

in different areas of Delhi and its neighbourhood without getting the lay-out plans sanctioned from the competent Local Authority and developing those lands in accordance with the prescribed standards. However, in most of the cases, in the sale-deeds it is indicated that the land is agricultural and the seller is only transferring his rights in the said land to the buyer. The Government can take action only when the buyer files a complaint that the sale was made to him on wrong premises and certain material information was withheld from him. The Government have advised the prospective buyers through press advertisements, cinema slides and other media of publicity, not to purchase without verifying that the lay-out plans of the land had been passed by the competent Authority.

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**CALLING ATTENTION TO A
MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC
IMPORTANCE**

**CONDITION PREVAILING IN THE NAXAL-
BARI AREA IN WEST BENGAL**

MR. CHAIRMAN: Calling attention to matter of urgent public importance.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Sir, on a point of order . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, on a point of order . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have got a query from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. It is:

"I should like to seek a clarification on the Calling Attention Notice on the Naxalbari . . ."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, my point of order is this. It cannot be taken up. Now, Sir, you see the Calling Attention Notice.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar): Sir, on a point of order on the point of order raised by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. Motions once admitted cannot be set aside.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has risen on a point of order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have raised a point of order.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar): Sir, Mr. Awadheshwar Prasad Sinha's point of order should be first heard.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There cannot be a point of order on a point of order. The hon. Member can certainly oppose my point of order. I do not object to that. You can certainly oppose it.

Now, Sir, you see the wording of the Calling Attention Notice:

"to call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the extremely disturbed conditions that prevail in the Naxalbari area in West Bengal and the repercussions thereof on the safety of the border areas and the reported functioning of a parallel Government in that area."

Now, Sir, normally it is clear from the motion that it is purely a law and order problem.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can argue. I know that you can say 'No, no'.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will certainly give an opportunity for reply. Let us hear what others say, they should have their say. Others have a right to reply and let us go on in a patient manner.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know that. Now, Sir . . .

श्री टी० पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं आपसे यह प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ सभापति महोदय, कि जब आपने इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार किया है तो इस पर पोइन्ट ऑफ ऑर्डर क्यों है ?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. I have asked a certain hon. Member to speak. Kindly sit down. I shall give you also an opportunity.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I hope that my friends of the Congress Party will bear with me a little. They will certainly have their chance.

MR. CHAIRMAN: And all should bear with each other.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But it sometimes becomes unbearable.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is better that we avoid that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, kindly consider. It is a delicate constitutional point, and if I am wrong, you correct me by listening to them. They should be given all chances to make their points. It is said here: "... conditions that prevail in the Naxalbari area," Sir, from the text of the motion you will find that it relates to the law and order problem which is an exclusively State subject . . . (Interruptions) I am coming. I can anticipate what you say.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do not worry. I shall give every opportunity to have the different points of view put forth and then also I will state my view, if it becomes necessary.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are absolutely right.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: "...and the repercussions thereof on the safety of the border areas . . ." Sir, any event has its repercussions. It is only a question of repercussions. It may have all kinds of repercussions. "...the repercussions thereof on the safety of the border areas."

Even if you say "safety of the border area", the border defence also comes under the State Government. Now, defence is another matter. As we understand it, border defence also comes under the State. Now, Sir, as you know, under the existing arrangements, well, the border police cannot go to a State from the Indian unless that State Government has made a request or has agreed to the border police being sent there. Therefore, even in this respect, it is a State subject.

"...and the reported functioning of a parallel Government..." Now, Sir, as far as this is concerned, well, a parallel Government is functioning. Assuming that it is a parallel Government, now who is to say it first? Certainly, Sir, those to whom it is running as a parallel Government are most fit to speak on the subject, and the Chief Minister has made a public statement that there is no such parallel Government in West Bengal at all or in Naxalbari area at all. Therefore, I submit that this wording, this extension of these ideas, has been made with a view to committing a fraud on the Rules of Procedure of the House.

HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is quite clearly a fraud on the Rules of Procedure because if they had said, "the conditions that prevail in the Naxalbari area", you, Sir, would have immediately rejected it as dealing with a subject which comes within the exclusive jurisdiction of the State. Now, they are an intelligent people, experienced people. They have, therefore, brought in this other issue of "the repercussions thereof on the safety of the border areas." Where is the repercussion? Repercussion is all over India; repercussion is also within the State.

Then, "...the reported functioning of a parallel Government..." This second point is that normally we do not discuss State subjects in this

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

adjournment form or calling attention notice form. This is the convention which we have followed. But it does appear that whenever a non-Congress Government comes into existence in some States, the particular rule gets somewhat waived and then the stage enters for a discussion here by way of an adjournment motion or a calling attention notice. That is another thing. Even in regard to that matter, there is the convention, there is the rule, that normally those sponsoring such calling attention notices must satisfy the Chairman or the Speaker, as the case may be, that the matter is of over-riding importance and that its impact will be on India as a whole or certainly that it will go beyond the regions of the State. Now, if the Chairman is satisfied by looking up the relevant papers and hearing the relevant arguments, sometimes he has allowed, but very rarely. I should like to know from you . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): He has admitted it.

(*Interruption by Shri C. D. Pande*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: When Mr. C. D. Pande speaks, as you know, we get in a different mood altogether . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Then you must be happy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: . . . because * * * we are serious political workers.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh): What do you mean? * * * And to whom do you refer like this? I protest against this expression. To whom are you referring?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: * * *

SHRI C. D. PANDE: * * * *

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: * * *

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Take your seat.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): On a point of order, Sir. I request you that all the observations made by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and also by Mr. C. D. Pande should be expunged.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right. They will be expunged.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I agree.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: I agree.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But if he calls me names I will do the same thing. Let him not call me * * *

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not want any disturbance. Please listen. When another gentleman is speaking he should not be disturbed. Everybody will have an opportunity to speak.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. C. D. Pande, I hope, will not disturb because we are not dealing with the problems of Paris or night clubs.

Sir, we are dealing with serious matters of Parliament. Now, it is said that there is a parallel Government. It was a serious thing to have stated in a motion and it was an even more serious thing to have included it in a List of Business of this nature. If you had been satisfied with the evidence produced before you that there is a *prima facie* case for putting in black and white such a preposterous statement, I submit to your ruling. If you have not asked for such a thing, I would request you to ask for that thing.

Here I have got all the Congress papers from West Bengal. Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee says that there is no such thing as a "parallel Government". Therefore, Sir, I should like to know whether the whole thing is in order. It is an attempt to discuss a State subject for ulterior, political reasons with a view to discrediting a constituent State Government of the Indian

*** Expunged as ordered by the chair.

Union and for grinding the political axe of certain political forces.

One thing I should like to say. Let hon. Members not think that we are fighting shy of a discussion. But then there are many things in my bag and from tomorrow many things with regard to State matters will come. I am keeping them ready....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you have stated your case.

(Shri Chandra Shekhar stood up in his seat)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Chandra Shekhar, you are a good man. Please sit down a little while.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you have put up your case.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, I say you are creating a new convention. You are reviving something which is not generally experienced, which is experienced once in ten years. We experienced it when we were in the Government in Kerala a decade ago. Now we are experiencing this thing. I leave it to you whether you are creating a right convention. If you want a discussion, let it be done otherwise. I am prepared for it.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Chairman, Sir . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: On a point of order, Sir.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: You cannot rise when I am on a point of order. Mr. Chairman, I am on my legs. With your permission I want to make a submission and I hope that hon. Members will allow me to have my say. I am not going to be cowed down by this thing. I am pleading with the Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I am one of the signatories to this Calling Attention motion. I fully agree with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta that a State matter should not be discussed in this House. But I want to draw your attention. I have already drawn your kind attention that this is a more serious situation than an ordinary law and

order situation. I very much repudiate the charges made by my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. It is not the Congress Government which is a constituent of the West Bengal Government. There is the P.S.P. . . .

SHRI RAJNARAIN (Uttar Pradesh): The S.S.P.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR:

. . . Mr. Rajnarain, please do not disturb me. The National Executive of the Praja-Socialist Party has passed a resolution. The leader of the Samyukta Socialist Party, Mr. Ram Sevak Yadav in the other House, has made a very serious statement that one of the workers of the Samyukta Socialist Party was murdered in broad day light and the police did not come to investigate. Here is a situation . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It is completely out of order, Sir. It does not come under this.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Chairman, the rules are the same for all Members. If what Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said is in order, what I say is perfectly in order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You leave it to me.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am also pleading because Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has made all sorts of charges against the Members who have tabled this Calling Attention motion. I am one of those who have tabled this Calling Attention motion, and I have every right to reply and to submit to you the considerations that impelled me to draw your attention and the attention of the hon. Home Minister towards this very serious matter.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is not a simple question that the law and order is disturbed; it is a constitutional crisis.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have said that.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: If hon. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's information is that there is no parallel Government, my information is that there is a parallel Government, and some of the Left Communists who are in the Ministry have organised that parallel Government . . .

(*Interruption by some hon. Members*)

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): I want your ruling . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chandra Shekhar, will you please sit down? (*Interruptions*) Please hear me, Mr. Chandra Shekhar has spoken. Now I want Mr. Niren Ghosh to speak. He raised a point of order. Soon after Mr. Bhupesh Gupta spoke, Yes.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Sir, I should have my say.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have heard you.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I have not finished what I had to say because two or three people were trying to interrupt me

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have heard your point of view. You can leave it to me.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I request you one thing. I can leave everything to you. But it is a question of rules of procedure. (*Interruptions*) Since you have allowed one side to speak you should allow me also to speak. I am here to protect the right of millions of people . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am here to protect the rights of every one. You leave it to me. Now I shall allow anybody.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I am on a point of order relating to what he has said.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can say afterwards. I called Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): I have to speak on a point of procedure. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has raised a point of order. Now

before that point of order is disposed of I should like to know whether there can be another point of order. That will not be fair. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta raised a point of order on which I would like to say something.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Dharia, he is raising a point of order . . .

