

12 NOON

**CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE****LAND OCCUPATION MOVEMENT IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY**

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL** (Gujarat) : With your permission I beg to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the land occupation movement in different parts of the country and the situation arising therefrom.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA** (West Bengal) : The Prime Minister was sitting till now. The question is very important and this is a matter in which the Government should speak at the highest level. I am not casting any aspersion on anybody.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, AND MINISTER OF STATE, DEPARTMENTS OF ELECTRONICS AND SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH (SHRI K. C. PANT)** : The Government are aware of the agitation launched by some political parties in the form of forcible occupation of land, public as well as private, in different parts of the country. Government are already committed to a programme of effective and speedy implementation of land reforms, including enforcement of laws relating to ceilings, allotment of surplus land to the landless giving preference to the weaker sections of the community, and strengthening existing legal provisions in regard to security of tenure, fair rent, etc. Hence Government are of the view that such agitations are uncalled for and any defiance of law will require to be dealt with firmly. The State Governments are maintaining due vigilance and are taking appropriate steps to deal with the situation. Information regarding action taken by State Governments is awaited.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL** : I believe the Government is aware of the violent activities of some of the people instigating the land grab movement like the murder of Sardar Basant Singh in Punjab, the shooting of people in Assam, the hanging of the head of a landlord at his doorstep, etc. What action do the Government

propose to take in this matter? Will the Government take deterrent action to prevent such lawlessness in this country?

**SHRI K. C. PANT** : My friend referred to some ghastly crimes and all action under the law will be taken against the perpetrators of such crimes.

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI** (Maharashtra) : May I know from the Government whether the present land-grab movement is an outcome of the utter frustration...

**SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS** (Orissa) : You have made it land occupation, Sir.

**MR. CHAIRMAN** : You may give your version

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI** : ...faced by the landless, particularly in the rural areas and may I know whether the Government knows that even in the North Indian States till now the tenancy laws are not implemented and loopholes are created in the implementation of the ceiling laws where funny things like even a mechanised farm having one tractor is left out of the Land Ceiling Act? May I know whether the Government will evolve an all-India pattern of the land ceiling laws and implement them and see that they are properly implemented? Last year in the Chief Ministers' Conference, the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers agreed that within a year positive steps would be taken to implement the land ceilings. One year has elapsed. Will the Government assure that those assurances given by the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers will be honoured and land will be distributed by that period promised?

In this connection, when the Government says that they are going to maintain law and order, they should do it but the loopholes are there in the Act in the name of personal unit. Unless a family unit is attempted, the hunger for land cannot be mitigated. May I know whether the Government will also see that family unit is maintained and they will also see that all the States enact such laws and implement them? The last point I wanted to know was this. Ultimately, will the Government take

a longer perspective because, Sir, what we have got is 35 crores of acres of land available whereas there are 45 crores of people constituting the rural families. So this problem cannot be solved only by an equitable distribution of this available land. Also the land should be put to industrial use and steps should be taken to set up industries in the rural areas. Otherwise this problem will again and again come up demanding a solution, because one acre or two acres to a family will not solve the problem. May I know, Sir, from the Government whether all these aspects will be kept in view by them while giving advice to the Chief Ministers and whether they will honour their own commitments given at the Chief Ministers' Conference?

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, my hon. friend has rightly drawn attention to the need to go to the root of this problem in this country which cannot be just an equitable distribution of land. And there can be no two opinions at least among those sitting on this side of the House on the need and desirability of taking various steps to ensure security of tenure, fair rent, strict enforcement of ceilings and giving consideration to landless labour, particularly to the Harijans and Scheduled Tribes. (*Inter-ruptions*) All these things we are committed to as I have said in my main Statement, and we are trying our level best to bring this about. Now there are obvious limitations so far as the States are concerned up to which we can go. After the meeting, to which my hon. friend referred, the Prime Minister has, in fact, written twice to all the Chief Ministers laying particular emphasis on the need to implement land reform measures quickly. She has gone into the various measures that were agreed upon and has emphasised the need to bring this about quickly in order to tackle the problem of rural unrest. But then, Sir, the whole process should be a lawful process and should be done peacefully, and should be done by the Assemblies and Parliament through enacting the necessary laws and by implementing those laws.

Now the other particular question to which my hon. friend referred is the question of how much population the land can bear, whether the land is enough to be distributed to each and every landless person. Obviously, Sir, if the portions of land

which we distribute are so small that they do not constitute economic holdings, then we are not really solving the problem and, therefore, I fully accept his thesis that industries must side by side come up in the rural areas so that the industries on

the land and the other activities which these will generate will together provide employment and means of livelihood to all our people.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : Sir, according to an estimate made by the General Secretary of the Samyukta Socialist Party, there 15 crores of acres of Government fallow land and 5 crores of acres of private surplus land in different parts of the country and they are beyond the ceiling laws now current in the country. Now, Sir, this automatically proves that the Government's policy to implement the land reforms is not satisfactorily implemented. As a matter of fact, Sir, I know it from my own personal experience that large tracts of land are still being illegally retained by the erstwhile zamindars, and even it is now known today that Central Ministers and monopoly houses are also retaining huge portions of land illegally and beyond the ceiling limits prescribed.

That being the case it is in the fitness of things that the people of this country in order to implement the Government's policy of distributing land to the landless peasants are occupying the land. This is justified and I think this is a democratic movement. In view of this fact will the Government thank the people, thank the Communist Party, the SSP and the PSP for really helping the Government in implementing the basic policy of the Government with regard to land? Instead of that they have now let loose repressive measures. Sir, today's newspapers say that about 6,000 people have already been arrested and there has been one firing in Bihar. Many more repressive measures are going to be let loose on these land occupiers who are quite justified and democratic. In view of this may I know from the hon. Minister whether he will take immediate steps to regularise the possession of the land occupied by the peasants, reduce drastically the land ceiling, stop all repressive measures to suppress the land occupation movement and convene immediately a conference of the Chief Ministers of the States in the light

[Shri Chitta Basu]

of the present position so that the State Governments can take appropriate action in the light of the movement now going on in the country and distribute the lands to the peasants and landless agriculturists through popularly elected committees and initiate measures to remove the loopholes in the existing ceiling laws? I think the Government should specifically answer to this question and say whether they are going to take appropriate measures in this respect.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, I have already indicated in my first answer that the Government is taking all possible steps open to it...

SHRI CHITTA BASU : What about these steps?

SHRI K. C. PANT : ... to bring about early land reforms. He refers to a conference of Chief Ministers. As my hon. friend, Shri Kulkarni stated a little while ago a Chief Ministers' conference was called to discuss this problem...

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Why not in the context of this development?

SHRI K. C. PANT : ... and it is as a follow-up of this conference that various steps were taken and also the Prime Minister wrote to all the Chief Ministers. I have already referred to all these various aspects. Now my hon. friend wants the Government to thank the parties for what they have done. Sir the problem is that those who believe in planning must realise that even if their ends are right, surely it should be within the framework of planning as to what use should be made of land, how much you want for forests, how much you want for other purposes and so on. All that cannot be done in this manner by forcible occupation of land, by going and occupying a portion of some land which may be necessary for other purposes in national interests. Is it not proper in the case of even redistribution of land to do it through legal means, through the Government and in a manner which is according to planned priorities for the whole nation? That is a question I seriously put to him.

Now he gave certain figures. So far as those figures are concerned I cannot say

anything; I do not have the figures with me.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : When lands are being retained by the Central Ministers and...

SHRI K. C. PANT : I have no knowledge of any Central Minister retaining any land.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : ... State Ministers...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Mathur.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) :

जहाँ तक भूमि सुधारों का प्रश्न है, विभिन्न राज्य सरकारों ने इस संबंध में कानून बनाये हैं। प्रश्न है उनको कार्यान्वित करने का। क्या सरकार आज इस प्रकार का कोई निर्णय ले सकती है कि सरकार के पास विभिन्न प्रान्तों में जो अतिरिक्त भूमि है, उसको एक निश्चित अवधि के अन्दर तारीख तय करके वितरित कर दिया जायेगा। जहाँ लैंड सीलिंग कानून लागू नहीं है जहाँ अतिरिक्त भूमि है, उसको भी कानून बनने के बाद भी जहाँ डिस्ट्रिब्यूट नहीं किया गया है एक टाइम-शैड्यूल तय करके कि इस समय तक इस जमीन को वितरित कर दिया जायेगा, क्या सरकार इस तरह की घोषणा कर सकती है?

