

[ Shri Bhupesh Gupta ]

whether, after the judgment, the Government is not considering to remove him from that position. He has proved himself unfit to occupy the position he has held. The second point is, the government should say something about the investigation and how it was conducted. It has boomeranged on the Government itself. We have all been discredited in the process. Public confidence has been shaken. Somebody must be responsible for guiding and conducting the investigation. Who gave the direction ? Was it the Minister, was it the Secretary, was it the Public Prosecutor only or was it the C.B.I. or somebody else ? These things I would like to know. We are not interested in the merits of the case. That we know. For other things you can hold an inquiry Commission or not, I have no objection, but I am restricting my request to a very limited matter—the manner in which the case was put up, the authorities who conducted it and also the role of the magistrate who had fallen in line with the police and he stands condemned by the recent judgment which has been given setting aside the whole conviction holding him guilty of miscarriage of justice in this manner.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We need not say anything about the trial judge.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We are entitled to say. I am not saying a word which the District Court has not said.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have made your point clear.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The Government should come and take the House into confidence and clarify the position. There should not be an attempt to shield people, who are involved in the prosecution and the dealing of the case. If that is so, then we have no assurance. Here you have heard this morning that in Andhra Pradesh for 2 years a case had been pending and no charge-sheet was given and here in 24 hours everything is settled. It is double-standard.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Within two hours. 24 आवर्स नहीं ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Shri Rajnarain's hours are a little longer than mine. I request Shri Rajnarain not to bring in party politics.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं पार्टी पालिटिक्स ला रहा हूँ और आप मफाई की बात कर रहे हैं ! हा, मैं श्री भूपेश गुप्त की राय से सहमत हूँ कि जो तथ्य है उसकी जानकारी हमें होनी चाहिये ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Let us concentrate on the facts. It should be treated as a non-party issue, on the facts.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Nobody has introduced party politics.

राजनारायण जी, अब आप प्रोक्लामेशन के ऊपर अपना भाषण शुरू करें ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, एक बज रहा है ।

श्री उपसभापति : आप शुरू कर दीजिए ।

# I. MOTION SEEKING REVOCATION OF PROCLAMATION ISSUED UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF WEST BENGAL

## II. STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL OF THE PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE 29th JUNE, 1971 UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF WEST BENGAL—contd.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, मैं इस समय श्री नीरेन घोष के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ । मैं पूर्ण-रूपेण इस मत का हूँ कि कोई भी ऐसी स्थिति नहीं थी कि पश्चिमी बंगाल में राष्ट्र-पति शासन लागू होता । राष्ट्रपति शासन का लागू होना इस केन्द्रीय सरकार और प्रधान मंत्री के बौद्धिक दिवानियेपन का पूर्ण सबूत है । मैं जो श्री राज्यपाल महोदय की रपट है उसी रपट की कुछ लाइनों को

आपकी खिदमत में पहले पढ़ाया और उसके बाद अपनी सम्मति प्रकट करूंगा। अपनी रपट के दूसरे कालम में श्री धवन लिखते हैं कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी आफ इंडिया (मार्कलिस्ट) जिसे आगे सीपीआई (एम) कहा जाएगा, 111 स्थान जीते, किन्तु श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी के नेतृत्व वाली कांग्रेस ने 105 स्थान जीते और उसके बिल्कुल निकट पहुंच गयी। इन्होंने जो आंकड़े दिए वह ठीक हैं, इस बात को उन्होंने स्वीकारा, कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी के नेतृत्व वाली कांग्रेस को 105 स्थान ही मिले जब कि सीपीआई (एम) को 111 स्थान मिले। यानी, सारी ताकत, सारी सत्ता, का दुरुपयोग करने के बाद भी इन्दिरा गांधी-वादी कांग्रेस भी केवल 105 स्थान पाती है और एक विरोध में रहने वाली पार्टी मोपीएम 111 स्थान पाती है। इसकी नज़ाकत, इसकी बारीकी और औचित्य को लोग समझे। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी ने नेतृत्व वाली कांग्रेस कौन है? मैं आज श्री जगजीवनराम जी को और श्री डी० सजीवैय्या को कहना चाहता हूँ कि जनतंत्र में पार्टी को सरकार का खबर-स्टैम्प न बनने दे वरना इसमें जनतंत्र सूख जाएगा। जब कि कांग्रेस के सदस्य श्री जगजीवनराम जी रहे, जब कि कांग्रेस के सदस्य श्री डी० सजीवैय्या रहे तो राज्यपाल अपनी सरकारी रपट में लिखता है, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व वाली कांग्रेस। मैं इस राज्यपाल की भर्त्सना करना चाहता हूँ। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, यह राज्यपाल जनतंत्र का अन्ध-भ्रम भी नहीं समझता, क्योंकि जनतंत्र में पार्टी की सरकार होती है, सरकार की पार्टी नहीं होती है। अगर पार्टी की सरकार है तो जगजीवनराम के नेतृत्व की कांग्रेस थी, डी० सजीवैय्या के नेतृत्व की कांग्रेस है, श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी के नेतृत्व की कांग्रेस नहीं है। श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी सरकार का नेतृत्व कर रही हैं, न कि कांग्रेस पार्टी का।

**श्री सीताराम केसरी (बिहार) :** आपको यह पता नहीं है कि पार्टी के दल का जो नेता होता है उसी की संस्था होती है। यह भी पता नहीं है।

**श्री राजनारायण :** ऐसे लोगों को जवाब देना मैं अनावश्यक समझता हूँ जो लोग जनतंत्री पद्धति और जनतंत्र प्रणाली को समझना ही नहीं चाहते। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जनतंत्र के अस्तित्व हैं। उसमें व्यक्ति का स्थान अलग है, पार्टी का स्थान अलग है,

सरकार का स्थान अलग है, राष्ट्र का स्थान अलग है। व्यक्ति पार्टी नहीं है, पार्टी सरकार नहीं है, सरकार राष्ट्र नहीं है। समक्ष विचारधारा के समूह को पार्टी कहते हैं। बहुमत की पार्टी की सरकार होती है। सरकार राष्ट्र के लिए होती है मगर यह धवन राज्यपाल होते हुए, इलाहाबाद हाईकोर्ट में प्रेक्टिस करने वाला इंसान और जो एक समय जज भी रहा, और जब जज वहां गवर्नर बन कर चला गया...

[Interruption]

**श्री पीताम्बर दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** मैं अपने मित्र को एक बात बता दूँ, अगर वह समझते हैं कि प्रधान मंत्री के नाम पर पार्टी का नाम हुआ करता है तो इलेक्शन के जमाने में आल इंडिया रेडियो ने 'जगजीवनराम की कांग्रेस' बराबर क्यों कहा, 'इन्दिरा गांधी की कांग्रेस' क्यों नहीं कहा?

**श्री सीताराम केसरी :** हमेशा दल लड़ता है चुनाव, नेता के नाम पर लड़ता है। दल के नेता जगजीवनराम थे। यह भी जानना चाहिए।

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव :** आपके दल का प्रेसीडेंट चपरासी होता है या नेता होता है।

[Interruption]

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, मैं चाहता हूँ, आप ऐसी व्यवस्था करें जिससे सदन में शांति और सुव्यवस्था रहे।

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** Sir, we are very happy that Mr. Rajnarain has got a match in Mr. Sitaram Kesri. After a long time we are very happy; Mr. Sitaram Kesri has been an acquisition to this House, being a very good match for Mr. Rajnarain.

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, मैं फिर आप में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप विशेषतः ऐसी व्यवस्था करें जिससे सदन में शांति स्थापित रहे।

इस संबंध में हमको ज्यादा कहना नहीं है। अगर कोई यहां पर मानना चाहता है कि इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी की कांग्रेस है, श्री जगजीवन राम और श्री सजीवैया की कांग्रेस नहीं है, तो वह मानना रहे। श्रीमन्, आज से तीन दिन पहले श्री डी० सजीवैया का अखबारों में एक बयान छपा था जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि श्री जगजीवन राम को हटाने के लिए मुझे रखा गया है, मैं तो एक खबर स्टैम्प हूँ क्योंकि मुझ से किसी वॉर में मलाह नहीं ली जाती है और सब काम श्री दीक्षित करने हैं।

**श्री सीताराम केसरी :** यह एकदम गलत बात है। इस तरह का कोई स्टेटमेंट नहीं दिया। यह बात तो केवल संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के अखबार में छपी होगी।

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, मैं इतना कहकर आगे बढ़ना चाहता हूँ। श्री पीताम्बर दाम जी ने अभी जो कुछ कह दिया है अब उसको दोहराने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि स्थिति कितनी खराब है। हमारे राय-बरेली क्षेत्र में श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी के जगह-जगह पर फोटो लगे हुए हैं। जब हमने वहाँ के हरिजन लोगों से कहा कि तुम्हारे नेता श्री जगजीवन राम का कहीं पर भी फोटो नहीं लगा हुआ है तो 15 दिन के बाद सब जगह पर उनके फोटो भी लग गये।

**श्री सीताराम केसरी :** इनकी आँखों ने ही केवल वहाँ पर एक फोटो देखी होगी जब कि वहाँ पर श्री जगजीवन राम जी का भी फोटो लगा हुआ था।

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ...

**श्री उपसभापति :** क्या आप लन्च करना चाहेंगे या अपना भाषण थोड़ी देर के बाद समाप्त कर देंगे।

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, अभी तो लन्च हो जाना चाहिये और उसके बाद हम बोलेंगे।

**श्री उपसभापति :** अब आप अपना भाषण लन्च के बाद जारी रखें।

**श्री राजनारायण :** मैं आपकी आज्ञा को शिरोधार्य करता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We adjourn till 2 P. M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at two minutes past one of the clock.

2 P. M.

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, मैं आरम्भ में ही आपसे यह निवेदन कर हूँ कि सदन में शांति रहे तो ज्यादा अच्छा है। इसलिए हमारे जो राज्यसभा के सचिव हैं उनसे हमारा निवेदन है कि वे स्थान ग्रहण करें।

**श्री उपसभापति :** ठीक है, आपके भाषण में कोई बाधा नहीं हो रही है।

**श्री राजनारायण :** राज्यसभा के सचिव से निवेदन है कि वे स्थान ग्रहण करें। श्रीमन्, मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि श्री के० सी० पन्त जी यहाँ आ गए और दो मिनट उनके आने के पूर्व में बोल चुका हूँ, इसलिए विषय का तारतम्य न टूटे, मैं फिर से शुरू कर देता हूँ थोड़े में। मैंने आरम्भ में यह कह दिया था कि...

**गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मन्त्री (श्री के० सी० पन्त) :** मेरे मित्र यहाँ बैठे हुए थे, उन्होंने मुझे बता दिया कि आरम्भ में आपने क्या कहा था।

**श्री राजनारायण :** बता दिया ? मेरा मतलब है कि ममझे होंगे तो बता दिया होगा।

तो मैंने आरम्भ में ही कह दिया था कि मैं श्री तोरेन घोष के प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में खड़ा हुआ हूँ और मैं इस निश्चित मत का हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति शासन को लागू करने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं थी पश्चिमी बंगाल में। पश्चिमी बंगाल में सामान्य अवस्था थी, जिस तरह से सभी जगह चीजे होती हैं वैसे ही वहाँ भी हो रही थी।

राज्यपाल ने जो रिपोर्ट भेजी है उसकी बारीकियों को मैं पहले रखना चाहूँगा और श्री के० सी० पन्त जी से भी निवेदन करूँगा कि वे प्रथम पृष्ठ को देखें। उसमें हमने एक मस्तिष्क की प्रतिक्रिया की ओर ध्यान आकर्षित किया था कि बौद्धिक परतन्त्रता की बेड़ी की जकड़न कितनी करारी है कि राज्यपाल अपनी रिपोर्ट में जगजीवन राम की कांग्रेस नहीं लिखते, डी० सजोवैया की कांग्रेस नहीं लिखते, श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी की कांग्रेस लिखते हैं। बुद्धि किस निम्नावस्था को पहुंची है, यह मैं इसलिये बता रहा हूँ ताकि लोग समझें। यह एक जगह नहीं लिखा है, अनेक जगह लिखा है, जहाँ-जहाँ जरूरत पड़ी है।

इसके आगे भी मैं एक बात को कह देना चाहूँगा। आजकल विभिन्न विधानमंडलों में चूँकि एक पार्टी का पूर्ण बहुमत नहीं हो पा रहा है, इसलिए कई पार्टियाँ मिल कर सरकार बनाने में प्रयत्नशील रहती हैं, उनका नामकरण विचित्र होता है, कोई कह देगा क्रान्तिकारी लोकतांत्रिक समाजवादी दल, कोई कह देगा लोकतांत्रिक दल, कोई लोकतांत्रिक मोर्चा। राज्यपाल को इस पर भी थोड़ा सा गौर करना पड़ेगा, ध्यान देना पड़ेगा। यह कैसे-मालूम कि कौन लोकतांत्रिक है, कौन नहीं है। यह कैसे-मालूम कि कौन समाजवादी है, कौन समाजवादी नहीं।

इतना तो समझ सकते हैं कि संयुक्त विधायक दल रख दें। संयुक्त विधायक दल की बात समझ में आती है विधान मंडल के अन्दर जो अनेक दल हैं वे संयुक्त हो गये। मगर केवल प्रचार के लिये चार गुट मिल कर यह कह दें कि प्रगतिशील लोकतांत्रिक विधायक दल है या अन्य कोई दल है तो वह एक अजीब बकचोचों का मुरब्बा होगा। इसलिए मैं इस प्रश्न को यहां पर उठा रहा हूँ ताकि भविष्य में लोग इसका ध्यान में रखें कि दलों का नामांकन किस स्थिति में हो।

अब दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि 2 अप्रैल की तिथि आप याद रखिये 12 अप्रैल, 1971 को राष्ट्रपति शासन वापस लेने की घोषणा हुई थी और 2 ही अप्रैल को श्री अजय कुमार मुखर्जी मुख्य मंत्री के पद की शपथ लेते हैं और वहां का मविमंडल बनता है। तो 2 अप्रैल की वह तिथि है। अब 25 मार्च की बात आती है। 25 मार्च की वह तिथि है जिस दिन याहया खा ने अपना बर्बर, जंगल पाशविक हमला स्वाधीन बंगला देश के लोगों पर शुरू किया था तो 25 मार्च को हमला शुरू हो गया था। हमला शुरू होने के 8 दिन बाद श्री अजय कुमार मुखर्जी की सरकार स्थापित होती है। तब उनका कम से कम इतना आभास हो गया होगा कि इस हमले की क्या शक्ल होगी, इस हमले में क्या क्या कठिनाइयां होंगी, इस हमले से क्या क्या परिस्थितियां उत्पन्न होंगी। इसकी जानकारी होने के बाद श्री अजय कुमार मुखर्जी की सरकार बनी। फिर अब यह बहाना नहीं लिया जा सकता कि चूंकि स्वाधीन बंगला देश पर हमला हो गया और उससे ऐसी परिस्थितियां उत्पन्न हो गईं, इसलिये वहां सरकार चल सकना असंभव हो गया। यह बहाना लिया गया है राज्यपाल महोदय की रपट में। इसकी ओर मैं सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित कर देना चाहता था।

अब पृष्ठ 4 पर कालम 11 देखा जाय। उसमें उन्होंने लिख दिया : संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी, मुस्लिम लीग, बंगला कांग्रेस, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व वाली कांग्रेस, प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी और गोरखा लीग, ये सब दल इसमें शामिल थे। मेरा कहना है कि राज्यपाल महोदय को अपनी रपट में संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का नाम नहीं लेना चाहिये। संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी उसमें नहीं शामिल है। बार-बार इसकी सफाई की गई, केन्द्र से सफाई की गई, राज्य से सफाई की गई, मगर देश की जनता को भ्रम में डालने के लिये इन्दिरा का

भोंपू जो सरकारी रेडियो है और जो दलाल टाइप अखबार हैं पूंजीपतियों के वे बराबर इस बात का प्रचार करते जा रहे हैं कि उसमें संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी भी शामिल थी जब कि संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की एकमत से घोषणा है कि इन्दिरा गांधी की सरकार को हम भ्रष्ट मानते हैं, हम राष्ट्रहित विरोधी मानते हैं, इन्दिरा की सरकार को गिराने के लिये संपूर्ण सकल्प शक्ति संपूर्ण युक्ति में प्रखर हमला कर के उसे ढहा कर परिवर्तन की राजनीति चलाने की हम प्रतिज्ञा लेते हैं। फिर भी जानबूझ कर के देश की जनता को, अनेक राजनैतिक दलों को भ्रम में डालने के लिये राज्यपाल महोदय ने इसमें संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी को भी शामिल कर दिया है। (व्यवधान) यह ठीक है कि वहां बंगला कांग्रेस में फूट पड़ गई थी लेकिन उससे श्री अजय कुमार मुखर्जी का बहुमत खत्म नहीं होता था। उनकी बंगला कांग्रेस के जो सदस्य टूटे उन्होंने खुद लिख कर के बता दिया कि वे वहां की सरकार का समर्थन करते रहेंगे।

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Does Mr. Kashi Kant Mitra not represent the S.S.P. ? Then what party does he belong to ?

