

SHRI MOHD. SHAFI QURESHI :
Sir, I move :

"That the Bill be passed."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MOTION RE WEST BENGAL SITUATION

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Sir, I move:

"Whereas the political situation in West Bengal has taken a grave turn since November 21, 1967;

Whereas the people of the State are demonstrating against the illegal and unconstitutional dismissal of the U.F. Ministry and the equally illegal and unconstitutional installation of Shri P. C. Ghosh as the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

Whereas in order to sustain the illegal Ministry a reign of police violence and terror has been unleashed to suppress people's movement resulting in frequent police firings, wanton lathi charges, brutal assaults on prisoners in police lock-ups and similar other orgies as well as large-scale arrests and imprisonments of over 10,000 persons including well over 1,000 under the Preventive Detention Act;

Whereas the Speaker of the State Assembly has refused to recognise the Council of Ministers headed by Shri P. C. Ghosh as legal and valid;

Whereas as a result of the above ruling of the Speaker, a serious constitutional deadlock has arisen ;

Whereas the Government of the State cannot be carried on in the circumstances in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution;

This House is of opinion that immediate steps be taken, including the dismissal of the illegal Ghosh Ministry, for an early mid-term election in the State."

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I shall not cover the ground which we covered in the course of the earlier discussion. From the text of the Resolution, it is abundantly clear that my contention is that in West Bengal to-day, an extraordinarily abnormal situation obtains and that the Government there cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. That is why I have demanded that certain other steps should be taken. Naturally the easiest thing would be to restore the United Front Ministry to its office, for it had been in our view and in the view of many, dismissed illegally. Alternatively, the Government should take immediate steps for the mid-term elections which naturally implies the dismissal forthwith of the illegal Ghosh Ministry. Now I would ask the House to consider it purely from the Constitutional and political angle keeping an objective view of the situation as it is to-day and as it is likely to develop in the days and weeks ahead. Here is the time, Mr. Vice Chairman, when statesmanship is called upon to intervene in the situation and find a solution. I say "solution" because, whether you like it or not, whatever may be your views, a constitutional deadlock has arisen on account of the ruling given by the Speaker of the West Bengal Assembly. The Council of Ministers, which is supposed to be responsible to the Assembly, is not recognised so far as P. C. Ghosh Ministry is concerned by the Speaker. That means that it has no *locus standi* as Council of Ministers in the Assembly. And hence to-day somebody is conducting the affairs of the State who is not responsible at all to the Assembly in terms of the Constitution and not only that, the Assembly Speaker rejects his legal and constitutional validity, that is to say, the validity of the installation of P. C. Ghosh as Chief Minister. Now I do not know how you are going to solve this problem. Suppose the Assembly is summoned and the Speaker gives the same ruling. What happens? I do not know. The only thing that happens is that the Assembly adjourns again and is prorogued again and the same process will be repeated. That is number one. Now what is the

of affairs? Judge for yourself. Now guarantee that the Assembly will function in any situation unless basic remedies are found to solve the crisis? Therefore, I say that the matter should be considered seriously.

Mr. Vice Chairman, one month has passed since the great crime against the Constitution and democracy was committed in West Bengal by the arbitrary, illegal, unconstitutional and politically motivated dismissal of the popular U. F. Ministry. What has happened in this one month? First of all, let us recall the suggestion that the Assembly should be called on the 18th of this month. The Governor said that it should be called on the 29th of November. To-day we are discussing this matter on the 23rd of December. Where is the Assembly? Has it functioned? If the Assembly was to be there and that was the main consideration, then I think the Governor stands condemned. The Governor stands condemned by the fact that he has not been able to make the Assembly function. If he had listened to Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee perhaps the Assembly would have been now functioning since December 18. I gave this figure of 10,000 in prison during this one month when I drafted this. To-day the number of people in prison should be well around 15,000 and no less. Every day, 1,000 or more young men and women and students, workers, peasants, teachers, professors, artists and people who hold academic distinction are going to jail. Among them are former Ministers—we call them Ministers because their powers have been usurped—M. L. As., M. L. Cs. and M. Ps. This is the position in West Bengal to-day. More than 1,000 people are in prison under the Preventive Detention Act. Then lathi-charge and shooting is taking place all over the State. I do not know how many people have been killed as a result of shooting. Maybe two dozens or so. But it may be even more. How many have been injured nobody knows. The hospitals are full. Police lock-ups have become torture chambers and this has been found out by a team of Members of Parliament which visited Calcutta recently and

gave a report. Therefore, the record of Prafulla Ghosh Ministry or whatever you call it has been one of not only downright treachery unprecedented in parliamentary history, but its record has been one of shooting, assault, large-scale arrests, detention without trial and assault in the police lock-up. Well, this is going on. Are you going to rule Bengal like that? I ask Mr. Chavan. Is this the way of ruling a particular State? Did our Constitution envisage that it should function in the midst of firing, shooting, assault, arrest, torture and detention of so many people so that a particular Government can be kept in office with the backing of bayonets and bullets? If that is so, then this Constitution has no meaning; it has no substance. In Bengal it has become a quasi-fascist or fascist regime. A dictatorship seems to be on there. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I must point out in all humility to this House the suffering and the agony my State is passing through. First of all, let us agree on one point the shift has not taken place in favour of the Congress Party. The very fact that the Congress Party does not dare to join this Prafulla Ghosh Ministry shows that the Congress Party knows that it has no support whatsoever. And those 17 men, out of whom 10 are Ministers, between them perhaps would not count for more than three hundred thousand votes, perhaps even less, much less, maybe 200,000. I have not calculated, but the figure is likely to be between 150,000 and 200,000. These people are now presiding over the destiny of a State which, according to the latest census report, has a population of 4.43 crores. I ask you Mr. Chavan. Do you expect the land of Raja Rammohan Roy, the land of Rabindranath Tagore . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat).
The land of gheraos.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : ... the land to Desh bandu, would submit to this kind of thing? Or do you expect that in such a land there shall be rebellion, there shall be revolt, there shall be resistance, there shall be no reconciliation with the present state

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] you are insulting not one or two parties. You are striking into the very heart of the Bengali people. You are striking at the very basis of their honourable, dignified and decent existence. And you have aggravated the situation by a reign of terror and tyranny. To-day there is police raj there. Mr. Vice-Chairman. I would in this connection, because my resolution refers to it, point out to you what has happened on the morrow of the illegal installation of this Ministry. Mr. Biswanath Mukherjee and Mr. Amar Chakraborty, two Ministers, were brutally assaulted in the Maidan of Calcutta on the order of the Deputy Commissioner of Police there. Sukumar Rai and Arun Ghosh revered leaders of Bangla Congress were assaulted brutally. Read the letter of Mr. Arun Ghosh to Prafulla Ghosh. He is a Gandhian himself and he is saying what was done to him. I would not, Mr. Vice-Chairman, like to relate everything here. I would only like to invite your attention to the complaint which Mr. Biswanath Mukherjee, Minister in the U. F. Government, now lodged in the Presidency Jail, has made. Now, Sir, this is the complaint made by Shri Biswanath Mukherjee, Shri Sukumar Rai and Shri Mrinal Majumdar against Shri Sugata Basu, Deputy Commissioner of Police, South Calcutta and others. This has been filed in the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta. They say: "That immediately after our arrival the Deputy Commissioner, South Police gave certain instruction to the mounted police and the foot police with shields and lathis and teargas, who were standing nearby in formations, and, at once the mounted police charged the people collected in the field without any warning or provocation, and the foot police with lathis rushed towards our jeep car and began to beat up brutally and madly the occupants of the car none of whom had yet got down from the car but were still standing or seating in the car itself." This is the statement made by the people who were only 12 hours before Ministers.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : Why does he not speak softly?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Chavan, I will give you some inconvenient facts. That is how they were beaten up. Firstly or rather previously I made the allegation on the basis of a report. Today I am reading out to you the same thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Chavan is only worried about your throat. You can speak softly, he says.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He should be worried about the people of Bengal whom he is murdering, whom he is lathi-charging and torturing. He should be worried about the honour of the women of Bengal whose modesty is violated by the police force. That is what has happened. And these things do happen in a decadent regime when people suffered and when people are subjected to torture and there is national humiliation and they make fun of the power that they have. I can tell Mr. Chavan that it is neither his tradition of Maharashtra nor my tradition of West Bengal. It is a matter of sorrow that you take things cynically. Anyhow, let us see what happened then. The police entered the Raja Pyare Mohan College, Uttarpara on the 16th December and they started beating them in the Principal's room itself and in the college premises. 22 Professors were beaten up. Many of them got bleeding injuries. I have got the statement of the Principal of the College. Not only that, they went to the house of one of the professors and insulted and molested the wife of that Professor. Is that civilisation? Is that how a civilised society has to function? Here I can tell you what the Principal of that College has stated. He is not a partyman. His statement is neither exaggerated nor incorrect. He has stated that the police broke into the college premises without any permission and made inhuman and indecent assault on the 22 Professors, some clerks and students and some of them were seriously injured. This is what Shri K. C. Gupta, the Principal of that College says. The

West Bengal College and University Teachers' Association has passed a Resolution. They made an on-the-spot study of the situation by sending their representative as to what happened in the Pyare Mohan College. The Professor said "We were not only beaten but humiliated beyond your imagination." A police officer shouted back "Professor, eh! Swine, all of them! A pack of swines and bastards." A policeman lashed out viciously and the scalp of Prof. Amar Chatterji split open, blood gushing forth. Then it has been stated: "I could not save my boys nor my colleagues." The Vice-Principal of the college too was belaboured with lathis inside the Principal's room and brutally dragged downstairs. Then the Police Inspector abusively told him "Get out, you swine and don't try to come back" A rifle-barrel was kept pressed against the chest of Professor Provash Sinha, the venerable head of the Department of English. Principal Gupta almost broke down as he was describing these events. This is coming from your educationists. I would not go into it any more but this is typical of what is happening. In the typical of what is happening. In the Jadavpur University they entered the premises and assaulted students as a result of which the Vice-Chancellor presided over a meeting which condemned the police action. In the Burdwan University they entered the campus and assaulted the students and this action was condemned by the educationists. The Calcutta Vice-Chancellor also has made a similar statement pointing out how the sanctity of the university was being violated. Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, here comes the order of the Ghosh Ministry instructing the police to enter schools and colleges. Dr. Triguna Sen shows his concern here but in 3 or 4 universities the police is entering those premises under instructions from the so-called Ghosh Ministry and assaulting the students and teachers. Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are plenty of facts. And what is happening in the lock-up? There also they are being assaulted. The police brutally assaults them. They say that never they had seen such things in the old days of the

British rule. They are being tortured and their bones and scalps are broken and then they are sent to the hospital. Again they are assaulted on the way. This is what is happening. I say these things are stated not by political parties but by impartial visitors, professors, teachers and students. They are coming to protest, the professors are coming to protest, those people who have nothing to do with politics, they are coming to express their agony and protest by courting arrest. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will be surprised that Renu Chakravarty, who has remained a Member of Parliament, she was also insulted by the police. The pictures had appeared in the Amrita Bazar Patrika, Jugantar and Hindusthan Standard, all supporters of the Congress Party. Then, Mr. Vice-Chairman, may I refer you to the assault on the Pressmen? Never has such a thing happened. Twenty-five Pressmen were assaulted and brutally assaulted despite the fact that they were standing there with their cameras. They had shown their identity cards to the police but the police did not care. They assaulted them on the spot. It happened in 1953 once and now in 1967, 24 or 25 of them were brutally assaulted.

In this connection I would like to tell you what the Hindusthan Standard of yesterday has written. Here is that editorial under the caption 'Outrageous'. This is what it says :

"Wednesday's wild police offensive against Pressmen on duty in the Esplanade area was as unprovoked as it was savagely cruel. And what would confound everybody is the deliberateness of that attack. The hypothesis of mistaken identity —over-zealous guardians of law and order mistaking the news gatherers and photographers for student demonstrators—is wholly invalid."

I quote again :

"What is particularly distressing is that the attack on the Press took place notwithstanding assurances of protection given by the city's police chief."

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] I
quote again:

"Only the other day some Press
photographers and a reporter got beaten up
by the police at Howrah Station." etc. etc.

This is 'Hindusthan Standard', not a
communist or leftist paper. If anything, it is
very very violent anti-communist and anti-
leftist.

And here is the paper of Amrita Bazar
Patrika, the paper is owned by one former
Minister of the Congress, Shri Tarun Kanti
Ghosh, his father, Shri Tushar Kanti Ghosh, is
known to many of you. In their editorial on the
22nd of this month this assault on the
Pressmen has been given the caption
"Shameful" and the editorial says and I
quote—

"It is time the State Government made a
sifting enquiry why the Chief Minister's
repeated advice to the Police to use
minimum force was not being followed."
etc. etc.

Then they say:

"Even before the indignation caused by
Police excesses in Uttarpara has subsided,
another record in Police frenzy was set on
Wednesday afternoon when even the time-
honoured immunity of Press photographers
and reporters was violated in a most wanton
fashion. What is most disturbing about
Wednesday's Teckless Police assault on
Pressmen is that the whole thing appears to
be well-organised and pre-planned."

Now I do not wish to read such things any
more. Here is another article condemning
Police action in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika"
under the caption "A Departure". It is on the
21st of this month. Now I can give you plenty
of such things. Their repression is terrible
everywhere today, Mr. Vice-Chairman. Just as
I was coming to this place I got a letter from
one of my friends in Calcutta wherein it is said
that in Asansol they are assaulting people in
the colliery area. Workers were being driven
out of their quarters and so on, that terrible as-
sault is going on. What does it show?

It shows that they want to keep up the reign of
terror. It shows that they want to take revenge on
the people of Bengal for having defeated the
Congress in the last General Elections. It shows
that they want to sustain in office in West
Bengal a treacherous Government with the
strength of bullets and bayonets, with murders
and assaults on the public, with tyranny and
torture all over. This shows that this
Government, this so-called Ministry without
any character, which has no moral justification to
exist, is now to be maintained by superior force
by Mr. Chavan and others. Mr. Chavan, he is
providing them with the Central Reserve Police,
with the Border Security Force and, what is
more, they have brought police from
Haryana where they have taken over the ad-
ministration, and from Rajasthan. Mr. Vice-
Chairman, now today the whole Bengal is a
police camp; a veritable police State exists
there. Well, this has caused naturally
international indignation all over the world.
These things are being condemned. Not even in
the United States of America these things are
being supported, well, journalists and others, the
way they have been beaten, people are being
beaten. Mr. Vice-Chairman, then how to get
out of this situation? What is the solution? Mr.
Chavan may ask. First of all stop that
repression. First of all release all those who
have been put in jail. Leave it to the people.
Let the people have their right to protest
peacefully, to demonstrate their anger and
indignation against this Government
peacefully. It is our inherent constitutional right.
We can certainly seek a change of the order
which they have set up. In 1959, you
remember, they engineered a trouble in Kerala.
The doctrine of direct action was evolved
by Shrimati Indira Gandhi acting then as the
President of the Congress and the theory
was made that even though it was a communist-
led Ministry—it had a vast majority in the
Kerala Assembly—since there were
disturbances, and since the masses had shifted,
according to them—although it did not
happen from the communist Ministry—there
should be mid-term elections. May I know,
is not Bengal entitled to claim, even by

this token, a mid-term election? On the contrary, today, there is every evidence that the masses have shifted away from the Congress because today no Congressman can come out in the streets and show his face. Well, as far as law and order and other things are concerned, I do not know whether you call it law and order. Rule by bayonet and bullet, shooting and firing, lathi-charging and teargassing, violation of educational institutions, assault on women and even children, certainly these do not make for a rule of law and order. Therefore I say, even on these two grounds, you cannot escape the demands for the mid-term elections. Mr. Vice-Chairman, now you will ask: Why mid-term election? Why not Assembly function? Do you think that this Assembly is going to function with the traitors seated in the Treasury Benches? Mr. Chavan can mobilise his Indian Army. Mr. Chavan can muster all his Border Police Force, but know for a fact that West Bengal people will not like to see the monstrous sight of Dr. Prafulla Ghosh occupying the Treasury Benches and the Assembly merely carrying on as if we are carrying on now. Such a thing shall never happen in West Bengal.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: (Andhra Pradesh) : The Assembly can pass a vote of no-confidence in the Ministry.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not know. No-confidence is being passed by tens of thousands of people marching in the streets facing bullets. That way no-confidence is being passed. Withdraw your army. Withdraw your Border Police. Give up repressive measures. Then, well, you shall see where the confidence lies. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I hope it will not be mistaken . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : I want you to finish within three or four minutes more.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is right, Mr. Vice-Chairman; if you. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Not a few, three.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then do not say 3, like that. Now you will sympathise with me a little. I am finishing.

Now this is the situation today. Now I would like to know. There is going to be mid-term elections in Haryana. There, the Congress, it can win; no difficulty at all. When in Madhya Pradesh they were tottering and falling, a mid-term election was suggested, because they thought that Mr. Mishra might come that way.