दूसरी समस्या एक और भूमि के संबंध में सामने आई है। देश की आजादी के बाद स्वयं कांग्रेस ने नारा दिया था लैंड टु दि टिलर, जोतने वाले की जमीन, लेकिन पिछले दिनों में एक प्रकार की टेंडेंसी देखने में आई है कि जितने हमारे बड़े-बड़े कारखानेदार हैं बिड़ला से लेकर टाटा, डालमिया सभी सेठों को लीजिये उन्होंने विभिन्न प्रान्तों में जमीन खरीद कर बड़े-बड़े फार्म बनाये हैं। उन्हीं की तरह से आज बड़े-बड़े मंत्री हैं, वह चाहे प्रधान मंत्री हों या प्रान्तों में उपमन्त्री हों प्रधान मंत्री से लेकर छोटे से छोटे मंत्री ने यह जो जमीन एलाट करवायी है, या जो जमीन खरीदी है तो क्या सरकार निर्णय ले सकती

है कि जो लोग, वह चाहे पूजीपति हो या मंत्री हों, जिनको जर्मन एलाट हुई है और काश्त-कार की श्रेणी में नहीं आते, उन लोगों की जमीन जिस प्रकार से ज़मींदारी और जमींदारी का एवालिशन हुआ है, उसी प्रकार से सरकार उनके एलाटमेंट को कैंसिल करके उनकी जमीन वापस कर देगी । दूसरे इस प्रकार के लोग जो खेती नहीं करते और ज्यादा कीमत दे कर जर्मन खरीद लेते हैं, इस प्रकार की खरीददारी पर रोक लगाने का क्या सरकार विचार करेगी और वे दल जिन्होंने कि इसको राजनीतिक आधार बनाया हुआ है जैसे सी० पी० आई०, आज वह इस आन्दोलन की नेता बनी हुई है, उनके एक बड़े नेता श्री जेड० ए० अहमद हैं, उ को क्या श्री भूपेश गुप्त जी आदेश देंगे कि सीलिंग से ज्यादा जो भूमि उनके पास है उस को वह वापस कर दें ?

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI (Maharashtra): You can go and occupy it.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: I do not want to occupy it. I want the Government to implement it. I do not want to be a law-breaker.

और क्या यह हम मान कर चलें कि सरकारी कांग्रेस की नीतियां हैं उसमें सबसे पहले सरकारी कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष बाबू जगजीवन राम जी ने मध्य प्रदेश में भाषण दिया था कि लोग जबरदस्ती जा कर जमीनों पर कब्जा कर...

श्री सभापति : आप छोटा सवाल करिये ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : तो उनके उस वक्तव्य के पश्चात् जो आंदोलन चल पड़ा है उस संबंध में क्या हुआ और देश में आज प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो अंतकवादी आंदोलन को प्रश्रय दिया था, उस प्रकार की उनकी नीतियों के कारण इस लैंड एंड आंदोलन को प्रश्रय मिल रहा है और देश में एक प्रकार की अव्यवस्था और अराजकता की स्थिति पैदा हो रही है, जिसकी जिम्मेदारी स्वयं सरकारी कांग्रेस की है ।

श्री के० सी० पन्त : मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है अध्यक्ष महोदय, कि माननीय सदस्य की दलील भी अब सरकार की उन नीतियों का समर्थन कर रही है, जिससे कि जमीन का बंटवारा ठीक से हो ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : कांग्रेस पार्टी में भी ऐसे हैं कि जिनके पास सीलिंग से ज्यादा जमीन है ।

(Interruptions)

श्री के० सी० पन्त : मैंने तो आपकी बात पर प्रसन्नता व्यक्त की है ।

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर (मध्य प्रदेश) : गश्त कोट मत करिये ।

श्री के० सी० पन्त : और जहां तक यह प्रश्न है कि मंत्रियों ने जमीन रखी या किसी पार्टी के नेताओं ने रखी है, तो जिसने भी रखी है वह कानून के मुताबिक रखी है । प्रधान मंत्री के लिये भी वही कानून है, लेकिन जहां तक मुझे मालूम है प्रधान मंत्री को कोई जमीन एलाट नहीं हुई ।

ए० माननीय सदस्य : खरीदी है ।

श्री के० सी० पन्त : खरीदने में जब तक कानून उस की इजाजत देता है तो क्या एतराज है ?

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर : उस पर प्रतिबंध लगाइये ।

श्री के० सी० पन्त : आप कहें तो उसके लिये सोच विचार हो सकता है । लेकिन ...

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Shejwalkar please sit down. I do not allow this. There are other hon. Members who want to put questions.

श्री के० सी० पन्त : लेकिन एलाटमेंट और खरीदने में अंतर है जो माननीय सदस्य समझते हैं, मगर उन्होंने एलाटमेंट की बात कही इसलिये मुझे कहना पड़ा । जहां तक प्रांतों की

[श्री के० सी० पन्त]

हिदायत देने का प्रश्न है, प्रांतों से बातचीत होती रहती है, प्रांतों से कहते रहते हैं। जहां भी सीलिंग से ज्यादा हो या और कोई अनियमितता हो तो प्रांतीय सरकारों का काम है कि वह कानूनों को ठीक से लागू करे।

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): The hon. Minister is aware that the Prime Minister in her statement to American correspondents or American visitors said that the movement was undemocratic and unconstitutional. The Minister also spoke about stern steps being taken. I would like to ask him, what long-range and short-range steps the Government are going to take to solve this problem? Regarding long-range steps, even though the subject is within the State List, why cannot the Central Government have a crash programme for distribution of fallow land which is available with the Government and about which we have submitted a three-volume report? The Land Acquisition Committee's Report was submitted to the Government only the other day.

The second point is, when the land is occupied, how are you going to restore the land to the owner? In one State, West Bengal, even the High Court orders have not been carried out. Is the Government prepared to acquire the land under the Land Acquisition Act and pay proper compensation to the man who is deprived of the land? (Interruption) It is not a question of arrest. What steps are you going to take to restore land to the landowner and pay compensation to him on behalf of the State under the Land Acquisition Act?

SHRI K. C. PANT: He referred to the statement by the Prime Minister to some pressmen. I have not seen the press report.

SHRI A. D. MANI: In the Statesman.

SHRI K. C. PANT: But I think he called it undemocratic . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: . . . and unconstitutional.

SHRI K. C. PANT: . . . and unconstitutional, which it is. It is so. So far as the long-range and short-range measures to tackle the problem go, the short-

range problem is to deal with lawlessness firmly.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Are you going to restore the land to the owner?

SHRI K. C. PANT: You asked a series of questions. The short-range problem is to deal with lawlessness firmly. The long-range problem is to bring about a more equitable distribution of land, to give land to the landless, to give land to the tiller, to generally bring about a more equitable distribution in the rural areas and to help in making these holdings economic so that they can create wealth, they can raise the standard of living of the people there, so that there is a measure of contentment and the standard of living rises and that provides the necessary stability within which our system can function. That is the long-range view of the problem if I may submit with all respect. Specifically he referred to certain problems related to the implementation of some specific law. That I cannot say off-hand.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Are you going to restore the land to the man who is dispossessed because in West Bengal the High Courts orders have been disobeyed and no action has been taken?

SHRI K. C. PANT: According to the process of law these things should be done.

SHRI A. D. MANI: But it is not done.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Wherever any specific case is brought to my notice I will certainly refer it to the concerned Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I noted that in replying to this calling attention three times our Minister said that it will be dealt with firmly. Indeed he is speaking like the Home Minister of the Congress regime. But they should know their feet of clay. This is not Shri Govind Ballabh Pant or Dr. Katju speaking. He is speaking in 1970 and when such language is used, they should bear in mind not only the big stick they have in their hand but also their feet of clay. We can condemn this Government here. We can have a resolution condemning this Government.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI S. N. MISHRA): Would you do that?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes, Yes. I will do that. Why not ? I will do that. We will condemn this thing.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

SHRI RAJNARAIN (Uttar Pradesh) : He can condemn.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I will ask you to do that.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : He is not for overthrowing the Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My friend can legitimately ask me this question. The position is this. The Prime Minister has said it is undemocratic, unconstitutional, illegal. How does it become unconstitutional ? Which article of the Constitution is violated when the peasants occupy the surplus land which the landlords have kept by violating the ceiling laws of the country ? The boot is on the other leg. They are not accused of acting unconstitutionally but when the peasants go and occupy this land kept illegally in violation of our ceiling laws, the peasantry and those who are living there are accused of acting unconstitutionally. The recovery of this stolen property would also be unconstitutional even if the thieves will be acting constitutionally, the robbers will be acting constitutionally. If this is the Prime Minister's definition save us from the definition. Now, Sir, my friend, Mr. Dharia was quite right. He put it very bluntly and pointedly—it is not land-grabbing, it is land-degrabbing. I congratulate Mr. Dharia. He has shown better wisdom and knowledge of public affairs than the Prime Minister of the country. You talk about this as unconstitutional and illegal. How is it illegal ?

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : Are you prepared to have Dharia as the Prime Minister ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have no objection; so long as you do not put Mr. Morarji Desai on us, I am prepared.

