इसलिये इसमें से कम्यूनल रायट्स को पैदा करने के लिये बड़ा प्रीप्लॉड, शॉट-आऊट, बेल मैनेज्ड, ऐसा कोई अभियान चलेगा। इसलिये पुलिस क्यों नहीं बुलाई गई, मिलिट्री को पहले से अलर्ट क्यों नहीं किया गया, और पहले से ही इस प्रकार की पेगबंदी क्यों नहीं की गई। कौन आदमी किम मुहल्ले में रंग डाल कर वहाँ तकलीफ पैदा करेगा और ये सब चीजें आयेंगी। अब बंगाल तो आजकल सेन्ट्रली एडमिनिस्टर्ड हो गया, तो क्या आपने नयी सूचना भेजी है कि पुलिस वाले जब गोली चलाएँ तो शरारत चाहे हिन्दू कर रहे हों लेकिन गोली चलाने पर उन्हें मुसलिम पर चलाना चाहिये, जैसा कि आरोप लगाया है। और इस प्रकार का सर्कुलर गया हो तो यह भी जरा स्पष्टीकरण कर लें। पुलिस को भी समझ में आ जायेगा कि गलती पुलिस की है। और अगर गृह मंत्रालय की तरफ से आदेश दिया गया है कि गड़बड़ कोई भी करे, हिन्दू करे चाहे कोई करे, लेकिन गोली चलाना तो देख कर चलाना कि सीधे मुसलमान के सीने पर लगती है, यही तुमको आदेश है। तब तो गृह मंत्रालय की आज्ञा का पालन करते हुए वह "मोस्ट लायल सर्वेंट आफ दी गवर्नमेंट" इस नाते से माने जायेंगे। इस कारण उन्हें इस मामले में भी स्पष्टीकरण देना चाहिये।

मुझे दुःख है कि इस घटना में किसी व्यक्ति पर रंग छिड़के जाने के कारण जगड़ा हुआ—किसी पर भी जबरदस्ती रंग छिड़का जाय मैं इसके विरुद्ध हूँ, जो शामिल ही नहीं होना चाहता उसको इस तरह से खुशी के

न्योहार में मजबूरी में शामिल करने की कोशिश की जाय, किसी को भी, चाहे वह हिन्दू हो या मुसलमान हो, एक गलत चीज होगी—लेकिन अगर किसी पर ऐसी कोई घटना हो जाय और उसमें मे झगड़ा पैदा हो, उसको हम इनमें बड़े भारी तनाव का रूप दे दें—बेल प्लान्ड था और गुरु गोलवालकर जी वहां पर गये थे, वहां की शाखा में लोग डकट्टा हुए और चार कांग्रेस के हिन्दू नेता भी उनमें जाकर मिले थे घर में, तो एक बड़ी कास्परेसी हैच आऊट की गई . . . एक बड़ी योजना बनाकर उन्होंने मुल्क में तनाव पैदा करने की कोशिश की क्या आप कांग्रेस के नेताओं द्वारा गुरुजी से मिलने के कारण कोई कांसप्रेसी हैच आउट होती समझते हैं, तो आप कांग्रेस के नेताओं को इस बात का इन्स्ट्रक्शन दें कि वे हिन्दू नेता या किसी दूसरे नेता से मिला न करें। मैं चाहूंगा कि जो प्रोब की बात हो रही और जो प्रोब आप बैठाने वाले हैं और उसके संबंध में जो आपने एफिडेविट मांगे हैं वे एफिडेविट क्या होंगे और किन के खिलाफ होंगे ? इसमें जांच करने वाला व्यक्ति क्या नतीजा निकालेगा और क्या आप दूसरे लोगों को भी इसमें मौका देंगे कि उनके संबंध में जो कुछ कहा गया है, वे उसके बारे में स्पष्टीकरण कर सकें या अपनी बात रख सकें ? या फिर आप एक्स पार्टी ही यह जांच कराना चाहते हैं और कोई नतीजे पर पहुंचना चाहते हैं ? इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि इस प्रोब के संबंध में आपके जो इन्स्ट्रक्शन हैं, उनके संबंध में भी आप स्पष्टीकरण दें।

श्री राजनारायण : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मे सरकार से यह जानना चाहूंगा कि हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के बीच में अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद ने जो नफरत पैदा की थी उसको दूर करने के लिये तनिक भी कोई कार्यवाही इस सरकार द्वारा की गई या नहीं। पहला

प्रश्न तो यह है। अगर नहीं की गई तो क्यों नहीं की गई ?

