

[Shrimati Shakuntala Paranjpye.] Chairman of—I may be wrong in the heading of it—the Indian Institute of Medical Sciences. I believe. I think it should not be the case, it should be a scientist . . . 1 P.M.

THI, VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You may continue after lunch.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : No, no. I am finishing in a minute.

I stress this point that the Minister should not be the head of any institution. There should be a reorganisation of this institution. The Resolution only asks for the appointment of a Committee. I think it is very necessary in view of the indictments that have been made, the charges that have been levelled and, the allegations that have been made about it. I support the Resolution. Something needs to be done and a Commission or a Committee should be appointed.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The House stands adjourned till 2,30 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at half past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER *RE* DISTURBANCES IN CONNECTION WITH BENGAL BUNDH

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA) : Sir, with deep feeling of pain and sense of distress which, I am sure, are shared by the whole House, I have to say that a series of regrettable incidents of lawlessness and violence leading to police firing at several places and calling of troops in aid of civil authority have marked the observance of Bengal Bundh yesterday. This was organised by the United Leftist Front to protest against the Government's food policy and in support of their demand for a judicial inquiry into the

recent police firing at Basirhat on the 16th February. Government's efforts to ensure supplies of foodgrains to scarcity areas and especially the policy of the West Bengal Government in regard to arranging for distribution through an effective system of procurement and modified and statutory rationing have been repeatedly explained here and by the Chief Minister in the State Assembly. Those who were responsible for the Bengal Bundh must have been well aware of the possibility of the situation going out of their control despite their professed aim of keeping it peaceful, and of its resulting in loss of lives and destruction to public property. That was why some of us here had earlier appealed to those parties to desist from carrying out their programme, particularly so soon after similar disturbances in Nadia and other places in the State. They did not pay any heed to this warning, and what we all feared would happen has happened.

The incidents were especially severe in the Hooghly district where at Rishra, Konnagar and Hind Motors Railway Stations violent mobs set fire to trains and railway overbridges, station cabins, goods sheds and booking offices, besides removing fishplates and damaging signalling gear. At Khardah in the 24-Parganas district and at Asansol in Burdwan district also, similar acts of arson, vandalism and violence were committed. At the latter place, the main target of attack were the office of the Divisional Superintendent of the Railways, the Post Office, the INTUC Office and the Government Khadi store. Train communications were disrupted and most of the scheduled nights had to be cancelled. The police had to open fire to disperse violent mobs at Hind Motors Station, Rishra, Konnagar, Khardah and Asansol and according to available reports, twelve persons are reported to have been killed. A sub-inspector of police was done to death by a mob at Konnagar and assistant sub-inspector of police died of injuries inflicted by a mob at Hind Motors. Units of the Army had to be called out by the State authorities to give support to police forces in maintaining law and order at many of these places. The situation in Calcutta deteriorated towards the evening along the now familiar pattern of attacking police parties, cutting off electricity and setting fire to vehicles. Despite all this, I understand that the Left-

CPI has given a call to continue the agitation today.

Sir, it is with the deepest digress that I am making this statement to the House. Precious lives have been lost, causing intense suffering to a number of families. We express our most heart-felt sympathies for those bereaved. Valuable property belonging to the people of India has been destroyed. The feeling of sorrow is heightened by the awareness of the complete futility of it all, the total lack of purpose and responsibility behind it, knowing from past experience that it is not as easy to prevent occurrences of violence and wanton destruction as it is to incite sections of people against the rule of law. It is really unfortunate that the public life in our country is getting vitiated by the attitude and activities of certain groups who are yet to realise that the problems of improvement of the conditions of life of the common man—serious enough as they are—cannot be solved by taking recourse to violence, disorder and interference with the normal life of the citizens.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA (West Bengal) : It is really regretted that national assets have been destroyed. No sane man would support it, nor do any of us here. We are equally keen to have the Government restore the state of normalcy there. But how to do that ? That is the problem. So far as the West Bengal leaders are concerned, they have made it clear times without number that their demands are of a very minor character : (1) judicial enquiry into the incidents where human lives are lost; (2) the release of the persons arrested in connection with the food movement, not the release of those who were arrested in other connections; (3) sitting with the Opposition Members and normalising the proceedings of the Assembly and then, the food and kerosene scarcity must be removed. Now, these have not happened. So far as the judicial enquiry is concerned, it has stood on a point of test. Government said, no, it will not be done. This can be done at once to create a climate of peace. And for that, I request the Prime Minister here and the hon. Home Minister, to advise the State Government of West Bengal to do it at once, to release those who were arrested in connection with the food movement and to withdraw the warrants against those who are under-

ground. If you can talk with the underground Nagas for enforcing peace, for creating a climate of peace, for coming to an understanding with them, why not the warrants against these underground leaders in West Bengal be withdrawn at once ? We all cherish the noble ideal of democracy. Democracy is important. But that democratic institution, Assembly or Council, has been completely deadlocked. There is a complete deadlock. The entire Opposition has walked out during an important session like the Budget Session. During this Budget Session if the Opposition walks out, why do they do so ? About 40 Members have been suspended. (Interruptions) It is because the Chief Minister refused to sit with the Opposition. That is the point. There . . . (Interruptions) Please hear me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHAKGAVA) : Order, order, please.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA : Let him try to hear me. I know the problem. I am here stretching my hand of co-operation, if my co-operation means anything. So, I can tell you, from the food scarcity the problem started. And the Chief Minister at that time assured the Opposition that he would sit with them. In Nadia and Bastrahat, the opposition was begun by whom ? Nobody knows. The Chief Minister announced that he was going to sit with the Opposition. That was the situation. And the Opposition in the Assembly started obstructionist tactics on the point that the Chief Minister must sit with them. And because there were obstructionist tactics from the Opposition, one after another, everybody was suspended. That is the history. I am not here making a political speech, I am stating the facts. I want that nobody should disturb me but they should try to appreciate what is the position of West Bengal people. You have an immense problem in food scarcity. You cannot solve it. It is a problem which we all share. Is it the time to have this hack-ground that we shall start shooting, put people under arrest and thereby create a condition of terror and normalise things ? That is impossible.

Now, people say that the Opposition has incited. The Opposition has not incited. Take it from me. The Opposition knows

[Shri D. L. Sen Gupta.] il as much as the Government knows that when there is violence, there is no strength in the movement, that is the weakness of the movement. And by inciting to violence, no political leader can score his point. But still, violence took place. Even when the Congress was functioning under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, after the 1942 arrests there was violence because people got frustrated that this is a Government which is unsympathetic, that this is a Government which is a stumbling—block to our expectations. If that is the attitude taken by the people, then violence takes its birth, then sabotage takes its birth. Then there is arson, looting. So, it is not a question of anybody giving a sermon or anybody preaching it or anybody inciting. But these things being there, it is high time that the Government rose in stature, not with police, not with guns or anything, but with a sympathetic attitude. That will create a climate of goodwill and restore harmony.