Now, Sir, the position is clear. All over the country it is not the small man's land which is being occupied but land which is being held in *benami* by cheating

the ceiling laws is being occupied. Land, surplus land, forest land, name-sake forest land, land vested in the Government but not distributed by the Government, that is being occupied. It is not the land below the ceiling which is being occupied. I should like to know why the Prime Minister goes and tells the Americans that we are acting illegally, when we are acting absolutely legally, even enforcing the law. The incompetent land-lord ridden State Governments have failed to do so even after 23 years of independence. These people should be penalised and punished, and you deal with them firmly, not the peasants. Is it not a fact that there are 21 crore acres of land which cannot be distributed, coming under the categories of surplus land, benami land, forest land and land vested in Government ? Why are these lands not being distributed when 30 to 40 per cent of our agricultural population are absolutely landless, when 60 per cent of the population belong to the category of agricultural labour class or very poor peasantry ? Land hunger is a big problem. Why it is not being done, I should like to know. And why they did not deal with them firmly all these years, I should like to know. Sir, prodded by this Government, they have arrested four thousand people. The U.P. Government has started arresting them. Leaders of my . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have taken four minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Leaders of the SSP, Mr. Madhu Limaye and other, and also of the PSP have been arrested. Why is it happening ? I say, this Government is committing a treachery against the nation. Land occupation movement is one of the greatest movements that the Indian peasantry has launched. These cowardly and pro-landlord people talk of having the courage of temerity to suppress the peasant masses and they are letting loose the police force on them. I condemn this Government. The Prime Minister and others should not enforce the P.D. Act. And Mr. Charan Singh has said that he has passed the P.D. Act on the orders of the Central Government. I would like to invite Congress Member like Mr. Dharia and Mr. Chandrashekhar. Forget your bogus party discipline. Join the land movement

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

wherever it is. We shall be giving all our assistance and blessing just as we expect it from you.

Therefore I would demand that this Government should put a stop to this policy of repression and all the lands occupied by the peasants, lands in excess of the surplus, *benami* lands, name-sake forest lands vested in Government they should remain in possession of the occupants. They should be legalised. That would be in spirit with the Directive Principles of the Constitution, the Preamble of the Constitution, and that will be in tune with the Constitution, and not what the Prime Minister talks to the American correspondents. Therefore I demand this action, and I do hope that this Government will not permit itself to behave as the agent of the landlords in the countryside. Now that the situation has changed, see that the problem of the peasantry is solved in a peasant way, in a popular way. This problem they have not been able to solve all these 23 years because of ineptitude, corruption and collusion with the landlords. The peasant masses are solving it. They have to be congratulated and I am sure Mr. Dharwadkar and Mr. Chandra Shekhar will congratulate the peasant masses for the manner in which they are solving the problem. Therefore, I condemn this Government for betrayal of national interest (*Time bell rings*) I condemn this Government for siding with the landlords. I condemn this Government for letting loose police terror. I condemn this Government for inciting the D.M.K. and the Swatantra Party for non-cooperating with the masses . . .

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

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: . . . they stand condemned in the eyes of the public as the agents of the landlords. They will fall in the esteem of the people. I can tell you this much, gentlemen, sitting in the Treasury Benches.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, I shall try to ignore the purple phrases of my hon'ble friend and will just confine myself to some of the points he has raised.

The first point he has raised is that the land which is being forcibly occupied is being occupied because earlier it had been forcibly occupied by some-body else. He drew the analogy of stolen property. Sir, proceeding with this analogy further, it is precisely because the law of the land provides a machinery through which stolen property can be recovered that it is not open to an individual . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order. Suppose my pocket is picked and I see the thief going away with my money shall I come to Parliament Street Police Station with a petition or shall I recover my property then and there from him?

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) :  
मंत्री महोदय ने चुराई ग संपत्ति की तुलना  
यहां पर भूमि से की है। मैं यह पूछना चाहता  
हूँ कि . . .

श्री के० सी० पन्त : उन्होंने की।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : जिन लोगों के  
कब्जे में भूमि है, क्या वह चुराई हुई है ?

श्री के० सी० पन्त : मैं उनकी बात का  
जवाब दे रहा हूँ।

Sir, my hon'ble did not hear me. I said that Shri Bhupesh Gupta said so. That is all I said. I said proceeding with his argument further, I pointed out the fallacy in the argument. I said even if this was so, there is a legal machinery to recover the stolen property. That is what I said.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): When the legal machinery fails what is the way out? When the machinery does not operate and the people's movement starts, they force the legal machinery to operate.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I personally think that the remedy lies in the democratic process under which the Government can be thrown out of office at the next elections if it does not answer the aspirations of the people.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: Shri Bhupesh Gupta is not prepared to wait for that.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : Will the C.P.I. here and now declare that they will not combine with the Congress (R) in Kerala and West Bengal ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If the Marxist Party of India gives up its policy of opportunism and disruption we shall certainly overthrow the Government . . .

*(Interruptions)*

*(Shri Rajnarain spoke)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Nothing should go on record.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I did not say that . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, will you please sit down now ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I did not say that.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Rajnarain, please sit down. *(Interruptions)* I think the House is interested in knowing the views of the Government and in listening to the reply of the hon. Minister. I think the House is not interested in the quarrels between two political groups here.

*(Interruptions)*

श्री राजनारायण : यह क्वेरल नहीं है, पार्लियामेंटरी रिलेशनशिप है, आप अनावश्यक ढंग से इसको क्वेरल की संज्ञा देते हैं। अगर इस तरह से चेयर रूलिंग दिया करेगी तो सदन अच्छी तरह से काम चलेगा। यह सब संसदीय परम्परा है। ए० पी० चटर्जी का बिलकुल वेलिड सवाल है . . .

*(Interruption)*

श्री उपसभापति : आप बैठिये।

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir the other question was as to what our party had done in the last 23 years or so in regard to this matter. Actually the Congress Party has been the pioneer in the Kisan movement and land reforms movement. Even in the old days, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

used to lead this movement and in Eastern U.P. it was he who kindled the first sparks of this movement. And later on when the country became free, there was the Zamindari Abolition Act in U.P. and in various other States. If anything was done for the kisan in the years gone by, before and after independence, it was the Congress Party which did it. Sir, even now it is the Congress Party which has the courage to say that there are various deficiencies and though various laws have been enacted, we are not fully implementing them on the ground. It is we who are always taking the initiative in seeing that the deficiencies are corrected. We do not paper over them; we do not attempt to hide them. We are conscious of the deficiencies and we are trying to overcome them. Then I may refer briefly to only one other aspect and that is, while the States have necessarily to take various actions in regard to land reforms wherever there has been President's rule, in those States the Centre has taken vigorous steps. This was so in West Bengal, in Uttar Pradesh, in Bihar and in Punjab. Even now in West Bengal since the recent President's rule, the Central Government is attempting to improve the conditions of the *bargadars*. In fact, many Members of this House know that already steps have been taken to increase their share in certain cases.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : What about ceiling on family basis ?

SHRI K. C. PANT : That is under consideration. When the Central Government has a direct responsibility, it tries to do its best directly.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, we are now discussing about what is happening elsewhere. I have to make an observation about our own House. Here in this House another movement has started and this movement is "speech occupation movement" or "speech grab movement". We find that what is happening here is the same thing that is happening elsewhere. You must also be a strict controller. Otherwise the Government cannot control what is happening elsewhere. Now I shall come to the clarifications *(Interruptions)* Now you see what is happening.



MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: Sir, it is said that this is the first step in the revolution to achieve socio-economic equality. I agree. It should be like that. But there are constitutional methods by which we can get this socio-economic equality. When people do not resort to constitutional methods and go in for extra-constitutional methods of taking the law into their own hands—whatever may be the political affiliations and whatever may be the blessings they get from others—it will be a threat to democracy. The Government should be firm. Already our democracy is in doldrums. We talk of our being the biggest democracy in the whole world. But what do we do? We do something which will never be democratic. Sir, I only ask one question. As the Preventive Detention Act has lapsed, will the Government give a re-thinking as to whether it would be advisable to re-introduce it? It is not difficult for this Government to re-open it. Or they can have a variant of this Preventive Detention Act and see that these things are curbed. Secondly, my hon. friend has given out some figures. I find from the Five-Year Plan document that there are about 98 million acres of land which are cultivable and culturable leaving aside fallow lands, etc.

