

में खरीदारी फूड कारपोरेशन के माध्यम से नहीं होती है, हरियाणा सरकार की तरफ से होता है; लेकिन वहाँ भी गोडाउन बना कर इंतजाम किया है कि जितनी तेजी से हमको बाहर निकालना है, अगर रेलवे उतना नहीं कर सके, तो वहाँ दो-तीन लाख टन माल रख भी सकें।

THE WEST BENGAL STATE LEGISLATURE (DELEGATION OF POWERS) BILL, 1970—*contd.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will resume his speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, before you adjourned the House I was just suggesting that the Committee should be enlarged, if necessary, and I think it is necessary, in order to ensure that all the Members of Parliament from West Bengal are represented. I also suggested that the apportionment of the Members of the Committee between those representing the left and democratic parties and those representing the rightist parties should be 4 : 1 in order to reflect more or less the political colour and composition of the West Bengal State Assembly. As you know, we shall be undertaking legislation here so long as the President's rule remains there. Naturally we cannot entrust it to those people who are opposed to the United Front programme, the 32-point programme, or are opposed to the very ideas and concepts laid down in that programme. On the contrary, the functions of the President's rule should be to continue the administration in the light of this programme, in accordance with the United Front programme. Whatever may have happened to the Ministry, its 32-point programme remains. And I make it clear that the Ministry did not collapse on the question of any divergence over this or that item of the programme. There may be some differences as to how a particular item of the programme should be implemented, a particular task should be carried out, but there is no difference among any of the fourteen parties with regard to the basic stand of the programme and its 32 items. So, that should be the guiding line for the Government.

Now, the President's rule must not exist for a moment longer than is necessary. I say this thing because there are certain political forces already active which are interested in prolonging the President's rule. For example, the leaders of the Swatantra Party have even gone to the extent of demanding that a state of emergency should be declared in West Bengal so that the President's rule, the regime of dictatorship, the arbitrary regime, could continue as long as possible. We not only protest against this suggestion, but we reject it with all the contempt it deserves. This is the voice of the dark reaction which wants to take advantage of the unfortunate situation which has developed in West Bengal and fasten upon it a terrorist regime, an arbitrary regime, a regime which rides rough-shod over the rights and liberties of the people, over the interests of the masses. Therefore, I say the Government should give no quarter to preposterous suggestions of this kind, the one that has come from the Swatantra leader, Mr. M. R. Masani, and others of the Swatantra Party. But then there are others who are also in a subtle manner pleading for prolonging the President's rule as if the President's rule is going to offer a solution to the problems of West Bengal. The President's rule has come about in a situation or under conditions which are well known to the House. We do not believe that the President's rule can offer any solution to any of the problems facing the people of that great State. In fact, the President's rule is essentially a bureaucratic rule guided from the Centre, and if it is guided in the old way as has been the case on previous occasions, I say it would be sheer treachery to the people, a plain treason to the Constitution and a violation of the solemn undertaking that comes to Parliament in assuming powers for the President's rule. Therefore I make this point clear. Mr. Deputy Chairman, so far as we are concerned, our views are well known; we stand for the revival of the 14-Party United Front; we are not pessimistic in political life that the United Front cannot be revived, because we believe that today in Indian politics and public life in general in the political sense, Sir, there is no way out except to forge unity among the left and progressive forces. Whatever may be the temporary difficulties, dissensions and differences, it is only the unity of

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the left and democratic forces which can find a way out of the crisis and indeed take the nation forward. In every State this is equally applicable, more so in my State. In West Bengal I cannot think any single party having a majority can form a Government, as was the case with the Congress. Those days are gone.

We have now entered the era of a coalition Government. The issue is what kind of coalition we should have, whether rightist or leftist. This was demonstrated in West Bengal in a very tangible manner and in very concrete terms. The great people of West Bengal created a united front and installed it in power consisting of 14 parties. That is the kind of United Front which should come into existence again in order to shape the destiny of the nation and make the country move forward. Unfortunately it collapsed and failed. But we do not take this kind of defeat as final. In the life of man in the life of the nation, in the political life of a country sometimes things happen which at a given moment may seem very despairing, very disappointing, dark and dismal. Yet, Sir, if the good sense prevails and if we stand by our principles and ideals, I do not see why the 14 Parties should not be in a position again to sit together, discard their internal differences, learn a lesson from their practical life and come to some kind of agreement so that the glorious United Front could come into existence again. We do not accept the position of the Marxist Communist Party that there cannot be any Government with the Bangla Congress, nor are we accepting the position of some of the leaders of the Bangla Congress when they say that they will not sit with the Government formed by the Marxist Communist Party.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : A little correction. We have never said that. It is the Bangla Congress which went out.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : All right, I take him at his word that they never said it. But he represents in West Bengal the largest party. I would appeal to the leadership of the Marxist Communist Party to make it possible for others to sit with them. If the Bangla Congress has grievances against them, is it not the duty of the party which is the major party in

the United Front to take the initiative, correct itself and inspire confidence among the other parties so that they can come to some understanding? Therefore I say again and again, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that I see no solution in the foreseeable future for the people of my State unless we forge unity, unless we close our ranks, unless we overcome our differences, unless we stop our inter-party clashes which led to the collapse of the United Front. The people of Bengal demand unity, not division; they demand that all of us should stand together arm in arm as fellow-fighters; they do not expect that we should be knifing each other in our internal feuds and fights, in the political life of the country. Therefore, Sir, my Party teaches me one lesson—work for unity. Unity is the way of political life in West Bengal and also in the rest of the country. When I am making this suggestion, many may feel it is an unrealistic suggestion. But many noble realistic political suggestions have been considered in the first instance, when they were made, to be unrealistic. But the most unrealistic idea is to have divisions continuing and perpetuating in the political life of West Bengal and yet thinking in terms of serving the masses and the workers. Unity is the way of our working people; unity is the life of our toiling masses; unity is the breath of their breath. Therefore I say that our masses will never fail us. In fact it is the masses who united us in the past. Therefore I would again appeal to all those concerned, especially the Marxist Communist Party, to ponder over this matter and to avoid recriminations.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : That is what you are unfortunately doing. You tried to form a mini-front, you are still trying to do it, and you are asking us to ponder over the situation. See what you have done.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have pondered over what I have done. I think I am absolutely correct in what I have done. Mr. Deputy Chairman, my friend says that I am forming a mini-front.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Mr. Sushil Dhara is accusing you; you gave a word of honour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Is it not proper to go by self-confessions? Mr. Jyoti Basu went to the Governor to form a mini-front. He had the blessings of the Governor. At least believe him, if you do not believe me.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It is the constitutional right of largest single party to form a Government.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, I have no other evidence.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : It is for the CPI to propound a wrong thesis.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You will get a chance to speak, Mr. Chatterjee.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I leave it in your hands. You read the recorded statement owned by the Governor and Communist Marxist leader and see whether you do not come to the conclusion that Mr. Jyoti Basu is wanting to form a minority mini-front. If you do not come to that conclusion, I shall tender my resignation. (Interruptions.) Is Mr. Ghosh prepared for it? Mr. Jyoti Basu had never denied it. Mr. Jyoti Basu expected that there would be some defections; he expected some people would leave the Party. These things are mentioned in his statement made to the Governor certified by him.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh) : Did he also ask you to maintain law and order?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That you ask him. We are not discussing law and order. Whatever is past is past; let us ensure the future; let us not sit in judgment over the past too much so that we may lose the future. Today, Mr. Deputy Chairman, the question is how long the President's Rule will remain in Bengal, how to bring about the restoration of a responsible Government. Our answer is, try to forge unity among all the 14 parties and create conditions so that fellowship and comradeship can again be revived and restored in order to bring about that situation. That is my answer.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, only one more point about the Committee that you are going to form under this Bill. What is the mandate? The mandate should be the United Front's 32-point programme. Parlia-

ment should give a direction to this Committee that you are forming that the Committee should seek the implementation of the 32-point programme and defend with all its strength the economic, political and other democratic gains in accordance with the 32-point programme of the former United Front Ministry. Already *jotedars* are trying to regain the land in certain places, and you know they have got weapons.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Have you seen Mr. Sushil Dhara's statement in the papers to seize the land from the *kisans*?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My friend, Mr. Niren Ghosh, has asked me whether I have seen Mr. Sushil Dhara's statement. But after reading Mr. Promode Das Gupta's statement I have had little time to read Mr. Sushil Dhara's statement. Now I will read it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : That is conveniently bypassed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My friend, Mr. Niren Ghosh, says I conveniently bypassed it. If I bypass anything, certainly I shall not bypass it inconveniently. I shall bypass it conveniently. But the trouble is...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Because it is inconvenient it is conveniently bypassed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If I am to go by the statement that Mr. Sushil Dhara has said something perhaps, I am to say that you are saying much more and threatening everybody with "West Bengal will be in flame; there will be *lagatar*, *dharmaghat*, etc." as if from the top of the wall dictating to the whole of Bengal that something will follow. I read this. It is difficult for me to digest all that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : After March 17 it is very difficult for you to digest. I know that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal) : Mr. Niren Ghosh can do nothing but interrupt.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My friend, Mr. Niren Ghosh, will have his say. I assure him that I will not interrupt him. I read Mr. Sushil Dhara's statements also. I am a journalist also. It is my profession. Therefore I have to read Mr. Sushil Dhara's

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statements also. But the trouble is hegemonistic statements I read before. After all, they are supposed to be *hegemons* of Bengal.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You are a yellow journalist.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please wind up now, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : So let us not go into them. Now I want three sub-committees to be formed of the committee, one on workers' rights and trade union matters and the problems of the working class in order to ensure that the gains of the workers are maintained and that no attack is made against the working class. That sub-committee will be a watch-dog committee, as if it were a committee of the United Front in the matter of the working class in industries and the policy of the United Front becomes the policy of President's rule and is carried forward like that. I want another sub-committee of the advisory committee, of the parliamentary committee, to look after the work-charged and agricultural labourers, and it should ensure that the gains under the United Front in regard to land distribution, tenancy rights and other things, are fully preserved and protected and that nothing is done to allow the *jotedars* to return to their tyranny and oppression on them. In fact, the committee should continue on the lines of the United Front programme in protecting and safeguarding and advancing the interests of the toiling and other sections of the peasantry. The third committee I want on police. Police is an important thing and, as you know, under the United Front Government, generally the police policy in the United Front programme was one of helping civil liberties and democratic rights of the citizens and not allowing the police to be used as an instrument of suppression and oppression against the workers, employees, peasants and other sections of the toiling people. That should also be maintained. Therefore, three committees...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I want a clarification from your.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please address the Chair.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : When the United Front was functioning, my friend was insisting that there should be an advisory committee at the *thana* level. Have you now shed that proposal, or do you still stick to that proposal, advisory committee at each *thana* level ? I am just asking a clarification.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I know that Mr. Arun Prakash Chatterjee...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : With all humility.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I know that humility is alien to you. With all the humility which is alien to you I know that you are busy with law books and hardly you have any time to read things.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You must conclude now, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You answer my question and give the clarification, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am answering. Will you kindly subscribe to the 'New Age' and read the front page article written by the chairman of the editorial board ? (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order, please. No interruptions.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now these committees...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Is it inconvenient for you to answer this question of mine ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Nothing is inconvenient.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Why don't you say that then ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Because I want to read something more than your wretched law books.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I know about your journalism. We know that your journalism is quite different from what you say in this House and what you say in the papers, but what I am saying is this that this is a very important problem for us and we ask you whether you stick to the proposal of advisory committees at each *thana* level.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order, please.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My friend, Mr. Arun Prakash Chatterjee, should realise that one reason why I did not become a practising lawyer is that I have to speak on payment and say different things for different people on different occasions.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You speak so irrelevantly about facts that it is good that you are out of court.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Chatterjee, you are interrupting him very often and it is not good. Let him continue his speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am finishing, Mr. Deputy Chairman, but Mr. A. P. Chatterjee is making personal allegations against me.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : No, no, the allegations which you made...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Are you not a lawyer ? I am...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You should conclude your speech now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : All right, Sir. I know that he has been interrupting me because, otherwise, Mr. Promode Das Gupta will be angry. (Interruptions) You need not go on interrupting me. Promode Babu will not be angry. You have served him well.

Now, Sir, this is the position. These committees should be there. One or two suggestions I would like to make. You kindly consider the formation of these three committees. Remember that Bengal will never allow any encroachment upon or attack against the economic, political and democratic gains of the masses under the United Front. Over that, whatever may be our differences, we shall again stand united in resisting any *jotedar's* onslaught or any monopolist's onslaught or any onslaught by the police. I think this unity is a great unifying force for many of the things that we say.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar) : A pious wish.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, my friend interrupted me; otherwise I would have finished by now. Since the administration of West Bengal has

come to the Centre I am making one or two minor suggestions. West Bengal has got a large number of political sufferers, who suffered as detenus under the British for a long time. Many of them are in extreme distress and I do receive letters and it is painful to read them.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : What have you done ? Your party was a constituent in the former United Front Government.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please do not interrupt him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Well, we should have done it, and if we have not done it, blame us, but now that we are here, I can speak to you and to this Government that they should be given some honourable relief, even financial assistance. There is the 'Biplabi Niketan', which has been set up in Calcutta, and where some of the distressed political sufferers live. The West Bengal Government has donated some funds and others have also done so. I think now the Central Government should take interest in Biplabi Niketan and develop it into a major institution, where the patriots of the British days who are in distress, suffering and sorrow, can be looked after on behalf of the nation by the Government. I think a list should be drawn up of all these people. Care should be taken of them so that they are not in difficulty.

With regard to other problems I do not wish to go into them because the matters can be discussed in that committee. I leave some things to be said by my friend, Mr. Kalyan Roy. I am very sorry that, whenever I make the suggestion for restoring unity, my Marxist friends become angry with me and start interrupting me. I tell you here that there shall not be a Government in West Bengal singly handed by the Marxist Communist Party or, for that matter, any party. There shall only be a United Front Government, because the West Bengal people have rejected other arrangements and they have accepted the arrangement of the United Front. And if the United Front is broken today, it is because of the hegemonistic, adventurist and vindictive policy of a certain party, and I hope it is time for this party to realise the mistake and learn at least from the mistake. Finally before I sit down,

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Mr. Deputy Chairman, I cannot but remember what Lenin said. Lenin said that the seriousness of a political party...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You quote Lenin ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You don't know anything about Lenin. Don't talk about him. I do not like this frivolity at this time. I say Lenin said that the seriousness of a political party is tested by its attitude towards its mistakes and how readily and quickly it corrects those mistakes. If these prophetic words and wise counsel of the greatest revolutionary leader of all times Vladimir Ilyich Lenin would be heeded by the Marxist Party and if it is a serious and responsible party claiming to be Marxist and Leninist it should prove its earnest by admitting its mistakes and correcting them and make it possible for others to return to the United Front and ensure that the United Front is restored as before. Once we do it we get back to the same Assembly and restore on the new basis the same United Front Government learning from past experience and keeping in view the perspective of the future.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the provisions of the Bill introduced by the hon. Minister. Sir, I come from the State of West Bengal. With rapt attention I heard the speech delivered by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and I was amused by the interruptions that were going on which were done by the CPM Members here. I was amused to hear that speech of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta speaking about unity. Sir, in the mid-term election the United Front came out with 218 seats, with absolute majority, and they formed the Government. There is nothing surprising in it because in a parliamentary democracy it is not that the Congress will always be ruling the people. Governments have to change and it has gone to the United Front. But it will be noticed that after the United Front came into power the CPM took the lion's share in the Cabinet. The Chief Minister who happened to be the leader of the Bangla Congress was a tool in the hands of the leaders of the CPM and their party. The CPM got the Home portfolio and naturally the Home Administration, the Police Administration,

whose control was in the hands of Mr. Jyoti Basu was fully utilised to cultivate and to increase the power of the CPM Party in the State. From the opposition side in the legislature we had declared responsive co-operation with the United Front Government but in spite of our co-operation they could not exist. Who was responsible for the downfall of the United Front Government ? It was the CPM and its satellites who were responsible for the downfall of the United Front Government. When the United Front Government came into power the police and the administration were not only neutralised but they were completely taken into the fold of the communists. Sir, may I ask and request the hon. Minister here, while they set up a Committee, while the President's rule is going on there, will there be a Committee to review the conduct of some of the officers, responsible officers in different districts and in the headquarters, who completely identified themselves with the party in power and that party in power was the CPM or the Marxist Communist Party ? There was a secret session at Ho Chi Minh Nagar of the CPM where there was a review made by Mr. Promod Das Gupta, General Secretary of the CPM as to how long, if there is President's rule, they can continue to make chaotic conditions in the State. First Jyoti Babu said that the killings etc. could continue for three days to which Mr. Promod Das Gupta said, we could continue to do that for seven days. So that was the assessment of their strength that killing, arson and chaotic conditions will prevail in the State for seven days. Sir, was there any resentment in the State after the promulgation of the President's rule ? No; absolutely none. Was there a single poster on the walls of the city against the President's rule ? No; none. Was there any procession taken out in the State with the banner of the CPM in protest against the President's rule ? No; they could not organise any. Sir, the people felt relief when the Proclamation of the President's rule came.

Now, I support the President's rule but the question of duration comes in. No political party will ever be afraid to face time may be fixed for the polling. Can any the electorate whenever and whichever time be fixed now when the CPM is still perpetuating the same chaotic condition in

the State? I will not refer to the case of Burdwan here because it has been discussed at length. Why do we talk of Burdwan alone? In the whole State of West Bengal, wherever the CPM has a unit, everywhere the same killing, the same arson, the same firing, the same molestation of women, went on and all these went on with the help of the party in power, with the direct instigation and help of the Home Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, with the direct instigation and help of Shri Promod Das Gupta and Mr. Hare Krishna Konar.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Sir, on a point of order. I did not want to interrupt the Lady Member because she is delivering her maiden speech here but the point is this. As far as this House is concerned, I think she is a fresher and therefore she does not know that as a matter of fact no reference should be made in a disparaging fashion to persons who are absent from this House and who cannot defend themselves.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have an experience of about 18 years in the legislature and I am not going to take lessons in politics from a fresher like Mr. Chatterjee, I know...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Sir, again on a point of order.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, no.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Why? Can I not raise a point of order?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You rose a few moments back saying that you were on a point of order but there was no point of order. You only want to interrupt the hon. Member. That is not proper.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Shri Bhupesh Gupta is beaten flat.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I am on this point of order as to whether these remarks can be made against Mr. Jyoti Basu and Mr. Promod Das Gupta that they were inciting certain crimes which she is alleging on the floor of the House. Is it not a point of order? Can you say it is not a point of order? If the proceedings

in the House go on like this can I not get up and point it out?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have made your point.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I ask you whether disparaging remarks against Mr. Jyoti Basu and Mr. Promod Das Gupta can be made saying that they were inciting certain crimes. You look into the record and see what she has said just now. She has made disparaging remarks.

(Interruptions)

SHRI ANANT PRASAD SHARMA (Bihar) : She is only telling the House...

.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order. Please sit down. She is only describing the situation in West Bengal.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You look at the records. Very well, we also know how to behave.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, that fresher in politics does not know that a person holding the post of Ministership is a person who will be referred to and who may be referred to. He is holding a post under the constitution and he is not a private person here.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Reference and slander are quite different.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You may refer but no criticism should be made and no disparaging remarks should be made against any person who is not in the House to defend himself.