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: There will be three points of order. I have to say something on the point of order raised by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. Let one point of order be disposed of.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Do not make so much noise. Nobody can hear. Nobody can follow the proceedings. You are gentlemen with great experience. You are statesmen. You are leaders in your own States. Let us hear one by one and things would be all right. If ten people speak at the same time nothing can be done in this House. I can as well adjourn the House. Then you can be patient to speak about it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, I submit that this Calling Attention Motion is not in order. It is an extraordinary thing and Parliament, so far as I know, has never discussed a State subject, which is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the States. You will see that the primary subject that is raised is "the disturbed conditions in the Naxalbari area" and as a consequence thereof they are trying to bring in certain things . . . (*Interruption*). The primary thing that is to be discussed in the Calling Attention Motion is the "disturbed conditions in Naxalbari." First of all, this is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the State. Secondly, Sir, May I submit to you in all humility that certain Ministers and Cabinet Ministers are feverishly preparing a ground for Central intervention? And may I also submit that Mr. Biren Mukherjee of IISCO also has a hand in it? I may also submit that not only the Chief Minister, but the State Police Chief Mr. Upendranath Mukerjee.

has also discounted the suggestion that there was a parallel Government functioning in Naxalbari. He has said that because of terrorisation by the agitators, the local people were doing what they were being told.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have finished your point of order?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. I would like to make a matter quite clear . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I have not yet finished.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.
(*Interruption*)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Let me finish . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are a minority here, but we are in a majority in Bengal.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The Chief Minister of the State concerned has said that there is no question of any border security involved. They have also denied that there is any parallel Government whatsoever. Such being the case, this is a deliberate attempt to impose upon them through the backdoor. This is out of order according to the Rules of Procedure and according to the Constitution, and I submit that this is an attempt to prepare the ground for Central intervention. That is what they are up to.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Triloki Singh.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: You are not giving me an opportunity though I am rising on a point of order several times.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You please sit down.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I am really surprised that in this august House, points of order are raised on points of order. The simple question is whether this House is competent under its rules of procedure or under the Constitution of India, to discuss a matter which has been held by you in order. I would like to draw your attention, Sir, to the provisions of Article 355 of the Constitution. If you like, I can read it out. It says: "It shall be the duty of the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance. . . ." (*Interruption*) I am not saying anything of my own. I am quoting a provision of the Constitution. Listen to me . . .

(*Interruption*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please let him speak. Please do not interfere.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: I am obliged to the hon. Member for the help that he proposed to render to me but I have an interpretation of my own. I have read it and re-read it and I would like to place before you, Sir, that Article 355 says: "It shall be the duty of the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance and to ensure that the Government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution." I am not concerned whether there is any parallel Government in the Naxalbari area or not. I am not also concerned with the fact that there have been some border incidents. But Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, who raised a point of order, and Mr. Niren Ghosh admits that there is disorder prevailing . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No. . . .
(*Interruption*)

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: I am speaking subject to correction. I withdraw Sir—that they had admitted it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We have not admitted anything.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: I accept it. I go by the statement that he has

[Shri Triloki Singh.]

made. (*Interruption*) I have a right to have my say. But, Sir, according to these 15 or 16 Members. . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Twenty.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: So according to these 20 Members who have subscribed to this notice, a situation has arisen in the Naxalbari area wherein, according to them, the Government is not being carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and since it is the duty of the Union Government to ensure that the Government in any part of the country is carried on according to the Constitution, I would submit that this Calling Attention notice is perfectly in order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have heard enough on this matter . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Mr. Chairman, I want to raise a point of order. I have every right to raise a point of order.... (*Interruption*) Mr. Triloki Singh did not raise any point of order, but you allowed him to speak. He did not raise any point of order but only made a speech. Why did you allow him?

(*Interruption*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: As a Member, have I not got the right to raise a point of order? You may allow it or disallow it, but I have a right to raise a point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right in two minutes you state your point of order.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am raising a point of order. This question which is on the List of Business for to-day is completely out of order for several reasons. Now one reason is this; not because it is a convention not to discuss anything which is a State subject, as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said but I will say that the rules specifically provide that we shall not discuss anything which is primarily the concern of the State Government . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have stated your point.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I will explain this point. I will refer to the rules. Shall I not refer to the rules? I do not understand this that you will allow Mr. Triloki Singh, for example, to make a speech, but will not allow me . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not take long. You just put the question.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I am raising a point of order. It is not a question. My point of order is that as far as Rule 180 is concerned, it allows Members to call attention to question of urgent public importance and, therefore, all rules relating to the asking of questions will govern this Rule 180 of the Rules of Procedure also. My specific submission in this connection is that Rule 47 sub-rule (2) governs Rule 180 of the Rules of Procedure. If Rule 47 sub-rule (2) governs Rule 180, which it has to, then by virtue of clause (viii) thereof, it is specifically prohibited—no question of convention—that any question, either of public importance or not, “shall not relate to a matter which is not primarily the concern of the Government of India.” That is my first point. That is my first observation on this point of order. In this case the question of law and order is not the primary concern of the Government of India. Therefore, under clause (viii) of sub-rule (2) of Rule 47 which governs Rule 180 this question cannot be referred to in this House. That is my first reason.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you want to say anything more, say in one minute.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: The second thing is this. As far as the present situation in Naxalbari is concerned, a Cabinet Mission has already gone to Naxalbari and is touring the area of Naxalbari. In view of the fact that a Cabinet Mission is already seized of the situation there and is touring the so-called disturbed area,

therefore, until the Cabinet Mission comes to a particular decision on this point, a point which is primarily the concern of the Government of that State, this House has no jurisdiction and authority to discuss or refer to the question of disturbances in that area.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would like . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: You allowed Mr. Chandra Shekhar to refer to the West Bengal Ministry . . . (Interruption) I am raising my point of order in a legal matter and you will not allow me . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have raised your point of order.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Everyone is raising his point of order. Why should I not raise a point of order?

MR. CHAIRMAN: All should sit down.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: My third reason for saying that this is out of order is this. It was clearly a question which draws the attention of the Home Minister to the extremely disturbed conditions that prevail in the Naxalbari area. Now Rule 47 (2) (viii) says that a question shall not contain arguments, inferences, ironical expressions, imputations, epithets or defamatory statements.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are taking too much time. I cannot allow you.

HON. MEMBERS: Sit down.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Order please.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Sir, before I sit down . . .

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: If he does not sit down, he may be sent out of the House.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: He is disobeying the Chair.

MR. CHAIRMAN: When I am standing, no Member should stand. If you are not a disciplined soldier, you have no place here. I am sorry. You have to sit down.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: This is my last reason which I have said . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: No. I have heard enough.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Sir . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Sit down.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): You have allowed so many people.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I may tell you that when I stand, you must sit. Therefore let me be heard.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: You have made up your mind not to allow me.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not allowing anyone.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Through you I want to put two questions to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am stopping everyone about this matter. I have heard the different aspects of this matter in fact which I allowed a certain motion to be put in this House, you must presume that I have given due consideration to the whole matter. It will be against discipline if you say that in my allowing this matter I am wrong. You cannot say that and my ruling on this matter is this that this is a very extraordinary matter not an ordinary matter. If it merely referred to a small matter certainly I shall disallow that because it is a matter entirely in the hands of that State. So far as this is concerned, my ruling is that this is an extraordinary matter which ought to be taken into consideration on the basis that the very safety of India may be disturbed. Mr. Kulkarni.

SARDAR NARINDER SINGH BRAR (Punjabi): Either he should listen or walk out (Interruption).

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the extremely disturbed conditions that prevail in the Naxalbari area in West Bengal and the repercussions thereof on the safety of the border areas, and the reported functioning of a parallel Government in that area.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): Sir, the reports on the developments in the Naxalbari area have been very disturbing specially because of its strategic geographical location. Even before I received any notice of discussion in this House on the subject, I had sent a telegram on the 12th to the Chief Minister, West Bengal, expressing our concern and had also emphasised the necessity for prompt restoration of peace and order in that area. I had requested for a reply. On receiving notices proposing to raise a discussion on this matter in the other House, we had requested for full facts from the State Government. Uptill now we have not received any reply to our communications. I am therefore, somewhat handicapped in making a full statement on the subject. But according to the information available with us, and I fully realise that such information may not be accurate in its details, the situation in the area under the jurisdiction of Naxalbari, Kharibari and Phansidewa police stations of Sili-guri sub-division of Darjeeling district can be described as one of lawlessness.

We are aware that the population of this area is predominantly tribal and the tribes living in this area have some genuine grievances. There had been complaints about illegal evictions and there had been disputes about share-cropping transactions. I also understand that tribal tenants do not have adequate security of tenure.

We have been aware that determined attempts were being made to mislead the tribals and incite them to take the law into their own hands. We were afraid that the situation was heading

towards a crisis. Our fears were confirmed when on the 24th May a party of police officials was brutally assaulted, as a result of which one police official was killed. The incidents on 25th May, in which about ten people lost their lives by police firing, caused us profound unhappiness. I have received reports that from 8th to 12th June, there had been several cases of loot, assault and forcible taking away of fire-arms in that area. One jotedar had been murdered on the 10th or 11th June and I understand that there was another murder on the 12th. These reports further indicate that in some cases the members of the unlawful gangs were dressed in police uniforms. According to information available with us, there have been about 80 cases of lawlessness out of which there were 13 cases of dacoity, 2 cases of murder, 1 of abduction and 3 of that of arms and ammunition. We also learn that about 150 persons have been arrested in this area and 12 cases are in courts against about 173 persons. The district administration is also reported to have ordered the immediate deposit of all fire-arms by licencees at the local police stations.

The Hon'ble Members of the House would agree that these reports should cause serious concern to all of us. It is particularly a matter of anxiety because, according to information available with us, there were cases of impersonation of the police in uniform and theft of arms and ammunition. We have grounds to suspect that extremists who do not believe either in the Constitution or in orderly progress have been playing a very prominent role in causing these developments. Some of the reports would seem to suggest that some anti-national and disloyal elements have been active in this area. The State Government had informed us last month that the SSP, Bangla Congress and the Congress had taken out a joint procession on the 18th April, denouncing the alleged highhandedness of the workers of the Communist Party (Marxist) and that

a few representatives had submitted a resolution demanding that demonstrations by the workers of the Communist Party (Marxist) armed with deadly weapons should be banned and that the law breakers should be apprehended. Recent information would indicate that during the past few days the extremists have intensified their activities and have let loose a reign of terror forcing the local people to submit to them.

I am sure that the State Government are fully aware of what is happening. It is learnt that six Ministers of the West Bengal Government have proceeded to this area. I learn that representatives of Bangla Congress, SSP, CPI, the FSM and CPM had met Ministers and criticised the activities of the extremists. It is understood that Bangla Congress and SSP representatives have urged the Ministers to take immediate action to curb lawlessness. A large number of local people are understood to have met the Ministers and made similar requests. I have seen newspapers reports that the West Bengal Government have sent two companies of police as reinforcement for that area. I sincerely hope that the State would do everything in their power to restore normal conditions in that area, to uphold the rule of law, to ensure that all sections of the community feel secure and that nothing is allowed to happen which would in any way affect the security of our country.