Leave aside the fallow and all that. I am specific. I have read like that. It is 98 million acres which are today fit for cultivation and I only wish that the Government should take steps to see, at least direct the State Governments, to start with, those lands which are under their control and are cultivable—leave aside the fallow the forests and everything else which is not available for cultivation—are doled out to them and see that these people are satisfied. And another thing which I wish to say is that they are taking steps to see that the Land Reforms Act is given effect to. The Land Reforms Act is being implemented in a half-hearted manner in all the States, and whatever they do they do in a half-hearted manner. If they do not see that it is implemented, we shall not like this stepmotherly treatment. They should take some bold steps in this matter to see that it is implemented very carefully. At least to start with, these 98

millions of acres of land which are cultivable should be doled out to deserving landless labourers.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, I think the first point was about the Preventive Detention Act. I do not really see how it arises here. But, so far as the history of this Act goes and the difficulties that have arisen in again adopting this Act for West Bengal are concerned, the hon. Member is aware of the problem. I need not go into that. So far as the question of 98 million acres of cultivable land is concerned, personally I do not know where he gets this figure from.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: From the Five Year Plan.

SHRI K. C. PANT: It could be. I think the point that needs to be considered is that already in India 41 per cent of our land is under the plough and that is very high in relation to the normal balance between agriculture, forestry and other purposes. While whatever land can be brought under the plough in addition to these should be brought under the plough, there is also the need to have forests without which agriculture cannot prosper, the need to have seed farms without which proper seeds cannot be produced, the need to have grazing grounds without which you cannot have proper cattle wealth which is required for agricultural purposes, and the need to have proper town planning and area planning within which you have parks, schools, hospitals and so on. So, all in all what with the land occupied by the rivers, towns and cities, hamlets and villages and lakes, all this has to be taken into account, and looking at this figure of 98 millions, it appears to be a high figure. But I will not contest it because my hon. friend says that he has taken it from official sources. I am not questioning it. I am merely trying. I am attempting, to give a total picture because all these things have to be taken into account, and even on the basic question, whether this movement is socialistic, the question does arise as to how socialistic it is to transfer Government land to private hands.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, this movement, the land grab or land occupation movement—whatever may be the name—started in the days of combative radicalism and

I think it will end with a number of lives and it will create a lot of blood bath in different parts of the country. It is not correct to say that only land above the ceiling are occupied. I know personally that some of the lands in West Bengal, particularly in the Midnapore district, which are much below the ceiling, have been occupied by certain parties. In view that, may I know from the Minister whether the Government will institute a machinery to look into the matter, whether those lands, grabbed or occupied, are within the ceiling or are beyond the ceiling?

Secondly may I know from the Minister whether the Government will institute a machinery so that those lands occupied or grabbed, whatever it may be, are properly distributed among the tillers of the soil and the local people without leaving them to the mercy of the political parties who are collecting lands by raising slogans and who are going to distribute those lands only among their supporters? May I know whether the Government will institute such a machinery?

SHRI K. C. PANT: My honourable friend has raised an important question and I think that attention should be paid to this aspect. In the past, during the regime of the U.F. Government certain lands were forcibly occupied and now the question of their regularization came up. That was an aspect which was considered as to whether the regularization should extend to those who themselves occupied lands which were more than the ceiling which was laid down for this purpose. Wherever such movements are utilised to settle old scores or as a measure of political vendetta those should be doubly regretted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we have got only fifteen minutes more. So if honourable Members are brief in their questions, we can accomodate some Members now. Mr. Banka Behary Das.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Sir, the honourable Minister's reply was disappointing. Any movement, any peaceful movement, for a legitimate purpose is a democratic movement and anybody who opposes such a movement or criticises or condemns such a movement does not swear by democracy. That is the real matter and that is what we are concerned with. Here is a

statement of Mr Jagjivan Ram published on the 9th August, only recently, in clarification to his Bhopal statement. He said that the landless people should take possession of and cultivate Government fallow land not under the occupation of anybody. I want to know from the Minister whether this statement is anti-democratic or not because it comes from a Minister and one who is the President of the Congress. Here he clearly states, "If any Government land is not under occupation of any person, then the landless can go and take possession of such land". I want to know from the Minister categorically whether he accepts this statement of Mr. Jagjivan Ram as democratic and if he says that it is a statement which violates democracy, then, is he prepared to go . . . (Interruptions) The Minister now gave us a sermon about these illegal acts, about these unconstitutional acts. I want to know from the Minister whether he is aware that after independence, according to the Planning Commission's report, much more number of evictions took place in this country than those during the British regime of one century? Does he know how many people were evicted from their lands after independence? He talks of constitutional methods now. Everywhere in India there is a law operative that no land of the Adivasis can be taken by non-Adivasis. But does the Minister know that everywhere in India the lands of lakhs and lakhs of Adivasis have been taken away by non-Adivasis and not a single person has been punished up till now under the law? When he takes advantage of these illegal acts and talks about taking action against those persons who are committing illegal acts, will the Minister take care of this very fact that since independence not a single person has been punished? There is also a document of the Planning Commission produced by its Implementation Committee in 1968 in which they have clearly stated that not a single Government in India—all those Governments were Congress Governments—has implemented even the fundamentals of land reforms. They have said that most of these land reform laws have not been implemented in most of the States. Will he take pride because his Government is not able to implement those laws nor is able to enact proper laws? What is he going to do about it.

[Shri Banka Behary Das]

May I know from the Minister one thing? During these few days, great leaders of the left movement including Shri Nath Pai and Shri Madhu Lunaye have been arrested in different parts of the country. The General Secretary of the P.S.P., Shri Prem Bhasin, has even been convicted and is still in the Rewa jail. May I know from the Minister whether he will give a friendly advice to the governments of all the States that within the next one or two months they should summon their assemblies to pass radical land reform measures at least according to the advice the Planning Commission has given? Will he also advise those State Governments to release all the arrested persons and try to see that the tillers of the soil are given the land? If these measures are not undertaken, I can warn the Government that, whatever might be their assurances, this movement will gain strength and it will go on till the tillers of the soil get justice done to them and till the citadels of reaction who are now abusing them are thrown out.

SHRI K. C. PANT: My friend was disappointed in my statement. As a friend, may I also express some disappointment that his party has joined this movement?

The first question that he raised was about this peaceful movement. I do not know whether it was peaceful to forcibly occupy the land of others. In any case, he talked of democracy and what is democratic and what is undemocratic. Democracy, Sir, cannot rest on the foundation of violence and lawlessness.

SHRI BANKAY BEHARY DAS: This is not lawlessness.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: This is implementation of the law of the land.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are guilty of lawlessness. You ask Shri Atulya Ghosh how much money he took from the landlords of West Bengal . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not interrupt, please.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi): We are interested in knowing how Shri Bhupesh

Gupta can explain his position of running with the hare and hunting with the hound. He condemns this Government and it is he who maintains this Government in power . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not run with the hare and hunt with the hound. It is not true. It is not a problem of hare or hound. The hunter does not come in. In any case, wolves are around?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Continuing with my earlier reply I would say that the democratic instinct in my hon. friend. Shri Banka Behary Das, was strong enough for him to suggest at least at this stage that the Assemblies should be called in emergent sessions. This suggestion would have carried far greater weight, if it had come before this agitation . . .

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: For the last 22 years, what were you doing?

SHRI K. C. PANT: At any rate, I appreciate that sentiment . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is just like Gen. O'Dyre saying: "I appreciate the sentiments of the Indian people for freedom" and then shooting them!

SHRI K. C. PANT: My hon. friend, Shri Banka Behary Das, referred again to the question of what the Congress has done for the last so many years. I hardly need to remind him that it is the Congress which succeeded in integrating all the Indian States with the Indian Union. I need hardly remind him that if zamindari does not exist now, it is the Congress which is responsible for it. I would hardly remind him that laws on land reform and other measures to bring rural prosperity that have been enacted in the last so many years were undertaken by the Congress Governments. I need hardly remind him . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: And you take credit for the eviction of the Adivasis and so on.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order, please.

SHRI K. C. PANT: But I have said earlier that in spite of all these, in spite of our intention, we have not tried to paper over the fact that the implementation is not as it should be in many areas of our country and we have been the first to say so and we have taken up this with all the States. As I said, when President's rule is promulgated somewhere, in a State, we do take direct steps. Otherwise, we approach the States. We have been pointing out to them where the faults lie. In West Bengal also we have taken measures, and measures which are, if I may say so with all respect, somewhat more progressive than those of the U.F. Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Wonderful, wonderful. . . . (Interruptions) I charge the hon. Minister is deliberately telling a lie to the House. I charge that the hon. Minister is deliberately telling a lie to the House . . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order. order. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If it is outside the House, I would have called him . . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Sir, you can appreciate an answer; you cannot appreciate impudence. This is . . . . (Interruptions) impudence on the part of the Minister when he says he has done more than the U.F. . . . (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down, please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now they are evicting the peasants . . . .