Now, I am to tell this House and the Government that the Opposition's support can be had if these conditions can be met. Food problem cannot be solved, I know. But you can solve other problems. You can start a judicial enquiry. You can normalise the Assembly proceedings. You can release those who are arrested. You can start speaking with the Opposition.

EE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BILARG.VVA) : Mr. Sen Gupta, you are repeating the whole thing now.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA : My question is this : I have heard today that the hon'ble Home Minister and the Food Minister are going to West Bengal just to study the situation on the spot and to help normalise the situation. May I know, Sir, from the Home Minister and the Prime Minister here whether they are prepared to do what the leaders of West Bengal have asked for and which is not beyond their control, that is, give food and kerosene? That is all I want to know.

श्री गोड़े मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, बंगाल के बारे में गृह मंत्री की ओर से एक बयान अभी हमने सुना और उस बयान में यह कहा गया है कि कुछ लोग वहाँ पर बंगाल के लोगों को उकसाने में

लगे हुये हैं और एक लम्बी चौड़ी एडवाइस दी गई है कि यह कुछ गुप्त है बंगाल में जो वहाँ पर लोगों को उकसाकर इस तरह का लूट मार करवा रहे हैं। और इससे ज्यादा मैंने उस बयान में कुछ देखा नहीं।

मैं यह चाहता था कि सरकार वहाँ पर आ कर यह कहती कि बंगाल में जो स्थिति आज पैदा हुई है उसके बारे में केन्द्र सरकार का क्या रुख है, केन्द्र सरकार एक उलझी हुई वहाँ पर जो परिस्थिति है उसको किस तरह से संभालने की कोशिश करेगी, लेकिन सारे स्टेटमेंट में कोई ऐसी बात नहीं है और यह कह देना कि वहाँ के कुछ विरोधी दल या कोई गुट ऐसे हैं जो वहाँ पर उधम मचाना चाहते हैं यह बिल्कुल झूठ है क्योंकि मुझे पता है, मैं भी वहाँ पर गया हूँ और मैं भी एक विरोधी दल का सदस्य हूँ और पूरा जिम्मेदारों के साथ मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि जो कुछ भी बंगाल में आज हो रहा है उसमें किसी विरोधी दल का हाथ नहीं है। यहाँ पर आ कर के यह बात कह देना आसान है कि विरोधी दल के कुछ हिस्से हुल्लड़ मचाना चाहते हैं इसलिये वहाँ पर हुल्लड़बाजी शुरू कर दी है लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि बंगाल में जो आज परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हुई है वह महीने भर से और धीरे-धीरे बाई स्टेज उतपन्न हुई है, वह एक दिन में उत्पन्न परिस्थिति नहीं है। बार-बार इस सदन में कहा गया कि वेस्ट बंगाल की परिस्थिति गम्भीर होने वाली है और होती जा रही है और केन्द्रीय सरकार को चाहिए कि वहाँ का कोई हल निकाले लेकिन यहाँ से कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया। प्रधान मंत्री वहाँ पर गईं और कुछ विरोधी दल वालों से मिलने की भी कोशिश की लेकिन बाद में हमने अखबारों में सिर्फ यही पढ़ा कि मैं बिल्कुल असहाय हो गई वहाँ पर और उन्हें कुछ करने का मौका नहीं मिला।

श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह (बिहार) :
प्रधान मंत्री जी ने इस हाउस में बक्तव्य दिया था।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : आप बैठ जाइये, आप मुनिये ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You will have your chance. Do not get excited.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : I am not excited.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : और देखिये, एक चीज मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ, जब प्रधान मंत्री का नाम लिया जाता है कांग्रेस वाले ऐसा भडक उठते हैं कि मालूम नहीं यहाँ कोई पार्लियामेंटरी प्रोसीजर है या नहीं। प्रधान मंत्री या किसी मंत्री के लिये जो चीज कहनी चाहिये वह कही जाएगी और उसको सुनने को भी आपको कुछ तैयार रहना चाहिये ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Will you please keep to the point and seek whatever clarification you have to seek on the Home Minister's statement. Please do not go into extraneous things.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: I will seek all the clarifications but I will also like Congress Members to have some patience to listen to what

ताम यह चाहूँगा कि सरकार वेस्ट बंगाल की परिस्थिति के बारे में कुछ कदम हमारे सामने रखती, यह कहती कि वहाँ के जो बिरोधी दल के लोगों को गिरफ्तार कर के आज जेल में रखा गया है उनको हम रिहा करेंगे उनके साथ बात करेंगे और वहाँ पर जो परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हुई है उसका कोई हल निकालेंगे। ऐसा कोई कदम केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से उठे तो मैं समझता कि सरकार परिस्थिति की गम्भीरता को समझती हुई पूरी जिम्मेवारी के साथ कुछ करना चाहती है। लेकिन आज की परिस्थिति यह है कि बंगाल में श्री सी० पी० सेन, वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री, जो वहाँ करें, केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से सिर्फ एक स्टेटमेंट आता है कि हमको तो वहाँ की सम्पत्ति को बचाने के लिये लोगों को मारना पड़ा। और मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में अगर

I say.

सम्पत्ति को आप ज्यादा महत्व देते हैं और लोगों की जान को नहीं तो फिर यह सरकार चलने वाली नहीं है क्योंकि यह एक बुनियादी चीज है। आप लोगों की जान की कीमत पहने रखें और सम्पत्ति को बाद में। मैं जानता हूँ कि बंगाल में जो कुछ हुआ वह बहुत नुकसानदायी है सब के लिये, सरकार के लिये भी और लोगों के लिये भी। वहाँ पर कुछ ट्रेन जलाई गई हैं और बहुत सा नुकसान हुआ है। लेकिन यह सब कहाँ से उत्पन्न होता है? जब सरकार अपनी जिम्मेवारी निभाना नहीं जानती तब फिर उससे सारा मामला उत्पन्न होता है। इसलिए मैं चाहूँगा, प्रधान मंत्री से भी और गृह मंत्री से भी, कि इसके बारे में कोई ठोस कदम उठायें और इसके बारे में हमको यहाँ पर आज कोई बयान दें वरना इस तरह के बयान से कुछ मतलब नहीं निकलने वाला है। बंगाल में स्थिति बिगड़ो हुई है और न जाने कहाँ-कहाँ और बिगड़ने वाला है, क्योंकि परिस्थिति आज हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत खराब है, लोगों को खाना नहीं मिल रहा है और इसका कोई हल सरकार के पास है नहीं लेकिन फिर भी अगर सरकार कुछ कोशिश करती और अपना जिम्मेवारी निभाने की कोशिश करती तो शायद इस तरह की परिस्थिति नहीं उत्पन्न होती।

श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब मैं ये दो भाषण सुन रहा था गृह मंत्री साहब के वक्तव्य के बाद तो मुझे वह कहावत याद आई कि "उलटा चौर कोतवाल को डांटे"। बहुत सीधी सी बात है कि खाने में दिक्कत है, सरकार से कहा जायगा ज्यादा राशन दे, सरकार राशन देगी या ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा की जायगी कि जब तक फौज न पहुँचे तब तक जान माल . . .