SHRI ANANT PRASAD SHARMA : She is only narrating the situation there.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That is what I have said.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Though I submit to your ruling, may I point out that an individual who holds the post of Minister, who is a public servant of the people, who is a person holding a portfolio, will be discussed anywhere in the world.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, Madam. So far as I understand, that is not the correct position. Until and unless a person gets an opportunity to defend himself in this House, no disparaging re-

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marks should be made. Just listen, no disparaging remarks should be made against any individual who is not in this House and who cannot defend himself. Order, order, please.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Why do you say 'order, order'? I ask you to expunge those words.

HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Why do you say 'order, order'? Am I out of order?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I am not expunging. Now, please sit down.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You cannot call her to order.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : I say that with full responsibility....

SHRI ANANT PRASAD SHARMA : It is the position in West Bengal.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : May I repeat it with full responsibility? Please consult the papers, please consult all the documents that you have at your disposal. Please summon Shri Jyoti Basu or Shri Harekrushna Konar, as ex-Ministers of the outgoing Government....

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : We shall see that you will be decimated to zero in the next election.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : It is a threat which has no validity at all. If I am annihilated, my party will be there.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I know how you got your election.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : If I am annihilated, my party will be there. My party will continue to help you in that State. Before I was interrupted...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order, please.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : The lady talks too much of a thing which is not sense. It is nonsense. I do not know whether nonsense is parliamentary or not.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Chatterjee, I have already said that you are interrupting too much. You are supposed to speak today. Just listen to me. I am on my legs. No interruptions now. You will get a chance to speak and you can express your views on this issue. Do not interrupt the hon. Member.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : If charges are made...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No interruptions.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Thank you very much. Before I was interrupted, I was speaking about the instigations and provocations. In their public speeches they incited the people. The result was the Burdwan killing, the Sripur killing. Mr. Kalyan Roy will bear testimony to this fact, because he was an eyewitness to the Burdwan incident...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Have you gone there? You are an ex-Minister...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order please. She is not yielding. Please sit down.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I speak with authority because I was there. Just after the killing was over I was there and before I came here I went there, while Mr. Ghosh came here to sit in the air-conditioned room. (*Time bell rings*). Give me some more time please, two or three minutes more. We want to see that President's rule continues for a time till absolute normalcy comes back to our State. Then and then alone a popular government can be installed. Unless and until absolute normalcy comes back, there will be no question of forming a government there. I do not mind whether Mr. Jyoti Basu again forms the Government or whether Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's satellites form the Government, but Mr. Niren Ghosh can be quite sure that without the support of any other party they will never be able to form the Government in West Bengal.

When the President's rule is going on in the State I would like to see that the Farakka barrage is completed as early as possible. When the UF Government was

there, the CPM formed a union of the Farakka barrage employees and they are still continuing with their go-slow programme. Meanwhile, Pakistan is getting a handle and is again raising different issues and objections with regard to the Farakka barrage. When the President's rule is going on, we would like to see that a Parliamentary Committee is set up to look after the day-to-day affairs of West Bengal, instead of relying on the officers, some of them at least, who have forfeited the confidence of the people. Let me cite one example only. You have known about Shri Tarun Dutta. I am not going to mention the name of the SDO who was himself present when the Burdwan Sain family was attacked. The SDO was standing there. The other family members came to him for their rescue. They were refused. The Additional SP asked for the firing order. This was refused by the SDO. Then, Mr. Malai went from one room to another and he wanted the man to be arrested, but the SDO handed him over to the CPM people who speared him to death. We do not have confidence in these officers. We do not want ICS and IPS officers who have completely identified themselves. These officers should not only be removed from my State, but some action, penal action should be taken. In a democratic country it is the officers who should maintain neutrality. In a parliamentary democracy when the Government may change hands off and on, it is the neutrality of the officers which will ensure the safety and protection of the people. So, they have forfeited their right to stay there and as officers they should be recalled immediately and some penal measures should be taken against these officers.

I think, Sir, you have gone through the regular speech of the Governor. Any Governor, who is the custodian of the life and property of the people, should maintain strict neutrality and should not be partisan. This is my honest submission. You know the cases of arson, the cases of molestation of women, you know the cases of persons who were murdered and butchered...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : That is what you have done in twenty years. (*Interruptions*). You cannot shout me down, please realise.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order, order.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : If you shout, I am not going to yield. In your regime for twenty years you have done this. I accuse you.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : I am not a Minister to be cross-examined. Therefore, I am coming back to the point raised by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta there. He said that the Advisory Committee will have some charges, will see that the 32-point programme of the UF Government is carried out to a success.

Sir, it is not a United Front Committee that is going to be formed. It is a Committee consisting of Members of both Houses of Parliament. Whatever is necessary for the safety, protection, development and welfare of the State will be looked into by this Committee, not only the 32 points that have been enumerated by the United Front.

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said that this Committee should see that the gains of the peasantry, gains of the people, gains of the labourers, are maintained. What are the gains, may I know? He spoke about jotedars. We are as well against the jotedars as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : We have known how you have protected them. Yours was a jotedars' Ministry. You have protected them.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARTHY (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, on a point of order. The hon. lady Member is making her first speech, maiden speech in this House. It is the convention of this House not to interrupt any Member who is making a maiden speech. May I know under what authority he is interrupting?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : He is talking like an old maid.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Whoever be the Member, whether he or she is in possession of the House, the other Members should show respect.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : He was speaking about the gains. Only recently, that is the day before yesterday at Baraset, The CPI Peasants Committee, the Kisans' Front, passed a resolution fixing the ceiling at 15 acres. When they have fixed that ceiling at 15 acres, I think they do not think that a person with 15 acres is a jotedar. I can cite an example. A person having one acre of land was forcibly taken out, was denied that land by the CPI and CPM members, both . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I challenge that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I think the hon. Member is strong enough to defend herself.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : After this I will not make a single interruption, since Chair is requesting.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta spoke about the gains that were made by the peasants and labourers. In my State wherever there is a unit of the CPM, Mr. Hare Krishna Konar—I mention the name with full responsibility because he happened to be the Land Revenue Minister then—he said : “I am not going to take any action; you go ahead; there, is land, you go and occupy it : I will ask the police not to go”. That is how these gains were made, not by legislation. Why are they so much afraid of legislation ? They can legislate. They had 218 members at their disposal. With absolute majority they came to power. Instead of going through legislation, what they did was to forcibly occupy the land of the small peasantry. Persons occupying 2 or 3 acres of land, their lands were also taken away. Paddy was harvested by the CPM people forcibly. Will these gains be protected by the Committee that will be formed here ? The United Front Government did not improve an inch on the legislation which we did during our regime in the Government. They have taken recourse to the same legislation. What were the gains they got ? That was the gain by looting, by arson, by killing. Is this Committee going to protect that killing ? Is this Committee

going to protect those arson cases ? I want to know that. We are not against taking land from those people who have enough. If 15 acres is the ceiling according to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and his party, why were the people denied that facility in my State ? I can cite hundreds of examples, thousands of examples. In the district of Midnapore where there is a District Committee run by the CPI—not the CPM, they are worse—they also forcibly took away the land from persons who have only one acre of land, that is three bighas in my State. In this case I am confident that the Committee, when it will be formed of Members of both the Houses, will go through the cases of these gains and restore the land that was taken away from the poorest of the poor.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, before I finish my speech, let me congratulate the Central Government for taking bold steps in promulgating President's rule. Many of the Members have asked why the Government of India did not act earlier. Sir, I come from a State where the previous Ministry of the United Front was dismissed. Inter-Party squabbles took place inside the United Front. Things were repeated this time also. Shri Ajoy Mukherjee, while he was the Chief Minister, said, “the Government which I run is a barbarous Government, is an uncivilised Government”. He was hauled up by the CPM. They said, “here is a Chief Minister who said it is a barbarous Government”. So, they boycotted Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee, and *vice versa*. Shri Ajoy Mukherjee also boycotted them. Then he went on fasting. The third step was he asked three of his Bangla Congress Ministers to resign. Forthwith all of them resigned. The result was a total collapse of the United Front. Is Congress responsible for this ? Similarly in the previous case also the Congress was not responsible for toppling the Government. It was the inter-party squabbles which were responsible for toppling the Government. They made Congress the scapegoat. Again they expected to make the Centre the scapegoat, and they wanted to butcher the Congress workers in the fields and factories. So, I congratulate the Central Government for taking the bold step. I only submit let the President's rule be a rule which will be for the welfare of the State. Let the Governor maintain complete neutrality.

Let the officers who were responsible for inter-party partnership in the Government be withdrawn.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : (Orissa) : I want to know her intention about the Governor.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Let her finish.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : After she finishes she cannot reply. I want to know what she feels about the Governor. Unless you listen to Members, how can you decide? You must listen to Members as to what is being enquired about. I do not understand this.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Let not cases like Burdwan—why should I mention Burdwan only? All over the State things went on like this. Let normalcy come back. Thank you.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I think after her speech she would be made a Minister, and she is making that speech so that her claim is recognised.

4 P.M.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, may I enquire as to what are her impressions about the present Governor? Does she feel that the present Governor can deliver the goods if he is allowed to continue as Governor of West Bengal?

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

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : We want to know from Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee about it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please sit down. I have allowed Mr. Lokanath Misra to put her a question. I cannot force Mrs. Mukherjee to reply.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : In my speech I said that the Governor should maintain strict neutrality. I think I have given them the reply.

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar) : Sir, after we have approved the Proclamation and the Budget for West Bengal, it is a natural corollary that we should delegate some powers to the President and also that a Consultative Committee should be formed.

I have heard the speech of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta who gave out a suggestion that the Consultative Committee should be composed of representatives of the 14 parties that ruled West Bengal for several months and that they should be represented in proportion to their strength in the West Bengal Assembly. Actually, they had 218 members in a House of 280 and in that proportion he wants it, that the representation of the leftist group there should be in the ratio of 1 : 4 or 1 : 5. If his proposal is conceded, then what will be the fate? History will repeat itself. Actually, they were given a free hand in ruling West Bengal. But what was the outcome? They failed to govern; they quarrelled among themselves so much, not after working for a pretty long time, but after working only for a few months. Within a few months, they began fighting among themselves and you have got the demonstration of the way in which they fight among themselves here also. Actually, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta was not being allowed by the Marxist Communists' representatives here to speak, and in the same way, the Consultative Committee also will turn into a hoax and will have only fighting taking place. Not only on ideological basis, but actually they are fighting with each other as in a common bazaar, in a fish market. And in this way, that will not have any effect. In my opinion, those people who could not govern the State of West Bengal, their representatives should not be allowed in it at all. If you want to have a healthy government there, it should be without any consideration of these parties, it should be composed of certain sober elements. The President or the Governor or the Advisers, whoever they are, they can get healthy advice from sober persons who form the Consultative Committee.

They talk of the 32-point programme. It was only a big bluff. Both during 1967 and 1969, both the times, they talked of the 32-point programme. Except the abolition of the West Bengal Council, no other item of programme was implemented. That also was only for propaganda. They did not mean business. Some time back, their leader, Mr. Randive, was reported as speaking that they were not there in the Government to remove the small grievances of the people, but only to create disorder and chaos. Therefore, it is only a pro-

[Shri P. C. Mitra]

paganda and a bluff. Any party in that United Front Government which talked of the 32-point programme or the 35-point programme was bluffing; that was not meant for business, but only to deceive the people for some time. And ultimately the people were deceived. The result is, not once, but twice—in 1967 and in 1969—West Bengal came under the President's rule. Now, they want the Central Government to deal with the question of rehabilitation of political sufferers. They did not even solve the small problem of political sufferers. He says now that it has come under the control of the Central Government, they should look after those who are political sufferers. The hon. lady Member just now said that during the eleven-to-twelve month rule, the only thing that they had done was that some poor man's land was taken away, that some poor people were murdered, some poor peoples' property was looted, and nothing more. Did they shoot any big industrialist or did they kill any big capitalist during these eleven months' rule or during their former rule? No. Only the poor kisans' boys or young men or students or the poor Congress workers were killed. No jotedar or leader of any party was killed, but hundreds of poor labourers or kisans were killed.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Is it his suggestion that we should go on killing leaders ?

SHRI P. C. MITRA : Actually, they got money from those people, from the jotedars. I actually heard the speech of Mr. Sushil Dhara in Calcutta in Curzon Park and he named the jotedars on whose house-tops the red flag was flying. If you are a Marxist, you are free. Of course, they all had to pay a good sum of money to the Marxist Party. Of course, the Marxist Party members were responsible for most of the killings and arsons. But we cannot wholly absolve the other parties also, including the CPI. You should know that they are not any better, and are not any less responsible, than the Marxist Communist Party. I have got admissions from their mouth-piece in Bengali. They say "In Bengal and Bihar, our people have looted more land than the other parties, that the Marxists made only propaganda but actually and practically we do it; we have looted more land and Government

lands also; our workers have occupied such and such lands in Bihar, the previous Bihar Government was blaming the Naxalites, but actually we were doing it." The CPI claims that the Naxalites are not the persons in Bihar who are doing it but that they themselves are doing it, that the Bihar Government is blaming the Naxalites. So, in my view, to believe CPI people as good people will be committing a blunder. There is not much difference between the CPI and the Marxists and the Naxalites. The CPI of today is the CPM of tomorrow and the CPM of tomorrow is the Naxalites of the day after. These are the people who should be curbed. Therefore, if you want to get rid of the malady in West Bengal, then we should be careful of all these men.

Sir, they claim that they have snatched away lands from jotedars. I had also been to West Bengal and there I made many enquiries. I could hardly find a person with more than 30 acres of land whose lands had been snatched away by the C.P.-(M). Of course, they had to give enough money to the Marxist Party so that their land could remain secure. But they say that the lands of the small people should not be taken away. But in practice they dispossessed poor people of their lands by force. Sir, I think if the surplus lands of some jotedars have been taken away by force, they should be taken over by the Government and distributed equitably among the poorer sections of non-agriculturalist people.

SHRI SUNDAR MANI PATEL (Orissa) : Would you say that they were collecting money from the landlords?

SHRI P. C. MITRA : Yes, they collected money from the jotedars and snatched away lands from the poor.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Will the hon'ble Member give one jotedar's name from whom money was taken? Sir, either he gives the name or he withdraws it. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please sit down, Mr. Niren Ghosh. I will give your party a chance to explain and meet all the points. Why are you so restless? Let them speak. You will have your chance.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : Only I would submit to the Government that if really any surplus land of jotedars has been taken possession of and given to poor people, the Government should not dispossess them of that land; they should try to distribute equitably among the poor agriculturist people. But plots of land with recalcitrant elements who got them by the strength of lathis and spears should be taken back and given to poor kisans whose lands have been snatched away. When the rule of law will be restored then only the people will bless the President's Rule.

Sir, I support the Bill moved by the Home Minister.

(Shri Niren Ghosh stood up in his seat).
(Interruption by Shri S. N. Mitra)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Niren Ghosh, you are not speaking. Mr. Chatterjee from your party is speaking. You better tell him what you want to say. Shri Mandal.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : On a point of direction, Sir. Mr. Misra has raised a very pertinent question. While Mr. Niren Ghosh speaks it is difficult to know whether he is standing or sitting. I suggest that he should be allowed to stand up on the bench and speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : It is irrelevant. Mr. Mandal.

श्री बी० एन० मंडल (बिहार) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, सबसे पहले मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। अभी जब लेडी मेम्बर बोल रही थीं उस समय कहा गया कि ज्योति बसु की चर्चा नहीं होनी चाहिए, उनका क्रिटिसिज्म नहीं होना चाहिए, इस तरह का आब्जेक्शन इन लोगों की तरफ से आया, मैं समझता हूँ कि इनका यह स्टैंड गलत है। आज बंगाल में प्रेसिडेंट रूल हो रहा है। एज मिनिस्टर ज्योति बसु की जो एक्टिविटीज़ रही और उनके कारण जो वाइलेंस बढ़ी उस कारण यह प्रेसिडेंट रूल हुआ है। इसलिए उनका कन्डक्ट बहुत रिलेवेन्ट है और उनके बारे में जिसकी जो भी ओपीनियन है वह पूरी तरह आनी चाहिए।

प्रेसिडेंट रूल होना कोई अच्छी बात है मैं ऐसा नहीं मानता, लेकिन संविधान में प्रेसिडेंट रूल की व्यवस्था इसलिए की गई है क्योंकि जनतंत्र के चलने में कभी-कभी खतरा उपस्थित हो जाता है और उसके मुकाबले के लिए प्रेसिडेंट रूल की व्यवस्था की गई है। प्रेसिडेंट रूल कायम होने के लिए जो भी जस्टीफिकेशन चाहिए वह मौजूद था, इसलिए प्रेसिडेंट रूल ठीक है।

आज पार्लियामेंट को कहा जाता है कि पार्लियामेंट अपने अधिकार को वहां के गवर्नर या एडवाइजरी कमेटी को दे दे। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह गलत है। एडवाइजरी कमेटी से वहां का काम चलने वाला नहीं है। अगर एडवाइजरी कमेटी में यही सी० पी० एम० के मेम्बर रहेंगे, वही गवर्नर रहेंगे, वही आफिसर रहेंगे जिनकी वजह से यह सब गड़बड़ी हुई है तो मैं नहीं समझता कि वहां कुछ सुधार होगा। आज इस बात की जरूरत है कि जो डेमोक्रेसी हिन्दुस्तान की डेमोक्रेसी को सी० पी० एम० के जरिये बंगाल में हुआ है उसे दुरुस्त किया जाय। वैसा करने के सिलसिले में क्या करना चाहिए? ऐसे लोगों को फिर से शासन करने का मौका नहीं देना चाहिए, वैसी एक्टिविटीज़ करने का मौका नहीं देना चाहिए जिनकी वजह से प्रेसिडेंट रूल कायम हुआ है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि चूंकि पार्लियामेंट को अधिकार है वहां के शासन के लिए कानून बनाने का, इस लिए एक्सेपशनल सर्कमस्टेंसेज में पार्लियामेंट को बेगी बैठना पड़े तो बैठ कर बंगाल की स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए जो भी हुक्म देने की आवश्यकता हो, जो भी कानून बनाने की आवश्यकता हो वह पार्लियामेंट खुद करे, इसके लिए वहां के गवर्नर या दूसरे लोगों पर निर्भर करने की जरूरत नहीं है। मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि वहां के वे आई० सी० एस० आफिसर्स, ब्यूरोक्रेसी के वे आदमी जो वर्तमान स्थिति के लिए

[श्री बी० एन० मंडल]

रेस्पॉसिबिल हैं उन सब लोगों को हटाया जाए । एक इन्क्वायरी इंस्टीट्यूट होनी चाहिए कि जो सी० पी० एम० की रेजीम रही है उसके दौरान किसका क्या कन्डक्ट रहा है, ज्योति बसु का क्या कन्डक्ट रहा है, गवर्नर का क्या कन्डक्ट रहा है, आफिसर्स का क्या कन्डक्ट रहा है और जो पब्लिक के इम्पारटेंट आदमी हैं उनका क्या कन्डक्ट रहा है । इन सारे कन्डक्टों की इन्क्वायरी होनी चाहिए और उसके बाद अगर यह पाया जाय कि ज्योति बसु ने गवर्नमेंट में आकर अपनी पोजीशन को एब्ज्यूज किया है, हिन्दुस्तान की डेमोक्रेसी को स्टेब किया है तो निश्चित तरीके से उन पर केस चलना चाहिए और उन्हें जेल की हवा खिलानी चाहिए । इसी तरह से उन आफिसर्स को डिस्चार्ज करना चाहिए । आज यह सब काम होने की जरूरत है । जो प्रेसिडेंट रूल की परिस्थिति है उसमें इन सारी बातों को होना चाहिए ।