SHRI RAJNARAIN : No. आप हल्ला मत करिये।

श्री शोलभद्र याजो : वह आप से भी पुराने आदमी हैं जो मंत्री थे।

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये, यह अनावश्यक बुद्धि-विभ्रम-जन्य भ्रान्ति में विचरण करेगे तो यही होगा। सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का सदस्य कौन है इस का सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का कार्यालय बतायेगा। इस को प्रणब कुमार मुखर्जी नहीं बतायेगे। प्रणब कुमार मुखर्जी अपनी बंगला कांग्रेस के बारे में बोल सकते हैं और उसमें मैं उन को अधिकारी मानूंगा।

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: Had you any representation in the Assembly?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down, Mr. Mukherjee.

श्री राजनारायण : बाकायदा उन को सेट्रल पार्लिया-मेंटरी पार्टी के बोर्ड में, कमेट्री में लिख कर भेजा कि वह हमारी पार्टी में नहीं हैं, हमारी पार्टी में शामिल नहीं हैं, फिर भी जानबूझ कर झूठ और असत्य फैलाया जा

[श्री राजनारायण]

रहा है। (व्यवधान) फिर भी बंगला कांग्रेस के बारे में जो राज्यपाल महोदय ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि मेजरिटी के नेतृत्व से 3 सदस्य अलग हो गये, दो उन के साथ रह गये और फिर आखिर में लिखते हैं कि उन्होंने अपना समर्थन वापस नहीं लिया, तो इससे साफ हो गया कि जो तीन सदस्य श्री अजय कुमार मुकर्जी के नेतृत्व से अपना संबंध विच्छेद किये थे उन्होंने अपना समर्थन वापस नहीं लिया था। उनको उन लोगों का समर्थन था। तो जहाँ तक उनकी सरकार के बहुमत और अल्पमत में आने की बात होती है उस पर बंगला कांग्रेस की आपसी फूट से कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा, जैसा कि राज्यपाल ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में खुद लिखा है।

इसके बाद मैं आता हूँ 25 जून, 18 वीं कालम पर। इसमें राज्यपाल महोदय कहते हैं कि 25 जून को एका-एक मुख्य मंत्री श्री अजय कुमार मुकर्जी का एक पत्र मिला, उनको इलहाम हुआ कि अब सरकार अपना बहुमत प्राप्त करेगी जनता के सामने जा कर और चूँकि वह बहुमत में आना चाहती है इस लिए वह अपनी सरकार का इस्तीफा देना चाहते हैं और वे इसलिए विधान सभा को भंग करने की सिफारिश करना चाहते हैं और इसी में उन्होंने यह भी लिखा है कि उन्होंने राज्यपाल को यह भी सुझाव दिया, सिफारिश की कि विधान सभा को भंग कर दिया जाय ताकि नये चुनाव कराये जा सकें। मैं एक बात आज सफाई से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो जनतंत्र के प्रहरी हैं, जो जनतंत्र को सजगता के साथ देखते हैं वे समझते हैं कि भारतवर्ष ऐसे देश में जहाँ कि इतनी विकराल आर्थिक विषमता फैली है, बार-बार चुनाव कराना जनतंत्र का निषेध करना होगा। उससे जनतंत्र की हत्या हो जायगी और ऐसा होने पर जनतंत्र का स्थान धनतंत्र ले लेगा। आप जानते हैं श्रीमन्, आप भी चुनाव लड़े होंगे, आज हमारे देश में कितनी बड़ी विकरालता है, कितनी विषमता है, एक और एक लाख हमारे देश में करीब 30 करोड़ लोग 3 आना, चार आना आमदनी पर निवाम करने हैं और हम में ही कुछ हजार लोग ऐसे हैं जिनकी प्रति दिन की आमदनी तीन लाख, चार लाख, सात लाख है। इतनी बड़ी आर्थिक विषमता जहाँ हो वहाँ बार बार चुनाव करा कर आप धनतंत्र को स्थापित करोगे, उस से जनतंत्र की स्थापना नहीं होगी। राउन्ड टेबिल काफ़ेस में जब गांधी जी गये थे और उस समय उन्होंने जो कुछ कहा था मैं चाहता हूँ कि गांधी जी के

बयान को लोग पढ़ें। गांधी ने कहा था कि इस गरीब मुल्क में बार-बार जब चुनाव होंगे, इतने बड़े चुनाव होंगे तो उनको गरीब जनता कैसे लड़ेगी। चुनाव गरीब नहीं लड़ सकेगा। उस के पास उनके लिए साधन ही नहीं होंगे। हर पांच छ. महीने में अगर चुनाव होंगे तो पूँजीपति अगर चाहे तो वे अपना पूर्ण बहुमत यहाँ बना सकते हैं जिनका कि राजनीति में कोई स्थान नहीं है, जिनकी कोई जन सेवा नहीं है और वे अपने प्रतिनिधि यहाँ ला सकते हैं। आप देखें कि 1967 में चुनाव हुए, फिर 1969 में चुनाव हुए और फिर चुनाव हुए और पश्चिमी बंगाल में तीन-तीन बार चुनाव हो चुके और फिर अजय मुकर्जी साहब कहते हैं कि हम फिर जनमत प्राप्त करेंगे और फिर हार जायेंगे तो फिर करेंगे और फिर जनमत प्राप्त करेंगे। यह जनतंत्र की हत्या है और यह धनतंत्र की प्रतिष्ठा है। यह धनतंत्र की खुशामद है, धनतंत्र की गुलामी है। इसलिए मैं लोगों को सफाई के साथ कह देना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग बार बार इस बात को कहते हैं कि जल्दी से जल्दी हर बार, हर बार, हर बार चुनाव हों, दो, चार, छः महीने बाद, साल भर बाद चुनाव हो वे सावधानी से काम करें। जनतंत्र केवल शब्द नहीं है। यह सर्वमान्य है कि जब तक राजनीतिक और आर्थिक विषमता दूर नहीं होगी, सामाजिक विषमता दूर नहीं होगी तब तक देश में जनतंत्र आयेगा नहीं। देश में अगर जनतंत्र लाना है तो उसके लिए भगीरथ प्रयत्न करना होगा। एक तरफ सामाजिक विषमता है, जात-पान में हम बटे हैं और दूसरी तरफ आर्थिक विषमता इतनी भयंकर है कि अगर हम बार-बार चुनाव करा दें तो सामान्य गरीब, ईमानदार जन उसमें हार जायगा और मूर्ख, पूँजीपतियों के दलाल, करोड़पतियों और अरबपतियों के गुलाम और चाटुकार जीत जायेंगे। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इससे जरा लोग सावधान हों जायें। हमला क्यों हुआ पाकिस्तान का ?

श्री प्रतुल चन्द्र मित्र : चुनाव से घबराने हैं ?

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं माफ़ कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं बार-बार और जल्दी जल्दी चुनावों से घबरा रहा हूँ। मैं देख रहा हूँ कि जनमत का इशारा किम और हो रहा है। मैं देख रहा हूँ कि अकिंचन लोग, गरीब लोग अमहाय लोग बड़े-बड़े पूँजीपतियों के दलालों से हारे जा रहे हैं। मैं देख रहा हूँ कि पूँजीपतियों का पैसा क्या करता है, बिरला की रजाइया कैसे बाँटी जाती है, जयपुरिया की धोती कैसे बाँटी जाती है, मोहन की शराब कैसे बाँटी जाती है, किम तरह से साहू जैन

के कलैन्डर बांटे जाते हैं, इसकी हमको जानकारी है। यह हमको जानकारी है, इसलिये मैं कह सकता हूँ, दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि बार बार और जल्दी जल्दी चुनाव कराना भी जनतंत्र पर आज एक बड़ा आघात हो रहा है।

देखिये, आगे यह कहते हैं : पाकिस्तान के अत्याचार से पीड़ित लाखों व्यक्ति पश्चिम बंगाल में आ पहुँचे और उनके बीच इन लाखों शरणार्थियों द्वारा गम्भीर स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई। यह राज्यपाल की रपट है। यह गम्भीर स्थिति को उत्पन्न किसने किया। मेरा निश्चित मत है कि जो शरणार्थियों की समस्या पैदा हुई है—श्री नीरेन घोष भी मुन ले, वह आपम की बात बन्द करे—वह श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी की पैदा की है, उसकी एकमात्र जिम्मेदारी उनकी है।

**श्री सीताराम केसरी :** बिल्कुल गलत है। यह पाकिस्तान की बोली बोल रहे हैं।

**श्री राजनारायण :** अगर भारत की सरकार ने सम्यक् ढंग पर समर्थन किया होता, महायत्ना की होती, अगर भारत की सरकार 31 मई को संसद ने जो प्रस्ताव पास किया उसकी आत्मा और उसकी शब्दावली के मुताबिक काम किया होता तो आज शरणार्थियों की समस्या पैदा हुई ही नहीं होती। शरणार्थी समस्या जो पैदा हुई वह भारत की सरकार की पैदा की हुई है। भारत की सरकार ने ममुचित ढंग से काम नहीं किया। स्वाधीन बंगला देश को मान्यता नहीं प्रदान की, वहाँ के लोगों को हथियार की सहायता नहीं की, इसलिये वहाँ के लोग अमहाय हो गये, निस्सहाय हो गये, बेहथियार हो गये और इसलिये 25 अप्रैल के बाद बड़ी मात्रा में वहाँ से लोगों ने अपने को हटाया और आ करके अपने देश में चाहे विस्थापित कहिये, चाहे शरणार्थी कहिये, उन्होंने स्थान लिया। इसलिये मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि कोई आवश्यकता नहीं थी राष्ट्रपति शासन के लागू होने की। कोई जरूरत नहीं थी कि वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति शासन करे। ज़रा इसको भी देखा जाये। चाहे जो हो मगर यह एक अद्वितीय घटना हुई है। जो सरकार कहती है कि बहुमत में है, जो सरकार एक महीने पहले बनी, जो सरकार 2 अप्रैल को बनी, वह सरकार 25 जून को कहती है कि हम इस्तीफा देना चाहते हैं, हम परिस्थिति का समाधान नहीं कर सकते, हम स्थिति का सामना नहीं कर सकते। इन्होंने लिखा है कि मैं स्थिति का सामना नहीं कर

सकता कि जो स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई है। परिस्थितियाँ असाधारण हो गई हैं, क्योंकि शरणार्थी पश्चिम बंगाल के आठ सीमा जिलों में दाखिल हो गये हैं और कलकत्ता नगर महिन अन्य जिलों में भी दाखिल हुये हैं और ऐसे नव् अब आ गये हैं। तो मैं मारी की मारी जिम्मेदारी भारत की सरकार पर डालता हूँ, श्रीमती इंदिरा नेहरू गांधी की सरकार पर डाल रहा हूँ। अगर उसमें देशहित की भावना होती, अगर उसमें राष्ट्रहित की भावना होती, अगर उसे इस नर-संहार की चिन्ता होती, इस नरभेध की फिक्र होती, उसकी पीड़ा होती तो बंगला देश को मान्यता देने में ननिक भी गुरेज नहीं होता, वह बंगला देश को मान्यता दे कर नर-संहार को रोक सकती थी, नरभेध को रोक सकती थी, वहाँ के लोगों की इज्जत को बचा सकती थी, वहाँ घरों में आग लगाया जाना रोक सकती थी, वहाँ फमलों का काटा जाना रोक सकती थी, मकानों को ढाहा जाना रोक सकती थी, सारी समस्या का समाधान बंगला देश को मान्यता देने से और नैतिक, नैतिक और भौतिक समर्थन देने से हो गया होता। तो एक तरफ तो समस्या को पैदा करें। आज मैं बयान पढ़ रहा हूँ तो क्या बोलती है। गरीबी मिटाने की प्रक्रिया रुक गई; क्योंकि शरणार्थियों की समस्या पैदा हुई। बजट पेश हो चुका है। बजट पेश है केन्द्रीय सरकार का, शरणार्थियों की समस्या पैदा होने के पूर्व आप बजट की स्थिति को देखें। है कोई हयादार आदमी जो जानकारी के साथ कह सकता है कि वह बजट गरीबी मिटाने वाला है। केन्द्रीय सरकार ने जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया है वह गरीबी बढ़ाने वाला है, बेकारी बढ़ाने वाला है, भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ाने वाला है, चोर-बाजारी बढ़ाने वाला है, मुद्रास्फीति बढ़ाने वाला बजट है, विदेशी आश्रितता को बढ़ाने वाला बजट है। इसलिये यह कहना कि शरणार्थियों की समस्या से गरीबी मिटाने की रफ्तार हमारी धीमी हो गई, निरर्थक है, निराधार है, असत्य है, जनता को गुमराह करने की साजिश है।

**श्री के० सी० पन्त :** उपसभापति जी, बजट तो मई में आया, उसमें 60 करोड़ का इसके लिये प्राविजन रखा गया, बजट तो बाद में आया।

**श्री राजनारायण :** यह 60 लाख तो इधर आया है जो कि बैंक से चोरी हुआ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** उसका यहाँ क्या ताल्लुक है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : ऊटपटांग ही बकना है, इनको इससे क्या मतलब ।

श्री राजनारायण : आगे मैं कहना चाहता हूँ । इसमें एक वाक्य है । “ऐसे तत्व जिन्हें लोकतांत्रिक प्रक्रियाओं में कोई आस्था नहीं है और अपने अनुचित उद्देश्यों के लिए मानवीय विपत्तियों से लाभ उठाने के लिए सत्ता में रहते हैं, शरणाथियों के निराश और हतप्रभ भनों पर अपना प्रभाव डाल रहे हैं ।” मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, शरणाथियों के निराश और हतप्रभ मन यदि है तो भारत सरकार के कुकर्मों द्वारा है । अगर कोई उसका नाजायज फायदा लेना चाहते हैं तो सबसे बड़ा फायदा भारत की सरकार ले रही है, श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी के नेतृत्व वाली सरकार ले रही है । राज्यपाल के शब्दों में, अगर वह तत्व है, तो वह कौन हैं—राज्यपाल से पूछा जाना चाहिये कि वे तत्व कहाँ हैं जिन तत्वों ने शरणाथियों की समस्या का नाजायज फायदा उठाने की कोशिश की ? राज्यपाल को इतनी हिम्मत होनी चाहिये, साहस होना चाहिए, कि उन तत्वों का वर्णन करें ।

फिर, साहब, विधान सभा भंग । काहे को विधान सभा भंग कर दिया 25 जून को ? मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूँ, विरोध पक्ष और सरकारी पक्ष के लोग समझ लें, यह कोई दल की व्यवस्था का सवाल नहीं है । सारे ही दांचे को हम देखें । जब 28 जून के लिए सदन बुला लिया गया था तो 25 जून को विधान सभा भंग करने वाला राज्यपाल पाजी और पापी है, जो संसदीय परम्परा, जनतंत्री परम्परा को जानता नहीं है । मैं जानना चाहता हूँ . . .

श्री सीताराम केसरी (बिहार) : उपसभापति महोदय, गवर्नर के प्रति इस तरह के शब्द इस्तेमाल करना ठीक नहीं है । मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है . . .

श्री उपसभापति : राजनारायण जी, उनका व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है ।

श्री सीताराम केसरी : मेरा अग्रह यह है कि गवर्नर का जो स्थान है उसको देखते हुए उनके प्रति इस तरह के अशुभ शब्द प्रयुक्त करने के पीछे कोई औचित्य नहीं है इसलिए इसको एक्सपज कर देना चाहिये ।

श्री उपसभापति : राजनारायण जी, गवर्नर के बारे में ऐसे शब्द इस्तेमाल करना ठीक नहीं है ।

श्री राजनारायण : गवर्नर की रपट पर बहम हो रही है ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : पाप तो यह करने हैं ।

श्री राजनारायण : हमने देखा है, इंग्लैंड में और दूसरी जगहों में भी गवर्नर की रपट पर जब बहम होती है तो गवर्नर प्रसंग में आता है, और वह आयेगा ।

श्री उपसभापति : फिर अच्छे शब्दों का इस्तेमाल कीजिए ।

श्री राजनारायण : अच्छे शब्दों का प्रयोग कर लीजिए । यह शब्द क्या अच्छा नहीं है । क्या पाप करने वाला पापी नहीं कहा जाता ? क्या जनतंत्र की हत्या करने वाला हत्यारा नहीं कहा जायेगा ?

श्री उपसभापति : पाजी कहना ठीक नहीं है ।

श्री राजनारायण : तो पाजी निकाल दीजिए, पापी कह दीजिए ।

(Interruption.)

श्री पीताम्बर दास : आपका क्या कहना है ? पाप करने वाला पापी और पैजामा पहनने वाला पाजी ?

श्री राजनारायण : ठीक है, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ . आज तो जनतंत्र के और संविधान के हिमायती अपने को यहां बताते हैं, जरा हम को बता दें कि जब 28 जून के लिए विधान सभा बुला ली गई थी तो 25 जून को विधान सभा भंग करने की क्या आवश्यकता थी ?