1 P.M.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir, as has been amply brought out, it is a very grave situation developing.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would like to appeal to Members not to make long speeches but ask questions for clarification by the hon. Minister. I will only allow questions.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: In the already sensitive and delicate character of the situation, due to the encouragement given to lawlessness by certain ultra-left elements, who do not believe in the Constitution, a very serious situation has developed, and

under the guise and pretext of the economic rehabilitation of Adivasis or Santhals, these people are instigating the Advasis to take the law into their own hands and create more lawlessness.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: What are you reading from?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am speaking on the points I have jotted down, just as you were reading something or speaking on some points.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You go ahead. I want everyone to keep silence, to keep order.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am requesting the Government to let us know what action they are going to take on such utterly false economic rehabilitation schemes where the left elements in West Bengal are creating certain conditions which will lead to chaos in the whole country, lead to lawlessness in the country to a very great extent. Also want to ask the Government whether the latest events in Peking have got anything to do with the events more or less simultaneously taking place in the Naxalbari area, because I learn that some third secretary of the Chinese Embassy had gone to Calcutta and contracted certain left elements in West Bengal. I want to know from the Home Minister whether he made a searching enquiry into this matter as reported in the Press. It is very true that though I am a very new Member of this House, I was expecting co-operation from everybody inside and outside the House in running our democracy smoothly and in the best interests of the country. But I have a feeling that there is a persistent efforts on the part of some elements having love for the Chinese communist philosophy not to co-operate with those who desire to encourage the forces of democratic development.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kindly put the question.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I want to ask whether the efforts of these left elements to discourage democratic forces and to discourage the development of the country are aimed at sabotaging the smooth running of our democratic Government and at thwarting the further development of the country. The Home Minister has already announced that a parliamentary committee is being sent to West Bengal. May I request that some Members from the Rajya Sabha be associated with it?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: The only question that he put to me was about this delegation of Members of Parliament. Naturally, Sir, some Members of the Rajya Sabha also could be associated with it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Dharia. Kindly put questions; please do not make a speech.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं एक सजेशन देना चाहता हूँ, यह एकस्ट्राऑर्डिनरी सबजेक्ट है और कांग्रेस के ही लोगों ने 20 नाम दे दिये, तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस पार्टी से दो तीन लोग बोल लें और उसके बाद और लोगों को बोलने दिया जाय।

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall certainly give an opportunity to you. What I propose to do is this. After six speakers from this list have spoken, I would like to give an opportunity to each of the other parties also, and if there is time, we may even finish up the whole list. What I say is: There are twenty names. If the hon. Members take five minutes each, it will be a hundred minutes. In order that we may have a full discussion and the full views of all the Members of the different parties, my feeling is that after six Members on this list have spoken, I should try to give an opportunity to one each of the other parties, and if there is time we may even finish up this list. I have no objection to sit long and accommodate all these Members but my feeling is: Please allow me to see that after these six Mem-

bers I give an opportunity to the other Members I referred to.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, it is a good suggestion if they want, but this list includes also a PSP friend and a Jana Sangh friend. Therefore, I do not know whether they are also included in the six.

MR. CHAIRMAN: One from each party I shall call after six of these gentlemen have finished.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have been dealing with a very serious matter today. It is not our intention to play any fraud on the rules of this House, but it is because it was visible that some anti-national elements have been playing fraud on our Constitution and against the integrity of this country, we have been raising this issue in this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please put the questions for clarification.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: The hon. Member, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, made a charge against us, and so it was my duty to explain. The hon. Home Minister has made an elaborate statement. When we read the various things that are appearing in the various newspapers, we find, Sir, that in this particular area a parallel Government has already been established. Sir, I would like to draw your attention to the newspaper, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Who is true, the Chief Minister, or Mr. Dharia?

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let us hear him.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh): The Home Minister has said there is no parallel government there.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I would like to invite your attention to what is stated in the "Hindustan Standard" of Calcutta, dated the 13th June, 1967. There it is stated that the Chief Minister has denied that any parallel govern-

ment was being run in Naxalbari. (*Interruptions*) I am coming to my point. He has said that a considerable number of people have surrendered to the extremists and a reign of terror was prevailing. This reminds us of the activities that were carried on by the Red Communists in Telangana. Now, we feel that in this part, at this strategic point which is adjoining the borders of Pakistan and Nepal, they are carrying on the same activities with the intention of creating their own cells and what not and then have a parallel government, perhaps. That is why these activities have been started there. They are killing not only ordinary citizens but they are killing even policemen. Under these circumstances I am anxious that the Central Government should not intervene because there is a Communist Government or some other Government there. We know that now the political map of India has been changed. Therefore, it is for us to see that when we have to face stress and strain we face the situation calmly and steadily. Therefore, the constitutional government should be allowed to function there and there should be no intervention whatsoever. But if in the name of democracy some elements try to create a parallel government then intervention will also be necessary and it is in this context that I want the Home Minister to see that the State Government take good care to see that there is proper law and order maintained there. As was rightly pointed out by Shri Triloki Singh, there should not be any disturbance. No disturbance should take place there and there should be no parallel government established in those areas. But if the State Government after due warning from the Central Government fails to put down any disturbance or stop the formation of any parallel government, then may I beg the hon. Home Minister that strong action should be taken by the Central Government?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Have you finished?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: May I also know from the Home Minister whether

he would himself go and try to understand the situation in that area personally? It is good that some Members of Parliament will be going to these areas. I feel that a scrutiny is necessary. I would also like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether some arrangement is being made in consultation with the State Government to see that in this area the lives of the people are not in danger. It is in this context, Sir, that we would like to have an elaborate explanation from the hon. Home Minister.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Sir, as you know, I have made a statement in which we have given our views and my assessment of the situation there which I described as a situation of lawlessness. We have to be very careful in what we say and how we say it. It is certainly a matter where we should not say something which unnecessarily creates a wrong relationship between the State Government and the Centre. Nobody is in a position to say how we should proceed further. The State Government itself is aware of the situation. They have sent their Ministers there to deal with the situation and we should all wish them well and wish them success in dealing with the situation there. I would not say anything which will in any way come in the way of the State Government dealing with the situation there.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chandra Shekhar. Be brief, Mr. Chandra Shekhar.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Yes, Sir. May I know whether the hon. Home Minister's attention has been drawn to a statement of the Chief Minister of West Bengal which runs like this:

"The extremist elements have let loose a reign of terror in the area forcing the local people to submit to them. These sections have also collected a few guns after raiding some houses and they were seen carrying these arms in addition to bows and arrows."

That is one thing. And then here is another:

[Shri Chandra Shekhar.]

"These elements while roaming about in the countryside and villages were crying out slogans. 'Mao Tsetung zindabad, Red Army zindabad'."

Is it within the knowledge of the Home Minister . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Why does he say all this?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Why do you expose yourself, Mr. Chatterjee.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, no. You put your question, Mr. Chandra Shekhar.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Has it come to the knowledge of the hon. Home Minister . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: How do you know?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not want anybody to disturb.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: This time I am not going to yield, Mr. Chairman.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please put your question.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Why does he say all this?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Chairman, this time I would request you to give me time. If anybody interrupts and you ask me to sit down I will not sit down.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chandra Shekhar don't threaten me. I shall protect you. You go on.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Has it come to the knowledge of the Home Minister that these elements were crying out slogans, 'Mao-Tsetung zindabad' 'Lal Sena zindabad.'

(Interruptions)

SHRI C. D. PANDE: He is asking the Minister.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please let him finish.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Is it also a fact that the whole trouble started in these areas after the Revenue Minister of West Bengal who is a Left Communist, visited this area? Is it also a fact that this is a strategic area and there is constant talk of cutting out this area so that the whole of North Bengal and Assam is cut away from the rest of the country? Is it also not a fact that these Left Communists have been acting according to a plan which was detected some two or three years ago by the Home Ministry when their paper was seized and the then Home Minister, Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda made a statement to the effect that the Left Communists were working out a certain plan and now it is that they are executing that plan? Has it also come within the knowledge of the Home Minister . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What is all this?

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chandra Shekhar, Kindly put your question.

MR. CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Only one sentence more, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kindly do not make a speech.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Is it within the knowledge of the hon. Minister that the SSP people and the PSP leaders and the Bangla Congress Leaders have not only accused but they have come out with Press statements that the Left Communists are making life impossible in that whole place? In this situation, may I know what steps are being taken by the Government of India to see that order and peace are restored in that region of the country?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now the Home Minister will reply.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Sir, may I request you and through you the whole honourable House and say that I have made a statement on the position

there? We are dealing with a very serious situation.

It is a very delicate situation and I think I will not be able to say anything more than what I have said in my statement because I do not want to sit in judgment on the State Government from here. Half-a-dozen Ministers are now in that area and they are trying to meet the situation there.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Gujarat): And five of them have been "gheraoed".

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Therefore, I would certainly in the interest of the security of that area and of the situation there.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please hear him.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I would make this request. I have made a suggestion that a delegation of Members of Parliament, some Members from this House and some Members from the Lok Sabha, will go there and after we have received a report from them possibly we will be in a better position to discuss this matter. I would request this hon. House to stop this discussion at this stage.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: No more questions, Sir.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: After hearing this side also.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: This is very unfair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, your suggestion was a good one, that is to say, six Members from the list and then one from each of the Parties.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would like to say this. I would certainly hear one from each Party if they want to say something. But I entirely agree with the statement of the Home Minister that we should not decide anything till Members from this House and the

other go there and see for themselves. It may be that the Home Minister himself may go.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: No, no, I am not going.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is not going. Well, I can see your point in not going there. You want to judge objectively from what you hear. So now, as I said, I would like to give an opportunity to each one of the Parties to say something.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore): Sir, may I submit that if you allow them you should allow this side also to place our case? *(Interruptions)* We are prepared to agree with the Home Minister and stop the discussion here and now but if you allow them then we should also have our say.