हम लोग अगर ज्यादा दूर न जायें तो रांची में जो घटना हुई, सूरसन्द में जो घटना हुई, मुजफ्फरपुर और मेरठ में जो घटनाएं हुई और अब कलकत्ता और इलाहाबाद में उसी तरह की घटनाएं घटी हैं। तो देश में जो इस तरह के झगड़े चल रहे हैं, उनके संबंध में हम सब लोग मिलकर बैठें और ईमानदारी के साथ इस पर विचार करें। मैं चाहता हूं कि श्री भूपेश गुप्ता सोचें, जिस तरह से मैं सोचता हूं और भंडारी जी भी सोचें, जिस तरह से मैं सोचता हूं। वरना भूपेश गुप्ता और भंडारी जी ने जो बात यहां पर कही, वह यहां से अखबारों में जायेंगी और अखबार आजकल आप जानते हैं कि वे कहीं न कहीं किसी जिले में, किसी जगह में साम्प्रदायिक तनाव पैदा कर देंगे और खुराफान पैदा कर देंगे। अगर भूपेश गुप्ता यह कहेंगे कि दंगे गुरु गोलवालकर जी ने करवाये, भंडारी जी कहेंगे कि उन्होंने नहीं करवाये कोई कहेंगा कि चीन और पाकिस्तान के एजेंटों ने करवाये।

श्री भूपेश गुप्त : हम तो बोला नहीं। गोलवालकर एन्ड मम सैंक्शन आफ दी कांग्रेस ने मिल कर आर्गनाइज किया।

श्री राजनारायण : तो इस तरह की बातें कह देने से क्या दंगे समाप्त हो जायेंगे और इस तरह का यहां पर अनावश्यक विवाद हो रहा है। मैं गृह मंत्री जी को बतलाना चाहता हूं कि मैं आज सबरे प्रेजिडेंट साहब से मिला और उनको अपने मुझाव दिए। तो क्या सरकार मेरे मुझाव को मानेगी कि जितने राजनैतिक दल हैं, समाज के अन्दर जो कोई भी है उनकी एक कान्फेन्स बनाई जाय ताकि हमारे देश के अन्दर जो कम्युनल दंगे होते हैं उनके संबंध में विचार किया जाय और उनको रोकने के लिए उपाय किए जाय। इस तरह की कान्फेन्स बलाकर लोगों की

[श्री राजनारायण]

मम्मति ली जाय और बताया जाय कि यह रंगे कैम होने हैं और क्यों हो रहे हैं। इसलिए इस चीज को ठीक तरह से देखा जाय। भंडारी जी को भी देखा जाय ईमानदारी से। भंडारी जी अपने 1957 के घोषणा पत्र को पढ़ेंगे तो उसमें एक वाक्य है। "हिन्दू के अतिरिक्त सभी जनों को भारतीय संस्कृति युक्त करके उनको राष्ट्रीय भावनापन्न करना"—यह जनसंघ का घोषणा पत्र है।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : "हिन्दू के अतिरिक्त" नहीं लिखा है, यह शब्द नहीं है।

श्री राजनारायण : अगर नहीं लिखा है तो मेरे पास उनका 1957 का घोषणा पत्र है।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : उसको कोट करें।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं उसको लाकर रख दूंगा।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : इस समय क्लैरिफिकेशन की बात कहिए।

