

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY. Sir, in this connection, I would just like to make one point. Sir, there is a certain decorum in the way our institutions function. If you recollect, there was a time when the former President of India had written to the former Prime Minister on Gujarat developments. There was a hue and cry and people said, 'Make that public' But it was never made public. ...*(Interruptions)*... Even I agree with it. Likewise, with the present Governor in West Bengal, we have said that if he has to say anything, please convey it to the Government; don't go the public. Because this is not the decorum. ...*(Interruptions)*... That is the principle that should be maintained.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jethmalani, you raised a point and he had clarified it. ...*(Interruptions)*... That cannot be a point for debate. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, kindly bear with me for a second. The question is whether it was a friendly advice or a directive. He used the word 'directive' in his speech yesterday ten times. If he has said that it is a directive, then it is a constitutional document and it is his duty to produce it. But if it is some friendly advice which he has given to comrades... *(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: I think this point will be clarified by the Home Minister when he replies. ...*(Interruptions)*... When he replies he will clarify it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: We will also speak about it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION—Contd.

The proposal to set up SEZ in Nandigram, West Bengal and consequent large scale violence

SHRI PRIYARANJAN DASMUNSI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I heard with rapt attention the observations made by the hon. Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Shrimati Sushma Swaraj. I also have had the opportunity to hear my learned colleague and very distinguished Leader of the CPI (M) in Parliament, Shri Sitaram Yechury. First of all, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I want to say that I respect all the Members of the House and thank all the leaders for having agreed to this text and to start the discussion.

The text is the most important thing when we discuss a matter. It contains 'SEZ' and concludes with 'violence.' Both should be given justice, so that an objective debate can take place without acrimony and without taking personal issues against one another. The debate starts with the text beginning with 'SEZ' and ending with 'violence.' Due to global economy, liberal economy, and market-driven forces operating in the economy, several State Governments, cutting across party lines, throughout the country, are very, very enthusiastic to get as much investment as they can in industrial sector and in various other sectors. No industry can take any real shape without land, be it a BJP chief Minister in a State or be it a CPI (M) Chief Minister in a State or be it a Congress Chief Minister in a State. But considering the existing Land Policy and existing Land Reforms Act in respective States, how to go about it? That is the best issue before SEZ.

Sushmaji was a distinguished Cabinet colleague in the previous Government. She had enough experience to brief the Cabinet as a Cabinet Spokesperson. She knows that the rehabilitation and resettlement issue is the basic issue of any place where land is taken up either for development purpose or for any other purpose. I am not going to provoke anyone. Yesterday, I spoke enough and I am thankful to Sushmaji for having chosen only that part of my speech, without naming me, on Mao Zedong. I will come to this later on.

Understanding the reality of future development, Resettlement and Rehabilitation process got the final seal by the NDA Government, but not with the statutory backing of a legislation. The NDA Government appointed a Committee of Secretaries. बार-बार सुझाव दिया, एक कानून

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लाइए, bring a law. Law was drafted and ready. But, at the end of the day, in 2003, the NDA Government felt, now law; let us go via a resolution, and that Resolution got the final signature in January, 2004 when the whole country was set to face the election. And on 14th February, you finally approved it. Within the ambit of that resolution, be it Mayawati in UP today and earlier Mulayam Singhji, Ramanji in Chhattisgarh, Vasundharaji in Rajasthan and Buddhadebji in West Bengal, each one could not find a comprehensive approach in regard to land reforms, land distribution, rehabilitation, etc. as per the Act. I am not going to debate on that. When the debate will come, I will persuade my party whether I can get a chance to speak. It is our UPA Chairperson, having heard various political parties, groups and responsible mass organisations, echoed the voice in Dehradun that the way in which we are going to approach SEZ, is wrong. It will make many people homeless and lead many farmers to cry. That will be a big battle. And when a Chief Minister takes the responsibility on the Constitutional oath, he has to deliver according to the framework of the national text. As you know, after due deliberations, UPA came to the conclusion that NDA concept of resolution is not giving justice in terms of time-frame commitment of rehabilitation; is not giving justice as to who are these settlers, for how long they have to be identified; is not giving justice to the BPL category of people; is not giving justice to the landless people who will be totally thrown out of the zone. Then, a Group of Ministers, after due deliberations, came before the Cabinet, not with a resolution, but with a legislation which will be introduced in this session. And let the legislation be debated in the Standing Committee and come out with a comprehensive approach to give a proposal as to how to deal with the matter of land in so far as SEZ is concerned. It is not in operation. I must officially say that it is not in operation. Within the ambit of the investors and others, each one is trying to do some arrogance and obviously, there are protests-protest in Andhra by some other parties, protest in Kerala, protest in Chhattisgarh, protest in Bengal, everywhere. So, if you want to discuss SEZ, discuss as to how the consequent violence has come in.

Sir, I may only inform the House as I told the other House, there are a few places in India of national history which really voiced the millions against the British Raj. In Maharashtra, nobody can forget Pune. In UP, nobody can forget Balia. In Bengal, nobody can forget Midnapore. What great stalwarts who fought against the Britishers there! My friend Shri Ahluwalia knows about Midnapore. He happened to meet me in *Chhatra* Parishad. He Travelled with me many times. Midnapore is a different kind of place. In every village you go, there is a statue of a freedom fighter or martyr, in every village, there is a statue of a martyr.. It is only in Midnapore. Midnapore kept 14 days' control in their hand against the Britishers, when we had not seen the Tricolour in the country. And the only living member, who is still limping, is Sushil Dhara of that group. Great Ajay Mukherjee is from that zone where Nandigram is Great Satis Samanta, who fought relentlessly for Haldia Port, a quiet Member of the Lok Sabha who used to come, sit till the end and go quietly and only thought of the development. Matangini Hazra, a great woman martyr is from that area, Tamluk. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, there is a place called 'Pocchhaburi'. In Bengali, we call it 'Pocchhaburi' which means 'I Cannot go back' a famous place in Contai, which was an important centre to mark the Self-Satyagraha against the British in line with Mahatma Gandhiji. Such is that place. History will witness what is the importance of that area. Biswanath Mukherjee, who is not alive today, brother of Ajoy Mukherjee, was a stalwart of the Communist movement in that area when we were not even born. He and Ajoy Mukherjee differed on political philosophy. They were patriots. I can tell you people hardly witnessed any kind of inner violence. Why I took more interest in Nandigram is because I have an emotional attachment with it. Again, I refer to Ahluwaliaji,. Nandigram is a place where you could not go earlier by bridge. Two, three rivers you had to cross to reach that place, and the only rural college of Nandigram, in my student leadership days, I used to be a leader of the *Chhatra* Parishad, and

I used to go there very often. They are very good people. Forty-five per cent of the local population is Muslims, a few other persons, and bulk of the population is the poor Scheduled Castes. The political map of Nandigram at present is like this, in the last parliamentary elections, in the last assembly elections and in the last panchayat elections, there was an overwhelming domination of the Left Front, of which CPI is the supreme. There is microscopic minority of the Congress. I admit it, microscopic minority of the Trinamool Congress, and the BJP is nil, Among the Left Front. CPI (M) is the dominant. The next is CPI. What is the approach to Nandigram? Sitaram Yechuryji must have been informed by his Party. You cannot reach there by air; you cannot reach there by train. There are two entry point of Nandigram, Block-I. If you go straight to the town, you have to go crossing first. Narghat bridge, then crossing Chandipur, then crossing Nandigram II, then enter Nandigram I. If you go from the back, from which way I think Sushmaji and Advaniji had gone, it is by crossing Kheluri, crossing the bridge, and then come to Sonachura. I will accept the point. Suppose for reasons I accept that the large scale Naxalites penetration started there from January, who took over Nandigram with arms and ammunition and everything, they have to cross first the Tamluk district headquarters by road.. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: They can reach from sea also.

SHRI PRIYARANJAN DASMUNSI: I am not indulging in an argument. I am telling how to come with arms and ammunition. There are 80 police *chowkies*. They could have stopped them somewhere saying that they want to search them. But nothing has happened. If you go behind this, then you will appreciate that Khejuri is not only a fort, but it is also a nerve centre of the entire CPI (M) because I should say, the people there are still with you very strongly. Now, they cannot go (a) by boat, (b) by aircraft and (c) by train. They can go by road only, and if on road, if the whole target of the Naxalites and Maoists of Jharkhand or any part of India is that somehow we have a designed plan to operate from January and take entry before January, they have to go through all these routes, and I may tell you. I congratulate the West Bengal police, especially in Midnapore, they are very genuinely and very objectively serving the country and the State. They tried to detect many penetrations in Jharkhand. Every village of Midnapore I know. As it is on your finger tips, it is on my finger tips.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: If you permit me, I want to make one point. There is a way to enter through water, and that is why, we are asking for the Coastal Guards.