(Interruptions)

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: May I, through you, commend to the attention of the House what the Home Minister has just now said? A Cabinet Mission of the State of West Bengal is touring the area and they are trying to assess the situation. The Ministry in the State of West Bengal is completely seized of the situation and some of the spokesmen of the Ministry have already said that they are trying to see what can be done. In these circumstances, if the discussion is allowed to go on, it will merely the feelings.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I disagree with that point.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: We must be heard. Hon. Minister's suggestion looks suspicious. All their slanders have been bandied about and he wants we should not even reply.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Home Minister has placed his suggestion in all seriousness and in all humility in the special circumstances existing over there. Speaking for myself—I should not express my view—I would agree entirely with the Home Minister in this matter and I would be very glad

मैं तो बहुत ही अदब के साथ माननीय मंत्री जी तथा सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि हम किसके लिए खड़े हैं? क्या हम जनतंत्र के लिए खड़े हैं? क्या जनतंत्र और मानवता दो अलग-अलग चीजें हैं? सरकार की इस बात को सचार्ज के साथ पेश करना चाहिये। मैं अपने मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि यह कोई खिलवाड़ नहीं है। हमने बंगाल के एक कम्युनिस्ट साथी

का बयान आज पढ़ा है जिन्होंने बनारसी प्रसाद झा को कहा है कि वह तो पूँजी-पतियों का हिमायती था। आज हमने यह चीज पढ़ी है और हम कहना नहीं चाहते थे मगर . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: That won't arise here.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: That will arise here. We have discussed Banda here.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: (Mysore): In passing he can make a reference.

श्री राजनारायण तो मैं यहाँ पर एक रेफरेन्स दे रहा था क्योंकि यहाँ पर बांदा की घटना भी डिसकस हो चुकी है, बस्तर की घटना भी डिसकस हो चुकी है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम जिन मुसीबतों को रफा करने के लिए कोशिश कर रहे हैं, श्री भूपेश गुप्त और श्री नीरेन घोष, उनके कारण खुद न बने इसलिये हम इसको अपोज नहीं करते वरना आप जानते हैं कि हमने सात बजे सेक्रेटरी को कहा था कि हमको स्ट्रिकडली चलना पड़ेगा। इस मैटर को शायद आज नहीं लिया जाना चाहिये। मैं आपके चैम्बर में भी हाजिर हुआ था और आप से यही पाइंट रोज किया था कि यह स्टेट का मासला है और क्या इसको इस तरह से लेगे। तो आपने कहा कि हमने एलाउ कर दिया है। तो हमने कहा कि कर दिया तो कर दिया क्योंकि इस तरह के सर्कमस्टान्सेज आ चुके हैं और उन्हें छिपाया नहीं जा सकता है। जब वहाँ आ सकते हैं तो बिहार में भी आ सकते हैं, उत्तर प्रदेश में भी आ सकते हैं। आज श्री भूपेश गुप्त और श्री नीरेन घोष को फौजला करना होगा कि अन्य विरोधी दलों के साथ वे कितनी दूर तक चलने के लिए तैयार हैं? उन्हें आज इस बात का फौजला करना पड़ेगा।

Interruption जब तक सेंटर में कांग्रेस पार्टी है तो हम अपने की विरोधी पार्टी मानते हैं। इसलिए आप इस बात को समझें कि जबतक सेंटर में कांग्रेस है, तो विरोधी दल को हम लोगों को समझा जाय। इसकी कोई मामूली सवाल न समझाये क्योंकि मैं पांच दिन से अपने जजबात को छिपाये बैठा हूँ। श्री भूपेश गुप्त इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं और मैं भी अपने कम्युनिस्ट मित्रों को अच्छी तरह से समझता हूँ क्योंकि जब हम स्टूडेंट थे तब कम्युनिस्ट थे और सन 1942 के आन्दोलन में उससे हट गये थे। हम इस सारी चीजों को अच्छी तरह से समझते हैं कि कैसे आसानी के साथ झूठ को सच्चा और सच्चे को झूठा बना दिया जा सकता है। मैं इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ और मैं इस समय व्योरे में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। अगर यहाँ पर कहा जाय तो मैं उसका व्योरा कह सकता हूँ।

सवाल यह है कि मैं अभी बगाल गया था और अपने निजी लोग को आसनसोल से भेजकर आया हूँ

सच्चाई छिप नहीं सकती वनावट के उसूलों से,

खसबू आ नहीं सकती, कभी कागज के फूलों से।

सवाल यह है आज हम चाहते क्या हैं मैं अपने मित्र श्री भूपेश गुप्त और श्री नीरेन घोष का याद कराना चाहता हूँ कि यह "हम"। "हम" यह सयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी है, जिसने देश की जनता से कहा था और जिस पर हमारे ऊपर यह अटक किया गया कि तुम लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट को चुनाव साथ ले रहे हो, कम्युनिस्टों को चुनाव में साथ ले रहे हो। हमने स्वतंत्र पार्टी और जन संघ वालों से भी समझौता किया। मगर इन लोगों ने यानी जनसंघ वालों ने कहा कि कम्युनिस्टों के साथ बैठोगे

[श्री राजनारायण]

तो हम नहीं बैठेंगे। स्वतंत्र पार्टी ने कहा अगर आपके साथ चुनाव में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी बैठेगी तो हम नहीं बैठेंगे। हमारे पास इस तरह के खत हैं क्योंकि हम संयोजक यह चुके हैं कि राइट को ले लो, मगर लफ्ट को मत लो। अगर तुम लैफ्ट के साथ बैठेंगे तो हम नहीं बैठेंगे मे वही हाल हमारे मित्रों का था और कहते थे कि अगर जनसंघ को बुलाओगे तो हम नहीं बैठेंगे मे मगर हम कैसे चल गये और हमारे लिये लैफ्ट और राइट मीनिंगलैस हो गया, उसका कोई अर्थ नहीं है कि हूँ इज राइट एंड हूँ इज। लोग एक्विटीज देखे। जिस का जो काम हो, उसके काम के गुण और दोष को देख कर के विवेचन करें, जैसे मैं देखता हूँ उड़ीसा को। उड़ीसा में जो सरकार बनी है कोई नहीं कह सकता है कि वह लैफ्ट है कि राइट है। मगर उड़ीसा की सरकार ने लैड रेंट को माफ कर दिया है। अभी उत्तर प्रदेश ने ऐसा नहीं किया है। पश्चिम बंगाल ने ऐसा नहीं किया है, यद्यपि उत्तर प्रदेश भी प्रगतिशील राज्य है बंगाल भी प्रगतिशील राज्य है। तो केवल लैफ्ट, राइट, लफ्टिस्ट, अल्ट्राटिस्ट इन व्यापक शब्दों से कोई अर्थ नहीं होगा। मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी मजबूरी का फायदा सरकार उठा सकती है। आज तो यह पश्चिम बंगाल की राज्य की स्थिति के बारे में चर्चा हो रही है, इससे कांग्रेस पार्टी के लिये एक सुनहरा मौका मिला है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे मित्र, नीरें घोष जी इसको समझे हमारे मित्र भूपेश गुप्त जी इसको समझे। बंगाल में अगर कोई गड़बड़ी होगी तो उसके जिम्मेवार हम होंगे। उसकी जिम्मेदारी कांग्रेस पार्टी पर मत देना। मगर यह कर के कि वहाँ पर बड़ी गरीबी है, बीस साल तक कांग्रेसी कुशासन ने सारे देश की जनता को दरिद्रता की भट्टी में झोके रखा है, इस लिये दरिद्र जनता उठी है, तो दरिद्र

जनता को उठाने का तरीका हम भी जानते हैं। दरिद्र जनता को उठाने का तरीका बनारसी प्रसाद झा की हत्या करना नहीं है, दरिद्र जनता को उठाने का तरीका बनारसी प्रसाद झा को पूजापतियों का दलाल कहने में नहीं है।

श्री मन स्टूडेंट मोर्चे पर पहले मैं काम करता था सोसलिस्ट पार्टी की ओर से 1942 में जब मैं नागपुर गया और नागपुर का जो सेशन था...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rajnarain, you have been going on for a long time.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं इस हिस्ट्री को इस लिये कहे दे रहा हूँ कि बाकी हमारे मित्र मुगलते में न रहे। हम आज यह बहुत ही सफाई के साथ कहना चाहते हैं कि कांग्रेस सरकार को हटाने के लिये हम लैफ्ट का साथ करना चाहते हैं, राइट का साथ करना चाहते हैं, जन संघ का साथ करना चाहते हैं स्वतंत्र का साथ करना चाहते हैं। इसको न छिपाने में कोई हर्ज नहीं है। मगर क्या लफ्ट हम को साथ रखने के लिये तैयार हैं। बड़ा मुश्किल सवाल है जब मैं भूपेश गुप्त जी को देखता हूँ कि भूपेश गुप्त जी जो वस्तुस्थिति है उसको पकड़ते नहीं है कि वे कहा जा रहे हैं। त्रिलोकी सिंह जी ने क्या बात कही।

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is for you to deal with. Now, finish your question.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं खुद वही प्वाइंट कहने जा रहा था। सवाल यह है कि पश्चिम बंगाल में इस समय गड़बड़ है और यह छिपाने से कोई काम नहीं चलेगा। पश्चिम बंगाल में हमारे लैफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट्स के दिमाग में एक बात आई। राइट कम्युनिस्ट खुद हम से कह रहे हैं। मैं आज कहना चाहता हूँ कि सदन में राइट कम्युनिस्ट्स में कुछ अच्छे लोग मिले जिन्होंने यह कहा

कहा कि भूपेश गुप्त जी और डा० जेड० ए० अहमद जो राज्य सभा में भाषण किये हैं, हम उसके साथ नहीं हैं। तो यह स्थिति आयेगी जब पाटियां चरमरायेंगी, दरारें फटगी और वातावरण को ऊपर से छिपाने से काम नहीं चलेगा सीधा साधा सवाल है कि लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट के दिमाग में एक नक्शा आया है और वे यह सोचते हैं कि पश्चिम बंगाल शायद उनके लिये एक बहुत बढ़िया और हूल्दी ग्राऊंड तैयार कर देगा। मैं अपने मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि केरल में तुम गलती कर चुके हो। मैं अपने मित्रों से यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि 1942 की जनक्रान्ति में तुम गलती कर चुके हो। इस देश की जनता में वह शक्ति है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rajnarain, please sit down. I may just tell you that you have taken a long time. If this goes on like this, there will be no end to the debate. This is not a debate. You can only put questions.