(Interruptions)

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

SHRI K. C. PANT: Facts cannot be drowned by noise. Facts are facts.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Sir, . . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not interrupt now . . . . (Interruptions). You have taken a long time. Please sit down.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, on the last question, which was posed by Shri Banka Behary Das, regarding the eviction of the Adivasis, I am conscious of this fact. I know in my own constituency this has happened. But, Sir, I have tried to take steps myself, personally in my own district as far as possible, to go there, to try to talk to all the people there and to try to get the State Government to enact certain laws, to make them pass an ordinance, which they have succeeded in doing. If my hon. friends were to take a direct interest in the resolution of the problem, since they represent the whole country, I am sure the situation cannot be as it is painted here.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, . . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Raj-narain.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Sir, about the last question, he has not answered, about Shri Jagjivan Ram's statement. What is the opinion of the Government of India on that?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Raj-Narain.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं आपके द्वारा सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार केवल यहां पर कानून की बारीकियों को उठाकर वस्तुस्थिति से दृष्टि ओझल करना चाहती है या फिर वस्तुस्थिति पर विचार करके समस्या का समाधान करना चाहती है, सरकार के उत्तर को सुनकर मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य और दुःख हुआ । हमारे माननीय श्री श्यामधर मिश्र के दल के लोग सवाल पूछेंगे और इसलिये मैं आपकी अनुमति से थोड़ा स्पष्टीकरण करना चाहूंगा ।

1 P.M.

जहां तक संसोपा का सवाल है, जहां तक संसोपा के साथ पी० एस० पी० का सवाल है,

[श्री राजनारायण]

हम शुद्धतः जनतंत्रीय हैं और हम जनतांत्रिक प्रणाली पर विश्वास करते हैं। इस देश को हम सबसे बड़ा जनतांत्रिक मानते हैं और किसी दूसरे देश को नहीं मानते हैं। दूसरा देश बराबर हो सकता है, परन्तु हमसे बड़ा नहीं हो सकता है।

जो पोलिटिकल साइन्स जानते हैं, उनके लिये मैं निवेदन करता हूँ कि दो शब्दों को साथ ले चलें डेमोक्रेटिक मीन्स एंड डेमोक्रेटिक सिस्टम। हमारे देश में जनतांत्रिक साधन तो चले, मगर जनतांत्रिक सिस्टम नहीं है। इस समय डेमोक्रेटिक मीन्स हैं, वोट से चुनाव हो रहा है, बालिक मताधिकार से सरकार बन गई, मगर डेमोक्रेटिक सिस्टम हमारे मुल्क में नहीं है और जब तक जनतंत्रीय व्यवस्था नहीं होगी, तब तक जनतंत्रीय प्रणाली लंगड़ी है। जनतंत्री प्रणाली को पैर पर खड़ा करने लिये आज संसोपा दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञ है कि वह जनतंत्रीय व्यवस्था को स्थापित करे। जनतंत्रीय व्यवस्था क्या है? एक तरफ तीन लाख, दूसरी तरफ तीन आना, एक तरफ दस हजार, बीस हजार एकड़ जमीन और दूसरी ओर एक ईंच भी नहीं। यह जनतंत्रीय व्यवस्था नहीं है। इससे बढ़ कर पापी और पाजी व्यवस्था कहीं है नहीं। इसलिये वह सरकार या वह मंत्री जो इस देश में डेमोक्रेटिक सिस्टम को लाने के लिये गुरेज करते हैं और विरोध करते हैं, वे कभी भी डेमोक्रेटिक हो नहीं सकते, वे डेमोक्रेटिक मीन्स को अख्तियार नहीं कर सकते। डेमोक्रेटिक मीन्स आज वही पार्टी अख्तियार कर सकती है जो धन और धरती का बंटवारा कराये, जिनके पास आवश्यकता से ज्यादा जमीन है, जिनके पास आवश्यकता से ज्यादा धन है उसको ले और लेकर जिनके पास नहीं है उनको बांटे। यह काम जो करे वही जनतंत्री और जो इस काम को न करे वह है जनतंत्र का दुश्मन। इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि श्री के० सी० पन्त हमारे सवाल का जवाब दें तो अपने आदरणीय पिता जी के गौरव और गरिमा को

लेकर जवाब दें, एक चुटकले की तरह जवाब न दें।

फिर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ—हम अखबार का प्रयोग नहीं करना चाहते—कि क्या सरकार को इस बात की जानकारी है कि श्री जगजीवन राम 22 जून को एक खत लिखे हैं।

“प्रिय श्री फर्नाडिस,

(प्रधान मंत्री, संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी),

आपका दिनांक 14-6-1969 का पत्र, क्रमांक 375/40/69 मिला श्री ओमप्रकाश, एडवोकेट संघ, सहारनपुर अपने शिष्टमंडल के साथ मुझसे 18-6-1969 को मिले हैं। मैंने अपने 24 मई, 1969 के भाषण में यह जरूर कहा था कि बंजर जमीन को भूमिहीन कृषकों को जोत कर अन्न उपजाना चाहिए जिससे देश अन्न के मामले में आत्म-निर्भर बन सके।

शुभकामना सहित,

आपका,

जगजीवन राम

ये जगजीवन है या जगमारक, मगर नाम है जगजीवन राम। जगजीवन राम, जो कांग्रेस “ई” के प्रधान है, उनके हाथ का हस्ताक्षर किया हुआ जार्ज फर्नाडिस, प्रधान मंत्री, संसोपा को यह पत्र है। इसका हमने साइकिलोस्टाइल करके बनवा रखा है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ के० सी० पन्त जी से कि वे श्री जगजीवन राम को क्या कहेंगे? यह जगजीवन राम डेमोक्रेटिक है या अन-डेमोक्रेटिक है। क्या श्री जगजीवन राम अपने इस पत्र के द्वारा यह नहीं कह रहे हैं कि जितनी बंजर जमीन है उस बंजर जमीन को लोख जोतें और उनकी पैदावार बढ़ाएं, मैं जगजीवन राम के इस पत्र के साथ हूँ और जगजीवन राम ने जो यह पत्र लिखा उसके लिए मैं उन्हें बधाई देता हूँ। जगजीवन राम ने सही बात का इजहार किया। क्या सरकार को इसकी जानकारी है? क्या श्री के० सी० पन्त ने ‘ए वीक विद गांधी’ नुई फिशर

को बढ़ा है ? 1942 अप्रैल महीने में श्रीमन, एक हफ्ते तक लॉर्ड फिशर गांधी जी के साथ था। 1942 को जनक्रांति के समय लुई फिशर ने कहा बापू आप जो अग्नि वर्षा कर रहे हैं अपनी वाणी से उससे अराजकता आ जाएगी। और जमींदारों की जमीनों का क्या आप मुआवजा देना की बात करेंगे ? बापू ने क्या कहा था ? आज के शासन से मैं अराजकता को ज्यादा पसंद करता हूँ। जब देश आजाद होगा तो किस न जमीनों पर कब्जा कर लेंगे, जमादारों को मुआवजा देने की बात उठ ही नहीं सकती। क्या श्री के० सी० पन्त बापू की उस बात को याद करेंगे और जानेंगे कि जिस सत्याग्रह रूपी माता की कोख से कांग्रेस की सरकार पैदा हुई, उन्हीं सत्याग्रहियों पर श्री के० सी० पन्त की पुलिस डंडे और गोली चला रही है। उस माता की कोख पर इन्दिरा की सरकार लात मार रही है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ सफाई के साथ और सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य सुने। सत्याग्रहरूपी माता की कोख से कांग्रेस सरकार पैदा हुई। उस माता की कोख में लात मार कर श्री के० सी० पन्त अपने को कलंकित मत करना चाहे तुम को मिनिस्ट्री से हटना पड़े तो हट जाना, सरकार आज रहेगी, का नहीं रहेगी।

**श्री उपसभापति :** सवाल पूछिये।

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्री के० सी० पन्त को मालूम है कि श्री गांधी और श्री इरविन 1932 में एक समझौता हुआ था...

**श्री उपसभापति :** लैंड आकृषेशन के बारे में पूछिये।

**श्री राजनारायण :** लैंड आकृषेशन के बारे में तो बहुत लोग बोल चुके हैं। मैं उस पर आ रहा हूँ। गांधी और इरविन पेक्ट में शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से सिविल लाफरमानी करना बंध माना गया है और चाहे श्री के० सी० पन्त उस माता की कोख को भला दें जिससे उन की सरकार पैदा हुई, मगर जिस ने इस सरकार को बनाया, संसोध, उस को भला

नहीं सकती, हमको यह सबक देते हैं, अगर कोई दूसरा बोलता तो कोई बात थी। हम भूपेश गुप्त और आप दोनों को सबक दे सकते हैं। यह समाजवादी आन्दोलन को चलाने वाले 1934 से चले आ रहे हैं और के० सी० पन्त को इस की जानकारी है कि इलाहाबाद में रायबरेली में सबसे पहले लगानवन्दी आन्दोलन शुरू हुआ था और वह सत्याग्रह गांधी जी ने शुरू किया था 1934 में, उसी 1934 में सोशलिस्ट पार्टी बनी। तो हम वह सोशलिस्ट हैं। ऐसे नहीं हैं कि पहले कहीं छिपे हों और स्वतन्त्रता के बाद दल बना लायें हों। तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि चाहे कोई कुछ कहे, मगर हम जमीन का बंटवारा करायेंगे, हम धन का बंटवारा करायेंगे और क्या महात्मा गांधी का वह वाक्य...