SHRI PRIYARANJAN DASMUNSI: When they come through water, they have to come behind or after Narghat bridge, and Narghat bridge, you know, is an Assembly constituency. There is a very powerful police station over there. Chandipur has another powerful police picket. I don't say that even then, they cannot penetrate. Yes, they can. If the terrorists can enter into the Parliament in spite of the best security arrangements.. (*Interruption*) they can do so there also. I am not disputing it. What I am saying is in normal manner....(*Interruptions*). Therefore I just want to say that try to objectively address the issue. I think, Sitaram Yechuryji, you have very nicely articulated your point. I never said that your people have not been harassed or your people have not been harmed. No, they were not. On 9th January, I am the first man who went to Nandigram without police. I travelled the entire Nandigram, from 9 O'clock, in the morning, to 10.30. on a motorbike because the roads were cut. I asked, "Why did you cut the roads? We cannot travel. We cannot go to any village." And all they said I conveyed to the Chief Minister, in writing. I will not disclose that point here. And from Nandigram, after addressing seven meetings, I talked of peace, peace, and asked them to please help the administration. Nandigram police station is still there. Police station has not been burnt, let us also take something; there is a police station in Nandigram town; it is not burnt. No officer was hurt; no officer was injured. The only thing that they said was; "How can you carry a vehicle, Sir, because the roads are cut?" And they were correct. While addressing the meeting,

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from there I talked to the Chief Minister that this particular notification, No., 888, a notification which was issued by the Haldia notification authority, had created a problem. And this notification was pasted in the BDO office. And that notification created a big problem. People felt, "We will be totally finished. Our fertile land will be gone." And I tell you that the Chief Minister is very honest to convey to me. "Are you saying that there is a notification?" I said, "Yes." He said, "No, it is not in my knowledge. Tell the villagers that if, really, it has been done by the Haldia notification authority, I assure you, it will be withdrawn." I instantly addressed the meeting. That meeting was held late in the evening. Police was present, Nandigram Police, I said to them that the Chief Minister assured me that the notification would be withdrawn; they did not get upset. But when I went to the victim's house—the first victim was Sheikh Salim—he does not belong, Sitaramji—please, you can also inquire—to either Congress or Trinamool or to any other party. He belongs to your party. His father told me, "I will never touch any party's flag, and I promise, till this date, except my party's ." And he was profusely appreciating Jyoti Basu, etcetera. He said, "You came; I don't mind. You prayed for my son, but Sir, I am not from the party which you represent." And what was he saying? His first sentence, Shri Sitaramji, was ; "Had Mr. Jyoti Bassu been there today, it would not have happened." I conveyed the same thing to you Anyway after Shiekh Salim, I went to the other victim's house. One is a *thelawaia*, Bharatmani. He had a thatched house. He is not a goonda. He was carrying his thela, was carrying his material. By that time, he got hit. I said, "Why do you stop the road?" They said, "They may be totally wrong. They are not the supporters of anybody. They may belong to you people. They are confused. Why? I said this in the other House yesterday. Try to understand this, Sitaramji; the problem is not with you, me or with Shri Buddhadeb or anybody else. The problem lies somewhere which you forgot to address. They found a model that the compensation amount should go to the landowner. And, you did start a very right policy, which was started by our Government also; it could not be implemented, the sharecroppers' right. And the landless labourers work there. Now, the sharecroppers are in bulk. In one acre of land, if there are two sharecroppers, it means there will be ten members to eat food in a day. If there is one landlord, who is the absentee landlord, who has a house in Salt Lake in Kolkata, or in Midnapore town, he is happy. "I cannot get the share of the crop. They have taken out. Now that I am getting Rs 2 lakhs or Rs. 5 lakhs as a land price. I am happy." Who is not happy? That brawl. And that brawl belongs to your party who really works for you. They said,. "Now, the party for which I fought is taking my bread." And, they revolted first. They did not raise any slogan of any party on that day. When the first revolt took place, please believe me, we were so microscopic minority that day that we could not gather even 200 people to sing *Vande Mataram*. It is there. If you feel that I am totally wrong, please crosscheck with your CPI(M) MLA of Nandigram, who is a Left Front man. They were not ours, And, they shouted. "Yes, the Chief Minister is assuring you, but. The "but" I will not explain because in parliamentary practice we never take the name of any leader who is not present here and is not given a chance to defend himself. It is some leader; you will find it out from the Opposition in the days to come.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: You are saying for the first time everything, even the lights are going off.

SHRI PRIYARANJAN DASMUNSI: Sir, I will not take the name. He is an eminent leader. Some said, "Don't worry, we will take the land. Nothing will prevent us". It was as open gathering. Some other said, "I am the last word in this zone and nobody else can dictate". It is all in the domain of your party leadership and knowledge, and I must sincerely say that in most of my discussions, in the early days of January, with the hon. Chief Minister , He said, "I will delete it from there". I would again tell you. Sitaram Yechuryji, nothing would have happened in

demonstration there, we can't defeat you. You are very strong there. That is my feeling also. Why did they do it? If, on 3rd January and 14th March incidents, whosoever have been shown by the confidential report of the police and recorded in the television, irrespective of party affiliations, the police had hounded them and brought them to justice. thing would have taken a different turn. Why it could not take place, I don't argue with you here. This is not the platform. But the fact remains. Sitaram Yechuryji—party will come party will go; Members will come. Members will go—that these CPM or Congress or Trinamool people have lost their children; they have lost their brothers; they have lost everything; the women lost their respect and dignity. Will they come back? Can you return it back? No.

Anwar Khada is not my party activist. I met her in Tamluk hospital along with my wife. They entered the Nandigram for the second time, after 14th March. In Nandigram hospital, who introduced me the list of the victims and took me to Gokulnagar are not my party people. These are my CPM colleagues and workers. They were whispering. "Priyada. if you want to save that lady from the jungles of Gokulnagar. try to send her to Tamluk hospital and she will be treated; it will be nice. Then she started giving the description. I can't describe it because I felt the mother or sister of any party is the mother or sister of ours. If a CPM woman is assaulted or insulted, or a Congress woman or a BJP woman is assaulted, when she sheds tears, no human being can say "I approve their conduct". Otherwise, they will take punch. It happened. The fact is fact. How to console them, how to compensate them is a different story. I know that a lot of debates are there. I would not like to bring the issue of the head of the State and court because that is out of the purview of the parliamentary practice. That is in the domain of the public. The Parliament can compete in a debate with this argument or that argument. But can this Parliament convince the people, whether they are affiliated to the CPM or Congress or Trinamool, that what has been done is good. No. We argued many times on many issues.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN. (PROF. P.J. KURIEN, in the Chair)]

The argument is confined to the debate. But the last word is with the people and it is in the people's domain.

What I say, Sushmaji, is that you have misquoted me and I still hold my view. What I said in the other House is, and I would like to quote:

"What I witnessed there on the 3rd January incident is not a fight between Maoists, Naxalites, etc. I do not know why you often use the word "Maoist"; I may differ with the philosophy; I belong to Gandhiji's party. But the name Mao Zedong is a name to the whole world for his revolution, but one may differ. I feel very sick when people accuse it saying, "Maoist, Maoist, Maoist". Mao Zedong's philosophy and Mao Zedong himself is not a matter to be condemned or to be undermined; one can differ. His poetry was very good and if a boy, up to the age of 18 years, even if he is belonging to the BJP family, reads his books and poetry, he or she will feel fresh to go and jump into the harvesting fields and protect the farmers. That is the spirit."

I further say, regarding this, I asked my journalist friend, You can say 'extremists'; you can say, 'Naxalites'. Why do you say "Maoists"? Why do you blame Marx or Lenins? You tell them 'extremists'. It is they themselves who took the name 'Maoists'. By calling that, I do not think the owner of the Maoists is blamed. I say, "You first finish them", and I still say that. If searching a Maoist's book in the House is the definition of a Maoist Revolutionary, I will be caught first thing, at any time, later on when you come back to power, which, I am sure, you will not. I have a huge collection of Maoism and Lenins, and I tell you, only when you read, you will learn. You can differ your line differently. But you

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cannot simply say, it is all bad. What is wrong if at somebody's house, I find a book of Mao Zedong. Yes; I agree that my nephew, Asim Das Tulsi got killed. His mother died of heart attack. He believed in it at the age of 17. I convinced him, "Don't do it." He was dedicated. He got killed one day. His mother died at Dum Dum. His Father was Niladas Tulsi. I could not convince my own cousin. He said, "No; It is my life." And, many brilliant people died during 1967 and 1971-1972 from this group. I tell you; the greatest name, whom you supported, when he came to your party in the election time, was Asim Chatterjee. Later on, he changed again and joined some others. His name was a terrific name. But he was brilliant in his articulation and in his exposition in the Presidency College. He was the first to raise the Naxalite Movement from the Presidency College. Then, Santosh Rana, who is from Midnapore, is again a good fellow. Therefore, I tell you; simply dumping everything in the name and cover of Maoists may not give you the truth. In which part of India a party worker of CPI (ML) is not there? In which part of Bihar or in which part of Delhi a group called Maoists is not there? But how we address that issue administratively and socially is a different thing. We totally differ on that. We belong to Gandhiji's party. We do not believe in guns. We do not believe in this kind of a tactics. That is why I am not in Maoism or in Leninism. And I am in the Congress. But it does not mean that their founding fathers and their leaders were all bad. It will be a wrong history. Mr. Sitaram Yechuryji, do you know what is Midnapore sight? Who joined Maoists, who joined Naxalites, I will not say that today. We will sit quietly and I can prove to you, dozens and dozens, being alienated from you, or, otherwise, disassociated from you have joined them, and they do not know how to come back...*(Interruptions)* The subject is Nandigram. Don't get impatient. The first young boy, who got killed by the Naxalites, is a first-class pass in B.com. (Hons) in Kolkata, and he is Shivangarojan Purulia. The second person, who is again a brilliant one, was Anmol in Bengal. He again belonged to our party. The third one is Shakti Gopal Tiwari, a student of Viswa Bharati, and he got killed. The fourth one, Nirranjan, got killed in the streets of Kolkata when he was simply protesting why they were killing a police constable. I know those days. Therefore, we might be misguided by it. That is different. But those who are joining to finish them in whatever manner they can, it will not be a correct objective; it will not be a democratic approach. We have to negotiate; we have to talk. If we talk to 20 people and if we are able to bring even 16 people to the mainstream, what is wrong? But painting everywhere a fear, and if, conveniently, I am to use the force, and call that they are Maoists, I do not think Sheikh Sali's father is a Maoist; I do not think Bharat Munde's father is a Maoist. I do know the credential of Hameeda Bibi, who is a Maoist. I do not know Anup Kara, a lady, who was raped, whether she is a Maoist. Maybe, somebody took advantage of the situation. I do not rule it out. But with all the pathetic things that have happened there, please don't talk that they are being led by Maoists. It will be a dishonour to them. You segregate Maoists; I do not mind it. But don't call them as Maoists. They are all young people. You can have your own party document later on. Maybe one day, you will tell me that some of my observations are correct. This is demarcacy. We have also done wrong things. I don't claim that whatever we have done has been good. We too have shortcomings.