(Interruptions)

श्री राजनारायण : तो क्या यह सरकार भारतीय जनता के अन्दर जो ताकत छिपी हुई है उसको अहसास करती है कि नहीं? भारत पर चीन कभी कब्जा नहीं कर सकता, यह हमारे मित्र अहसास कर लें। मैं यह भी अहसास करा देना चाहता हूँ कि भारतवर्ष में वह ताकत भी अमौजूद है कि अगर भारतवर्ष की कोई ताकत छिप कर के किसी विदेशी ताकत को इमदाद करना चाहेगी तो वह ताकत कुचल दी जायगी। उसको भारत की जनता कभी वर्दाशत नहीं कर सकती, मैं यह डके की चोट पर कहना चाहता हूँ। तो क्या सरकार को इसकी जानकारी है कि नहीं कि वह ताकत चाहे चव्हाण साहब पैदा करें या न करें, मगर जिन्होंने अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद को खत्म कर के आजादी हासिल की है

वें लोग अभी मौजूद है और वे ताकत को पैदा करेंगे। (Interruptions.) देखिये मैं चन्द्रशेखर जी को जानता हूँ मैं धारिवाजी को जानता हूँ और यह भी जानता हूँ कि मसला कहां उलझ सकता है क्योंकि कभी कभी यह जो ककार हैं, ये मिल जाते हैं और उनके मेलजोल को हम गलत समझते हैं। ककार माने कांग्रेस और कम्युनिस्ट। मुझ चार ककारों का पता है। ये चार ककार है कंगारी, करोड़पन्थ, कांग्रेस और कम्युनिस्ट कंगाली है, इस लिये कि करोड़पन्थ है। कंगाली को मिटाने के लिये करोड़पन्थ को मिटाओ करोड़पन्थ को मिटाने के लिये कांग्रेस की सरकार को मिटाओ और कांग्रेस की सरकार को मिटाने के लिये मित्र, निरेन घोष, तुम हमारी बात मान कर के हम से मत लड़ो। बस, इतना ही हमें कहना है।

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Mr. Chairman, I am one of the signatories to this Calling Attention notice.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would now appeal to hon. Members not to make this a debate and not to make too long speeches.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is too late now.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: We are not making common cause with the Congress Members, who are signatories to this notice, asking for Central intervention to oust the Government in West Bengal. I may categorically state that the Praja Socialist Party is a constituent of the West Bengal Government and we want that Government to thrive. We do not want, under any circumstances, Central intervention. But we would like to sound a note of warning that lawlessness should not be tolerated in that district in West Bengal. There are Adivasis for whom responsibility cannot be shirked by the Central Government. It is their responsibility to see

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.] that their interests are promoted in that particular area. Last time when similar incidents occurred in Bastar, we discussed it. It is not a simple law and order situation that has arisen in this case. The question is land reforms have not been implemented there. The interests of the ordinary people, particularly of Adivasis have not been looked after. It is true that the previous Government, the Congress Government, failed in their duty, but now some of the lawless elements there, particularly some ultra-leftists, have taken the law into their hands and are behaving as if there is no Government existing there. I am glad that a Cabinet Mission has gone there and they will see that these lawless elements are put down. We all believe in democracy. The other parties, even though they may be opposed to the party in power, should have the freedom to propagate their ideas. It is not proper, it is not fair and it should be condemned. The activities of other political parties have been curbed not by the Government, but by certain other parties. I understand that the office of the Praja Socialist Party was ransacked. Mr. Rajnarain was referring to the fact that one of the leading members of the trade union movement, belonging to the SSP, was murdered the other day. These lawless elements should be put down. That is the reason why this question has been raised and serious note should be taken of it.

SHRI D. THENGARI (Uttar Pradesh): The hon. Home Minister has said that he would not like to add anything. I can appreciate it that there should be some restraint, but I should like to know, whether he has investigated another aspect of the matter. Since a few months we are receiving reports of concentration of Pak troops on our borders. Since a few weeks operations by the anti-national elements in Naxalbari are being conducted and only three days

back an aggressive move by China against our Indian Embassy has launched, I want to know whether he has already conducted investigations in these affairs and whether there is any common link between the three. Are they the links of the same chain? May I know whether he would advise the MPs to look into these aspects also?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: These are all matters which normally the Defence Ministry, the Home Ministry and the different branches of the Government always take into consideration while making an assessment.

سردار نریندر سنگھ ہزار (پنجاب):

چیرومن صاحب - ابھی اس علاقہ کا چکر لگا کر آیا ہوں، جو حالات میں نے وہاں کے دیکھے ہیں وہ بہت چنٹا چنٹک ہیں - ان کی طرف سے چاون صاحب یا کوئی غافل دھینگے تو میں سمجھوٹکا اپنی دیوڑی سے کوتاہی کریں گے - وہاں جو حالات پیدا ہوئے ہیں ان کے بارے میں کوئی کہتا ہے پیدل گورنمنٹ بنی ہوئی ہے - میں نہیں جانتا پیدل گورنمنٹ ہے یا کیا ہے لیکن میں یہ ضرور جانتا ہوں کہ اس علاقہ میں کوئی حکومت نہیں ہے - چلند آدمیوں نے لا اینڈ آرڈر اپنے ہاتھ میں لیا ہوا ہے - پنجاب میں ہماری حکومت ہے، سب کی ملی جلی حکومت ہے، کھونسٹ بھی ہیں، ہمارے چیف منسٹر ہیں، ہم اپنے پنجاب میں ایسا شروع کر دیں، بارڈر ایریا میں اسی طرح

لوٹنا مارنا شروع کر دیں اور ہمارے
چیف منسٹر وہاں پولیس کا جانا
بند کر دیں تو کیا سیلنٹر فائل
رہے گا - اگر رہے گا تو میں سمجھونگا کہ
میں سیلنٹر کی اتنی بڑی کوتاہی ہوئی
جس کو معاف نہیں کیا جاسکتا -
شری اکبر علی خان : نہیں رہے -
نہیں رہے گا -

سردار نریندر سنگھ برار : میں نہیں
کہتا کہ بلکال گورنمنٹ کو چھوڑا
جائے ، اس کو کام کرنے دیا جائے
لیکن بلکال گورنمنٹ کی یہ نالائقی
ہے کہ چھ منسٹرو اس معمولی کام
کے لئے وہاں گئے ہوئے ہیں تحقیقات
کرنے کے لئے - وہاں جو حالات پائے
جاتے ہیں وہ بہت چلتا چلک ہیں ،
وہ ہارڈز ایلرہا ہے ، نقشہ آپ نے دیکھا
ہے ، سیلی گری بوتل نیک ہے ، وہاں
پر جو میں سن کر آیا ہوں اس سے
معلوم ہوتا ہے حالات بہت ہی
خطرناک ہیں - اگر کوئی حکومت
پولیس نو وہاں جانے سے روک دیتی
ہے تو جان صاحب یا ہمارے ہندوستان
کے لوگ کونسا طریقہ اہلکار کے جس
سے وہاں لا ایلنڈ آرڈر قائم رہ سکے -
جب پولیس وہاں نہیں جائے گی ،
انٹیلیجنس بیورو نہیں جائے گی ،
جو جائے گا وہ قتل کر دیا جائے گا تو
میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ایسی حالت
کا ہمارا دشمن فائدہ اٹھا سکتا ہے -
چون فائدہ اٹھا سکتا ہے - اگر وہ

گورنمنٹ پولیس کو وہاں نہ جانے
دے تو آپ کے پاس کون سے وسائل
باقی رہ جاتے ہیں - اگر کسی مجبوری
کی وجہ سے آپ چپ رہتے ہیں اور
اس سے کنٹری کا نقصان ہوتا ہے اور
دیہ کو دھکا لگتا ہے تو اس کا کون
ذمہ دار ہو گا - صرف کچھ کہہ کر یا
چیخ پکار کر ساری بات کو چھوڑ دینا
ٹھیک نہیں ہو گا - میں سمجھتا
ہوں کہ جو یہاں بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں
چاہے لیفٹ کمیشنر ہوں یا رائٹ
کمیشنر وہ سب ہندوستانی ہیں
کوئی مصیبت آنے کی تو کسی اکیلے
پر نہیں آنے کی اس لئے ایک
خطرناک چیز کو چھپانا ٹھیک نہیں
ہے - میں زیادہ کہنا نہیں چاہتا
وہاں میں ہر طبقہ کے آدمی سے ملا
ہوں ، ہر سیکشن سے ملا ہوں - آپ
کے فوجی آفیسروں سے ملا ہوں ، نام
کسی کا نہیں لوں گا - ان حالات میں
جان صاحب نے وہاں کے آدمی
کمانڈر سے پوچھا ہو گا ، اس مصلحت
کو دیکھا ہو گا - یہ کہہ دینا کہ یہ
استیت سبکیٹ ہے یہ ٹھیک نہیں
ہو گا - اس رولٹ کو قائم کر دیا تو
یہ ملک نہیں رہ سکے گا - کیا خوبی
ہے اسرائیل میں کہ اس نے دھجیاں
اڑا دیں سب کی - ان کی حکومت
میں انتظام ہے ، وقت پر قدم اٹھانے
کی ، ایکشن لینے کی ان کی جرات
ہے - ایک چیز کو ہم یہاں دیکھ رہے
ہیں ہائیں کمیشنر کا دائیں

[شہری نریندر سنگھ برار]

کمیونسٹ کا نام آ رہا ہے یا ہنگامہ
کانگریس کا نام آ رہا ہے اگلی کا نام
یہی کوئی لے سکتا ہے - کم سے کم
اس عاوس میں دیکھ کر سمجھ
مابوسی ہوئی ہے میں تو ایک جونیور
ممبر ہوں - ہمیں صداقت سے فیس
کرنا چاہیئے - چارن صاحب کو میں
یہ بتانا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر ایسا کوئی
واقعہ ہو گیا اور اس کا فائدہ چائنا
لے لے لیا تو پھر اس گورنمنٹ کو
کوئی معاف نہیں کرے گا - اس کے
لئے ایک ممبروری ہے آپ کی قانونی
طور پر - جو میں دیکھ کر آیا ہوں
وہ نہایت خطرناک ہے و ایلڈ آرڈر
وہاں نہیں ہے - قتل و غارت ہو رہے
ہیں ، یہ چیز بڑی چڑھاؤ ہے
ہمارے چیف منسٹر نے یا کسی اور
منسٹر نے اس طرح کا اتھوڑ لے لیا
تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس سے
زیادہ خطرناک اور کوئی بات نہیں
ہو سکتی - میں انہی ہی کہہ کر
ختم کرنا چاہتا ہوں اور امید کرتا
ہوں کہ اس طرف توجہ دی جائے گی -

†سرمدار نریندر سنگھ برار (پنجاہ) :
چیرمین صاحب، ابھی اس علاقے کا چکر
لگا کر آیا ہوں جو حالات میں وہاں کے
دیکھ رہے ہیں - یہ بہت چنٹاؤ ہے۔ انکی
طرف سے چھوٹا سا گھبراہٹ یا کوئی
گھبراہٹ تو ہے تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس سے
زیادہ خطرناک اور کوئی بات نہیں
ہو سکتی - میں انہی ہی کہہ کر
ختم کرنا چاہتا ہوں اور امید کرتا
ہوں کہ اس طرف توجہ دی جائے گی -

†[] Hindi transliteration.