मैंने आज से पहले भी बंगाल पर बोलने के सिलसिले में यह कहा था कि आज हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति में ऐसी परिस्थिति आ गई है कि हिन्दुस्तान में सबैधानिक शासन चलाने के लिए इस बात की जरूरत आ गई है कि यह निर्णय लिया जाय कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो पोलिटिकल पार्टीज हैं उनमें किस पोलिटिकल पार्टी को माना जाय और जो पार्टी जनतंत्र के दायरे में रह कर काम नहीं करना चाहती है उसको राजनीति से अलग किया जाय । केन्द्रीय सरकार का जो होम डिपार्टमेंट है उसका काम है कि इन सारी बातों पर विचार करे । यह सब करने का यही मौका है और इस मौके से लाभ उठाएं । हमारी पार्टी की ओर से यह भी बोलने वाले हैं, इसलिए मेरा बेशी टाइम इनके लिए रहेगा ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : May I request Members to co-operate with me because we want to have the statement by the Home Minister at 5 o'clock ? Before that I want to finish it, if possible. Mr. Mukherjee.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA) : It should be finished before the Home Minister's statement.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir at the outset I must congratulate Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee for the very fine speech that she delivered. It is not that I agree with all her points. But she gave some revealing pictures of West Bengal as it was under the United Front regime mostly dominated by the CPI(M). It was said that the Bangla Congress precipitated the crisis as a result of which the United Front Government failed in West Bengal. It is true, Sir, we precipitated the crisis. We passed a resolution and we asked our Ministers to quit the Government, as a result of which the United Front Government failed in West Bengal. But one has to remember the circumstances in which we had to pass such a resolution, the circumstances in which we had to quit the Government, the circumstances in which we had to leave the United Front. It is known to all that the Bangla Congress had a positive contribution in the setting up of the United Front in West Bengal. The Bangla Congress had a positive contribution in making the progressive forces united in West Bengal and it took the responsibility of forming a Government there. But when it was found that the programmes of the United Front were not going to be implemented and the Chauvinistic, aggressive and high-handed attitude of the CPI(M) was practically spoiling everything—in the name of land reform, they have snatched away lands from the poor peasants; in the name of labour struggle, they are setting one section of labourers against another, and in the name of class struggle, they are setting one section of the peasantry against another—naturally the Bangla Congress, as a political party with a completely different outlook and approach, could not remain a mute wit-

ness or a silent spectator of those things. We launched a protest. We tried our best to solve the problems.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : After remaining an abetter for a long time,

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MOKHERJEE : We waited for six months, from October to March. We passed the resolution in the first week of October and we pointed out that all was not well in West Bengal and things were not going properly. We criticised some of the actions of the Marxist Ministers, particularly in the field of education, land revenue, Home administration and labour. Instead of rectifying these, the Marxist Communist Party and its leaders insisted on the withdrawal of that resolution. Not only that, they began to vilify our party leaders and the Bangla Congress as a party of jotedars, as a party of profiteers, as a party protecting vested interests. They forgot that without the leadership of the so-called protectors of vested interests, they could not form the Ministry. Without the leadership of this man whom they are accusing to-day as the protector of vested interests, without the help of that man they could not come to power in West Bengal. They could not come to power in spite of their best efforts in 1957 and 1962. They failed to get absolute majority in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly; they failed to come to power. They forgot all these things. They thought that Bangla Congress use had come to an end and perhaps Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee was no more a factor in unifying the leftist forces in West Bengal. They wanted to throw us to the winds. They have been wrong in their calculations. This has been clearly established.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I need not explain in detail how the Bangla Congress came out of the United Front because on previous occasions it was clearly pointed out that it was not the Bangla Congress which precipitated the crisis, but rather it was forced to precipitate the crisis, it was forced to come out of the Government, because of the attitude and policies pursued by the CPI (M). Practically the entire administration was paralysed. The Chief Minister's order were not carried out. Portfolios of different Ministries were handed over without the consent of the Chief Minister. And every effort was made, a persistent and continuous effort was made,

by the Marxist Ministers to subvert the Constitution, taking advantage of the Constitution and in the garb of protecting democracy. I need not explain all those things. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have to make one submission. As President's rule is going on there, we are going to have a Consultative Committee comprising Members of Parliament of both Houses. I entirely agree with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta that this Committee should be a reflection of the West Bengal Assembly. I entirely agree with him because this Committee will advise the President regarding legislations of West Bengal. Naturally, if it is a reflection of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, it would be constitutionally proper and politically sound.

Another thing that I would like to point out is that we have an apprehension that if there is no responsible Government to conduct the bureaucrats or officers, they will misuse their office. So I would like to suggest to the Home Minister, if it is possible on their part, to form district committees, comprising the representatives of all the political parties, to advise the district officers. In that case, it would be possible for the committee to advise the district officers as to how the administration should go on. It has been stated by the Home Minister in his introductory speech that they will accept the pro-people policies of the United Front. It is not correct to say that all that the United Front did in West Bengal was wrong. It is not correct to say that lands were taken away only from the poor peasants. It is also a fact that lands were taken away from those big jotedars who, taking advantage of the law, had grabbed the land and illegally transferred it and had been enjoying the fruits of those lands for a long time, since the passing of an Act by the Congress Ministry in West Bengal in 1953. It is also a fact that the United Front brought emancipation to the downtrodden people of West Bengal. It is also a fact that the trade unions and labour unions got patronage and support from the policies pursued by the United Front. Those things should not be spoiled under the President's rule. In order to preserve those things, in order to preserve the very spirit of the United Front, I would request the Home Minister to have a committee consisting of the representatives of the different political parties, including the Congress, so that the pro-

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee]
people policies of the United Front can be preserved in West Bengal. With these words, I conclude. Thank you.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are really thankful to Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee for throwing a lot of light into the dark history of West Bengal during the regime of the United Front.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Mr. Misra is drawing inspiration from her.

SHRI LOKANATH MISHRA : It is not inspiration...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You address me. We have no time.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : I thought Mr. Niren Ghosh would have been more truthful in his statements about the period during which they had the Ministry in West Bengal. (Interruptions) It is between them as to who speaks the truth and who does not. For me, a different point of view has been given by Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee and some light thrown. Therefore, I would take it as the truth till it is proved otherwise by Mr. Niren Ghosh or one of his colleagues. Now, a committee is going to look into the affairs of Bengal. I do not know how far we would be able to do it effectively because of the composition, pattern and complexion of the committee. As stated by Mr. Mitra, it would consist probably of the CPM in maximum number. Then comes CPI and then from other parties, we shall be having one or two. But whatever it is, I hope the constituents in the Consultative Committee on West Bengal would be in a position to assert themselves and carry on the path of truth.

My opinion is, Mr. Dhawan is one of the most undesirable Governor that we ever had. That he was acceptable to the CPM as Governor is ample justification to throw him out now. He was the only acceptable person for the CPM. I do not want to say about the CPI because they are a little fair, they have a little fair mind regarding these things. They are more subtle. But they are equally bad. Not that they are any better. They are equally bad. But they have a subtler method. The method of the CPM is extremely crude. (Interruption) The CPM is not refined at all. The CPI is a little refined.

SHRI P. C. MITRA : More deceptive.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : They are more deceptive. You may see that the way Mr. Bhupesh Gupta functions here, he seems to be cent per cent in the opposition; but he is not. That is how he functions. Now, coming back to West Bengal, I would say that Mr. Dhawan should be replaced by a more impartial Governor, a more just Governor, in whom the people of West Bengal can repose confidence. This gentleman has completely forfeited the confidence of the people of West Bengal.

And my statement is probably reinforced by what Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee said when I intervened to ask her as to her impressions about the Governor.

Now, the last word, Sir. There is some information that during the period that the United Front was in office...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Where did you get your watch from?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No interruption please.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, he feels that whatever I wear is glittering. For his information I may tell him that this is a watch manufactured by our public sector undertakings, the HMT, and it costs Rs. 120/- while the watch that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is wearing is a Russian make and was imported from Russia..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Then, Sir, my friend is ignorant of everything. This is also a HMT watch.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Then he has got more than one watch...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No, no. Let us not get into a controversy over your watches, Mr. Misra.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : As I was saying, I read in the newspapers and I heard from very-very reliable sources that during the regime of the United Front one of the CP(M) leaders—I do not want to name him—had certain private negotiations with one Mr. Bhasani, an old leader of the Awami Muslim League of East Bengal. Now, they would play up the sentiments of

the Bengali people as a whole and plead with them that both East Bengal and West Bengal should be...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : For his information I say that this is an absolute slander. Let him prove it without indulging in slanders.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Your saying so does not amount to anything because today they deny everything that has happened in Bengal. They have the courage to deny the murders and looting that took place there. They can deny anything and they are denying it. I would like the Home Minister to go into this and see whether Mr. Bhasani and one of the top leaders of the CP (M) had entered into a surreptitious, clandestine agreement that both East Bengal and West Bengal...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Sir, either he should withdraw it or he should prove it. . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Niren Ghosh, please do not interrupt him.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, let him say whatever he wants when he gets his chance. Now, I would like the Government to enquire whether they had entered into a clandestine agreement that both in their respective areas would play up the Bengali sentiment and try to bring together, both East Bengal and West Bengal, and then claim for itself a unit and they might owe allegiance to China or Russia or whatever country, I do not know. But ultimately this is what they are trying for. I would like that during the President's rule, the Home Ministry should go into it, and let us know the position...

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY (West Bengal) : This information is supplied by the CIA.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : If the Home Minister can categorically deny it, I would definitely believe that. But no amount of denial from the people who owe their allegiance to foreigners can convince me. I can take them for granted.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Always he gets his clue from the United States Embassy here.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : As far as Mr. Niren Ghosh's information is concerned, I have no reason to believe that it is genuine.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am grateful to you for allowing me to participate in this discussion. First of all, I would like to congratulate the Communist Party (Marxist) because what I feel is that is one party which does what it preaches. It preaches violence and it practises violence. You see the history of the developments after the United Front came to power after the mid-term elections. What happened? What did the Marxists fight for?

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal) : They did the same thing. They preached violence while they practise class collaboration.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : What did they do? They call themselves Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). I do not know what Marx must be thinking of these people in his grave. After getting into power they were fighting in the United Front to get the Home portfolio. They were not very much concerned in any way with the well-being of the people, with the economics, with the financial matters, with planning and development. No, They were not fighting for the Finance portfolio. They were not fighting for other portfolios. They were only fighting that Home should be given to them; the *danda* should be given to them. I would say they are very honest people in the sense that they gave a forewarning...

(*Interruption by Shri Niren Ghosh*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No interruption, Mr. Ghosh. Mr. Krishan Kant, you continue.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : They gave a foreboding that they wanted the *danda*. And they used the *danda* to the maximum extent possible and that is what they gave a forewarning of. During the whole period that they were in office, they had been using the *danda* in every sphere. They had been trying to use the police, the administration, to suppress everybody only because they felt, let the finances go anywhere, let the development go anywhere. But first we must demoralise the adminis-

[Shri Krishan Kant]

tration demoralise the people. And what were the departments they got for themselves? They got the Department of Land Revenue, the Department of Education, the Department of Home, etc. through which they could use their full force, so that they could play with full strength. And that is how for the first time the word 'Naxalites' has come into the dictionary. They have fully utilised their powers to enhance their strength and now they have been trying to monopolise to themselves. If you see the history of their functioning from the first day of their existence in office, you will see how they have been trying. They did not allow the Chief Minister to function. Even when the Chief Minister was surrounded by a crowd and the Chief Minister gave orders to the police that the crowd should be dispersed, the police did not care. When an attack was made on the Chief Minister, Mr. Ajoy Mukherji, the police was just standing there and no action was taken. Mr. Konar and Mr. Pramode Das Gupta.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Mr. Krishan Kant, will you clarify why your party incited the police and made them enter the Legislative Assembly to demand the head of Mr. Jyoti Basu? Your party?

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Mr. Vice-Chairman,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No, no, Mr. Krishan Kant, you need not give any answer. You continue your speech.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Mr. Niren Ghosh, what steps did you take to prevent them? How do you know that they were incited? Why did you allow them to get inside? There must be some collusion...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Now, please finish, Mr. Krishan Kant. Finish your speech. Mr. Niren Ghosh, please do not interrupt him.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Mr. Vice-Chairman, you see what happened there. There are fourteen parties, fourteen interests, and they all looked like the picture of parallelogram of contradictory forces... (Repeated interruptions by Shri

Ghosh) My friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, and others who had worked with them should have known the position better. Then, what about land reforms? They wanted land for the tiller. They wanted to secure tenancy rights and all those things. They wanted to get all that property. But what happened? There was no unified approach to solve any problem. All the parties were trying to do things in their own way. They were approaching the problems in different ways. There was no coordinated, fixed, approach to the problem of land reforms. Everything was going on in chaos and crises. So, Sir, I would like to ask the Government of India to investigate into the increase in the finances of the CPI(M). You know the finances of the CP(M) have increased so much. They have not increased by mopping up the wage increase of the tea garden workers, jute workers, tramway workers, looted crops. The looted money and crops have swelled their finances. They have not come out from the tillers of their sweet will. Government should enquire, therefore, I request, about the finances of C.P.(M.).

(Interruptions by Shri Niren Ghosh)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): All right, Mr. Krishan Kant, you please finish now. (Continued interruptions by Shri Niren Ghosh). Nothing of the interruptions to go on record.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Sir, they commit cold-blooded murders and they say that they are proud of such things. (Interruptions) Sir, I would like that there should be a judicial enquiry into the events that took place in Burdwan. That is very necessary. Even Mr. Konar has himself. Sir, admitted this and they seem to be proud of these things. It is a very serious situation.

Sir, in this country we are facing danger to our parliamentary democracy from two sides, one from the monopolists and capitalists who want to use their money power and another from these people who believe in violence and who do not believe in constitutional methods and they want to subvert the Constitution and our parliamentary democracy. I, therefore, hope that the Government will take suitable steps in this direction to save our parliamentary

democracy. I hope the Committee which they are going to form will be able to function effectively so that the aspirations of the people of West Bengal are fulfilled. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman, hearing some of the speeches delivered today I am reminded of Lenin; I am prompted by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to remember the Great Lenin. I am reminded of the words of Lenin that civilised hyenas sharpen their teeth. These civilised hyenas are now coming out of their hide-outs, they had concealed themselves when the United Front was there, particularly when the CPM was in charge of the Home and Labour Portfolios and also Agriculture.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Excise also.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : We are prepared to make a gift of the Excise portfolio to Mr. Kalyan Roy. These civilised hyenas have now come out of their hide-outs. The hon. lady Member there indulged in a kind of hysterical outburst and she said that Mr. Konar says this thing and that thing to the peasants. Sir, When Dr. B. C. Roy, one of whose proteges was Mrs. Mookerjee, enacted the Land Reforms Act, he told the jotedars and landlords in a private conference "Why do you bother, landlords and jotedars?" He also told them "We have passed the Act but you do it, benami, in the names of your sons and daughters and even grandchildren; if you have one or two wives, you can do it in their names; you can even do it in the names of the unborn children, in the womb. Only 25 acres are in the name of an individual; you can have benami transactions also." Mr. Konar told the peasants that as legislation is a bourgeois fraud, it can never bring about real land reforms. We said that and we never conceal things; we lay our cards on the table. We say that legislation is a mechanism through which no land reforms can take place anywhere in the world. Therefore we said to them, 'Hunt out those jotedars and landlords who are taking away your lands, who are taking away your harvests, who are making you work with the sweat of your brow, who are making you work in the sun and in the rain; take away their harvest.' We said that to them

and we will be saying that always. When we come back to power, Mr. Vice-Chairman, we will not repent; we will say the same thing again even if these civilised hyenas sharpen their teeth. We will not be flabbergasted; Mr. Bhupesh Gupta may be. Well, Sir, he says the United Front is a platform of the Communist Party but who ever heard that the Communists in the United Front would give the leadership of the Front to the leaders of jotedars? Who would surrender that leadership to the leaders of jotedars? Have you ever heard of such a United Front in the Marxist literature or in the history of Marxism? Sir, everybody knows that that cannot happen.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, in October 1967 Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee for whom Mr. Bhupesh Gupta sheds gallons of tears and for whom the other day Mr. Kalyan Roy was ready even to be a bodyguard—he said that Mr. Ajoy Mnkherjee's life was in danger—veiled himself like a lady and went to the house of Mr. P. C. Sen—it has come out in the press and it was not denied by him—and wanted to topple the Ministry. * * * and therefore...

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : May I remind you of the ruling given earlier by the Deputy Chairman that those people who are not present in the House, no allegations should be made against them? This was the point raised by this hon. Member. Now he is making allegations against the former Chief Minister of West Bengal. There should be no such allegation made against those people who are not present in the House to defend themselves.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : This is a political allegation.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, the word * * * should be expunged.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Sir, this cannot be expunged...

(Interruptions)

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : This word * * * is unparliamentary and therefore it should be expunged.

(Interruptions)

*** Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I want to know from you whether the word 'treacherous' is going to be expunged or not. I never use such expressions. I am a cultured man.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : We have seen your culture.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not want to enter into a quarrel with him. All that I want to know from you is whether the word 'treacherous' is going to be expunged or not (Interruptions).

SHRI CHANDRA SEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, whatever the emotions may be, I think my friend, Mr. Chatterjee, has said he is a * * *. This is unparliamentary from all standards. The term 'treacherous activity' is parliamentary but * * * is unparliamentary. So he should withdraw or you should expunge it from the proceedings. It is the minimum that is expected from Mr. Chatterjee. He is a Barrister and he should know that he cannot use unparliamentary language in this House.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Sir, on a point of order. I am quite agreeable to what Mr. Chandra Shekhar says but in this House it has been said that Mr. Niren Ghosh is a traitor. You can go through the proceedings. That did not trouble Mr. Chandra Shekhar, Shri Mohan Dharja or Mr. Krishan Kant.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : She said that Mr. Jyoti Basu was responsible for the molestation of women.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I do not like that word and I would better like to avoid such words. But there are double standards. Such a word has been said a number of times, not only outside, but also on the floor of this House, when I had been present. But they were silent. They talk about propriety and morality. Sir, after Shri Ajoy Mukherjee narrated those things in a Cabinet meeting, and after he retraced his steps, to recall that, is it a crime?

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : I want to assure my friend, Mr. Niren Ghosh,

that, whether it is in reference to Mr. Jyoti Basu or Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee or anybody, any word which is unparliamentary should not be used. I did not hear the speech of Shrimati Purabi Mukherjee. You should have taken objection then and there. (Interruptions) I was not here when any words were used against or any aspersions were cast on Mr. Jyoti Basu (Interruptions) but I don't consider Mr. Jyoti Basu as a criminal. If you want that assurance from me, I can say that I don't take Mr. Jyoti Basu as a criminal.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : We do not want any assurance from you.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : I know that you do not want it but, in order to function in this parliament, you will have to get the assurance from me. Otherwise, this parliament cannot function—if you don't get that assurance from everybody. With jotedars you can do anything; there I can understand, but as long as we are working in a parliamentary institution, we have to depend upon the co-operation of each other, and to that extent, I think, my friend, Mr. Chatterjee, will accept the co-operation howsoever unpleasant it may be for him.