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : आप राशन न दे कर ऐसी परिस्थिति को पैदा करेंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Now listen quietly. You have had your say.

श्री अबधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह : आप कहते थे कि मत बोलो, आप भी नहीं बोलिये।

मैं पटना का रहने वाला हूँ, मैं बंगाल को जानता हूँ, कलकत्ते को जानता हूँ, वहाँ की बोली भी बोल लेता हूँ। आसनसोल में डी० एस० के दफ्तर पर धावा बोल दिया गया, कागज जलाया गया, वहाँ सारी चीज की गई तो क्या गोली नहीं चलाई जाती तमाशा देखा जाता ? 18 डिव्जों को जलाया जाय . . .

श्री डी० एल० सेनगुप्ता : खूब गोली चलाईये।

श्री अबधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह :। गोली चलाई जायेगी और जरूर चलाई जायगी।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : जान से ज्यादा कीमत अगर आपको रेल के डिब्बे की है तो . . .

श्री अबधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह : गवर्नमेंट दोनों बातों से चलती है, जनता को बहुबूदी करके और जो नालायक जनता हो . . .

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : एक तो अंग्रेज करते थे और एक यह कर रहे हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Let him have his say. You have had your say.

श्री अबधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह : . . . और जो नालायक जनता हो, कानून तोड़े उसका मुकाबिला कर के . . .

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : सब को गोली से उड़ा दो।

श्री अबधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह : . . . दोनों तरह से गवर्नमेंट चलती है। आज मैंने सुना, उस हाउस में गृहमंत्री साहब ने कहा कि लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्टों ने निश्चय किया है। आन्दोलन करेंगे, आन्दोलन क्या है, यह बदमाशी और गुंडागर्दी जारी रहेगी। मैं प्रधान मंत्री महोदया से और गृह मंत्री से, दोनों से निवेदन करता हूँ कि जब तक यह हिंसात्मक रवैया जारी रहे तब तक एक मिनट को भी ईल्ड

करने का सवाल पैदा नहीं होता, हमें मजबूती के साथ वहाँ की हिंसात्मक चीजों का सामना करना पड़ेगा और हमको यह दिखलाना होगा कि हमने जिस तरह से एक विदेशी गवर्नमेंट का मुकाबिला किया उसी तरह से देश के अन्दर जो गड़बड़ करने वाले हमारे दुश्मन हैं उनका मुकाबिला कर सकते हैं।

लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट की स्ट्रेटेजी क्या है, उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदया ? यह कि देश को बावेली मचा कर कमजोर कर दे ताकि चीन का आक्रमण हो सके। उसमें दूसरे लोग, बाहर की सरकार, उनका साथ दे रही है, इसलिये हमें दुकता के साथ, मजबूती के साथ किसी को नहीं छोड़ना है और जो गड़बड़ करें उनको पकड़ कर रखना है और मजबूती से शासन कर के वहाँ पर शान्ति को लाना है।

श्री प्रफुल्ल चन्द्र सेन को मैं जानता हूँ, हिन्दुस्तान में वैसा चीफ मिनिस्टर किसी प्रान्त में नहीं है . . .

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : इसलिये आप खूब बोल रहे हैं।

श्री अबधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह . . . उतना भला आदमी, उतना कैपेबिल आदमी और नहीं है लेकिन उसके दिल को जिन लोगों ने दुखाया है वे गलत आदमी हैं और उनका मुकाबिला किया जायगा।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : शराफत में और इसमें बहुत फर्क है।

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR (Kerala) : Sir, nobody is happy about the loss of life or the loss of property that has taken place in Bengal. I do not want to blame the West Bengal Government for what has happened. I want an explanation from the Central Government, from the Prime Minister and the Home Minister about the happenings there, and I hold them also responsible for these developments. In the first place, when there was food shortage and there was agitation, what was the attitude of the Central Government to (his agitation ' ' The Food Minister, on the floor of this House, said that it was because

professional agitators in Calcutta were unemployed they were creating trouble there. That was the approach, and that is responsible for this kind of development. Secondly, when a normal demand was raised by the people in West Bengal, about an enquiry about Police firing what was the attitude of both the Central Government and the West Bengal Government? A school boy was killed and an enquiry was demanded. There also the Central Government was not ignorant about these developments. They did not advise the West Bengal Government to take proper action. So my contention is that the development yesterday was not a sudden one and there was ample time for the Centre to intervene. Mr. Nanda was pointing his finger against the Opposition parties. He was telling that the Opposition parties did not co-operate in withdrawing this struggle. Now I ask: Did they want, did the Centre want the co-operation of the Opposition parties? Then why did they arrest everybody with any political influence in that State and place the entire State under the control of the military? Is that the way in which you want the cooperation of the Opposition parties? And what was the attitude taken by the Central Government when this question of the use of the military was raised here? He quoted some part of the Constitution wherein he said it was mentioned that when something suddenly flares up a District Magistrate can call in the military. Do you mean to say that any District Magistrate, without the permission of the Centre, can utilise the military whenever he wants? It has not happened like that till now. Then why is it? I know. I come from an erstwhile native State where we had a military belonging to that State. And the first thing you did after the merger of that State was to take control of the military. And now how can you say that the State cannot be the military force as they like V ». cannot understand this. And not only that. Was it that suddenly something flared up and they had to call in the military force? It was in the papers. The matter was discussed in this House. You had ample time to intervene. So it was with your knowledge, and you permitted the military to take over the affairs there and you wanted things to develop like this. And we understand the politics behind this move. Now you could not resist the demand to withdraw the D.I.R., because every section of opinion,

lawyers, Supreme Court Judges, everybody has come out against it. But Nandaji and his Chief Ministers do not want to withdraw it, and they want deliberately to create a situation in the country so that they can take shelter behind it. That is the reason why you wanted things to develop like this in Bengal. (Interruptions.) Otherwise you would have acted in a different way. If you had made a different approach, if you wanted the co-operation of the Opposition Members, if you wanted a peaceful situation there, you would have acted differently. But you, Mr. Nanda and you, Mr. Hathi—such a nice man—you also join him . . .

SHRI G. MURVHARI: Corruption.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: And all the Chief Ministers combined to sabotage the move for lifting the emergency. But if you have to restore peace in Bengal, if you want the democratic set-up to be run properly, the first thing you have to do is to change your attitude to the Opposition Members, release them, discuss matters with them. The Prime Minister called yesterday or day before, a meeting of Opposition Members from West Bengal. It was decided that the Opposition Party Leaders and the Food Minister would go to Calcutta. What happened? Where is your Food Minister? Why did he not go? Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, taking everything seriously, well, left for Bengal and your Food Minister cancelled his trip. That is what happened.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta perhaps left to give you an opportunity to act on his behalf here.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Please do not talk in that manner. I did not expect that kind of observations from a man like Mr. Arjun Arora.