پارلیمینٹ گورنمنٹ ہے یا کیا ہے لیکن میں
یہ جھڑپ جانتا ہوں کہ اس علاقے میں
کوئی حکومت نہیں ہے۔ چند آدمیوں نے
لا اڈ آرڈر اپنے ہاتھ میں لیا
ہو گیا ہے۔ پنجاہ میں ہماری حکومت
ہے سبکی میلی جولی حکومت ہے،
کمیونسٹ بھی ہے۔ ہمارے چیف منسٹر،
ہے ہم بھی پنجاہ میں ایسا شہر کر دے
بارڈر ایریا میں ایسی طرح سے لڑنا مارنا
شروع کر دے اور ہمارے چیف منسٹر وہاں
پولیس کا جانا بند کر دے تو کیا
سینٹر گافل رہے گا؟ اگر رہے گا تو
میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ سینٹر کی اتنی بڑی
کوٹاہی ہوگی جسکو ماف نہیں کیا
جا سکتا۔

شری اکبر علی خان : نہیں رہے،
نہیں رہے گا۔

سرمدار نریندر سنگھ برار : میں نہیں کہتا
کہ بنگال گورنمنٹ کو ہٹا دیا جائے، اسکو
کام کرنے دیا جائے لیکن بنگال گورنمنٹ
کی یہ نالائقی ہے کہ 6 منسٹر اس
ماملی کام کے لیے وہاں گئے ہیں یہ تھکیاؤ
کرنے کے لیے۔ وہاں جو حالات پائے جاتے
ہے وہ بہت چنٹاؤ ہے، وہ بارڈر ایریا
ہے نکشا آپ نے دیکھا ہے۔ سولی گولی بٹل
نہیں ہے وہاں پر جو میں سن کر آیا ہوں اس سے
مالوم ہوتا ہے حالات بہت ہی خراب ہیں
ہے۔ اگر کوئی حکومت پولیس کو وہاں جانے
سے روک دیتی ہے تو چھوٹا سا گھبراہٹ یا
ہماری ہندوستان کے لوگ کون سا طریقہ اپنائیں
جس سے وہاں لا اڈ آرڈر قائم رہ سکے۔
جب پولیس وہاں نہیں جاتی، انڈولیجس
بھرتی نہیں جاتی جو جاتا ہے وہ کھل کر
دیا جائے گا تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ایسی
حالات کا ہمارا دشمن فائدہ اٹھا سکتا
ہے۔ چین فائدہ اٹھا سکتا ہے۔ اگر وہ
گورنمنٹ پولیس کو وہاں نہ جانے دے تو آپ کے
پاس کون سے وسیلے باقی رہ جاتے ہیں۔ اگر
کسی ممبر کی وجہ سے آپ چپ رہتے

और इससे कन्ट्री का नुकसान होता है और देश को धक्का लगता है तो उसका कौन जिम्मेदार होगा। सिर्फ कुछ कह कर या चीख पुकार कर सारी बात को छोड़ देना ठीक नहीं होगा मैं समझता हूँ कि जो यहां बैठे हुए हैं चाहे लेफ्ट कम्यूनिस्ट हों या राइट कम्यूनिस्ट वह सब हिन्दुस्तानी हों कोई मुसीबत आएगी तो किसी एकेले पर नहीं आएगी इसलिए एक खतरनाक चीज़ को छिपाना ठीक नहीं है। मैं ज्यादा कहना नहीं चाहता वहां मैं हर तबके के आदमी से मिला हूँ हर सिटिजन से मिला हूँ। आपके फौजी आफिसरों से मिला हूँ नाम किसी का नहीं लूंगा। इन हालात में चह्वाण साहब ने वहां के आर्मी कमान्डर से पूछा होगा इस मसल्लत को देखा होगा। यह कह देना कि यह स्टेट सब्जेक्ट है यह ठीक नहीं होगा। इस रवायत को कायम कर दिया तो यह मुल्क नहीं रह सकेगा। क्या खूबी है इजरायल में कि उसने धजियां उड़ा दीं सब की। उनकी हकूमत में इन्तज़ाम है वक्त पर कदम उठाने की, ऐक्शन लेने की उनकी ज़रूरत है। एक चीज़ को हम यहां देख रहे हैं। बाएं कम्यूनिस्ट का दाएं कम्यूनिस्ट का नाम आ रहा है या बंगला कांग्रेस का नाम आ रहा है अकाजी का नाम भी कोई ले सकता है। कम से कम इस हाउस में देखकर मुझे मायूसी हुई है मैं तो एक जूनियर मेम्बर हूँ। हमें सदाकत से फेंस करना चाहिए। चह्वाण साहब को मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि अगर ऐसा कोई वाक्या हो गया और उसका फायदा चायना ने उठा लिया तो फिर इस गवर्नमेंट को कोई माफ नहीं करेगा। इसके लिए क्या मजबूरी है आपकी कानूनी तौर पर—जो मैं देखकर आया हूँ वह निहायत खतरनाक है ला एण्ड आर्डर वहां नहीं है। कत्ल व गारत हो रहे हैं यह चीज़ चिन्ताजनक है हमारे चीफ मिनिस्टर ने या किसी और मिनिस्टर ने इस तरह का एटिच्यूड ले लिया तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे ज्यादा खतरनाक और कोई बात नहीं हो सकती। मैं इतना ही कह कर खत्म करना चाहता हूँ और उम्मीद करता हूँ

कि इस तरफ तवज्जो दी जाएगी।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: First of all I would say that the discussion would have far-reaching repercussions and consequences and would create a very very dangerous precedent. I feel that the Treasury Benches should not have indulged in this practice. However, I would like to know this from the Home Minister. He has admitted in the statement that there is a genuine grievance of the peasants for the last twenty years. The discontent was simmering for a pretty long time, long long years, amongst those deprived and defrauded peasantry. Is he aware of that? It is not a matter of one year but a matter of pretty long years; the discontent was simmering. Secondly, I would like to know whether he is aware of the history of how things developed. One *Buddhiman jotedar* wanted to evict one peasant. He said that he was a share-cropper but the Court gave him the tenancy right, and when he was tilling, he was beaten blue and the peasants led a demonstration against the *jotedar*. Is he aware of that? I want to know also whether he is aware that in certain fallow lands adjoining a planter certain peasants were cultivating the lands for some years. That planter, that owner, suddenly at this time introduced certain persons there and created tension and after that the police went precisely to arrest those peasantry and not either the planter or the *jotedar*. Is he aware of that? Out of genuine grievances the persons there may have committed wrongs, mistakes. That I can admit. But the point is whether he is aware of these things. After that the Land Revenue Minister went there and evolved a formula to settle the whole issue. That was not given a chance. The police went there *en masse* after that and killed ten persons so that the matter could not be settled. It would be quite pertinent on my part to suspect that the police have deliberately done this so that these things cannot be settled and the fires can be kept smouldering and burning.

[Shri Niren Ghosh.]

I oppose the idea of a parliamentary delegation. When the State Ministry is seized of the matter, it is going to be some kind of interference from a superior authority. (*Interruption*) Would you have a Parliamentary Committee to supervise every aspect of working of the Government, to go into detention cases and everything? I remember when Bastar was brought before the House, you opposed it tooth and nail, though it was a Scheduled Caste area, though it was an appropriate subject. That shows your attitude, the ulterior motive you have in mind. Then I regret that the Home Minister has chosen to make the statement in such a way naming three constituent parties of the United Front Government there, in order to skillfully drive a wedge between us and thus topple the Government. Let me tell you one thing. To the last I would avoid on the floor of Parliament crossing swords with Shri Rajnarain. But let me tell you that I have also certain facts in my possession that may not be pleasant. I do not want to bring those things and spoil our relations. He knows that in West Bengal we gave them weightage out of all proportion, went out of our way in order to cement Left unity. It is a fact. We can....

(*Interruptions.*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do not interfere please. Let him have his say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: So-called left leaders you are; you do not know how to keep your house in order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You all help me; I know how to keep the House in order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Not your House, Sir; our Left house.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: May I also know from the Home Minister this thing? I am informed—I said it earlier—that Mr. Biren Mukerjee of Tisco wants to topple this Government. And is there an attempt to

drive away our party and instead, set up some sort of Government? All sorts of plans and motives are there. And may I know whether Mr. Biren has established contact with the Union Cabinet Ministers? Is it true or not? (*Interruptions.*) Then, I would like to say that when the entire Cabinet is seized of the matter, that from the Home Minister's statement it is clear that no border security was involved—it is in the very statement which he has read out in the House—and when it comes to the question of the security of the country, if there is any aggression against the country, fifty crores of people know how to tackle that. That is quite another issue. That issue has been interlinked in this manner in order to create or give the impression that everything is breaking down. It is true that there are certain disturbances. But the whole Cabinet has been seized of the matter and they also admit that. I would like to know whether the Home Minister would admit what the Inspector-General of Police himself has admitted that . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You have read that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH:...the State Government . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Do not repeat it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You have to know it. He said:

"The police was capable of putting down the agitation but that would involve heavy bloodshed. It would be much better if the problem could be solved on economic and political levels."

That is the opinion of the Inspector-General of Police; that is the opinion of the State Cabinet and the Chief Minister. But you want to destroy that by bringing in this issue and discussing it in the way in which you have put in before the House.... (*Interruptions.*) If you had agreed to

this position, it would not have been under discussion here in this way; you have brought the issue before the House as if it could not be tackled or handled by them.

Therefore, the basic causes remain. We wanted the British rule to be removed whether the British liked it or not. Therefore, if the genuine grievances of the people are not removed, then certain consequences follow.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Therefore, I would request in all humility all the Members who wish well by the country to focus attention on this issue and see that these causes are removed. Then, let us see what we can do about the other things. But if you are not giving a chance, if the situation is worse confounded and if it is deliberately brought about then consequences will follow and the responsibility lies entirely on you. You should realise where you are heading to. Our Government is genuinely concerned about these things and wants to remove the social maladies so that these things do not find a soil. As I have already said—I must admit it; I would again say it—the down-trodden people, in the course of their agitation, may commit mistakes. That I do not rule out. (*Interruptions.*) But I want to pinpoint the basic cause, the deep-rooted cause, that gives rise to all sorts of things. Therefore, this should be tackled seriously and firmly.