SHRI MANORANJAN ROY : There is no ban when your party man is speaking.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Chatterjee is on his legs.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am saying this. I won't go back to what I have said. I never repeat what I have said. Now, Sir, what I am saying is this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I want a clear ruling from you. I raise this point of order. You can reject it if you like. I want to know whether, in the absence of the withdrawal of the word * * * against Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee, you are going to delete it. You can say, "I will not delete it." And I will sit down. If Mr. Chatterjee withdraws it, it is good. Suppose he does not withdraw it, you should expunge it.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Will Mr. Bhupesh Gupta be satisfied if, instead of the word * * *, I call Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee

a ferocious man clad in *khaddar*? Will he be satisfied? I am just asking his opinion.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We are only concerned with the word ***. Now that should be withdrawn. After that he may use whatever word he likes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : May I appeal to you, Mr. A. P. Chatterjee? I also feel that that word is unparliamentary. May I appeal to you to kindly withdraw the word?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman, *** is a bourgeois habit and a bourgeois virtue. It is never unparliamentary. How can parliament continue unless the bourgeoisie party indulges in ***? After all, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you saw that as far as today's proceedings are concerned.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Adultery is a bourgeois virtue, I believe. Suppose somebody calls you an adulterer, will you allow it to go on record?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I must call him an adulterer who commits adultery.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : So it will be in good taste if my friend, Mr. Arun Prakash Chatterjee, withdraws this word. Other words are there. He can use them. With your ruling we should proceed further. Either there should be withdrawal of the word or expunction of the word.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I have heard you. I have appealed to Mr. Chatterjee to kindly withdraw it. He has not done it. Exercising my discretion I direct that the word should be expunged.

SHRI MANORANJAN ROY : May I draw your attention to why earlier it was said that Mr. Jyoti Basu was instigating violence and why these words were not expunged? There was also reference to him as being responsible for the molestation of women. You did not expunge these words. Why should they be there? Why have you not expunged them?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Why was it not expunged?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Now that you have done this, the words which Shrimati

Purabi Mukherjee used must be expunged also. There cannot be double standards.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I was not here, Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : No, no, you were present in the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I was not in the Chair.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : In that case will you go through the proceedings and if you find those words will you expunge them?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If they remained silent then, it is not anybody else's fault.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Your party did not say anything.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If anybody calls Mr. Jyoti Basu or anybody a criminal and all that, I would ask for the withdrawal of the words.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I want that you should go through the proceedings and if you find that word you should expunge it. I want your ruling.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order, order, please.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Mysore) : Sir, may I say a word? I want to make a general submission. Even in the morning the Chair made certain observations about certain expressions used by hon. Members, and I intervened at one point when Mr. Krishan Kant made a remark about a Member of the other House, and the Chair was pleased to say that (a) they should not say any words about members who are not present and (b) they should not use expressions, which are derogatory to the self-respect of anybody, either in the House or elsewhere. So in this context, Sir, I want to know from you whether we should witness again and again such expressions or observations made by Members about other people. We are here to maintain certain standards and norms, and if these things are flouted again

*** Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]

and again even after successive rulings— not one or two but successive rulings— then we do not know how we can go on with the proceedings here. People are called treacherous, they are called deceitful, they are called hypocritical. Such expressions have become normal and, I think, over a period of time they may even become parliamentary. Some friends on the other side may claim that they are all parliamentary, and it will not surprise me if they claim that way. (Interruptions) Don't interrupt me. My specific submission is this. I feel that the Chair has got to be firm. I feel that the Chair is not functioning properly—I am so sorry to say this—and it is the mistake of the Chair which has been responsible for such laxity in the House. Sir, I beg of you to be very firm and deal with such situations very firmly. And the House will be with you.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala) : Sir, I am not going to question your ruling, nor am I requesting you to review your ruling at this stage. But may I draw your attention to the fact that the modern trend in parliamentary politics everywhere is to reduce the number of unparliamentary words and not to treat the words, which often seem to be unparliamentary, as unparliamentary themselves. For example, the word 'treacherous' is no doubt not a very good word. It is a harsh word but I am in doubt as to whether, under any circumstances, it could be called unparliamentary at all. Take for example the question of defections. We have often said, Sir, that political defection is rather dangerous and it amounts to treachery.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Don't go into those details.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : I am not trying to go into the details. I am only trying to tell you, Sir, that more attention and care may kindly be taken by the Chair and there may be more amount of consideration given before the Chair ultimately rules a particular word as parliamentary or unparliamentary.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I have heard the submission of Mr. Gurupadaswamy and the

contrary submission of Mr. Chandrasekharan. I will give it my consideration.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Sir, you did not answer my query whether you will go through the proceedings and if you find that Shrimati Purabi Mukherjee has said 'instigator of violence' you will expunge that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Niren Ghosh, it is the duty of the person who presides to look into the debate.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Then you refer the matter to the Presiding Officer.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, you said just now that you will look into the matter. What is the charge? Mr. Jyoti Basu has been described as instigator of violence? He is; it is absolutely right. What is wrong there? There is nothing unparliamentary in it. How do you compare both these things? There is great difference between treachery and instigator of violence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You continue Mr. Chatterjee.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Sir, I have lost 15 minutes in this.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : You have taken half an hour.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Now leave aside this United Front under the leadership of Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee of which Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is enamoured but one thing I want to point out here as far as the CPM-held portfolios are concerned. These portfolios, namely, land and labour, have done so much. Look at the achievements of these portfolios of land and labour. As far as labour conditions are concerned when the Minister at the Centre was openly hostile so to say on the question of jute labour it was only the CPM Ministry that could tackle the problem properly. Not merely they tackled the problem of jute, they tackled the problem of textiles, the problem of the tea industry and the problem of the engineering industries so much so at the present moment in West Bengal every engineering worker is getting on an average an increase in the salary of Rs. 25/- to Rs. 30/-.* Tea workers could not get it for

the last 30 years or so; jute workers had not got anything for the last 45 years or so. It was only during this CPM Ministry of Labour that these things were possible.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : It was the workers who fought for it.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I can understand the disappointment of those who are always with the bourgeoisie, of these revisionists who talk in the phraseology of Marxim but who act against Marxist principles but I do not understand what kind of United Front it is where you want to surrender the interests of the peasants to the leader of the jotedars. I told you the incident when the leader of the jotedars went with the veil of a woman to the house of Mr. P. C. Sen. When there was the question of forming a United Front in 1969, though the CPM was the largest partner in the United Front yet, Sir, we know the revisionist party, whose Member even has the audacity to quote Lenin, said that they were not going to form any Ministry except under the leadership of Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee.

(Interruptions)

SHRI KALYAN ROY : What he is saying is absolutely rot and nonsense.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, charlatanism should have some limit. They can criticise Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee but is it not a fact that they also accepted him as the Chief Minister? Did they or did they not? As the largest party if they had not accepted Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee as Chief Minister, he would not have been the Chief Minister.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Sir, allegations have been made about the Burdwan incident. Now everybody gets up and sheds tears over the Burdwan incident but do you know that even when Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee was Minister in Bengal, even at that time.....

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Sir, on a point of order. The matter is *sub judice*; how can he talk about it? The court is already seized of it.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : If Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee could say why not we?

(Time-bell rings)

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : Don't stop them. This is most

entertaining. Let us have it for a change after a long time; let it continue.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : There were ryots detained under the Preventive Detention Act even during the time Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee as Minister.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : So they should be murdered?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Now coming to this incident on the 17th it is they who were armed with bombs and spears by the ruling Congress party there and perhaps abetted by the CPI. Then they attacked the procession and in the clash between the procession and them—their house is almost a kind of a fort it is true—they were killed. Look at the way in which Mr. Bhupesh Gupta referred to their murder. When I was reading the speech of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I was reminded of Dr. Zhivago in Boris Pasternak's famous novel. There also Dr. Zhivago was full of sympathy for the white guard youths. They were good students of the university and.....

SHRI KALYAN ROY : We know that the CPM representative, Mr. Chatterjee, loves anti-Soviet literature.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Just as Dr. Zhivago was expressing his sympathy Mr. Bhupesh Gupta also expresses sympathy for the Sain brothers. Mr. Vice-Chairman, the revisionists speak the same language everywhere. It is rather surprising both in Boris Pasternak's novel and here on the floor of the Rajya Sabha we get the same language.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, on a point of order; it was not a question of somebody expressing sympathy or otherwise but the. . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Sir, he has been speaking for over 45 minutes now.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am just finishing. On 2nd April 1970 three lakhs of people congregated in Burdwan to hear Mr. Jyoti Basu and Mr. Hare Krishna Konar. I do not know whether you have seen the photograph of that huge crowd and in the front seats there were ladies. Not only that; I do not

[SRI A. P. CHATTERJEE]

know, either Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee has ceased her connection with all women or she does not consider herself to be a woman because at the women's conference in Calcutta held some time back the women of Bengal raised a protest that their name is being sullied, that they are being made bargaining pawns by self-seeking politicians and every time it is being said that they are being raped, they are being molested and so on. These women of Bengal raised their voice of protest and they are disowning these so-called representatives of theirs by their Resolution. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after all, Stalin said that one cannot reply to slander. The arguments of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and the arguments from that side are full of slanders and when slanders are substituted for logic, they do make a good show but then everybody knows that it is slander and one cannot reply to slander as Stalin said.

The achievements.....

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Your achievements have produced only Arun Prakash Chatterjee.

(Time bell rings)

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I am finishing. Our achievements are there. Look at it. As soon as our Ministry is gone, you see that the Birlas are taking truckloads of files and documents from their premises. Even the All India Radio is with the Birlas and not with the workers.

As far as this Bill is concerned, it is for the delegation of powers to the President. What I am saying is this. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said this and I will take two minutes more. Mr Bhupesh Gupta has said . . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY : A party of eight people in the whole Rajya Sabha is taking one hour to defend the Home Minister who has thoroughly collapsed.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : He said that there had been an orgy of violence and, therefore, there should not be any mid-term elections. I find again that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's voice sounds in unison with that of General Cariappa, because General Cariappa also says that there

should be no elections at all as there is an orgy of violence in the country.....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have never said that. Before we have explored all possibilities of restoring the United Front, we shall not placate these gentlemen. That is what I said.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : This what you have said....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I know...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Why are you speaking in the voice of....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have never said about Mr. Jyoti Basu and the CPM. Degradation, corruption was a great ideal in the hands of half-baked illiterate communists. That is what I had said.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : He said:—

"All these things will be let loose in an orgy of violence in the name of fighting the mid-term elections. But that can never happen."

We are prepared to face the people, because we have confidence in the people. They are afraid of it, these revisionists. (Interruptions). Only those who have sold their soul to the capitalists....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I would ask Mr. Chavan to tell that.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I am opposing this Bill and we want midterm elections.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We do not want mid-term elections. We will sit together, all the political parties of West Bengal and my friend, instead of talking of mid-term elections should say that he will try and restore the United Front Government. Till then no election.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : We are trying, but you are disrupting it.

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

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : Sir...

SHRI KALYAN ROY : No, not, I want to speak...

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : There are half a dozen speakers.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Revolutionary politics have been reduced to begging. We were told that Bengal would be in flames. I would ask Mr. Chavan to see that mid-term elections they may not give it here before that. We owe it to the people of Bengal that all the parties should put their heads together in the United Front, so that we can restore it and revive it and get back to the Assembly when mid-term elections will not be necessary. Should we fail, certainly mid-term elections will take place. Should we fail to forge unity, but it will not take place for the pleasure of one single political party.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please sit down, please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : They are completely isolated. Who are with them? Nobody is with them, except one party. No major party in Bengal is with the CPM people and it has the temerity to give lecture to the entire West Bengal. I would insist on an assurance from the Government that the mid-term elections shall not be sanctioned till all the parties of the United Front or a majority of them have come and asked for it. I want that assurance.

(Hon. Members stood up)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I know. I have got half a dozen speakers, but the time has exhausted. We have discussed Bengal on the Proclamation. We have discussed Bengal in connection with the Budget. So, I would request those whom I have not called to co-operate with me, because there are at least five more speakers, including Mr. Rajnarain. So, I would request you to co-operate, Minister.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : On a point of order, it is very unfair to us. A party of eight Members has got one hour. We have been maligned, we have been slandered and all sorts of remarks have been made against us. Should we not be given at least five minutes?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, the debate shall continue as long as necessary. The debate shall continue. Let it go on.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : It is very wrong. All of them have wasted two hours to defend a Home Minister.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I am on a point of order....

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh) : I would like to suggest one thing. Since you have a number of speakers and the time is limited....

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : Then, you are putting the axe on those who have kept silent. We also know how to talk for half an hour. We will get glasses of water.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You must appreciate my difficulty.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : Looking to the number of speakers on your list and the time at our disposal, I suggest one thing. Mr. Rajnarain's name is also there on the list. Let all of us agree that he speaks in a representative capacity for all....

HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : Then, we will fall short of time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : They are not agreeable.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : I know that. Even then we will fall short of time. Why not prolong the debate?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You know that we have got a very important statement which the Home Minister has to make and the House is very anxious to listen to that statement. We have to listen to him. In view of that, may I again appeal to the four speakers here, Mr. Rajnarain, Mr. Kalyan Roy, Dr. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya and Mr. Chandrasekharan please to help me? If they do not speak at this moment, I will be grateful.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I am on a point of order....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I have asked Mr. Rajnarain.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : हमारी भावना को श्री चन्द्रशेखरन् जी ने व्यक्त कर दिया है कि शान्ति से बैठना गुनाह नहीं माना जाना चाहिए । हमारी पार्टी के मंडल जी तीन या चार मिनट बोले हैं और यह कह कर बैठे हैं कि चूंकि राजनारायण को बोलना है इसलिए मैं अपनी बात तीन, चार मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूं और अब आप एक हर्डल लगा रहे हैं कि चूंकि राजनारायण हैं और दूसरे बड़े कांशस लोग हैं इसलिए मैं अपील करता हूं कि वे इस बिल पर न बोलें । इस अपील का हम पर कोई असर नहीं हो रहा है ।

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : May I suggest that you accommodate the speakers in the Third Reading of the Bill ? You can accommodate two or three speakers in the Third Reading of the Bill. We can finish the First Reading and the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

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

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : It is a question of time. Whether you allow it in the Third Reading or now, it does not make any difference.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I will put forward two aspects. The first aspect, as far as I am concerned, is this. I rose at 4.40 but for 15 minutes I could not speak. The second thing is this. As far as the CPI friends are concerned, of course they are friends in the House, as far as they are concerned their point of view was spoken by Swatantra friends, Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee . . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Is this a point of order ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is a cheap type of gimmick. Let him speak on the point of order. Who have spoken for us ? All like-minded people do condemn the CPM which is at the bar of national public opinion. I am not ashamed if my voice agrees with the voice of many like-minded people. I am not ashamed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I would allow five minutes to each speaker, Shri Rajnarain, Shri Kalyan Roy, Shri Chandrasekharan and Dr. Chattopadhyaya.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Everybody shall speak because you dare not impose time-limit in our case. The debate shall continue. It cannot be that one party which stands at the bar of national opinion comes and flouts everything and wants to lord it over here. Let the opinions of all sections be expressed duly and let the nation judge.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan) : National front of Shri Bhupesh Gupta.

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

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, प्रश्न यह है कि मैं भाई भूपेश गुप्त से और श्री नीरेन घोष से, सभी से, अपील करूंगा कि हम लोग जरा शान्ति से वस्तुस्थिति का अध्ययन करें और उस अध्ययन की रोशनी में वक्तव्य दें । श्रीमन्, यह तार हमको आज सुबह मिला है :

"CPM men set fire have burnt belongings of Barsati and Kedar Rajbhar SSP workers at 9 P.M. on 1-4-70 charged bombs Raniganj Police informed fire named persons not yet arrested workers panicky T N Shukla Assistant Secretary Colliery Mazdoor Congress."

यह तार हमने पढ़ दिया । अब तो वहां सी०पी०आई०एम० का राज नहीं है, अब इस समय वहां केन्द्र का है और श्री धवन जी वहां विराजमान हैं । यह तार मैं दे रहा हूं, घर-मंत्री बैठे हैं, घर-मंत्री देखें कि आज भी करीब-करीब वही काम हो रहा है, जोकि पहले हो रहा था । एक बात ।

श्रीमन्, चूंकि यहां पर कुछ पोलिटिकल फिलासफी की चर्चा हुई है, इसलिए कुछ कहना चाहता हूं । लेनिन या स्टालिन का नाम आया, अच्छा रहा कि मार्क्स का नाम नहीं लिया गया, माओ का भी नाम नहीं लिया

गया । खैर, मैं उस पर नहीं जाऊंगा । लेकिन मेरा निवेदन है कि ईमानदारी के साथ हम लोग इस बात पर विचार करें कि जब पश्चिमी बंगाल में युनाइटेड फ्रण्ट चुनाव में उतरा, तो क्या ज्योति बसु के बारे में जो अजय मुखर्जी की आज राय है, वही थी या अजय मुखर्जी के बारे में ज्योति बसु की आज जो राय है, वही थी । इसका जवाब हमको श्री नीरेन घोष दें या श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी दें या श्री भूपेश गुप्ता दें ।

सवाल यह है कि कुछ घटनायें हैं, कुछ तथ्य हैं और वह तथ्य अपने आप बोल रहे हैं । मैं पहला आदमी हूँ जिसने इस सदन में रवीन्द्र सरोवर कांड के बारे में चर्चा की । दो घंटे तक मैं अशोक के पास रहा बम्बई में और उनका पूरा बयान लिया । आज मुझे खुशी है कि एक महिला सम्मानित सदस्या इस सदन में मेरे पूर्व कथन की पुष्टि में खड़ी हो गई । मुझे बड़ी खुशी होती अगर यह सरकार टूटी न होती, यह सरकार चलती रहती । इसलिए आप याद करेंगे, श्रीमन् कि हमने किसी स्थल पर यह नहीं कहा कि यह सरकार भंग हो, यह युनाइटेड फ्रंट भंग हो, राष्ट्रपति का शासन हो । मैं जनतंत्री हूँ, राष्ट्रपति शासन का विरोधी हूँ, राष्ट्रपति शासन को आज समाप्त करना चाहता हूँ, यह हमारी इच्छा है । मैं अपने भावों को छिपाऊंगा नहीं । मगर एक बात आपकी जानकारी के लिए बता दूँ । परसों थोड़े समय तक शेख अब्दुल्ला से हमारी बात हुई । मैं उनको ईमानदार मानता हूँ । हमने उनसे पूछा कि अगर काश्मीर में आज प्लेबिसाइट के मुताबिक वोट हो तो क्या वह वोट डेमोक्रेसी का होगा या वह वोट कम्युनलिज्म का होगा । डेमोक्रेसी का होगा या कम्युनलिज्म का होगा । उन्होंने ईमानदारी के साथ हमारी बात मान ली कि हाँ, कम्युनलिज्म का होगा ।

मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि इस प्वाइंट को सदन के सभी सम्मानित सदस्य और हमारे मित्र श्री नीरेन घोष भी समझें । हमने पूछा कि अगर हम आज काश्मीर में वोट कराएँ तो वह वोट डेमोक्रेसी का होगा या कम्युनलिज्म का होगा तो शेख ने कहा कि आपका कहना सही है, कम्युनलिज्म का होगा । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि पश्चिमी बंगाल में यदि आज वोट हो तो वह वोट डेमोक्रेसी का होगा या टेररिज्म का होगा ? यह एक सवाल हमारे सामने है । हमारे सामने आज यह सवाल है । यदि टेररिज्म न हो, टेरर न हो, तो एक मिनट, एक पल भी वोट से हम हटने वाले नहीं हैं । हम चाहेगे कि वोट फौरन हो जाये मगर हमको खुद ही डर है कि यदि आज वहां वोट हो और मैं उस वोट के प्रचारार्थ किसी सभा में जाऊँ तो मैं ज़िन्दा लौटूंगा या नहीं, यद्यपि हमें कोई डर नहीं है, एक पल भी जीवन का डर नहीं है, यहां बैठ-बैठे, यहां खड़े-खड़े हम समाप्त हो जाएं, तो कोई भी चिन्ता नहीं है । इस लिए, श्रीमन्, हमारी मुसीबत को आप ज़रा महसूस कीजिए—एक तरफ काली हैं और एक तरफ कत्ल है, काली माने, मिनी फ्रंट इन्दिरा का और कत्ल माने नीरेन घोष ए० पी० चटर्जी ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : यह बेशर्मी की बात छूटती नहीं, कहां से कहां ले आये ।

श्री राजनारायण : हम काली और कत्ल के बीच में हैं । हम कहां जायें ? एक तरफ काली है और एक तरफ कत्ल है । तो हमको ज़रा, श्रीमन्, आप समझाइये और हम अपने सम्मानित सदस्यों से भी, कहना चाहते हैं कि हम क्या करें ? हम मिनी फ्रंट को भी, भूपेश गुप्ता को भी इस समय नहीं पसन्द कर पा रहे हैं; क्योंकि वह काली के हाथ में हैं और हम तत्काल वोट को भी इस समय पसन्द नहीं कर पा रहे हैं; क्योंकि वह कत्ल के हाथ में हैं

[श्री राजनारायण]

रहेगा। तो काली और कल के बीच में हम झूल रहे हैं, सारा देश झूल रहा है। इसका कोई तौर-तरीका, रास्ता, हमारे भूपेश जी; क्योंकि वह संजीदा आदमी है, समझदार आदमी है, निकालें। (Time bell rings.) ताकि राष्ट्रपति का शासन भी समाप्त हो . . .