Now you are faced with a serious situation, and a certain approach is necessary from the Government. But that is not forthcoming—that is my complaint. So, if you want to ease the situation, I want a clarification from the Government, whether they are going to release all those political leaders, have a discussion with them and find out a way of tidying over the present situation. Will you institute an inquiry where shootings have taken place? If you are going to take such steps, the situation will improve. But if it is your intention to

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.] create a situation not only in West Bengal but in other parts of the country so that you and the Chief Ministers, with the umpteen powers that they have under the D.I.R., can rule over this country, well, I am afraid that is going to change the course of events in this country in a different way which perhaps you are not expecting.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the hon. Members on the Opposition, who have spoken, said, and they assured the House that none of the opposition had any responsibility for the most deplorable incidents that have taken place in West Bengal. They say that there is no incitement at all. Now if we take them at their word, it means that it is hooliganism that is prevailing there. (*Interruptions.*) And if that is so, let there not be hooliganism.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I contest that statement and . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHW M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Govindan Nair, hear quietly the other side now; you have had your say.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, if the position is that none of the political parties has any responsibility in the matter, if there has been no incitement and yet if hooliganism has gone to the extent of committing these atrocities, then the Opposition must agree with everybody that it must be put down, and I do not understand why there should be so much thunder here in the House when the Government takes steps, when the Government of West Bengal takes steps to put it down.

SHRI G. MURAHARI : Because human life in this country is not valuable.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Well, human lives have to be saved. Their property and public property have to be saved. Human decencies have to be saved.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: Property is more important than human lives. (*Interruptions.*)

SHW M. GOVINDA REDDY : But I can understand this. Whatever their part, all that they can say from the Opposition today is that the cause of these incidents is the shortage of food and shortage of kerosene. (*Interruptions.*) Well, they know fully well, if they are honest enough to admit, that the Government is doing their best to solve the food situation. Now the food shortage is not only peculiar to West Bengal; it is a thing which is prevalent in the whole country, and the Government are doing their best to ease the situation, and as responsible citizens, as responsible political parties, who have given word, who have taken an oath under the Constitution, it is their duty to give the fullest co-operation to the Government to retrieve the situation, and not to raise thunder like this, and not to criticise the Government when it takes firm steps to put down hooliganism. If at all the Government errs, Mr. Vice-Chairman, it errs on the side of leniency; you know, I know, Members on this side know that, if the Government errs at all, it errs on the side of leniency; our blame, our criticism against our Government is that it is not very firm. We want the Government to be firm. We want the Government to put down these riots at any cost. Otherwise, what Mr. Murahari was saying in the House this morning, that this thing will spread to the whole country, will come true. So I would earnestly appeal to the Government (*Interruptions.*) to spare no effort to put down the hooliganism. (*Interruptions.*)

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, whenever there is an unnatural death, an inquest is held. Even when there is a suspicion of unnatural death, a post-mortem examination of the body is held. And here there has been the death of seventeen persons in unnatural circumstances.

And there is need for a judicial inquiry. I do not know whether the Government has lost confidence in its judicial officers to such an extent that they could not be trusted with an impartial inquiry.

Many charges are made against certain Opposition parties. If a judicial inquiry is held, it may also be entrusted with the task of finding out whether the allegations are correct or not. I feel that if the

judicial inquiry is entrusted to a person or persons who command the general confidence of the people, and if after an inquiry this judicial committee feels that firing was justified and that behind the incidents were certain political parties, then that judgement would carry weight with the people. Unless such a judicial inquiry is held, only Government's assertion that there are Opposition parties behind the incidents, would not carry weight with the people. That would not have the desired effect. Their mere assertions would not have the desired impact on the people concerned. Therefore, I do maintain that a judicial inquiry should be held.

Sir, I repeatedly pointed out that the Army could not be used without the consent of the Central Government except in extreme unforeseen emergencies. But yesterday we read in the papers that the Army was alerted by the Chief Minister. So he had foreseen the possibility of the use of the Army. I would like to have from the Home Minister a categorical answer whether the Central Government had authorised the State Government to use the Army in case of necessity and whether the Central Government had ascertained that the situation had so developed that the State Government should be allowed to make use of the Military.

Sir, much has been said against the proclaimed emergency. Whether we stand for or against the promulgation of emergency, it exists and under it the Central Government has the authority and power to issue directives to the State Governments if and when necessary. Therefore today the Central Government has full authority to direct the Bengal Government to behave in a manner that may be conducive to the promotion of the welfare of the people and peace of the people, for promoting people's faith in democracy. I do not think that the Government intend to use the emergency only for the purpose of keeping people in the jail without any trial, without giving them an opportunity to be heard even by a judicial officer as is required under the Preventive Detention Act. If this is the only use that the Government is making of the emergency, then I feel that the Government is not discharging its duties allowed to the Central Government under the clause which empowered the Central Government to pro-

mulgate the emergency. I should therefore like to know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, whether any responsible Minister of the Central Government is going to Bengal to make the necessary investigations into the affair and even issue directives to the Government of Bengal if necessary. I again beg to submit, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that the purpose would not be served if only some government officials and the Chief Minister have consultations. The situation demands consultations from all sections of society, including the Opposition. In history, you will find many instances where even imperialist powers were forced to consult persons who had been put in jail, in order to deal with a particular situation. Indeed, I remember when there was a famine in Bihar, that great leader of Bihar, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, was released from jail because he was thought by the authorities to be the fittest person to handle the situation.

AN HON. MEMBER: You mean the earthquake.

PROF. M. B. LAL : Yes, I am sorry, I mean the earthquake in Bihar. That is what I was referring to. Therefore, I would like to know from the Government whether the Central Government contemplates to send to Bengal a responsible person to have an on the spot study of the situation, to consult all sections of the people and to find out how the situation can be eased.

Sir, the matter does not concern the State Government alone and I say this for two reasons. Firstly, yesterday property in charge of the Central Government was affected. Not only police *thanas* which belonged to the State Government were affected, but railway stations were also affected. Wagons were burnt. All this public property is under the control of the Central Government. If this situation continues to prevail then it will have an adverse effect not only in Bengal but in the whole of the country. Therefore, the matter needs to be investigated more carefully and immediate action needs to be taken by the Central Government.

Sir, I would like to know from the Central Government whether it feels that something should be done to see that the Bengal Legislature continues to function properly. It does not function pro-

[Prof. M. B. Lal.]

perly now. A legislature which functions without an opposition, in a parliamentary democracy, can hardly be said to be functioning properly. I just now remember a case when Mr. Vitthalbhai Patel when he was President of the Central Assembly of those days refused to allow a matter to be discussed in the Central Assembly in the absence of the Members of the Opposition party. So I feel that if democracy is to function properly, then at least an honest attempt must be made by the Central Government to see that the Members of the Opposition parties also take part in the proceedings of the Legislature.