श्री राजनारायण : इस समय क्लैरिफिकेशन से काम नहीं चलेगा। यह सीधी सादी बात है कि कुछ लोग इस बात पर तुल्य हुए हैं कि हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के बीच नफरत पैदा करने पर और इस तरह से हिन्दू और मुसलमान में नफरत पैदा करके इस मुल्क के दो टुकड़े करवाना चाहते हैं जिसकी वजह से पहले ही इस देश के दो टुकड़े हो चुके हैं जिसमें भूपेश गुप्ता भी शामिल थे। आज हमें इस बात पर सोचना चाहिए कि इस मुल्क में हिन्दू और मुसलमान रहते हैं और एक घटना को लेकर जिसने हमको आज यहाँ पर राज्य सभा में बोलने का अवसर दिया है, क्या उससे हम अपनी पब्लिसिटी चाहते हैं और एक दूसरे पर कीचड़ उछालना चाहते हैं। इस तरह की चीजों से यह बात बनने वाली नहीं है। इससे

तो काम बिगेंगा और खराब होगा। इसलिए इस बिगड़ते हुए मुल्क की हालत को देखिए कि आज यह मुल्क टूट रहा है। यह मुल्क टूट रहा है और मन टूट रहे हैं।

एक तरफ आप देख रहे हैं मद्रास की हालत, एक तरफ आप देख रहे हैं ग्रामाम की हालत और देश के अन्दर हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के बीच नफरत पैदा करने की बात की जा रही है। एक तरफ तो आप देख रहे हैं कि भूपेश गुप्ता ने अपनी स्पीच में कहा कि राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक, कांग्रेस और कुछ लोग मिलकर क्या कर रहे हैं। अगर यह बात सही है तो मैं तत्काल चाहूंगा कि इस बारे में जांच की जाये और यह एक बड़ा काम हो जायेगा अगर दो दिन के लिए भी सदन की कार्यवाही रोक देनी पड़े तो कोई हर्ज नहीं है, हम सब लोग और घर मंत्री जी चलें और इस बात की जांच करें। मैं इस संबंध में अपने को आफर करता हूँ और घर मंत्री जी भूपेश गुप्ता को लें, भंडारी जी को लें, नीरेन धाष को लें, सब लोगों को ले लें और घटनास्थल में जाकर इस बुनियाद की तह में जायें और उसका पता लगायें; वरना यहां पर एक दूसरे पर आरोप और प्रत्यारोप लगाने से तो कुछ नहीं, बल्कि उससे मुल्क का बहुत बड़ा नुकसान हो जायेगा। इस लिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार मेरे सुझाव को माने कि जो लोग कर्म से, वाणी से या लेखनी से हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के बीच नफरत फैला रहे हैं उन्हें अराष्ट्रीय तत्व घोषित किया जाय। मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह सामूहिक रूप से हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के जलूस निकालें और हिन्दू तथा मुसलमान एक दूसरे की सुरक्षा के लिए आपस में राखी बांधें। जिस तरह से पदमा ने हुमायूँ को राखी बांधी थी। अपने इतिहास में इस बात की नज़ीर है, तो इस नज़ीर को लेकर इस भावनात्मक एकता को लेकर हमारी सरकार की ओर से बड़े पैमाने पर

इस चीख का प्रचार किया जाना चाहिये । इस दृष्टि से मैं सरकार से यह चाहूंगा कि वह करोड़ों पैसे खपवाकर मुल्क में बांटे कि हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के नाम पर कोई बुनियादी झगड़ा नहीं है । हिन्दूओं के पुर्खों के वंशज ही आज ज्यादातर मुसलमान हैं । इस का कारण आप अच्छी तरह से देख लें । ऐसा कोई हिन्दू और मुसलमान नहीं होगा जो उस बात को मानने से गुरेज करेगा कि 90 या 95 फीसदी आज के जो मुसलमान हैं, वे उनमें से हैं जो हिन्दुओं के पुर्खे मुसलमान हो गये थे । तो अपने पुर्खों से क्या लड़ते हो क्योंकि यह तो एक नज़ीर है । हम इस तबारीख को बड़ी मेहनत के साथ खोजते हैं और फिर आप के सामने रख रहे हैं ताकि सरकार इन तथ्यों को सामने रखे । आज हिन्दू मुसलमानों का झगड़ा नहीं है । आज एक दुष्ट हिन्दू मुसलमान का गला काटता है और एक दुष्ट मुसलमान हिन्दू का गला काटता है । एक माता के पेट से पैदा होने वाले दो सगे भाई एक दूसरे का गला काटते हैं और विभिन्न मतों में पैदा होने वाले लोग एक दूसरे का गला काट रहे हैं । तो मैं चाहूंगा कि हमारी जनता वैज्ञानिक ढंग से और ताकिक ढंग से अपने दिमाग को बदले ताकि इस तरह के खुराफात और छुट पुट झगड़े न हों 7 P.M. रहें । श्रीमन्, भूपेण जी ने क्लकता के बारे में कह दिया । अब इलाहाबाद की बात देखिए । इलाहाबाद में कहीं दूर देहात में एक हल्ला मचा दिया गया कि गाय कट गई, गाय कट गई । अब जब गाय कट गई तो इंसान को काटो । जब गाय कट गई तो उसका क्या इलाज इंसान को काटना है । आज तक कांग्रेस की सरकार ने इसके लिए क्या कदम उठाया है और लोगों के दिमाग में क्या तब्दीली आई है । एक तरफ "गो हत्या बन्द" का नारा और दूसरी तरफ