श्री शाहिद सिद्दिकी: अहलुवालिया जी को बम बनाना सिखाया था ।...*(व्यवधान)*...

شری شاہد صدیقی: اہلو والیہ جی کو ہم بنانا سکھایا تھا...مداخلت...

SHRI PRIYARANJAN DASMUNSI: I never did. I say it with authority. I never touched even a blade when I was a student leader. If you want to verify it, get the certificate from Buddhadeb.

† [Transliteration in Urdu Script.]

श्री शाहिद सिद्दिकी: वह बोलते हैं, उन्होंने बम बनाना सिखाया था।... (व्यवधान)... अमर सिंह जी भी साथ में थे।

شری شہید صدیقی: وہ بولتے ہیں، انہوں نے بم بنانا سکھایا تھا۔... مداخلت... امر سنگھ جی بھی ساتھ میں تھے۔

SHRI PRIYARANJAN DASMUNSI: Don't spoil the debate like that.

I, therefore, appeal, through you, Sir, that who is a Congressman and who is a leftist is not the question. Now, on that day, Shambhu Mitra's daughter, Shraboni Mitra, who was not in your party, was ruthlessly opposed to the Congress.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: But don't justify the method.

SHRI PRIYARANJAN DASMUNSI: No, I am not justifying it. You abuse Trinamool, you abuse the Congress. I belong to Bengal; you criticise us. It is your right. You should do that. But it is also our right to question you on what is wrong. But please don't undermine the President of the Sahitya Akademi whom you had appointed. We did not appoint Sankho Ghosh. You appointed him, and I praise Buddhadeb for having appointed Sankho as Bangla Academy's Chairman. He is a great man. Why did he resign and what did he say? Sankho Ghosh is not of CPM but he is a great intellectual with a Left leaning. Then, do you want to question the credentials of Aparna? In all your programmes and functions she is the Chief Guest.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: We never questioned that. They have their position. That is all.

SHRI PRIYARANJAN DASMUNSI: It is not that they have their position. They did not say 'Mamta Bannerji, long live'; they did not say 'Priya, long live'. They said, "We never expected it from a party like the CPM". If they are wrong, you negotiate with them; I don't mind. Whether they are right or wrong, people will judge it. That is why I say, Nandigram's painting cannot be drawn by me or Sushmaji or you or even Mamta. Leave it to Shubho Prassanno and Jogen Chaudhary to draw the painting. You may accept it or you may reject it. Many times, we accepted the paintings of Fida Hussain. What is wrong to accept the paintings of Nandigram by Shubho Prassanno and Jogen Chaudhary? We may not agree with a drama enacted by any other party but why don't you respect Bibhash, the greatest one in the Calcutta theatre who produced more dramas than any Left leader did? What is the philosophy and approach of Lenin? What is the role of Stalin in the Great War? And every drama of his is like that. We salute him. He did not take a brief from me. What is wrong to respect Shyamali whose mother, Chittamitra, and whose father, Shambhu Mitra, and his family, were devoted to Navvama, and committed to the IPTA Movement? Why did she come to the streets? These are the writings one has to read and to correct oneself. It is not a position to be abused but to be corrected if something has gone wrong somewhere. This is what I feel.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, if you don't mind, please do not distort things by saying that we are abusing them or showing disrespect to them. I am saying that we disagree with them. That is a different point. But don't charge us by saying that we disrespect them.

SHRI PRIYARANJAN DASMUNSI: I want to say that it was not organized by any party. They are saying it. Take Tarun Sanyal; can you deny that Tarun Sanyal was the strongest activist of the CPI? (Interruptions) Mr. Raja cannot disagree.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Who is denying? I am saying, we disagree.

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: उसके दूसरे दिन हमारा प्रोसेशन उस से बड़ा था। आप खुद कह रहे हैं ... (व्यवधान)...

2.00 P.M.

SHRI PRIYARANJAN DASMUNSI: Therefore, I say, the problem started with the Notification and the further cause was to go beyond Buddhadeb's appeal and show respect to statements by some leaders whose names I would not like to take, who said, 'No carry on, carry on' and this 'carry on' process did get the bad name, the disrepute. It may happen in any other State where my party can do this. I will have to accept the blame then. In democracy, the moment one accepts the blame and tries to correct oneself, one becomes great. So long as we try to say 'no', it doesn't help. Yes, we did agree many times. At our AICC Session the other day, we did say, "we condemn the violence" We didn't say anything beyond that. The concern is that. It has happened today in Nandigram; it may happen somewhere else tomorrow.

Nandigram, the name, linked with the CRPF, and I have been criticised. Never. I would like to make it clear in this House today—I got the opportunity yesterday—that I wanted to give that respect to the State Government. The State is capable enough intellectually, in secular philosophy, and in administration, not to take assistance from any quarter. Why? I did argue this point. I said that in four situations the CRPF is asked. One, natural disaster-Tsunami, rescue, flood etc. Two, when the insurgent forces spread over districts and districts, paramilitary forces are needed. Three, declaration of disturbed area district in international borders. Four, communal riots. Luckily, the people of West Bengal have not been cursed by natural disasters, they are intellectually solid up to the grassroot levels to prevent any communal designs and that should continue, and there are no insurgent forces which are disturbing our districts and there is no disturbed area there. I just try to argue that even to deal a situation in one-third of an Assembly constituency, if the CRPF is deployed, will it enhance the prestige and dignity of the Government which is having 15 armed police battalions, including AFR? If you feel that all the people of Nandigram block 1 are Naxalites and to circumvent them by outside forces, you need that logic; I don't know. It is up to the knowledge of the Government. But I did not say that nothing should be given. Every time, in every matter I offered my support for all issues.

In the end, I would like to tell you. Sushmaji, you have been there. Even if they have narrated everything, the only thing I would like to tell you is this. While you ended with it, I begin with that. You said that so and so children met you. Yes, it is true. On the Brother's Festival Day I could not take my *tilak*. I said it the other day. Before ten minutes of the *tilak*, I got the phone call from the Pradesh Congress President, Somenji, asking me, "Can you rescue me in another 15 minutes as my house will be torched?" And he also told me that "My 70 years old father will be dragged". I talked to the DG Police. I noted the time in my mobile. The DG Police said, "You are right. The situation is bad. I am trying to protect them." Within ten minutes, when my sister put the *tilak*, the phone call came and everything was over. Now, the house went into ashes. It is really *Samuch Pradhan*, *Gram Pradhan*, they are not Maoists. They are not Maoists. They celebrated UPA achievements the other month in Midnapore. I could not help. I did not say that Shri Sitaram Yechury sent it; I did not say that Buddhadeb sent it. When a situation develops like this, people may not have control. They lose control and many accidents happen. And till today, his sister is in somebody's shelter. She could not come back home. Yesterday, the Kerala Youth Congress President and all congress Presidents had been there. In the night they conveyed to me that to distribute the relief also, they were threatened. When, with great difficulty, they tried to send the relief to two families, in advance, they got a message that unless you pay Rs. 15,000, Rs. 20,000 fine per night, you cannot come back. I know it will be tackled; I still feel that it will be tackled. I do not say that because of that some bad thing should happen. But, objectively, we must address what is right and what is wrong. So, Sushmaji, you concluded with

that, I would also conclude with one thing. When I was in Gujarat and coming back, I met with so many people. I said this in the Lok Sabha before the former Prime Minister. Atalji. A Muslim *darji* came to me. He was trembling. Rustle I asked him, "What are you? Are you giving some memorandum to us?" Shri Kamalnathji was there; Somnathji was also there. When Muslim *darji* came to me, I thought that he was a victim of riots. From what he told me, I felt Gandhiji is again killed. He said—"आप दिल्ली से आए ? आपका नाम प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी है? "मैंने कहा- "हां" । बोला-"तो मेरा एक काम कर दीजिए" । I thought that he was asking for some relief. उसने कहा- "मेरा एक ही काम कर दीजिए । सोनिया जी को, आडवाणी जी को मेरी बधाई दीजिए और कह देना कि हम कुछ नहीं चाहते, सिर्फ हमसे हमारा वोट डालने का हक छीन लिया जाए, सभी मुसलमानों का । अगर हम वोट नहीं देंगे, हमारा वाट डालने का हक अगर छीन लेंगे, तो हमें हमारा जीने का अधिकार मिल जाएगा। " I came and told this thing to Atalji on the floor of the House. So, that also I heard. So, let us not give one cry only. The collective cries should be addressed collectively in terms of the Constitution and our resolve. That is what I would like to submit. Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): The House stands adjourned to meet at 3.00 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at five minutes past two of the clock.