श्री नेकी राम (हरियाणा) : आप हरियाणा की क्या बात कर रहे हैं, आप बंगाल की बात करिये ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have a right. I am not objecting to it. I only say he has been generous to you; he should be generous to us also; nothing else, you see. Why should you be selfish? Let us have it also. Why they don't? Now in such a situation the mandate of the people is everything. When a constitutional deadlock has arisen, the right course is to seek a solution through the processes of democracy. Seek a solution in terms of the Constitution which provides, in a situation like this, for a mid-term election. This thing had happened earlier. Why are you hesitating? I know you will not easily restore Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee as the Chief Minister. All right; if you don't like it, we would like it to be done. But if that is not so, if you think you cannot find a solution except by murder and violence I would ask you to return to ways of democracy, return to the mandate of the people. Arrange mid-term elections and see as to who comes. All will submit. Tranquil will come. The very announcement of a mid-term election will change perhaps the situation in West Bengal considerably and anyhow a solution could be found. Now they are thinking of, Mr. Vice-Chairman, tampering with the Constitution again, interpreting certain articles of the Constitution in such a manner so that they can assume the legislative power and then dismiss

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker and the West Bengal Assembly and have common performance there in the Assembly.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar) : It cannot be done.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Never will there be common performance, I tell you. You may put anybody there. AH of your Central Cabinet with all the weapons in your hands can go and sit there, but West Bengal Assembly, as constituted by the fourth General Election, will not function that way. Then is it not a constitutional deadlock of a very serious nature? The Legislative organ does not function which means that the Ministry also is not functioning properly and in terms of the Constitution. That means that the Legislature and the Executive, the two organs are in deadlock and are defunctory actually. And if this is not a constitutional crisis, what is it I don't know. I tell you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Ajoy Mukherjee is certainly leading all the parties. Never have I seen such unity in West Bengal as I see today. And this is what give us courage in this hour of great agony, this unity of the people of West Bengal and the heroism of our people in defying the law. Even Amrita Bazar Patrika has paid high tribute to the women who offered satyagraha, with valour and courage. They have done it. They were charged and assaulted and yet they did it. That shows something basic and deeper has been aroused in Bengal. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you see the way they are behaving. The police are asked to take revenge. Prafulla Ghosh is senile man. You know what he said about Chavan. He has told others that Nehru was a drunkard and about Maulana Azad, he said the less said (the better). And you have put this senile man there and so now you have senility, revengeful-ness and corruption and tyranny to rule Bengal. I say this kind of thing cannot go on. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have spoken with a little passion and with a little sorrow. I think that my language fails me in such matters because I can imagine what Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore

would have said had **he been alive** now. I want to strike this note at the end of my speech. When one day in Hijili prison the detenus were shot by the British in 1931, Poet Tagore was in his sick bed. Some people went and told him the news. A meeting was being held in Calcutta Maidan and immediately he said, "No, the sick-bed is not my place. Carry me in a stretcher to the Maidan. I wish to speak to my people." And immediately he wrote a few lines, a poem which means that those who are trying to extinguish those lives, they are poisoning the atmosphere. They themselves **are** not going to live.

Today my people in Bengal, let them remember those words of my Gurudev, the revered poet who is no more with us, but whose spirit, whose education, whose culture and whose legacy is with us and let the people of Bengal repeat those words of our Gurudev. Before I sit down, let me say, no matter what happens, no matter how many of us are thrown into prison, no matter how many women and children are insulted and molested, no matter how many old men are thrown into dungeons, you cannot cow down the manhood and womanhood of Bengal. You cannot do it by violence, by terrorism. Bengal will stand up to that challenge and it will react to it. The people of Bengal know that they **are** not fighting for themselves only. It is not an issue between the people of Bengal and the Government. This is a fight against the calculated development of counter-revolutionism, a fight against anti-democratic systems which are threatening the people in the midst of an economic and political crisis. The people want to find a way out, they want to find a solution for this crisis. But here we find these people are trying to meet the crisis by the use of terrorism, by violating the Constitution. The Constitution has been thrown into the mud. Therefore, the people of West Bengal can legitimately expect support and sympathy from the people of the whole of India because the cause they are fighting for, the battle they are fighting, is not their battle alone, it is the battle of **the rest** of the country also. **They are fighting**

for the cause of democracy. No matter what happens, I say that Bengal will fight this battle, every man, woman and child there, and see that this counter-revolution is defeated. Shame on this Government, shame on this hooligan Government, this . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : That will do, Mr. Gupta, I am on my legs, Please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Shame on a Government which wants to govern the people by oppression and violence.

The question is as proposed.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR (Rajasthan) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, my amendment . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is your amendment?

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR: It has been circulated.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You continue your speech, Mr. Mathur.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR : I may read out my amendment. There are some slight modifications.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order . . .

SHRI RAJNARAIN (Uttar Pradesh) : Point of order . . .

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR : Let me read out my amendment and then you may raise your point of order.

श्री राजनारायण : जितना आपने रीड किया उसी से मालूम हो गया कि क्या है ।

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR : मालूम तो आप को है ही " ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let us have a copy of it.

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THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : It has already been circulated. I have got a cyclostyled copy with me here.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR : I gave it yesterday. It was circulated along with the papers. I am not springing any surprise on the hon. Member.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You may proceed with your speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order,

(Interruptions from several hon. Members)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : One by one, please. Yes, Mr. Gupta, what is it?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My point of order is this. It is quite clear that this is not an amendment. This is another motion, an alternate motion and it has not been brought forward with proper notice. Anyhow there are two motions now but only one has been properly brought in and only that one is now before the House. The other is not admissible. What the hon. Member has read out is certainly not something which comes under the category of amendment. He can say that mid-term election cannot be held or something like that. But he brings in the question of condemnation and other things. He can even ask for deletion of certain things from my motion if he likes. Mr. Vice-Chairman, otherwise we would be establishing a precedent which will not be good. If this precedent is accepted then to any motion anything can be moved as an amendment. With reference to one Bill another Bill can be moved in the form of an amendment. Mr. Mathur, surely, should not try to do this. I think he is not fair to himself, being an experienced parliamentarian, and not fair to us, when he takes this opportunity to move this in the form of an amendment. Why did he not move that motion before? Therefore, it is clear that Mr. Mathur wants to frustrate the discussion by putting some-

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

thing in the guise of another amendment which the Chair has admitted. Mr. Vice-Chairman, the rules with regard to motions are quite clear. You have to give notice and the motion has got to be admitted by the Chairman. It has to be notified and included in the list of business. Only then the motion is discussed. Mr. Mathur in the guise of an amendment is trying to circumvent all the requirements of the rules of procedure and wants you to accept an alternative motion. Just a little while ago when you were in the Chair when I wanted to move a motion with regard to the Birlas you said: "There is no question of any motion now; there is a way of doing it." Now, here he is trying to introduce another subject. Two subjects cannot be discussed simultaneously. Anyhow this is a motion which has come absolutely without any notice irregularly and without conforming to the requirements of the Rules of Procedure of the House. Hence this cannot be admitted as an amendment at all. It should be rejected as it is a kind of substitute motion for which there is no scope in the present discussion.

इतना पढ़ने के बाद आपको रोक देना चाहिये था।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, आप ऐसे नियम, कायदा-कानून के जानकारी होते हुए भी जहां यह मोशन कहता है—

"This House is of the opinion that West Bengal Government is a legally constituted Government . . ."

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh) : This is an alternative motion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Sapru Sahib, will you take your seat? Mr. Rajnarain is on his feet.

श्री राजनारायण : भूपेश गुप्ता का जो प्रस्ताव है वह शुद्धतः कहता है कि यह गवर्नमेंट इल्लीगली कांस्टीट्यूटेड है और इनका अमेंडमेंट कहता है कि यह लीगली कांस्टीट्यूटेड है। जहां इन्होंने यह लाइन

पढ़ी कि मैंने पाइन्ट आफ आर्डर रोज़ किया था और आपको इन्हें आगे पढ़ने से रोक देना चाहिये था। इतना ही नहीं इनका अमेंडमेंट तो भूपेश गुप्ता के मोशन को निगेट करता है, इसलिए यह अमेंडमेंट के रूप में आ ही नहीं सकता, यह बिल्कुल सेपरेट रिजोल्यूशन है और सेपरेट रिजोल्यूशन अब मूव हो ही नहीं सकता। मैं आपसे अपील करूंगा कि आपके रहते यहां पर नियमों का उल्लंघन नहीं होना चाहिये, नियमों की पाबन्दी कायदे के अनुसार होनी चाहिये। जो बात इनको इस रिजोल्यूशन पर कहनी है वह यों ही कह सकते हैं, बिना अमेंडमेंट के भी अपने जज्बात का इजहार कर सकते हैं। फिर बेमतलब कायदे-कानून को तोड़ कर, एक अमेंडमेंट के नाम पर एक दूसरे रिजोल्यूशन को ला कर रख देना मैं माधुर जी जैसे व्यक्ति के लिए अनुचित समझता हूं। अभी तक मैं समझता था कि यह कुछ जानकारी हैं, मगर इन्हें इस रिजोल्यूशन को अमेंडमेंट के रूप में रखते हुए देखकर, चेयर के जरिए, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हमको अफसोस होता है। यह काम तो दूसरे लोग कर देते तो कर देते। इसलिए मैं आपसे अपील करूंगा कि हरगिज-हरगिज इसको अमेंडमेंट के रूप में रखने की इजाजत न दें। हां, उनको बोलने का हक है, जो चाहे बोलें।

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, under rule 160 amendments can be moved. It reads like this :

"After a resolution has been moved, any member may, subject to the rules relating to resolutions, move an amendment to the resolution.

If notice of such amendment has not been given one day before the day on which the resolution is moved, any member may object to the moving of the amendment, and such objection shall prevail unless the Chairman allows the amendment to be moved.

The Secretary shall, if time permits, make available to members from time to time lists of amendments of which notices have been given."

Mr. Mathur's amendment is not in accordance with Rule 160 which I have quoted and there are other rules. Then this is not an amendment; it is a substitute motion. If he had given notice of this substitute motion on the day on which this notice of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's motion was admitted and if that was also admitted by the Chairman, I could have understood it. This is a negative motion; it is not an amendment. He can vote down the motion of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta if he likes and that is what he wants to do and he has got the opportunity to do it but it cannot under any circumstances be construed as an amendment and therefore it should be ruled out of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Sinha.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: I do not want to say anything on this.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MA-THUR: May I say a word? I would never like to say anything which will not be consistent with the rules or which is not consistent with the practice of this House. It is not so important that I should move my amendment but I have looked into the Rules which I have before me. I can find absolutely nothing in these Rules which would bar this amendment. My friend, Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy, has referred to Rule 160. I do not know how this rule comes in. In the first place it is in respect of the Resolutions. About notice being given a day earlier—that is what he read out—I had given notice a day earlier. I gave notice yesterday and it was in yesterday's papers which were circulated. So that objection does not stand.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Then it can be treated as a substitute motion.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MA-THUR: I do not see anything in the

Rules of Procedure whereby this is barred. Even so far as the convention in this House is concerned, as a matter of fact Shri Rajnarain should particularly bear me out, when he gave his own motion regarding the two Ministers of U.P. there was an amendment moved and that amendment was passed by this House. So I feel that this is the practice here. I do not see how it is irregular. If I am convinced I would be most happy to drop it but I see there is nothing in the Rules which debars it and the practice in the House is also like this. So I do not know how it can be objected to. Notice was definitely given yesterday and it is before you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : No, you have had your say. Has the Home Minister to say anything on this?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have nothing to say in this matter.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Rule 160 pointed out by Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy does not apply because this is not a Resolution. This is a motion and it will be governed by Rule 231. I find Rule 231 is very specific :

"An amendment shall be relevant to and within the scope of the motion to which it is proposed.

An amendment shall not be moved which has merely the effect of negative vote."

Therefore I hold that this amendment No. 2 is out of order. He can speak on the motion but not move the amendment.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MA-THUR : It is not a negative motion but now that the ruling has been given I do not wish to say anything about it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Now you proceed with your speech please. Fifteen minutes.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the ruling that you have given is accepted entirely but I do not know how the motion moved by the hon. Member is in order. The motion moved by the hon. Member runs just counter to the discussion which has already been held in this House. This discussion has been held in this House and it has . . .

SHRI RAJNARAIN: You are quite right there.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR : The Speaker's ruling, the dismissal of the Ministry, the Governor's powers, all these various ingredients of this particular motion have been discussed in this House and the House has expressed its opinion in all these matters which are now again under discussion. I do not know how this motion is in order. It would be advisable for you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, even at this late stage to consider . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Point of order.

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

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR : . . . whether this motion itself as it stands running just counter to the discussions which have been held in this House and the decision reached by the House, is sustainable or not.

Now I will come to the fact of the matter. I cannot certainly—I have no hesitation in saying that—match Mr. Bhupesh Gupta in his vehemence and his shrill eloquence. In place of his eloquence and passion I will give facts and figures and I would like the hon. House to consider this not from a political party point of view. I am afraid the hon. Member who moved the motion had a brief from a political party. If he had the democratic values at heart, if he had the good of the country and national interests at heart I hope his whole approach to this problem would have been different.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa) : Can you say that the Congress is not a political party?

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR : The Congress is a party; you are a party. Even you can take a national view; I can take a national view; he can take a national view. I do not object to that. So, the matter before us is not a party matter at all. It is a matter of constitutional importance. It is a matter of national importance. It is a matter of democratic values. That is why I say that it is not at all a party matter and a broad outlook has got to be taken in this matter. That is all I can say. Even though we have discussed this matter, it has again been brought forward for discussion by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. It would be useful . . .

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) : Sir, may I intervene for a moment? Mr. Mathur has raised a very important issue. As I have a point of order, I would like to draw your attention to Rule 228 which says :—

"A motion must not raise a question substantially identical with one on which the Council has given a decision in the same Session."

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Here no decision was given.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Let me have my say, Mr. Rajnarain. Now, Sir, if you look at the motion, it starts :—

"Whereas the political situation in West Bengal has taken a grave turn since November 21, 1967;

Whereas the people of the State are demonstrating against the illegal and unconstitutional dismissal of the U. F. Ministry and the equally illegal and unconstitutional installation of Shri P. C. Ghosh as the Chief Minister of West Bengal; . . ."

Now, Sir, in this House on a motion brought by the Opposition Party a discussion has taken place and a decision has been given . . .

SHRI RAJNARAIN: No. no.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Please let him make his point.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, discussion has taken place and the motion has not been allowed. In these circumstances, when we have already discussed it, under this rule which I have mentioned and under the rule which was referred to by Mr. Mathur, I think the motion itself is out of order and, therefore, it should not be allowed to be discussed henceforth.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : I do not agree with your contention because all the things raised in 'Whereas' point to certain circumstances. The operative part of the motion is :—

"This House is of opinion that immediate steps be taken, including the dismissal of the illegal Ghosh Ministry, for an early mid-term election in the State."

That has not been discussed earlier in the House.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR : About its legality.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Legality is different from the operative part. Please continue with your speech.

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Now, Sir, let us recapitulate the facts — unfortunately we are discussing the whole thing—about what happened in West Bengal after the general elections. Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee formed a coalition Ministry and it is a matter of pleasure to me to be able to say and I would even give credit to the Opposition, that the Ajoy Mukherjee Ministry was received with great jubilation by the people of Calcutta. It was hailed by the people. We took it, as a matter of fact, with grace and dignity, but unfortunately what happened?

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

Just after a few days the people of Bengal got disenchanted and disillusioned. Within a few days or within a few weeks, the entire picture changed and there was sorrow and gloom. There was the episode of "Gheraos". Even Mr. Mukherjee himself felt so much upset about it. He expressed his unhappiness and he also expressed his helplessness. That is a fact which nobody can challenge. Then I would recall the most shameful episode of Shri Bimal Ghosh, which took place in Bengal. It was condemned by both Houses of Parliament. Things developed which changed their jubilation. It was as if from heaven to hell. From that place you have fallen. Then in the streets of Calcutta and in the Writers' Building itself, the portraits of Mao Tse-Tung were paraded and there were slogans raised, "Mao Tse-Tung Zindabad", "Vietnam Lai Salaam", etc. These were the slogans on the Writers' Building and the Ministers joined it. Could you consider anything more shameful and more unhappy for this country. On what terms is this country with China? It is an aggressor in possession of our land and that people in the Writers Building are going about shouting Mao Tse-Tung and all that. Thereafter came . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : He is misleading the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You can speak when your turn comes.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR : Then came the question of Naxalbari, that episode. Again the whole Government felt extremely unhappy about it. My hon. friend, Shri Rajnarain, who paid a visit made a public statement about, how unhappy he was not only about Naxalbari, but about the whole of Bengal, about How-rah and other places, about what was happening, how people were being prosecuted and persecuted. He made a statement and I would like the House to understand and remember that it was from the Chinese Embassy in

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur.] Nepal that Naxalbari was being financed. Now, this is the statement made by a Member of the Opposition, which was a constituent of that Ministry.

Then, I come to the further event. Even a Minister in that Ministry, the ex-Education Minister, Mr. Jyoti Bhat-tacharya, while he was a Minister there, was gheraoed at Kalyani University and insulted, humiliated and forced to accept things. Then, he was asked to sign certain documents. The Chief Minister—possibly it is not known to the House—was completely aghast at the situation, a prisoner of his own constituent units. The Chief Minister summoned a meeting of the District Magistrates and held a closed door meeting and let it be known to the House that in that closed-door meeting Mr. Mukherjee issued instructions to the District Magistrates and Superintendents not to take any notice of such orders, which come from Ministers, even if they came in writing. The District Magistrates raised their voice and asked what would happen. They would be transferred the next day. He assured them that nothing would happen. In spite of his assurance, helpless as he was, a prisoner of the constituent units as he was, the District Magistrate as well as the Superintendent of Nadiad was suddenly transferred. Now, this is what has been happening. After that Mr. Mukherjee wanted to give his resignation. Something intervened. At that time, mind you, there was a general public meeting in Calcutta, addressed by Mr. P. C. Sen, and lakhs of people of Calcutta collected there. That showed a change from their jubilation. Disenchantment had come about. At meetings addressed by them, the papers which were supporting communists, had reported that there were hardly ten thousand present. Mr. Mukherjee, for one reason or other, changed his mind. As I said, he was a prisoner of his constituents and he suffered the fate of Panchen Lama. They are exploiting his good name. Today he is a helpless man. Now, what is the latest position? The latest position is that the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly has made a statement. He is one of the custodi-

ans of democracy. He has made a very disturbing statement accusing again the very coalition, of which he still continues to be a part and a constituent. After all there is something in it. All these factors have got to be taken into account. What is the grand design of my friends? I do not know it, but it is quite obvious now that even if the Governor had not dismissed the Ministry and had permitted it to continue till the 18th December, we have an absolutely justifiable feeling and a presumption—not a mere suspicion—that they would have only taken the opportunity to entrench themselves all over and the whole of Bengal would have been on fire. And in the districts they wanted to go. What has happened even during these days? One does not know what has happened. Today we know about the foreign money. My friend talked about the foreign money and Naxalbari area. Here is the foreign money. Here is the foreign bomb which has been exploded in a Police Commissioner's office. What a shame it is. This also indicates that there has been a planned infiltration and foreign cells function in most of the offices. That is quite clearly the indication of these things. It is not a matter for the Bengal Government or Mr. Ghosh's Ministry. I have no enchantment for Mr. Ghosh's Ministry, whether it continues or not, but it is a matter for the country to take cognisance of such things. I do not know what infiltration is already there in the police force. I strongly condemn it. Mr. Vice-Chairman, any excesses whether they are by police or by anybody I strongly condemn. But there is a natural suspicion in the people's mind that there has been infiltration even in the police force, and that infiltration is their whole grand design, it is known all over the world. They believe not in democracy, they take the name of democracy but the most unfortunate part is that because of our sentiment for democracy, because of our deep roots in democracy, we are prepared to tolerate everything in the name of democracy. But the unfortunate fact is that their creed is violence, their creed is through the barrel of the gun, not through the ballot. The question is whether we are

going to tolerate this, this foreign money, this foreign bomb, this foreign agent. I think the Home Minister owes an explanation, again I repeat, to this House and to the country as to how he proposes to deal with this great menace which has come to the surface already. It is not only the Government of Bpngai which is responsible for all these matters. The responsibility lies squarely on the shoulders of the Home Minister of this country, because when foreign money is concerned, when foreign agents are concerned, when foreign bomb is concerned, it is not only a mere law and order situation in Bengal; it is a much wider issue, a much more important issue. It is the question of democracy surviving in this country. What have we stood for? What is the image of this great country? The image of this great country is only democracy, a stable democracy, socialism. But all this grand design wants to lead to confusion, chaos and violence. We see the atmosphere of violence all over. In this respect I do not understand, Mr. Vice-Chairman, how could we take a different view from the view which has already been taken by this House. All these ingredients of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's motion have been discussed threadbare. It is no use repeating the whole thing. I could give you chapter and verse from the studied opinions of people who count in the world of constitutional law. I could quote anything but we have already discussed this matter. We may not like the Ghosh Government, that is another matter. I would like also that the Ghosh Government is expanded and if the Congress Party are supporting it, then they should share the responsibility. That is entirely a different matter. But the question is: how has this all happened and where do our friends of the Communist Party and the U.L.F. stand? They create confusion, they create violence, they create a situation there and then come and ask here in the name of confusion, chaos and violence that the Government should be dismissed. This is their own creation. Why do they not permit the Assembly to meet? We can say that even if the Assembly meets ..