And as regards the various other things that have been mentioned during the course of the debate, about very many irrelevant points, I do not care to reply to them. They know themselves that they have made false statements. So, I do not want to go into all those things.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must be brief. You must wind up now.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What I submit in all humility is that this question should be solved, this pea-

sant question, the land reforms question. The situation has reached such a pass that this question has to be solved. It brooks no delay. I would urge in all humility upon the Central Government and all the State Governments—80 per cent of our people live in the countryside—to pay heed to their demand so that the country can be unified and progress and democracy can flourish. But by brandishing this kind of baton, you cannot have law and order settled. You talk in a way as if it is meant only to safeguard the vested interests. If you talk of law and order in that way, then law and order means suppression of the majority 90 per cent and support only for the 10 per cent. Please do not talk of law and order in that way. That does not hold good. So, I would request that these things should be taken in their proper perspective and I would request the Centre not to do such things in future. I say that the entire country, the entire people—whatever you say—have a deep suspicion in their minds that it has been conspired, it has been pre-arranged and that something is brewing up. You are planning ahead to do something in order that no progressive Government or democratic Government can run in the State.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chitta Basu. But I do request the hon. Members to keep themselves to asking clarifications. It has turned into a discussion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Chairman allowed it; it will be a discussion.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not see why it should be discussed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I did not want it. The Chairman said, "Let there be a discussion. The leaders may express their opinion."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not know what the Chairman said.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I say, the Chairman said that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will find out whether the Chairman said that. But I do not think so. I am appealing to the House. You are all very good parliamentarians. This is a Calling Attention Motion. The Home Minister has expressed his opinion on this. I do not want to add one way or the other because I want to be very just from the Chair. But if you are brief and if each one of you could put forth your point of view in one or two minutes, more Members will have chances.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: After allowing half an hour to some, you ask us to finish in one or two minutes . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Madam Deputy Chairman, at the outset let me tell this House that the situation in Naxalbari, Phansidawa and Khari-bari is not one of quiet; there is a serious situation which is developing during the past few weeks. And so far as the geographical position of that area is concerned, it is accepted that it is very vital in the matter of our national security and the defence of our country. But, Madam, the situation has not developed all of a sudden; it has got a long history behind it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But you need not go into that long history, you ask clarifications.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I will be very brief. There has been the land problem; there has been the land-hunger. The predecessor Government could not solve that land problem. According to the West Bengal Land Acquisition Act, surplus land vests in the Government. But the Congress Government failed to distribute that land among the landless peasants and among the Adi-

vasis. Naturally, with the ouster of the Congress from power, the peasants of that area who have been oppressed and suppressed for years and ages together, had a hope in their minds that the long-drawn-out problem, the vexed problem, of land would be solved immediately after the assumption of power by the new Government. But, Madam, you know that the new Government was pre-occupied in meeting the challenges of the vested interests, of the capitalists, of the reactionary elements, sometimes—it is alleged—aided and abetted by the Government of India, and therefore, the Government of West Bengal could not quickly solve the problem and thereby satisfy the land-hunger in that area. That does not mean that there have been no lapses on the part of 2 P.M. of ultra-left elements. They cannot absolve themselves of the responsibility. We are also a constituent to the non-Congress Government that is being run there. That non-Congress Government is committed to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the people as far as practicable. There is no point in saying that one of the constituent parties should take the law and order in their own hands and transgress the law and order position. Therefore, Madam, as I told earlier, the situation is not as quiet as somebody might take it to be . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Come to the question. You have given the background.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: So many Members were allowed to put forward their own points of view. Why should I not be allowed?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Rajnarain was talking about 1942.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: That being the case, all the constituent parties of the West Bengal Government have said that there have been some ultra-left elements who have caused certain seriousness in that area. The West Bengal Government is seized of

the problem. You might have known that a team of six Ministers has already reached the place of trouble. And because they felt that this is not just a law and order situation, they have taken with them some senior officials of the Revenue Department so that they may decide things on the spot and solve the problem as quickly as possible. /

Along with that, they have also adopted certain other measures to maintain law and order. Our Home Minister said that so far he has not received any information from the Government of West Bengal. But so far as I know, one of the Cabinet Ministers of the West Bengal Government, Mr. Hemant Kumar Basu, the P.W.D. Minister, had been in the Capital. He met the Home Minister and apprised him of the situation. He also expressed optimism that a team of Ministers would be visiting the place, and the matter might be settled isolating these ultra-left elements who cause troubles over there.

Therefore, my question before the Government is whether the Government was apprised of those developments that have taken place so far in the matter of solution of the problem. And is the Government going hold certain discussions which ultimately would strain the relations between the Centre and the State which may be construed as an interference in a State subject? Is it not a political preparation for the Centre's intervention so that the Government of West Bengal, which is constitutionally elected, may topple down? The Government is trying to bring about its fall. Why is this Government not exercising sufficient patience, sufficient sense, so that the situation may not be further accentuated?

Some friends on the Opposite have said about the police and the military being rushed to that place. Yes, the Government of West Bengal in its wisdom thought that this problem cannot be solved by simply rushing

the police. In order to avoid bloodshed . . .

(Time bell rings)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will not allow you any further.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: . . . I do not think . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have already given you ten minutes. I do not think you can go on like this.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Mr. Niren Ghosh has raised the question . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are not putting a question . . .

SHRI CHITTA BASU: . . . the West Bengal Government has decided to order a judicial enquiry into the matter whether there have been some excesses. So this whole thing should be viewed in this perspective and then a decision should be taken.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is a suggestion.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will be very brief.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE. I will try. But this is a very delicate question which concerns a most sensitive area having common borders with two countries, Nepal and Pakistan. As has been pointed out by a large number of Members in this House, there is no doubt that the situation is rather grave. It has also been alleged by the other political parties which happen to be constituents of the West Bengal Government, namely the P. S. P., the Forward Block, the Bangla Congress, that the situation there is rather grave. The problem concerns the tribal people there and therefore, if we want to restore law and order there, it is essential that the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be solved as early as possible. There are a number of landless labourers in that area. The whole land is concentrated in a few hands. Naturally

[Shri B D Khobaragade]

SHRI RAJNARAIN S S P also

SHRI B D KHOBARAGADE Yes

Yesterday we were informed about certain activities in Peking against the Indian diplomats. In 1962, when the Chinese committed aggression against our country they expected some of the Indian masses to rise against their own Government and the Chinese Forces would then march into the Indian territory. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether there is any connection between the incidents that are happening now and the incident that took place in Peking yesterday. If there is any connection between the two, then it is a most sinister move and I would like to urge upon the Government that they should be particularly careful in safeguarding the integrity of the country.

DR ANUP SINGH (Punjab): Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to say at the very outset that any suggestion by the critics of the Central Government that there is some calculated design to topple the Government is utterly unwarranted. And my reason for that is that the Home Minister, both in his statement and in his subsequent comments, has been more than careful and very solicitous about the stability of the Government in West Bengal. In fact, he has said over and over again that nothing should be said here which will complicate the situation and accentuate the tension that already exists. I think that should be proof enough. My second point is that Mr Niren Ghosh has very ably, as usual, catalogued the grievances of the people of that area. There is no doubt that there has been discontent and I must say that the Central Government has not really lived up to expectations. They have neglected that area, the most sensitive area perhaps in the whole of India, for 20 long years. And they

generally wake up to the situation when it hits them in the face and then they try to improvise a solution. But having said this, I must respectfully submit for the consideration of Mr. Niren Ghosh: Can any amount of grievances, though legitimate, ever justify the kind of tactics that have been resorted to there? There are people in this country who do not get water to drink; it is a very unfortunate thing and we are all responsible for it. There are people who are almost on the verge of death due to starvation. But if we condone these activities merely because the grievances are legitimate, we will be creating, I think, a very unhealthy precedent and we will all be very sorry for it.

Another point which I would like to submit for the consideration of the Members is that sometimes, in our preoccupation with our domestic problems, we tend to forget, unwittingly perhaps, the picture of India abroad. I had occasion to go abroad two or three times. Every time I go—not that I necessarily subscribe to what they say—it is very disturbing to hear them saying that India is disintegrating. We are not disintegrating. We are not going down the hill. But the student unrest, the agitation over cow protection all these things are dramatised all over the world and people who are our friends ask us in all earnestness “Is India really disintegrating?” I may submit for the consideration of the Members that what is happening in this area can happen somewhere else and we should rise above our party affiliations because this is a matter far too serious. It is a matter that transcends parties, regions and communities. It is a matter of national integrity and national security and nothing should be said either here or outside which will weaken the hands of the Government, either in the State or in the Centre, to take the necessary steps.

Thank you.

श्री टी० पांडे : मझे तीन सवाल पूछने

हैं ।

1. क्या गृह मंत्री जी यह बतला सकते हैं कि इस क्षेत्र में एक समानान्तर सरकार स्थापित हो गई है ?

2. क्या गृह मंत्री जी को यह मालम है कि जो प्रवासी बंगवासी हैं और गैर कम्युनिस्ट हैं, उन्हीं की जमीन को, उन्हीं के मकानों को लूटा जा रहा है और जलाया जा रहा है ?

3. क्या गृह मंत्री जी को यह ज्ञात है कि इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति तैलगना में भी हुई थी तो हमारे भारत सरकार की तरफ से वहा पुलिस के सिपाही भेजे गये थे और तब जाकर वहां पर शान्ति स्थापित हुई थी ? क्या इस प्रकार के स्टैप्स भारत सरकार ने की सोच रही है ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, now many people have spoken on the subject and I, too, have something to ask and something to express in that connection. First of all, I must tell you that nothing is more abhorrent to me than the idea of entering into polemics with the left parties amongst each other on the floor of the House to the comfort and satisfaction of the ruling party . . .