श्रीमन्, मैं दो, तीन मिनट में खत्म किये देता हूँ।

ताकि राष्ट्रपति का शासन भी समाप्त हो और आज़ादी के साथ, स्वतंत्रता के साथ, निर्भीकता के साथ जनता अपने मत का प्रयोग भी करे। क्या वह स्थिति, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज पश्चिमी बंगाल में है? मैं कहता हूँ कि नहीं है। तब क्या हो? क्या जिस ढंग से आज हमारे मित्र ध्वन साहब राज्यपाली कर रहे हैं वह स्थिति कायम रहे? हर्गिज नहीं। उसके प्रमाण में हमने यह तार पढ़ दिया है। ध्वन साहब को जितनी जल्द वहाँ से वापस बुलाया जा सके बुलाया जाना चाहिए; क्योंकि उन्होंने जिस ढंग से वहाँ के प्रशासन को चलाने में योग दिया उसके वह खुद दोषी हैं। मैं तो अक्सर उनसे टेलीफोन पर भी बात करता रहता हूँ, मैं उनको तार देता रहता हूँ। डी० एम० बर्दवान जाता है। श्रीपुर कोलियरी के क्षेत्र में सी० पी० एम० के कार्यकर्ताओं को साथ लेकर जहाँ-जहाँ संसोपा का झंडा फहराया हुआ है डी० एम० बर्दवान कहता है उसको उतार दो। तो जब डी० एम०, पुलिस कप्तान, ए० डी० एम० यह सब अपने को सी० पी० आई० एम० या किसी पार्टी का नौकर समझने लगे तो क्या वहाँ पर जनतंत्र रहता है। मेरा कहना है वहाँ जनतंत्र नहीं रहता है। इसलिए आज जनतंत्रीय पद्धति और जनतंत्रीय प्रणाली दोनों खतरे में पड़े हुए हैं। उसे उबारना है—

कैसे उबरे। यशवन्त राव चव्हाण साहब बतायें। यशवन्त राव के उबारे नहीं उबर रहा है। (Time bell rings.) श्रीमन्, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यहाँ पर इस सदन में, यह जैसे रानीगंज का सचिवल दन्स-पेक्टर है अनिल बनर्जी मात सान से है। उसके बारे में . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : यह डिटेल्स लिख कर भेज दें।

श्री राजनारायण : आपका कहना गलत है कि डिटेल्स हम लिख कर सरकार के पास भेज दें। मगर हमारा यह कहना है कि हमारे भाई ए० पी० चटर्जी कुछ भी कहें, हल्ला मचा के कहें, मगर सच सच है। यह बर्दवान की घटना क्या कोई मामूली घटना है। हमारे लोग बर्दवान में रहते हैं, हमारे बहुत से वस्ती और देयरिंग के मित्र बर्दवान में रहते हैं, उनसे हमारी बातें हुई हैं। मैं ए० पी० चटर्जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ, प्रणव कुमार सिंह और मलय कुमार का उन दिनों में कैसे क्या हुआ। जीतेन राय एम० काम० फाइनल का विद्यार्थी है, गोल्ड मेडलिस्ट था और सी० पी० एम० प्रचार करे, यह गुंडा था, उसको कत्ल कर दिया। यह क्या बान है? मैं इस थियरी को समझ नहीं पाता हूँ और चाहता हूँ मेरे भाई चटर्जी भी समझ लें। कोई गुंडा भी हो उसको कत्ल करने का अधिकार नहीं है, मगर यह गुंडा नहीं है, अच्छा छात्र है, गोल्ड मेडलिस्ट है, उसका कत्ल हुआ है। श्रीमन्, एस० डी० ओ० और पी० ओ० सी० के पाव पकड़-पकड़ कर इसके बड़े भाई कहते हैं हमारी रक्षा करो, हमारे घर के लोग कत्ल हो गए, मैं भी कत्ल होऊंगा। एस० डी० ओ० कहता है, नहीं हमारे पास कोई साधन नहीं है। एम० डी० ओ० खड़ा है, पुलिस आफिसर खड़ा है और उसके सामने कत्ल हो रहा है। यह क्या है, यह कोई तमाशा है। आज सी० पी०

एम० के लोग मानव-जीवन के मूल्य को गिरा देते हैं, आज मानवता कराह रही है, मानव-जीवन सरिता सूख गई है, फिर भी सदन में सबक देते हैं कि हम उनको सुनें। माननीय नीरेन घोष जी, यह भारनवर्ष है। हम बनाना चाहते हैं अगर दिमाग के किसी कोने में हमारे साथी के मन में यह हो कि हम वियतनाम बना कर चलेंगे या वहां एक क्षेत्र में कब्जा जमा कर सम्पूर्ण भारतवर्ष में कब्जा करेंगे तो खुदा के नाम पर वे अपने दिल और दिमाग से इसको मिटा दें। भारतवर्ष की जनता जिसने अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद के राजमुकुट को गिराया, उस वक्त जब भूषेण गुप्त, नीरेन घोष जैसे एकाग्र साथी हमारे साथ लड़ाई में नहीं थे, और हम जिंदा हैं और जिंदा रहेंगे, चाहे हम व्यक्ति के रूप में रहें या न रहें। क्या गांधीजी की परम्परा, क्या राष्ट्रीय स्वातंत्र्य आन्दोलन की परम्परा बिल्कुल मिट जायेगी। क्या हम गुडागोरी का नंगा नाच देखेंगे, क्या हम भाई, बाप, बहिन और माता की बेइज्जती देखेंगे, उनका कत्ल देखेंगे।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Do you deplore the murders that your party committed ?

श्री राजनारायण : कोई भी अगर कत्ल करता है, तो मैं उस कानिल को मारने के हक में हूँ।

(Time bell rings)

इसलिए मैं आपके द्वारा अदब के साथ कह रहा हूँ, जब इन्सानियत का चिराग बुझ रहा है, मानवता का स्रोत सूख रहा है, ए० पी० चटर्जी और नीरेन घोष, छाती पर हाथ रख के पूछो कि क्या हो रहा है। मैं फिर भी कहता हूँ यह घमंड दूर हो जाना चाहिए कि पश्चिमी बंगाल में अगर तत्काल, यकायक चुनाव हो जायेगा तो सी० पी० एम० के ही हाथ में मारा बचा रहेगा। क्या यह सत्य नहीं है, अगर गृह मंत्री हमारे साथ कोई डेपुटेशन लेकर चले,

हमारे मेम्बर्स चले और चप्पे-चप्पे का मुआयना करें, तो हम साबित करेंगे कि किस तरह से सी० पी० एम० के लोग, किस तरह से उनके विधायक लीड करते हैं। लिख कर देते हैं : मारो, लूटो, काटो। उधर हमसे कहा जाता है, हम शांति से रहें। हो सकता है हम नीरेन घोष की बात मान सकते हैं कि कभी-कभी अपनी सुरक्षा में हमारे लोगों ने भी हथियार चला दिये हैं, सी० पी० एम० के कुछ लोगों को चोटें आ गई हैं, या वहाँ मारे गये हों, हो सकता है, मैं इसके लिए कोई गारण्टी देने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ। मगर जहाँ-जहाँ कत्ल हुए हैं, जहाँ-जहाँ आग लगी है, जहाँ-जहाँ जिंदा किसानों को गाड़ा गया है, उसकी जांच करने के लिए, इस सदन की एक कमेटी चले। अगर यह सदन राष्ट्र के प्रति वफादार है, मानवता के प्रति वफादार है, इन्सानियत के प्रति वफादार है, संसदीय जनतंत्र के प्रति वफादार है, तो हर पार्टी के लोगों को, चाहे सरकार भेजे या न भेजे, लेकिन एक प्रतिनिधि मंडल सम्पूर्ण बंगाल का भ्रमण करे तो वे चीजे साफ हो जायेगी।

श्रीमन्, 12 जनवरी को हमारे एक साथी को जबर्दस्ती घर में छीन ले गये और गड्ढा खोद कर गाड़ दिया। 12 तारीख को जब पुलिस जाती है, उसका शव निकाला जाता है और जब मैं जलपाईगुड़ी पहुंचता हूँ, तो उसका दाह-संस्कार हो जाता है। हमारे दिल से पूछो जिसके सैकड़ों साथी मारे गये हैं, जिसकी यूनिफॉर्म नष्ट की गई हैं, जिसके कार्यकर्ताओं के घर लुट गये हैं। सम्मत राय कौन है, सम्मत राय जोतदार है क्या? नीरेन घोष हमारे पास लिस्ट है, वह यूंही मैं नहीं ले आया हूँ, चल के देखो सी० पी० आई० एम० के जितने नेता लोग ह सबके पास 25 एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन है। यह नक्सलवादियों में जाकर रेवेन्यू रिकार्ड से मैं ले आया हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
अब खत्म कीजिए ।

श्री राजनारायण : वहां का नियम है,
25 एकड़ से कम भूमि हो, मगर 25
एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन जिनके पास है,
सारी जमीन किसके लिए है ।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I challenge
him. Nobody having lands in excess of 25
acres belongs to our party.

श्री राजनारायण : हमारे पास टेप-
रिकार्ड है । जब घर के मर्द लोग चले गये
काम करने, तो सी० पी० एम० के लोग
गांव में गये हैं, जबर्दस्ती औरतों को
निकाला और कहा है कि आगे चलो,
तुमको धन मिलेगा । उधर से जब
पुलिस आई है बाद में तो कहें बंदूक
छीनो । वह औरत रो कर कहती थी
जब पुलिस की गोली चली थी, हमें आगे
कर दिया, मर्द भाग गये, हमें गोली
लगी है । मर्द भागे और हम लोगों को
गोली लगी । नक्सलवादी का यह कांड
हुआ ।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Nowhere have
we done that. It is a lie and a slander.

श्री राजनारायण : तो मैं आज कहना
चाहता हूं, मैं नीरेन घोष के साथ हूं,
राष्ट्रपति शासन जल्द से जल्द समाप्त हो,
जनता को वोट के मैदान में जाने का
मौका मिलेगा । नीरेन घोष अपने ऊपर
जिम्मेदारी लो, सी० पी० आई० एम० के
नेताओं के ऊपर जिम्मेदारी छोड़ें । वहां
की जनता के बीच किसी प्रकार का टेरर
न रहे, आतंक न रहे । यह स्थिति नीरेन
घोष, क्या आप पैदा करना चाहते हैं ।
जिम दिन, जिस घड़ी, यह स्थिति पैदा हो
जायेगी, मैं कहता हूं एक मिनट का भी
विलम्ब नहीं होना चाहिए और राष्ट्रपति
का शासन समाप्त हो । वहां जनता-
जनार्दन की मदद से एक नयी सरकार
बनेगी । मगर जांच होनी चाहिए और

गुंडा और पार्टिज़न स्पिरिट में काम करने
वाले अफसरों को दंडित करना चाहिए ।
मैं चव्हाण साहब से पूछना चाहता हूं :
सरकार क्या एक डेपुटेशन या जांच कमी-
शन भेजेगी, चाहे वह सरकारी हो, चाहे
गैर-सरकारी हो । मैं अपनी ओर से हर
पार्टी के लोगों को न्याता देता हूं, वे
चलें और घटनाओं का अध्ययन करें और
जो जायेगा नहीं, देखेगा नहीं, केवल हमको
सुनेगा, वह यकीन नहीं करेगा कि क्या कोई
मनुष्य भी इतना नीचे जायेगा, इतना नीचे
जायेगा, इतना अक्षुण्ण अपराध कर सकता
है, मगर हमने देखा है, इसलिए कह रहा हूं ।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** Mr. Chandra-
sekharan. Five minutes, please.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN
(Kerala) : I cannot conclude within five
minutes when everybody else is being given
more time.

AN HON. MEMBER : Mr. Vice-
Chairman, I do not think it will be possi-
ble to conclude today.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Sir, it
is not fair to the House that you want to
make people finish today. It is a very
serious matter.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY
(Mysore) : Sir, it is not possible to finish
today. Let us adjourn now till Monday.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** We have other
engagements.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : This is
something very serious. All other appoint-
ments should be put aside. I appeal to you
to give more time. If the Vice-Chairman
has to go away, somebody else can occupy
the Chair. Mr. Purushottamdas can
occupy the Chair. There should be no
difficulty. This debate must be allowed to
continue unfettered and fully because un-
necessarily a curtain has been rung. While
the reign of terror has been continuing
there this House is sitting quiet and com-
placent. I am surprised that the Home
Minister also is allowing such a thing to
continua.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, all sections of this House have welcomed the provisions of this Bill and everybody feels that a Bill of this nature is absolutely essential for purposes of legislations in regard to West Bengal and the President's Rule. Probably it is for the first time after the Constitution came into force that we are having an instance of the imposition of the President's Rule in a particular State on which no controversy is raised by any political party whatsoever. Even the parties which took up strong positions within West Bengal so far as the continuance or otherwise of the Ministry was concerned or what the Governor should decide next, parties which were absolutely in conflict with each other, are in agreement that in the circumstances and conditions which prevailed at that particular hour, nothing else would have been recommended by the Governor of that particular State except the imposition of the President's Rule.

It was unfortunate, Sir, that the President's Rule had to be imposed in West Bengal. But a very wise and intelligent thing that the Government have done in the wake of the imposition of the President's Rule is to keep alive the Legislative Assembly of that particular State. Whenever previously in other States the President's Rule had to be imposed, in the years immediately after the Constitution the Legislative Assembly was also dissolved and the State was asked to prepare itself for the mid-term elections. But recently the Central Government have used its discretion in keeping alive the Legislative Assemblies of particular States where the President's Rule has been imposed. It is good, Sir, that an attempt would be made in West Bengal where the Legislative Assembly could be reconvened and an administration provided for West Bengal. But in the state of its fighting in West Bengal, particularly in this House today and whenever West Bengal has been discussed during the years past, and particularly from what we in Kerala have experienced, it will be difficult for the United Front in West Bengal to be revived.

Sir, I may state at the outset that I am not against the revival of the United Front. In the States of Kerala and West Bengal the biggest of the political parties that

have got mass appeal and attraction undoubtedly is the Marxist Party (Communist). I am prepared to admit that truth as a fact. But the fact also remains, Sir, that both in Kerala and in West Bengal somehow or the other the Marxist Party (Communist) behaved in such a way that it has alienated the sympathies of large masses of people in those particular States and of its own partners in the United Front and the Coalition. I shall welcome the day, Sir, when the Marxist Party (Communist) could be included in any United Front, but I am not prepared to concede at this stage that any United Front or a coalition government in West Bengal in the coming months would be possible in the same way as the United Front stood prior to the imposition of the President's Rule. In the years to come, and particularly after the 1972 general elections, in many of the States and probably at the Centre, Sir, the United Fronts and coalition Governments cannot be static; they have got to be changed and they would change, and such changes could be had and effectively done and constructively implemented as has been shown in the State of Kerala by the formation of the popular term known as the 'Mini Front'. I suggest to the West Bengal Legislators that the formation of a United Front should be possible in the months to come. And if it is not possible, I depart from the usual stand that I had been taking particularly in the matter of the President's Rule in West Bengal, in case the Legislative Assembly has to be dissolved—I have said this within the Consultative Committees and outside and many have agreed on that point—after the President's Rule, it should be only as an interim administration, that the legislation that is initiated on the advice of the Consultative Committee or the ordinances issued by the President should be of an interim or temporary nature. From the way in which we have got to impose the President's Rule in many of the States, including West Bengal, I depart from my former thesis that the legislation should be and could be only of a temporary or an interim nature. In the way the President's Rule has to be imposed and continued, I would suggest to the Consultative Committee and to the Central Government that the best interests of West Bengal in regard to the proposals for constructive legislation and its implementation should be kept in mind, and that the way

[Shri K. Chandrasekharan]

in which the Legislative Assembly would have or could have initiated legislation, in the same way ordinances should be issued and legislations of a permanent and fundamental nature should be carried on in West Bengal for the purpose of ensuring a good future for West Bengal.