गो हत्या कराओ, ये दोनों चीजें साथ साथ चल रही हैं । अगर आप कहें तो मैं उनका नाम भी ले लूंगा . . .

والس چهر مهن - (شوی اکبر علی)

خار (: نام मत لیجئے -

† [उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : नाम मत लीजिए ।]

श्री राजनारायण : यह मैं जानता हूँ कि मौके पर जो लोग गोहत्या बन्द करने का नारा लगाने हैं और जब उनका मतलब सघता है तो सघने के बाद चुप्पी माथ लेते हैं और फिर गाय के चमड़े के जूते बनवाने के कारखाने खोलते हैं । एक नहीं, अनेक नज़ीरें हैं । सरकार क्यों नहीं इन तमाम तथ्यों को आम जनता के सामने प्रकट करती है कि देखो भाई, तुम को बेवकूफ बनाने के लिये ये धनी हिन्दू और धनी मुसलमान अपना तिकड़म साधने के लिये लड़ाते रहते हैं । कहीं भी हम को बता दिया जाय कि कम्युनल रायट में कोई धनी हिन्दू या कोई धनी मुसलमान मरा हो । कहीं भी कोई नहीं मरा है ।

उसी तरह से मैं चाहता हूँ कि जितने विदेशी हमले हुए हैं, मुसलमानों के राज्य में जितने मुसलमानों ने हमले किये हैं उनको तारीखवार छांट कर के सरकार की ओर से बड़े पैमाने पर प्रचारित किया जाना चाहिये जैसे तैमूरलंग का हमला तुगलक वंश पर, बाबर का हमला लोदी वंश पर, नादिर शाह का हमला मुगल वंश पर, इसी तरह प्रेम मुहम्बत की बातें प्रचारित की जानी चाहियें जैसे औरंगजेब की पल्टन में सब से बड़ा अफसर हिन्दू था जयसिंह या जसवंत सिंह, झांसी वाली रानी की पल्टन में सब से बड़ा

[श्री राजनारायण]

अफसर मुसलमान था मुहम्मद गौस, पेशवा की पलटन में सब से बड़ा अफसर मुसलमान था . . . (Interruption)

अगर हिन्दू मुसलमानों के मनो को नहीं मिलाया जायगा तो इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकता है। इस सदन में एक दूसरे पर दोषारोपण करने में कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है। इस लिये मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार हमारे मुद्दाओं पर ध्यान दें और इस समस्या का समाधान करने के लिये सभी विरोधी दलों के नेताओं को एकत्र किया जाय और यह देखा जाय कि इसका क्या हल हो सकता है।

borne hon. Members rose to ask questions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Now it is already one hour. I cannot allow anybody else. If I allow somebody, there will be half a dozen people.