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA): We have no comfort.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The whole idea is repulsive to me. I cannot understand why these left leaders should indulge in this kind of mutual recrimination on the floor of the House when there is a chance of dealing with the problems in the United Front, in the Cabinet and elsewhere. Anyway, it is for them to consider. As far as my party is concerned, we stand for the solidarity of the United Left Front and we shall seek solutions to internal problems by maintaining the norms of the coalition Government of the United Front. I do not want to go into that. Madam Deputy Chairman, I must tell you frankly, and I hope the Home Minister also knows it, that immediately after the first series of incidents took place, Mr. S. A.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

Dange, Chairman of my party, and I happened to be in Calcutta and we met the Chief Minister, Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee. We met him while he was on the point of leaving for the Naxalbari, Jalpaiguri and Siliguri and all those areas. We had discussions with him over various matters including this. Later on I had the privilege of meeting the Revenue Minister, Mr. Harekrishna Konar. Also naturally I talked to the Ministers belonging to our party. From my talks with them, I have not the slightest doubt that the West Bengal Government is responsibly seized of this matter and they are working for a democratic solution to the problem that they are facing there. I can ask the House to leave it in their safe and able hands, whatever you may say, I have abundant faith in the people of West Bengal and their great creation, the United Front and the non-Congress coalition Government. I am speaking with this faith. I may be right or I may be wrong, but I have this faith. That is number one.

Secondly, Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee, of course, has expressed very grave concern about the lawlessness there, but at the same time he has said that the problem has to be tackled as a socio-economic problem and not merely as a law and order problem. He also says that all these aspects should be tackled simultaneously. Now, what else do you expect of a Government to do than to send six Cabinet Ministers on the spot, to be with the peasants, discuss with them and thrash out the problems with them, including the law and order problem. Now, has it ever happened since 1947 that you had six Cabinet Ministers going to a single place and tackling the problem on the spot in co-operation directly with the people and with the assistance of their responsible officials? That in itself should convince anyone in this House that the West Bengal Government is tackling the problem in a very fair, reasonable and decent manner and I can tell you that if the West Bengal non-Congress Government cannot find a solution not even

the god's will find a solution to the problem there. That much I can say. You can suppress a movement, but suppression is not solution to a problem.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU (Uttar Pradesh): In other words, you have created a movement?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, I tell you, you should help them. If you have some political axe to grind, then it is a different matter. Otherwise, you should help them by your friendly and constructive advice. It is not one-party Government. Fourteen parties are there. Mutual checks and balances and mutual guarantees are in operation; it is a symbol of Bengal's national unity to-day. Therefore, Madam, what I would like to point out in this connection and ask the Minister is this. I know two people were killed. It is deplorable. I do not think that when a non-Congress popular Government, embodying the victory of the West Bengal people, is in power, then one should take this violent course and other methods. I am not at all in support of it. But then you must also note that 10 other people had also been killed, including 7 women and two children. Now taken alone, this is a most melancholy situation. You are, on the one hand, quoting Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee to a purpose, on the other hand, some of you suggest a kind of intervention in the State Government. You cannot blow hot and cold. Either you have faith in Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee and his Government or you do not have. I think the Central Government should not open itself even to the impression that it is trying to play to the political gallery of a particular sort and trying to interfere objectively or subjectively or both in the internal situation.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: The Home Minister has not said anything.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Chavan said that he has not got any report. Normally here again we have

violated a very longstanding convention. When the Home Minister makes a statement on a State matter, the established convention is to make a statement on the basis of a report provided by the State Government. You will remember that many occasions arose in this House and in the Lok Sabha when there was an attempt to get all kinds of statements but generally even the Congress Ministers stick to the policy except in the case of the Kerala Communist Ministry, that the statement must be made on the basis of the reports supplied by the State Government. This is a constitutional obligation. If the West Bengal Government has not been in a position to supply you with the latest authoritative report, it is because they have recently sent six of their Ministers to make a study on the spot, handle the problem and also to produce a report and I am sure when they come back, Mr. Chavan will have his report, not on the basis of some hearsay or certain propaganda but on the basis of a deep examination and enquiry by no less than six Ministers, almost one-third of the total Cabinet strength. I am sorry if he has not got it but he will get it. Mr. Chavan said he has some information. What is that information I should like to know. Where does it come from? Are you then operating your Central Intelligence in that region in order to get your information or are you relying on your party information or are you relying on both? I ask the Minister in all seriousness, is it not creating a very bad convention to make statements on the floor of this House in regard to a State matter while admitting that no report has been obtained from the State Government but at the same time saying: 'I am making a statement on the basis of certain information from my sources'? That itself is not good. If we had such things discussed which are State subjects, then the States will also be able to discuss the Central subjects. You have a majority and you can force a discussion. In the States the others have majority and they will be able to dis-

cuss even the character of some of your Ministers. What prevents, for example, the West Bengal State Government, if it chooses, on a motion by a Member, to discuss the activities of some Central Ministers in Calcutta and very unsavoury things may come up in the course of the discussions and what their daily nocturnal activities, are, all of them may come up. Are you going into that kind of them? Therefore I would ask him not to start this kind of precedent.

I will not take as much time as Mr. Rajnarain has taken. Mr. Rajnarain was appealing to me all the time, I do not know why. He is very affectionate and fond of me and so am I but I think he was appealing to me and Mr. Ghosh a'so. He said certain things. He should have mentioned one single fact that the S.S.P. and the Marxist Communist Party made an electoral alliance and they have Mr. Deven Sen, the S.S.P. Leader, elected from Asansol constituency with the thumping support of the Marxist Communist Party and we, poor chaps, were defeated, by their combination. We had a candidate also and we lost. I should have thought that friends would talk to each other first rather than advance in another direction.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: I thought . . .

(Interruption)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know. You did not remember me very well—of course your party—before the elections. Now you have realised that it is necessary also to remember me. I do not want to say much. For Mr. Rajnarain I have got great love. Whatever he is, relevant or irrelevant, he is a fighting man and I like fighting men.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: So myself.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is very good. I shall never be provoked by you, but do not try to help the

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

Congress by raising things, appealing to the Congress. To-day it was a very interesting experience.

SHRI RAJNARAIN You say whatever you like. If you are going to kill us, you are going to give impetus to the Congress people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA. I shall lay down my life to save your life, Mr Rajnarain, should it come to that. It is a deplorable thing if one trade union section kills another, one political worker kills another, no matter which party he belongs to, whether that side or this side. All political killings and killings for such things are deplorable and we should create public opinion that such things do not happen. We shall fight our quarrels through proper debates, by going to the people, relying on their judgment and good sense. I entirely agree but then, Mr Rajnarain, charges can be levelled against you also. We are not so pure. None of us is pure. Therefore I would say that the problem is a socio-economic problem essentially. The tribal people have been suffering for the last 30 or 40 years. I have been earlier to this area and only I give you one example. In 1946 before partition, the independence struggle started in that area. The Muslim League Government was in power and I was, on a particular day in the Bengal Assembly sitting with Mr Suhrawardy, who was the Chief Minister at that time. Nawab Musaffar Ali, who was a landlord and a tea gardener came there rushing and said 'The Communists have started trouble (they are going to overthrow the Muslim League Government)'. Then Mr Suhrawardy had a sense of humour and said 'Nawab Musaffar Ali, the Communists do not believe in overthrowing a poor Government like ours; they believe in revolutions' and the poor chap was absolutely taken aback. Anyhow now we find it, is not Nawab Musaffar Ali nor Suhrawardy. Some troubles have taken place and our Congress friends—Mr K. Das Gupta, who is the Leader

of the opposition in that State and others—are raising the slogan 'Paralle Government, integrity is endangered' and what not, or that 'the country is going to rack and ruin'. This is scare-mongering.

I submit to you before I sit down that I know for a fact that Naxalbar incidents have been seized upon by the Opposition Party in West Bengal namely, the Congress, by big landlords, by the big capitalists in Calcutta by certain bad officers and some people here in Delhi with a view to discrediting the West Bengal Government, maligning it if possible and provoking it so that it becomes easy for them at least to pave the way for Central intervention. Poor Bengalis, we come from Bengal it is our misfortune that for our patriotism before independence our country was partitioned specially Bengal and we were punished. Now for ousting the Congress and having a non-Congress Government on the basis of a combination of all non-Congress progressive parties, we are again to be punished. I tell you the West Bengal people will not take it lying down and I do hope the Central Government will know its position better, its constitutional limitation and also the rules of propriety and constitutional behaviour and will not utter a word in consonance with the convention unless it has a report from the West Bengal State Government which is certainly better than many of the Congress Governments we have known ever since the commencement of the Constitution.

I would once again appeal to the Leftist parties, the constituents of the West Bengal Government not to bring up their quarrels in Parliament but to settle them in their United Front, in the Cabinet and in other places because they are objectively, some of them, helping the Congress. They do not mean it I know, but they are objectively helping the Congress. I would ask the Congress not to utilise this kind of thing take advantage of the situation and try to

create division among the left united front and the constituent parties.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Papers to be laid on the Table.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: The question should be debated publicly.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Papers to be laid on the Table.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

REPORT AND ACCOUNTS (1966) OF THE DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION AND RELATED PAPERS

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY): Madam, on behalf of Shri K. C. Pant, I lay on the Table the Report and Accounts of the Deposit Insurance Corporation for the year ended the 31st December, 1966, together with the Auditors' Report on the Accounts, under sub-section (2) of section 32 of the Deposit Insurance Corporation Act, 1961. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-645/67].

MINISTRY OF FINANCE (DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE AND INSURANCE NOTIFICATIONS

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY: Madam, on behalf of Shri K. C. Pant. I also lay on the Table a copy each of the following Notifications of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Insurance):—

(i) Sixteen Notifications, under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-646/67.]

(ii) Six Notifications, under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962, and section 38 of the Central Excise and Salt Act, 1944. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-661/67]

(iii) Notification G.S.R. No. 788, dated the 26th May, 1967, publishing the Central Excise (11th Amendment) Rules, 1967, under section 38 of the Central Excise and Salt Act, 1944. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-662/67.]

ANNUAL REPORT (1965-66) OF THE UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION AND RELATED PAPERS

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY: I further lay on the Table, under clause (1) of article 323 of the Constitution, a copy each of the following papers:—

(i) Sixteenth Annual Report of the Union Public Service Commission for the period 1st April, 1965, to 31st March, 1966. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-616/67.]

(ii) Government Memorandum on the Report explaining the reasons for non-acceptance of the Commission's advice in the case referred to in paragraph 33 of the Report [Placed in Library. See No. LT-617/67.]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Next item. Motion for Election to Committee.

ENQUIRIES RE CALLING ATTENTION NOTICES

I. RELEASE OF SHEIKH ABDULAH

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Before that, Madam, I gave a Calling Attention Notice on the release of Sheikh Abdullah, and I certainly want that the Government should make a statement. I talked to the Chairman, as you know; I invited his attention to it. But you should kindly ask him to look into it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will ask the Chairman.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All right.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Rajnarain, what have you to say? Please be as brief as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has been.

II. THE CBI REPORT

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
भूपेश जी ने जो बात कही है, ठीक है, मैं