(Interruption.)

Therefore, the first question is, this cult of power through the barrel of the gun, this cult of the bomb must be deprecated and condemned by this House. I think everyone in this House should join at least in condemning violence, in condemning the bomb, in condemning the barrel of the gun.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All are in your hands. Your Congressmen threw a bomb. Guns are in your hands.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala) : Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told us, why not refer the matter to the people. When the previous Communist regime in Kerala was dismissed, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told us: we will have an election, face it; that is the test of democracy. Are you prepared to accept it?

(Interruption.)

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MA-THUR: I would like to ask them one question. Are these members of the Legislative Assembly drawn from heaven or somewhere else or they are people elected by the people?

(.Interruption.)

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

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MA-THUR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is no use shouting. We knew about the President's rule, we know about the Governor being authorised to rule, but I had never thought about the Speaker's rule which is now being inaugurated, a new dimension which is being projected. The same thing has come about in Punjab, an absolutely similar situation, nothing different from what has happened in Bengal. But the Speaker had the decency to understand the Constitution, understand his own position and understand the position of the Governor. That has happened after we discussed this matter.

Then I will raise one more point before I sit down. There is the question of what happens whenever all

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur.] this violence takes place. It is a very unfortunate thing which we have noticed that national property is destroyed during all this violence. In our present economic situation, in any given situation such a thing would be condemned, and in our present situation to go out and destroy the national property is something which is un-understandable. I do not know how any patriotic citizen of this country and how any Member of this House will be able to support it. The first casualty is the Railways ; railway wagons are burnt down; trains are burnt down. I think some serious notice has got to be taken of this matter. It is here that I wish to invite the attention of the Home Minister that it is his direct responsibility. Let me tell him that. I would refer to article 257—'Control of the Union over States in certain cases :

"The executive power of every State shall be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive power of the Union" etc.

In that very article 257 there is clause (3) which says :

"The executive power of the Union shall also extend to the giving of directions to a State as to the measures to be taken for the protection of the railways within the State."

In the Constitution there is a special provision made particularly for the safety of the railways, and the Home Minister has got to give certain directives, and if those directives are not carried out, if they fail, then this is a failure of the Constitution. It is a very important matter. We should not take this lightly. The railway property is destroyed, trains have been destroyed, burnt down, in Madras. AVhen we open the newspapers, we see something is burnt here or something is burnt there, railways, buses, trams, and all that. I think we should give serious attention to this matter. I think everybody should support and strengthen the hands of the Home Minister to take some positive steps.

I would suggest that the State Government should be made responsible for the damages or loss of such national property, and there should be a collective fine imposed wherever such national property is destroyed.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: I want to know what the Congressmen did in Kerala . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Annadurai will surely take note of it.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MATHUR : Do you support me in condemning violence or not? Do you support me that national property should not be destroyed? Don't you condemn destruction of national property? Don't you think that strong action should be taken and responsibility fixed? What have I said? That action should be taken and responsibility should be fixed.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I wind up now, my speech by saying that all that has been said in the resolution has no substance. It has already been discussed on the floor of the House. The House has expressed its opinion. The situation has worsened, and if anybody is in the dock, it is those people who are taking the law in their own hands and who are creating such a situation and wanting to cash in on the situation which they themselves create for their own advantage, not for the national interest, not for the basic purpose of democracy, not for the values which we have held so high in our country.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. I do not think anybody in this House will have any hesitation in condemning violence whether it is of the police or of the people who have created so much loss, who have destroyed so much of public property and unnecessarily created bitterness among the people of various classes. It pained me very much to hear my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's account, with the newspaper cuttings which he placed before us, about the manner in which the educational institutions were at-

tacked and the sanctity of the educational institutions was violated, professors being manhandled, warnings of the professors asking the police not to enter the premises not being heeded. It is a very sorry episode, and such things should not happen in a country that prides itself in being a democracy. (*Interruptions.*) If women are demonstrating, certainly there is a way of dealing with them which need not necessarily mean maiming them. We condemned the British atrocities and violence when we were fighting for freedom. Let us also remember that there is a way of dealing with people. But unfortunately our Government has failed.

I know that the events in West Bengal for the last few months have taken a sorry turn. May I say that I am distressed at the suffering of the people of West Bengal not only during the last few months, but during the last few years? I have seen myself the wave of refugees that came after the partition and then the troubles that have happened in recent years as a result of the partition; and it is the poor people who have suffered the most. I am sorry that Government has not been able to give them adequate protection. It is not possible to blame the Government entirely for this situation. I am sure that the Home Minister would like to enforce law and order. But the situation has gone out of hand. Why? For that purpose, if the blame is to be found, the blame must be laid squarely at the door of the Congress Government. In the first place, they allowed confusion to continue because it suited them. Of course, confusion is a thing that suits some parties, some people, who do not believe in non-violence, who do not believe in the rule of law but only pay lip-sympathy to the rule of law very much. They are able to engineer violence, and when the police reacts badly, it reacts upon them. I wish "the present Government of West Bengal, whether you call it a legal Government or not, had shown a little more sense of restraint and not unleashed, what my friend wants to call, a reign of terror. If what has been recounted before us is true, we can-

not but condemn and cannot but agree that it has been a reign of terror . . . (*Interruptions*) If it is true, it is so.

On the other hand, Sir, one cannot forget the background. What happened in Naxalbari under the previous Ministry? What was the previous Ministry heading for in West Bengal? What is the connection between Naxalbari and the people across the board? Just now, the hon. Member who spoke before me recounted so many things, which should set any right thinking Indian, thinking as to where we are going. And what I want to say is that I would put the blame for this squarely and squarely on the Congress; they must take it. They have been encouraging the force of disruption whenever it suits them. They have been praising the Communist regime, very unnecessarily, very negligently forgetting that the general Communist strategy is to create confusion, is to create disruption. They have created confusion in many minds ; then they will create deception and then they will look for an opportunity to take over. It will be a sad day for this country if anything like that is allowed to happen in West Bengal. West Bengal is in a very critical situation. It is at one of the extreme borders. It is adjacent to China, it is adjacent to Pakistan. We know, Sir, that in spite of the friendly attitude of our Government, both these Governments have not been very friendly with us. Under the circumstances, it would require a very careful handling of the situation and a very vigilant Government to deal with the situation. I am sorry; with all my sympathy, I doubt whether our Government is yet capable and whether we can be reassured that this Government will be able to deal with such a situation. We hear that rice crops are being harvested before the rice is ripe. We are passing through a period of famine, a food shortage, and in this period, such tactics are being adopted. This will not help the country. And therefore the Home Minister will need to handle the situation firmly. I do not mean the type of firmness that is being shown on the students and the professors in West Bengal. But I do hope that the

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]

Home Minister will try to put down unlawful activities. There is a lot of unlawful activity and in a confusing situation like this, the Government is in a very delicate situation and has to act firmly and act with tact. If in some such situations the Government errs, it would not be easy to condemn the Government if it acted on the safe side. Whatever steps the Government has to take to preserve the integrity and the security of the country, the Government must take. But the Government, must satisfy the people that the violence that it uses is the barest minimum, if at all violence is to be used. I am sorry, from what we have heard today, it has not convinced us that the violence used was the minimum that was necessary. That is a sad commentary. On the other hand, I think the Government has been too slow, too soft; firmer action should have been taken after the events in Naxalbari, and these are only the consequences of what has happened in Naxalbari. Have we not heard of Mao's theory that was propounded? Have we not heard what the Peking papers or the papers that were coming through Nepal have said, what the Communists should do, the guidance that was given to them and how they should look forward to the day when they could subvert the duly constituted democratic Government of this country? My friends from even on the other side are in the habit of applauding and saying "yes" to some of the Communists' notions and ideas. Be careful, be warned; otherwise they will overtake you and you will never be able to overtake them.

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

(Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy stood up)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, let Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy speak first.

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

SHRI ABID ALI (Maharashtra) : But, Sir, you should call a next speaker from this side.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I think on the Opposition there are many speakers who would like to speak.

SHRI ABID ALI: We have also got many speakers. You should take one from this side and one from that side. Some friends might not have given you their names. But there are a large number of them who would like to speak. Therefore, you should call one from that side and one from this side.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : That is a normal thing. But when there are more speakers on the other side, let them speak.

SHRI ABID ALI: We have also many speakers . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : But you will appreciate that you have to give more opportunity to hear the Opposition in this particular case.

SHRI ABID ALI: We are always victims, Sir. ^ 3) gyp- ^~\x .tfjtfWRT

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Since I have already called Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy, let him speak this time. In future-I will follow the same principle.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I agree with Mr. Mathur that public property is national property; it should not be destroyed. We should deprecate destruction of public property. During the small language riots the same thing happened here, and now in Madras some trains were damaged and burnt. We do not appreciate such things. We do deplore such things. These things-should not happen. If we have any grievance against any injustice, we should have the right to protest in a peaceful manner; we should have the right to agitate over such things. But we should not destroy public property.

What has happened in Bengal? In the last general elections the Congress lost the majority. There was a coalition Government. All the Opposition participated in that Government. The P.S.P. was one of the parties that participated in the coalition Government. Sir, whenever some elements went out of their way, the P.S.P. had the courage to condemn such thing. When some parties, or some elements in some parties in Calcutta resorted to *gheraos*, the P.S.P. Minister was the first to condemn those *gheraos*, and we did condemn here in this House as well as in the other House the leonine violence indulged in by some of the misguided people in Naxalbari. **But** that should not deter us from the main issue.

Here the issue is that the Governor has acted in a manner which does not bring in credit to him or to the institution of Governors. That is one of the reasons why we want that the institution of Governor should be abolished. The Governor, Mr. Dharma Vira, without giving proper opportunity to the Legislature to express its confidence or otherwise in the duly elected Ministry has dismissed it. Under no provision of the Constitution or under no interpretation given by eminent jurists or the High Courts or the Supreme Court the Governor had the authority to dismiss an elected Ministry. What has happened here?

On November 21, the Governor of Haryana dismissed the elected Ministry even though the Ministry had a majority in the Legislature. We had condemned floor crossings. But who is responsible for it? It is Mr. Chavan's Congress Party that is responsible for these floor crossings. They first tried to disrupt the other political parties. And as a pretext the Governor of West Bengal followed the example of Haryana and dismissed an elected Ministry.

Sir, the Chief Minister and the cabinet had advised the Governor to convene a meeting of the Assembly on 18th December. When again the Governor wrote to the Chief Minister

whether it was possible for hiirt to convene meeting of the Assembly earlier, he did write to the Governor saying that the matter may be placed before the Cabinet and the Cabinet would give due regard to his advice. Instead of waiting for that, the Governor dismissed the Ministry.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : These facts are well-known.

SHRI MJLKA GOVINDA REDDY : Yes, yes. Please wait. The Governor dismissed the Ministry and installed a a quisling of Dr. P. C. Ghosh as the Chief Minister.

DR. GOPAL SINGH (Nominated) : What about UP. and C.P.?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: What has happened here? The Legislature was convened. The Speaker gave the ruling. He did not recognise the Ghosh Ministry. The test whether the present Ministry enjoys the confidence of the Legislature has not been applied. It is most undemocratic and illegal and unconstitutional for the Governor to have dismissed the Ministry and installed a puppet Government there. What has happened there? In order to save democracy, in order to preserve the Constitution the masses in Calcutta and other places in Bengal are staging a peaceful demonstration; and they are entitled to do so. As was already referred to, even when the Communist Ministry had majority in Kerala this mass upsurge was created there and the Ministry was dismissed. But here, where illegal things have been done by the Governor, it is the right of the people to demonstrate against such things. And the demonstration took place. Dr. P. C. Ghosh's Ministry has let loose a reign of terror. It was very unfortunate that the police have resorted to leonine violence. They have beaten up students and professors. They have beaten up pressmen who were doing their duty there. Even when the press people showed their identity cards they were not spared. The very fact that the I.G. of Police has apologised

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.]

for what has happened there shows clearly that the Dr. P. C. Ghosh Ministry is not in a position to control the violence let loose by the police. We condemn violence resorted to by the people if they do so. But what about this leonine violence that has been committed by an organised Government? If the people do it I will condemn it. But if an organised Government resorts to this sort of leonine violence, I will condemn it not once but a thousand times. That is what is going on in Calcutta to-day. Bengal is on fire. But the Home Minister here is looking on merrily. This is a set pattern for all Congress Governments now. Here the puppet Government is using this sort of leonine violence. But in other areas, wherever there are peaceful demonstrations, the same set pattern is resorted to by them. Recently in Maharashtra, similar things have happened. In Mysore, in a place called Madhugiri, police atrocities were committed and there was a mass protest against those atrocities. In a small police lock-up, more than 100 persons, men and women—cane-growers in that area—were kept. The Black-hole of Calcutta pales into insignificance if we see what happened there. Women were molested. They were raped. Their honour was jeopardised and some of them suffered injuries which one cannot narrate here. One Congress lady Member of the State Assembly who visited the place and gave a report, has said "Words cannot describe the atrocities of the police that were let loose there in that particular area". So this is a set pattern that the Congress Governments are now pursuing. They were defeated in eight or nine States in the last general elections and in the States where they have won, they are trying to carry on the administration with the help of the police and with the help of the military. In Bengal, not only police forces from other States were requisitioned, even the military was requisitioned. It looks as though in Bengal, we are not having P. C. Ghosh's Ministry or Congress Ministry—the Congress is not there in the Ministry, but the Congress says it is

going to support the Ghosh Ministry—but it is police raj that is reigning in Calcutta, with the aid and abetment of the military which the Central Government has sent there. It is unfortunate that such a thing is taking place before our very eyes. The Constitution has been massacred and the people's rights have been jeopardised and the people are subjected to leonine violence which once Mahatma Gandhi had condemned. The leonine violence used by the British was condemned by Mahatma Gandhi. But to-day in free India, the same leonine violence is being used by the Congress Governments or their puppet Governments 100 times more vigorously. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I see your anxiety that I should finish quickly. I do not want to take much of the time of the House. So what is the solution for this? Should we continue to be on-lookers when such atrocities are committed by the police? The problem is that the Ghosh Ministry cannot survive if the Assembly is convened and the situation is such that the Assembly cannot be convened. The only solution for resolving this deadlock and stopping this holocaust that is now taking place is to resort to Article 356 of the Constitution and impose President's rule there and arrange for immediate elections. If P.C. Ghosh along with Atulya Ghosh gets the mandate of the people, let them form the Government there. Or if any other party gets the mandate of the people, let it form the Government. This violence that is now committed by the police will stop and the political parties will go to the people for their mandate. And if the people give their mandate, let that party which gets the majority, rule. I, therefore, plead that Article 356 should be applied and President's rule imposed and immediate elections should be ordered in order to save the Constitution, in order to save our democratic institutions and in order to save our people from being massacred by the ruthless police. Thank you.

DR. GOPAL SINGH: I have one question to ask of my friend, Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy. His party, the F.S.P., is a participant both in the

U. P. Government and in the Madhya Pradesh Government. Both came into being as a result of defections from the Congress Party. Now, did he at any time suggest the same remedy in regard to U.P. and Madhya Pradesh which he is now suggesting in respect of West Bengal?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: It was the Congress Party that encouraged these defections. I must blame the Congress Party for this. Since 1952, they are disrupting the Praja Socialist Party. To-day it would be the second largest party in India if the Congress had not disrupted the Praja Socialist Party. We never encouraged any disruption or defection. In Madhya Pradesh, we are not participating in the Ministry.