SARDAR RAGHBIR SINGH PANJHAZARI (Punjab) ; Sir, you allow propaganda speeches but you do not allow us to ask questions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I cannot tolerate this thing. I am not here to support any party or person. What I consider best, I will do it. You have no right to say that I allow propaganda speeches. I think it is very wrong. (Interruptions) Please sit down. I will exercise my discretion. Dr. Sapru, I will request you to co-operate with me. I won't allow any more questions.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : I respect your ruling but I want to ask one question in one word. Both the States, West Bengal and U.P., are under the President's Rule. Therefore, the responsibility of the Central Government is very great, it is direct. What I want to know is whether the intelligence service in both the States failed or

whether he is satisfied that the police was not guided by communal considerations and there was failure of the Administration.

श्री महावीर प्रसाद शुक्ल : महोदय, क्या यह बात सत्य नहीं है कि इलाहाबाद के अधिकारियों ने बहुत प्रॉम्ट ऐक्शन लिया, 500 अरेस्ट्स की जिस के कारण उपद्रव बढ़ने से रूक गया।

सरदार रघुवीर सिंह पंजहाज़ारी : क्या मंत्री जी बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि जब कलकत्ता में फसादात हुये तो सब से पहले वहाँ कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के पीस स्क्वैड आये, तो वहाँ लड़ाई होने के कितने असें बाद उनके पीस स्क्वैड आये, कितनी गिनती में आये और इतनी जल्दी कैसे उन्होंने इतने पीस स्क्वैड इकट्ठे कर लिए। जहाँ तक मेरा सवाल है मैं चाहता हूँ कि अमन होना चाहिए, लेकिन कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की तरफ से इतनी जल्दी पीस स्क्वैड इकट्ठे कर के उस इलाके में पहुँचा देना, इसका क्या मतलब था। दूसरे क्या आने वाले जनरल इलेक्शन के लिये कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी या उनके कोई साथी वहाँ फसादात कराना चाहते हैं जिस से उनको फायदा हो और कांग्रेस पार्टी बचना

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

(SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): Sir, I am not going to answer some of the arguments that the Members have advanced because these are their views. I thought I was supposed to give them some information. Sir, two or three basic questions were asked which arise out of the visit of the Prime Minister. It is not true that the Prime Minister has made a statement expressing her view about political motivations. What she informed the Congress Executive was that some leaders of political parties who met her pointed out that there was a possibility of political

motivation behind those things, and she explained this particular aspect there.

Sir, as far as the necessity of using the AT my is concerned, this suggestion was made by the United Front leaders who met the Prime Minister. *(Interrwptions)* Sir, they did make that suggestion to the Prime Minister. They also mentioned some particular areas where the movement of Armv etc. would be useful. The Prime Minister conveyed this suggestion to the Governor but the Governor thought it be ter to use more police force in that area. In the areas which were mentioned by the leaders more Armed Police were used and with good results. Now it is a question of judgment whether the Army is to be called or not. *(Interruption)* you are certainly entitled to have your own views. I do not undertake to convince anybody. Of course, I am open to conviction. So, Sir, it is a question of judgement in regard to the use of the Army. Normally our approach in this matter has been that it is no use rushing the Army everywhere. By doing so we shall erode the confidence of the people in the police authorities. Unless we feel that the Administration Ls not enough, the police strength is not enough to de il with the situation effectively, we don't send the Army there. But we have always got the Army as a standby. In this particular matter again Mr. Bhargava said something. Really speaking, if yon see the whole thing, there were some stray incidents but there were no massive attacks. So, the action of the police was enough. That was the judgment of the Governor and I think, by and large, I agree with that judgment *(Interruptions)* Well, I am sorry you have your own approaoh in this matter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is not mine. I say the majority of the people of Calcutta wanted that, *(In-*

terruption)* This is not the right way of doing things.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Kindly sit clown. *(littt'niplioitx)* Whatever it is, I ask j you to sit down.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Merely by his shouting I am not going to accept his version of facts. I have my own version of them. I will say that in this matter the local officers and the Governor used their judgment and used | it correctly and I must say that they [brought this whole thing un-"¹l er control quickly. *(Interruptions)* Sir, when con-\\munal riots of this type start spreading, certainly it takes time to control these things.