The House re-assembled, after lunch, at three of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Amar Singh now.

श्री अमर सिंह(उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभापति जी ...(व्यवधान)...

DR. V. MAITREYAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, no Minister is present! (*Interruptions*)

श्री नन्द किशोर यादव(उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभापति महोदय, "नंदीग्राम " पर चर्चा हो रही है लेकिन एक भी मिनिस्टर मौजूद नहीं हैं । ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Where is the Minister, Sir? (*Interruptions*) भाषण देकर चले जाते हैं । ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री अजय मारू(झारखंड): यह बहुत गंभीर विषय है, एक भी मिनिस्टर ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: अगर 2 मिनट में मंत्री जी नहीं आए तो हाऊस ऐडजॉर्न करना ही पड़ेगा । ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Adjourn the House for 15 minutes, Sir. (*Interruptions*)...

श्री नन्द किशोर यादव: आप हाऊस को ऐडजॉर्न कर दीजिए । ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: आप हाऊस को ऐडजॉर्न कीजिए और मंत्री जी को ...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is adjourned for five minutes.

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

The House reassembled at six minutes past three of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

श्री अमर सिंह: उपसभापति जी, आपने मुझे इस महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर बोलने का अवसर दिया, इसके लिए आपका धन्यवाद। सबसे पहले मैं अपने मित्र श्री सुरेश पचौरी जी से क्षमायाचना चाहूंगा कि मैंने अनावश्यक रूप से उनसे विवाद कर लिया, वे उसका बुरा न मानें, वे हमारे मित्र हैं। मेरी बहन और बड़ी विदुषी, भाव और शब्दों से प्रवीण बहन सुषमा स्वराज जी ने अपना वक्तव्य रखा, उसके बाद बहुत विस्तार से कामरेड येचुरी जी ने अपनी बात कही। मैंने अंग्रेजी में एक कहावत सुनी है कि I want to have my cake and eat it too। मैं समर्थक भी हूँ और समर्थक होने के साथ-साथ विरोधी भी हूँ, ऐसा अद्भुत गुण और रूप मैंने अपने पुराने नेता श्री प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी का देखा कि किस तरह से वामपंथियों के समर्थन से वे सरकार भी चला रहे हैं और बहुत मुलायमत के साथ हमला भी कर रहे हैं, तीखे बाण भी चला रहे हैं। आज की चर्चा SEZ के परिप्रेक्ष्य में नंदीग्राम के संदर्भ में रखी गई है। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि यह कोई नंदीग्राम या केवल बंगाल की समस्या नहीं है, यह पूरे देश की एक व्यापक समस्या है। हमारे पुराने नेता आदरणीय प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी जी जब भाषण दे रहे थे, तो उन्होंने बंगाल की बात की, बुद्ध भाव की बात की, संभवतः वे अपनी सुविधा के मुताबिक हरियाणा को भूल गए, महाराष्ट्र को भूल गए। सबसे बड़ी पीड़ा अगर किसानों को कोई है, तो वह हरियाणा के SEZ को लेकर है, वहाँ त्राहि-त्राहि मची हुई है...(व्यवधान)...

डा. राम प्रकाश(हरियाणा): यह बिल्कुल गलत है, तथ्यों के विपरीत है...(व्यवधान)... यह तथ्यों के विपरीत है...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: उनको बोलने दीजिए, यह उनका कहना है, आप बैठिए...(व्यवधान)... आप इस तरह इंटरवीन नहीं कर सकते, जब आप बोलेंगे तब कहिए...(व्यवधान)... पाणि जी, आप बैठिए...(व्यवधान)... देखिए, उनको बोलने दीजिए, अगर आप कुछ कहना चाहते हैं, तो इजाजत लेकर बोलिए।

श्री अमर सिंह: हरियाणा में मजदूरों पर गोली चली है...(व्यवधान)...

डा. राम प्रकाश: कहीं नहीं चली है...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: देखिए, यह तरीका नहीं है...(व्यवधान)...

डा. राम प्रकाश: ये गलत बयान क्यों दे रहे हैं...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: उनको जो कहना है, वे वहीं कहेंगे...(व्यवधान)...

श्री अमर सिंह: महाराष्ट्र में एक बड़े औद्योगिक समूह की सेज सजा दी गई, SEZ उसको लेकर विवाद चलता रहा, लेकिन हरियाणा और महाराष्ट्र की चर्चा नहीं हुई...(व्यवधान)... हां, यू.पी. की चर्चा कर दी है मुंशी जी ने, मुलायम सिंह, मायावती और बुद्ध बाबू की चर्चा हो गई, हरियाणा और महाराष्ट्र की चर्चा नहीं हुई, इसलिए जिनकी चर्चा नहीं हुई है, मैं उनकी चर्चा कर रहा हूँ। You cannot be selective in your criticism. मीठा-मीठा घूंट और कड़ुआ-कड़ुआ थूक, यह नहीं चलेगा। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि समस्या के मूल में क्या है। प्रियो दा ने यह सही कहा कि पेट्रोलियम इन्वेस्टमेंट रिजन एक भूख है, विकास की भूख है, उपसभापति महोदय, चाहे किसी भी दल की सरकार हो, जनता को विकास की भूख है, विकास चाहिए, उद्योग चाहिए, बुद्ध बाबू को भी चाहिए। पेट्रोलियम इन्वेस्टमेंट रिजन और उसमें इंडियन ऑयल कॉरपोरेशन इन्वेस्टर होने वाली थी और 19 दिसंबर, 2006 को पेट्रोलियम इन्वेस्टमेंट रिजन के लिए एक कमिटी बनी और उस कमिटी के अध्यक्ष, प्रियो दा यहाँ नहीं है लेकिन मेरी आवाज उन तक पहुँच जाएगी, संभवतः प्रियो दा को याद नहीं होगा, यह संयोग की बात है कि उधर प्रियो दा बैठे हैं, बी में मैं हूँ और इधर अहलुवालिया जी है, हम सब एक डाले के ही पंछी रहे हैं, असीम दास मुंशी की वह बात कर रहे हैं, छात्र परिषद् की बात कर रहे हैं, हिंसक आंदोलन की बात कर रहे हैं, अहलुवालिया जी, मैं और प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी जी उस दौर में हम लोग नक्सलवादी आंदोलन का सामना कर रहे हैं, हम लोग एक साथ थे। मैं उन्हें याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ, उस समय हम लोग नारा लगाते थे—“ प्रिया,

सुब्रतो,कुमुद सुदीप जाजिए छे आंदोलनरेदीप" तो वही सुदीप बनर्जी जो प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी के खास हैं,वह इन्वेस्टमेंट कमिटी जो बनी थी,जो औद्योगिक कमिटी थी जिसमें नंदीग्राम को तलाश किया और नंदीग्राम को अप्रूव किया,उसके अध्यक्ष का नाम था "प्रिया,सुब्रतो,कुमुद सुदीप,जालिए छे आंदोलनरेदीप" का नारा लगाने वाले हम और अहलुवालिया जी के साथी नेता सुदीप बनर्जी,विधायक सुदीप बनर्जी उस कमिटी के अध्यक्ष थे और उस कमिटी में अध्यक्ष कांग्रेस के सुदीप बनर्जी,वामपंथी सदस्य भी उसके सदस्य और हमारी पुरानी दोस्त,मुझे ममता बनर्जी केसाथ भी काम करने का सौभाग्य मिला,वह भी हमारे साथ कांग्रेस में थी,हमारे उनसे बहुत निकट के संबंध है,उसके दल के तारक बनर्जी भी समिति में थे,वह एम.एल.ए.हैं । सुदीप बनर्जी की अध्यक्षता में,टी.एम.सी.के विधायक तारक बनर्जी की उपस्थिति में और वामपंथी साथियों के सहयोग से पेट्रोलियम इन्वेस्टमेंट रिजन आई.ओ.सी.के तत्वावधान में एक विकास हो,इसकी प्रस्तावना की गई,तो इस विवाद का यह मूल है,नंदीग्राम के विवाद का यह मूल इस कमिटी का निर्णय जिसके अध्यक्ष माननीय सुदीप बंदोपाध्याय है,इस तथ्य से इंकार नहीं कर सकते हैं ।