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : कोई नहीं थी ।

श्री राजनारायण : है कोई बोधगम्य बात ? 28 तारीख को असेम्बली में फैसला कर लेते कि बहुमत है या नहीं है । जब आप विभिन्न दलों के सहयोग से सरकारें बना रहे हैं, बिगाड़ रहे हैं, तो यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि आज जो अजय मुखर्जी के साथ लोग हैं वह बराबर उनके साथ रहेंगे । अगर उनके साथ ज्योति बासु को बुलाए होने तो ज्योति बासु की सरकार बन सकती थी । उनको बुलाना चाहिए था, उनका जिम्मेदारी देनी चाहिए थी । सरकार सफायी से कहे तो । यह क्या बात है कि जब हमला हो गया तो पश्चिमी बंगाल में जनतंत्र नहीं रहा, पश्चिमी बंगाल में इंदिरा-तन्त्र चलेगा, राष्ट्रपति शासन चलेगा, जनतंत्री व्यवस्था भंग हो कर अधिनायकशाही व्यवस्था चलेगी । उनको डर था कि विधान सभा में सारी

बाते उठेगी, उन पर परदा डालना चाहते थे, मनमाने ढंग में काम करना चाहते थे इसलिए संविधान और जनतंत्र की हत्या करके राज्यपाल ने विधान सभा को भंग कर दिया, जो असंमदीय, अजनतंत्रीय कृत्य है ? इससे बढ़ कर संविधान का हत्यारा और कोई हो नहीं सकता। इसके बाद मैं चाहूंगा कि सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य समझ लें कि ऐसा क्यों हुआ ? अब मैं अपने मूल विषय पर आना चाहता हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति : आप के पांच मिनट हो गये हैं। आपने 30 मिनट ले लिये हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं पुनः केवल प्रश्न रूप में कल की बात कहना चाहता हूँ और यह आवश्यक भी है कि श्री सिद्धार्थ शंकर रे की नियुक्ति क्यों की गई। आज छोट-छोट कर "जाके पिया माने, वहीकन मुहागिन मान" इस तरह से मुहागिन को बुलाया जा रहा है। श्री सिद्धार्थ शंकर की नियुक्ति क्यों हुई। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब 28 जून को विधान सभा भंग हो गई थी और 6 जुलाई को जब वहाँ के गवर्नर सर्वेम्बर्वा हो गये थे, तो फिर सिद्धार्थ शंकर रे की विशेष नियुक्ति क्यों की गई ? कल श्री के० सी० पन्त से इस बात को माफ करने के लिए कहा गया था, मगर जब दिमाग साफ न हो तो फिर मफाई की बात कैसे निकल सकती है। सीधी बात है। अगर मन्त्रिमंडल है, अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार है, राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू नहीं है, केन्द्र में राष्ट्रपति शासन नहीं है, इस बात को समझ लिया जाये कि केन्द्र में राष्ट्रपति शासन नहीं है। केन्द्र में तो कांग्रेस पार्टी की सरकार है और बंगाल में राष्ट्रपति शासन है। अगर राष्ट्रपति शासन न रहा होता तो केन्द्रीय मन्त्रिमंडल जो काम करना है उसके लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार अपने किसी मंत्री को वहाँ पर नियुक्त कर सकती है और विशेष जिम्मेदारी दे सकती है। मैं श्री महावीर त्यागी जी और श्री नाना साहब जी की बात को इतनी दूर तक मानने के लिए तैयार हूँ। मगर जब राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू है, जब वहाँ पर केन्द्रीय सरकार का कोई संबंध नहीं रह गया है, राज्य सरकार का संबंध नहीं रह गया है, तो फिर केन्द्रीय सरकार गवर्नर के अधिकार पर अतिव्रमण नहीं कर सकती है तथा गवर्नर के अधिकार छीन नहीं सकती है। किसी विशेष परिस्थिति में इस तरह की बात हो सकती है, लेकिन जब गवर्नर का कल हो जाता है तो उसके बाद सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट जितना काम करनी है, उसकी जिम्मेदारी सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट पर आ जाती है। तो मैं यह

निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि श्री सिद्धार्थ शंकर रे को वहाँ का काम क्यों मुद्द किया गया ?

श्री उपसभापति : इतना ही किया गया है।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Would you explain ? From the Chair you are passing this remark.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Only yesterday he made the statement...

(Interruptions.)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Yesterday I also made a point of order...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Ghosh, please sit down, I understand your point. Yesterday only the hon. Minister read out the Notification where it was mentioned that would Mr. Ray do what was within the competence of the Government.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Yesterday I made a point of order... (Interruptions)... Sir, the Council only can advise President. If the entire responsibility of the Union Council of Ministers is given to one man, Mr. Ray, then for every question that arises in the Parliament you are answerable. It cannot be bifurcated like that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The Council of Minister will be responsible for all the affairs of West Bengal.

श्री महावीर त्यागी : मैंने कल यह कहा था कि अगर श्री सिद्धार्थ शंकर रे को केवल वही अधिकार है जो गवर्नर के शासन में सेन्ट्रल कैबिनेट को होते हैं, तो इसमें कोई नई बात नहीं है।

श्री राजनारायण : हा, हम समझ गये हैं। अगर वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू नहीं हुआ होता, तो केन्द्रीय मन्त्रि-परिषद् के किसी भी सदस्य को केन्द्रीय सरकार वहाँ पर नियुक्त कर सकती है। मगर जब वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू हो गया है, गवर्नर के हाथ में ताकत चली गई है, गवर्नर ने उसकी नियुक्ति के संबंध में कोई सिफारिश नहीं की, उससे कोई सलाह नहीं ली गई, ऐसी हालत में श्री सिद्धार्थ शंकर रे की नियुक्ति बिल्कुल अवैध है, अनावश्यक है और राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से की गई है। यह हमारी राय है और हम अपने सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जो लीगल एडवाइज़र हैं उनसे पता लगायेंगे। हो सकता है वे हमारी राय



[श्री राजनारायण]

से सहमत हों और ऐसी हालत में हम फिर मुफ्रीम कोर्ट में भी चले जायें।

**श्री के० सी० पन्त :** अगर नहीं होगी तो मान लेंगे ?

**श्री राजनारायण :** हम समझते हैं कि वे एडवाइस की क्षमता रखते हैं और अगर वे नहीं मानेंगे तो हम मान जायेंगे और यहाँ पर आकर वक्तव्य दे देंगे कि जो उनकी नियुक्ति हुई है वह ठीक हुई है।

**श्री उपसभापति :** श्री राजनारायण जी, 38 मिनट हो गये हैं। अब आपकी अपना भाषण समाप्त करना चाहिये।

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, हमारे भाषण के बीच में श्री सीताराम केसरी और श्री नीरेन जी ने जो समय लिया है उसको भी जोड़ लिया जायें।

**श्री उपसभापति :** अब आप पांच मिनट में खत्म कर दीजिये।

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, जब हम बोलते हैं तो बीच में न टोका जायें; क्योंकि हमारी जो धारा होती है, वह टूट जाती है और बीच में टोकने से फिर उस धारा में आने पर दो मिनट लग जाते हैं। जिस तरह से बीच में हमको टोका गया है उसके मुताबिक अभी हमें 10 मिनट और चाहिये। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ, श्री भूपेश जी भी सुनें, 'ऐसे तत्व कौन से हैं' यह भूषण जी के लिए तो नहीं कहा जा रहा है। राज्यपाल ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में लिखा है :

"ऐसे तत्व, जिन्हें लोकतांत्रिक प्रक्रियाओं में कोई आस्था नहीं है और अपने अनुचित उद्देश्यों के लिए मानवीय विपत्तियों का लाभ उठाने के लिए सदा तैयार रहते हैं, वे शरणाथियों के निर्दोष और हतप्रभ मनो पर अपना प्रभाव डाल रहे हैं और पश्चिमी बंगाल में कानून और व्यवस्था और राजनीतिक व सामाजिक स्थिरता बनाए रखने की समस्या को अधिक जटिल बना रहे हैं। ऐसे तत्व कौन हैं ?

**श्री महावीर त्यागी :** सी० पी० एम० से मतलब है।

**श्री राजनारायण :** मैं पूछ रहा हूँ, के० सी० पन्त इसको हमें बताएँगे कि ऐसे तत्व से श्री भूपेश जी की

पार्टी के लिए तो इंगित नहीं किया जा रहा है। मैं अपनी जानकारी बता रहा हूँ। यह जो श्री शेरजग है, जो भूतपूर्व आर्मी आफीसर है और जो सी पी आई से कनेक्टेड हैं, इनकी क्या गतिविधि वहाँ है। श्री शेरजग गुरिल्ला वार को ठीक कर रहे हैं, गुरिल्लाओं को वहाँ पर ट्रेनिंग देने की व्यवस्था करते हैं और अपने दल के लोगों को गुरिल्लाओं में भरनी करना चाहते हैं। तो ऐसे तत्व कौन से हैं ? शेरजग की गतिविधि के बारे में मैं चाहूँगा कि भारत की सरकार सफाई के साथ उत्तर दे कि ये क्या कर रहे हैं। फिर ऐसे तत्व जो अंदर हैं, श्री तुहा से संबंधित नहीं हैं, हम तुहा को महत्व नहीं देते, मगर यह सही है कि उन्होंने नोआखाली के पाम एक लिबरेटेड क्षेत्र घोषित कर दिया है और हमको बराबर डर है, दो-तीन महीने से मैं चिल्ला रहा हूँ जब से जैमोर सेक्टर से लौटा हूँ कि ऐसा हो सकता है कि तुहा ने जो मुक्त क्षेत्र घोषित किया है उसी को चीन मान्यता देकर कहे कि मैं तुहा की सरकार को मानता हूँ और वहाँ वियतनाम जैसी समस्या बन जायें, यह हो सकता है। जितनी देर हो रही है मान्यता देने में उतनी ही स्थिति जटिल से जटिलतर होती जा रही है।

एक बंगला देश मुक्ति युद्ध सहायक समिति बनी हुई है। इसका नेतृत्व श्री अजय मुखर्जी के हाथ में है और श्री विजय सिंह नाहर के हाथ में है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब बंगला देश मुक्ति युद्ध सहायक समिति अजय मुखर्जी के हाथ में है तो सरकार हमको एक रिपोर्ट दे कि इस समिति का क्या काम है, यह समिति क्या कर रही है, इस समिति की गतिविधि किस ढंग से कौन नियंत्रित कर रहा है और इस समिति और शेरजग में क्या संबंध है, कोई देखरेख हो रही है या नहीं हो रही है।

**श्री श्याम लाल यादव :** यह समिति तो भंग हो गई होगी जब उनकी सरकार भंग हो गई।

**श्री राजनारायण :** नहीं। इसमें देश का रहस्य बाहर भेजने की बात नहीं है।

**श्री सीताराम केसरी :** अवश्य है।

**श्री राजनारायण :** शरणाथियों को आज जिस मात्रा में दवा की जरूरत है और दूसरे साधनों की जरूरत है जो मनुष्य की जिन्दगी के लिए आवश्यक हैं वे साधन समुचित मात्रा में उन्हें उपलब्ध नहीं हैं।

इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत की सरकार और इस देश के जो धनीमानी लोग हैं वे ऐसी स्थिति पैदा करें जिससे स्वाधीन बंगला देश से जो लोग आए हैं, जो शरणार्थी जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे हैं उन लोगों की दैनिक जीवन की समस्याओं का समाधान ठीक तरीके से हो सके।

मैं समझता था कि जब बंगाल में राष्ट्रपति शासन की व्यवस्था पर विचार होगा तो यहां पर श्री त्रिगुण सेन उपस्थित रहेंगे, लेकिन वे चले गए। अब तीन कैम्प हैं, एक त्रिपुरा का, एक आराम का और एक पश्चिमी बंगाल का। त्रिपुरा कैम्प का इंचार्ज कौन है? श्री त्रिगुण सेन जी। त्रिगुण सेन जी को यहां एक रिपोर्ट पेश करनी चाहिए कि त्रिपुरा कैम्प के त्रिगुण सेन क्या करते हैं। त्रिगुण सेन से जो फुम-फुम मार्का बाते होती हैं, कनफूसी मार्का बातें होती हैं वह कनफूसी मार्का बातें क्या होती हैं इस सबकी हमें जानकारी नहीं है। इसी के साथ साथ आराम में श्री शरत चन्द्र मित्रा हैं। उनकी क्या खूबी है, उनकी क्या योग्यता है, इन्होंने कब जनसेवा की है, कैसे वहां के कैम्पों के लोगों से मिलते हैं, कैसे उनकी भावनाओं को समझ कर उदारता का बर्ताव करते हैं। तीसरा कैम्प है पश्चिमी बंगाल में। उसके इंचार्ज हैं श्री भवानी बनर्जी, जो कि श्रीमती मुकुल बनर्जी के पतिदेव जी हैं, जो कि लोक-सभा की सम्मानित सदस्य हैं। हमने तो पहले वाक्य में ही कहा था 'जाकी पिया माने वही सुहागिन नार' जो इन्दिरा जी के चाटुकार हैं, जिनके पास कोई क्षमता नहीं, कोई योग्यता नहीं, कोई जनसेवा का आधार नहीं, वे तमाम कैम्पों के सदर बना दिए गए हैं। मैं कल कह रहा था कि पूर्वी मुर्खों बन गई होती तो मैं समझता कि वे कुछ करती। मगर बेचारे यह वहां पर बन गये श्री भवानी बनर्जी। अब आप जरा उनकी बात देखिये। उनकी बात क्या होती है कि हम तो जवाहरलाल जी के उतने ही निकट थे, लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी के उतने ही निकट थे जितने आज इंदिरा जी के निकट हैं...

(Interruption.)

श्री सीताराम केसरी : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं आप में आग्रह करूंगा कि ये सब गलत चीजें हैं...

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान्, आज वहां पर जितनी व्यवस्थाएं हो रही हैं वे सब जनहित विरोधी हो रही हैं। आज वहां पर शरणार्थियों के मामले को लेकर पार्टी पालिटिक्स चलाई जा रही है क्योंकि इंदिरा जी अपनी

गद्दी बनाये रखना चाहती है अपनी गद्दी सुरक्षित रखना चाहती है...

(Interruption.)

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GO-SWAMI : Sir, on a point of order. He has not visited Assam. He does not know about Assam, he has mentioned the name of Shri Sarat Sinha, he is not in charge of any camp at all. He is the Chairman of the Bangla Desh Refugees Voluntary Relief Committee in Assam and he was not appointed by the Government to be in charge of any camp. He is the Chairman of the Relief Committee organised in Assam by all parties—Congress, Communist, PSP and others. Shri Rajnarain brought the name of Shri Sinha and the Congress from his imagination. You should not allow this kind of false statements and he must not attack a man who has never been in charge of Refugee Camps and who is not here.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rajnarain, you must try to give correct information.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI : Sir, he is attacking from imagination. This is very unfair. I would ask Mr. Rajnarain to visit Assam. About Assam I know fully although I do not know much about West Bengal. He may visit Assam first and ascertain facts. Further there is no relevancy of it with the subject we are discussing.

श्री जी० बरबोरा (आराम) : उपसभापति महोदय, आराम के बारे में गोस्वामी जी ही नहीं, हम भी जानते हैं। यह श्री शरत कुमार सिन्हा क्या क्या करेंगे। अभी आराम कांग्रेस में दो ग्रुप हैं। वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर महेन्द्र मोहन चौधरी जी का जो ग्रुप है वह अपने को इन्दिरावादी कहता है, लेकिन वैसे वह इन्दिरा का ग्रुप नहीं समझा जाता है।

SHRI K. C. PANT : What is that discussion about? How far will it go?

श्री जी० बरबोरा : यह शरत कुमार सिन्हा जी जो हैं, वे कौन-कौन काम करेंगे। वे आराल इंडिय के

[श्री जी० बरबोरा]

चेयरमैन हैं, आसाम कांग्रेस के वाइस-चेयरमैन हैं और अब रेफ्युजीज का मामला भी उनका दे दिया गया है। तो वे आयल इंडिया का काम देखेंगे या कांग्रेस का काम देखेंगे या रेफ्युजीज का काम देखेंगे या क्या क्या देखेंगे।

**SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI:** He was not a nominee of the Government; he was elected Chairman by all the parties in a public meeting. So it is unfair of you to bring in his name here for nothing.

**श्री उपसभापति:** राजनारायण जी, पश्चिम बंगाल के बारे में बोलिये।

**श्री राजनारायण:** श्रीमन्, आपकी आज्ञा शिरोधार्य है। मगर हमारे मित्र ने...

**श्री उपसभापति:** आपने पाच मिनट मांगे थे। आप एक-दो मिनट में खत्म कर दीजिये।

**श्री राजनारायण:** मैं आपसे निवेदन कर देना चाहूंगा कि इस समय शरणाथियों की समस्या है और शरणाथियों की समस्या से ही पश्चिम बंगाल में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हुआ है। अगर मैं आपसे यह कहूँ कि जो शरणाथी आये उनको पश्चिम बंगाल भेजना चाहिये, उनको आमाम क्यों भेज दिया गया, तो क्या आप कहेंगे कि मैं ठीक कह रहा हूँ। आप यह कहेंगे कि मैं बच्चों की सी बात कर रहा हूँ। तो मैं आपके द्वारा कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे मदन के माननीय सदस्य समझ लें कि आज जो राजनैतिक जालबट्टा मुल्क में चलाया जा रहा है वह क्या है। इन्दिरा कांग्रेस का चाहे कोई आदमी, हाँ क्या वह आल पार्टीज का नेता बन जायगा, चाहे कोई पार्टी उसमें शामिल हो या न हो। बहुत-सी पार्टियाँ उसमें शामिल नहीं हुई हैं। यह बिल्कुल असत्य भाषण उन्होंने किया। क्या आल पार्टीज इन्दिरा कांग्रेस है और भूपेश गुप्त जी की पार्टी ही है।

**श्री उपसभापति:** प्लीज कांक्लूड कीजिये।

**श्री राजनारायण:** तो मैं कह रहा था श्री भवानी बनर्जी की बात...

**श्री उपसभापति:** कांक्लूड कीजिये।

**श्री राजनारायण:** श्री भवानी बनर्जी पश्चिम बंगाल में बना दिये गये और श्री शरन कुमार मिनहा ग्रामाम में बना दिये गये। उनके अन्दर वह क्षमता ही नहीं है, उनके अन्दर वह राजनीतिक पांडित्य नहीं है उनके अन्दर वह सामाजिक हैमियन नहीं है कि वह...