**श्री उपसभापति :** समाप्त कीजिए, आप ने 8 मिनट ले लिये हैं।

**श्री राजनारायण :** जब कोई बुद्धिगम्य बात होगी तो आप उसको रोक देंगे, आप उस को कहने नहीं देंगे।

**श्री उपसभापति :** आपके आठ मिनट हो गये हैं।

**श्री राजनारायण :** तो क्या हो गया। एक घंटा सरकार ने अपने बदतमीजी के उत्तरों में सदन का समय ले लिया। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी की जमीन (Interruption) यह दूसरे प्रसंग में कहा है; क्योंकि जमीन इस नाम से है, तो वह जमीन जो 24 बीघा और कई बिस्वा है महरोली के पास और जिस के बारे में उन्होंने 6 तारीख को हमारे एक सवाल के जवाब में माना है, जिसका मूल्य 41 हजार रुपये के करीब है और जो उन को पति से विरासत में मिली है, क्या उस को बंटवायेंगे? क्या इस दिल्ली में जो झुग्गी झोपड़ी में रहने वाले हैं, उन को वह जमीन मिलेगी? श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को दिल्ली में आ कर जमीन

[श्री राजनारायण]

खरीदने की जरूरत क्या हुई ? वह इलाहाबाद में रहती हैं । वहां आनन्द भवन है, बड़ा विशाल भवन है और अनेक प्रापर्टी है और आज मुझे जानकारी हुई, ओबेराय होटल के पास भी उनकी जमीन है । श्री जगजीवन राम जी जो कहते हैं कि जमीन पर कब्जा करो, उनकी रांची में 24 एकड़ जमीन है अपने नाम, अपनी औरत और अपने बच्चों के नाम से अलग-अलग लिखे हैं । पहले उन्होंने अपनी औरत के नाम कहा 3 एकड़ है, फिर बाद में कहा कि 6 एकड़ है और आज हमने भोला को टेलीफोन किया तो पता चला कि वह जमीन आदिवासियों की है । कानून है कि आदिवासियों की जमीन कोई ले नहीं सकता सिवाय इंडस्ट्रियल परपज के लिये या पब्लिक परपज के लिये । इंडस्ट्रियल परपज का झूठ बोल कर के श्री जगजीवन राम ने आदिवासियों की जमीन खरीदी है । वह जमीन बंटवायेगी सरकार और आदिवासी उसको लेने जाये तो हम अनडेमोक्रेटिक हुए ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** राजनारायण जी, आपने 10 मिनट ले लिया है । मैंने आपको सबसे ज्यादा समय दिया है ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** अगर आप न बोल तो तीन मिनट में खत्म कर दूंगा । अगर आप बीच में बोलेंगे तो नहीं खत्म कर पाऊंगा ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** आपको एक मिनट और देता हूं ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** न धरा धसेगी न गगन फटेगा, आप वस्तुस्थिति पर प्रकाश पड़ने दें । तीन मिनट में मैं खत्म कर दूंगा और नहीं तो हो सकता है कि हमको वहां पर आ कर बैठना पड़े । धीरज धरूहू धीरज भागा । श्री के० पी० पन्त और श्री के० के० शाह फिर हमको नहीं कहें कि आप चेयर पर जा कर क्यों बैठ गये । नहीं । मैं आपको बता दूं कि हमारा संसदीय धीरज अभी बंधा हुआ है, एक दिन आ सकता है कि हमारा धीरज टट

जाये । हमको कहते हैं श्री के० सी० पन्त । श्री के० सी० पन्त यह कहते हैं कि अगर आप आन्दोलन न किये होते तो हम कानून से जमीन बंटवाते और उसको बंटवायेंगे । यह आन्दोलन आज कर रहे हो दूसरे लोग लेकिन हमने यह आन्दोलन किया 1948 में, हमने आन्दोलन किया 1952 में, हमने आन्दोलन किया सन् 1956 में, हमने आन्दोलन किया सन् 1957 में, हमने आन्दोलन किया सन् 1958 में, सन् 1960 में, सन् 1966 में, सन् 1968 में । हर आन्दोलन में जमीन बंटवारे का सवाल है, हर आन्दोलन में अलाभकर जोत का सवाल है । हां, अगर वह कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लिये कहें तो उनको अलग कर दें, मगर संसोपा और प्रसोपा के बारे में न बोलें । हम भाई भूपेश जी से भी कहना चाहेंगे कि हमारे आन्दोलन को जुठारें न, हमारे आन्दोलन को जुठार कर अगर हिंसा का वातावरण तैयार किया जायगा, तो जरूर हमारे लिये बड़ी चिन्ता का विषय हो जायगा । हम शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से, शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से, गौरवान्वित ढंग से चले हैं । मारेंगे नहीं, मारेंगे नहीं । हमने कभी किसी को मारा है । 6 अप्रैल को लीजिये । श्री के० सी० पन्त क्या कहते हैं । उन्हीं मांगों को ले कर 6 अप्रैल का प्रदर्शन हुआ । यही मांगें 6 अप्रैल को थीं जब कि चार हजार आदमियों को लाठियों से पिटाया, पार्लियामेंट के नाक के नीचे एक देशद्रोही सरकार ने पश से बदतर काम किया, शराफत से हमारे रहने पर भी लाठी दिखाई गई, बिहारीलाल यादव की हत्या हो गई । तो, श्रीमन्, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि क्या श्री के० सी० पन्त कहते हैं । उनकी सरकार का, साइड इन्दिरा गांधी का, उन्हीं का एक लेटर मैं पढ़ रहा हूं ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** आपको दो मिनट और हो गये ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** सुनिये । उन्होंने संसोपा के बारे में लिखा है :

'I am bound to point out that your party appears to have little

faith in parliamentary democratic processes under which it is open to every party to peacefully persuade the citizens of India to its point of view and to seek their verdict through normal elections."

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो डेमोक्रेसी में यकीन करते हैं वह पांच साल तक हाथ पर हाथ धरे बैठे रहें और आप टाटा, बिड़ला, जयपुरिया, सिंघानिया सबको लाइसेंस दो और दस लाख, बीस लाख, दो करोड़, एक करोड़ रुपया लो और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को प्रधान मंत्री बनाने के लिये 10 लाख रुपया उनके चुनाव में खर्च कर दो अन्य मंत्रियों के चुनाव में 20 लाख रुपया खर्च कर दो। यह डेमोक्रेसी है।

श्री उपसभापति : आपका तीन मिनट अब हो गया। आप बैठिये। आपको तीन मिनट हो गये, आप बैठिये।

श्री राजनारयण : देखिये, अभी आधा मिनट बाकी है तीन मिनट में।

श्री उपसभापति : बिल्कुल नहीं। बल्कि चार मिनट हो गये हैं। आप बैठिये।

श्री राजनारयण : आधा मिनट अभी बाकी है। आप बेकार हमारा समय नष्ट न कीजिये। मैं नहीं बैठूंगा।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record of whatever he says from now on.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : I am not going to sit. Do whatever you like.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have told you, 'four minutes'.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : I am not going to sit. Do whatever you like. I will sit here. When the Chair is not going to get the proceedings recorded in the proper way, I will have to adopt this posture.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Fifteen minutes you have taken.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : I think, fourteen minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : If one Member takes so long, how can I accommodate other Members? This is not possible.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAJNARAIN : I cannot tolerate this.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : He may be allowed to continue for a little more time, Sir.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Mysore) : Let him finish his remarks, Sir.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order please.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY : Sir, may I make a submission? It is true that Mr Rajnarain has taken a little time but he was making a point. He was about to finish his speech or he was about to finish whatever remarks he was making. Therefore I would request you to kindly let him finish.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I would ask you one question. He has taken fourteen minutes to ask clarification. Do you think I have done anything wrong? Do you think I have not given him sufficient time?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY : You are not in the wrong but I am making a request.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He said three minutes but after four minutes I said time is over.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY : What is to be done? He takes a little time to make his remarks.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Gurupadaswamy, I have no objection. But you see, when I see 10 to 15 hands rising up all the time how can I allow so much time to one Member? I have allowed 15 minutes to Mr. Rajnarain and he has deprived several others of their opportunity. Who is responsible for it? There has been injustice done to the other Members.