SHRI ABID ALI : But you are supporting it.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : Yes, we are supporting the S.V.D. If you have the courage to come out of the Congress because you are dissatisfied, we are prepared to lend our support to the Ministry that may be formed at the Centre.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, my friend. Mr. Gupta's motion, which the House is debating, consists of a tissue of assumptions; they are postulates which really tax one's credulity. I will, with your leave, go hurriedly over the different paragraphs in the Motion. It is said that "the people of the State are demonstrating against the illegal and unconstitutional installation of the Ghosh Ministry". I ask whether this is any more than a proposition in affirmation of a faith or belief that a particular Ministry has been illegally constituted. In order that you might reach the operative part of the Resolution, you have to take for granted certain things. When you read Geometry, the student in the class is told that a point has position but no magnitude. But if the student questions it, there is an end to the study of Geometry. Similarly here, if you wish to give effect to the operative part of the Resolution tabled by Mr. Gupta, you have to take for granted very many things. The most impor-

tant of them are, first, that the Ajoy Mukherjee Ministry has been illegally dismissed. The second which follows as a corollary to the first is that the Ghosh Ministry has been illegally installed. The third assumption is that a true, genuine, real, honest deadlock has been created by the Speaker's ruling. From that follows as a consequence of the ruling, the Government of West Bengal as it is to-day must be held to be non-existent in the eye of law. If you make these assumptions, you can reach the conclusion that urgent steps should be taken to make an end of the situation prevailing in West Bengal and arrangements for a mid-term poll be made. I submit you cannot have a Motion like this which proceeds entirely upon assumptions. Who is to decide that the Ajoy Mukerjee Ministry has been illegally dismissed? Who is to decide that the Ghosh Ministry has been illegally set up? Who is to decide that the Speaker's ruling that the Government of West Bengal at the moment does not exist is a correct ruling?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who is to decide that you should speak here like this?

SHRI DEBARBRATA MOOKERJEE : I say. Sir, the only forum which could have given a definite decision would be the courts of the country. You will recall that the court was approached with an application under article 226 for a writ of *quo warranto* calling upon the Government to show cause . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If we had not defeated him in the election of 1952, he would never have become a Judge. Let him not forget it.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE : What is all this rigmarole? (Interruptions) Sir, I cannot too often repeat that Mr. Gupta does not have any sense of relevance. Anyway, I cannot cure him. So, application was filed calling upon the State Government to show cause why an order should not be made making an appropriate declaration. Do you know what happened to that application? That application was withdrawn. Therefore *it* shows that although an attempt is made to show To the world that the United

[Shri Debabrata Mukherjee.]

Front point of view is the correct point of view that the Ajoy Mukherjee Ministry has been illegally dismissed entailing the consequence of the installation of the Ghosh Ministry as the Government of the day, there is no real or genuine effort on their part to prove that the present Government is not a properly constituted Government. Who is to decide, I ask, that the Speaker's ruling is correct? Who can pronounce upon the correctness of the ruling given by the Speaker that the Government of West Bengal does not exist today in the eye of law? The one authority under the Constitution would be the courts of the country.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: No, no. The Chair's ruling cannot go to the court.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, no, Mr. Vice-Chairman. He is not a politician.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: The Speaker's ruling has effect within the four walls of the House. He is no more than an officer of the Legislature. That is how the Constitution describes him. (Interruptions) You must have the patience to listen to others. Therefore, Sir, the ruling which the Speaker has given that the Government of the day does not exist is a ruling which does not in law determine the fate of the present Government which has as its head Dr. Prafulla Ghosh.

Now Sir, as I said, before you reach the operative part, you have to take for granted that there has been an illegal dismissal of one Ministry, there has been an illegal installation of another Ministry, there has been, according to the Speaker and according to the United Front, no Government at all at the moment in the eye of law. Under those assumed circumstances there is a request to the Government of India to consider whether there should be a mid-term election. I submit, Sir, you have to negotiate several rungs of the ladder before you reach the bottom. If you wish to take a jump, either you break your head or you break your neck. Possibly they are breaking both. Sir, I am reminded just now of a couplet:

"Seven rival cities claim Homer dead
Through which the living Homer
begged his bread."

My friend, Mr. Gupta, referred to Ajoy Mukherjee and wanted to say that it is he who is at the head of the present movement to lead the resistance on behalf of the people of West Bengal. I wish Mr. Gupta and his friends had accorded him a better treatment a little time earlier. What did Mr. Mukherjee say? He says:

"From the activities and professions of these parties it is quite evident that they do not believe in parliamentary democracy and their main aim is to strengthen their own parties by taking advantage of ministership and Assembly membership. To gain this end they do not flinch from intimidating and assaulting workers and supporters of other parties and even burn down homes of the poor."

Further he was referring to constituent members of his own Ministry. He goes on to say :

"But attempts are being made to bring about a far more serious calamity. The Left Communists are pro-China. They want to enact a bloody revolution with the help of China. Brisk preparations are going on for this. If a bloody chaos begins in West Bengal with China's help, perhaps for 10 or 20 years Assam, Manipur, Tripura and parts of Bihar and Orissa will become the playfield of the latest lethal weapons of foreign powers."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order, Sir, I would like to ask whether the hon. Member is entitled to read certain statements and suppress others. He is reading from the same paper which I have got here. It is the *Hindusthan Standard* of 7th December where it has been said . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE : Sir, I say the excerpts which are placed before the House appear in the *Times of India*, Calcutta dated December 3. The point really is this:

Every one of us, I believe, on this side of the House will regret the violence and the excesses that have taken place. (Interruptions) If there have been police excesses, we are sorry for that. If innocent people have suffered, well, we, are very sorry indeed. But the tragedy of the situation is: Will Mr. Gupta and his friends for once, for once I say, condemn violence?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Will you condemn your Prafulla Ghosh's violence? Will you condemn dishonouring of women? Will you condemn the assault on the teachers and students? Will you condemn the assault on women and children? Will you condemn the breaking of homes of peaceful citizens in various places? Will you condemn the police raid on the university campus and the assault on those inside the university campus? Will you condemn the assault on the innocent Mrs. Renu Chakravarty and others? Will you condemn the assault on Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee, the former Chief Minister, and other Ministers of the former U.F. Government led by Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee. Will you condemn yourself, Mr. Mookerjee?

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

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: Sir, it is wholly wrong to say that the constitutional machinery in the State of West Bengal has broken down. There has been sporadic violence somewhat intensive at certain places engineered by the United Front. As a matter of fact, before the movement commenced, it was loudly proclaimed that the civil disobedience movement which they intended to start would be peaceful. But where is peace In Calcutta? I can understand people exercising their democratic rights and expressing themselves in a very definite manner, but they should do so, if they believe in democracy and fair play, in a peaceful manner. (Interruptions) Has there been any condemnation of the activities of the supporters of the United Front in Calcutta and elsewhere by the leaders of the United Front? Is this the kind of peaceful civil dis-

bedience that they are holding an example of before the world? I just ask, Sir; call it a confusion, call it a kind of hara kiri, call it what you like, but do not call it peaceful civil disobedience. (*Time bell rings.*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, please do not break his speech by ringing the bell. (Interruptions.)

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: There are people in West Bengal—in Calcutta and outside Calcutta—who very much resent this kind of conduct on the part of the supporters of the United Front. It is fortunate that the peace-abiding citizens are themselves not coming out and they have left it to the Government to deal with the people who are making a hell of their lives. Assume for a moment, Sir, that they take it into their heads to come out and protest. What would happen? There would be a most lamentable thing happening, a kind of civil war. I would request. Mr. Gupta to consider this aspect of the matter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If the military is not there, you shall run like dogs with tails between your legs. There is no doubt about it. Not for a moment will you sit in Writers' Building.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: But the other dogs led by you have already shown the way. As I say, Sir, if they go on persisting in this kind of thing, there is great danger, the portents of which can be seen today around us and read on the wall. I say domestic fury and fierce civil strife will cumber parts of the country, and that is a thing which must be avoided at all costs. (*Interruptions*) Let us have, if you like, peaceful civil disobedience. Let the people express themselves . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Absolutely.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE : ... in a peaceful manner.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Absolutely.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: Let there be no burning of buses. Let there be no burning of tram-cars. Let there be no attempt at looting of cash in tramway *goomtis*.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let there be no assault on those in the lock-up. Let there be no assault or violence on women. Are you ready for this ?

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: I am not going to sit down unless I am given a chance to have my say. You will excuse me, forgive me, Sir.

It must be made perfectly clear to them that they have a right, an undoubted right, to express themselves in a peaceful manner with a view to convincing everybody concerned, that they are dissatisfied with the present regime. (*Interruptions.*) And if they have the courage, let them go to the court and seek a solution.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why don't you go to the court ?

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: Why should I go? I ask.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why should you not?

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: I am not an aggrieved party, and it is a matter of shame that Mr. Gupta, a student of law, has forgotten his law so much as to advise me to go to court. A man who has a grievance goes to court. He is the man with a grievance. Let him go to court and establish his claim that the present Ministry is not a lawfully constituted Ministry, that the former Ajoy Mukherjee Ministry has been illegally and unconstitutionally dismissed and that the Speaker's ruling that the Government of the day does not exist is of any real effect.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It does not exist. Where does it exist?

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE : I say once again that if they wish to demonstrate they have the right to do so. Let them demonstrate, but let them do so peacefully. Let them not take the issue to the streets. Let them be patient. Let them go back to the floor of the House and there . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: See our traitors.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: . . . see what the representatives of the people do. It may well be that Mr. Gupta's party may be so poised that they might to their own surprise find—we shall be surprised too—that the United Front Government is called back to power. If they have a majority, they will get back to power, and if they don't have a majority they would certainly not deserve to be in power. Why not adopt this course? Why not go to the Assembly? Why not create conditions which would make it possible for the people of the country to know that the former United Front Government still enjoys the confidence of the Assembly?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Dissolve that Ministry.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: It is not for us to draw a sentence of death upon ourselves. It is a foolish hope which Mr. Gupta is entertaining at the moment. I know it is childish, it is puerile, it is futile to go and try to establish before the eyes of the world that the former United Front Government still enjoys the confidence of the majority of Members of the Assembly. All the same he can take the chance of trying it in the Assembly, but I make this Cassandra-like prophesy that, if they go on persisting in this course of violent civil disobedience movement, they will not only not have a mid-term election but also, as and when the election takes place—in proper time—even then, they will lose and go down in the esteem of the people of West Bengal.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now you see how the nominee of the Congress, Mr. Biju Patnaik, fell in Orissa, how others fell in other States. I know you. In 1942 you went to Mr. Atulya Ghosh for nothing.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Unless they stop we will not stop.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You may speak now, Mr. Ghosh.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I wish the Home Minister were here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : His deputy is here.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Anyhow he is not here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Nobody. Who is here?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The Deputy is here. The Minister of State is there.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : With all respect to them I wish the Home Minister were here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : He will come.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is a moral coward. He cannot face it.

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

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, I say the Home Minister is a moral coward.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Uncalled for remarks. I think these remarks should not find a place in the record. They may have to be expunged.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No. Why? I raise a point of order on this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I have called Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : "Moral coward" is a parliamentary expression. You cannot expunge it. You cannot just think that this is the Moghul court and that such expressions cannot be used. Now we were called agents of a foreign country. We were called traitors of this country. So this I do not like. "Moral coward" is a parliamentary expression. You cannot do it like that. We will not allow you.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मुझे आप कोई नियम दिखा दीजिये कि चेयर अपने लिए पूरा हक हासिल रखता है। हमारी

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जो प्रोसिडिंग है उसमें से वह किसी चीज को निकल दे, इस तरह का अगर कोई अधिकार उसको दिया जायेगा तो वह डिक्टेटर हो जायेगा (*Interruptions*) इसलिये मैं आप से रिक्वेस्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि चेयर अपनी सीमा के अन्दर रहे। (*Interruptions*) इममौरल" और 'कावर्ड', ये शब्द अनपार्लियामेंटरी नहीं हैं। हम मिनिस्टर्स को पचास बार अनैतिक और इममौरल कह सकते हैं, ये असंसदीय शब्द नहीं हैं और इनको एक्सपेंज न किया जाय। हम इस चीज के लिए बराबर लड़ाई लड़ते आये हैं। आपको केवल प्रोसिडिंग की जानकारी का अधिकार है और आप उसमें से कुछ नहीं निकाल सकते हैं। आप ने जो रूलिंग दी है, मैं उसके विरोध में प्रोटेस्ट करता हूँ। मैं आप से नम्रतापूर्वक कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप अपनी रूलिंग को वापस लें और ये शब्द अपनी जगह पर कायम रहें।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I cannot match the performance of Mr. Chavan when he finishes democracy with a smile on his lips. Nor can I equal Mr. Mathur in his violence. I can only speak on behalf of the Bengalis, on behalf of the people of Bengal. I may tell you freely and frankly what they feel about the situation. That is what I want to tell you and through you the House. I have read Mr. Chavan's advice given in the other House where he asked, "Why not stop this agitation. Then the police violence also will stop". This is the advice he has given to the people. I remember, when we were agitating against the British even in our early teens, the British Viceroy used to speak in that kind of language. See how well the present Congress Ministers have imitated and assimilated the ways of those British Viceroys? It is for them to ponder over this when they tender such advice. I tell you, the Bengali people feel that Bengal is under occupation today, just as parts of

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Europe were occupied by Hitler. The people of Bengal feel that they are under an army of occupation and under the police. That is what the Bengalis feel today. Let there be no doubt about it. Mr. Vice-Chairman, in the olden days Lord Curzon wanted to finish Bengal, to wipe away Bengal by partitioning Bengal. But the anti-Government movement that was started then by the revolutionaries and the freedom-fighters of Bengal, annulled that partition and lighted the torch of freedom that illumined the path to freedom for the entire country.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : But the patriotic Bengal did this and not the anti-national.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Sit down, Mr. Yajee. Do not interrupt.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The people of Bengal today feel that their very existence is at stake. We are fighting for our national survival. We feel that the army of Mr. Chavan and his police, are directed towards the extinction of the Bengalis, the people of Bengal. That is what they feel. Let me tell you freely and frankly that it is a struggle for national survival and for our very existence. Let us understand that. And let me tell you in this connection that what the British Viceroy was not able to achieve, namely, wipe out the land of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, of Ram Mohan Roy and a host of others, this army of occupation of Mr. Chavan will also not be able to achieve, and he will not be able to rule Bengal in this way. We will fight for our national existence, cost what it may. Countless country-men of ours have mounted the gallows. Do not think that we are afraid. The Bengali people will willingly face any consequence because this is a question of their very existence. Their very existence is at stake. That is what I want to place before this House.

They say that violence was started there. But I say that in each case violence was started by the police. After the police had started it, there

were more acts of violence. You read the papers, their own Congress papers. Day in and day out, in each and every case, you find that the police started the violence first, in all cases and without exception. And may I know from the hon. Home Minister, under what rule of law—he is very fond of talking to us and preaching us sermons about the rule of law each day—under what rule of law, when the civil resisters broke the police cordon, the police started breaking skulls? The police can arrest the people, but is there any law which asks the police to become skull-breakers? They have become that and they have gone berserk. That is what has taken place. Certain details have been given by Shri Bhupesh Gupta. Let me add to what he has said. A young boy of sixteen years was arrested, stripped naked and then beaten blue by the police. Then a stick was inserted into his mouth and when he cried out for water the policeman uncovered himself and said, "Here you are, I can give you urine".

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : That happened in Mysore also. It is a shame.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Then in Uttarpara an old and innocent man who did not know anything, he was chased and he had to jump down. He was caught and beaten up. And there were women who were molested at dead of night. Houses were broken into and I may tell you that the house of the Head of the Department of Sanskrit of the Calcutta University, was broken into at dead of night and his wife, an old woman of seventy, when she came out, the police pointed their bayonets at her. A number of people have been arrested but they are untraced and one does not know whether they have been killed or are alive somewhere. They are not in judicial lock-up. They are untraced. Can violence surpass anything like that? Maichael O'Dyer also said his was a legally constituted government and so he had the right to surround the people and machine-gun them. The same thing has happened here. They have occupied Bengal and they are torturing entire Bengal. Violence

is let loose. In our freedom struggle it was said that violence was started by those who participated in the movement. In 1942 the British Viceroy asked Gandhiji, "Why don't you condemn this destruction of post offices and this burning of railway wagons?" Gandhiji replied, "But you should also see that there is the leonine violence of the British".

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : But you joined the British then and helped them.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : That is the position in Bengal. . . . The police broke open a window and threw down a boy. He fell below and the police beat him. Satyagrahis, hundreds of people, students and teachers, they were thrown down from the upper storeys and they rolled down the stairs and their bodies got mutilated. At the same time they were beaten. Is it not Fascist torture ? Is it not Hitlerite torture ? That is what is taking place in Bengal. And Mr. Mathur has spoken of that time bomb in Lai Bazar. May I suggest to Mr. Chavan in all humility and ask him whether he will accept a non-official enquiry by a non-official body commanding the confidence of all political parties to be made into that incident ? I am suspicious. It is fishy ; it is part of a conspiracy. One of the pressmen very close to a Congress boss and their paper told me that a little Reichstag has been staged and I am not sure if it is not precisely so. Let there be an impartial enquiry by a non-official body which can command the confidence of all the political parties including the Congress.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh) : What is the offer? That is not an offer ?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : That is the suggestion I make that we should enquire into it, find out how it actually took place, what it is, who planted the bomb, whose conspiracy it was and so on. Let them accept my suggestion and prove their *bona fides* before the entire people before Mr. Mathur talks of such things.

There is another thing that was referred to. They were taken out from the bed at the dead of night—girls and women—and they were made to swallow filth. This was in Mysore, and this was narrated here. If one has to define the Government of India today, if one asks me to define the Government of India, I will say, it is violence, violence and again violence. That is the only definition that fits it. I have no other definition for it.