**श्री उपसभापति:** किसी व्यक्ति विशेष के बारे में आप क्यों कहते हैं।

**श्री राजनारायण:** वह व्यक्ति नहीं है। वह अपने घर का काम नहीं करते। आप व्यक्ति का अर्थ समझ लें। हमारी त्वचा के भीतर जो है वह हमारा व्यक्ति है। हमारी त्वचा के बाहर जो है वह समाज है। बिना दर्शन पढ़े आप लोग बात करने हैं।

**श्री पोतान्बर दास:** चाहे किसी का त्वचा मोटी हो और चाहे किसी की त्वचा पतली हो?

**श्री राजनारायण:** जी हाँ, चाहे त्वचा मोटी हो और चाहे पतली हो, चाहे काली हो चाहे, गोरी हो, लेकिन त्वचा त्वचा है। इंसान इंसान है। इंसान के चमड़े के भीतर जो है वह इंसान का स्व है, वह व्यक्ति है और उसके बाहर जो एटमास्फियर में आ गया वह स्व के बाहर हो गया, वह समाज है।

**श्री उपसभापति:** राजनारायण जी, आप बैठिये। आपने कहा था कि 5 मिनट आप अनइंटरेटेड बोलेंगे। उसके बाद भी आप ने 6 मिनट ले लिये हैं। आपके उसके बाद 11 मिनट हो गये।

**श्री राजनारायण:** आप हमको तीन मिनट और बोलने दीजिये, मगर बीच में कोई बोलें नहीं। अगर कोई बोलेंगा तो उसके बाद हम फिर शुरू कर देंगे।

**श्री उपसभापति:** यह ठीक नहीं होगा। आप एक मिनट में समाप्त करिये।

**श्री राजनारायण:** मैं आपके द्वारा सदन से यह अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि श्री के० सी० पन्त तो दूर चले गये, यहाँ पर ला एंड आर्डर की बहुत चर्चा हो रही है। ला एंड आर्डर की चर्चा के बारे में मैं इस समय ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहूँगा; क्योंकि उसमें हमारे मित्र कल्याण राय और हमारे मित्र नीरेन घोष बहुत-सी बातें कह चुके हैं। मगर मैं इतना कहने के लिये आज तैयार हूँ

कि जो काम सी० पी० एम० ने किया, जो काम सी० पी० आई० ने किया क्या, आज वही काम इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी या उनके नेतृत्व वाली कांग्रेस नहीं कर रही है ? कर रही है ।

श्री ओम् मेहना : नहीं कर रही है ।

श्री राजनारायण : और बंगाल के इतिहास को देखा जाये । मैं जानता हूँ कि किस तरह से वहाँ का नेतृत्व चलता था । मैं जानता हूँ कि स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम के दिनों में वहाँ का नेतृत्व किन लोगों से किस तरह से काम लेता था । किस तरह से गुंडे पाले जाते थे, किस तरह से गुंडों से मीटिंग्स भग करायी जाती थी और किस तरह से अपने नेतृत्व को आगे बढ़ाया जाता था । इन सब बातों को मैं जानता हूँ । इसलिये मैं उससे जाना नहीं चाहता । मगर अन्त में बैठने के पूर्व एक एक बात जरूर निवेदन करूँगा ; श्री नीरेन घोष जी से और श्री भूषेण गुप्त जी से और इन्दिरा कांग्रेस के जो लोग भी यहाँ हैं या जो अपने को उनके ज्यादा नजदीक ममसते हैं, उनसे कि भाई, देश को बचाओ । ईमानदार बनो । जो कहें उनके मुताबिक करनी करो । कथनी और करनी में फर्क न हो । नीरेन घोष जी से मैं इतना ही निवेदन करूँगा कि वह अपनी पुरानी तमाम बातों को देखें और उनको देख कर उनको अपने रवैये में मौलिक परिवर्तन कर लेना चाहिये । अगर उन्होंने ऐसा किया होता तो 1967 में उनकी सरकार गिरती न होती । अगर वे जनतांत्रिक प्रणाली को ठीक तरीके से अख्तियार करके आगे बढ़े होते तो उनकी सरकार न गिरती । आज भी यह स्थिति राष्ट्रपति शासन की न होती, अगर श्री भूषेण गुप्त और इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी की सरकार ठीक तरीके से जनतांत्रिक प्रणाली को ले कर आगे बढ़ी होती । आज इन्दिरा कांग्रेस सबसे बड़ी पार्टी है । आज देश में चाहे जैसे, मही या गलन, तिकड़म करके, मन पवों की चोरी करने के बाद जो भी सरकार बनी उसमें यह सरकार उसकी है, तो जो सब से बड़ी पार्टी है (Interruption) तो उस पार्टी को एक आदर्श प्रस्तुत करना चाहिये । उसके द्वारा प्रस्तुत आदर्श का अनुकरण दूसरे लोग करेंगे । दूसरे लोगों पर उसका प्रभाव पड़ता है । इसलिये जो लोग जनतन्त्र, साधुता, अहिंसा और संघम की बात करते हैं, उनमें कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक्जाम्पल इज बैटर दैन प्रिसेंट । एक्जाम्पल बनो, उदाहरण बनो, केवल शिक्षक मत बनो, केवल लेक्चरवाजी मत करो । अपनी करनी से अपनी कथनी को चरितार्थ करो । बुद्धि और आचरण में मेल लाओ । अब मैं आपके लिये कहना

हूँ ; क्योंकि आप बुद्ध धर्मावलंबी हो गये हैं । बुद्ध ने यही कहा है कि बुद्धि और आचरण का मेल होना चाहिये । जिसकी बुद्धि आचरण के विरुद्ध होती है वह बुद्धि छलना होती है । जिसकी बुद्धि आचरण से मेल नहीं खाती है, वह व्यक्ति आचरणभ्रष्ट होता है । आज इन्दिरा नेहरू की कांग्रेस, यह सरकार अपनी बुद्धि और आचरण में भ्रष्ट भी है और छलना भी है और यह देश को छल रही है, देश में भ्रष्टाचार फैला रही है ।

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the motion moved by Shri Niren Ghosh and to support the Resolution moved by Shri K. C. Pant for approving the Proclamation. I congratulate Shri Ajoy Mukherjee for his patriotic sense in resigning from the Chief Ministership and advising the Governor to dissolve the Assembly though the United Democratic Front had majority at his command. Sir, generally now a days every one tries to stick on to power but it is Shri Ajoy Mukherjee who has shown that when he felt that his Administration is not equal to the task he himself offered to resign and advise the Governor to dissolve the Assembly. Sir, the Governor has been criticised for accepting the advice of the Chief Minister by Shri Rajnarain and others ; at the same time Shri Rajnarain admits that Shri Ajoy Mukherjee had the majority and nobody had challenged his majority. Even the dissidents of the Bangla Congress did not withdraw their support and therefore under the Constitution the Governor had no other choice, as the Chief Minister had the majority, but to accept his advice.

I need not deal with the Report in detail but I would like to deal with the Observations of Shri Niren Ghosh who yesterday charged the Government with perpetrating violence and supporting the Naxalites. He said that most of the Naxalites were supporters of the Congress and so on. Actually I found that a pamphlet has already been issued by Shri Jyoti Basu and Shri Hare Krishna Konar and I find that most of the instances cited

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in the speech of Shri Niren Ghosh regarding political murders are all cited in that pamphlet also. But, Sir, we cannot forget that after 1967 when the United Front Government was formed in the first Ministry Shri Ajoy Mukherjee was the Chief Minister and the Home Minister and then it was the CPM which started the Naxalbari movement in Naxalbari in Darjeeling and it is from that the term Naxalites came. And who were they? They were CPM members and they led the movement in Naxalbari. Why did the first United Front Government of Shri Ajoy Mukherjee fall? It was on account of the fact that Shri Ajoy Mukherjee decided to crush this Naxalbari movement. The CPM and certain other parties protested against the move of Shri Ajoy Mukherjee taking action against the leaders of the Naxalbari movement and when some of them were arrested they created a situation that ultimately forced Shri Ajoy Mukherjee to resign from the Chief Ministership. Then after another election when the second United Front Government was formed Mr. Jyoti Basu insisted that the Home portfolio must be given to the Marxist Party and some negotiations among the parties continued for a long time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am glad to find that the Minister for West Bengal Affairs having concluded this affairs in West Bengal is here.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : Somehow or other I am attracted to the place where Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The illegally appointed Minister has come.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : The legally appointed M. P. has welcomed here.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I am a legal M. P. ; not yet an illegal M. P.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : He said legal M. P.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You are driving in that direction.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : But I am glad that now you are listening to him to avoid violence. That is a good thing.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I am glad that though your Congress party is violent, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan is not violent.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : Before the United Front Government was ushered in there were long negotiations between the parties. The Marxist party insisted that the Home portfolio must be given to them. Everybody was afraid that if the Home portfolio was given to Mr. Jyoti Basu some wrong things would be done. Ultimately they succumbed to his pressure and the worst fear was proved to be true. I admire and must congratulate Mr. Jyoti Basu that he, belonging to a party which is out to wreck the Constitution, which does not believe in democracy, within a short period of his being in the administration, he was able to achieve his party's objective. During his period of administration the police was thoroughly demoralised during the course of fourteen months or so. During that period, as everyone knows if anyone was in distress, no police officer went to his help. If anyone gave a call to the police, the police did not go until they got the permission of Shri Jyoti Basu or any of his henchmen or any of the local leaders. I know it personally and I had been to Calcutta. Some fisheries were looted, not on one day. On the second day and third day consecutively they came and looted the dairy farm, poultry farm, everything. Even the house thereon was broken open and things such as doors, windows etc. were taken away. The police camp was very near. Somebody went there and

told the policemen that looting was going on, not on one day but everyday. The reply was : We have got no instructions from any of the Marxist leaders and so we cannot come. That is within my personal knowledge. The same charge they are now levelling against Congressmen. As they think that whoever is in the administration will do the same thing, they are making the same charge today that no policemen goes to help unless a Congressman is attacked or a Communist party man is attacked. When a CPM man is attacked, no body goes there. If the CPM gives a call to the police, they do not go. They have the cheek to say this because their leaders, even Mr. Niren Ghosh and Mr. Harekrishan Konar, are being protected by CRP men ....

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Where ? Who is protected ?

SHRI P. C. MITRA : When somebody said this here, you did not contradict it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Can you say.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Do not interrupt please.

SHRI B. V. ABDULLA KOYA : In Kerala Mr. Namboodiripad is being protected.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : He can not deny that his leaders Shri Jyoti Basu and Shri Harekrishna Konar are protected by C. R. P. men. At the same time, they say that the police do not go to their help. They give help only to Congressmen or their henchmen. I am very happy that Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray is here and he has gone there as the representative of the Central Government to deal with matters...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You should ask him whether he has solved accommodation problem in the Writers Building.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : No. I am not sitting there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Where are you sitting ? We must know the address of the Minister.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : You know my residential address.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Official address.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : At the present moment Writers' Building, but very soon I shall be moving out, as soon as my Central Secretariat comes to Bengal. I am in search of accommodation. Can you help me ? I am trying to get one.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not know what place would be more congenial for him.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : Shri Bhupesh Gupta, for public consumption, protested against the unconstitutionality of his appointment. Yesterday I was hearing him, when he was opposing his appointment, about his portfolio, but at the same time . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a personal explanation. I again and again said that it was good that Mr. Ray went there, I said that he was doing good things there, that I appreciated it. I also was opposed to the Governor's post. The only thing I said was that constitutionally it was not right.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : At the same time he said that Mr. Ray should come here and listen to the debate. That means that he accepted at least *de facto* that he is the real man in charge of West Bengal affairs.

Sir, Shri Niren Ghosh spoke about the position of West Bengal being relegated to a second position in 1967 in the industrial field after the Congress rule for 20 years or so from her first position in pre-independence days. At the same time he himself said that the Centre had put them into that position and it was only on account of the fact that the West

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Bengal people were indulging in agitations. And as everybody knows in our country even when a Government is elected for a five-year term yet from the day they form Government the other parties try to pull that down. Punjab was in shambles just after the partition. But now they have got the highest per capita income in India by their sheer labour. They never indulge in continuous agitations; they try to improve the economy of their State. He himself has said that due to their constant agitation the Centre was not helpful to us. But actually we find that Maharashtra and West Bengal are the two greatest beneficiaries from the Centre. Bihar or Assam or UP does not get that much attention.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Or Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : They make a grievance of not getting whole of the income-tax earnings in the State. Their ground is that the head offices of most of the big companies are either in Calcutta or Bombay and on that account they should get the lion's share of the income-tax. Tata Works are in Bihar but their Head Office is in Bombay. Bombay gets its share but they say that the entire amount should go to them and no share to the other States. Bihar does not get share on that scale as Maharashtra or West Bengal is getting.

That is the whole difficulty. For that propaganda Congressmen also are responsible because they are accusing the Central Government of being step-motherly towards West Bengal. But that is not correct. I request our Congressmen to at least face facts. May I submit that limitation of Central finance and not the step-motherly attitude of the Centre is the real reason for not meeting all the requirements of West Bengal as of many other States. Of course, I admit one wrong was committed by the Centre against West Bengal, that is in regard to rehabilitation of refugees. Whereas in case of Punjab,

some sort of compensation was paid for the properties left behind by the refugees and with that they built their houses to live; refugees from East Bengal who came after partition were told to go to East Pakistan and either enjoy or sell their properties under the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, but none could go and get any benefit from the pact. The result is that most of the East Pakistan refugees have not yet been rehabilitated and they have no house to live in.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : I want few minutes more. To end the atmosphere of murder there. Sir, Mr. Ray is having parleys with all the political parties. Though I am happy that the Marxist Party is also attending those parleys, here is a pamphlet that has been sent by Shri Jyoti Basu and Shri Harekrishna Konar in reply to the invitation given to them by Mr. Ray. That reply shows the way their mind is working. It says :

"We cannot but become cynical when you and your party express concern about 'this senseless politics of murder that engulfs Bengal today' Having master-minded this politics of murder, having engineered and implemented it, to take up the posture of impartiality and neutrality is not at all convincing."

That is, they are charging Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray himself for master-minding political murders. Then they say :

"We are nevertheless attending the meeting called by you. Loud-mouthed assertions of adherence to democratic norms and forms automatically do not entitle any one or any party to claim for itself the credit of being democratic. It is the practice that matters in the long run..... We wish to make it clear that the people never come forward to co-operate with the authorities as long as their democratic rights are suppressed by imposition of Sec. 144, indiscriminate deployment of the C. R. P. and the military and the police."

He says let the police, C. R. P. and Military be removed and let Mr. Jyoti Basu take over and then they will deal with the Naxalites with their pipe guns and bombs that they have got in large numbers than the Naxalites have. I maintain that if C. P. (M) gives up its creed of violence, the Naxalite violence also will end.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : One minute. But one thing I will submit to Mr. Ray. You cannot boost the morale of the police if you follow in the footsteps of the C. P. (M). That Government used article 311 of the Constitution to terminate the services of the policemen. I learn that Shri Ajoy Mukherjee's Government also terminated a large number of Police personnel under this provision. I think that the Congress Governments at least and the Centre particularly should not follow that procedure. I talked to some of the police officers there.

(Time bell rings.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : I am concluding. It was during the period when the previous Government was in office. They said there are so many political parties in the State in coalition Governments with Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee and one did not know whom to please. And unpleasantness with any party could mean one's removal from service under article 311.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : Therefore, if you want the morale of the police to go up then this provision should not be used. And if you think that they are indulging in anti-social or anti-Government things, you can put them in preventive detention. Or institute proceedings against them. But do not use the provision of section 311 which demoralises them. Thank you.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I stand to support the Proclamation, but on different grounds. The Governor has unfortunately not disclosed the whole state of things that was prevailing in the State of West Bengal preceding the dissolution of the Assembly. There was the murder of a youth Congress leader, Narayan Kar. The Youth Congress is a powerful frontal organisation of the Congress there. They gave an ultimatum that unless within 72 hours this Ministry resigns, they will make this Ministry fall. And there were 22 defectors from the Congress owing allegiance to the Youth Congress who said that they would vote against the Congress Coalition Government.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : This has not come in the press.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : It has come in the Calcutta press. You must read the vernacular papers also. Mr. Siddharatha Shankar Ray is here. Let him deny it. As a result of this, the fall of the Congress Coalition Government was inevitable. So, if anybody goes to the root of the dissolution, the dissolution was the result of the revolt of the Youth Congress against the Congress itself.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND MINISTER IN-CHARGE OF DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE (SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY) : This is not correct.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : That was one aspect. Another aspect was Sushil Dhara's Bangla Congress faction was demanding one seat in the cabinet. This was too difficult for the Chief Minister, Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee, to swallow. They could not compromise there also. (Interruptions.) The third aspect was, they offered Deputy Ministership to two Jharkhand members just to keep their Ministry intact. But when they found that in spite of their joining the Ministry, it would not be stable, they recommended dis-



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solution. All these facts have been suppressed by the Governor. I charge him with suppressing these facts.