भूमि उच्छेद प्रतिरोध कमिटी,अगर जमीन जाएगी तो कोलाहल करने का,चित्कार करने का अधिकार है और मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जिनकी जान गई है,जिन मांओं के बेटे गए हैं,जिन बहनों का सुहाग उजड़ा है,वे चाहे मार्क्सवादी हों,तृणमूल कांग्रेस के हों,कांग्रेस के हों या सामान्य नागरिक हों,खेद का विषय है,चिंता का विषय है,शर्म की बात है । किसी भी चुनी हुई सरकार के लिए शर्म की बात है,इस तथ्य को इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता है और बहन सुषमा जी,कवि हृदय साहित्यिक प्रेमी बुद्धदेव बाबू ने भी कभी यह नहीं कहा कि हमें खेद नहीं है,निराशा नहीं है,दुख नहीं है,लज्जा नहीं है,उन्होंने भी कहा है और मेरा यह मानना है कि जिन लोगों की जान माल की क्षति हुई है उसकी पूर्ति जिस रूप में हो सके,जो लोग अपने घर में नहीं जा पाएं हैं,जितनी जल्दी अपने घर जा सकें,उनकी सुरक्षा हो सके,उसकी जरूरत है और स्वयं प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी जी ने मान लिया है कि ज्यादा उत्पीड़ित लोग न कांग्रेस के हैं,न तृणमूल कांग्रेस के हैं,बल्कि मार्क्सवादी काम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के ही हैं तो फिर विवाद कहा हैं ? उपाध्यक्ष महोदय,कामरेड येचुरी ने अपने खुले पत्र में यही तो कहा है कि उत्पीड़ित होने वाले लोग,शोषित लोग,पीड़ित लोग,हमारे दल के हैं और यह संभव है और यह हुआ होगा क्योंकि जब द्वन्द्व होता है,जब हिंसा होती है तो स्थिति नियंत्रण से बाहर होती है,बंदूक से छूटनेवाली गोली विस्फोट होने वाला लैंड माइन और नंदीग्राम के उस अंचल में चल रही बंदूक और राइफलों की अवैध फैक्ट्रियां और मिलिटरी जनरल जिसको उद्धत किया है कॉमरेड येचुरी ने,"इकानॉमिक्स टाइम्स" की प्रस्तावना को उद्धत किया है कॉमरेड येचुरी ने उससे स्पष्टतः प्रमाणित होता है कि वहां पर माओवादी थे ।

महोदय,महाश्वेता देवी ने एक बहुत अच्छी रचना लिखी है-"हजार चौरासी की मां" और जया जी ने एक फिल्म में भी अभिनय किया था,वह पुस्तक नक्सलवादी आंदोलन का एक खुला दस्तावेज है,भवानी दत्त लेन,प्रेसीडेंसी कॉलेज,कोलकाता विश्वविद्यालय का परिसर,बी.के.पाल एवेन्यू,हिंदू होस्टल,हम लोगों ने लड़ाई लड़ी है और मैं प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी जी से कहना नहीं चाहता कि उस समय संघर्ष की जो शिक्षा हमें मिली है,उसको सार्वजनिक करने की जरूरत नहीं है । राज को राज ही रहने दो,तो अच्छा है,क्योंकि दास मुंशी साहब ने बताया कि वे कभी कॉमरेड येचुरी जी को बैठकर बताएं कि नक्सलवाद आंदोलन कैसे-कैसे परवान चढ़ा ? उस बैठक में मुझे भी बुला लें,एस.एस.बहलुवालिया जी को भी बुला लें,तो हम दोनों बताएं कि कब-कब,कहां-कहां,किन-किन लोगों को क्या-क्या शिक्षा-"प्रियो,सुब्रतो,कुमुद,सुदीप,जालिए छे आंदोलनरेदीप" — कौन-कौ सा दीप जलवाया है,यह सब बताएं । सदन के पटल पर नहीं बताना चाहते हैं । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या ये सामान्य लोग हैं,जो सड़कें और ब्रिज तोड़ देते हैं ? ये कौन से लोग हैं ? कहां के विश्वकर्मा है कि पूरी की पूरी सड़कों का जाल इन्होंने तोड़ दिया ? मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि नंदीग्राम खेजुरी अलग कैसे हो गया ? मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि एक राइफल जो पुलिस से लूटी गई ? उसकी बरामदगी किस दल के विधायक से हुई,पता करें,मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि सुनीता मंडल नाम की दसवीं कक्षा की छात्रा के साथ अत्याचार करके उसे पेड़े पर लटका दिया गया । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं,अभी दो दिन पहले,गृह मंत्री जी अपने अधिकृत सूत्रों से पता लगा

[श्री अमर सिंह]

लें कि पुरुलिया में...छोड़ दीजिए आप नंदीग्राम की बात,पुरुलिया में मार्क्सवाद कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के कार्यकर्ताओं को घर में घुसकर माओवादियों ने मारा या नहीं मारा? माओवादियों का और मार्क्सवाद कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और वामपंथियों का पुराना झगड़ा है। पुरान झगड़ा है कि नक्सलवाद परवान नहीं चढ़ता है। नक्सलवाद को रोक दिया है,उसकी विभीषिका को रोक दिया है और मैं प्रियदा को बहुत आदर और विनम्रता से बताना चाहता हूँ,एक बात उन्होंने कही है अपने भाषण में और बहिन सुषमा जीने भी कही है कि अगर कोई अन्याय है ,अगर माओवादी घुस गए हैं,अनधिकृत रूप से प्रवेश कर गए हैं तो क्या सी.पी.एम.के कार्यकर्ताओं को यह अधिकार है,या पुलिस को यह अधिकार है कि उनको रोकें ? तो मैं पूछना चाहूंगा कि गुजरात में क्या आपके दल के कार्यकर्ताओं को यह अधिकार है कि वह अक्लियत के समाज के लोगों को,मुस्लिम समाज के लोगों को उनकी बेगुनाही की सज़ा दें ? मैं तो आपसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि बात करने में तो शरमाते हैं आप,जुर्म करने में नहीं आता लिहाज़। यह कौन सी बात है?

महोदय,मैं न्यायपालिका की बात कहना चाहता हूँ। न्यायपालिका के बारे में मैं कोई तल्ख-टिप्पणी नहीं करना चाहता हूँ,लेकिन न्यायपालिका के बारे में मैं इतना जरूर कहना चाहूंगा,भले ही,न्यायपालिका मुझसे नाराज़ हो जाए। इसी सदन में एक मामले में हमारे नेता मुलायम सिंह के विरुद्ध याचिकाकर्ता ने कुछ शब्द उद्धृत किए थे,उस टेप को मैंने रखा था। अदालत में न्यायाधीश रो पड़े और रोते-रोते कहा कि मैं कोई पद नहीं लूंगा। लक्ष्मणन नाम के न्यायाधीश ने कहा और दस दिन के बाद इसी सरकार ने उन्हें विधि आयोग का चेयरमैन बना दिया। आशय क्या है,आप समझ लीजिए। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि न्यायपालिका में सभी लक्ष्मणन हैं,सभी अदालत में रोने के बाद लॉ कमीशन के चेयरमैन का पद स्वीकार कर लेते हैं,उदरस्थकर लेते हैं,लेकिन न्यायपालिका की साख को भी बढ़ा लगता है। प्रश्नवाचक चिन्ह लग गया है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अद् भूत संयोग है,मुझे उत्तर प्रदेश की याद आ रही है,आपबीती याद आ रही है। उत्तर प्रदेश में उस समय भी,यत्र-तत्र-सर्वत्र-चारों ओर से घेरकर,हमारे इस तरफ बैठे हुए कांग्रेस के साथी और भारतीय जनता पार्टी के साथी-मिले सुरे मेरा तुम्हारा,तो सुर बने हमारा-हमारी सरकार के विरुद्ध बोले थे और आज भी आदरणीय प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी जी और मेरी विदुषी बहन सुषमा स्वराज जी,दोनों के सुर में कोई अंतर नहीं है,लगता है यह कोरस है,सामूहिक गाने है। आश्चर्य होता है कि जब भी, यूपीए और एनडीए,आपस में कितना भी द्वंद हो,लेकिन इनके अतिरिक्त अगर कोई तीसरी शक्ति अभ्युदय होती है,वह चाहे समाजवादी पार्टी के रूप में हो,चाहे मार्क्सवाद कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के रूप में हो,उस शक्ति को कुचलने के लिए ये दोनों बड़ी ताकतें एक हो जाती हैं।