Ultimately he did control it, I have : no doubt about it. I would make an appeal to Mr. Gupta. Let us not try to take a party line in this matter, at least on this. I must say in this particular aspect, I agree with Shri Rajnarain's approach.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He says it is a party line.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I do not want to enter into or start a controversy with him.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Sit down please.

HON. MEMBERS : Please do not interrupt.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : Mr. Gupta . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Wheu-over I say .mything, this gentleman gets up. Shame . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It is very unfair that you are interrupting like this. I am trying to answer some of the

[Shri Y. B. Chavan J
 points. Leave it to the Chairman. Why do you want to take the whole thing in your hands ? Let us try to understand each other. This is the place for that. May I appeal to hon. Members not to look at this from the party point of view ? If you start looking at it from the party point of view only because you did not like the Governor for something else, it is not right. Why should that really come in here.?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : This is your party politics. I never said it. I say there are good people .

SHRI Y.B. CHAVAN: I will certainly tell you one thing again. You speak as if you are trying to project yourself as the only person to protect the minorities. .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are doing it.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am not.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : That is not right. We have to work, according to certain rules. You cannot go on interrupting.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is the rule, by the way ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : When I order you, you must sit down, no other order. When I ask you to sit down, you must sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why are you threatening ? Do you think we are children ? Do you think we are school boys ? Kindly you sit down. The moment you sit, I will get up.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) ; Sit down, yes, Home Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have a submission to make.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am not yielding.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : All right, I am sitting. Why does he not yield ? Ask him to yield.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I cannot allow you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I never accused the Congress Party as a whole. I said some sections.

SHRI M.P. SHUKLA : I accuse that you are exploiting. Mr. Gupta.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : It is a national matter, it is a humanitarian matter. You cannot disturb like that and make the proceedings look ridiculous. The Home Minister is in possession of the House.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, after you have requested Mr. Gupta to sit down, whatever appears in the proceedings should go because these Communists want to exploit the situation with the point of view of catching the votes of the minorities.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The moment you criticise the communists the Communists are exploiting. The moment you say something about the communalists, you are a Pakistani agent. The moment you criticise the Government, we are exploiting. What are we to do ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I would appeal to all of you to sit down. Yes, Home Minister,

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I do not know whether these Members want information.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What the Congress Committee President wns indulging in %

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : As far as some of the points raised by Mr. Chatterjee are concerned, he suggested some probe about this matter. I said many times on the floor of this House that we have appointed a Commission and that Commission certainly is going to make a probe into it. The intention was, when some incidents unfortunately took place before we appointed that Commission, indifferent parts of the State, we felt that it would certainly give us some idea, as to the causes which ultimately lead to such disturbances. I have never said he said that we are trying to put the entire blame on the Chinese, or Pakistani

श्री राजनारायण : राजनारायण राज बहादुर क्यों बना दिया, लाजबहादुर तो यहाँ से चला गया।

श्री बाई० बी० चव्हाण : आप बहादुर,

So the point was that lie suggested that it is necessary that all of us should search our own hearts in this matter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Is it philosophy ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I have merely repeated what Shri Bajnarain has said.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You say wrong things.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am merely repeating what Shri Bajnarain said. If I say something it is philosophy. If the same thing comes from Shri Rajnaraiu, it is not philosophy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Shri Rajnarain supplemented. You search your heart . . .

(Ist<'rni)itio)is)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : What is more important in this matter is that this communal feeling is sometimes inherent in some situations. Sometimes it is there because of some other reasons. Sometimes these political ideologies of Hindu for Hindustan and Muslims for Muslims come in. There is also another aspect to communalism. If you merely say that the entire Muslim minority is being harassed here, that is also a communal approach. We will have to take a very balanced view in this matter. Therefore I would make an appeal to all of you, all sections of this House that when we speak or criticize even the Government in this matter, we should see that it is not made use of by the communal elements. That is the only thing I would say.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : It is to be viewed as a humanitarian problem and as a national question.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Yes, as a national question.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What about Golwalkar's visit (

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : There also you said that you had certain suspicions. I cannot give opinions on suspicions.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : As Home Minister you must be knowing when thousands marched with lathis ' /

whatever factual position you mentioned, I will certainly enquire and convey them to the Governor and find out the facts. What more can I say ?