But then, why do I support this Proclamation ? It is, as I said, for completely different grounds. As there was no possibility of any alternative Government, President's rule had to come. Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, when I support this, I support it with a heavy heart. It is a dismal chapter in our democratic set-up. A democratic Government was set up in 1967. For one reason or another, it fell. President's rule followed from 1968 to 1969. Again there was President's rule from 1970 to 1971. And in 1971 also there is again President's rule. I do not know how long it will continue. It may continue for years. Mr. Siddharatha Shankar Ray is here. I shall be happy if he will say that it will not take so long.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : What are you trying to put in my mouth ?

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : I am saying that it has become an annual ritual to have elections. Since 1967, we have had at least three spells of President's rule. And this time President's rule may be longer than that on the previous occasions. We had President's rule from 1968 to 1969. Again we had President's rule from 1970 to 1971. Yet again we have President's rule now and I do not know how long it will be ; it may be for one year or for two years or for three years. That is what I say. Now, to have this type of an annual ritual may be very convenient for the 'haves' in politics, that is, for those who have money, those who have big purse, but is very, very, dangerous for democracy itself. If you want the installation of dictatorship of any individual or any party, then there is no democracy. Mr. Ray is a very good friend of mine. I remember with gratitude that he voted twice for me. This time also he would have voted for me

had his strength been sufficient. I know that. But that is no consideration. The consideration is the advancement of the country, whether we are advancing towards any goal, whether we have any vision for building the nation. No. I squarely hold the Congress in West Bengal and the CPM, the two big parties, responsible for our miseries and catastrophes. In 1953 the Zamindari Abolition Bill was passed and zamindari was abolished. But the Congress did nothing for getting over the *benami* land for distribution to the landless. When the United Front Government came into power in 1969 with overwhelming majority instead of doing anything constructive they started murdering, they started looting, and the Ministry fell. My friend representing CPM, the CPI and the Congress here accused each other. I am not here to accuse any party or any individuals. I am here to analyse things in a spirit in which it should be done. What do we find in West Bengal ? It is no good apportioning blame 50 per cent or 40 per cent or 60 per cent to this party or that party. The fact remains that there is no administration there. ICS and IPS officers are mutually quarrelling. It came in yesterday's newspapers that the District Magistrates are complaining against the Superintendents of Police that the Superintendents of Police are defying the order of the District Magistrates. The military goes for mounting operations and their secret things are published from the Writers Building. What is the fun ? This is the top hierarchy. Look at the bottom. The clerks consider it their fundamental right to take salary and not to work. We have all generated a sense of indiscipline. Let us ask ourselves about this situation. It is time all parties considered this. Those who are sitting on the opposition side now may also hold power tomorrow. They cannot bring absurd results by any magic touch. They have to create confidence and a sense of patriotism. This responsibility lies on all of us whether we are in Government or we are in opposition. What do we see in the Writer's Building and the New Secretariat Building?

Large gatherings of Government employees during daytime, during office hours. They hold demonstrations, shout slogans and no officer can take the risk of punishing them. The Coordination Committee of theirs is such a solid organisation. Should we be proud of such an organisation or should we be ashamed of such an organisation, that we cannot enforce discipline? We can not make the man work. He is a Government employee and paid by the public. If things go like this we have no future. I read an article of Shri Pannalal Das Gupta in *Ananda Bazar Patrika*. That article has gone uncontradicted. He wrote that the clerks in Government service are enemy No. 1; because of them many of our files do not move; because of them many of our plans, construction plans, are not taking shape and consequently the number of unemployed youngmen instead of being reduced is always on the increase.

There cannot be more sad commentary than this. When people are unemployed, when people are starving for want of work and when Government is giving money—it is not that Government is not giving money—that money is not used for the welfare of West Bengal. What is the reason? The reason is the files are not moving.

I got an information from a very responsible man who was an ex-minister. He told me that the petrochemical complexes in Haldia and Madras were sanctioned simultaneously when in Madras the work had started, in Haldia even the land was not acquired. Who is responsible for it? Maybe a clerk, maybe a chap-rasi, maybe a big officer. There has been no inquiry and there cannot be any excuse for it.

Again, there is another thing, when a big man's son is arrested—be he a Naxalite or a CPM or Congress man—what happens? The big man in public front or politics or in the Government service prevails upon the police to release him. The police ask: "What can we do?" The murderers of Hemanta Kumar Bose

and Vice-Chancellor of Jadavpur University were spotted by the police dogs and they were arrested accordingly. But both have been discharged. Either you have confidence in the police dog or no confidence. If you have no confidence, why should there be police dogs fed unnecessarily. If you have confidence and it has any significance, why were these people discharged? The police ask: "What can we do? If we catch the real culprit, tomorrow we shall be told 'No. He was busy elsewhere'. The big man will come out with some alibi in support of the culprit". Things are so bad in West Bengal.

West Bengal has seen many trials and tribulations. But this is the worst. My friend from the CPI (M) says that 450 of their comrades have been killed. I feel for them. I feel even if one man dies. But how many have been killed in West Bengal? More than 1,500 persons have been killed. Therefore, 450 or 500 is only one-third of that.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: During what period?

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: It was since the inter-Party clashes started during the second united front regime and after. Of these 450, have they analysed how many of their comrades were killed during the process of bomb making and how many of them were anti-socials and how many of them died in the course of encounter? No. No Party has gone for this kind of analysis. When a man dies, he dies as a Bengali or Indian or as one of our relations. That man has his father, mother, brothers and sisters. Why should we not look at it from that angle?

Either we believe in democratic methods or we believe in violent methods. Let those who believe in violence declare so. I was very much shocked when I read that leaders like Hare Krishna Konar and Promod Das Gupta in a mammoth rally after the murder of the Sain brothers declared: "We are proud of killing them". I shuddered. What is this? They are responsible leaders. The future

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of Bengal belongs to them and they say "We are proud of killing them". If things go so rot, where do we stand ?

There are pockets in Calcutta, where people cannot move. As for myself, my car was smashed on 21st November. I did not ask for police protection. The police cannot protect. What was my fault ? I went to Beliaghata with a leader of Forward Bloc, Shri Digen Bhattacharya and another leader of RSP, Prof. Souren Bhattacharya to inquire into the circumstances under which the police killed four young boys—Ashok Bose and three others of that locality known to be Naxalite leaders. Ashok Bose's father was known to me. He was an ex-employee of Bengal Chemical. Ashok's Naxalite friends went with his father in a procession to take the dead body—the dead body of Ashok Bose. I was there for an hour and I made inquiries. My car was there at that time. When I entered the car, suddenly someone from behind started throwing stones and some others came with bombs and swords, came with petrol. I got out of the car and asked them : "Who are you ? For what you are agitated ? Is it the reason that some young boys were killed ? Then, I have also come here for opposing the dastardly act of the police." Then, I also asked : "Where were you one year before, when Jyoti Basu was the Home Minister, when Hena Ganguly was killed ? I was the man who condemned it." He was killed in this Beliaghata and I was the man who condemned it and I associated myself with the procession for bigger public condemnation of the police act. I considered that it was a heinous act. Jyoti Basu supported it saying that he was a die-it. Thus, Sir, we have reduced ourselves to a very helpless position. What we are condemning today, we supported the same during the U. F. regime. The situation has not changed.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the position is this : In West Bengal we have very bad days and it cannot be cured by the

Centre here. The Centre can give us money only and it alone would not help. To solve the problem of West Bengal, the leaders of West Bengal have got to put their heads together and thrash out the problem and find a solution for it. There is no use telling every time like a slogan that it is the conspiracy of the Centre. Nobody on earth can conspire against us if we are alert and we are determined to see our interest. But I want to charge the Centre for one very bad thing that they have done. Yesterday, Sir, here in this House, during Question Hour, Mr. Khadilkar had to admit that there are about 35 lakhs of East Bengal evacuees or more and they have to stay in West Bengal. Out of the 70 lakhs, they will be in a position to disperse only 25 lakhs and many more are coming in. Is not the Centre responsible for that ? I ask this question, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : Yes, Sir, I am concluding now. Is not the Centre responsible for this large influx of evacuees ? Was not the Centre responsible for the partition of India and Bengal ? Is not this the second unkindly and unfriendly act on the part of the Government of India ? What is the significance of the Resolution of the 31st March ? Had it been properly acted upon the situation would have been different. These 35 lakhs will remain in West Bengal and they will add to the problems of West Bengal. Ajoy Mukherjee, the former Chief Minister, had to say that it was one of his reasons for his resignation. If you had helped the fighters of Bangla Desh in the first week of April, this problem would not have occurred. By not doing so you have betrayed us in history and I charged the Government of India for it. I charge the Government of India for failing in the hour of need ; I charge the Government of India for the present sufferings of the evacuees also and I shall charge it throughout my life. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Monoranjan Roy. . . . . Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, I want to speak.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You spoke for 45 minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, only a few minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We have to finish it today.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : A few minutes only, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Kalyan Roy spoke yesterday on behalf of you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Sir, I am very glad that I have a little opportunity to speak on the subject, especially when our friend, Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray, is here.

Now, Sir, the Proclamation was absolutely unavoidable in the situation then prevailing in West Bengal. In the first instance, Shri Ajoy Mukherjee, Chief Minister gave a very valid advice to the Governor to dissolve the Assembly so that he could seek, or the party in power could seek, a fresh mandate from the people. This position has been challenged by some of our friends. Are we now to accept the position that the Chief Minister's advice should have been rejected by the Governor? Then, would we not be helping to create a precedent when the Governor should exercise his so-called discretionary power even in flouting the advice of the Council of Ministers?

Sir, during the last 20 or 22 years, we have been advocating that the Governor should have no discretionary power at all, that the Governor's powers should be only formal and constitutional in the same way as the powers of the British Crown in such matters as this. In fact, this position remains at the Centre. It is only

the Home Ministry of the Union Government which in 1967—if I remember aright, in June—prepared a Note in order to make out a case that the Governor could ignore the advice of the Council of Ministers. At that time, all of us on this side of the House—certainly, members of the CPM and we—opposed that approach on the part of the Home Ministry that the Governor should be given discretionary powers in some cases to ignore the advice of the Council of Ministers. I do not see as to why any of us should change our mind now. Therefore, Sir, it is a question of principle. Sometimes it can suit me; sometimes it cannot suit me. Now, Sir, the question of principle remains a question of principle.

In a Parliamentary democracy, the figure-head, Governor or the President, who is the Constitutional head, should have no discretionary power and should, in all situations, act on the advice of the respective Council of Ministers. That position should be adhered to. On the convenience of one party or another we should not abandon the salutary principle of Parliamentary democracy. Therefore, I am a little surprised when I find that some of my very esteemed and dear friends like, for example Mr. Jyoti Basu, advocate a position where they would like to have the Governor invested with certain discretionary power to the point of enabling him to flout the advice of the Council of Ministers. Sir, I am not in agreement with them. I, therefore, think that the step was unavoidable.

Now, a question may arise : Why then the leader of the next biggest party—or combination in the Opposition, shall I say ? —was not invited to form a Government? This question also should be seriously considered. If it were to be accepted, then there will be no situation when the President or the Governor, as the case may be, could be compelled to accept the advice of the Council of Ministers when the Council of Ministers advises dissolution.

Well, Sir, therefore, the issue here is not whether the Opposition should have

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]  
 been invited or not. The issue is whether the Chief Minister, while advising the Governor, did have a majority in the House. Nobody challenged it that the Chief Minister did not have a majority in the House.

Now, it may be argued that the Chief Minister feared that defections may take place; the Chief Minister feared, for example, that some might leave his party. But this is not a constitutional position. The Constitution takes into account the fact as it is. On the day when the advice was given there was nothing to show that the Chief Minister had lost his majority and thereby had forfeited his right to advise the Governor.

Under the English Constitution and also under other Constitutions, sometimes even the Prime Minister feels that some defections may take place from his Party reducing the Party in power to a minority Party. In such a situation the Prime Minister can go in for a fresh mandate of the people and with a view to doing so he may advise the dissolution to the Constitutional Head as indeed had happened in the past several times in the U. K.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Is it the Council of Ministers who advise or the Prime Minister?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is stated in the Constitution in article 174 or so. It is clearly stated that the advice of the Council of Ministers is transmitted by the Prime Minister in the case of the Centre and in the case of the States, by the Chief Minister. If all the Ministers start writing memoranda to the Prime Minister, then no memoranda will be written because the Lady Minister there will also have to sign a memorandum because she belongs to the Council of Ministers. An adornment in some ways is more likable than otherwise. Therefore my friend, Shri Tyagi, having been a Member of the Council of Ministers and the Cabinet should surely know this simple fact but then he is in a

state of forgetfulness these days. Therefore this position is there.

My friend, Mr. Niren Ghosh, for whom I have very great affection, whether I get a knife or not from any quarter is a different matter, but I have affection for him.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Knife is always pointed at me from your Party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Ghosh said in his resolution, revoke the Proclamation. What happens? Suppose we revoke, what happens? Suppose both the Houses pass the Resolution, where do we stand? There is no Assembly. Revocation cannot come unless elections are gone through. Therefore it is a premature resolution. I could have understood him if the elections had been ordered and held and there was an elected Assembly to inherit the situation and step into the vacuum which will have been created as a result of the revocation of the Proclamation but then, my friend, Mr. Ghosh, in ideology and politics, is very often premature and in this case also, I may say with all respect to him, he is premature.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Maturity shows in siding with the Congress.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : In politics we call it adventurism but in the Parliament what shall I say? I do not think my friend had consulted properly his Party. He is himself a responsible leader.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Playing to the gallery.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Gallery is well worth playing to. It depends on who sits in the gallery. Therefore there is no question about revocation. It is absolutely out of context. I can understand his asking for immediate elections following which the revocation should take place. I will be one with him. I stand for early elections. I stand for the normal procedure of the Constitution and the restoration of popular Govern-

ments. Therefore that resolution was absolutely unnecessary for him to move because it has no validity. Even if it is passed in both the Houses, what happens? He may say that there will be a constitutional crisis. There will be nothing. Resolutions are passed. It becomes ineffectual because the Constitution will come in the way of its coming into operation. Therefore it was absolutely ill-advised. Having said this, I would like to say one or two things.

Yesterday when I raised the question about Mr. Ray's appointment, I was not raising it on grounds of politics or prudence. I was only raising it on grounds of constitutional propriety. I think it is a better arrangement that a Central Minister should be deputed to a State when the State is under Governor's Rule. In fact the Governor should have really no power at all. Why do I say so? It is because Parliament can then exercise greater vigilance and responsibility in such matters through the accountability of the Minister. While in the case of the Governor we cannot get him here in the House or the other House. Now I am told an ICS official will be the Governor. I hate to see them. Why retired ICS officials should be made Governors I do not understand. In Bengal, Madras and Bombay, even under the British we did not have ICS officials appointed as Governors. Now I find that this Central Government on the one hand brings a Bill in order to take away, very rightly, certain privileges of the ICS given to them under article 314 of the Constitution and on the other hand I find they are appointing these ICS officials, retired ones, either as Governors or as Ambassadors. Mr. L. P. Singh goes to Nepal as Ambassador and Mr. Dias of the Agriculture Ministry having dealt with PL 480 goes to West Bengal as the Governor of West Bengal. This is very reprehensible; I say Prime Minister Indira Gandhi should have a little respect for popular sentiment. The people of Bengal should not be presented with an ICS official as the Governor; this is very very bad. Now these officials when they are

here work under us, subject to parliamentary superintendence, direction, control, etc. etc. and such officials after retirement became Governors. Why should it be so? I would ask the Congress Party to abandon this principle and practice altogether. Why should they be chasing the ICS officials all the time? Why should they have so much affection for the ICS officials? I am not saying anything personally against Mr. Dias. I have nothing for or against him. I am talking about the arrangement; I am talking about the question of principle. Therefore I demand that this decision may be reconsidered. Well, if that is not done, let Mr. Siddharatha Shankar Ray be given power by a law of Parliament; let the Governor be not given any power whatsoever to meddle in the affairs of West Bengal. He has to sign whatever is given to him on behalf of Parliament by the Council of Ministers of the Union Government or the Minister in this case who is responsible to this House and to the other House in particular. (*Timebell rings.*) Don't break my thread of arguments; it is quite *extempore*; I was not thinking of speaking at all but now that I have started let me finish it. It comes like that; you see, you are not in the habit of speaking nowadays. Ringing the bell is quite a different thing. It requires no preparation; it requires only a solid finger.

Now have this in a proper way; set the matter straight instead of quibbling over it. In Bengal discussion was going on in which room Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray will sit in the Writers Building and which room shall be occupied by the Governor. Suddenly I read in the newspaper that my friend, Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray had entered Mr. Jyoti Basu's room and the Governor had entered Shri Ajoy Mukherjee's room. The inheritance has been like that.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : Not stepped into their shoes ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Jyoti Basu's shoe is too big for anybody to step in. Anyhow, it is a dangerous shoe. Now he has not done that as a clever man.