श्री मती सुषमा स्वराज: वे तीसरा शक्ति कहां है,वे तो उनके साथी हैं।

श्री अमर सिंह: कितने साथी है,यह तो आज आपने प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी जी के सारगर्भित वक्तव्य से देख ही लिया। दासमुंशी जी ने एक बयान दिया,उस बयान में कहा कि माओवादी अगर वहां है तो येचुरी के माओवादियों से बहुत गहरे संबंध हैं। प्रचंड की प्रचंडता को नेपाल में निष्क्रिय कर दिया,येचुरी ने। यह येचुरी की क्षमता थी कि नेपाल के प्रचंड माओवादियों और नक्सलवादियों ने येचुरी के कहने से हथियार डाल दिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...उस समय तो डाल ही दिए। अगर अर्जुन सिंह जी के कहने से डाकुओं ने समर्पण कर दिया तो वह अच्छी बात है। तो येचुरी के कहने से अगर नेपाल में समर्पण कर दिया और मुख्य धारा में आ गए तो वह भी अच्छी बात है। लेकिन नंदीग्राम में जो नक्सलवादी है,मेरी समझ में येचुरी जी से ज्यादा प्रभावित तो हमारे नेता प्रियरंजन दासमुंशी से है। ...**(व्यवधान)**...मैं कोई आरोप नहीं लगाना चाहता। ...**(व्यवधान)**...जो भूमिका कामरेड येचुरी ने नेपाल में निभाई,वह भूमिका प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी जी को बंगाल में निभानी चाहिए। 11 महीने तक पुलिस जब नंदीग्राम में भेजी जा रही थी,तब कहा जा रहा था कि पुलिस आ रही है,अत्याचार कर रही है। सीपीआई के स्थानीय विधायक की पिटाई हो रही थी, 27 वामपंथी कार्यकर्ताओं को मार डाला गया और पचास के बलात्कार के मुकदमें हुए तो कहा गया कि पुलिस के पर बुद्धदेव बाबू राज कर रहे हैं। लोकशाही में विरोध बहुत ज़ायज है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि निर्वाचन आयोग को पूरा दबाव,यह तो वामपंथियों के धुर विरोधी भी नहीं कह सकते कि वामपंथियों ने चुनाव बेईमानी से जीता है। जनता ने इन्हें चुनाव जिताया है। पांच हजार समर्थक वामपंथियों के निकाले गए और उनके 1500 समर्थक रिलीफ कैम्प में रहे। राज्यपाल को निकाले हुए वामपंथी समर्थकों ने जाकर पेटिशन दी और कोर्ट में जाकर इन्होंने अपील की। जो कोर्ट वामपंथियों

के विरुद्ध एक रिपोर्ट दे रही है वह कोर्ट,इन विस्थापित,निकाले हुए लोगों के बारे में मौन रही। यह भी कोर्ट की प्रक्रिया के प्रति एक टिप्पणी है।*मौन रहते है — पांच हजार लोगों के प्रति — यह स्वयं मुंशी जी ने माना है।

श्री उपसभापति: देखिए,गवर्नर को क्रिटिसाइज़ नहीं किया जा सकता।

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: सर,उन्होंने गवर्नर की बात की इसलिए...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What I am saying is let us observe certain things.

श्री अमर सिंह: मैं उनका नाम नहीं ले रहा हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति: नाम लेने की बात नहीं है। गवर्नर के ऑफिस को हम...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI AMAR SINGH: I Concede. मुंशी जी का नाम तो ले सकता हूँ ?

श्री उपसभापति मैंने कब आपको रोका है ?

श्री अमर सिंह: आप कहेंगे तो उनका भी नहीं लूंगा मैं बहुत कमजोर आदमी हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति: मैं क्यों कहूंगा ? जो कानून है मैं तो उसी के अनुसार कहूंगा।

श्री अमर सिंह: मैं कह रहा था कि अदालत में और संवैधानिक पद पर बैठे बड़े-बड़े लोगों के पास — मैंने नाम नहीं लिया — वह प्रतिवेदन दिया और प्रतिवेदन देने के बावजूद उनकी सुनवाई नहीं हुई।

वे कत्ल भी करते हैं तो चर्चा नहीं होती,

हम आह भी भरते हैं तो हो जाते हैं बदनाम।

श्री मती सुषमा स्वराज: उल्टा क्यों बोला ?

श्री अमर सिंह: चलिए,अपना अपना नज़रिया और ख्याल है। उड़ीसा और झारखंड से सूचना है कि माओवादी आए,यह मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ,सुनील महतो,झारखंड मुक्ति मोर्चा के सांसद थे और उनकी हत्या करने वाले हत्यारे का नाम रंजीत पाल है और उसने स्वयं कहा कि मैं रंजीत पाल,मैंने झारखंड मुक्ति मोर्चा के सुनील महतो की हत्या की है। यह बताइए कि झारखंड से आए हुए लोग और नंदीग्राम में जो सामान्य लोग है,बहुत गरीब लोग है,दास मुंशी साहब ने वहां के भूगोल के बारे में बताया कि किस तरह से वहां जाना मुश्किल है और पुलिस पिकट के बारे में बताया। तो हमें यह बताएं कि वहां के सामान्य गरीब रेखा के नीचे रहने वाले मज़लूम बेचारे लोग लैंड मांड्स बिछाने के एक्सपर्ट कहां से हो गए,वे डेटोनेटर्स कहां से ले आए। डेटोनेटर्स का कारखाना,लैंड मांड्स का कारखाना,राइफल का कारखाना,एके-47 वहां हो,यह सब मानने के लिए मैं तैयार नहीं हूँ। यह सही है कि कुछ निर्दोष लोग मरे होंगे,ज्यादा लोग भी मरे होंगे। लेकिन यह सही है मैं बहुत क्षमा याचना के साथ कहता हूँ कि इसे हम राज्य सरकार की विफलता भी मानते हैं,क्योंकि यह चुनी हुई सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है कि वह अपने लोगों की रक्षा करें और किन्ही कारणों से वह रक्षा करने में असफल रही है। लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि संवैधानिक पद पर बैठे बड़े-बड़े लोग जिनको यह अधिकार है कि वे सलाह दे सकते हैं,बुलाकर बात कर सकते हैं लेकिन वे विधायिका की भूमिका अपने आप निभाने लगे हैं। देखिए,मैं नाम नहीं ले रहा हूँ किसी का। मेरे पुराने नेता जिनके नेतृत्व में...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: अमर सिंह जी,अभी कितना टाइम लेंगे।

श्री अमर सिंह: सर,अभी तो शुरू ही किया है। बस,जल्दी खत्म कर रहा हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति: आप जल्दी खत्म कर दीजिए।

श्री अमर सिंह: मेरे पुराने नेता बंगाल से हिन्दुस्तान के केबिनेट मंत्री दादा दास मुंशी ने 27 अक्तूबर को एक बयान दिया और कहा कि सी.आर.पी.एफ.मत देना। सी.आर.पी.एफ.नहीं चलेगा,कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। और उसके बाद कहा कि सी.आर.पी.एफ.क्या नहीं है You cannot have the cake and eat it too.

सी.आर.पी.एफ.चाहिए या सी.आर.पी.एफ.नहीं चाहिए । 27 अक्तूबर का आपका बयान है कि सी.आर.पी.एफ.नहीं चाहिए और बाद में आप कह रहे हैं कि सी.आर.पी.एफ. नहीं आई, ताकि मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के कार्यकर्ता गड़बड़ कर सकें । मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी की बड़ी इज्जत करता हूँ । उन्होंने जो संवेदना व्यक्त की है, जो बयान दिया है उससे हमारे बुद्धदेव भट्टाचार्य जी ने भी सहमति व्यक्त की है । लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि बहुत बुरे सही वामपंथी, बहुत क्रूर सही लेकिन माओवादियों से तो बहुत अच्छे हैं । लोकशाही में भरोसा करते हैं और आपकी सरकार चलवा रहे हैं । अगर ये नहीं होते तो आपकी सरकार नहीं चलती । हमारे देश में और आतंकवादियों में चाहे आंतरिक आतंकवाद हो, चाहे बाहरी आतंकवाद हो इसमें हम अपने दो प्रधान मंत्रियों इंदिरा जी और राजीव जी को खो चुके हैं । आज हम अपनी छोटी क्षुद्र राजनीति के लिए हम माओपंथियों का साथ दे दें और आज जो बंदूक हमारे राजनीतिक विरोधियों के खिलाफ इस्तेमाल हो रही है तो उस बंदूक का निशाना कल हमारी ओर भी हो सकता है । आप श्रीलंका का उदाहरण देखिए, वहां लिट्टे ने क्या किया । आप उदाहरण देखिए कि हमने देश के दो-दो बड़े नेताओं को खोया है । ऐसी वे तमाम ताकतें जिनका लोकशाही में विश्वास नहीं है इनसे हमें बचना पड़ेगा । मैं आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी से विनम्रता से अनुरोध करूंगा कि आंध्र प्रदेश में जब हथियार समेत नक्सलवादियों से मुख्य मंत्री वार्ता करते हैं तो वहां विस्फोट होता है और जब मुख्य मंत्री हथियार समेत नक्सलवादियों से बात करते हैं, फिर भी वे हथियार नहीं छोड़ते और मीटिंगों में हथियार लेकर नक्सलवादी आते हैं । मुख्य मंत्री चन्द्रबाबू के ऊपर प्राण घातक हमला करते हैं, आंध्र में विस्फोट होता है, मुम्बई में विस्फोट होता है और असम में उत्तर भारत और बिहार के लोगों को चुन-चुन करके मारा जाता है । राजधर्म का तकाजा वहां भी है । राजधर्म सलेक्टिव नहीं हो सकता कि सिर्फ बंगाल में राजधर्म हो, सिर्फ बुद्धदेव बाबू के लिए राजधर्म हो, असम में तरुण गोगाई के लिए न हो, आंध्र में राजशेखर रेड्डी के लिए न हो । राजधर्म हर जगह होना चाहिए, कांग्रेस शासित प्रदेशों में भी गैस कांग्रेस शासित प्रदेशों में भी । यह एसईजेड का मामला है, इसलिए नंदीग्राम सामने आ गया है । पंजाब, हरियाणा, महाराष्ट्र में एसईजेड का मामला उठा । अब तो हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के नोएडा और बलिया में भी एसईजेड के नाम पर बहुत बड़ी जमीन हथियाने की योजना चली है, वहां पर भी नंदीग्राम बन सकता है ? इस तरह से नंदीग्राम एक विशेषण हो जायेगा । जिस तरह से नक्सलवाड़ी, उत्तर बंगाल में एक जगह है, वह आतंकवाद का एक नाम हो गया है । उसी तरह से आपको यह देखना है कि जगह-जगह नंदीग्राम पैदा न हो । इसके लिए कामरेड सीताराम येचुरी ने अपने वक्तव्य में चार बातें उठायी हैं, उनको मैं दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूँ । आइये, हम राजनीति न करें, हम सब मिलकर आतंकवाद से निबटें ।