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI (Assam) : Let him find out whether there was any relation of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I will find out that also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The Leftists brought out a procession of Hindus and Muslims yesterday. The U.P. got out a procession, one of the biggest processions despite a rainy day. It was a bad day. Hindus and Muslims have marched in that locality.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I appreciate this activity on the part of the party, and", Sir, I never said that the Communist Party did it for any political purpose. I never said that. If I have got evidence about it, I would have said it; I would have asserted it. But I have no such information.

Other Members said here that I said that in the Meerut incidents the Hindus were the major sufferers. I never made that statement. Where did he get the impression from? Sometimes, when people make a statement here, Sir, they should at least be fair to us, fair to what we have said and what we have not said. On the contrary, I said that the majority of sufferers were the minority community,

SHRI HAYATULLAH ANSARI :
Fes, that fact you mentioned. Perhaps I made that wrong statement. You said that the majority was from Muslims, but I pointed out this that there was only one, out of the 17 killed, who was a non-Muslim. If you would have mentioned this thing, I think the matter would have been very clear.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : This is something I cannot understand. Only because you say whatever you like that I must accept that. I have said that

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : So this is something what I did not say. He has made it clear that I did not say that the majority were Hindus.

Then about other-things, He did make mention about Maulana Madani's arrest. It is a fact. I heard about this matter this morning, and I was surprised Wld shocked about it, about Maulana Madam's arrest. Normally I never do this thing. Even if it is President's rule, normally I should speak with the Governor. But in this case, because the matter was rather of urgent importance, I thought I might pardonably deviate and so I talked to the Commissioner of Allahabad, and I was told that nobody knew that they were going there, at least no information before they went in there, and because of these curfew orders—and they were very strictly following these curfew orders

unfortunately, they were arrested, I mean, because there was breach of the curfew orders.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : By mistake.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : No, I cannot say it was by mistake as they were found . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Ona point of order . . .

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : Ho has not yet finished.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not know why you bring in the Hindu-Muslim question.

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA : Every Member must speak and then the Minister must be allowed to have his say.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : All right; what is your point of order ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You seem to be needlessly angry. The ' point of order is this. Our rules do not permit you to make that observation when Mr. Chavan was trying to make a statement on this point in a rest raised manner, you provided the argument "by mistake". Is it proper for the (chair to just butt in and say "by mistake" and in this manner giving an aplogial And Mr. Chavan, I must Congratulate him. He said, I would not say 'by mistake'. Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are tired of that thing; we are tired of Chair's intervention in this manner; I must frankly tell you, "Von cannot under the rule; it was highly improper, it would be highly improper in a comparative situation. I cannot reflect on you. It will be highly improper in a comparable situation to butt in in this manner to provide an argument to the Minister when he is speaking, specially when he does not need any.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE
SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI) : It was not a question of providing an argument.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What was that ? Anyway Chair need not say this thing. Let Mr. Chavan say.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Well, I am saying it. that it is not 'by mistake'. I do not make use of any suggestion sent by anybody. When he was arrested there was some sort of breach of curfew order. But if they had intimation that Maulana Madani was coming, possibly they would have provided passes, etc. to him, and there would not have been any occasion for breach of the curfew order. But I was told that the Commissioner was meeting Maulana Madani and I hope he would have been released by now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why was he not let off immediately? The Calcutta curfew was there, but police i see sometimes . . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Why I don't yon allow me to complete what I am saying about this ? Every time j why do yo\i want to stop me ' / Why don't you be a little sport about this Qaatter ' When I talked to the Commissioner, he had already heard about this matter, and he was looking into this whole thing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He should have been released immediately.

SHRI Y.B.CHAVAN: He must have heen by now. So, Sir, this is all what I wanted to say as far as facts are concerned. Then Panjhazariji asked some questions. Well, Sir, I have

nothing to say—he wanted to know whether there was any political motivation ou the part of the Communist Party to do this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Ask Shri Atulya Ghosh; he will answer.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have w information about this. This is all that I have to say.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK13AR ALI KHAN) : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty- five minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 20th March, 1968.