We need not go into the constitutional quibblings and niceties. We have dealt with all of them. We heard the peroration of Mr. Debabrata Mookerjee. I have not replied to him ; I do not care to because he has never associated himself with the freedom fight, never. He does not know the people of Bengal and what shall I reply to him ? Now, whatever Mr. Dharma Vira did, he did it behind the back of the Assembly. That is what he did. Let us not talk of all that. I can only say that the struggle of the Bengali people for their survival or existence will go on whatever the cost might be in blood. You are drawing our blood in profusion. We will bare our breasts and give you blood; take it. Kill us as much as you can but we will not surrender the right of a nation, of this Bengali people, to exist. You are trying to wipe out Bengal, that is what we feel. Let there be no mistake. There might be dissentients; in the British days also there were some but I definitely feel that more than 80 per cent of the people are with us. You can take any count; you can take any poll. Of course there are always some hangers-on ; there are always some opportunists, renegades, traitors. They were there in the British days and they still exist there today. But that is not Bengal. The real Bengal is this fighting Bengal which has the backing of more than 80 per cent of the people. (Interruptions.) I would say even if the entire army of 10 lakhs is concentrated and all these atrocities are repeated we won't surrender. If we surrender then Bengal goes out of existence. If you have to enshrine democracy today, if you have to ensure normal conditions there the state of violence must cease immediately

[Shri Niren Ghosh]

once for all. If there is agitation, peaceful civil resistance, you arrest them according to whatever law you have but you cannot indulge in violence. At least that you can do and nothing short of a reference to the people will satisfy us. But they are afraid of the people. Those who are now talking in the name of the people are afraid of the people of Bengal and they would not go to them for their verdict. They think that after the Army of occupation has done its job, they will spread terror and panic and completely demoralise the people, and then have the elections. Hitler too had elections that way. That is what they are dreaming, what they are thinking of. That is what they are conspiring to do. So I would like to tell the Government of India and Mr. Chavan in all humility that the issues are not as simple as they think them to be. When a nation is at arms, when a nation is sought to be conquered and occupied and people suppressed completely, totally, then that people cannot yield, whatever the cost. That is the position now. We know Bengal. In 1905, in those days Bengal lighted the torch of freedom for the entire India and I am not sure whether the drama that is being enacted in Bengal today will not be enacted in all the States of India because in a new situation, in a resurgent India, Bengal is again coming into the vanguard of the struggle and showing the way forward to all the States and peoples of India. Whether you like it or not, it is sure to catch on because it is the beacon light, the assurance of the future of India and it will save the Indian democracy and Indian unity itself.

SHRI ABID ALI: Vice-Chairman, Sir, during the discussion we had Haryana has appeared several times but the difficulty is that in Haryana the Government there lost the majority and another alternative Government with the majority support of Members was not possible. Therefore elections have been ordered. There are several States where the Congress lost the majority and immediately they told

the Governor and the Governor invited those who had the majority support of the Members to form another Government. In Bengal particularly there was an alternative Government possible with the support of a majority of the Members, and they have been offered that opportunity. Now the suggestion is that the Speaker has given the ruling. And the Speaker says that the Assembly was unlawfully convened. If the Assembly itself was unlawfully convened then where is the question of the Speaker's ruling? It cannot exist at all. If the Assembly was unlawfully convened how can he preside over it? So the whole thing goes. If the Assembly was not legal, then his ruling was also not legal. Then why are they shouting that the Assembly Speaker has declared by his ruling in the Assembly that this Government is not a legal Government. If it is illegal, the whole thing is illegal. You cannot have part of it as legal and say that the ruling is there. It cannot be that way. There was the same thing in Punjab where the Speaker has given the ruling that everything is all right in similar circumstances.

Now, much has been said about Constitution and this and that, but the hon. Home Minister should remember this. These friends are talking of some glass panes being broken and all that. But the Home Minister should remember that these are the heroes of Telangana. Don't forget that, they are the Telangana heroes. They are still in Naxalbari atmosphere, much to their discredit, to be convicted as un-Indians. This kind of argument is coming. Violence by whom? Is it by the police? Our Bengal police was not like this. What has happened suddenly that the police has become so much violent? Is it because of the training given by the communists? It is the communists who are responsible for that. Now, nothing has happened. The Chinese saying is, go on telling lies, repeat them, and ultimately the people will start believing that it is true. Please do not go on that basis. Please note that all that is happening in Bengal is because the Communist Party is not in a majority. Ajoy Babu

and has communist supporters lost it. The Government there now has the majority. Therefore, these people are afraid of facing the Assembly. Has any Assembly or any Parliament anywhere in the world, which is democratic, the power to appoint a Ministry, to appoint Chief Minister ? An Assembly or Parliament has power to dismiss Ministers. They can remove them by vote of censure. No Assembly or Parliament anywhere in the world, functioning under democratic system, has the power to appoint Ministry.

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MA-THUR : You are speaking like a constitutional pundit.

श्री आबिद अली : आपसे सीखते हैं भाई ।

श्री राजनारायण : आप अपना नोट ठीक से पढ़ो, एक लाइन छोड़ दी है ।

श्री आबिद अली : आप ही बता दो, हम वही ले लेंगे ।

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA MA-THUR : He is game for anybody.

SHRI ABID ALI : Have they not declared that in Bengal they will agitate, go to the people and their fight will be fought in the streets of Calcutta ? The hon. Member comes and tells us about the Bengal of Rabindranath Tagore. That we know. We respect him. We love Bengal and love Bengalees, but not of the kind of the hon. Member here. He will say that Abid Ali has been saying this for the last fifteen years.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We had a Bengali like you, Mir Jaffer.

SHRI ABID ALI : Now, shooting, firing, tyranny, bloodshed, atrocities, dictatorship, all these words we have been hearing for the last fifteen years here, but there is no substance in it. The same thing is being repeated. If I say they are repeating it, they will say that I am also repeating it, for fifteen years. Most of our people do not know what these people have been saying. Now, today he said something about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Yes, we respect Netaji

Subhas Chandra Bose. It is not these people who respect him. These are the very people who called him the dog of Tojo. Is it not a fact ? In Bengali they called him "Tojor Kukur", the dog of Tojo.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Rubbish you are talking.

SHRI ABID ALI : People of Bengal who respect Subhash Chandra Bose are of our type and not of his type.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You felt intrigued against Subhas Chandra Bose. . .

SHRI ABID ALI : Now, all adjectives of abuse he can use. All kinds of atrocious words he can use and we tolerate it. Now, through you I request him to keep quiet and listen. Facts are always, for him, unpleasant, but what I am telling is nothing but truth. He was reading some newspaper and I do not know whether that particular newspaper published that particular article or not. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of personal explanation, my bona *fides* are being questioned. May I, with your permission, lay it on the Table of the House ?

HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He has questioned my personal bona *fides* and I would like to lay it on the Table of the House. Will you permit it ? It is from "Amrita Bazar Patrika".

SHRI ABID ALI : Mr. Vice-Chairman, please I request you . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You carry on.

SHRI ABID ALI : But not in this way. Tell him to sit down. Listen to the Chair. You will have to sit down. After ten minutes you will have to sit down. Why not sit down now ? You are grown up.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You have no right to address him direct. Mr. Gupta please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : This is not a place for monkeys.

SHRI ABID ALI : Either he should sit down or stand upon the bench. He cannot stand like this. It is unparliamentary. What he said is all that we are hearing every day over the Chinese Radio. He has said nothing new today. I say new things. He is their mouthpiece, unfortunately, a man coming from the Right Communist Party. I can understand Chou En-Lai here, but I cannot understand it from a gentleman who says that he is friendly with Russia and follows their dictates. Why should he follow . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have never said it. Again, on a personal explanation, this man follows the dictates of the Birlas, and he is saying that I follow the dictates of the Russians.

SHRI ABID ALI : All right, he disobeys them. I will accept it. (interruption.) He does not follow Russia It is all right. Either he follows or does not follow them.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : You are a slave of the Birlas and you say that everybody else is a slave.

SHRI ABID ALI : It is not correct to say that he does not follow them. Anyway, I leave him here. But there is one thing important. May I know whether he follows or reads 'Pravda'? Those Members here who read "Pravda" will be able to understand what I say is the truth. 'Pravda' has been writing all these things and they have cuttings. They can read from Indian papers. Of course, they should read from 'Pravda, at their dictates and you are their agents here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, he has called us spies. What shall I call him. Shall I call him a scoundrel, a knave ?

SHRI ABID ALI : I leave him there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Let him withdraw that. Do you allow him ?

SHRI ABID ALI : Let him say 'No'. Does he not contribute to 'Pravda'?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : A hireling of the Birlas, a lispspittle, a bootlicker, a blackleg by profession ..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : How long will you take?

SHRI ABID ALI : I will take 15 minutes. He calls me a hireling of the Birlas. It is very interesting but he is not an Indian ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of order, Madam...

SHRI ABID ALI : You call 'Sir' as 'Madam'.

(Interruptions.)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Your Home Minister, Mr. Chavan addresses the Deputy Chair as 'Sir'. He said I am not an Indian. Am I a stranger in this Parliament, in Rajya Sabha ?

SHRI ABID ALI : Sit down. He quotes him. He is wrong as he always is. Even if I am a hireling of the Birlas, Birla is an Indian. They are not Russians. They are not Chinese. They have not committed any aggression. To that extent I am an honourable gentleman, an Indian. May be I am not agreeing with their philosophy, but I am an Indian, I am a hireling of an Indian...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Every eunuch in the Moghul Court thought that he was a he-man, that he was a member of the Moghul Court.

SHRI ABID ALI : I would request him not to be monitored by Chinese and Russian radios, but to read and read and read again what has been written by Ajoy Babu, Shri Ajoy Mukherjee. Read him. He has given a very excellent certificate to his own colleagues in the Ministry. I do not know what he will say today, but as a matter of fact I am making a statement of fact that Ajoy Babu was threatened that, "if you do not toe our line, you will be liquidated". To that extent Shri Ajoy Mukherjee was threatened. A gentleman as he has been, although in wrong company—a "non-violent" sort of liquidation, com-

plete annihilation. So he was threatened to that extent.

He talks of Central Police and all that. But is it not that during the regime of the Communist-supported Government in West Bengal, the Centre was requested to send military to help them to maintain law and order? Why all that happened?

Because suddenly they started to go on the lines that would benefit China, gharaos and all that, about which my friend, Mr. Mathur has said earlier this evening. Four hundred factories were closed, 400. But they do not care for it. They want to bring about chaos, poverty, they just want to shatter the economy of the country so that from there Communism may breed. And 130,000 workers were rendered unemployed in Bengal, 130,000. Since this new Ministry has come, within a short period 32 factories have restarted; 17,500 workers have now got their jobs. For others also remaining they are making efforts and they will, I hope, be able to rehabilitate other workers also and rehabilitate the industry there as well. The Government has the support of the people. Hon. Member opposite said that only 200,000 voters voted for the Government which is now functioning there. But is it not a fact that Congress is supporting them? Where is the question of minority Government? It has Congress support. (Interruption.) If this gentleman behaves this way when he will speak, I will have the privilege I of not allowing him to speak. So, he should not behave like this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Have that privilege by all means.

SHRI ABID ALI : But my difficulty is that I am a lover of democracy and they are only exploiters of democracy. That is the difference. So, however angry I may be when I am speaking, because of their misbehaviour once they start speaking, I feel that I am a democrat and I should *not* interrupt. My friend, Dr. Sapru, supports him always, and I tell him, "Dr. Sapru, when these people obstruct while speaking, why not you sometimes stand I up and say that it is undemocratic and "

that they should behave?" He always lends them some support. He said he would do it.

(Interruption.)

Shri Ajoy Mukherjee was told that they would finish him. In the Rajya Sabha, in your presence, in the presence of the Home Minister, always swearing in the name of democracy, they say they will finish him. The Home Minister should take note that the people sitting on that side or of that type have to be treated in that way. Do not be misled by these words of democracy and all the phrases that, they are using.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : That will do.

SHRI ABID ALI : Thank you. Just one second. I always obey you. What I wanted Chavan Sahib to remember was :

मुल्क की वफादारी से दूर हैं कम्युनिस्ट,
जयसिंह और मीर जाफर की औलाद हैं
कम्युनिस्ट ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I wanted to tell him after that the Mir Jaffar is sitting there.

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

श्री बी० सी० पट्टनायक (उड़ीसा) :
वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, हाउस कब तक
बैठेगा ?

وائس میزین (شری اکبر علی خان) :
راج نرائن
یہی کے ختم کرنے کے بعد منسٹر ویس گئے ۔

†[उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
राजनारायण जी के खत्म करने के बाद
मिनिस्टर बोलेंगे ।]

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, श्री भूपेश गुप्ता
ने जो प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है मैं उसके एक एक
शब्द का समर्थक हूँ। मुझे अफसोस हुआ
जब बंगाल के भूतपूर्व जज के तर्कों को मैं

†[] Hindi transliteration.

[श्री राजनारायण]

मुन रहा था। मैं आज उनकी बुद्धि को पुनः कुरेदना चाहता हूँ। कौन सा संविधान है जिसकी तह में राज्यपाल को यह हक हासिल है कि सदन के बिना वह बहुमत और अल्पमत, मेजरिटी और माइनरिटी का फैसला करे। अगर कोई जनतंत्र को, संसदीय परम्परा को तनिक भी जानता है तो उसको इस नतीजे पर आना ही पड़ेगा कि पश्चिमी बंगाल के राज्यपाल ने निहायत ही गलत काम किया है, उसने संविधान की हत्या कर दी है, कानून को तोड़ा है और संसदीय मर्यादा को भंग किया है। पहली बात।

दूसरी बात। मैं अपने मित्र श्री माथुर की कुछ इज्जत करने लगा था, उनसे मैं कहना चाहूंगा और श्री आबिद अली से कहना चाहूंगा....

श्री आबिद अली : नहीं, हम तुम दोस्त हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : ... कि जरा इस सदन की कार्यवाही को देखें। किस वजह से श्री धर्मवीर ने मुखर्जी के मंत्रिमंडल को हटाया और घोष के मंत्रिमंडल को बिठाया। इसके वजूहात क्या हैं। आंख मूंद कर तर्क देने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। मैं चाहूंगा कि जैसे आबिद अली साहब को हमने ध्यान से सुना था वह भी मुझे सुनने की वैसे ही कृपा करें।

श्री आबिद अली : अच्छा।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, 21 दिसम्बर को एक कालिग अटेंशन हमने इस हाउस में पेश किया, वह यह था :—

“नेपाल-भारत सीमा पर भैसालोटेन, चम्पारन से गलगलिया, पूनिया तक के क्षेत्र में चीन-समर्थक कम्युनिस्टों की असामाजिक गतिविधियां इधर बहुत तेज हो गई हैं। ये लोग समाज-विरोधी

तत्वों को संगठित कर के भारत-विरोधी वातावरण बनाने में सक्रिय हैं। नेपाल स्थित चीन-समर्थक कम्युनिस्टों के माध्यम से इनको धन, पैसा भी मिलता है। ऐसी भी खबर है कि चम्पारन से तीन मील दूर नेपाल के जंगल में इनको गुरिल्ला लड़ाई की शिक्षा दी जा रही है। यह देश-रक्षा की दृष्टि से बहुत ही गम्भीर प्रश्न है। इसलिये मैं भारत सरकार का ध्यान उपर्युक्त विषय की ओर आकर्षित कर वस्तु-स्थिति पर प्रकाश चाहता हूँ।”

यह कालिग अटेंशन 21 तारीख का हमारा है, मगर न तो चेयर ने इसकी गम्भीरता और अहमियत का ख्याल किया और आखिर हमारा सेक्रेटेरिएट तो जैसा बना हुआ है बना ही हुआ है। इसी के साथ साथ एक विषय यह है तो क्या धर्मवीर ने इस बुनियाद पर मुखर्जी के मंत्रिमंडल को बर्खास्त किया कि यहां चीन आ रहा है या कम्युनिस्टों का प्रभाव बढ़ रहा है या यहां पर ऐसी गड़बड़ हो गई है। तर्क के साथ चलाओ माथुर साहब, कुतर्क मत करो।

इसलिये मैं यहां एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा। माथुर साहब ने कहा कि माओ का चित्र टंग रहा है। तो माओ का चित्र बेचारा नीरेन घोष टांग रहा है क्या? चत्तारण साहब उस समय नहीं थे, मैं चत्तारण साहब को याद दिलाऊंगा 1958 का वह दिन जब सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के कुछ नौजवानों ने बम्बई में जलूस निकाला और वहां चाइनीज कौंसिलेट में टमाटर, मुर्गी का अंडा फेंका और माओ के चेहरे पर लगाया। तो भी जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने पार्लियामेन्ट में उसके लिये खेद प्रकाश किया। जब चीन के चाऊ एन लाइ ने चिट्ठी लिखी कि तुम्हारे लोगों ने हमारे माओ-त्से तुंग के चेहरे को बिगाड़ा है, हम इसका बदला लेंगे। तो श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने पार्लियामेन्ट में उसके लिये खेद प्रकाश

किया। शरम नहीं आती कांग्रेस के लोगों को यह कहने में कि चीन को बढ़ावा नीरेन घोष दे रहे हैं। चीन को अगर किसी ने बढ़ावा दिया है तो कांग्रेस की सरकार दे रही है, कांग्रेस की सरकार ने दिया है। तब्लत पर अगर किसी ने चीन का कब्जा कबूल किया है तो कांग्रेस सरकार ने किया है। हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश सीमा अंचल में अगर चीन का अधिकार और उसी तरह काश्मीर की सीमा पर अगर चीन का अधिकार है तो वह कांग्रेस सरकार की गलत नीति ने दिया है, राष्ट्र-विरोधी नीति ने दिया है। इसलिये इस सरकार को इस देश में रख रहे हो तो इस देश की आजादी को जहनुम में झाँक रहे हो।

आगे देखा जाय, दूसरी बात। इसमें नीरेन घोष को हरगिज हरगिज इलजाम नहीं दिया जाना चाहिये। इलजाम चौहान लें, इलजाम कांग्रेस के लोग लें जिन्होंने इस देश की गरीब जनता की कमाई को बरबाद किया है। फिर 21 तारीख को हमने एक दूसरा कालिंग अटेंशन दिया : "पश्चिमी बंगाल में पुलिस निरंकुशता और शैतानियत अपनी सीमा पार कर रही है, कल दोपहर के बाद करीब 20 संवाददाताओं और फोटोग्राफरों को पुलिस ने पीटा, जिनमें श्री तरुण घोष, श्री सुखरंजन दास (आनंद बाजार पत्रिका), श्री मानस घोष, (स्टेट्समैन), श्री सुबोध घोष (युगान्तर), श्री शम्भूनाथ बनर्जी, श्री आलोक मिश्र, श्री सुकुमार और श्री रामदास बोस फोटोग्राफर को अधिक चोटें लगी हैं। मैं सरकार का ध्यान उपरोक्त विषय की ओर आकर्षित कर वस्तुस्थिति पर प्रकाश डालूंगा।" कौन कौन सी चीजें आज हम सदन में खोज-खाज करके जानकारी हासिल कर के लाना चाहते हैं मगर यह सरकार तानाशाही में मदमस्त है। मैं उसी के साथ साथ एक और अखबार पढ़ना चाहता हूँ। यह है अंग्रेजी में 'डेकन हैराल्ड'।

Deccan Herald (13th December, 1967) By our Staff Reporter.