It is all i ty that the Opposition must cooperate. I am glad that the Government feels the need for the cooperation of the Opposition. But I would request the Members of the Government to realise whether it is possible for any opposition to cooperate with the Government when the leaders- of almost all the Opposition parties are either underground or in jail. They are either in jail or they are set ved with ceniii- and to save themselves they are underground. We have arrested more than 5,000 people and yet theic was such a great havoc in Bengal yesterday. That clearly indicates that to make arrests is not the solution of the problem. To deal with the situation with winch Bengal and other parts of India are faced, more careful ali*i needed to solve the food problem, to look into the difficulties of the common man—I should say, of the poorer sections of the people. All possible efforts must be made to foster peoples' faith in democracy. It seems to me that peoples' faith in democracy is being increasingly undermined. It is undermined not only by the Opposition Parties but also, and mainly, by the Government, by its own behaviour. It is no use saying that the Opposition is creating these difficulties. Government has been returned to power with an overwhelming majority and if such a Government is not able to maintain peoples' confidence and fails to sustain peoples' faith in democracy, then it is a failure of the Government and not the machinations of the Opposition parties.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want some concrete information from the hon. Home

Minister. He has made a very safely statement in which he has said that he had predicted that the situation would deteriorate and that he is satisfied that his predictions have come out true. It is well known that the situation in Bengal had been abnormal for the last several days. In the Bengal Assembly fist-fights have been going on between the Members of the Opposition and the ruling party and a Minister slapped a Member of the Opposition. He was later on arrested under the Defence of India Rules and put in jail. The Government knew pretty well about this. It was declared long long ago that there would be this demonstration on the 10th. Thousands of people were arrested and the people, whom the Government thought would be able to mobilise the people, were put in jail and yet the people came out in action. The action was very peaceful till 3.30 in the afternoon. I want to know specifically the reasons why this peace fulness deteriorated after 3-30 p.m. and who was responsible for this. The Home Minister's statement does not say anything about it. When Madam Prime Minister visited Calcutta recently, she had an appointment with a Member of the Opposition, Mr. Samar Guha, Secretary of the PSP. She was to meet him and the West Bengal Chief Minister knew that and yet Mr. Guha has been put in jail under the Defence of India Rules. It was well-known, wanted to see him. After knowing that the Chief Minister of West Bengal has behaved in this fashion—he prevented the Members of the Opposition from seeing her—and after coming back, she should have done something. Even there, she should have gone to the jail to see the Opposition leaders to find out the actual position. This would have given a healing touch to the wounded feelings of the people of West Bengal. After having come here, after having failed, I would like to know what steps she took to see that the Central Government intervened in such a situation as the State Government there has been behaved in an abnormal way. I would like to have some clarification from the Prime Minister also.

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA (Bihar) : I would like to know why some of the leaders of the Opposition who wanted to meet the Prime Minister were not allowed to do so. Secondly, while she had

been there, why did she not take the initiative herself to meet the leaders of the Opposition and have a talk with them about the situation. We always hear that food should be treated as a national question, must be solved as a national problem. What was the difficulty that prevented her from meeting the leaders of the Opposition, those who were in jail? Besides that, I would like her to assure this House that in future she would take steps to see that such provocative and complacent statements are not made in this House or in the county as was made by the Food Minister in this House. When we were discussing the food situation in Kerala, the Food Minister made the statement that in Bengal everything was o.k. and that the professional agitators are now unemployed there, the same day, what was happening in Bengal and what happened the next day? I think it was not proper on the part of the Food Minister to have made such statements and I think such provocative and complacent statements are also responsible for creating such situations. Will the Prime Minister see that no such provocative and complacent statements are made in future?

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE (Nominated) : The clarification I wanted to ask for has been asked for by the two previous speakers. I would like to know from the Prime Minister as to what exactly happened in this case. She wanted to see the Opposition leaders and I believe there was an appointment to see the PSP Leader, Mr. Samar Guha. I would like to know what happened. Did the Chief Minister ask her not to see him? She made a very moving appeal last time she spoke. I liked it very much and I was moved but I would like clarification on this specific point from the Prime Minister.

SHRi ARJUN ARORA : Sir, I feel the stage has come now when food should be taken out of the arena of party politics and I, therefore, appeal to the Prime Minister to make a definite and purposeful food policy an all-party policy. In the case of Bengal, Sir, I feel the stage has come when the Centre must intervene to see that rigidity is given up both by the Government of West Bengal and by the Opposition parties. The two parties in Bengal, the Government and

the Opposition, should be brought around a table to evolve a common policy of supplying food to the people of Bengal. We know from past experience that the food situation in Bengal can be very bad and use much harm. That eventuality must be avoided and that can be done only if the Centre intervenes to persuade the West Bengal Government and the Opposition parties to give up rigidity and sit together in a calm atmosphere.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU (Uttar Pradesh) : Some hon. Members from the Opposition have pleaded with an injured innocence that had the Members of the Legislature in Bengal been not arrested or had things in the Bengal Assembly not happened as they in fact did, things would have been other-Who is responsible for the dignity of the Speaker or the Chairman ? If we believe in democratic principles, then there is no reason why the Mace should be broken or taken away by one section of the House. . . .

[Interruptions.]

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

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU : if the people do not believe in the democratic way of life, in the authority of the Speaker, for them to talk of the conduct of the Chief Minister or to ask whether life was more important than property is. I should say, a mere mockery. I am reminded of a saying:

“उलटा चोर कोतवाल को डांटे”
 श्री गोडे मुराहरि : यह बहुत बार सुन चुका ।
 डा० एम० एम० एस० सिद्धू : यह तो आप सुना करते हैं और इसी तरह अमल भी किया करते हैं । इसी का तो अफसोस है कि सुनते ही नहीं हैं, करते भी हैं ।
 श्री गोडे मुराहरि : यह आपको अप्नाई करता है ।

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU : Sir, the question is whether these widespread disturbances, the way they have been organised . . .

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA : They were not organised. They were spontaneous.

SHW G. MURAHARI: Probably they were organised by the Congress Government. That is possible.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU : If the disturbances were spontaneous, then I would like to say that they were organised for a very long time because there is a similarity ...

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA : That is because of scarcity of food.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU : It is not the food policy which made the people burn property, it is not the food policy which should make people remove the fishplates.

(Interruptions.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Order, order, Mr. Murahari, you cannot continue this running commentary.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU : As a matter of fact, it is the mentality of hon. Members which is responsible for such things because they want to create ...