मेरा आशय किसी को तकलीफ देना नहीं है, किसी के ऊपर आरोप लगाना नहीं है । हम चाहते हैं कि फिर किसी इंदिरा गांधी की हत्या कोई आतंकवादी न करे, होनहार राजीव गांधी जैसा नेता फिर अकाल मृत्यु से ग्रसित न हो, फिर देश में मुम्बई जैसा विस्फोट न हो, हैदराबाद जैसा विस्फोट न हो । आतंकवाद के नाम पर एक क्रूर राजनीति न हो और इस राजनीति का शिकार फिर कोई गुजरात न हो, जहां पर धर्म और मजहब के नाम पर कत्तोगारत का सिलसिला चले और इसके लिए जरूरी है कि हम सब संवेदना के साथ अपनी-अपनी जिम्मेदारी को समझकर के काम करें । वे तमाम लोग जो हम से असहमत हैं, हमारी असहमति को दुश्मनी मानते हैं, उनके लिए मैं सिर्फ इतना ही बहुत नम्रता से, बहुत विनय से कहना चाहूंगा ।

“वह दुश्मनी से देखते हैं, देखते तो हैं,

मैं साध हूँ कि हूँ, तो किसी की निगाह में । “

बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद ।

DR. V. MAITREYAN: *Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I don't want to embarrass you but we are terribly embarrassed. For the last so many, no arrangement has been made by the House for Tamil interpretation to enable Members of Parliament from Tamil Nadu to translate their speech... (Interruptions)...

SHRI AMAR SINGH: I also support you on this (Interruptions)...

*The speech was originally achieved in Tamil.

SHRI RAVULA CHANDRA SEKAR REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, we have also been pressing for Telugu Interpreter (*Interruptions*)...

श्री मती सुषमा स्वराज: उपसभापति जी, इस सरकार ने तमिल को क्लासिकल लैंग्वेज का दर्जा दिया है।
...(व्यवधान)...वैसे भी वह आठवीं अनुसूची में शामिल है।...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down, Mr. Maitreya. (*Interruptions*)... I tell you this is an administrative matter. I would not like that this should be discussed with you. Efforts have been made. Efforts have failed.

SHRI C. PERUMAL (Tamil Nadu): Sir ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please listen to me. You want to speak only; you don't want to listen (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI N. JOTHI: We have listened to this for six months, but nothing has happened.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jothi, please listen to me. In fact, an offer was made that you bring some Interpreters without going into the other procedure; we will appoint them. Because we advertised three times, but nobody applied and nobody came. ...(*Interruptions*)... Listen to me...(*Interruptions*)... I don't want a debate on this.

SHRI RAVULA CHANDRA SEKAR REDDY: Sir, Telugu Interpreter ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not want to have a debate on this. This is an administrative matter. Efforts have been made. We have said the same thing to the Interpretation Branch to get some Telugu Interpreters, Tamil Interpreters. We will see that it is done...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI AMAR SINGH: Sir, Telugu is a national language...(*Interruptions*)..

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: Sir, it has been made a classic language ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SHAHID SIDDIQUI: Sincere efforts have not been made.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am telling you from the open House, get some people, we will appoint them ...(*Interruptions*)...

DR. V. MAITREYA: Sir, the onus is not on us. It is for the House to get them ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If they are not available, what should be done? ...(*Interruptions*)...

DR. V. MAITREYA: Then close the House, Sir. If English Interpreters are not available, then? ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay, okay, this is not the subject...(*Interruptions*)... Dr. Maitreya, I have called you to speak on that subject, not on this...(*Interruptions*)...

DR. V. MAITREYA: Sir, then, I will speak in Tamil...(*Interruptions*).. I want some assurance from you and timeframe...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You want to make it an issue. You could have discussed the same thing in the Chambers too ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI N. JOTHI: Sir, there has been no solution. ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is right. Please sit down. Enough is enough...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI R. SHUNMUGASUNDARAM (Tamil Nadu). Sir, a letter may be sent to the Tamil Nadu Assembly... *(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have done it.

DR. V. MAITREYAN: Sir, I wish to register our party's views on this and so, I shall speak in English.

On behalf of the AIADMK, I rise to register our serious concern over the violent incidents in Nandigram and also to condemn, in no uncertain terms, the terror let loose on the hapless villagers of Nandigram, be it labourers, be it farmers, be it women, be it minorities. The studied silence of the Central Government on very many issues is baffling and sickening. When the Chief Minister of West Bengal says, 'we have paid them back in their own coin', the Central Government is silent. When the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu eulogises the slain leader of the banned terrorist outfit, the Central Government is silent.

SHRI R. SHUNMUGASUNDRAM:*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, Mr. Jothi, your party's leader is speaking.

SHRI N. JOTHI: *

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record ...*(Interruptions)*... Nothing other than what Dr. Maitreyan spoke shall go on record.

DR. V. MAITREYAN: The Congress Party has condemned both things because they have to fight elections. The Congress-led Government is silent on both because they have to survive. I am very happy that at last the Prime Minister has broken his silence on Nandigram. I hope the Prime Minister would soon break his silence on Tamil Nadu also. Probably the Prime Minister would have to go abroad once again.

SHRI R. SHUNMUGASUNDARAM: Why don't they take Vaiko away from them? ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. V. MAITREYAN: Terming the Nandigram event as unfortunate, the Prime Minister has advised that the West Bengal Government must ensure safety to all its citizens regardless of their political leanings. The State Government's handling of the violent incidents in Nandigram has come under fire from almost every quarter—I don't wish to go into the elaborate details of it; the Kolkata High Court has condemned it; the West Bengal Governor, the National Human Rights Commission, intellectuals and artists from West Bengal, the other leading partners of the Government, even CPM leaders like Mr. Ashok Mitra, one of the four ministerial colleagues of Shri Jyoti Basu in the first ever Left Front Government formed in 1977, have condemned it. The whole problem is, if the CPM is well-entrenched in power in West Bengal for more than three decades, the singular reason for that is that it acquired agricultural land from the exploitative *Zamindars* and distributed it to the landlords. And the ideological anti-climax today in Nandigram is that in the name of SEZ, the very same Government which acquired land from the *Zamindars* and landlords and distributed them in small plots, is now reacquiring it from the small people by force and in bulk and giving it to the exploitative landlords. The struggle in Nandigram is no more about industrialisation; it is a war to capture territory.

On behalf of the AIADMK, I strongly urge the West Bengal Government to take steps to ensure that the violence in Nandigram is immediately stopped and the affected people given the confidence that their life and property would be protected by the Government. Give them adequate compensation and establish the rule of law. If the State Government cannot control the situation, then the Centre should intervene in controlling the violence.

*Not recorded.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Prof. Ramdeo Bhandary.

प्रो.राम देव भंडारी(बिहार): मैं खड़ा हूँ सर ।...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I had meant to call Shri Ram Jethmalani; he is also standing. You may allow him to speak first.

श्री सीताराम येचुरी: क्या करें सर, सब राम तो यही हैं, वहां तक तो एक भी नहीं है ।...(व्यवधान)...सब राम यहीं है और वहां पर कोई नहीं है ।...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो.राम देव भंडारी: राम जेठमलानी जी हम लोगों के अभिभावक हैं ओर वे यहां बैठे हुए हैं । सर, इनको बोलना है ।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: वे कह रहे हैं कि अगर आप उनको yield कर रहे हैं, तो वे बोलेंगे, आपके बिहाफ पर-
1...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: फिर आप इनके बाद बोलेंगे ?...(व्यवधान)...

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: ये क्यों बोलेंगे, आर जे.डी.के सदस्य बोलेंगे ।...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may yield to him.

प्रो.राम देव भंडारी: सर, मैं बाद में बोलूंगा ।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : आप बाद में बोलें । He is giving the time to him...(Interruptions).
आप बाद में बोलिएगा ।

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, I must admit that I am speaking with great hesitation as well as in a state of terrible embarrassment. After having heard my friend, Mr. Amar Singh, here, I am most conceived that lack of principles, and perhaps, total lack of principles, is the phenomena which prevails throughout the 180 degrees of the political diameter. I wish the Constitution was amended so that the Government can be run by a few independents. But, Sir, that can't be. Now, Sir, I claim to be independent only in one sense that I belong to a party which consists of only myself. I must also conceive that to some extent, my presence in this House is due to my friend, Shri Sitaram Yechury. And, I have not forgotten my gratitude towards him and my other friends. I have lot of friends amongst the Leftists and it will be no exaggeration to say that on a personal level, if they ask for my life, I will willingly give it.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, this is sugar coating...(Interruptions). The pill is coming.. .(Interruptions).