"We interviewed the villagers, talked to the people who were robbed of their belongings and we went into their 'looted' houses and also spoke to the bewildered womenfolk. The burden of their sorrowful tale is : We were booted ; dragged out of our beds and beaten up and were forced to swallow filth". They complained that police brutality including molesting of girls and women. There was evidence of violence on their persons".

यह खबर है 13 दिसम्बर की। चत्वाण साहब को वह खबर मिल गई है। ज़रा मुन लें : औरतों को बेइज्जत किया गया, घर लूटे गये, विस्तर पर से जबरदस्ती घसीटा गया। जो इस पत्र के रिपोर्टर संवाददाता हैं, उन्होंने वहाँ जाकर के देखा और आँखों देखा हाल वर्णन किया है।

अब यहाँ पर श्री यशवन्तराव चत्वाण हैं, श्री के० के० शाह हैं। मैं ज़रा उनसे निवेदन करना चाहूंगा इस सिलसिले में। 1939-40 के जमाने में जब कि देवलाळी जेल में श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण बंद थे उस समय व्यक्तिगत सत्याग्रह चल रहा था और प्रभावती जी उनसे मिलने के लिये गई। बीच में टेबल रखी थी, जयप्रकाश नारायण ने उनकी ओर चिट्ठी बढ़ाई। पुलिस ने उनको देख लिया, झपट कर चिट्ठी ले ली और जयप्रकाश नारायण को घसीट कर ले गये। क्या लिखा था जयप्रकाश नारायण ने। जयप्रकाश नारायण ने हमारे लिये संदेश दिया था : "End the farce of individual movement." इस व्यक्तिगत आंदोलन के नाटक को बंद करो। मैं आपको व्यक्तिगत तथ्य बतलाना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा कि हमको तर्क पर आ जाना चाहिये और हमको हथियार की लड़ाई में आ जाना चाहिये। मैं बिल्कुल सफाई से कहना चाहता हूँ कि सन् 1942 की लड़ाई में हमने

[श्री राजनारायण]

हथियार इकट्ठा कर लिये थे और हमने हथियारों की लड़ाई लड़ी थी। हमने पहले से ही हथियार इकट्ठा कर लिये थे और वे हथियार आज भी विश्वविद्यालयों के खेतों में लोहे के रूप में मिलेंगे। चपरगट्ट कांग्रेसी जो अपने को गांधी जी के बहुत नजदीक समझते थे, जब अंग्रेजों ने श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण जी को कहा कि यह देशद्रोही है, राष्ट्रद्रोही है सरकार को शस्त्र से बदलने के अपराध में उसके ऊपर मुकदमा चलाया जायेगा और उनको फांसी दी जायेगी। जो कांग्रेसी अपने को नान-वायलेंट, गांधी जी के नजदीकी और अहिंसा के पुजारी समझते थे, वे इस खबर से बहुत खुश थे कि अब श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण जी से पिंड छूट जायेगा। दो तीन दिन तक अखबारों में इस तरह की चर्चा होती रही। उस समय राष्ट्रपिता जिन्दा थे। उस समय गांधी जी ने कहा था कि जो अंग्रेज सरकार तलवार के बल पर हुकूमत चला रही है, अगर श्री जयप्रकाश यह समझता है कि तलवार के जरिये उस सरकार को हटाया जा सकता है, तो जयप्रकाश को पूरा हक हासिल है और मेरा आशीर्वाद हासिल है। ये महात्मा गांधी जी के शब्द थे। इसलिए मैं आज सदन से और जनता से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज यह कांग्रेसी सरकार तलवार के बल पर शासन करना चाहती है और इस कांग्रेस की सरकार का तलवार के बल पर ही शासन से हटाया जायेगा। जनतंत्र में तलवार से हटाना, हिंसा से हटाना, इससे तलवार से हटाना, हिंसा से हटाना, इसमें कोई हर्ज नहीं है क्योंकि यह बापू की वाणी है और उनके शब्दों का गुंजार है। इसीलिए आज हम बापू को अपने सामने रखना चाहते हैं।

श्रीमन्, कल क्या हुआ। कल 200 विद्यार्थियों को जबरदस्ती पीटा गया और उन्हें ट्रकों में ठूस कर न मालूम कहाँ दौड़ाया गया। बाद में आज सबरे मालूम हुआ कि 118 को जेल में डाल दिया गया

है। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह सरकार कहाँ कहाँ गोली नहीं चला रही है। यह सरकार कहाँ जनतंत्र है, कहाँ यह सरकार सभ्य है और कहाँ यह सरकार मानव है? जब मैं श्री माथुर जी के मुखारबिन्द से जनतंत्र का नाम सुनता हूँ, जब मैं अहिंसा का नाम सुनता हूँ, तो मुझे यह कहना पड़ता है और इन शब्दों को प्रयोग करना पड़ता है कि कांग्रेस के चपरगट्टों को इस चीज से परेशान नहीं होना चाहिये और न ही चौहान साहब को परेशान होना चाहिये। इसमें तो श्री नीरेन घोष को परेशान होना चाहिये। कांग्रेसियों को अगर परेशान होना चाहिये तो कांग्रेस के कुकर्मों से परेशान होना चाहिये, जिन्होंने आज इस मुल्क में हिंसक वातावरण बना दिया है। सरकार कहती है कि हम कम्युनिस्ट प्रभाव को रोकने के लिए इस तरह की बात कर रहे हैं, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ये सब बातें कांग्रेस के चपरगट्टों को और आदमखोरों को शासन में बिठलाने के लिए की जा रही हैं।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : क्या आप जानवर-खोर हैं ?

श्री राजनारायण : मैं अन्धखोर हूँ। आज आदमखोरों को बिठलाने के लिए एक कलम की नोक से मुखर्जी सरकार को बंगाल से हटा दिया गया और उसकी जगह पर घोषको ले आये। मुखर्जी जाय और घोष आयें। इस तरह से घोष आये। मैं फिर श्री भूपेश गुप्ता और नीरेन घोष से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे होशियार हो जायें। आज यह सरकार बंगाल में इस तरह की बात अजमाना चाहती है, इसके बाद यह बिहार में आयेगी। बिहार में अजमाने के बाद यह फिर ऊत्तर प्रदेश में आयेगी। मैं बंगाल की जनता को मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उसने बड़े शान के साथ इस सरकार की चुनौती का मुकाबला किया है। वहाँ के विद्यार्थियों, वहाँ के किसानों, वहाँ के मजदूरों के ऊपर जिस

तरह से वहाँ का इस समय का शासक दल जुलूम कर रहा है, जिस तरह से वहाँ की जनता उसको सह रही है और मुकाबला कर रही है, उसके लिए मैं उन्हें बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। इस सरकार की बर्बरता को, इस सरकार की हँसानियत को इस सरकार की निरंकुशता, इस सरकार के जंगली पन को वहाँ की जनता बड़े शान के साथ चुनौती दे रही है और इसके लिए मैं उनको मुबारकवाद देना चाहता हूँ। श्री भूपेश गुप्ता का जो प्रस्ताव है, उसमें उन्होंने यह नहीं कहा है कि सिर्फ़ घोष मंत्रिमंडल को बरखास्त करो। वह तो यह कहते हैं कि जनता के पास सरकार को जाना चाहिये और वह जिस को चुने उसी को सरकार चलाने के लिए मौका दिया जाना चाहिये।

हमारे भूतपूर्व जज साहब ने एक बड़ा तर्क पेश किया यहाँ पर। उन्होंने कहा कि घोष मंत्रिमंडल का बहुमत सदन में है और अजय मुखर्जी का सदन का बहुमत नहीं है। अगर यह डर है तो उसको फेंस करना वाजिब है। मैं समझता हूँ कि श्री भूपेश गुप्ता और श्री नीरेन घोष हमारी बात को मानेंगे। आज वहाँ पर घोष मंत्रिमंडल को बरखास्त कर दीजिये। घोष मंत्रिमंडल को बरखास्त कर के सदन बुलाया जाय। पहले मंत्रिमंडल को बरखास्त किया जाय, बरखास्त करने पर जो पहले की स्थिति थी उसको कायम रखा जाय, मुखर्जी को आने दिया जाय और फिर वहाँ पर बुलाइये सदन और फिर देखिये कि सारा काम कैसे ठीक हो जाता है। मगर एक सरकार को हटा कर और घोष सरकार को बिठा कर, सरकार डंडा चमका कर, वहाँ की जनता को डरवा कर, विधायकों को रिश्वत दे कर, उनके चरित्र को भ्रष्ट कर, नैतिकता को गिरा कर, आज जिस ढंग से घोष मंत्रिमंडल वहाँ कायम किया गया है उसका हर जनतंत्र का प्रेमी जबरदस्त

मुखालिफ़ होगा और उसकी मुखालिफ़त करेगा।

श्रीमन्, अगर सरकार चीन को रोकने के लिये हमारी मदद ले तो हम तैयार हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि चीन की बढ़ती हुई ताकत का मुकाबला करने के लिये अगर श्री भूपेश गुप्ता की मदद लें तो वे तैयार हैं और श्री नीरेन घोष भी तैयार हो जायेंगे। मगर चीन की बढ़ती हुई दानवी ताकत का मुकाबला करने के लिये केवल चीन का हीवा खड़ा करा कर के कांग्रेसी चपरगट्टू गद्दी पर बैठना चाहते हैं तो कांग्रेस सरकार पर संकट राष्ट्र का संकट नहीं माना जाना चाहिये।

जो हमको माथुर साहब एक बड़ा सबक दे गये, उनके शब्दों को हम कभी कभी भूल भी जाते हैं, मगर अहिंसा उन्होंने कहा, जनतंत्र का उन्होंने नाम लिया, तो जनतंत्र के क्या माने हैं, माथुर साहब, जनता का मतलब जनता का तंत्र। जनतंत्र का मतलब केवल यही नहीं है कि जनता के गलत चुने हुये प्रतिनिधियों का तंत्र। डेमोक्रेसी में हम इब्राहीम लिंकन से आगे जाते हैं कि जनता के लिये, जनता की, जनता के द्वारा। अगर वहाँ पर कहा जाता है कि जनता के वोट को फेंस करो, फिर वहाँ चुनाव कराओ, तो चुनाव की मांग करने वाला क्या अजनतंत्रीय है और कुछ लोग वहाँ पर किसी तरह से चुन कर के आ गये, वे जनतंत्रीय हैं। क्या डेमोक्रेसी में कभी कभी कोई मंत्री अपनी पालिसी को जनता से सही या गलत मनवाने के लिये इस्तीफा दे कर चुनाव नहीं लड़ता। लड़ता है, जैसे हमने प्रेजीडेंट को खत भी लिखा है कि केन्द्र में अब कोई अवैधानिक ढंग से काम नहीं चल रहा है, सदन में कोई नियम है ही नहीं, बिना प्रस्ताव के अमेंडमेंट पर बोले प्रस्ताव पास हो जाता है, घोषणा कर दी जाती है कि पास, तो जब ऐसी स्थिति हो गई है राष्ट्रपति जी, तो आप वहाँ की सरकार

[श्री राजनारायण]

को मंग करो, फिर से चुनाव हो, करो फिर लोक सभा का चुनाव और फिर देखो कि किस की मेजरिटी है।

इतना काला, गलत, अ-जनतंत्रीय और अ-लोकशाही भाषा विधेयक ला कर के श्री चट्टाण ने सारे देश के वातावरण को क्षुब्ध किया है, इन्दिरा रानी ने देश के वातावरण को क्षुब्ध कर दिया है और यह खाली आज हमारा क्लिप्शन नहीं है, हमारा पैदा किया हुआ नहीं है। आज इस देश का वातावरण क्षुब्ध किया है तो इस सरकार ने किया है।

मैंने कल चट्टाण साहब को एक घटना बताई है। आप लोग भी सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य जब आज घर जायें और खाना खा कर सोने जायें तो छाती पर हाथ रख कर उस पर सोचियेगा। बनारस जिला जेल में चन्द्रशेखर आज़ाद को अंग्रेजों ने बेंत मारे। चन्द्रशेखर आज़ाद को जितने जितने बेंत लगते थे, बराबर उसका इरादा मजबूत होता जाता था और वहां बनारस जिला जेल में उसने प्रतिज्ञा की कि अब हम हथियार उठावेंगे और चन्द्रशेखर आज़ाद ने हथियार उठा लिये। उसी तरह जब यहां गैलरी में पुलिस ने घसीट कर के हमारे छात्रों को मारा, तो मैं चाहूंगा कि उन छात्रों के दिल व दिमाग को पढ़ें चट्टाण साहब कि उनके दिल में क्या स्थिति हुई होगी। वे छात्र कोई मामूली छात्र नहीं हैं, उनमें कोई लॉ ग्रेजुएट है, कोई एम० ए० है। वे बराबर कहते हैं कि तुम्हारी संसद की गैलरी में हमें घसीट कर बूटों से मारा गया। मैं उनका बयान ले कर के जेल से आया, आपकी सेक्रेटेरिएट ने भी उनका बयान लिया था, मगर आज हम को उस पर चर्चा नहीं करने दी गई। क्या यह संसदीय प्रथा है? मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ आपसे कि मान लो कोई चेयरमैन ऐसा आ जाय जो कहे कि सारे नियम हमी हैं, हमारे मुंह से जो बाणी निकले वही कानून है, हमारी जो विहम है वही व्यवस्था है

तो क्या उसे माना जा सकता है। इसलिए आज हम इस सरकार को चेतावनी देना चाहते हैं कि फौरन से फौरन पश्चिमी बंगाल की स्थिति सुधरे। पश्चिमी बंगाल की स्थिति नहीं सुधरती तो इस देश में पश्चिमी बंगाल अग्नि की वह ज्वाला प्रज्वलित करेगा जिसमें सारा कांग्रेस का राज भस्म होगा ही, हम भी जल सकते हैं. . .

श्री शीलभद्र यात्री : ऐसी बात करना तुम्हारे लिए शर्म की बात है।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं अदब के साथ इस शीलभद्र यात्री को बताना चाहता हूँ कि अपनी भद्रता और अपनी शीलता को न खोओ। शर्म की बात करते हो, तुम्हें शर्म होती, तुम्हारी सरकार को शर्म होती तो चुल्लू भर पानी में डूब कर मर जाती। शर्म की बात करते हो बेहया कहीं के।

मैं, इन शब्दों के साथ, आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि यहां पर कोई जनतंत्र के सिद्धान्त में आस्था रखता हो, यकीन रखता हो तो भूपेश गुप्त के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करें। भूपेश गुप्त का प्रस्ताव कहीं भी चीन को नहीं लाता, अमरीका को नहीं लाता, रूस को नहीं लाता; लाता है तो पश्चिमी बंगाल की जनता को लाता है, पश्चिमी बंगाल की जनता को वह सुनहरा मौका देना चाहता है जिससे वह अपने ख्यालात का इजहार कर सके, अपने दिमाग और दिल के मुताबिक अपने नुमाइन्दों को चुन सके और चुन कर अपनी सरकार बना सके।

हमारे मुखर्जी साहब जो जज हैं उनसे मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या पश्चिमी बंगाल में असाम्य अवस्था नहीं है, क्या कांस्टीट्यूशन पश्चिमी बंगाल में ठीक से काम कर रहा है ?

श्री शीलभद्र यात्री : अपने दिल से पूछो।

श्री राजनारायण : हम हैरत में हैं जब हम एक जज के मुंह से सुनते हैं कि स्पीकर ने जो रूलिंग दी है उसके लिए कोर्ट में जाओ। स्पीकर की रूलिंग से एग््रीव्ड कौन है। स्पीकर की रूलिंग से एग््रीव्ड है मुखर्जी जज, उसको जाना चाहिये, मुखर्जी जज जायं, देखें कि स्पीकर की रूलिंग सही है या गलत। आज वहां कांस्टीट्यूशन डेड है, संविधान मरा हुआ है। पश्चिमी बंगाल के तमाम कांग्रेसी नेता और घोष को यहाँ बुलाया गया, यहाँ बुला कर दो दिन तक उनसे प्रधान मंत्री, घर मंत्री, बड़े बड़े कांग्रेसी नेताओं से बात हुई। क्या किया जाय। वे कहते हैं कि एक ट्रायल देंगे, उसके बाद हम करेंगे। चट्टाण साहब, 4 दिन के बाद जो काम वहां करना है उसे आज ही कर दो। क्यों बहुत से लोगों की जिन्दगी लेकर करना चाहते हो।

जो मुल्क के प्रति बहुत वफादार हैं उन्हें एक बात बता देना चाहता हूं। कल रात को करीब डेढ़-दो बजे मुझे टेलीफोन आया कि चट्टाण साहब और इन्दिरा जी से बात करो, काश्मीर को भूटान जैसा स्टेटस देने का फैसला होने की सूचना मिली है और जैसा पश्चिमी बंगाल के बारे में हुआ था, जब सदन उठ जायगा, पार्लियामेंट नहीं रहेगी, उसी दिन काश्मीर के बारे में कोई बड़ी घोषणा सरकार कर देगी। हमने बड़ा समझाया कि ऐसी बात नहीं हो सकती, मगर वह बहुत जिम्मेदार लोग थे। मैं जानना चाहता हूं आज चट्टाण साहब से इस सदन में कि क्या काश्मीर के के बारे में भूटान जैसा स्टेटस देने की बात या आजाद काश्मीर के रूप में बनाने की बात सरकार के सामने विचाराधीन है और क्या सरकार ने उसके बारे में कोई तजवीज मान ली है? अगर मान ली है तो सरकार को अभी पार्लियामेंट के सामने घोषणा करनी चाहिये, सफाई से कहना चाहिये। इसलिए मुल्क की हित-चिन्ता से दूर होकर, वफादारी से दूर होकर मनमाने ढंग से निरं-

कुश होकर यह सरकार सारे कामों को करती चली जाय और हम उसको बर्दाश्त करते चले जायं, यह जनतंत्र नहीं है। आज जनतंत्र की दृष्टि से इस सरकार को पदच्युत करना, इस सरकार को गिराना हमारा कर्तव्य है, जनता का कर्तव्य है। डेमोक्रेसी-लविंग पीपुल का कर्तव्य है कि इस सरकार को गिराएं, इसके काले कारनामों का पर्दाफाश करें और पश्चिमी बंगाल में फौरन चुनाव की मांग करें जिससे जनता अपने सच्चे प्रतिनिधि निर्वाचित कर सके।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, I am brought up in a tradition where relevancy is considered to be a great virtue and so I would like merely to touch on those points which are related to this Resolution. I do not want to go left or right. This entire issue arises out of a certain situation that has taken place in Bengal, the different aspects of which were considered by this hon. House. And this hon. House also had the privilege of expressing its own opinion about the central fact of this whole episode. And what was that central fact? It is that the present Government of Dr. P. C. Ghosh is a legally constituted Government. Whether they like it or not is a different matter. If we are to go by the likes and dislikes of individual members or individual parties, there will be nothing but chaos in this country. Sir, this House has accepted this fact, I have accepted this fact and the Government of India has accepted this fact, that the present Government of Dr. Ghosh is a legally constituted Government. Now, Sir, further difficulty arose out of certain things that happened in the Bengal Assembly. As we all now know, the Speaker by his ruling has practically silenced—I was going to say gagged—the representatives of the people of Bengal from expressing their view in this particular matter. Now, Sir, as a continuation of this tactics, the parties which were ousted from the Government have decided to start a civil disobedience movement—I do not know whether it is civil...