(Interruptions.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Let him have his say. You have had your say.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU : The hon. Members, who were responsible for declaring the 'Bengal Bundh' must have seen to it that conditions are not created in which democracy cannot function. If they are not responsible for democratic functioning, I would like to say that they should not take the name of democracy. Let them talk of dictatorship or ...

(Interruptions.)

The Defence of India Rules have not been applied as hon. Members say. Only in a very few cases has the court criticised this use. Can anybody say that the Defence of India Rules have been used in general against any political party?

SHRI G. MURAHARI : Yes, yes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SMA M. P. BHARGAVA) : Dr. Siddhu, is this your clarification?

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU : I would like to ask Government whether they would be firm but flexible in the sense of being humane and not permit those persons who are going to destroy the very democratic way of life?

SHRI KRISHAN DUTT (Jammu and Kashmir) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I feel Mr. Arjun Arora's suggestion can be taken up only when the condition precedent is observed by the Opposition.

SHRI M. N. COVINDAN NAIR : Then why should it be taken up?

SHRI KRISHAN DUTT : I honestly feel that the peace of the country, the prosperity of the country and the good name of the country are the common responsibility of the Government and the Opposition alike. Therefore in the name of the country's peace and prosperity the common man and the entire House, I believe, will expect the Opposition leaders to condemn the incidents of violence and lawlessness that have recently occurred in West Bengal. Up to the present time I have noted that not even once has any Opposition leader publicly condemned whatever deplorable and sad events have occurred in West Bengal. Therefore if they have any respect for the feelings of the common man in the country, if they have any respect for democracy, if they have any respect for the well-being and the good name of the country, it is the duty of the Opposition to rise to the occasion, forget the past and look to the future. And they must at least appeal to the lawless elements or if they have no connection whatsoever with them, it is all the more reason for them to say publicly that they dissociate from whatever sad happenings that have happened there and condemn them unconditionally. That is the first condition that must be satisfied before the hon. Prime Minister can be asked to intervene.

Secondly, I would appeal to the Government also. Let the past be buried and to set matters right in the future some positive action must be thought of in consultation with the leaders of the Opposition here and then after joint consultations if a course is found out that should be taken up and no stand on prestige should endanger the interests of the country. But of one thing I am absolutely clear that no Government

ment worth the name can bow to or be cowed down by elements of lawlessness and so I appeal to the Government to be stern and deal with a firm hand all elements of lawlessness. If in the name of enquiry or in the name of release of prisoners they pin their faith on inciting further violence and lawlessness in the State that effort must be stemmed in the bud.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : I would request Members to be brief because we have spent quite a lot of time on this question now. Mr. Gujral.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL (Delhi) : Sir, . . .

SHRI D. C. MALLIK (Bihar) : May I say a few words ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : No, I have called Mr. Gujral. Please take your seat.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : When in the beginning of the session a demand was voiced here for the withdrawal of the emergency I have been one of those who started it because we felt that the emergency has outlived its utility and it should be withdrawn. But it is very unfortunate that when it looked possible that the emergency would be withdrawn some steps should have been taken in Bengal which have set that move at naught and which have given a setback to all of us who have been trying to support that move. I am sorry that my friends in the Opposition instead of realising that the best way for having the emergency withdrawn was to make it look completely out of date and continue to observe peace, they have tried to create an illusion which is absolutely different from the reality. The illusion is that that very conspiracy of which Mr. Nanda mentioned when he spoke of the DIR earlier—he said that there is a conspiracy of the Left Communists to try and create a situation in the country which will encourage the enemies of the nation—is tried to be encouraged behind the veil of food situation. The food situation in the country has been debated here and . . .

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh) : I do not think you can prove . . . •

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: If Mr. Sapru believes, as Mr. Kumaran wants him to believe, that there has been no mobilisation, if Mr. Sapru believes, as the Opposition wants him to believe, that there has been no hand behind this and that all these have just happened spontaneously, I think Mr. Sapru, with all respect to him, is being extra-judicial-minded, which he is entitled to be, without seeing the evidence. And evidence he must not ask only one party to produce; he must judge what the result of the circumstances might amount to. What they are asked to believe is that there is some difficult food situation. I admit that the food situation should improve and we are all endeavouring towards that. But the point that arises is this. Does it happen that a hungry man travels twenty miles to remove the fish plates; does it happen . . .

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : I am now convinced that the hand of somebody who does not want the DIR to be lifted is behind all this.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : If the food situation were the problem then the leaders of those people should have taken the action which my friend, Mr. Govindan Nair, took.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Well, Mr. Gujral, will you come to the clarification ? What clarification are you seeking on the **Hone** Minister's statement?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: I want to potot out . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : This is not the tune for a speech. Please come to your clarification.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : With this background that the conspiracy does exist, with this background that the veil of the food situation is merely meant for furtherance of that intense situation, may I ask the Home Minister that he will agree to hold a judicial enquiry only after the situation becomes normal, after everything has become absolutely peaceful? To order an enquiry before that would be dangerous to the peace of the nation, not only in Bengal **bat** everywhere **else**.

श्री जगत नारायण (पंजाब) : मैं बड़े अवकाश के साथ होम मिनिस्टर साहब और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबों को खिदमत में यह अर्थ करना चाहता हूँ कि उनको किसी मलत-फहमी में नहीं रहना चाहिए। हालात बड़े खराब हो रहे हैं। जनता में एक बात चल रही है कि यह हुकुमत बगैर फौज के नहीं चल सकती है। जब भी हालात खराब होते हैं आपको फौज भेजनी पड़ती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जनता में यह ख्याल पैदा होना कि डेमोक्रेटिक हुकुमत बगैर फौज के हुकुमत नहीं कर सकती है, बड़ी बुरी बात है। मेरी तज-वाज इसके सिलसिले में एक यह है कि स्वर्गीय लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी को जब कभी कोई मुश्किल पेश आती थी, वे यहाँ पर हिन्दुस्तान के अपोजिशन लीडरों को बुला कर उनके साथ बैठ करके, बातचीत करके फंसलावात कर लिया करते थे। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जब से प्रधान मंत्री बनी हैं, उन्होंने सिर्फ एक मोटिंग बुलाई है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर वह लीडर्स की मोटिंग बुलाएँ और जो हालात इस वक्त सारे हिन्दुस्तान में चल रहे हैं, आसाम में मित्रों का मामला है, इसी तरह से बंगाल में इतने उत्पात हो रहे हैं, असम्भलियों के इतने जगड़े हैं—तो ये सारी चीजें वहाँ बैठ कर वह हल कर सकते हैं और हल करना निहायत जरूरी है। इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि जो इमेज हिन्दुस्तान का बना था वह इन घरेलू लड़ाइयों में खत्म हो रहा है। इसलिए यह निहायत जरूरी है कि आप यहाँ के अपोजिशन लीडरों की मोटिंग बुला कर उनसे बातचीत करें, बातचीत करके मामले को तय करने की कोशिश करें, हालात को सुधारने की कोशिश करें। यह मेरी उनकी खिदमत में दरखास्त है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BmRGAVA) : I am very sorry I will not be able to call other speakers. I will call upon the Home Minister now.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have listened with great care to