Sir, another matter that I would like to dwell upon is that—it has often been stated in the past—whenever the President's Rule is imposed, it should be of the shortest duration and at the earliest possible moment mid-term elections should be held. But I depart from that position which the honorable Member, Mr. A. P. Chatterjee, tells me as the correct position. It was a correct position to me also but it no longer holds good in the circumstances and conditions that exist in this country in the various States today, particularly when we have got into 1970 and when we are going to have general elections in 1972. It is absolutely essential for the purpose of ensuring good results in parliamentary elections that general elections both to Parliament and to the Legislative Assemblies are held simultaneously. I would commend to the Central Government—I do not know I may change my views in future—that if it is not possible at a later stage to continue with the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Assembly would itself have to be dissolved, they should very seriously think of holding general elections, whether it be in West Bengal or any other State in this country hereafter only in 1972 along with the general elections. I may be considered as unprogressive. But that is the only constructive view of things that one can take in the existing circumstances and conditions in the country. I would suggest to the Central Government to ensure to West Bengal an honest and clean administration. I would suggest to the Central Government the immediate constitution of the Consultative Committee, and although such Consultative Committees are often consulted only in regard to legislations, I would suggest that so far as West Bengal is concerned, particularly in the conditions existing today, in the wake of the very serious criticism that has been levelled against the permanent administration in West Bengal, let the policy matters in regard to the administration be also at

least informally placed before the meetings of the Consultative Committee. Thank you.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, normally Presidential rule is not a thing to be welcomed. But we have been placed under unfortunate circumstances in West Bengal and we have to welcome it. And for this if any party is to be blamed, that party is the CPI(M). Sir, Presidential rule in West Bengal is not an isolated phenomenon. After the fourth general elections, we had seen and have been seeing, in the last two or three years, a series of experiments in anti-Congress Governments. It is not an accident that all forms of anti-Congress Governments either headed by Right reaction or led by pseudo-Marxists or by crypto-Trotskyites have failed and have been failing one after another. It is a very serious thing. It is a national problem. And the trend betrays an unhealthy state of affairs in the body politic of India. So instead of talking gleefully over the virtues of Marxism or pseudo-Marxism, we should be very serious about this matter because it poses a problem which affects all parties and all well-wishers of Indian democracy should think seriously about it. So the situation that we have been confronted with in West Bengal is not an isolated phenomenon. It is symptomatic, and the symptom is that there is a grave disease—the disease of blind anti-Congressism in Indian politics. The failure of the Samyukta Vidhayak Dal experiment or of the United Front experiment is very significant. It is doubly significant in the context of Kerala and West Bengal. I am not denying, rather I am proud of admitting that the political milieu in Kerala and West Bengal is very progressive. In a way, though being a Congressman, I was looking forward rather hopefully to the results of the experiment of the United Front Government in Kerala and West Bengal. Being a democrat not merely by profession, as my Marxist friends are in the days of distress, but really a democrat in practice, I was interested in seeing how the alternative forms of Government, alternative to Congress rule, worked in practice. I am sorry to say that the United Front Governments have failed not once but twice and for no fault of the Congress Party either in

the State or at the Centre, which is often made a scapegoat, knowing full well that it is false. So you find that this failure of the United Front Government has brought out the weakness of these self-styled Marxists and champions of the proletarians. We have heard a long discourse on Marxism. We have heard much about the champions of the proletarians. But actually those who pose as champions of the proletarians are not proletarians themselves; they are white-collared people. And you know, Sir, that they are leaders not of the proletariat, but of the lumpen proletariat. Lenin and even Marx said in the thirteenth Brumaire that the lumpen proletariat is more dangerous and they kill democracy (*Interruptions.*) There are serious problems in West Bengal and their problems ought to have been looked into.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Sir, he says the proletariat of West Bengal is lumpen proletariat.

(*Interruptions.*)

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADH-YAYA : I did not say that the proletariat of West Bengal is lumpen proletariat. They are in the hold of the lumpen proletariat. (*Interruptions.*) We also represent the proletariat because we did not get the 42 per cent of the votes from the white-collared people, the highly sophisticated, English-speaking white-collared people of Calcutta or of other cities. We also got votes from the proletariat. They are no monopolist of the proletariat. What sort of monopoly they had enjoyed and have been enjoying has been very evident within the House because the so-called champions of the proletariat, as many as 14 of them, are breaking the head of one another and claiming all the time that they are the sole and whole monopolistic representatives of the proletariat. They know and you also know, Sir, that they do not believe what they say because they have to say that to satisfy their party bosses in Calcutta.

So, after 11 months, they had to leave, and they had to leave for their own fault because they clashed with one another. I would have been happy if I can join my friend, Mr. Krishan Kant, to congratulate the CPI(M) friends for practising what they profess. But actually there is a lot of gap, I find, between their practice and pro-

fessions. They formed a Government with 13 other parties. After formation of the Government, they started telling the people: "We are the sole representatives of the proletariat; the others are supporters of the bourgeois." Even in this House, right under your nose Sir, the CPI(M) friends have been accusing the other constituent parties of having a sort of collusion against them. But these very people tried to form a Ministry again by encouraging defections. (*Interruptions.*) Before leaving the Government they had left behind a trail of devastation destruction, arson and looting. They had demoralised the police. They had demoralised the civil service. They had spoiled the field of education. In the name of expanding the trade union movement, they squeezed out all other parties. They squeezed out the R.S.P. from the tea gardens. They squeezed out Mr. Rajnarain's party and Mr. Kalyan Roy's party from the coal field area. And to achieve their purpose, they have gone to the length of killing people in cold blood. In civil service they have planted partymen. I do not want to accuse people by name, but you would know, Sir, if you take the trouble of getting information from the Home Ministry that one officer who happened to be my class-mate in the Law College in Calcutta, has been promoted to the post of Joint Secretary super-eding the claims of many other people. And what is his virtue? His only virtue is that he is very soft to Marxists if it suits his promotion purposes.

6 P.M.

You know that the D.M. of Burdwan also happened to be my class-mate . . .

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : So many class-mates?

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADH-YAYA : Yes . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : And that is why your party manhandled him in the presence of the Governor and do you call it law and order?

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADH-YAYA : I am coming to that. I tell you Mr. Niren Ghosh, . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Your party.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADH-YAYA : Just listen to me. Just four or

[Shri Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya] five months back the S.D.O. of Arambagh was manhandled by the CP(M) students and at that time Mr. Jyoti Basu...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : No. They were your students. Everybody knows that.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADH-YAYA : No, they were the CP(M) students...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee's storm-troopers assaulted the District Magistrate of Burdwan in the presence of the Congress demonstration.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADH-YAYA : And when the CP(M) students manhandled the S.D.O., Mr. Jyoti Basu gave a clean chit to the students. Mr. Niren Ghosh is unhappy and I can understand the cause of his unhappiness. So, the police officials, the civil service, have been demoralised. The people of the CP(M) call themselves very great champions of democratic trade union rights. And what have they done? They have broken up the police associations simply because they did not agree to play in their hands...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You egged on that police organisation because your Government was itself...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Niren Ghosh, please sit down.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADH-YAYA : So, they broke up the police organisation. They transferred the officials simply because they did not agree to do what they wanted. Then the Marxists planted some police officials of their own. They have the police organisation in their pocket. So, they are demoralising the police organisation, they are demoralising the administration...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Yet, Mrs. Parabi Mukherjee addresses those policemen here and she now talks of law and order.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADH-YAYA : I am not surprised that they are unhappy. We understand the cause of their unhappiness. They were not happy only with the breaking up of the peasants and the trade-unionists. They took up

education. And what have they done in the field of education? They superseded all district school boards in West Bengal. They superseded them because they wanted to plant their party cadres there. What-else have they done? There was an ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court as Chairman of the Secondary Education Board. Simply because he did not...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : He is not an ex-Judge.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADH-YAYA : ... agree to oblige them, he was removed from there. They took advantage of the Education Ministry and they pressurised him and he had to leave and resign. Some party people have been planted there. And in the last eleven months it is a staggering figure that we have of the number of school managing committees which have been superseded. More than a hundred headmasters and headmistresses had to tender their resignations under duress brought about by the CP(M) people. So, in the field of education you will find that there has been a reign of terror and you will be surprised to learn that many of the sponsored college governing bodies have been superseded and those have been replaced by some CP(M) people. Most of the members are picked up from the CP(M), not even from the other political parties, other political parties of the United Front. Again, you will be surprised to learn that in another college, the Acharya Profulla Chandra College, there is a criminal as a member of its governing body, against whom there are two murder charges. But simply because he happens to be a CP(M) member, he has been included in the managing committee. I will raise that issue later. He has been let loose under the instruction of the Home Department of West Bengal and under the instruction of the Education Department of West Bengal, he has been made now a member of the managing committee; a criminal, a known criminal, made a member of the governing body of that college. So, in the field of education, in the field of police service, in the field of civil service, they brought about a reign of terror. Now, if this sort of a thing continues, then, there cannot be a fair Government. There cannot be another election. We are not for the perpetuation or the prolongation of the President's rule for

more than what is absolutely necessary. But this period of rule should be there rightfully and it should be utilised rightfully. We will not say that the United Front Government had not done anything good. They initiated some good things. I do not say they did not do anything good. But those things should be preserved. The land reforms should be effected in the rightful manner, in the lawful manner, not to boost the morale of one party, not to the advantage of one particular party or the other, but for the benefit of the poorer people of the society, for the benefit of the landless labourers. So, we want that all the good things that they have initiated should be preserved, and the officers of the committees that will be formed during this period must be specially instructed to see that these things are continued.

Now, I will try to draw the attention of the Home Minister particularly to a few things. Firstly, there should be a special sub-committee to go into the details in the field of education so that the corruption that has been perpetuated and practised by the CP(M) people should be weeded out, the politically motivated people should be weeded out. We want a committed civil service, not a partisan civil service. Partisan civil servants should be weeded out from the administration of West Bengal. Then, minor irrigation projects are a very important thing. From the short term point of view, this is the best way to serve the people of West Bengal. So, I would request...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Do you agree to disbanding the civil service and recruiting those people who are committed to democracy?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Dr. Chattopadhyaya, you please finish now.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : Sir, the Government should pay special attention to the minor irrigation projects so that these things could be implemented. And the last thing I would wish to say is that to restore the people's faith in democracy, to restore the people's faith in law and order, a judicial inquiry should be ordered so that the charges of murder, looting and arson that have taken place during the last eleven months, could be

thoroughly inquired into. I want to say that it is true that many CP(M) workers have also been killed. It is true, but whether this lawlessness was encouraged mainly by the CP(M) or by other parties, should be thoroughly inquired into. The people not only of West Bengal, but of India as a whole, have a right to know as to who is wrong and those culprits should be brought to book and the people's faith in democracy should be restored. And this can be restored only by a thorough, comprehensive, judicial inquiry before which all people can freely and fearlessly testify including my friends, Mr. A. P. Chatterjee and Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee is quite justified to feel indignant because so long they ruled West Bengal on the entire support of the *Bara Bazaar*, the Clive Street, the Jute Press, the mine-owners, the textile mill-owners and others, but lately the Clive Street, the *Bara Bazaar*, the Jute Press, all these coal-mine owners, all these textile mill-owners, have switched over their loyalty to the Communist Party (Marxist) who are getting more money today from them than the big monopolists give perhaps to the Swatantra Party. And, Sir, unfortunately that is exactly why they were sick of these people, sick of the United Front, and murdered it. I would say, they murdered it exactly as King Duncan was murdered in the night. And in the morning who shouted most? Lady Macbeth. So, here the CP(M) people played the part of Lady Macbeth after murdering the King. I would now like to give you a quotation from Shakespeare...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Why Shakespeare? Topsy-turvy.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Better Shakespeare than Dr. Zhivago. I will quote from Shakespeare—

"His words fly high but his thoughts remain low."

Sir, how many political murders took place in 9 months? The CPM wanted to suppress and conceal the figures and some other reactionary parties wanted to exaggerate the figures. The Communist Party (Marxist) in collusion with the corrupt police officers pampered bureaucracy and some of their officers were utilised by Mr.

[Sri Kalyan Roy]

Jyoti Basu. I request the Home Minister to find out how many political murders took place. Is the number 197 according to Mr. Harekrishna Konar in the three months of October, November and December or is the number 900 in 12 months? That is what I would like to know from the Home Minister. Sir, it is true that some of the corrupt police officers were pampered by Mr. Jyoti Basu. Then I would like to submit that under the President's Rule which is going to be conducted through the Governor there must not be any witch-hunting of good and honest officers in the name of weeding out those who were the tools of the CPM. There must not be any witchhunting of those officers who tried to implement land reforms and who tried to help the labour.

My second point is that we do not want protection from Mr. Chavan's police; we have rejected it. But Mr. Jyoti Basu is enjoying police protection which is given by Mr. Chavan. And Mr. Jyoti Basu is very proud to get this assistance from Mr. Chavan's police. At the same time Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee has rejected any police protection which the CPM leaders like Mr. Jyoti Basu have accepted. (Interruptions) You may not give as much police protection to Ajoy Babu as you are giving to Jyoti Babu but give at least some protection to him so that he is not murdered. I say this because we have not forgotten that last year in the month of August when Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee was going to address a meeting, there was an attempt to murder him in the Nadia district. We demanded an enquiry but no enquiry was held. Then, Sir, the Home Minister says that on the 18th March 248 Naxalites were arrested by Mr. Jyoti Basu's police. Are they still rotting in jail or have they been released? I know Mr. Chatterjee is very proud of this.

(Interruptions)

Then, Sir, I must also mention one thing more. Mr. Partha Sen, a student of the Durgapur Engineering College, was arrested yesterday and he is in the lock-up. He said "I had been arrested by the police of Durgapur under instructions from Mr. Dilip Mazumdar, a CPM MLA." And the CPM police are still arresting the workers of the other parties of West Bengal. The

CPM and the police are still going hand in hand arresting the workers of the other parties. Sir, last time the Governor in his Address said that he would give cheaper and quicker justice to the people. In this connection I may submit that the Calcutta High Court is notorious because there is a huge accumulation of cases. What steps are they going to take to clear up those arrears and what decision are they going to take regarding the post of the Chief Justice of Calcutta which has been hanging fire for the last eight months? Are they going to confirm the acting Chief Justice or are they going to find another man for the post?

Sir, regarding education I do not want to say anything more. I would only read out what Mrs. Ila Mitra (CPI), who has spent 9 years in Pakistani jail and 4 years in the Congress jail—she is also a leader of the teachers' movement—has to say. She says :

"Relations between the teachers and the taught had deteriorated, education had not been expanded according to the U.F's programme and the Minister said one thing in the Cabinet and a completely different thing elsewhere. She said that the managing committees of about 300 schools had been dissolved and CPI (M) members were appointed as their administrators. Similar steps had been taken in respect of governing bodies of sponsored colleges. The Education Department was moving in accordance with the CPI (M)'s directives."

This is the achievement of which Mr. Chatterjee is proud. That is why I say that the United Front refused to be a tool of the CPM and therefore they killed it.

My last point is this : Six young men while they were trying to enter the Ranji Stadium to see the cricket match, they were trampled to death and the Home Minister refused to institute an enquiry. And Mr. Jyoti Basu is an honourable man. After several protests from all the parties an enquiry committee was set up by Mr. Justice K. Sen and the first finding of that committee regarding the Ranji Stadium proved the inadequacy of the arrangements of the authorities of the Calcutta police. And Mr. Chatterjee is proud of it. (Interruption) Mr. Jyoti Basu did not take

any steps because he was shielding the police officers. Now after this enquiry what steps are you going to take in respect of those police officers who were found guilty by this Committee set up by the United Front and following that thing, are you going to set up a bigger stadium in Calcutta which was contemplated by the ex-Chief Minister, Shri Ajoy Mukherjee?

Then, Sir, the Governor said in his speech before the Assembly that the United Front is exploring the feasibility of giving unemployment relief. What steps are you going to take about this? I have written a letter to Shri Chavan, the Home Minister. My letter is dated 27th January and I got a reply from him dated 30th January that he has received the letter. You will be shocked to hear what happened under the regime of Mr. Jyoti Basu. We and the CPM fought together when there were strikes in the jute mills, in the engineering factories and in the textile mills. Even the INTUC was with us. Whatever we could do we did together. But what did you do? Sir, you know that the UPSC went to Calcutta to interview senior Government officers to select one IAS officer. And what happened? The CPM selected one officer, Shri S. M. Bhattacharya, who had manipulated the records. His appointment date, his confirmation date, they were all falsified and that false picture was presented before the UPSC and he was selected immediately. All other senior officers went and protested to the Home Minister and the Chief Minister. I want to know from them whether they have finally confirmed Mr. S. M. Bhattacharya, who falsified all the records in that post or they are going to review the case. Lastly, Sir, I would request that the President's Rule should not be used to shield the people who are actually guilty; they should be taken to task and those who are honest should be helped and protected. For 12 months Mr. Chatterjee, Mr. Monoranjan Roy, Mr. Niren Ghosh and other members of the CPM thought and behaved themselves like Home Ministers.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: On a point of order, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. Mr. Kalyan Roy told this House...

SHRI KALYAN ROY: On a point of order, Sir. The hon. Member has not pronounced my name correctly. I refuse to allow my name to be twisted like this.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: You have seen, Sir, that he told this House that two of the members of the CPI (M), Mr. Niren Ghosh, and Mr. A. P. Chatterjee, spoke for three hours. What an exaggeration! What a lie! Now his whole speech can be judged from that lie itself.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Please sit down. There is no point of order.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: A small point of order, Sir. Mr. Kalyan Roy said that we are lower CP (M) members. As far as the CP (M) is concerned, we are all same, there being no lower members and higher members. In our party there are no higher members and lower members. All are equal.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): There is no point of order.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this has been a rather exciting debate and the tempers have been frayed in various sections of the House.

Sir, we have in this House debated the West Bengal situation twice before, once when we were discussing the approval of the Proclamation that was issued by the President and second when the West Bengal Budget and the Appropriation Bill were before this House. So we thought that when this Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of West Bengal to make laws came up before the House there would be a short debate. But it is apparent that all the political controversy between the various partners of the United Front of West Bengal was sought to be discussed here. I do not want to go into all that, but I can assure the hon. Members that whatever points have been raised here which need the attention of the Home Ministry would be carefully sorted out of the debate and we shall take whatever action is possible or is appropriate.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Special committees.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: All suggestions. We shall take all the action that may be necessary. I want to particu-

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

larily refer to one suggestion that Shri Kalyan Roy made. That is one of providing security guards to Shri Ajoy Mukherjee and we shall immediately take steps regarding this matter to see that no harm comes to him.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : We agree, but we do not accept security guards from you. Our party does not accept security guards from you.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : We rely upon the people.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : We agree that security guards should be provided to Shri Ajoy Mukherjee. (Interruptions) In all these years Mr. Niren Ghosh has increased neither in height nor in maturity.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : Sir, in the previous two debates I have already spelt out the direction that we wish to give to the administration during President's rule in West Bengal. We would invite suggestions from hon. Members and we hope that the committee that would be formed pursuant to the passing of this Bill in this House will be a useful forum to receive suggestions from various Members, and we shall try to hold as many meetings as possible of this committee so that matters relating to West Bengal...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It may be difficult for the big committee to meet often. Therefore I have suggested that there should be at least three small sub-committees, which can more frequently meet and deal with the special matters—I have mentioned—on behalf of that committee.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : This is not the usual practice and I do not think this would be necessary. When we form this committee, we shall meet as often as necessary and we shall discuss these matters, and I hope, during the deliberations of this committee, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will be satisfied that, whenever there is a need to ventilate any particular grievance, or bring any particular matter to the notice of the administration, it would be possible to do so, and therefore it would not be necessary to have sub-committees of this parliamentary committee.

Without saying much, Sir, about the other matters that have been raised I would request the House to accept this Bill.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is not possible to deal with all the matters if we have just one big committee and so I have made the important suggestion that the big committee may split itself into various sub-committees and the small sub-committees may deal with the special matters assigned to them—I have suggested the special matters that may be entrusted to the three sub-committees. I would still request the Government to consider the suggestion rather than categorically reject it.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I am not rejecting anything out of hand. What I am suggesting is that it would not be necessary. (Interruptions) I have neither rejected it nor accepted it. I have only said that when the committee is formed and starts working, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will be satisfied and he will know that this committee, which we are forming now, would be sufficient to meet all the aspirations and demands of the hon. Members. Therefore, Sir, I would request this hon. House to accept this Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The question is :

"That the Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of West Bengal to make laws be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill. There are no amendments to Clause 2.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clause 3—Conferment on the President of the power of the State Legislature to make laws

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : There are three amendments to clause 3. They may be moved. I shall put them to vote and give the movers chance to speak at the third reading stage. I take it that it is all right.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I move :

1. "That at page 2, lines 6-8 for the words 'consisting of forty members of the House of the People nominated by the Speaker and twenty members of the Council of States nominated by the Chair-

man' the words 'consisting of all the members of Parliament from the State of West Bengal and twenty-five other members of the House of the People nominated by the Speaker and fifteen other members of the Council of States nominated by the Chairman' be substituted.