SHRI ABID ALI : It is not civil.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It is not civil. But they have certainly started a movement of anarchy, a movement which I may call is some sort of a rebellion, in Bengal. Now what is the duty of a legally constituted Government when there is an attempt of organised rebellion among the people ? I think the Government would have failed in its duty if they had not taken up the challenge to meet this organised anarchy in that State. Sir, hon. Member Niren Ghosh said that Bengal is under army occupation...

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA (Andhra Pradesh) : He does not know English.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If he does not know English, I am not sorry for it. This is what Mr. Niren Ghosh said. Sir, the point is there is some logic behind it. I would like to go to the essence of it. It is a technique of some of these political parties to think in terms of treating a State which is part of India as a nation and create a sort of contradiction or an enmity or opposition between the Centre and the State. This is the most dangerous game that these people are placing. About the people of Bengal, Sir, I come from an area of this country which has traditionally loved and respected the people of Bengal. Which Indian does not know that it was the Bengalis who gave us the ABC of nationalism ? Sir, every child in this country is singing *Vande mataram*. That is a Bengali song. Every person in India to-day is singing *Jana gana mana*. It is, Bengali song. The great slogan of 'Delhi chalo' and 'Jai Hind' was given by another Bengali. Bengal taught us to think in terms of India and Indian people. They taught us to die bravely for India. Now, here our people who are claiming to be representatives of Bengal are trying to tell us 'Die to see that ultimately India dies'. Sir, I have all the respect for Mr. Niren Ghosh and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta as hon. Members of this House, but with all humility, let me say that the great Bengal of Rabindra Babu, that great Bengal of Bankim Babu and

that great Bengal of Subash Babu is not represented by Niren Babu and Bhupesh Babu.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is represented by Prafulla Babu ?... (*Interruption.*) What do you know of Bengal. No, Mr. Chavan, let us go there and ask the people of Bengal whether you represent Bengal or we represent Bengal. Is that all right ? (*Interruption.*) Let us ask the people of Bengal.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please take your seat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He says we do not represent Bengal. Can I not ask him...

(Interruptions.)

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

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh) : I should request Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, through you Mr. Vice-Chairman, that he should observe the same dignity and silence with which we heard his speech. He may be a great son of Bengal or of the world. But he must know the etiquette of Parliament..

(Interruptions.)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Don't tell me about dignity...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No more interruptions.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, what I was trying. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You don't have the courage to utter a word against Mr. Chavan. But you shout against the Birlas...

(*Interruption.*)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : What I was trying to say. . .

(*Interruption.*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I know your dignity. You go to "Patriot" and

get something written. But when Mr. Chavan attacks the people of Bengal, you do not have the courage to say a word against him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : This is not right. When they are prepared to listen to your speeches patiently, you should also listen to their speeches patiently, even if it is unpleasant.

(*Interruption.*)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, what I was trying to convey was that he represents something. But I would like to repeat that, that he has no right to say that he represents Bengal. He represents his party very well. Niren Babu represents his party very well.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : We do represent Bengal. Test it anywhere.

SHRI ABID ALI : Chou En-lai.

(*Interruptions.*)

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

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : My only point is, Sir, that with the consistent manner with which Prafulla Babu has served Bengal for the last 40 years, if at all anybody has a claim to be the real son of Bengal, it is Prafulla Babu.

(*Interruption.*)

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

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, hon. Member Niren Ghosh told us what Gandhiji said about the repression by the Britishers. Sir, he ought not to have mentioned 1942 because I do not like to remind them of 1942. But he has mentioned 1942. In 1942 what were you and your party doing and what was Prafulla Babu doing?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Let me answer.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am not asking you. I am asking Mr. Niren Ghosh (*Interruption.*) I can certainly ask your party also.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Your party was for individual satyagraha. Our party was for... (*Interruption*) underground struggle...

(*Interruption.*)

श्री राजनारायण : यहां चव्वाण साहब आप सही हैं। नीरेन घोष को समझना चाहिये। उस समय उनकी गलती थी।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, the way they are trying to interrupt me only shows that my arguments are unanswerable as far as they are concerned. I have heard their speeches very patiently. Now let them listen to my speech patiently. Sir, they say that there are some police actions, etc. They say that police action has been taken. I am very sorry about one thing. Renu Chakravarty was our colleague and if some police action has been taken in respect of her and if she has been insulted, I am very sad about it, if it is a fact. Sir, I heard about the treatment to the press. I am very sorry that this thing has happened, because the press has not gone there to break the law. I can see that point. Therefore do *not* suppose that if something is wrong we will not say it is bad or we will say that it is good. But at the same time when the police have undertaken a very difficult and arduous task of establishing law and order, we cannot ask them to establish law and order and at the same time go on facing enquiries of this type. It is absolutely a wrong thing to do. If at all they have got any moral courage, why don't they face the Assembly ? I am making them an appeal. I made the same offer yesterday in the Lok Sabha and I would like to repeat that offer here also. Let the Assembly be called. Why don't you face the Assembly ?

श्री राजनारायण : यह तो आपका कहना उचित नहीं है। प्रोफसर घोष को हटाकर असेम्बली बुलाइये। सही को हम सही कहेंगे, गलत को गलत।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Why ? Ultimately, Sir, what they could not do there they are now trying to do this

[Shri Y. B. Chavan.]

way. Nowhere they are coming and telling us that there has been police action and repression and therefore we should take some action about it. There in Calcutta you go to teach the people to break the law and here we are told "Look, what is happening there ?" I am asking them one simple question. What is the police meant for ? Is the police meant for merely being helpless spectators when you go on breaking the law and breaking the heads of the people ? Niren Babu very dramatically and poetically described the incidents. I do not know whether it is correct or wrong.

(Interruptions.)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : How can you know ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have got some respect for truth. So unless I know about the facts, I cannot say whether it is wrong or right. May I ask him, when one of the Members of Parliament was paraded naked in the streets of Calcutta, where was their conscience ?

(Interruptions.)

Then, Sir, of all the persons I was rather surprised when our great friend, Shri Rajnarain, said and he went to the extent of saying "Use swords and, if necessary, even armed violence".

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : There is no question of using arms or armed violence. The only person who can use arms is that person who is authorised to use arms under the law. but I will tell him that he is trying to go in the company of Shri Bhupesh Gupta and Shri Niren Ghosh. He is talking in their terms.

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SHRI RAJNARAIN : I want to bring them in my company.

(Interruptions.)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Really speaking they are trying to use this platform of democracy to subvert democracy. That is what really they are doing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is what Hitler used to say.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Now, Sir, they talk about bombs. As a matter of fact the bomb was exploded in the police headquarters in Calcutta. Do you mean to say that the police themselves exploded the bomb in their own headquarters ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Conduct an enquiry.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Proper investigations will certainly be made about it.

(Interruptions.)

The basic point, therefore, is that this is a kind of propaganda which they have started. When they lose with the people, they start shouting more and more. So, this is a sort of shouting conspiracy that they have started. They have no face to show to the people and they do not want to face the Assembly and put their strength to test. Therefore they are trying to raise their voice here to tell the world that their voice is being stopped by somebody. It is not so, Sir. I have no doubt in my mind and I as a democrat am prepared to give them a piece of advice although I have doubt whether they will accept it. Let Mr. Bhupesh Gupta go back and advise his party leaders to withdraw this agitation, let the Assembly be properly called. Let the Speaker allow it to function and take the verdict of the House and if the verdict of the House goes against Prafulla Ghosh, I have no doubt that Prafulla Ghosh will go out of office. I can say with pride as to what happened in the case of the Congress Chief Ministers. Congressmen may have many other defects but I can say with pride that we certainly are the best democrats under the circumstances. What happened in U. P., Madhya Pradesh, Manipur ? What happened in Haryana ? They

had won the elections and they had the majorities there. The moment they saw that they had lost the majority, they gracefully left the office. Here the Governor felt that they had lost the majority and therefore they were asked to call the session immediately. (Interruptions.) Try it in the Assembly. Why don't you do that ?

Now, Sir, here the office of the Speaker unfortunately is being employed to gag democracy. I remember what one of their comrades mentioned to us in the other House. That instance happened in England's Parliament which is called the Mother of Parliaments. When King Charles entered the Parliament and wanted the Parliament to be closed, he went and gave some orders to the Speaker. And do you know that historic statement that the Speaker made ? He said "Your Majesty, I have no ears and eyes but for the Parliament". But here the Speaker has eyes and ears and every thing else for the outsiders, not for the Assembly. That Charles was hanged and that Speaker became the greatest Speaker. (Interruptions.) Sir, I am not supposed to make any remarks against the great office of the Speaker and I am not making any comment on the conduct of the Speaker. Because I want to be a good parliamentarian, I want to observe all the rules about it. But, Sir, the political fact of it remains that the democratically elected Bengal Assembly has not been allowed to function. Sir, is this a very healthy precedent ? If suppose tomorrow the Speaker takes the clue from this or if suppose you decide to gag us, what happens to this great democracy here ? A Speaker who, really speaking, is responsible to none but to himself, if he decided to start his own rule. ..

श्री राजनारायण : यहाँ राज्य सभा का राज्य होता है ।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : So therefore the basic thing ultimately comes to this ; all this violence and all these troubles and all these agitations ultimately go back to one central fact,

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and that central fact is the unwillingness of the then Chief Minister to call the Assembly in time. And when the new Chief Minister called the Assembly, that Assembly was not allowed to function. That, really speaking, is the basic thing. If you want to correct these things, accept this constructive challenge. I will be your ally then.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We do not want you as our ally. Enough in Congress; don't you trouble yourself further.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : And if I become your ally, you will become a nationalist. But I know that you won't accept it.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि . . . (Interruptions.)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Then, Sir, the only last point—which was not connected with this debate — arises because Shri Rajnarain has the habit of mentioning some sensational remarks—of course basically irrelevant. (Interruptions.) He said, Sir, that somebody telephoned to him at midnight.

SHRI ABID ALI : At 1.30 in the night.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That is midnight.

श्री राजनारायण : क्या इसको माना जाय कि एक गलती के साथ दूसरी गलती फालो हो ।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I think, Sir, he has a habit of talking to ghosts at night perhaps, and since some ghost has told him this story, he seems to be possessed by this ghost. I tell you; if you were a wise man, you ought to have told that man, "You are telling a lie".

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : राजनारायण जी, क्या आप रात को सोते नहीं ?

श्री राजनारायण : हम उस रोज सोयेंगे जब कांग्रेस राज को खत्म कर देंगे ।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If you had told him that night—last night as you said—why do you repeat that lie here?

श्री राजनारायण : मुखर्जी न जाय, अगर सही है तो कहिये ।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I would like to make him wiser still—because he is a very responsible person of this hon. House—by cautioning him that he should not believe in such stories, because only the enemies of India and enemies of Kashmir can start such things. There is absolutely no truth about it, no truth in the story that somebody has told him. Sir, Kashmir is a part of India; Kashmir will remain a part of India. Sir, we go on telling this thing, and still somebody, some ghost, goes and tells him a different story and he believes it and then he repeats it. Now if he is thinking that that man is some responsible man and some great man, expose him.

SHRI ABID ALI : Here and now.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I tell you ; only because you people have a habit of listening to these stories and repeating them here, they are making use of you people. Now you are holding very responsible positions inasmuch as you represent your States. You are not individuals. You are representing U.P. here :

श्री राजनारायण : हमने कहा था कि तुम सपना तो नहीं देख रहे हो, बड़बड़ा तो नहीं रहे हो । ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है । वह एक बड़े आदमी हैं । इस मंत्रिमंडल में एक मंत्री हैं और उनके एक निजी रिश्तेदार भी हैं ।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, it is very strange that Shri Rajnarain has to get up and solemnly declare that he is a human being and, Sir, as he has very solemnly declared this, I have no hesitation to accept that statement.

एक माननीय सदस्य : नाम मत लो ।

श्री राजनारायण : शुक्ल जी को पता है ।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : May I tell my hon. friends that in all these controversies it is no use repeating the same thing. It is no question of Congress and non-Congress. Forget this anti-Congress attitude because that is, really speaking, misleading you. I mean, I certainly tried to understand what the trouble is with these people. Sir, they are not objectively analysing the political difficulties and the real troubles. If they like, they may criticise the Congress where the Congress is wrong, but they must also see that the Congress also has got support in this country. It is not just like a dying party. It is a very stable party. It is representing the Central Government here and in half of the States at least there is Congress Government.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It was on a minority of votes.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : And in those States where the Congress is not governing, Congress is the only largest party, it may be noted.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You are governing although you secured only a minority of the total votes polled.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If they are realists, they must accept this fact and they must try to understand why even in these difficult times and critical times Congress represents such a healthy and big force in the country. Nothing is wrong ; there is nothing entirely wrong with the Congress. There is something wrong on their side also and they must try to find out how it had started. If Ajoy Mukherjee Government failed, it was not because the Governor dismissed him. If you want to be a real student of politics and a real student of history, you would appreciate that constitutionally and legally it was the Governor who signed that order. But what were the relevant circumstances attached to it? As a matter of fact, weeks before that, Ajoy Babu himself had dismissed himself. That is a fact ; that is a political fact. They had demonstrated that

the United Front Government was the most disunited Government. There was no unity of minds. There was no unity of hearts. There was no unity of action. There was no unity in thinking. The fact remains that the former Chief Minister had to come out and tell the whole world that he wanted to resign and get these gentlemen out, because they were anti-national. What is the use of becoming blind to these basic facts ? Can Mr. Bhupesh Gupta convince himself, convince his conscience that these are not basic facts ? He can certainly argue here and tell us that this and that happened unconstitutionally, but can he forget one thing that the disintegration of the United Front Government in Bengal started much before the Governor dismissed Ajoy Babu and his Ministry? It was only a diseased part which the Governor certainly had to surgically cut and he freed the Bengal people from the control of this U. F. Government.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You have cut out Bengal itself.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I therefore make an appeal to them, Sir. Now we lost the Government in half of the States in this country. We did not start weeping. We did not start blaming the Governors. We did not start blaming this or that. Sir, that party has the right to succeed which party also accepts defeat gracefully. This is the chain of success and gain in democratic life. We are prepared to accept all the defeat gracefully. I am sure, if they also learn this lesson and they really believe in the democratic methods, well, sometimes they can also become Governments—I have no objection. I have hundreds of times repeated in public meetings—which I would like to repeat here as a democrat—that when we weep we believe in Gods. At least I do. I do not know what Mr. Bhupesh Gupta does. I offer my prayers every morning to God. I do not pray to Him, "Oh God, keep this Congress Government in power". That prayer we make once in five years to the electorate. That we do once in five years.

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SHRI B. K. P. SINHA : If I may interrupt the hon. Minister for a moment, I may tell him that at the Teheran Conference when Churchill and Roosevelt said, "We have God as our ally", Stalin said, "Our ally is the devil". It is on record and I can show it to you.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Well, Sir, I may tell you I do not know about the devil. So I cannot say anything.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The devil incarnate is in the Home Minister himself. How will he not know him ?

AN HON. MEMBER : There is no difference between devil and God.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The prayer that we offer to God is, let democratic rule always prevail in this country. Let our country remain for ever democratic. That is the prayer we offer to God. We do not pray to Him saying that we should be in power every year, year after year, in every election. If you have faith in democracy you will not be shouting the way you do now. Forget about it. Be a sport. Be a democrat, be an Indian, be a real Indian citizen. And accept the challenge, get the Assembly called, take a decision in the Assembly and let us follow the logical consequence. But they are afraid of the logical consequences.