Now, why should there be such a ridiculous discussion as to who sits in whose room? Therefore I say the constitutional position should be settled and settled once and for all. Mr. Siddharatha Shankar Ray, I must say, has taken a good initiative and even a critic like me would like to say a word or two of cheer when it is called for. I think it was a good initiative on his part to have called a meeting of the leaders of various parties to discuss the question of political murders which have ruined our life in West Bengal. Sir, if this politics of individual murder and terrorism is not put an end to, there is no future for West Bengal I can tell you. We may shout as much as we like, we may write as many theses as we like, we may declare our ideology from the housetops, we may declare our protestations about revolution, we may do anything but one thing is clear that the pulse of West Bengal would not beat in a manner when normal healthy life is possible. Political activity in West Bengal has come to a dead stop as a result of the fratricidal fight and the dangerous politics of murder which had been injected into the life of West Bengal. Therefore, it was a very right initiative on the part of Mr. Siddharatha Shankar Ray to have begun by calling the leaders to a conference to discuss this matter and come to some workable understanding so that this menace, this terror, this stigma, the source of all our frustrations and ills, are put an end to. I wish him all success, but then it is necessary also for us to give him cooperation. This is something which cannot be put an end to unless we all co-operate. The bigger the party, the greater the responsibility. The main responsibility rests with the Congress party and the CPM since they are the two biggest parties. I am not apportioning blame at the moment. I am saying something about responsibility. I was distressed to read the letter which Shri Jyoti Basu had written while accepting

the invitation of Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray. In that letter they have accused wholesale the Congress party for introducing the politics of murder into West Bengal. This is not the way to accept invitations. Even Mr. Nixon would not accept an invitation in the language that he has used. I am very glad that Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray did not get provoked by this language, but I would ask my friend, Mr. Jyoti Basu, when he writes such letters that he need not be provocative for being effective. There are ways of being effective without being provocative. Now, if I think that Mr. Siddharatha Shankar Ray is solely responsible for the politics of murder in West Bengal, certainly I would not accept an invitation from him and go to sit with him. I was very glad and somewhat amused when Mr. Jyoti Basu rejected Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee, when invited as an elected representative of West Bengal, as the Chief Minister, to go and sit with him. Surely I think Mr. Jyoti Basu has got some liking for Mr. Siddharatha Shankar Ray. Mr. Siddharatha Shankar Ray must pat himself because he can attract such revolutionary forces into his bosom by writing a simple letter. Therefore, this goes to the credit of the persuasive power of Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray and perhaps his long acquaintance, friendship and sharing of dinners and after-dinner evenings with Shri Jyoti Basu. I wish him success. If the friendship is good, let it be put to the best use for the well-being of our people, but one thing I wish to say here. All the proposals should be discussed, and this I can say on the floor of the House. Our party will fully co-operate with any party, every party, in bringing about a situation when the politics of murder become a thing of the past and a nightmare only to be remembered with horror, not to be experienced in real life. I put no condition because this is the main task today in order to put the public life of West Bengal on an even keel. I do not think any talk is called for. It is so urgent, so important, so vital, so life-saving, the task of putting an end to the fratricidal murders. As

long as this continues all other tasks become secondary. The needs of the masses, unity of action and other strivings of the people are ignored and forgotten, are degraded and distorted in a climate of terror, mutual hatred, mutual violence and mutual killing. Hence in the name of the people of West Bengal and for the sake of India it is essential today that the statesmanship of the people of West Bengal, their traditional patriotism, their love of the people, their heritage of left movement, their reliance on the working people, their capacity for sacrifice, all these should be summoned into a mighty combined effort by all men of goodwill, so that this politics of terror becomes a thing of the past and is ended once and for all. Am I to take it that we cannot do so? Are we so bankrupt, so insolvent in our ideas, so incompetent in our way of thinking that we lack leadership, imagination and courage that if we put our heads together and take counsel with one another, believe sincerely in each other's honesty and also mutual respect, we will not be in a position to put a stop to it? I say that we can. Then I should come to one conclusion. Let us ourselves lay down certain fundamental norms of political behaviour. When a comrade of another party is murdered, I should feel that it is a loss to me, that my comrade has been murdered. When Mr. Niren Ghosh sees that a member of my party or for that matter a member of the Congress Party or of the Forward Bloc or any other party is killed, he should feel that his near and dear one has been killed. Only if we have a sense of mutual loss, only if we think that the other man also has some contribution to make for the good of West Bengal, that he has also a right to live, only if we share his misfortune and sorrow, only then shall I be in a mental frame, in a mental position, in a mood, in a posture of mind, for mutual accommodation for a common effort to put a stop to such a kind of murder. Otherwise, Sir, we shall never be able to stop it. I think that should be the first norm.

I think, Sir, the secret arms that are there used for killing should all be thrown

into the Ganges. We do not need arms to kill each other. We can settle our political disputes by debate, by discussion, by going to the people, by enlightening them, by stimulating the democratic processes in our political life, by leaving it to the masses to judge who should be supported and who should be opposed. If by chance forces of counter-revolution take to arms and want to frustrate the process of democracy by methods of terror and violence, the people will certainly take to methods of violence and counter-terror in order to defend their democratic rights. But let us first ourselves set a good example. This is my another suggestion.

Thirdly, Sir, I should like that some institutional arrangement should be made, some organisation should be set up at every level to stop politics of murder, to mobilise popular opinion and to coordinate efforts in that direction, and everybody should be morally bound to go by the code of conduct which may be unanimously agreed to by the parties concerned. There shall be a body also to oversee as to how the code of conduct is being observed by the people and the parties concerned.

Sir, finally one thing I would say before I sit down. There is the problem of the Naxalites. This question has to be fought politically and ideologically; we should give the people something concrete, we should give a new vision to the younger generation which is taking to these desperate methods believing that they are fighting for revolution. Sir, we know that their so-called revolution will not come, that it would lead to the disillusionment of the youthful generation. We need to give them sympathy. They are misguided. I know. In our days when we were in our teens in the British-called terrorist movement, Gandhiji and many other Congress leaders did not agree with us but then they had sympathy, they tried to argue with us. Today we should have the same feeling. Therefore I say that that question should be politically and ideologically approached. But the best



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example would be that which we ourselves set in our actions.

Sir, the eviction should be stopped in West Bengal. The land should be given to the tillers of the soil. The West Bengal Land Acquisition Act which has been amended in order to lower the ceiling, and especially the ceiling on a family basis, should be implemented with the cooperation of the people, of the peasant masses. Sir, that is very, very important. Pattas should be given to the toiling peasantry instead of eviction that is taking place with the help of the police. Workers' rights should be respected. Their demands should be met. Closed mills should be opened and similar other things should be done. There are many other things. Ordinance, for example, on refugees, Mr. Siddharatha Shankar Ray should see to it that it becomes really the law of the land immediately, without any further delay. Counter-terror against Naxalites should stop. (*Time bell rings.*) And one thing I should like to bring to the notice of Mr. Ray. I was in Calcutta and I was distressed to find that in some places police is resorting to murder. The police have no right to murder. If somebody commits a crime, he is to be dealt with according to law. In the police vans, I am told, some Naxalites have been shot when they were really handcuffed and it was alleged that they were trying to escape. Do I understand that people who are bound hand and foot can run away? They can be apprehended even if they run away. The police resorts to fatal firing. All this is taking place there. In the jails, I am told, people are being shot and brutally beaten up in the police lock-up. Arrests of Naxalites and others are taking place throughout the State. Members belonging to various parties are being arrested. Here is a telegram which says :—

“Two boys rounded up from Chanditola under Jadavpore police station killed in police custody and one more blinded arrested. Extremists had to

be hospitalised for police beating rampage taking regular toll violating all codes of law. Residents seek notice of Centre through your help—Dilip Chowdhury, News Editor”.

Such letters are coming from the people who have nothing to do with Naxalism. This should be gone into. Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray should think seriously and put a stop to the politics of counter-terrorism on the part of the police.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That will do.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Illegal killings are taking place. Murder is murder whether the murderer wears the police uniform or not. The so-called combing operation has become a menace. Innocent people are being rounded up. When I went to my house I was told that our house had been subjected to the combing up operation. Police entered and went out of my house. Whole localities have been subjected to combing up operation with the help of C. R. P., Military and police. I say give up this combing up operation business.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Conclude now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Your machinery has failed. Your intelligence has failed. You cannot make up the deficiencies on that score by the so-called combing up operation which means wholesale attack on the people of the entire locality. Thereby you antagonise the entire residents. I have been told by many people who are very much against violence that such things are becoming intolerable by them. Some of these Naxalites . . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Will you please conclude now?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : . . . . for this reason we have gone underground. Therefore, the combing up operation should stop. . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You did not allow me to put my question. Therefore, listen....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Which question?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You do not remember. I gave notice calling attention to shootings in the Alipur Special Jail as a result of which 5-6 youngmen had been killed. I demanded that the matter should be discussed in the House. It was discussed in the other House. I think all these incidents, including the one I just mentioned, where prisoners have been shot and killed are matters for judicial inquiry. I demand, therefore, that judicial inquiry should take place in the Alipur Special Jail incident. Sir, whatever may be the offence with which we are charged, we have a right not to be killed in that helpless condition. If you think that I am escaping you must use other methods to apprehend me before you shoot me down. Yet, Sir, we find that in the jails, near the walls and other places, young boys are being killed, shot dead. This should stop.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down. Please sit down, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : With regard to the refugee problem and other problems, I shall not say anything much. But may I make one suggestion that Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray should be in close touch with all the parties here and he should attend to every matter that is brought to his notice, not in a formal manner but sincerely and seriously, with a view to remedying it. A great responsibility has devolved on Parliament and I think we should not grudge our effort and energy to discharge this responsibility. I do not know when the other matters will be taken up. We shall come to them later.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would begin with the last speaker, that is, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, for whom I have great affection and respect, though he sides with the reactionary leadership of the Congress Party. Now, he tried to put it across that the Governor had no option, and asked if we should allow the Governor discretionary powers. On the question that the Governor should not have discretionary powers, I am one with him. But the question arises : Did the coalition Ministry have a majority? No, it had no majority. He says that its majority is not disputed. He is wrong, quite wrong. It was in a minority at that time. They had no majority. They were, therefore, anxious and frantically in search for buying up certain persons so that when the Assembly met on June 28, they could have a majority of one. That is what they were trying to do. But they did not succeed. And though they did not succeed and they were in a minority, the minority Chief Minister's advice was accepted by the Governor. Should the Governor accept the advice of a Chief Minister who has lost his majority? They will ask me to prove it. I will prove it. Now, they claimed a majority of seven in the last Assembly session. But two of the Opposition members were in jail. One member was illegally debarred from attending the Assembly but that rule was vacated by the Supreme Court. Two plus one, three. In the by-elections, we won one seat more as compared to the Congress. So, that makes it four. Then the Sushil Dhara faction of Bangla Congress had three members, and nothing was settled with him. Unless he was offered Minister-ship, he would hold his hand back. That was the tussle that was going on. So, four plus three, it becomes seven. Then the Congress-O which had two members said that they would give support from issue to issue, on the merits of the issues. So, it becomes nine. Where is the majority then? They had no majority. If they had a majority, then they would not have postponed the Budget Session. No worth while Ministry, no Chief Minister worth the name, would ever advise the Governor

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to dissolve the Assembly just two or three days before the Budget Session of the Assembly was to commence. And we are confronted with the passing of that Budget and only two hours would be given to that State Budget. We know what it is. It is a sort of farce....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Niren Bhai, even if your argument is correct, you will agree that infants in the mother's womb are not taken into Census account.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : They are not in the mother's womb. They have already come out and are crying. And you are trying to catch those infants. Should I be blamed for that, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta?

Now, this atrocious thing has been done. There is also another thing behind it. It is the tussle between our Mr. Siddharatha Shankar Ray, Mr. Bijoy Singh Nahar and Mr. Tarun Kanti Ghosh. It is also there.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : He was here in the Centre.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Yes, he was in the Centre. It is a faction inside the Congress. It is an open secret and it wants to edge them out and capture all positions of authority.

SHRI GOLAP BARBORA : There were reports in the Press.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Yes. That is why I said it is an open secret. They were summoned to New Delhi by the Prime Minister. Bijoy Singh Nahar and Tarun Kanti Ghosh pleaded that they be allowed to continue and try to face the Assembly. They were summarily directed against or reprimanded for, making any such effort. They were told, "You resign at once, I shall control Bengal. I am the sole judge." Naturally that thing has fallen. That internecine faction, squabble, was solved in favour of Siddharatha Shan-

kar Ray. Hence our Prime Minister administratively has got absolute control of West Bengal. Both purposes are served. Are these the canons of Parliamentary democracy?

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : One of the canons of Parliamentary democracy is this that the honourable Member can say whatever he wants, whether it is right or wrong. We are following that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The canon of Parliamentary democracy is that you can seize administrative power by hook or crook in a conspiracy. All right, people are learning their lessons.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : Since a conference of political parties is going on and since Government wants that the conference should succeed, I am not saying anything at all.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I am thankful to you. You may, I do not mind.

Now, I have never said that the Governor should have discretionary powers. I have said, on the contrary, that it is the Assembly which will decide. The Assembly reflects the people of a particular State and Parliament reflects the people of India as a whole. They are the body which is competent to say whether administration can be run in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and whether they can dissolve themselves or whether they can make some *ad hoc* arrangement, whatever it is. I would like to ask my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta : Does he deny this that the Assembly should be supreme, that the Assembly should decide this question, that the Assembly, when it was scheduled to meet on June 28, should have been called on that date?

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal) : On a point of order. Mr. Niren Ghosh is exercising his right of reply to the debate as the

mover of the Resolution. He is repeating the arguments he made yesterday. He is advancing new arguments, new points. Is he allowed to repeat all those things and advance new arguments at the end of the day when we have the Budget to pass here? Is it his right and can he continue like this?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You should only try to reply briefly to the points raised by other hon. Members.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I am replying to the debate. One single Party has taken one hour and thirty minutes. What do you think?

So, I say, it is the Assembly which is the authority to decide these things, particularly when the Assembly was to meet within three or four days. In that context, the only question that arises is whether the Leader of the Opposition should not have been asked to explore the possibility of forming an alternative Government. Why should the Assembly be dissolved on the advice of a Chief Minister who has no majority? Not only that. The Council of Ministers did not advise Shri Ajoy Mukherjee. Do you know that fact? The Cabinet was not called and no decision was taken in the Council of Ministers. But the Chief Minister went and tendered the advice. Can you think of that? But it was done.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : When Shri Nambudiripad tendered his resignation in 1969 I don't know whether he ever consulted our Ministers in the Council of Ministers. I remember one case in Kerala when the resolution was passed in the Assembly ordering investigation against some of his Ministers. Immediately he tendered his resignation and asked for dissolution.

SHRI SIDDHARATHA SHANKAR RAY : In this case a Cabinet meeting was held and everything was discussed.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : When Bhupesh Gupta was speaking, I did not interrupt. Still I shall reply to his interruption. My reply to his point is this : Shri E. M. S. Nambudiripad made it abundantly clear on the floor of the House that if this is done by the Assembly, he will resign.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Shri Mukherjee made it clear through the Press....

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Shri Mukherjee did not make anything clear.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : All these Bangali friends, whatever Party they belong to, are one in their heart of hearts. They do not misunderstand each other.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Without taking the advice of the Council of Ministers, the minority Chief Minister tendered his resignation and the Assembly was dissolved. Last time the Assembly was kept in suspended animation for four months so that the ruling party could conduct its manoeuvres and form a Ministry. Now the Assembly was not given any chance at all because they know that if the Assembly meets, there is fair chance of an alternative Ministry being formed..... (Interruptions). Mr. Deputy Chairman, you should deduct the time taken by these interruptions.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please do not interrupt. Even otherwise lot of time has been taken.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It is an atrocious thing and it is a conspiratorial thing and I say it is against the entire people of West Bengal.

I know that during the course of the debate yesterday and today, except Shri Bhupesh Gupta's Party, no other Party has lent unqualified support to this Resolution. Even, the main Opposition, when it formally supported, he made it very clear that he does not agree with the Government though extended a formal support.

[Shri Niren Ghosh.]

Now, Sir, that is how things have come about. That is what the people of West Bengal feel, that the Central Government is conspiring against the people of West Bengal in order to suppress them altogether, because they uphold democracy, they uphold democratic struggle, they uphold people's policies conducive to the interests of the people and they oppose the reactionary policies of the Centre with which they come into conflict. That is their crime for which all those things are repeatedly being done.

Sir, have we forgotten that in Rajasthan, when a majority was paraded even before the President, they were not asked to form any government there? Have we forgotten that? Now, Sir, it is strange and it strikes me as strange. But circumstances make strange bed-fellows. So Bhupesh Gupta rose up, stood up, to use his eloquence in favour of the Congress Party.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : That he always does.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It is in this matter. Now, Sir, he asked what the purpose of moving this motion or Resolution is. He says that it would not be effective. If a diabolical conspiracy can be made, if the Constitution can be thrown overboard, if all the canons of democracy can be murdered, what am I to do? I move this Resolution—whether there is a crisis or not, whether there is a deadlock or not, whether there is an impasse or not—so that the entire country is forced to think about the matter as to how the Central Government is behaving and moving in this matter. As I said, in West Bengal or in any other State the Congress Party is not prepared to tolerate any non-Congress democratic government whatsoever. Let the DMK take note of that. If the DMK ever launches any mass movement on the ground of State autonomy, then their present sweet relations will be torn asunder.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : We have passed the detention laws. You must remember that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Yes, I know you have passed the detention laws.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : Sir, it is rather strange that Mr. Tyagi, even before the detention law has come into full force, starts throwing threats of the detention laws.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is coming into force.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : But, what business has Mr. Tyagi to say that?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Sir, shall I make another point clear? Sir, it is this : After the mid-term poll, when negotiations were going on as to how to form a Ministry, our party offered the Home Ministership to the CPI. So much is being talked about grabbing the Home Ministership. We have done it. We have offered it to the CPI.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, it is true that they offered. But it is Dhrudhirashtra's 'alingan'.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please do not interrupt.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Mr. Gupta, the sweet cheers come from that side.