The question was put and the motion was negatived.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Rajasthan) : I move—

2. "That at page 2, line 5, the words 'whenever he considers it practicable to do so' be deleted."

3 "That at page 2, line 8, after the word 'Chairman' the words 'along with all the members of Parliament from the State of West Bengal' be inserted."

The questions were put.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The Noes have it, the Noes have it, the Noes have it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Division.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : All right; those who are in favour of the amendments may please rise in their seats.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : No, no.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : It is according to the rules.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are asking us to rise on an amendment. We do not know what that amendment is. Let him at least explain.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I have also not been able to explain my amendment.

SHRI A. P. GHATTERJEE : I want a Division to see who are the Members who vote against the proposition that all the Members of Parliament be included in the Committee.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, I myself said that, I would like that argument when the Ministry was to be formed. Let him form the Ministry and then we will see who will vote against the Ministry. It is not necessary. If you put the amendment to vote...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : We want a Division.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : Sir, it is rather strange that the mover of the amendment does not insist on a Division but others are insisting.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : What of that ?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Once it is moved it becomes the property of the House and anybody can demand a Division.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : But, Sir, there is a practical difficulty about Division. All the new Members have not been allotted seats. How will they vote ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My suggestion is this. We can still make a request to Mr. Mathur that in view of the difficulties that we are facing, mechanical and otherwise, he should not press.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : But that does not depend upon him.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : For Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's information I may tell him that the mover of the amendment is not insisting on Division.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Then may I appeal to Mr. Niren Ghosh that he does not insist ?

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR : All right; let it be voted upon.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I think we are arguing in a vacuum. He has asked for Division.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : All right, I have ordered Division

The question is :

2. "That at page 2, line 5, the words 'whenever he considers it practicable to do so' be deleted."

(The House then divided)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Ayes.....13,
Noes..... 33

AYES

Chatterjee, Shri A. P.
Chaudhary, Shri Ganeshi Lal
Chavda, Shri K. S.
Ghosh, Shri Niren
Kemparaj, Shri B. T.

Mathur, Shri Jagdish Prasad
Mallikarjunudu, Shri K. P.
Mitra, Shri P. C.
Narayanappa, Shri Sanda
Roy, Shri Monoranjana
Sait, Shri S. M.
Sherkhan, Shri
Yashoda Reddy, Shrimati

NOES

Anand Chand, Shri
Chattopadhyaya, Dr. Debiprasad
Dikshit, Shri Jagdish Chandra
Dikshit, Shri Umashankar
Gujral, Shri I. K.
Jagat Narain, Shri
Jairamdas Daulatram, Shri
Khaitan, Shri R. P.
Kothari, Prof. Shanti
Krishan Kant, Shri
Mangladevi Talwar, Dr. (Mrs.)
Mehta, Shri Om
Mishra, Shri L. N.
Neki Ram, Shri
Panda, Shri Brahmananda
Patra, Shri N.
Purkayastha, Shri M.
Reddy, Shri Nagi
Salig Ram, Dr.
Samuel, Shri M. H.
Satyavati Dang, Shrimati
Sharma, Shri Anant Prasad
Shukla, Shri Chakrapani
Shukla, Shri M. P.
Singh, Shri Dalpat
Singh, Shri Sultan
Sinha, Shri Awadheshwar Prasad
Sinha, Shri R. B.
Tiwary, Pt. Bhawaniprasad
Usha Barthakur, Shrimati
Varma, Shri C. L.
Venkateswara Rao, Shri N.
Yajee, Shri Sheel Bhadra

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The question is :

3. "That at page 2, line 8, after the word 'Chairman' the words 'along with all the members of Parliament from the State of West Bengal' be inserted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The question is :

"That clause 3 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 3 was added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : Sir, I move :

"That the Bill be passed."

The question was proposed.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Sir....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Five minutes only.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Why 5 minutes ? You cannot be partisan; that is bad

First of all I would like to make the point that I have never heard in the post-independent India during this benign democracy under the President's rule a District Magistrate is manhandled by an unruly Congress crowd in the presence of the Governor and the Governor remains silent. The entire thing, whatever the Congress has done is most shameless and most inhuman throwing overboard all canons of normal behaviour. This was done under the pressure and instigation of the Congress crowd and the Governor sits side by side and not even condemn it.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : It was your recommendation.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It is the most shameful spectacle that I have ever seen. Our party never stands for bureaucracy.

But the bureaucrats who can toe their line are good and the bureaucrats who stand for the 32-point programme of a duly constituted Government are bad and they must be weeded out. It is something new. The people will learn something from this.

SHRI ANANT PRASAD SHARMA : Those who support you are not bureaucrats.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No interruption, Mr. Sharma.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : This is the first time that I have heard it. Let me go on. The campaign that has been run by the

people, in the same voice, is now done jointly by the Syndicate, the Jan Sangh, the Swatantra, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, Mr. Rajnarain and that side and it is a wonderful thing in history. That side and in unison with the monopoly press, it is done. I will cite two instances.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : In the Third Reading instances are not cited.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : 'The Statesman' came out with a report, with banner headlines, that a couple were coming out from a cinema after nine o'clock. The lady was spirited away. The husband was told that she would return 48 hours later and then after 48 hours she was returned to a hospital ward. That was the caption on the front page, as if that was the most important, single news of that day. When the police investigated it, they found no trace of the story. It was absolutely concocted. Now, you can imagine what effect it can produce in the public mind. I say that a hate campaign was unleashed in this way and I am sorry, Mr. Rajnarain, who professes socialism, joins this hate campaign.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Socialism is synonymous with murder.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It was investigated and found that it was completely a lie. Then, the paper was asked : "Have you verified the news? Who is this couple? What are the names of this couple? At least you should know them. You may not give the name of the informer under the press decorum or propriety, but when you published this news, you ought to know who this couple are and what their names are." But they said : "We have no responsibility to verify the news before publishing it." I do not know whether the Press Council can take note of it, but the effect was magical. It spread all around Calcutta within a few hours. The next day they came out saying that the *pan* shops were not frequented after 10 p.m. because it had a magical effect. This is the height of irresponsibility. I do not know whether the Press Council is not seized of the matter. I place it before Parliament and this is the paper that runs the campaign.

श्री राजनारायण : तुम्हारी क्या
इनफार्मेशन है ?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It is a lie. The police investigated it. Everybody investigated it, but no trace of it was found anywhere.

श्री राजनारायण : यानी कोई जूड़ी-
शियल इन्क्वायरी हुई ?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You institute a judicial inquiry. I have no objection.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : It is just like Mr. Rajnarain saying that four trucks of blouses and three trucks of petticoats were found.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Secondly, I take all the papers that belong to Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee's party, viz., the Amrita Bazar Patrika, Jugantar and also the Syndicate paper the Hindustan Standard and Ananda Bazar Patrika. All the national and international news were shoved to the back-ground and they carried the front-page news saying that in Burdwan there was a high family and they had a fourteen-year old girl. The insinuation was that the CPI (M) and their supporters raped her. She lost consciousness. She went to Burdwan and came to Calcutta and with all sorts of juicy analysis the front-page news was carried. Just imagine a paper with a circulation of two lakhs gives this as the front-page news or the first-page news with all sorts of insinuations and all that. Then, we tried to find out how they could do it. The girl was taken by the police to the Governor. It is under the President's rule. It was not under the UF regime. Then the girl says : "I have never lived in Burdwan." Their family lived in Budge Budge. She was just oppressed by her father and that was why she had left that place. That is the standard of journalistic honesty and this sort of campaign has gone on for six months. I am sorry that the CPI and their comrades do not have a word to say about these things. They are silent. It is peculiar. And that is how the hate campaign was unleashed and that is how the climate was created when an attempt at the political assassination of comrade Jyoti Basu was made. Otherwise, it could not be made. Then, Sir, I would like to say this. I do not want to reply to all the two or three charges. I only want to say that all the other partners who had held portfolios—I did not want to say it in the House and in

[Shri Niren Ghosh]

public, but since they thought it fit to do so, I do so—had a large number of their own proteges. Mr. Sushil Dhara had.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MOKHERJEE : I raise an objection. On a point of order..

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : An officer drawing a salary of Rs. 500—I do not want to name him—was appointed on a salary of Rs. 4,000.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MOKHERJEE : I rise on a point of order. Only a few hours back Mr. Deputy Chairman was advocating that a person not present in the House should not be named because he cannot defend himself. This House was strongly advocating that a person not present in the House should not be named, but again he has mentioned the name of another person who is not here to defend himself.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : All right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please finish.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I am finishing. They have said three or four cases...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You need not go into the details in the Third Reading.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The C.P.I. also referred to the Burdwan incident. I would ask you, why did you not take action against the Sain brothers? They were armed with guns, spears and swords, and they attacked a procession. Why are they silent on that point? Why is Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee silent? Are they truthful? They armed themselves and they attacked the procession. That procession was dispersed. Some of them were seriously wounded. Only when another procession was taken out in the village, there was a furor. I never have approved of killings and murders, but why are they particularly suppressing the fact that an unprovoked and peaceful procession was attacked with guns and swords by the notorious goondas and the person who was not supposed to be in Burdwan, under a court injunction was there, one of the Sain brothers. They are hiding all these facts. I am grateful to Shri Rajnarain that he admitted that his party and supporters had committed murders...

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, हमने यह नहीं कहा। सेल्फ डिफेंस में हो सकता है ...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You said in self-defence. I never bring those things here. Because they do it, I am compelled to reply. In the larger number of cases, unprovoked, they did it, and there is no doubt about it. Also I would again ram home this point. None of them of the constituent parties of the United Front represented here would rebut my point that they tried to form a mini-front with the direct and indirect support of the ruling party, and Shri Sushil Dhara has gone on public record that he did it. We found he called one R.S.P. leader four months ago and said, "you join me". I give this information. They formed that mini-front excluding the C.P.M. They speak of the United Front. That is how they disrupt it. They have not been able to answer a single charge. We did not ask them to leave the Front. We still say that if the Bangla Congress rescinds the resolution and comes back to the United Front, everything can be discussed. In all cases of violence, almost 90 per cent of the cases, they together have committed the greatest number of killings, 65 out of 95, and 20 more on the 17th March. They have avoided that. Why? They did not discuss with the United Front. Why? Because then they would have been found to be guilty.

They said that the administration was used in our favour. The administration was used in their favour because otherwise in those cases their supporters and other persons would have to be arrested. Shri Jyoti Basu did not do it without the consent of the United Front. They complain that the administration was used in our favour. So, that is how they stand. Despite that I would say that if the Bangla Congress want to come back, they can come back. We would say that we are prepared to settle those things. But I want to place it on record that they could not answer the most important and salient points of this thing. All of them should answer.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, since you have allowed a debate, a little debate will take place. It cannot be a monologue...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Jagdish
Prasad Mathur.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहां तक बंगाल में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने का प्रश्न है, मैं इस का समर्थन करता हूं, लेकिन खेद की बात यह है कि जिन लोगों ने बंगाल में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होने की दशा पैदा की आज वही बंगाल पर शासन कर रहे हैं। मैं इसके लिये मार्क्सवादियों को अथवा सी० पी० आई० वालों को दोष नहीं देना चाहता। बंगाल में जो स्थिति आज आयी हुई है, जो हत्या और लूट की स्थिति वहां पैदा हुई है उस के लिये अगर कोई जिम्मेदार है तो केन्द्रीय सरकार और रूलिंग कांग्रेस उस के लिये जिम्मेदार है। जब तक उन को मार्क्सवादियों के वोट चाहिये थे तब तक वह उन का साथ देती रही। राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव में उन को वोट चाहिए थे, बंगाल में हत्याएँ आज नहीं हुई हैं। जब से बंगाल में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हुआ उस के कई दिन पहले से वहां हत्याएँ हो रही थीं। अगर किसी को श्रेय दिया जा सकता है मार्क्सवादियों से लड़ने का, उन के हथकण्डों को विफल करने का तो वह श्रेय श्री अजय मुकर्जी को दिया जा सकता है। वह आज से नहीं कितने ही दिनों से कह रहे थे और उस बात का गृह मंत्री जी को पता था। सदन में भी गृह मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि बंगाल में चन्द राजनीतिक हत्याएँ हुई हैं। जिस दिन गृह मंत्री जी ने हाऊस में वक्तव्य दिया कि बंगाल में राजनीतिक हत्याएँ हुई हैं उसी दिन कदम क्यों नहीं उठाया गया। कदम इस लिये नहीं उठाया क्योंकि उन को अपनी गद्दियों की ज्यादा चिन्ता थी। इसकी चिन्ता नहीं थी कि वहां हत्याएँ हो रही हैं या लूट हो रही हैं। वे चाहते थे कि कैसे हमारी गद्दी सुरक्षित हो जाय और हम को नई सत्ता मिल जाय। जिस दिन उन को नया साथी मिल गया, उन्होंने मार्क्सवादियों को अलग झटक दिया। तो

उपसभापति महोदय, आज भी मुझे लगता है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार जिस ढंग से वहां चलना चाहती है, जिस ढंग से वहां कदम उठा रही है उस ढंग से वह बंगाल को सही दिशा नहीं दे सकती। आज वहां साम्यवादियों से अगर लड़ना है जो राजनीतिक आधार पर लड़ना होगा और यह सरकारी कांग्रेस जो है वह वहां साम्यवादियों से लड़ नहीं सकती। समाजवाद का नारा ले कर वह उन से लड़ नहीं सकती। इस लिये मैं हाऊस से निवेदन करूंगा कि इस संबंध में वह अपनी नीतियों को स्पष्ट करे और पिछले दिनों राजनीतिक आधार पर बंगाल में जो स्थिति पैदा की गयी है वह स्थिति फिर वहां पैदा न हो इस संबंध में सरकार सचेत रहे।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, since you have started a debate, others will also say a few words. My friend Mr. Niren Ghosh, has been needlessly harsh in saying everything. After all Shri Dahyabhai Patel, our friend, has been extremely kind to him. He has not interfered with him at all. He has not objected to his speech; he has enjoyed it; it may be he has his own reasons. But surely we are to blame, not Shri Patel. My friend, Shri Misra, and others in these benches have also significantly kept quiet today. Surely they had not disturbed our friend, Shri Niren Ghosh, or his party spokesmen. Therefore, you draw your own conclusions.

(Interruption)

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

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If they are interrupting, I am not a man who sits without having his say. But one or two points need clarification.

Mention has been made of the Burdwan District Magistrate. I make it very clear that even if I have very serious reports about his conduct, dereliction of duty and all the rest of it, I would not like any Magistrate to be treated in this manner.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY : Mr. Vice-Chairman, how long shall we have to sit? Are we going to go on like this again and again?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : We are finishing. Please sit down.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : His eyes are open but his senses are shut.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I would like to hear Mr. Monoranjan Roy; he is my good friend. But there is another friend sitting there, Shri Kalyan Roy. I would also like to hear him. Regarding the Magistrate affair, I think I would not support such beating up of a Magistrate in a situation like that. This is not our policy. I think we should deplore that. If we have any grievances against Magistrates, we shall take them up with the appropriate authorities and have them settled. It is not right for anyone to go and beat up Magistrates and officials in this manner. This practice we do not follow, as it has been done. But one thing I expected even in the course of the discussion.

I am not holding any brief for Sain brothers or whatever they are. If they are hooligans, if they are anti-social people, if they had done a wrong thing, they should be condemned. Sometimes people die in clashes, clashes between various parties, various organisations. It so happened that they were killed in their house, in their kitchen. People entered their house and murdered, slaughtered them in a very cold-blooded manner before the very eyes of their mother. That is what I object to. This kind of murder should not be committed. As my friend said, even a goonda is not to be murdered like that. That is the thing. It is cruel, it is inhuman, it is brutality to kill children before their mother. I came to Communism when I was in jail. If I knew by reading Marxist literature that such is the way people are to be killed by Communists, perhaps I would not be a member of the Communist Party. I have known that Communism have shown marvels of heroism. In the Vietnam fighting today never can you find a single example of Communists entering the House, slaughtering the children before their mother and smearing the mother's forehead or body with the blood of her children.

7 P.M.

Never does Communism permit it. What pains me is the fact that the name of Com-

munism is sought to be tarnished in this manner. I tell you, Sir that our great teachers taught us to be revolutionaries but never taught us to be assassins of this type. That is what I am saying. If Mr. Niren Ghosh expresses regret, I would be very happy. But do you know what Mr. Hare Krishna Konar for whom I have personal regard said at the Maidan meeting on the 17th or 15th of March? that he is not only not ashamed of what happened inside that house, but he is proud of it. That is what he said.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : He did not say that.

Interruptions

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is reported in all the papers... (*Interruptions*) I am very sorry. I checked up all the Bengalee papers. I went through them and I found repeated references to Mr. Hare Krishna Konar.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY : He is being mentiosed and I have already pointed out that it is an absolute lie.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I will produce all the paper cuttings. And has the Marxist Communist Party uttered a single word of official regret? When Mr. Promode Das Gupta, the Secretary of the Party and a Member of the Politbureau, was approached by the pressmen whether he regretted over this incident, do you know what he said?—"What can they do? Naturally, they entered into the house."

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Have you expressed any regret? We have sent letters to the Governor that... (*Interruptions*) You are doing two things. You are suppressing the fact that you attacked deliberately. You are doing so. We have never... (*Interruptions*) Secondly, in human murders your party has committed. But you never uttered a word of condemnation about them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, If they have expressed regret, I am very happy. I will not...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You have not expressed regret for what you have done. You cut the body to pieces—that is what you have done—and threw it into the fire.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The hon. Member should know that a young boy was chased by the followers of the Marxist Communist Party. He went into a house. He was asked to come out...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You are so much...

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You finish now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You control him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You finish in five minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You control him. I am not arguing. I should tell this—what hurts me...

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY : It is not right.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : A young man entered the house. He was chased by a Marxist Communist group. He was asked to come out on the assurance that no harm will be done. But when he came out, a nail was driven through his head and he was attacked by brickbats...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : What about hitting...

(Continuous interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You must finish.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am finishing.

Therefore, let us not go into that story. Only, as I said, my friend wanted my reaction about it, about Burdwan. I gave it. If these stories are incorrect, we would all be happy; if they are correct, there is reason to be ashamed of it.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY : If this is incorrect?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Roy should know—I hope I shall not live in a party which perpetrates the crime as was perpetrated in the Burdwan house, if we had done such things.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You have done more than that...

(Interruptions)

(Time-bell rings)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Finally, Sir, it is no use trying to shout me out. Mr. Monoranjan Roy knows very well that I am not a man to be silenced. You may use a bomb to make me silent. Until you have used it, this voice will not be silenced. You will have to have a revolver or a pistol or a bomb to make me silent. Ask your friends to shoot me down in the streets of Calcutta and you can silence me, not before that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Oh ! ho !

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You cannot silence me by interruptions.

It has been said again and again to make out as if we are all bad people condemning the Marxist people. Is there a single all-India party, the P.S.P. the D.M.K. and the other parties...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I know; naturally there will be all sympathy for the Sain brothers.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, I should be allowed to finish without interruptions. I would have finished by now. But if these people interrupt me...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please finish.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You do not interrupt me again. These people have interrupted me, it is enough. You need not interrupt.