all the observations made from both sides of the House. I believe for the sake of this country, this dear country of ours—we all can and should agree that the conditions which we are facing today, the situation with which we are confronted today are not good at all. Having also regard to the fact that the danger to our security also persists—we are all very keen, Sir, that the state of normalcy should be restored as speedily as possible. We are quite determined that this state of tension should cease and the sooner all disturbances should come to an end the better, because no good is coming to anyone at all and anything that is possible for this Government to do in this matter—and I am sure the Prime Minister has this all the time in her mind—will be done. I might say one word in connection with the Bengal Government and particularly Prafulla Babu, regarding whom there is a general consensus that he is not the man who is out to cause harm to anybody. Therefore, in spite of that, if all these things are happening, there must be something deeper, something beyond his capacity, than to contain these things by simple goodwill. Now, the problem originally was food, the difficulty regarding food. If it could be that the sufferings caused to the people—because of non-availability of food in certain circumstances for some people—would be mitigated by this kind of action, well, then it would be a different matter, but it is certain that these things will aggravate not only the difficulties in respect of this matter, but also other difficulties of numerous other varieties would be added, superimposed on them. Then, why should anyone think of indulging in these things? Of course. I will be told, 'No, it is the Government which is instigating all these things and that the Opposition has no such intention, no such purpose and no hand at all'. It is very strange that Government wants to have property in railway stations destroyed, offices destroyed, all those costly places set on fire, a polite sub-inspector killed and an assistant sub-inspector done to death on the spot. Why should Government do all these things? {Interruptions;} But then, who wants, who thought that the young boy who comes in the street is going to be killed? Government does not want such things to happen because the Government is trying the hardest to prevent these things. We cannot be blamed for this. Why is it then? The question was very sinister. Motive is being imputed to Government that because

we are moving towards a relaxation of the Defence of India Rules and something further than that also, and then somebody comes in and says in order to thwart that purpose, it has set this thing in motion.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: Yes.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : That is so, is it ? Well, Sir, I might then put it the other way, that there are some people who have a certain strategy. We were asked : Is it life or property which is more valuable ? Why are we allowing these people to be killed, allowing people to die ? I may say that some people for the sake of promoting revolution of a certain kind have designed it. It is part of their philosophy that these things have to be achieved only at the cost of a large number of lives.

(Interruptions.)

SHRI G. MURAHARI : A very cheap reply. It does not behove the Home Minister to talk like this.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : The Home Minister knows these facts and, therefore, he talks.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : Do not invent revolutionaries.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : Not all kinds of revolutionaries, but there are some for whom revolution can only be brought about by the sufferings of a large number of people and large-scale death. That is what it is. Although they would like the DIR to be removed by the Government, they could not resist the temptation, which had presented itself, and they wanted to exploit the situation that was there. They went about in their own old way of creating disturbances.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : I would have accepted it, if after the first shot, when that boy died, you had cared to institute an enquiry.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : I am coming to that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Sim M. P. BHUIGAVA) : Let him finish.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA . We would also like the Legislature to function normally. M27RS/66—5

SHRI G. MURAHARI: The fact is that you cannot deal with your Chief Minister*

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : Then, is it the way ? Is it at all the desire on the part of those friends who have brought about the functioning of the Legislature to this pass ? The Finance Minister could not proceed with his speech. His papers were snatched. So much had been done. It is well known. It is a matter of shame for all of us that such things should happen in this country, whereby democracy inside the Legislature and outside in the streets is just brought to a standstill. It is being disrupted. Now, we want this to . . .

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : When you make mention . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Govindan Nair, nobody interrupted you. Try and please have patience to hear what he has to say.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : I am very patient, but I would expect the Home Minister to be more impartial when he speaks about the happenings. He should also say that the Minister slapped a Member. Put forward both the things.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : It is not that a member of the Government is incapable of making an error. I do not know what happened there, in what circumstances, in self-defence or what. I do not know. See all the series of things that have happened and if any person has done anything wrong at this stage, we will look into that also. But see the plenty of things, all the incidents and take them together. Could anybody justify it or say a word in defence of all that ? Now, why is it that violence occurred ? Well, you put all the series of incidents together, piece them together and you will know. I do not want to go into the details, but I am coming to this important matter. Why is Government rigid ? Why does it not come to some way of dealing with it, with possibilities of culminating this bad situation ? I am sure there should not be, there will not be and there cannot be any rigidity on the part of the Government. There is no question of prestige at all—I can assure hon. Members—and also I am quite sure that the Chief Minister of West Bengal is not capable of standing on any point of prestige. I know it. But the

[Shri Gulzarilal Nanda.]

point is this. We want to see that things return to normalcy, but in what manner? Somebody then says or puts down conditions for the return of normalcy. Then, it has to be considered whether taking certain course is really going to bring back peace and stability or following that course is itself going to reinforce all the tendencies, all the trends and forces of disruption in the country and many things worse. Why was this 'Bundh' ordered? It was asked whether we could predict things. I say we can predict it—certainly I have been in the labour movement for many years. {Interruptions.) Now, I know when we ourselves initiate certain processes, when we see in motion certain series of steps, then what happens? People are brought into the streets and then they are all the time being instigated. They are all the time being told that the purpose is to paralyse this Government. This is the purpose and they will not be satisfied till this is done. But we will not allow that to be done. The whole purpose is to paralyse and this is not going to be allowed to be done.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: Nobody is doing it

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : I am
(alking from the knowledge of things.

(Interruptions.)

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN : He has always
been knowing so many things . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P.
BHARGAVA) : Mr. Kumaran, order, order.

AN HON. MEMBER : He always has extra
knowledge and we want a judicial enquiry.

SHRI G. MURAHARI : Let him place the
facts before the House.

(Interruptions.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P.
BHARGAVA) : Order, order.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA: What
should be done, that is the point. We have
been trying to come to that, but we have been
prevented from really doing anything about it.

HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : You im-
pose impossible conditions. There has to be a
reciprocal attitude certainly for this purpose
and on our side we are feeling very unhappy
about it. We want to go to the utmost length to
see that this abnormal state of affairs comes to
an end as soon as possible. There should also
be a similar purpose, and I hope that things
have already gone so far that everybody
concerned will realise that we should not now
trifle with the lives of the people. Those who
are doing it should know that this Government
has a responsibility to the people. They have
put it in power for the purpose of protection of
their lives, and no Government will be worth
the name which does not use all its strength
which it has in order to secure the lives of the
people. It is only for the discharge of that
elementary duty of the Government that things
have to be done. That is the explanation of
whatever had to be done.