So, Sir, we made it absolutely clear that the practice of West Bengal be honoured. To the CPI we offered the Home Ministership. We wanted to negotiate with all the parties to come to a position and I would remind him that we said again and again that those things be thrashed out, all the decisions of the Committee

Why? I don't want to raise this question. The Members will well understand the substance of that.

Now, Sir, it has again been said that because 50 lakh evacuees have crossed into the border, in order to tackle their problem, there should not be any popular Ministry; the elected Assembly should be dissolved and the Centre should take full charge. This is the argument that has been advanced. Now, I pose a counter-question: When these fifty lakhs of evacuees are inside the borders of West Bengal...

AN. HON. MEMBER : 70 lakhs.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : 70 lakhs is the total; 50 lakhs or something more in West Bengal. Can their problems be tackled without the cooperation of the popular Government and the Assembly? It is something unthinkable. All these questions should have been discussed in the Assembly—as to how to tackle these problems and what the difficulties are? Co-operation of all political parties should have been there. But with one stroke of pen this was all done and the bureaucrats were placed in sole charge. Can you think of anything more serious?

I would like to point out another thing in this connection. It is this. This Coalition Ministry, before it went out, gave appointments to 17,000 persons to serve in the refugee camps, violating all canons of recruitment—without interviews. Without any such thing, they were appointed. They were made to sign about 40,000 forms—some gave for four appointments. These forms were distributed in the MLAs' Hostel by the Congress Party. Now, you can understand what sort of administration would be there. They flouted all canons of recruitment. This is the Congress Party.

Now, what has been happening in the evacuees' camps? I brought it to the notice of Sardar Swaran Singh. And I take this occasion to repeat it that 50 per cent of the money is being taken away through corruption, bribery, etc. There are no rations. And I have said this—and I repeat—that mothers, being unable to feed their children, have in several cases after duskfall thrown their children alive. These things are happening there.

Now, Sir, I would also in this connection like to raise another point. It is this. Our Assembly, the West Bengal Assembly, passed a unanimous Resolution urging recognition for Bangla Desh, and it also added a rider that if the Government of India does not accord recognition, then a popular mass struggle would be launched to make the Government do this...*(Interruptions)*...All were parties to it. Are you prepared to wage that joint struggle now to which you were a party?

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Have we not joined the struggle yesterday...*(Interruptions)*...in spite of your opposition?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I will not reply to your aside now.

Would you honour that commitment? Can the democratic parties together have a 50-lakh demonstration in Calcutta before the Raj Bhavan? Can you stay there for two or three days so that Delhi could yield to this question? Is it possible? There is that feeling that all parties should come together. I am sorry to say that those who profess of shedding tears are not, up till now, equal to this task and they are fumbling over this question. I think they would revise their attitude and at least on this question wage a mass struggle.

*(Time bell rings)*

Now, Sir, I would again return because Mr. Pant has not got many Members. I have done so and, lastly, Shri Bhupesh Gupta has done so. I know that you will reply when I will not have the chance of making another reply because you are having the last chance. Anyway, I anticipate all these things.

Again I make it clear that our party seriously holds this position. We are prepared to prove it with thousands of facts. I have said: Let a Parliamentary delegation of all parties go and visit those affected areas. In each place 10,000 or 15,000 people will come and tender evidence—

[Shri Niren Ghosh.]

how things happened. Let it not be *in camera*; let it be in the presence of the people there and those things will bear out my contention that it is the ruling Congress Party having adopted as a matter of State policy at the highest level in New Delhi—I repeat it—they have introduced the politics of murder in West Bengal.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : You are wrong.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Countless evidence proves this. And 90 per cent of the Naxalites—the so-called Naxalites—are the protege of the Congress except the hard-core Naxalite political elements. And in Birbhum this has been exposed through the daily Press—not our Press but the bourgeois Press. The *Times of India* has written about it. Some strange thing is breaking through that area.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : *Jugantar*.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : It would not be our Congress.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Who murdered Hemanta Basu, who murdered Piyus Ghosh, who murdered Nepal Roy, who murdered Ajit Biswas?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : Search your hearts.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You search your hearts. I can give all the names. At least in two cases the police have been forced to issue charge-sheets and I do say that Ranjit Gupta who has aided and abetted the ruling Congress during the Presidential regime as Police Commissioner to authorise the murders and give them free play was asked to implicate the CPM in the case of the murder of Nepal Roy. He said "It is impossible; we cannot do it". And he was sacked. Why was B.R. Gupta, Home Secretary, removed from his position suddenly by this Ministry to which Bhupesh Gupta's party belonged? Is he Jyoti Basu's man? Is he CPM's man? Is it his contention. . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : At least I do not know other officers. Perhaps he did not bow down to them in this respect, in this ghastly crime. I have heard one MLA in jail. He was allowed to take oath. Summarily, without calling for any explanation from him, he was removed.

This is the Congress Party in action. I have said it and I say again that our Party is not wedded to violence as a principle because we do not want to settle political differences, ideological differences through violence. I would say that even with regard to the hard-core Naxalites. We have told them through our leaflets that these are political debates. You can propagate your views, we will propagate ours, let the people decide whose views they accept. Those things should not be settled by individual assassinations and murders. We hold to that principle and I say it because it harms the mass movement and gives a pretext to allow the police to run amuck. May I ask who murdered Justice Tarapada Mukherjee who had to enquire into the murder of seven boys who were thrown at the roadside? My information is, the police murdered him. So he could not function. No other judge was found. Thousands of police under President's Rule, under the Democratic Coalition Government rule, have become the supreme lawbreakers, shooting people in cold-blood again and again.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Why did they not murder you?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : They have murdered many of our workers. Tomorrow they may do. That is why I say this politics of murder in Bengal should stop and it would stop if the Congress decides to stop it and it should be decided at the highest level in the Centre and our Prime Minister, being in charge of the Home Ministry, it is she who can do it. It is she who can do it. I have said that the Research and Analysis Section of the Home Ministry

have devised and decided upon this devilish method. So she can stop this politics of murder. I am sorry to say and I regret to say that the CPI, willingly or unwillingly, objectively at least has aided and abetted the Congress in introducing this politics of murder. I do say even now, if New Delhi does not change its attitude but the CPI does things can improve. The CPI has a key-role to play in this matter. They are the deciding factor. If even the Congress pursues with their politics of murder, if the CPI changes its attitude, other democratic parties that go with the CPI are bound to change their attitude and together, within a month or two, we can put a stop to this murder politics. I make this bold assertion. Put it into practice and see because if these parties agree together, they can confront the Congress Party, and say: Mr. Ray, you have to do this, otherwise we press this and we will set up this court or that court and we will sort it out in all the areas. Then the Congress will have no escape.

**SHRI N. G. GORAY :** I have been listening to your speech with all the attention it deserves. I would like to ask one question. If the Congress has adopted this as a policy or the CPI that political murder is going to be one of their instruments, why is it that in no other State except Bengal this is happening?

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** I have not said that the CPI has adopted this. I have said, willingly or unwillingly, objectively they have helped the Congress in doing this whether they are aware of it or not. Whether they are aware of it or not, they have adopted this policy.

**SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE :** You must stop him.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** Do not interrupt me; I am answering him.

**SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE :** You are speaking all nonsense.

**SHRI PITAMBER DAS :** Mr. Yajee, do not cloud that question.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** What I am going to say is, in West Bengal the Congress is an absolute minority among the people and the democratic parties together are an absolute majority among the people. The correlation of forces has totally changed and it is not likely to be reversed unless some democratic parties help the Congress to grow in the process eroding their own base. And that is what is happening. But the democratic parties together will further grow and expand and there is no scope whatsoever for the Congress to grow. That is why in West Bengal people have successfully launched several mass struggles against police repression, against rising prices, against....

**SHRI N. G. GORAY :** If you do not want to answer my question that is a different thing.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** I am answering. That is why there have been so many general strikes and hartals and the Centre is afraid that there is no other way to contain the people. If the police directly crushes the people, more and more people join together to oppose the police. So it must be a political manoeuvre. Only through that process the democratic movement can be fought otherwise the Congress can never hope to be in any Ministry in Bengal.

**SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI :** Why are you afraid of elections then?

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** I have not said that I am afraid of elections. In fact we have demanded elections. So if this position comes about in any other State I am afraid the ruling party will go to any length to suppress it. That is why I say that today not only the fate of West Bengal but in a sense the fate of whole India hangs in the balance if the ruling party is allowed to get away with this.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** All right: you have said enough. That will do.



SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I say it is only our party which has demanded another mid-term poll in November but Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's party is still silent on the question.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We are for elections whenever they are held.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : In West Bengal you have not said so. Do they act according to your advice? Do they or do they not, that is the question.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : There is another thing I wish to point out to the House because I will not have another chance. Now in places where we are sufficiently strong in Calcutta, around Calcutta, where 60 to 70 per cent of the people or even 80 per cent of the people in some places are with us, there no individual assassination has taken place. All parties move about freely from morning till midnight. One should know from practice what is happening; but where it is mixed up, where the Congress is there, things become different. Now, there is the question of starting a dialogue with the Naxalites; the other side has repeated it so many times. But I say that 90 per cent of the so-called Naxalites are their Naxalites. They are in dialogue with them for the last 1½ years.

They have utilised them to murder us. They can stop it. I cannot say anything about the hard-core politically committed Naxalites. That is another thing, but I do say this.

(Time bell rings)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down. Mr. Pant.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : There is no democracy if section 144 is there, if shootings are there, if the PD Act and detentions are galore there. All these things are there.

West Bengal is put under an iron-curtain. You are determined to erase West Bengal from the political map of India and put it under an iron-curtain. That is what you are actually trying to do and I know you will put any other State under an iron-curtain if the democratic movement is strong there. If that be so...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have called Mr. Pant. Please sit down.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : If that be so I only assert that it is sabotaging the freedom struggle also of Bangla Desh. West Bengal is the rear. You should strengthen the rear for full co-operation. Unless that is done...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right. Please sit down.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : They are sabotaging that freedom struggle also in the process.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Niren Ghosh, please sit down.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : They go to any length and sink to any depth...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I can only hope that throughout India all the democratic forces would rally behind the down-trodden people of West Bengal at this juncture which is a part of India. That is why I make this appeal. All the democratic forces should rally together. It is not yet too late. West Bengal has blazed new trails in the last more than half a century and even now under the iron-curtain. Till they are completely smashed, till they are completely massacred, they will try to uphold the banner of democracy to the last. They will not throw away the banner of democracy. I only make this appeal. Let all the democratic forces realise the gravity of the situation not only for the State but for India as a whole and do their duty. It is not yet too late.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS/

गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (SHRI K.C. PANT) : Sir, I have listened to the debate since yesterday very carefully and I am gratified that the President's Proclamation has received support from various sections of the House. My task has been made much lighter by the speeches of those who supported my Resolution. I am particularly glad today that the presence of Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray provoked Shri Bhupesh Gupta into making a very good speech, if I may say so.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY : Otherwise also he would have spoken flattering Shri Ray.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Otherwise he may not have spoken. As a matter of fact I think he did not intend to speak and he was possibly unprepared and speaking *extempore* he spoke very well because he spoke from his heart instead of his mind.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY : He always speaks from his heart.

SHRI K. C. PANT: My hon. friend, Mr. Niren Ghosh, I am glad to find in his concluding speech, is no longer subdued and is back to normal. His speech has the usual quota of vilification, insinuation and unfounded charges. We have become somewhat accustomed to this and today also he made wild and baseless allegations against my party, against the Home Ministry, against certain officials by name. I would not have taken notice of them, but I think it is my duty for the sake of the record to repudiate them. He tried to answer Shri Goray. He attempted, but I do not think he really did it. I will not enter today into any bitter exchange with him. I do not want to have that deliberately. I would only appeal to him to realise and to consider whether he is not really getting more and more isolated. The point of view that he is putting forward before this House, at least in certain respects, is not getting any support from any section of the House.

I would therefore appeal to him to fall in line with the general mood of thinking of this House and of the country that it is high time that all of us put our heads together so that we could find an answer to the grim situation that we find in Bengal and to try to find that answer in such a manner as to preserve the basic values which we all cherish. This is the challenge and this challenge cannot be met by scoring debating points. Therefore on this occasion I can only appeal to him to realise the gravity of the situation and realising that gravity, to lend his support to the efforts that are being made to put an end to the chapter of violence, to the politics of violence and murder in Bengal.

Sir, he built his whole case today on one point and that is that the Government did not enjoy a majority in the Assembly when the Chief Minister recommended the dissolution of the Assembly to the Governor. This was the central point and an answer was given by other Members, and I also attempted to put the facts before the House when I spoke at the beginning. Sir, the point of fact is that the Governor did accept that the Chief Minister did enjoy the majority in the Assembly when he made that recommendation. It is the task of the Governor to arrive at a judgment in the matter and he arrived at that judgment and we have to accept it. The Chief Minister claimed that he had a majority and the Governor accepted that he had a majority, and he made the recommendation. And then the only question that remains really, is whether after this it was open or not open to the President to accept that advice. The Budget had not been passed. After the 31st July work in the State of West Bengal would have come to a standstill. Therefore the Governor having made his recommendation to the President, he had no option but to accept his recommendation, and hence this Proclamation for the approval of which I have come before the House.

श्री नवल किशोर : यह तो 25 जून को हुआ था। 25 जून से 31 जुलाई तक 36 दिन थे। वहां वजट पास हो सकता था।

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, the Budget could not have been passed there after the dissolution of the Assembly. I was merely saying what happened; at that time the President had no option.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY : Shri Ajoy Mukherjee's Government was in a minority.

SHRI K. C. PANT : It was not in a minority. I can discuss each of the points raised in detail. And the Governor has gone into the whole thing in great detail and therefore, there is no question. He has....

*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Do not interrupt, please.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : He was not in a minority although the majority was a slender one.

SHRI K.C. PANT : In fact, the Governor has said that the majority had become thinner. But he has said definitely that he still enjoyed a majority. There the matter ends.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The matter does not end there.

SHRI K.C. PANT : This is what he built his whole case on. And as my hon. friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, said, unless he built his case, he would have to admit that the Chief Minister who enjoyed a majority in the Assembly, his advice should not be accepted by the Governor. He was faced with this dilemma and in resolving this dilemma, he overlooked the fact in order to fit the whole thing into a case. This is what he had done. I suppose he has no other choice except to build his case on this. But to build a case on a wrong fact does not make the case any stronger. Only, the whole thing breaks down the moment you point out the wrong fact. That was what happened to his case today.

The second point he made is that the Chief Minister did not consult his Cabinet

colleagues. The Chief Minister, as a matter of fact, did consult his Cabinet colleagues. There were regular Cabinet meetings and those Cabinet meetings preceded the Chief Minister's recommendation to the Governor.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : No.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Just a minute. Were you a member of the Cabinet there?

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : Is it compulsory constitutionally on the part of a Chief Minister to consult his Cabinet colleagues before dissolution or is it his prerogative?

SHRI K. C. PANT : Normally, Sir, in such matters there are Cabinet meetings and the Chief Minister does consult his colleagues. If the Chief Minister is satisfied that his colleagues are one with him in certain matters, he can certainly go and speak to the Governor. That is the position.

My friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, pointed out another example in which the Chief Minister did go and tell the Governor without any Cabinet meetings, without any consultations with his Cabinet colleagues on an occasion on which one could not take for granted the assent of his Cabinet colleagues to the step. Therefore, that position is quite clear.

Sir, the other point that we have to bear in mind and which was pointed out by many hon'ble friend . . .

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta must know that Mr. Mukherjee did not advise for the dissolution of the Assembly. He allowed other Members to form the Cabinet.

SHRI K.C. PANT : Then what were the motives that prompted the Chief Minister to tender his advice? The fact has been appreciated by friends from all sections of the House that the situation in Bengal is far from normal apart from the law and order situation which was causing concern

to Members of Parliament for quite some time now. The peculiar factors which had led to industrial unrest at one stage, mass violence and thereafter individual killings, attack on schools, attack on statues of national leaders, vandalism of various kinds, all these things were causing concern to this House and to the country. There were murders of very eminent leaders. Apart from all that, at this particular juncture of time, there was this massive influx of evacuees fleeing from terror in Bangla Desh, from oppression and from the barbarous slaughter of a military machine. Therefore, Sir, I think it would be right to say that given this situation the Chief Minister was not wrong in his judgment that to deal with a situation of this kind a Government which had sufficient majority to be able to act with firmness and effectiveness was required, and a Government with a thin majority which was looking over its shoulders and always afraid of the next move and always pressurised by various pressure groups, that was not the kind of Government which was likely to face this kind of situation with confidence. I think this is an assessment which will be shared by the Members and shared by all who have practical experience of the running of Government, of the functioning of party politics. So it is in that context that the Chief Minister, I think out of a sense of high sense of duty, out of a sense of patriotism...

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : What about the Budget?

SHRI K. C. PANT : This was what motivated him. The situation was such. The majority was getting thinner. In that situation he felt that now was the time when he should advise the Governor to take this step. Conceding the seriousness of the situation he forgot party politics. The requirement of the situation was such and national interest demanded that at this stage he thought that he should exercise his judgment and see what was in the interest of Bengal and India.

He exercised that judgment. He did not stick on to power. The usual complaint

is that the Chief Minister stuck on to power, that the Chief Minister refused to give up office even when he had lost his majority. That is the usual complaint. In this case, he was in a majority. That is not questioned. In the larger interest, he chose to advise the Governor to dissolve the Assembly. Then he himself resigned. He did not continue as a care-taker Government. He himself resigned. Therefore....