श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : डेपुटी चेयरमैन साहब, इस हाउस में इस तरह की बातें होती हैं। क्या कहीं ऐसा हुआ है। मैं दख्खवास्त करता हूँ आप अपनी क्षमता की अहजमाइस करिये। हम लोग आपकी मदद

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, we shall take the whole day today. There is no doubt about it. This is a very serious matter. There are many others who want to express their views. The Government should realise that we have very strong feelings about it. You let loose the police upon us and you want us to sit here quietly? Sir, you reconcile yourself to this position that this discussion shall go on for the whole day today. Mr. Sardesai is there; other people are there who want to speak and we would like to hear everybody.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh) : If you allow me to say, I also feel that the tempers on this issue are much excited—it is an important matter. After all there are different points of view about the demonstration and the violent part of it. If Members are anxious to carry on the debate or discussion on this point. I think we should allow it.

SHRI A. D. MANI : Let us have it for the whole day.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order please.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : They make such a provocative statement when the whole country is a stir; let us discuss it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : If the House wanted that this question should be discussed as a short duration discussion...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, we shall also deal firmly with the Government here.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, आप सुन लीजिए। हमने कल चेयरमैन से कहा है

और प्रस्ताव लिख कर दे दिया कि इस पर विवाद होना चाहिये। उन्होंने कहा कि आप इस पर पूरा कह लीजिए।

श्री उपसभापति : हा, तो मैंने कहा था एक मिनट में कह लीजिए जो बाकी आपको कहना है।

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : I think it is never too late to save a situation.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : It is all right but what I mean to say is, if for one particular motion . . .

श्री राजनारायण : कालिग अन्डेन्सम मोशन डिबेट में परिणित हुआ है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, you may be sitting here, but six thousand people are in jail. Our comrades are in jail and members of the SSP are in jail. We are the three opposition parties. We cannot put up with the nonsense coming from this idiotic Government on the land question. Therefore, we shall also deal with the question firmly.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : I agree that we started this as a very normal, and simple motion, but luckily or unluckily it has assumed a proportion which cannot be ignored. In view of that, I suggest let us discuss it. After all there are questions of policy and principles involved. What is the harm, if people want to discuss it? Where is the harm? Let us discuss it. After all the right of demonstration is involved. Whether violent or non-violent people have their own opinions on this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Therefore, if it is the desire of the House . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is the desire of the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down. Please do not interrupt now. Just as I have listened to you patiently, please listen to me also. Are we to continue

the proceedings of this House in this manner? During the first week of this Session we could do nothing except Calling Attention motions and no legislative business was done.

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, क्या इस तरह की सरकार या पार्टी कहीं दुनिया में और जगह भी है। देश की इच्छा को कोई भी सरकार नहीं रोक सकती है। इस बात पर सदन में विवाद होना चाहिये और कोई ताकत इसे नहीं रोक सकती है।

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** The question is whether we should continue the discussion or not. You tell Mr. Shukla, you tell Mr. Charan Singh, you tell others who are representing the peasantry, if you want order in this House. We are not here, if they behave in a rowdy manner, in a hooligan manner these cowards and traitors . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. If we continue the business in this manner I do not know whether it will be possible for the House to complete any business whatever be the business before the House. There are a number of important issues, international issues and other important issues and you want that the discussion should prolong for one complete day. It means that the normal business will not be completed and nothing will be done.

**SHRI S. N. MISHRA :** It seems that the House would be satisfied if one more hour is devoted to the Calling Attention motion. That seems to be the demand and the temper of the House and it is for your consideration whether it should not be done.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** This list should be exhausted. Other people should speak. The Congress Party should also speak. It is not a party issue at all . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please listen now. If you want that all those Members who have tabled this Calling Attention motion and the representative of

other parties, who could not get an opportunity already, should get an opportunity, we will do that today, but would it not be desirable that hon. Members should restrict their observations to a certain time-limit?

**SHRI S. N. MISHRA :** Yes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Could we allow every individual fifteen minutes like Mr. Rajnarain?

**श्री राजनारायण :** मेरा नाम मत लीजिये।

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि कालिंग अटेंशन के बारे में आपका आग्रह रहा है एक पद्धति पर। पहले आप यह तय कर लीजिये कि इस विषय को कालिंग अटेंशन के रूप में लिया जायेगा या इस पर विवाद होगा। अगर कालिंग अटेंशन के रूप में चलेगा तो लिस्ट एग्जस्ट नहीं हो सकती है। आप इस बात को तय कर लीजिये; क्योंकि कल से यह बात हो रही है अगर एक लिस्ट खत्म हो जाती है और वह दुबारा दोहराई जाती है तो इसकी कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं होगी।

**श्री राजनारायण :** इस संबंध में सब पार्टी के लोगों को बोलने का मौका दिया जाना चाहिये।

**SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI :** You either convert this into a debate or else you cannot change the rule as you have been adopting here.

**SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu) :** Mr. Deputy Chairman, on a point of order. I have been patiently putting up with all these unhappy things which cannot be expected of a House like this. It is really very very unfortunate, what has happened today. I am not a rich man. I am also a poor man. I think the poorest in the House.

**SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE :** That is a debatable point.

**SHRI G. A. APPAN :** I belong to a certain party. I am not a man in the street. I am not a stranger in this House.

[Shri G. A. Appan]

Every Member of this House has equal rights. At least every party should have some say. But I have been raising my hand from the very beginning. Mr. Deputy Chairman, will you kindly see that there is a convention that is developed and observed in this House that no calling attention notice takes more than a particular extent of time and that no Member of this House is given a second say to put a question or to ventilate his views, more than once, unless the 250 Members have taken their own turn? May I also ask the Chair that whenever Members transgress a certain limit, after one or two warnings from the Chair he will give instructions to the House to take no notice of it and to stop the shorthand notes? Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am really very very unhappy. The chair should also be a little firm in tackling things not constitutional, not lawful, to call the name of the Member and see that some firm action is taken. May be I may not be tolerated by some of the Members of the House, but to keep the prestige and honour of the House I request some action.

May I come to my question?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. You will get a chance. As it has been the desire that we should have a little bit longer discussion on this question, we are allowing a longer discussion for about half an hour or so. But I think it would not be a question of exhausting the whole list; there will be a chance for one Member belonging to each party. Then we will have a second round giving a second chance to every party, within half an hour. We want to give a chance to all those Members within half an hour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He suggested one hour. Are you bargaining? This is disgraceful.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No bargaining.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Although I would like the whole day to be devoted to it, it should be not less than one hour.

श्री उपसभापति: आपने आधा मिनट कहा था, मैं आपको एक मिनट दे रहा हूँ।

श्री राजनारायण: मिश्र जी, मुनिए, हमारे मानस को खंडित करने में और फिर उसको मंडित करने में जो समय लगेगा वह एक मिनट का नहीं लगेगा क्योंकि हमें सारी प्रक्रिया भूल गई, वह फिर सब जोड़नी होगी, हम उसके लिए जिम्मेदार नहीं हैं, लेकिन हम जल्दी करेंगे। (Interruption) श्रीमन्, आपके प्रति आदर, सम्मान रखते हुए मैं आपके द्वारा अपने मित्र घर मंत्री से पूछना चाहता हूँ—उन्होंने समाचारपत्रों में आज पड़ा होगा—मुझे लखनऊ से टेलीफोन आया—कि श्रीमति विद्यावती राठौर, जो श्री चरण सिंह की मंत्री-परिषद् की एक सम्मानित सदस्या है... वह जिस गाड़ी पर जा रही थीं वहां से गोली चली है और प्रदर्शनकारियों को गोली लगी है। एक आदमी मरा है। फतेहगढ़ में राजेन्द्रनगर में श्रीमती विद्यावती राठौर ने गोली चलवायी है। अब अगर वहां की जनता उत्तेजित हो जाय, हम लोगों के मना करने के बावजूद न माने और वह कहीं उत्तेजित हो कर उन की गाड़ी घेर लेती या उस को जला देती तो किस पर दोषारोपण होता? मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो सरकार तलवार के बल पर टिकती है अगर उस सरकार को कोई तलवार के बल पर ही बदलने की कोशिश करे तो उस में बुरा क्या है? क्या श्री के० सी० पन्त देवली जेल में श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण की वह बात भूल गये कि जब उन्होंने अंग्रेजी हकूमत को उलटने के लिए हम लोगों के एक खत के द्वारा कहा था कि तुम लोग हथियार जमा करो। उस खत के बल पर श्री जयप्रकाश को फांसी हो जाती, चार दिन अखबारों में इस की बहुत चर्चा चली और उस समय ये चपरगट्टू कांग्रेसी कहने लगे थे कि जयप्रकाश जी तो गांधी जी की अहिंसा के विरोधी हैं। उस पर गांधी जी ने कहा था कि मैं अगर जयप्रकाश नारायण को कुछ कहूँ तो कहूँ, क्योंकि मैं अहिंसक हूँ, मगर वह अंग्रेज जो हिंसा के बल पर भारत की छाती पर जमे हुए है वह अगर कहते हैं कि जयप्रकाश तलवार के बल पर शासन को उलटना चाहता है तो उन को यह