The question was raised about the respon-
sibility of the Centre. I do not know whether
the hon. Member has practised law or not, but
it is a very elementary thing in the Criminal
Procedure Code. There is no need for any
District Magistrate to wait till the Centre
orders him to make use of the assistance of
the Army.

PROF. M. B. LAL : I did not wish to
intervene at this stage especially when the
Government was good enough to hear me so
patiently. But I would like to say this that
section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code
allows the district authorities to use lawfully
Armed Forces if and when necessary for
maintaining law and order. It did not oblige
the Central Government to allow the District
Magistrate to use the Army the way he chose.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA : Then the
question was raised about his being autho-
rised. Certainly the Chief Minister has the
responsibility for law and order in the State.
Whether it is the District Magistrate or it is
the Chief Minister, acting in their own
discretion on an assessment of the situation
which they have to face from hour to hour,
they are directly on the spot, they have the
legal power to do so. They have been
authorised, vested with the power. Neither is
there any requirement nor is there any need to
refer to the Central Government.

I hcrefore, the Central Government does not come into it at all.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE (West Bengal) : Not only a Magistrate of the highest rank but a Magistrate of the second class or third class has the power. That is the clear law. There is no constitutional conundrum, none at all. There are six sections of the Code of Criminal Procedure which deal with such a situation. *[Interruption.]* Only six sections of the Code are relevant. No reference need be made to the Chief Minister, certainly not to the Home Minister nor to the Prime Minister nor to anyone in this wide wide world. A Magistrate of the highest rank present can in the exercise of his discretion deal with the situation. That is the law as it stands. The words "military force" were there in the Code before the year 1952; we have had the Constitution functioning since 1950 and we made the amendment in 1952 deleting the words "military force" and used instead the expression "Armed Forces" giving power to the three branches, the Army, Navy and Air Force, to come and help in the restoration of order.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : I want to seek a clarification.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You cannot seek a clarification from another Member.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA : Sir, just by way of clarification in the speech of the Home Minister, I shall be very brief. All credit to this movement has been given to the Left Communists. But on the 17th February, that is to say after the incidents of the 16th at Basirhat, the West Bengal Government gave the credit to the Right Communists. So the Government has two minds. Sometimes they say Right Communists, and sometimes they say Left Communists. I would only request the hon. Home Minister to appreciate that if anybody is to be blamed, it is the entire people of West Bengal, neither the Left Communists nor the Right Communists but the entire people of West Bengal.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : This is no clarification. Order please. The Prime Minister.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am going to take only a couple of minutes of the time of the House, and, there is nothing much to be added to what the Home Minister has already said. But since name has been brought in and certain words were used, I v/ant to clarify the situation.

I am supposed to have used the word "helpless". I want to make it quite clear that I did use this word but not in the sense which has been attributed to me. I said that in view of the stand taken by the opposition, in view of their deliberate plans for violence, I was helpless to intervene in the matter. It is true that when Shri Samar Guha asked to see me—it has been my normal practice from before, which I intend to continue, that, I *meet* everybody who comes to see me—when Shri Samar Guha asked for an appointment, I told my Secretary I would see him. We did not know at that time that there was already a warrant against him, which was in the hands of the subordinate officers who in turn did not know about my appointment. Therefore, he was arrested in the morning. I was not in contact with him directly and nobody told me about this. No other opposition leader asked to see me except Shri Hiren Mukherjee whom I did see.

I take grave objection to some of the allegations which have been made here from the opposite side of the House against the Government. Many sad things have happened in Bengal. I said here earlier and I would like to repeat that we have the greatest sorrow for the families who have lost people, whose members have been killed in the firing. No Government likes to resort to firing and certainly we do not. But when I went to Calcutta and when I heard the sort of plans which were afoot and which were later proved to be correct, what was expected did happen. I was asked whether the Army should be called in. Whether it is constitutional or not I do not know, but I was asked and I did agree that if trains were attacked, the Army should be called to protect the trains. Trains were attacked. Now as the Home Minister has pointed out and other Members have pointed out, the Government's primary responsibility is not only to provide the necessities of life as far as possible and as far as they can to the

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi.] people but to see that law and order is observed. If you do not have law and order, none of the other things can be done. You cannot provide better food or other necessities. If you have chaotic conditions in Calcutta City or anywhere else in West Bengal, then you cannot simultaneously say, "have a national food policy" or "give more food". It is just not possible. Therefore, the first thing is to have normalcy. I have appealed to Members opposite, I have met the Members who come from West Bengal of the opposition, and I am prepared to meet anybody else who wishes to come and see me to discuss this problem; but first some kind of way has to be found in which conditions can return to normal. While there are people who are advocating violence, it is no use debating who is responsible. There was a very definite call made for the "Bengal Bundh". It was not a secret call. It was a public call, an open call. Although, as the Home Minister has mentioned, in a statement you can say that you want this to be peaceful, we all know how peace is broken, how things get into violent hands. Now we must all endeavour to get the situation back to normal. In spite of all the things which have been said about the Chief Minister here, I would like to assure the House that he is not maintaining a rigid attitude and he is genuinely trying to find a way out and to meet whoever it is possible to meet. I hope that with cooperation from all sections of the House, we can face the situation. The situation is a bad one. I have already told the House that the food situation is an extremely critical one. It is no use saying, give more food when the food is not there. We have to try and sit together and find some way in which there can be better distribution; where there is greater hardship, it can be alleviated. But *it* cannot be done by having this kind of strike or by destroying Government property or by inciting people to this kind of demonstrations. All the energies which could have gone towards solving certain local problems are diverted to these other things. And with the best of desire or willingness, they have to be diverted to this until, as I have said, the situation comes back to normalcy.

Shri Arjun Arora mentioned about a national food policy. I have myself talked about this and I am very keen to have it.

But I am sure he knows, as other hon. Members know, that amongst the hon. Members of the Opposition, there is not one viewpoint on this. There are perhaps as many view-points as there are Members. And therefore, although we want to get together on this and we want to have suggestions from them, it is not easy to find one policy which will be acceptable to all.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR : What about that side ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: This side also, of course. That is all.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : We go over to the non-official business. Dr. Siddhu.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about the judicial enquiry ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : I have called the next Member. Dr. Siddhu.

**RESOLUTION RE APPOINTMENT OF
A COMMITTEE TO REVIEW THE
WORKING OF THE COUNCIL OF
SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL
RESEARCH—con *td.***

Du. M. M. S. SIDDHU (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, the question before us is whether the House is of opinion that a Committee be formed to review the working of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. I have carefully gone through the speech of the hon. Education Minister and after reading it, I felt disappointed because he did not go into the depth of the problem, which is before the CSIR.

(THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE) IN THE CHAIR]

The first question before us is whether the CSIR Laboratories are solving the problems which are before the country, whether they are trying today to implement, supplement, correlate research work in the various fields. I would like to say firstly that the difference about the ratio between fundamental and applied research work has been a matter of grave concern to this House and outside. In the earlier Review-