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : He resigned after four days.

SHRI K. C. PANT : He could have continued for much longer, but he resigned and thereby enabled the Central Government to step in. All these things are there. I think in the given circumstances, in the given situation, he acted out of a sense of high responsibility. My friend, Mr. Mitra, referred to this and Mrs. Furabi Mukherjee also referred to this. He wanted to get the mandate of the people so that a stronger Government could take charge of things in West Bengal. I think on this basic situation there really cannot be much difference of opinion amongst us, though for political reasons. Mr. Niren Ghosh, may have chosen to take another line. But I think given this situation, even if he had been there, he would have thought as to whether he was in a position to discharge the responsibility vested in him in this kind of a situation with that kind of a majority. So, on the basic propriety or the constitutional propriety of the Governor's action and the President's action, particularly the President's action there can be no dispute. So, on the basic question, I hope the House will readily accord its approval.

Mr. Nawal Kishore referred to the situation in Punjab which came up for discussion some time back and because it fell to my lot on that occasion also to come before the House and put the facts before the House, he said that there was a certain amount of discrepancy in the position as I had taken then and now. Sir, I must say that he was perhaps overlooking some basic and significant differences between the situations in Punjab and Bengal. First

[Shri K. C. Pant.]

in Punjab at that moment, a Minister had already resigned, differences in the Akali Dal were well known, resignations had been going on for the last so many weeks and things had come to a head. Mr. Gurnam Singh actually came to the gates of the Governor's house and he came to tell the Governor specifically that he along with, I think, 16 or 17 of his colleagues had withdrawn support from the Government.

SHRI M.N. KAUL : It was tottering.

SHRI K.C. PANT : After one accepted Mr. Gurnam Singh's word, and I believe many other members were with him at that time, there was then no question but that the Punjab Government was in a minority at that time. So it was this kind of a situation in which it was urged by many Members in this House that it would have been better for the Governor to have allowed this matter to go to the Assembly which was to meet in two days. But this was not the position in West Bengal at all. In West Bengal, the question of his majority is not in doubt. And since the question of majority is not in doubt, what could the Assembly have tested?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : When the majority was challenged and the Assembly was scheduled to meet, it could have been tested in the Assembly.

श्री नवल किशोर : आपों तो पोलिटिकल बैकग्राउंड की बात कही। जब मिस्टर राज ने यहां यह बात कही थी कि पंजाब के गवर्नर को बजट पास करना था—उम वक्त गवर्नमेंट कायम थी—तो आपने अपनी स्पीच में उममें सहमति प्रकट की थी कि उनको पास करना चाहिये था। मैंने कहा जब मिस्टर मुखर्जी की मैजॉरिटी थी उनको बजट पास करना चाहिये था। उनको बजट पास करवाने के समय इम्तीफा देने की क्या जरूरत आ पड़ी थी।

SHRI K. C. PANT : Mr. Nawal Kishore has accepted at least this part of my argument. Now I go on to the next part as to why he did not get the Budget passed and why there was this particular timing.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY : On a point of order. About Punjab and West Bengal I just read out one line from the *Financial Express* dated 30th June, 1971 on the criticism of the Governor on the floor of the House, "The same Congress leaders said and the same Mr. Pant will now deny a similar action of Mr. S.S. Dhavan; in fact, the contention of the Congress in the case of Punjab is accepted; a dissolution of West Bengal Assembly..."

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, no, there is no point of order in this. Please sit down, there is no point of order.

SHRI K.C. PANT : I am flattered by his interest in me and by the fact that he reads even *Financial Express* to get some information on what I said in the House. He is here now and he knows what I said. But the point is—and this is the point that I was trying to make earlier also—that in the given situation in Bengal, it is not merely a question of majority or minority. It is a question of being able to handle the situation in which lakhs of evacuees had come in. There was danger of the law and order situation worsening, there was danger to communal peace and there was also the substratum of violence that was in evidence in Bengal. And on the top of this there were other things building up. Yesterday Shri Nawal Kishore asked me why he acted in June and not in March when the Bangla Desh situation first deteriorated. If he had acted in March, one might have suspected that he was trying to get out of an uncomfortable situation . . .

श्री नवल किशोर : मार्च में तो उनका वजूद था नहीं, अप्रैल में वह आये।

SHRI K. C. PANT : But he did not on the 2nd of April or the 3rd of April, because he waited till the situation developed to a point where he found that he could not manage it. You have to be realistic about the situation and you should put yourself in the position of the Chief Minister who saw the situation gradually developing and becoming more and more alarming. There-

fore, at a particular point of time, as I said, he decided out of the highest of motives and I think we should respect him for his decision.

Now, an impassioned plea was made by my honourable friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, today on the floor of this House to restore law and order in Bengal. . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I did not use the words "law and order" I said "politics of murder". I said that the politics of murder should be put an end to and normal conditions should be restored. It is something very different from law and order.

SHRI K. C. PANT : With my very limited understanding I thought that if the politics of murder was being condemned by him, he should also be supporting law and order. . . .

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : All murders there are not political. There are non-political murders also. Therefore, law and order is the appropriate term.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Tyagiji, is he inclined to support other murders? That I do not think. I do not expect that of Bhupeshji. So he made this plea.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If law and order means what the employers and *jotedars* are doing, jollywell they should be met. I said the politics of murder should be put an end to. I spoke of certain specific situations, a specific phenomenon. Now let us not go into the Machiavellian definition of law and order. That is a different matter. I am not supporting any murder. It is something different.

SHRI K. C. PANT : He is gradually coming to the right path and I hope that one day he will stand up for law and order also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What?

SHRI K.C. PANT : My friend, Shri Nawal Kishore, again referred to the situation in Viswabharati and to the fact that this institution, which all of us cherish, has

(*Interruption.*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I said only this, but if law means maintenance of vested interests, of monopoly, plunder and exploitation, then I am not for that bloc; if it is a question of order for plunder, looting, *jotedars* going to evict peasants, I am not for that.

(*Interruptions.*)

5 P.M.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I was referring to Viswabharati, because I did not want Shri Bhupesh Gupta to be tied up in contradiction at the end of the debate. The situation in Viswabharati has caused concern to Shri Nawal Kishore. This is an institution which is a living memorial to Rabindranath Babu and all of us cherish him . . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We do not call Rabindranath Babu. We call him poet Tagore, Rabindranath. . . .

SHRI K. C. PANT : Gurudev.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is right. But do not call him Rabindranath Babu. We call Atulya Babu. . . .

SHRI K.C. PANT : I would assure him that we are as much concerned as anybody else about the treasures, the historical documents, books, etc. there. In fact the Vice-Chancellor had come to Delhi and met the Prime Minister. He told her about the deteriorating law and order situation in that area. He wanted us to take steps to strengthen the security arrangements there. We sent two officers of the intelligence bureau to go into the matter in detail and they have submitted their report. The West Bengal government is taking action on that. I would like to assure him that we are concerned about this matter and certainly we shall do whatever lies within our power.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh) : Some very alarming reports had been coming about the functioning of Viswabharati during the recent past not as has been reported by Naxalite or CFM, but by independent pressmen. They say that

[Shri Chandra Shekhar]

the functioning of Viswabharati has been degenerated during the last 6, 7, 8 years. The usual respect and regard for this institution is no longer there. Is the hon. Minister looking only into the law and order problem or is he looking into this aspect also? Since the functioning of the Viswabharati is going down, the local population is not having the same respect and regard for it which it used to command some 8 years ago. If that is the case, how is it going to be a living memorial to Gurudev or Rabindranath Tagore? Names do not mean. Only the situation means. Does the hon. Minister or the Government of India take this aspect into account? Or, is he thinking only of law and order, security and intelligence branch? Is it going to look at it from the cultural point of view also? There is no use emphasizing on the police and law and order in the context of Viswabharati.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The Deputy Education Minister said in the other House that military will enter Viswabharati. That was the approach.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I cannot really arrogate to myself the functions of Education Minister or speak for him in this matter. I hope Shri Chandra Shekhar will excuse me if I do not enter that area which he has mentioned just now. I have to talk of the law and order situation...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Education is not your area?

SHRI K. C. PANT : Education is not my field of responsibility. Even if I am called uneducated, I will accept it...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, no. That is why precisely I asked this question. Education is your area. Do not say it is my area.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I would again go back to the basic point and that was the plea made by Shri Bhupesh Gupta, even if it is limited to politics of murder.

This is what I would like to reinforce. Sir, he said—I think it is a moving sentence—that unless an end was put to this politics of murder there is no future for Bengal. Sir, it is in that spirit that I would appeal to all sections of the House—I would appeal to Shri Niren Ghosh and his party—to help in the efforts that are now being made, that are now under way, to put an end to violence.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Would you stop the politics of murder?

SHRI K. C. PANT : This is what I am really trying to avoid. If it is possible, if at all it is possible for him to respond to the occasion, then I would request.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Whatever is done, you are going on undoing.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down, Mr. Ghosh.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, yesterday he charged the Chatra Parishad with killing the police. If I remember right, he charged the Chatra Parishad with killing people. Yesterday he did it and you can see the record.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : No, no.

SHRI K. C. PANT : And today he is saying something else. These inconsistencies are there. But I am trying not to dwell on those things. I am only appealing to him, in the name of West Bengal, in the name of India, in the name of the people of West Bengal, who have suffered so much during these last few months, who have seen such orgies of violence, such senseless killings, such a terror, in the fair land of West Bengal. I would appeal to him to put an end to it so that the energies, the talents, the intelligence, the qualities of leadership, of the people of West Bengal, which have always been an asset to this country, are allowed to be harnessed to the task of nation-building rather than frittered away in this atmosphere of terror; in this atmosphere of violence and in meaningless debates. Therefore,

Sir it is in this spirit that I would like him to consider this matter. Even now my colleague, Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray, has called this meeting and, as pointed out by Shri Bhupesh Gupta, the response to this meeting from his party is such that there is resistance even to the idea of sitting down and discussing the whole problem in a spirit of understanding or of mutual confidence, of not doubting each other's motives. Sir, I am prepared to suspend my judgment in the matter completely, not doubting his motives either. Is he prepared to do the same to me? Then alone can one open the way for a meaningful dialogue in this matter. In this spirit, Sir I would appeal to him again: Let us arrive at a consensus in the matter. This meeting is taking place and it is continuing. If we can come together that is all the responsible, political parties, then a consensus can be arrived at and a situation can be created in which the Naxalites, those of them who are open to reason can speak and we can speak to them and we can open a dialogue and we can try to tell them that this senseless violence will not build the country, will not solve the problems that we all want to solve, will not create conditions in which alone they can get satisfaction and they can help the country go forward. After all, if they have to take the country forward, they have also to contribute to the building of this country and if this is what they want, if they want to have better conditions, more jobs, more of industries then, conditions have got to be created by them and they have to contribute to it also. Therefore, in this sense, once the political parties, the recognised political parties, those who are functioning in West Bengal, agree and a consensus is arrived at and this politics of murder is given up, one can then appeal to these young men also and tell them that this is the wrong path and that all the political parties are today appealing to them to give this up so that normalcy can return, peace can return, to the State of West Bengal. And, it is essential from another point of view also. Sir, we know that there are anti-social elements in West Bengal and elsewhere and in a city like Calcutta as also in other big

urban areas there are anti-social elements and it is they who are taking advantage of the situation more than any body else, because, whether it is the politics of violence indulged in by any of the parties, whether it is the politics of violence indulged in by the Naxalites, advantage is taken of by the anti-social elements who have probably never had it so good as on today and who are acquiring today a certain glamour and a certain romanticism and that is also to be considered. While there are people, people who, for ideological reasons, may today believe in the Naxalite path, there are others who in their name sometimes without their knowledge, many of the anti-social elements are behaving in a manner which suits them.

This conforms to their normal pattern of behaviour which, in this particular case, gets a kind of political image, whereas the kind of activity they are indulging in is usually a criminal activity. So let us not give them a chance. Let us not allow this tragic waste to go on.

Sir, I want to refer very briefly to a suggestion which was just made by Shri Bhupesh Gupta, and that is to have some kind of code of conduct. I entirely agree with him that some kind of code of conduct, whatever name you call it by, must be evolved by the parties functioning together. He talked of mutual trust and mutual confidence. I agree that without that we cannot proceed further. And then he said something which I have often been saying in this House when charges are hurled against each other. He said that whether it is his Party member or my Party member who is killed let us have sympathy for the man who dies. This is what I have been saying. Even where it is a police man the same feelings should be there. Therefore, it is a question of having a human approach to the problem. And if we have this human approach, and if we remember that even police men and officials have wives and children, then all of us can approach the problem in a proper frame of mind on the basis of humanity and on humanitarian considerations.



[Shri. K. C. Pant]

He also suggested some kind of institutional arrangement. I cannot comment on that unless he spells out the idea more fully, but any arrangement which seems to implement the consensus arrived at to end this atmosphere of violence and murder is welcome. I would welcome any such arrangement that they work out amongst themselves.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : The House also welcomes it.

SHRI K. C. PANT : My hon. friend, Shri Kalyan Roy, met me—he also referred to it in the course of his speech—and he gave me some complaints. I can assure him that I have immediately taken action on those complaints; I have sent them on for inquiry to the State Government. Sir, he talked of eviction of peasants; retrenchment of workers and some other points, mostly in a general manner. If he would pass on some specific instances and some specific information, I shall certainly do what I can in this connection.

Then, Sir, he referred to a memorandum which was submitted by, I think, Shri S.M. Joshi and Shri Deven Sen...

(*Interruption*)

This is the information I have got in one case. The State Government decided in May 1970 that an inquiry in this regard should be made by the Commissioner of Burdwan Division. The State Government decided to drop disciplinary proceedings against Shri R.K. Bhattacharya and Shri T.K. Taluqdar. At the time when the incident took place charge-sheets have been served on them and disciplinary proceedings are in progress. In the circumstances it would not be proper at this stage for me to make any further comments in the matter.

(*Interruption*)

I do not have any further information with me. This is what I got : yesterday.

Then, Sir, there was a reference to other problems in the State, particularly the problem created by the influx of refugees, and I thought it would interest the house to know the latest figures in this respect. In my report dated 21st July the latest figure is 53,63,661. It has crossed 50 lakhs, and therefore you can easily imagine the burden on the administration for the arrangements that have been made to supply food, shelter, clothes, medicines and all the rest to these evacuees, and the other dangers which one has to guard against.

One has to guard against the danger of communal trouble and one has to be very careful about it and we are taking utmost steps to guard against any communal disturbance of any kind. One has to guard against the possibility of disturbance of law and order also and this also we are doing. Apart from this there are various other problems which are facing West Bengal. I do not want to go into those problems in detail but I think I should at least assure the House that as on the last occasion during the President's Rule when we took a very lively interest and a very, if I may say so, helpful interest in the developmental problems of West Bengal, we shall continue to do the same this time also. On the last occasion we passed a Land Reforms Bill which was welcomed in Bengal which gave the Burgadars certain hereditary rights and we also initiated a programme for the development of Calcutta under the CMDA scheme and we initiated schemes for rural employment. All those things we did then. Now we are going to take the same kind of interest and in fact with the appointment of Shri Ray we have a Minister who is going to devote most of his energies to the solution of the various problems which I have outlined very briefly just now. There will be a local Branch Secretariat, and in fact Secretariats of several Ministries in Calcutta, and Mr. Ray will be spending in Calcutta a better part of his time. Whether it is the Railway Bridge or the Underground Railway or Haldia Refinery and the other ambitious schemes to provide greater

employment for the people of Bengal, all these will receive our urgent attention. These difficult tasks can be achieved only with the wholehearted cooperation of this House and the other House and the people of Bengal and it is in this spirit that I would like to request you to extend your wholehearted support to the Resolution before the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I am putting the Resolution of Mr. Niren Ghosh to vote.

The question is :

"That this House recommends to the President that the Proclamation issued by the President on June 29, 1971, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of West Bengal, be revoked."

*The motion was negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I am putting the Statutory Resolution to vote.

The question is :

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 29th June, 1971, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of West Bengal".

*The motion was adopted.*

#### THE BUDGET (WEST BENGAL), 1971-72—General Discussion

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now we have the West Bengal Budget. For the next week we have got very heavy agenda because we have to complete all the financial business before 31st of July. So it will be desirable if the House agrees to sit a little longer to-day so that we can complete the discussion on the Bengal Budget. I would like to appeal to all the Members...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : You have started it. Why should you say this? I have already communicated to Mr. Om Mehta that the other business from that House is not going to come till

Wednesday. Therefore Monday and Tuesday we have got. We will have three Budgets.

SHRI OM MEHTA : The General Appropriation Bill has come.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You get four days now. We will discuss the Appropriation Bill on Monday.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Then when do you take up Gujarat and Mysore?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Whatever it is, we have got something for next Monday.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Certainly we have got something for next week; I do not deny that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I say we finish general discussion on these Budgets of the three States by Monday; in any case we will have to finish everything on Tuesday.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Today you cannot finish everything.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I say Monday.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : All right. I said by Tuesday. Even then you can take up the other things and I think by Saturday we can complete all the financial business.

SHRI OM MEHTA : All right; today let us sit up to 6.30.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : My worry is to complete the financial business before 31st July. Whatever plan you adopt by which we can discuss and complete the financial business, I have no objection, to accept.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Saturday week we shall be sitting.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Saturday will be non-official day.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Then Friday will be official day.