कहना शोभा नही देता । उन्होंने कहा था कि मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार ऐसा न करे । साथ ही उन्होंने कहा कि अगर जयप्रकाश को अहिंसा का मार्ग समझ में नहीं आता और वह हिंसात्मक तरीकों से अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद को उलट सकता है तो उल्टे और उस में मेरा आशीर्वाद जयप्रकाश को प्राप्त है । आज यह है पिढी और पिढी के शोरबे । जिन को पोलिटिकल साइंस का ज्ञान नहीं, राजनीतिक आन्दोलन का ज्ञान नहीं, वह सरकारी मंत्रियों की कुर्सी पर बैठ कर हम को सबक देते हैं और यह श्रीमती फीरोज गांधी कहती हैं कि संयुक्त समाजवादी पार्टी पार्लियामेंटरी मीन्स और डेमोक्रेटिक मीन्स में यकीन नहीं करती और यह डिस्ट्रेक्टिव टेडेसीज फैलाना चाहते हैं । अगर प्रधान मंत्री को इस बात को समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ने के बाद कुछ तोड़-फोड़ हो जाय तो कसूर किस का होगा । कल मैं यहां बोला, लेकिन रेडियो में कही मेरी बात नहीं आयी, अखबार वालों ने तो कुछ निकाल दिया । तो मिश्र जी ने कहा था कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो संसदीय के प्रधान मंत्री को पत्र लिखा उस को सिद्ध करे कि संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी अनडिमोक्रेटिक मीन्स और अनपार्लियामेंटरी मीन्स में विश्वास करती है । इस को वह सिद्ध करे और नहीं तो प्रधान मंत्री की भर्त्सना हो । मैं आज कड़े से कड़े शब्दों में भारत के प्रधान मंत्री की भर्त्सना करना चाहता हूं । उन्होंने इस बयान के द्वारा इस मुल्क में हिंसा को बढ़ावा दिया है । उन्होंने एक शान्तिप्रिय पार्टी को अनावश्यक ढंग पर चोट पहुंचाई है और उस को अनडिमोक्रेटिक कहने का साहस किया है इसलिए मैं प्रधान मंत्री की भर्त्सना करूंगा । क्या श्री जगजीवन राम, केशवदेव मालवीय और प्रधान मंत्री जी की जितनी जमीन है, उस सब को ले कर यहां के झुग्गी झोपड़ी वालों को दिलवाया जाएगा, वरना मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि वह दिन दूर नहीं होगा श्रीमन्, जब कि चाहे मंत्री हों या धनपशु हों, उन सब धनपशुओं का धन छीना जाएगा और गांधी जी का एक वाक्य मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूं : 'प्रापर्टी इज

राबरी' जिन के पास संपत्ति है वह डकैती करते हैं । गांधी जी ने कहा था कि जो अपने निज की आवश्यकता से ज्यादा रखते हैं वह चोरी करते हैं । उन्होंने कहा कि मैं भी अपने को चोर कहता हूं । मैं कहने के लिए तैयार हूं कि आज जिन के पास सामान्य जन जीवन के ऊपर धन है वह चोर हैं, वह डाकू हैं और उन डाकूओं और चोरों के पास जमीन रहने देना बुजदिली और कायरता है । इस लिए दश की जनता को हम आगाह करते हैं और उस का आवाहन करते हैं कि किसानों, मजदूरों, विद्यार्थियों और गरीबों, शोषित और पीड़ितों, उठो, धन और धरती पर कब्जा करो और कब्जा कर के जिन के पास नहीं है, उन को वापस कर दो । अगर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग पार्टी के लोगों को ही बांटते हैं तो उस से हमारी कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं है ।

**श्री के० सी० पन्त :** एक सवाल माननीय सदस्य ने उठाया कि गांधी जी आज क्या कहते और गांधी जी का रवैया क्या होता उसमें । उन्होंने जैसा कि खुद ही कहा कुछ मंत्री यहां ऐसे हैं जो कि गांधी जी के बहुत करीब नहीं आ सके, स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में वह हिस्सा नहीं ले सके, मैं भी उनमें से हूं, सन् 1942 में मैं 11 साल का था और बड़ा मुश्किल था कि 11 साल की उम्र में इस आन्दोलन में भाग लेता . . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** यह व्यक्तिगत बात नहीं है ।

**श्री के० सी० पन्त :** चूंकि मेरा ही आज जवाब हो रहा था . . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** आप कोई व्यक्ति नहीं जवाब दे रहे हैं, सरकार जवाब दे रही है के० सी० पन्त नहीं, के० सी० पन्त मानें सरकार ।

**श्री के० सी० पन्त :** आपने अपनी मुहब्बत का इजहार पहले कर दिया इसलिये इसमें कोई कटुता की बात नहीं है लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि गांधी जी . . .

**श्री पीताम्बर दास :** इनका कहना सिर्फ यह है, मजिल उन्हें मिली जो शरीके सफर न थे ।

**श्री के० सी० पन्त :** शरीके सफर तो आप जैसे बुजुर्ग हो सकते थे, मैं नहीं हो सकता था ।

**श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी ( मध्य प्रदेश ) :** लेकिन बाद में बहक गये तो क्या किया जाए ।

**श्री के० सी० पन्त :** आज बुनियादी सवाल यह है कि गांधी जी के विचारों को ठीक से समझ कर आज की हालत में उसे कौन लागू कर सकता है । मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे देश में एक ऐसा व्यक्ति आज भी जीवित है जो इस काम को कर सकता है, वे हैं श्री विनोबा भावे, और उन्होंने पिछले वर्षों में इसी जमीन के मसले को हल करने की, गांधी जी के तरीके से इस मसले को सुलझाने की और इसके समाधान की कोशिश की । गांव-गांव वह घूमें हैं । उन्होंने सब वर्गों से अपील की है कि वह सामाजिक न्याय से प्रेरित हो कर आपस में ऐसा बंटवारा करें जमीन का कि जिससे हर एक को मिल सके विशेष कर पिछड़े हुए वर्गों को मिल सके और जिनके पास आज जमीन नहीं है, जो भूमिहीन हैं, उनको मिल सके ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** विनोबा जी ने यह भी कहा है कि भूमिदान में जितनी जमीन हमें मिली वह जमीन सही रूप में किसानों को बांटी नहीं गई और वह दूसरे लोगों ने ले लिया ।

**श्री के० सी० पन्त :** मैं वह बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ, मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि . . .

**SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) :** Why are you trying to reply him ?

**SHRI K. C. PANT :** I have to answer him.

**SHRI M. M. DHARIA :** How is Acharya Vinoba Bhave concerned with it ? The Go-

vernment should answer this question. If he is irrelevant it does not mean that you should be equally irrelevant.

**श्री के० सी० पन्त :** तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह भी एक रास्ता है और मैं समझता हूँ कि गांधी जी का रास्ता उन्होंने समझा है ।

अब जहाँ तक कुछ व्यक्तिगत बातें जो आपने कही, कुछ एक श्रीमती राठौर की कार से बन्दूक चलने की बात कही, अगर ऐसी बातें आपको उठानी हों तो बड़ा अच्छा हो आप पहले नोटिस दे दें कि हम लोगों से उसकी जानकारी प्राप्त कर ले, लेकिन किमी के पैसे की बात, किसी के जमीन की बात, इस तरह की बातें होती हैं . . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** मधु लिमये की गिरफ्तारी के लिये कल नोटिस दिया था कि मधु लिमये की गिरफ्तारी किस दफा में हुई । कलकत्ता से आये हवाई जहाज को वाबतपुर में रोक कर गिरफ्तार किया गया ।

**श्री के० सी० पन्त :** . . . जिस बात की जानकारी प्राप्त करना चाहें नोटिस दे दें सहूलियत आपको भी होगी और हमको भी होगी . . .

**श्री के० सी० चावड़ा (गुजरात) :** मध्य प्रदेश में हरिजन लड़की को जला दिया, उसको यहां कहा गया लेकिन आज तक उमका जवाब नहीं मिला ।

**श्री के० सी० पन्त :** . . . वरना कुछ चीजें यहां कही जाती हैं जिनकी जानकारी नहीं होती इसलिए उसका उत्तर नहीं दिया जा सकता उसी वक्त ।

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** We will continue this discussion afterwards. Papers to be laid on the Table.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** No, Sir, not before the discussion is over.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** I said we will continue the discussion after lunch; there is no harm. After lunch we will continue it for some time.