All I say is, now the position is quite clear. I think the matter has been discussed.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Anti-social elements.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Again he is talking—a chatter box. Again he is interrupting. You can understand—the House will continue. I am not going to resume my seat as long as I do not finish, without being interrupted. Sir, I know them. I was not born in the Communist Party without knowing them. I know them. Let them not try to silence me here.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta was in the Communist Party, but he is no longer there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I know. I know my party. I represent my party in the highest forum. Why didn't you send your representative in the election? You are no match. I know you send a protegee here—not you. Therefore, I say Mr. Kalyan Roy should look after him. He has the onerous duty of looking after him. Mr. Kalyan Roy is there. He is near him.

All that I say is this. One thing I make clear again and again. Forget all this business. The first thought in my mind is how to protect the gains of the people, how to protect the democratic rights of the people, how to prevent the offensive of the jotedars and other employers who are out to take advantage of the situation. That is my thought and I hope everything will be done to prevent the offensive of the jotedars and other exploiting elements being developed. I know from history—dogmatism and secularism always bring grist to the mill of reaction, given the handle to attack. We know how their adventurist policy in Indonesia led to the slaughter of four hundred thousand Communists; we have seen a similar adventurist, dogmatic, perverted thing masquerading in the name of..... (Interruptions) I hope that the hon. Members of the House, whatever may be their differences with us—at least those who are well-meaning, sincere and right-minded—will see that the people of West Bengal are not hurt. Bhupesh Guptas, Niren Ghoses and Jyoti Basus will come and go but the people are immortal and they shall always remain.

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

श्री राजनारायण : सुनिये आप हमारे साथ ऐसा व्यवहार नहीं कर सकते ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No. I would not allow.

श्री राजनारायण : आप डिक्टेटरशिप करते हैं ।

श्रीमान्, मुझको इस अवसर पर बोलने की आवश्यकता नहीं थी । हमारे मित्र नीरेन घोष ने समाजवाद की एक ऐसी परिभाषा कर दी कि मैं बाध्य हो गया हूँ कि कुछ कहूँ । श्री नीरेन घोष जी कहते हैं । राजनारायण समाजवादी हैं फिर भी इस ढंग की बात करते हैं । मैं इसको जानना चाहता हूँ : समाजवाद का अर्थ क्या है । क्या समाजवाद का अर्थ है : हत्या, समाजवाद का अर्थ है कत्ल ; समाजवाद का अर्थ है लूट ; समाजवाद का अर्थ है व्यभिचार ; समाजवाद का अर्थ है दंगा फसाद ; समाजवाद का अर्थ क्या यह है कि सर्वहारा सर्वहारा पर चढ़ बैठे ? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, भाई नीरेन घोष, वह दिन आयेगा जब ये पश्चाताप करेंगे, क्योंकि एक यूनीक टेक्नीक उन्होंने एडाप्ट किया, मजदूरों को मजदूरों से लड़ा दिया, प्रोलिटेरियट को प्रोलिटेरियेट से लड़ाया, एक मजदूर से दूसरे मजदूर को कत्ल करवा दिया—एक नहीं अनेक हमारे पास सबूत हैं। तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ : मैं समाजवाद और मानव व्यापी जीवन को पर्यायवाची मानता हूँ और अगर समाजवाद में मानवता नहीं है, समाजवाद में दानवता है, तो उस समाजवाद को हमारा नमस्कार है । इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ मैं समाजवादी हूँ और हमारा समाजवाद अपना है । हम न तो मार्क्सोआ से समाजवाद सीख सकते रहे हैं और न पीकिंग से समाजवाद सीख रहे हैं । समाजवाद का सिद्धांत अगर मार्क्सवाद का सही अध्ययन होगा, तो मार्क्स ने भी यह कहा है कि हर मुल्क की अपनी विशेष स्थिति में वहाँ का समाजवादी स्वरूप भिन्न होगा । इसलिये श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी अभी बच्चे हैं समाजवाद में । मैं उनको जवाब देना नहीं चाहता ; उनकी उम्र बहुत कम है । मगर चुकि अंग्रेजी के कुछ शब्द याद कर लिये हैं—प्रोलिटेरियेट, बूर्जुआ, लेनिननिज्म वगैरह,—तो खाली इन शब्दों को रटने से समाजवाद नहीं आयेगा । समाजवाद जीवन का सर्वांगीण विकास है, समाजवाद समाज वह है जिसको मैंने पहले भी कहा, आज भी कह दूँ : समता : आज : प्रकाश : समता

के द्वारा जो प्रकाशित हो वह समाजवाद और वह व्यवस्था समाजवादी है जो समता के सिद्धांत को चलाये . . .

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : यह स्टडी सिकिल है क्या ?

श्री राजनारायण : अगर यह स्टडी सिकिल नहीं है तो क्या यह लफंगई का रास्ता है, दर्वाजा है ? श्रीमान् मैं आपके द्वारा अदब से कहना चाहता हूं, हमारे मित्रगण समाजवाद को समझें, अच्छी तरह से समझें Interruptions . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Do not disturb him. You are provoking him.

श्री राजनारायण : बात यह है कि नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के पास रहकर भी इस आदमी ने कुछ सीखा नहीं, खाली हुड़दंगई सीखी । यह शीलभद्र याजी को असल में बंगाल में सिखाया जाता था कि तुम उनकी मीटिंग भंग करो , केवल इसके लिये रखा गया था, अपने विरोधियों की मीटिंग भंग करने के लिये । हे शीलभद्र याजी जी ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : अब आप खत्म कीजिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : तो मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूं । मैं चाहता हूं कि यह कानून जल्द बने, एक तत्काल ऐसी व्यवस्था हो जिससे किसी प्रकार से जोतकर लाभान्वित न हो पाये, चाहे वह वहां का एक्जुअल टिलर आफ दी सौइल है, जो जमीन को जोतता है उसके हाथ में मालिकाना आ गया है । बंगाल की स्थिति का हमने ध्यान से अध्ययन किया है । किसी भी प्रकार से वहां पन्द्रह बारह एकड़ से ज्यादा मैक्सिमम होल्डिंग होनी ही नहीं चाहिये । मैं चाहता हूं फौरन, तत्काल, ऐसा कानून बने जिससे अधिकतम जोत की सीमा मानी जाये और वह कम से कम 12 एकड़ हो, अधिक से अधिक 15 तक हो सकती है । इसी के साथ साथ मैं चाहता हूं, हमारे मित्र नीरेग घोष खूब जानते हैं और हम भी जानते

हैं क्योंकि अब वह इन्टेलेक्चुअल फील्ड में नहीं रह गये हैं, खाली उनका प्रोलिटेरिएट का नारा है, अगर चुनाव हो जायेगा तो उनको पता चल जायेगा हम किधर हैं और मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आज वहां के शिक्षा जगत में सी० पी० एम० के द्वारा जो अनाचार, दुराचार फैलाया गया है, उसकी तुरन्त जांच हो । उसी के साथ साथ मैं चाहता हूं : फौरन, तत्काल, एक जांच समिति बैठाई जाये, तो तमाम कोलियरी के मजदूरों के पास जाये और उन मजदूरों से इस बात की जानकारी करे कि सी० पी० एम० के लोगों ने जबरदस्ती कितना चंदा उनसे वसूल किया है ।

इसी के साथ साथ, हमारे मित्र नीरे घोष बहुत जल्द कह सकते हैं हम लोग दलाल हैं—अच्छा भाई, हम दलाल हैं और ये बड़े भारी सभ्य और मजदूरों के शुभचिन्तक हैं — तो कारण क्या है जरा इसका अध्ययन करें । प्रेसीडेंट रूल आया और जिन-जिन के हाथों में, कलाई में, घड़ियों में वह ललकी चुनरी बंधी थी, सी० पी० आई० द्वारा, वह सब फेंक दिये । आज वह आसनसोल में नहीं रह गये हैं —खाली यह बोल लें चटर्जी, कही कही ...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : Mr. Rajnarain, what you are stating does not go in your favour.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : अब खत्म कीजिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : हमारे मित्र कह रहे हैं, नीरेन घोष, कि हम जो कुछ कह रहे हैं वह हमारे पक्ष में नहीं जायेगा । मैं कभी भी यह नहीं चाहता कि जो कुछ कहें वह हमारे पक्ष में जाय । मैं बराबर वह कहता हूं जो सब के पक्ष में जाय, न्याय के पक्ष में जाय, जो समाज के पक्ष में जाय, चाहे उससे हमारा अहित क्यों न हो जाय ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : अब तो खत्म कीजिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : बीच में मत बोलिये ।
2 मिनट में खत्म हो जायेगा ।

मैं नीरेन घोष से, चूक डी० एम० वर्दमान से सफाई दी है, पूछना चाहता हूँ : मैं इस सदन का सदस्य हूँ, 2 बार, 3 बार हमारी गाड़ी घेरी गई, सी० पी० आई० एम० / के लोगों ने भाला ले ले कर घेरा । एक बार तो ड्राइवर की कुशलता से बच गये और कमण्डर अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया जो लोक सभा के सदस्य हैं, उनकी गाड़ी को चारो तरफ से भाला ले कर घेर दिया । शिवपुर की तरफ जो रास्ता जाता है वही पर उनके लोग घेरे रहते हैं, वे लाल कपड़ा भाले में बांधे रहते हैं और झड़ियाँ लिये जा रहे हैं और गले में बांध लेते हैं; कहते हैं : जो न बंधे उसको कत्ल कर दें । यह समाजवाद है । यह नर-हत्या पर समाजवाद आयेगा । यह नर-हत्या पर समाजवाद नहीं आयेगा । नीसे घोष, एक सबक लो, अब भी मौका है, जितना अहित सी० पी० एम० ने किया है जनतांत्रिक पद्धति में उतना अहित कांग्रेस रूल ने भी नहीं किया । (Interruptions) खैर, कांग्रेस वाले तो पापी हैं ही । मगर हमारा कहना यह है कि जनाब आली, जनता ने कांग्रेस के पापाचार से ऊब कर संयुक्त मोरचे के हाथ में ताकत दी मगर सी० पी० आई० एम० / के कुकर्म ने इस ताकत को फिर छेदा है इस बात को देखें । श्री नीसे घोष जब हमारे ऊपर डंडा चला तो वे एक बार भी नहीं बोले, वे एक बार भी नहीं बोले कि सदन के सदस्य पीटे गये और वे इस बारे में बिल्कुल नहीं बोले । आज वे कहते हैं कि तुमने हमारे लिये कितना बोला । हम तो बोलते ही रहते हैं और हमने कहा कि जिसने श्री ज्योति बसु पर हमला किया वह कायर है, नपुंसक और हिजड़ा है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : अब आप खत्म कीजिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : अब मैं एक बात को एक मिनट में खत्म कर देना चाहता हूँ । श्री नीरेन घोष ने बर्दवान के जीलाधीश के बारे में सफाई दी थी । श्रीमन्, हमारे पास पूरी रपट है जो वहाँ पर कत्ल हुआ । देखिये । मलिक सेन के एक भाई नवकुमार सेन है । ये साढ़े सात बजे डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट के पास जाते हैं । और कहते हैं कि हमें डर है कि हमारे ऊपर सी० पी० आई० एम० वाले हमला करेंगे । जीलाधीश ने कहा, ठीक है हम देख लेंगे और आश्वासन दिया कि कुछ नहीं होगा । मगर जब वहाँ पर हमला हुआ तो उसका भाई एस० डी० एम० के पास जाता है और उसके पैर पकड़ता है कि हमें बचाओ । एस० डी० एम० जिसको मैं निकम्मा कहूँगा वह कहता है कि हमारे पास कोई शक्ति नहीं है कि तुम को बचा पाये । इस तरह से भेड़ियों ने उन लोगों को अपने जबड़े में चबा लिया । मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस देश की जनतंत्रीय जनता में वह ताकत आये, वह शक्ति आये, वह प्रतिभा प्रज्वलित हो जिससे ये गुन्डे, ये असामाजिक रूप के जो भेड़िये हैं उनके माथे को तोड़ दिया जाय । यह हमारी इच्छा है, मगर हम वह तरीका अख्तियार नहीं कर सकते हैं । (समय की घंटी) जरा आप मुन लीजिये हमारे दिल को । मुझे मालूम नहीं कि श्री चटर्जी ने पिस्तौल उठाई है या नहीं । हो सकता है अगर कर्फी उठाई हो तो धोती में उनका पेशाब आ गया होगा । (हंसी) मगर हमने पिस्तौल उठाई है, हमने पिस्तौल चलाई है । तब चलाई है 1942 में और 1942 के पहले । मगर जब देश आजाद हुआ तो हम डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया से वचनबद्ध हो गये थे । उन्होंने हमसे प्रतिज्ञा ली कि तुम हथियार मत उठाना और मैं उसी प्रतिज्ञा पर वचनबद्ध हूँ । उन्होंने कहा, देखो विदेशी शासन अब समाप्त हो गया है और अब इस देश में अपना शासन हो गया है । अगर शासन बुरा है तो उसको जनमत परिवर्तन करके बदलो, लेकिन हथियार मत उठाओ । हमारे

मित्र जो यहां पर केरल के प्रजासोशलिस्ट के बैठे हैं उनकी सरकार ने जब वहां पर गोली चलाई तो पी० एस० पी० टूट गई । हमने कहा कि जब हमें अपने देश में जनतंत्र को चलाना है तो निहत्थी जनता पर गोली नहीं चलाया जाना चाहिये । हम इस प्रश्न को मानते हैं वरना हम तो ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : अब आप खत्म कीजिये क्योंकि आपके दो मिनट हो गये हैं ।

श्री राजनारायण : इसीलिये मैं कह रहा हूँ कि माननीय घर मंत्री जी यहां पर जल्दी न करें । हमारी भी आज तीन मीटिंग हैं—एक सात बजे से, एक आठ बजे से और एक नौ बजे से है । मगर आज मौका है कि हम अपने जजबात का इजहार करे और इसीलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ घर मंत्री जी आपके द्वारा कि वे श्री ध्वन को फौरन वापस बुलायें । क्योंकि वे आज अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं कर रहे हैं । आज उनकी दृष्टि दूषित है, उनकी दृष्टि संकुचित है और वे अपनी गद्दी को वहां पर सुरक्षित रखने के लिये समझौता कराने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं ।

श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र : आप उनको यहां बुलाने के लिये किस लिये कहते हैं ।

श्री राजनारायण : वहां से हटाये जायें यह हमारी बनारसी भाषा है । इसलिये सिद्धान्तों में समझौता करना आत्मघात होगा । जिनके पास कोई सिद्धान्त नहीं है उनकी हमेशा ढिलमिल नीति रहती है । इसलिये हम अपनी इम मांग को लेकर अडिग हैं कि श्री ध्वन साहब जो इस समय बंगाल के राज्यपाल हैं वे वहां न रहें वहां से वापस बुलायें जाय और डी० एम० वर्दवान किसी भी सरकारी सेवा में स्थान न पाये । उसके समकक्ष जितने भी अफसर हैं उन सभी पर बाकायदा कोर्ट पर मुकद्दमा चलाया जाय क्योंकि उन्होंने अपने कर्तव्य

का पालन नहीं किया है और उनका सरकारी सेवक के नाते जो दायित्व था उस दायित्व को उन्होंने नहीं निभाया और उन्होंने सी० पी० आई० (एम०) और श्री ज्योति वसु के इशारे पर उनका वालिन्टियर बनकर वहां के जन जीवन को दूषित किया और समाप्त किया । इसलिये हम चाहते हैं कि सरकार हमारी मांग के ऊपर अवश्य ध्यान दे ।

श्री पीताम्बर दास : मैंने इस वृहत् को बड़े गौर से देखा ।

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You were instructing Mr. Rajnarain. Why do you want to speak now ?

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : Have patience, Mr. Chatterjee.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Sir, Mr. Rajnarain's socialism has become an amalgam of Gandhism, Fascism and Jan Sanghism. Jan Sangh was instructing him. So why should Mr. Pitamber Das speak now ?

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : Take it easy. What I speak now is meant only for you, and for nobody else, Mr. Chatterjee.

श्री राजनारायण : हमारी चोट श्री अरुण चटर्जी पर पड़े ताकि उनका मस्तिष्क उन्मुक्त हो ।

श्री पीताम्बर दास : श्रीमन्, मैं इस सारी डिबेट में इस बात को बड़े गौर से देख रहा था कि जरा जरा सी बात पर श्री नीरेन घोष और श्री अरुण चटर्जी उठ रहे थे । इस दर्द भरे दिल में एक हूक सी उठती थी ।

बैठा भी न जाता था
उठ उठ के चहकते थे ।

मैं एक बात और निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ सी० पी० एम० के इन साथियों से ।

[श्री पीताम्बर दास]

वह दुनिया थी जहाँ पर बंद कर दी थी जवां सब की ।

यह महशर है यहाँ सुननी पड़ेगी दास्तां सब की ।

मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे एक मिनट का समय दिया ।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : We listen to each and everything, even to those who are opposed to us.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : Sir, I only want to ask Mr. Pitamber Das whether he subscribes to all the views that have been expressed by his partyman, Shri Jagdish Prasad Mathur. He has not blamed C.P.I. (M) for all the failures and other happenings there...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR : No, no.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : ... and he wanted to say that the Central Government was responsible. I emphatically repudiate it. I deny all the allegations that he has made. He should know better and he should not talk in an irresponsible manner like this. I hope this Bill will be passed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The question is : "That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER RE. DEATH OF SHRI LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have gone through the proceedings of the discussion in the House on the 2nd instant regarding the death of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. Shastriji's death was a national loss and to me, a personal shock. It still evokes sad emotions in the hearts of many of us in the House and in the country as a whole. I do not wish to enter into any arguments with my old friends in the House but only place some facts already mentioned in the course of discussions in this House as well as in the other House in 1966. In the course of the statement made by the then Foreign Minister on 16th February 1966, it was explained that the late Prime Minister was accommodated in a villa specially provided for his

use by the Government of U.S.S.R. The members of his personal staff and his personal physician were also accommodated in the same villa. This villa was about 250 yards from the hotel where the other members of the Indian delegation were lodged. Shri Bhargava had inquired of the then Foreign Minister in February 1966 about the circumstances in which the Prime Minister in a separate villa were disapproved. The Foreign Minister had clearly stated that the Prime Minister was not first allotted one place and then shifted to another. Arrangements were made for Shastriji's stay in a separate villa at Tashkent and not in the guest house because Shastriji would not have to climb a flight of stairs if he stayed at the villa. His personal, medical and security staff could live with him in the villa while in the guest house they would have had to be accommodated on a different floor.

He could have separate arrangements for entertainment and meeting in the villa while in the guest house only a common dining room was available for the whole delegation. The Pakistan President also was accommodated in a separate villa. Shri Bhargava had asked a question in this House on the 11th August 1967 whether arrangements for the stay of the Prime Minister in a separate villa were disapproved by our security officers. We denied that there was any such disapproval. Shri Bhargava had again on 2-4-70 suggested that there was a telegram from our security officers disapproving of the arrangements. I may reiterate that there was no such telegram from our security officers.

Sir, a question had also been raised about the telephone fitted with a buzzer. It was explained in the Foreign Minister's statement on 16th February 1966 that apart from the two telephones for internal and international calls fitted in the Prime Minister's room, there was also a third telephone with a buzzer which could be activated by simply lifting the receiver. This instrument was available for the Prime Minister's use to call any member of the personal staff or doctor in case of need. It was subsequently clarified in the other House, while replying to late Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia that the buzzer telephone was not by the side of the Prime Minister's bed. The buzzer telephone was in the Prime Minister's suite