I do not think I need take any more time of the House. I have tried to state things as they are and I seem to have convinced most Members. I am not sure about some and I do not think I have made any impact on these friends here. The only thing I can do is when I offer my prayers next day I will offer my prayers for them also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Do you like to speak, Mr. Gupta ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Strange thing you ask, Sir, certainly I have a lot to speak. And this is still more strange, the person who intervenes gets more time than the mover, twice as much time as the mover. Well, I do not want to make any comment because it is an unpleasant thing, but

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

I hope this fact will be noted and when a Minister makes a motion and a time limit is put on others, we should remember this. I do not quarrel with Mr. Chavan because he took more time. But I do very much regret the manner in which the Union Home Minister, Mr. Chavan has treated this subject. He has treated it partly with arrogance and partly with frivolity, in order to make out a case for the Government. There is frivolity and here is conceit and thereby he has made it abundantly clear that he is not seized of the problem and it is also clear that he is only interested in pursuing his conspiracy and his political game against the people of West Bengal. That is most lamentable. I say these things from experience. Mr. Chavan is a parliamentarian and he is undoubtedly an intelligent man. I am not questioning that. But imagine what in such a situation Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to say, how he answered things. He also held some wrong and strong views, but he never dealt with a subject like this when it cropped up with so much levity as Mr. Chavan has done. That shows again the moral decline in the leadership of the Government of the day. Mr. Chavan said we do not represent West Bengal, that we represent our Party. True, we are Members of the Party, representing our Party. There is no doubt about that. But we represent also on this occasion, collectively and individually, the people of West Bengal. Mr. Chavan can find this out by a referendum, by a mid-term election, by walking with me in the streets of Calcutta and asking the people of West Bengal who represents whom, whether on this issue we represent them or not. We do not claim the right or capacity to represent such a brave and patriotic people as the people of West Bengal in a proper manner. That would be too presumptuous for us to claim, but in all humility we do try to acquire this character and capacity. The crucial issue is that singly and collectively we do represent the people of West Bengal on this occasion. Mr. Vice-Chairman, today if you took at the West Bengal picture, you

find that those who are aligned against the P. C. Ghosh's Ministry clearly represent by reckoning of the last elections nearly 70 per cent of the strength, discounting those who have shifted away from the Congress. In this matter they represent the people of Bengal, let Mr. Chavan understand it. Mr. Chavan boasted about the stability of the Congress Party. Well, Mr. Chavan seems to be very self-confident. Can you tell me, except for the Muslim League whether in the whole world any party in one single election lost eight out of sixteen States where the polling took place? But here the party which before the elections was the ruling party in the whole of India lost half of the States. Still Mr. Chavan continues to say that this party is stable, that things are stable. Well, he can flatter himself with such delusions.

Mr. Chavan said many other things also. The central fact that he has emphasised again and again is this assumption of his, that the Government in West Bengal is the legally constituted Government. He says that the dissolution was legal. Others say that the dissolution is illegal and mainly he said that the Governor had the right to dismiss the Ministry. Well, Mr. M. C. Chagla who I believe knows law a little better than Mr. Chavan, does not think so. And he was at least the Chief Justice of Bombay, an eminent jurist. He and many other jurists have said that the dissolution of that Government of the United Front was illegal.

Listening to Mr. Chavan I tried to get a glimpse into his mind. He said he did not want to make a reflection or to criticise the Speaker. Yet he said so many things against the Speaker of the West Bengal Assembly. He said that the Speaker had silenced the people's representatives, the MLAs. by making it impossible for the Assembly to function. Is it not a reflection on the Speaker? Is it not a serious accusation against him? Why should a democrat as Mr. Chavan calls himself, indulge in this manner of things and thus fling such preposterous

charges against the Speaker of the Assembly ? And yet Mr. Chavan puts on a smile as if he is a very innocent creature. All I can say is that out of what I have heard him say, I have got one thing and I hope West Bengal and the country will note it. Mr. Chavan, by the way he has spoken today has given us a glimpse into his mind. He is surely thinking of doing something to overthrow the Speaker, take away his power and illegally oust him from the position he holds. I am making this statement in anticipation. I was carefully weighing his words and I think Mr. Chavan has made this preliminary preparation politically in Parliament, in order to do something after the parliamentary session is over, to have the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker got out of the way in order that they may run the Assembly in a manner that they want to run it. But let them know firstly, that the Assembly will not run the way they want it to run. The Congress, can go and sit there and sleep overnight, if they like. But the Assembly is not going to function unless you restore the A joy Government or you call another Assembly through the constitutional process, namely, by a mid-term election. The Assembly is not going to function unless you have a mid-term election or you restore the A joy Mukherjee Ministry. This is the central fact. You can do whatever you like.

Mr. Chavan said he was sorry, very sorry about Renu Chakrabarty what gesture he has made. Well, Renu Chakrabarty is not made of that stuff. You know very well she has faced lathi charges on many other occasions also.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I said I was sad when I heard it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Well, what about that 89 year old woman ? What about the professor's wife ? Renu Chakrabarty represents the spirit of the womanhood of Bengal, of Indian womanhood. This kind of a courtesy shown to Renu Chakrabarty in a personal sense is an insult to all our

colleagues, to the womanhood of Bengal and we disdain that insult and we repudiate it. He says, "If it is true". But photographs have appeared of Renu Chakrabarty with blouse torn. They have appeared in their own papers, in the Congress papers. Still they say, if it is true. Cynicism, to what extent it has gone. Why Mr. Chavan is not brought down, I do not know. But I have not stood up here for Renu Chakrabarty only. It is only a typical case. Mothers, sisters, young and old, are being subjected to this kind of thing. All over Bengal, homes are being broken to attack them, to insult them, to molest them. Cases have been given by Principals of colleges where professors' wives were attacked and assaulted in their own houses and yet Mr. Chavan has no word of regret. He says he believes in Rabindra Babu. We call him Gurudev; we don't call him Rabindra Babu. Anyhow, Mr. Chavan wanted to pay lip service to the memory of Subhash Bose. But who made Subhas Bose leave the country ? Was it not Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Dr. P. C. Ghosh together who made him leave after which he never appeared in Bengal ? So much discredited was this Dr. Ghosh that you felt in 1943 that with this man you cannot run this Government and therefore you removed him from the Chief Minister's post and put Dr. B. C. Roy there.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI (Assam) : I want to know from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta what the Communist party did. . . (*Interruptions*) in 1942 when we fought against British Imperialism for the attainment of our freedom.

श्री शेर खां (मंसूर) : अब तो एडजर्न कर दीजिए ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : अब हम लोगों को भूख भी लग रही है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : They say they are hungry.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : When Mr. Chavan was speaking they were not hungry. Is Mr. Chavan's speech food or sandwiches ? I do not know what Mr. Chavan's words are but I believe they eat their own words.

Now, no noteworthy point Mr. Chavan has made. I have my own misgivings. Just as behind the back of Parliament they dismissed the popular Ministry, again behind the back of Parliament after this session is over they will do some other mischief obviously and I hope the West Bengal people and others in the country will take note.

Now, Mr. Chavan has offered so many things but not mid-term elections. He would never offer it. Well, he will say he represents West Bengal and not we. You have all the resources and money; you have all the State machinery in your hands. Why not with all that face the mid-term elections and find out as to who has got the support ? Your Jawaharlal Nehru told Mr. Namboodiripad our Chief Minister at that time ...

(Interruptions.)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : What is this ? I want to know. Would you control your benches ?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : He has the right of reply. Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is very unfair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Namoodiripad was invited by Nehru to a lunch and Nehru told him : "EMS, I know you have a majority but the people have shifted away from you. Demonstrations are taking place and therefore I suggest that you resign and have mid-term elections". Mr. Namboodiripad said "I am not going to resign, I have a majority in the Assembly". In that case Nehru made it abundantly clear that he will dissolve the Assembly and he did it. Mid-term elections took place at that time. Nehru said incidents were taking place in Kerala and that the people— it was wrong—had shifted away from the Communists. But in the elections we get 12 lakhs more votes than in the

general elections. If this was done then, why not in this case ? Is it your contention that incidents are not taking place now ? Incidents are taking place in Bengal. There in Kerala incidents were taking place against a Government which according to your own admission had the majority, *sutyagraha* and that kind of thing. Today incidents are taking place against a Government which is illegal according to us anyhow and which you have brought in by dismissing the popular Government without waiting for the Assembly to be convened. This is a valid question.

Then he said so many things. I say don't talk about Dr. P. C. Ghosh very much. It does not matter to Mr. Chavan because Mr. Chavan is not affected by Dr. Ghosh. Although Dr. Ghosh called Jawaharlal Nehru a drunkard—it was in a public statement that appeared—what does it matter ? Dr. Ghosh might have said anything about Jawaharlal Nehru but Mr. Chavan needs Dr. P. C. Ghosh to keep as a *Shikhandi* to beat the Bengal people with. What are Mr. Chavan's arguments ? Surprisingly enough Mr. Chavan does not express any regret about the police. Oh, it is a Pressman who is beaten; but the Police Commissioner has apologised for it; the I.G. has apologised for it. The I. G. of Police Mr. Upananda Mookerjee who was to have retired is rewarded by an extension for another year. Even he has apologised but Mr. Chavan makes just a passing reference about it. I say the assault on the Pressman shows the frame of mind of the police. Nor Mr. Chavan said anything about the other things, the assault in the Police lock-up of hundreds of people. Is it under the law ? Which law of the land empowers policemen to beat up mercilessly people in the police lock-up and break their bones and head ? I should like to know. To our knowledge there is no law whatsoever in the country yet it is being done. Statements have appeared in the Press. Members of Parliament have gone and visited these people who have been assaulted in the lock-up. They have made representations to the Prime Minister; they have told

the Press ; they have told the people of Bengal through Press Conferences and by other ways. Yet Mr. Chavan would not see any of these things. Well, Mr. Chavan, you may start this kind of thing but we know where it will end. So many Vice-Chancellors and Rectors of universities have made serious complaints. Are they our party-men ? Many of them had been appointed by your own past Government and even they are coming out with public statements against the atrocities committed by the police in the campus of the universities, inside the colleges, inside the hostels, inside the principals' rooms, which have compelled these academicians and educationists to meet together and pass resolutions condemning them. Mr. Chavan does *not* however take note of these at all. He is completely ignorant of all these things.

I am surprised why Dr. Triguna Sen is still continuing in this Government and why he is not resigning. If it were Shyama Prasad Mookerjee he would have yesigned the moment such things happened. If it were Sarat Babu he would have resigned. Actually he resigned from the Government and walked out but here is Dr. Triguna Sen who holds on to power. He is a disgrace to himself. His own university, Jabalpur University, had a big part to play. That University is being attacked the Rector of that University has made a statement. But he still holds on because the going is good here he thinks.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, now that will do.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You gave him so much time, I am not quarrelling about it.

Here suddenly the bogey of a communism has been raised. China has been brought in. As far as the question of China is concerned, you know the views of the various parties but how do you explain the SSP, the PSP the Forward Bloc, Ajoy Mukherjee and others whose attitude towards the Chinese question everybody knows ?

Here he himself expressed it but why have his colleagues been beaten up ? Why is his comrade who was a Minister, Mr. Krishna Kanta Mitra, whose picture has been published, assaulted ? Has he also become a Chinese agent according to you ? Has the Forward Bloc become Chinese agents ? Has the PSP become Chinese agents ? As far as we are concerned we have always been accused of such things. Either we are Chinese agents or we are Soviet agents. You call us Soviet agents.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have not called you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But we never call you that way but I hope and I am sure the Socialist world will take note of it. Then why do you go to the Soviet Union asking for aid and other things ? Well, I do not know. Why do you go in that State ? You cannot run with the hare and hunt with the hound. The Soviet Union also has been accused in the course of the debate saying that the Soviet Union maintains us, according to you, as agents. Well, I hope all these will not be lost on those who have to take due note of it inside the country and in the world at large.

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

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Not thank you. Now, it is unfortunate that Mr. Chavan told Mr. Rajnarain. "Mr. Rajnarain, do you not know in whose company you are going ?" Separate Mr. Rajnarain from the communists. Separate Mr. Niren Ghosh from Bhupesh Gupta. Separate all others. This is your line. But I tell you that in the case of Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee and all those who are in the United Front—not only they but also others who have joined it—your tactics only cemented the bonds of unity. Let me tell you, in all humility, I have been in politics for a long time. For fifteen years I have represented Bengal in this Parliament in my humble way. Never have I *seen* such universal, remarkable, majestic unity as I see in the people of Bengal, in all sections of the people in Bengal.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

The Congress Party is completely isolated so much so you have got the *Shikhandi*, P. C. Ghosh, to hide behind him, a bunch of cowards, moral rakes, political renegades. That is what they are. (*Interruptions.*) That is what I say. Therefore, Mr. Chavan should not say it. Mr. Chavan believes in central facts. It is not Mr. Ghosh ruling. I know it for a fact, but I will not divulge it in the public interest, even if you ask. Mr. Chavan is conducting the show from here with his officials in Calcutta and from here directions are going. He quotes Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee. Why do you not quote Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee's subsequent statement in which he has said that he was misled and he had been unjust to the Marxist Communists and he said : "I shall expiate my mistake by giving my blood". (*Interruption.*) Please understand it. Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee said in a public statement : "I shall be the first to give my blood and face the bullet not only to protect against it but also to expiate the sin I committed in choosing such people as Dr. P. C. Ghosh and other people in the Bangla Congress, and for saying things in an unfair way against a political party".

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

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am finishing.

(*Interruptions.*)

HON. MEMBERS : We will go away.

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa) : What is this?

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

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Let them go. We will not leave. I shall spntk to the walls of this Parliament. The walls have ears, but they have not. I may be allowed to speak. You can do whatever you like. They can go. It is not like that. I shall speak...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I am requesting I you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : When Mr. Chavan was exceeding his time, you never for once said anything.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Yes, I did.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You are casting an aspersion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not want to enter into any quarrel with you.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA : Obey the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We are absolutely mentally shaken over this matter. I must say emotionally we are hurt to the depth of our hearts. You have thrust a spear or a knife. That is what we feel. Please understand it. Let us at least express our anguish. Let us at least have the chance of giving expression, to some little emotion that has been roused in West Bengal, the agony of our people. You will lose nothing. I know you will have a cynical disregard for it. Only today I got a letter from Asansol from Mr. Kalyani Roy, leader of the Coalmine Workers Union. Mr. Chavan should take note of it :

"Yesterday over 500 fully armed Policemen of all Sorts led by the Additional S. P. Asansol surrounded nearly 40 students, smashed a few heads, broke many limbs and injured some dumped in Asansol jail. Political leaders of this field are handcuffed and brought to Court tied in rope. General people dumbfounded and afraid. A kind of 'submission mentality' may develop".

This is what he has written. Now, you may not accept what I say. Enquire into it. Why do you not accept the suggestion of Members of Parliament belonging to various parties ? Have a judicial enquiry and public enquiry into the excesses and atrocities committed. Why cannot you do that. I leave Mr. Chavan at that, I know that even the Cabinet itself is in a crisis over it. Mr. Chavan, you know it very well in your heart of hearts. However much you may shout we shall see how you function in the West

Bengal Assembly and what unconstitutional act you do in order to achieve it. Never did he express regret that bomb was thrown at the Speaker in order to kill him, a high-powered bomb, but the Lai Bazaar bomb, planted by *agents provocateur* engages all his attention. Double standard. **The** bomb in the Speaker's house becomes in your eyes, a bouquet and the bomb in Lai Bazaar at once becomes a bomb planted by the Opposition and also a foreign bomb. Well, that only shows their double standard.

As far as Mr. Abid Ali is concerned, I do not wish to say anything. I know that he would not like him to be taken seriously.

HON. MEMBERS : How long are we to sit here ? We have been hearing him for long.

(Interruptions.)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Let me finish. I feel really sorry for my friend, Mr. Debabrata Mookerjee. I tell you why I feel sorry. I knew him in the time of the war. He was doing some social work. As a lawyer he was regarded at that time as an honest man, but I do not know some evil influence spread on him. Then suddenly he decided to get into the Congress and become a Minister. He contested the 1962 elections. We defeated him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You are repeating.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We defeated him. He saw Dr. B. C. Roy. As a consolation he made him a Judge. (Interruptions.) Now, I am sure Mr. Debabrata Mookerjee knows it very well.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : You would sell our country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He knows it very well. If he does not remember it, his wife will tell him. If he forgets it, his children will remind him. If they do not, his neighbours will tell him about the writing on the wall. Why do you not come to Bhowanipore where you live ? Let us

walk in the street. Nobody shall speak. I shall hang something on me and he shall hang something on him. Let us see who survives in the hands of the people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : We do not want anybody to be hanged.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Therefore, I say Mr. Debabrata Mookerjee is in a very comfortable situation, more comfortable than even Mr. P. C. Ghosh. He is sheltered in Rajya Sabha, protected by Mr. Chavan's police and given daily allowance, but Mr. P. C. Ghosh is having sleepless nights. He is topsy-turvy in his head by now and he is disgusted with the whole thing.

As far as Mr. Mathur is concerned, he has gone away. The Rajasthan hero, the former Prime Minister of Bikaner, should not teach us patriotism. (Interruptions.) We had spent our time in jail and we grew in jail in our early days. The former Premier of the Bikaner State should not give us elementary lessons in patriotism. Everything that is happening in Bengal is happening under the orders of Mr. Chavan, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the Central Government. We know it for a fact and, therefore, I say that the matter has to be discussed here. I say, again, Mr. Chavan, before I sit down. May I make a counter suggestion ? May I make a counter offer ? Mr. Chavan, you know very well you are in Maharashtra; you know the public agitation ; you know also the shift of public opinion on the question of the Samyukta Maharashtra. Today I make a counter suggestion. Dissolve the Ministry, the illegal Ministry. Call the Assembly. Let us see. Or alternatively let us go the people themselves calmly and quietly. You dismiss the Ministry. You call a meeting of all the parties concerned. Fix up the date for mid-term election. In the meanwhile I am prepared to place this thing under the President's rule, because Parliament will be there. But early mid-term election should be held. Is it not a decent, honourable offer for the solution of the problem? Would you

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

accept it, Mr. Chavan, if you have any respect either for democracy or for the sentiments of the people ?

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I shall now put Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's motion to vote. The question is :

"Whereas the political situation in West Bengal has taken a grave turn since November 21, 1967 ;

Whereas the people of the State are demonstrating against the illegal and unconstitutional dismissal of the U. F. Ministry and the equally illegal and unconstitutional installation of Shri P. C. Ghosh as the Chief Minister of West Bengal;

Whereas in order to sustain the Illegal Ministry a reign of police violence and terror has been unleashed to suppress people's movement resulting in frequent police firings, wanton lathi charges, brutal assaults on prisoners in police lock-ups and similar other orgies as well as large-scale arrests and imprisonments of

over 10,000 persons including well over 1,000 under the Preventive Detention Act;

Whereas the Speaker of the State Assembly has refused to recognise the Council of Ministers headed by Shri P. C. Ghosh as legal and valid ;

Whereas as a result of the above ruling of the Speaker, a serious constitutional deadlock has arisen ;

Whereas the Government of the State cannot be carried on in the circumstances in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution ;

This House is of opinion that immediate steps be taken, including the dismissal of the illegal Ghosh Ministry, for an early mid-term election in the State".

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on the 26th December.

The House then adjourned at forty-two minutes past nine of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 26th December, 1967.