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Please, make sure that I bring no pills to the House.. (Interruptions). Sir, I want first to deal with the Government, and my charge against the Government is much more serious than what I have to say about my Leftist friends. Sir, I have with me *The Hindu* of this morning. On page 14, it reproduces the proceedings in the Lok Sabha and my enquiry reveals that the report in *The Hindu* is hundred per cent accurate. Sir, the report says that Mr. L.K. Advani, during the discussion on Nandigram said that the Centre must issue directions.—Sir, this is very important and without your ear, I don't feel like proceeding.—Sir, Mr. Advani said that the Centre must issue directions to the West Bengal Government under article 355 of the Constitution. Mr. Shivraj Patil said that the written directives had already been issued to the State Government. Now, Sir, my first submission today is that the directives issued under article 355, which Mr. Advani was asking for, are constitutional documents and they have been disclosed voluntarily to the Parliament. Mr. Advani did not force this out of

them. It is ridiculous for anybody even to suggest that a document which you voluntarily disclosed to the whole House and relied upon it in answering to a criticism that you should have issued these directions, and you said, "Yes, we have issued these directions", and when somebody asks you to show those directives, you say that they are privileged. Sir, I am sorry to say that this is contempt of the House which requires these documents to be inspected. I want these documents to be inspected. For example, I have a reasonable doubt whether any directives have been issued at all. I must have the document. And, my friend says, "You rely upon my oral statement." Normally, I would. Sir, I hope I don't commit a breach of confidence. I walked up to the Home Minister sitting in the House and said that I would like to have a look at the documents, let us see what have you said in those directives to the State Government. My friend says, "No, they are privileged under the Constitution." And, when, I said, "No, they are not", I got a very strange reply, which I have never heard from any Home Minister in the past nor am I prepared at my age now to tolerate that kind of imprudence from any Minister of the Government. He said to me, "if it is a question of Criminal Procedure Code, then, I will take your advice; but on matters of Constitution, he said, you must take my advice".

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I said, 'parliamentary rules'.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, there is no parliamentary rule.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I will quote the rule.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Wait a minute. Let *me...(interruptions)*.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Don't distort please.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: All right, you point out whatever you want to. If my friend shows today that there is a rule which says that a directive issued under article 355 of the Constitution is a privilege document and it continues to be a privileged after you have voluntarily said that such a document exists and disclosed its relevance, I will resign from this House and I will stop all practice in any court. Otherwise, I hope the hon. Minister will do me the honour of extending a similar promise.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let us *not...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I don't want you to leave this House. But I will definitely quote the rule.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Why don't you quote the rule now?

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Wait, wait. *...(Interruptions)*. I will quote it if you yield for a minute *...(Interruptions)*.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I will *yield...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: For that, you will have to sit down. *...(Interruptions)...* I am reading from the Rule Book, *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Where are you in this discussion Deputy Chairman, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will have to find out. *...(Interruptions)*. It is an agreement on the *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, immediately within five minutes... *(Interruptions)*.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I have come into picture. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, this kind of argument is unnecessary. Whether I say it orally to the State Government or in writing to the State Government that certain steps should be taken, that is sufficient. But I am reading from the Rule Book. Rule 249 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Council of States says: "If a Minister quotes in the Council a despatch or other State paper which has not been presented to the Council, he shall lay the relevant paper on the Table."

Sir, first of all, I have not spoken in this House. I have spoken in that House. That matter could have been raised there. I have yet to speak here. And, it says, "If a Minister quotes in the Council a despatch or other State Paper which has not been presented to the Council, he shall lay the relevant paper on the Table. Provided further that where a Minister gives in his own words a summary or gist of such dispatch or State Paper, it shall not be necessary to lay the relevant papers on the Table."

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Who says you delay...(Interruptions)... Any Member wants to inspect a public document...(Interruptions)... it is not a question of laying on the Table.. (Interruptions)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I am showing you *the*...(Interruptions)...

SHRI N. JOTHI: Sir, it is not the...(Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no...(Interruptions)... We are not entering into...(Interruptions)... No, no. Mr. Jothi, that is all right. I cannot allow *this*...(Interruptions)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: This kind of argument is unnecessary. I have no.
..(Interruptions)...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: This is not a State paper. Read the definition of the State paper... (Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not entering into an *argument*...(Interruptions)... Mr. Jothi, please...(Interruptions)...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I agree with you. If he shows it to *me*...(Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please proceed...(Interruptions)... Please proceed on this.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Is it agreed that he would show it to me?

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Sir, what is happening here?...(Interruptions)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, I have no difficulty in showing that document to anybody, to yourself or to him. But I will not go by the dictates given by any of the Members... (Interruptions)... I will show it...(Interruptions)...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, what is *this*?...(Interruptions)... Sir, how is it that a Minister has no objection in showing a document to one Member...(Interruptions)...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, I have no objection in showing it to anybody..
..(Interruptions)... You will say that this direction was...(Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please...(Interruptions)... Please, let us not...(Interruptions)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: This is a very serious issue. Sir ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Leader of the 'Opposition wants to say something. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: He wants to *respond*...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I don't want to respond. I only want to comment.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Do you also want me to yield?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: If you would, please, Sir.

Sir, the question is not about what the hon. Home Minister stated in a conference, in the other House or anywhere else. It is very explicit; it is about an issue that he has mentioned here. Initially, it was single-pronged. I had during the earlier say also mentioned that Mr. Ram Jethmalani has a point. But, I did not persist. The hon. Home Minister has just now, here, said that directives can be given verbally. All confirmation that was sought was, "Have you given a directive under article 355 in writing or verbally? Even if it is verbally, records are kept. And, as you have mentioned, a direction under article 355 is not an item that is being mentioned or heard to or required for the first time. On numerous earlier occasions it has been mentioned. It is disingenuous. Sir, of the hon. Minister to suggest that this is a privilege document 'only' in this case. That is the first part. I think, the hon. Home Minister, who had been the distinguished Speaker of the other House, ought really to reflect very coolly, and not in the heat of the moment, say that. I am on the second issue, Sir, which is that the hon. Minister said, "I will do it, but not under his dictation", that, I think, was a statement carried by the passion of the moment. He is as honourable and equal a Member of the House as any other Member. You can, therefore, not make an exception and say, "If any of you ask, yes; but if hon. Ram Jethmalani asks, no". That should not be the answer...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Please.. (*Interruptions*)... Mr. Ram Jethmalani, you please proceed further.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: One thing is certain that directives under article 355 are issued for the purpose of ensuring that the Government of a State is carried on in accordance with the Constitution.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) in the Chair]

Sir, implicit in the issue of any directions, now, Sir, whether he gives me or does not give me is irrelevant, but the fact remains that these directives assume that the Government was faced with a situation in which the Government of that State was not being carried on in accordance with the Constitution and these directives were issued for the purpose of ensuring that it so happens. That being so, it is a matter grave enough which should be fully discussed and disclosed to the House and to the people of this country. In the interest of democratic transparency which is a hallmark of the rule of law and our Constitutional Government, the people of this country must know what the view of the Central Government was yesterday when they freely spoke of the directives under article 355. Sir, I know that overriding the obligations of friendship is a higher religion. And, higher than that, there is another religion. The higher relation to the religion of friendship is the coalition *dharma*. Over that, is the *dharma* of the Constitution. Finally, the *dharma* of the Constitution triumphs both. And, Sir, if the Constitution requires that a democracy must be fully transparent unless some questions of national security or defence are involved, all truth must be disclosed. And, if the truth is to be disclosed in a transparent democracy, I think, the hon. Home Minister ought to have conceded

this demand in the very beginning. But, Sir, let us go further now. The fact remains that the House is entitled to know whether those directives have been complied with. It those directives have not been complied with, don't tell me the directives. But tell me whether there is full compliance in accordance with the determination of the Central Government. If the directives have not been fulfilled, it becomes a clear case, as my sister Sushmaji said, where then comes Article 356 which immediately follows Article 355. Therefore, Sir, in the interests of both, the Government of the State should ensure that these directives are disclosed, so that the cloud, which is created, must be fully removed and transparency of the Indian restored.

However, Sir, the most important point is the second one that the CPI Member, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, got up and said, 'Mr. Minister will you...' *(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Sir, how can he quote a Member of the other House?.. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: What is the problem with this?...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE: Just now Mr. Priyaranjan Dasmunsi quoted the whole speech from the other House. You never objected to *him*...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: Speeches can be quoted...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, I went further and said that these proceedings were accurate. I verified it from the proceedings of the House. The question was raised by a CPI (M) Member that please confirm that the outsiders who had intruded into that area were Maoists and Naxalites. The Home Minister refused to confirm this statement of fact. Now, he refused to confirm this statement of fact because on the evidence available to the Central Government, this could not be confirmed. Otherwise, merely simple constitutional democratic decency would have required that he should have confirmed what another Member of the House affirms. Sir, therefore, today it is a matter of very serious doubt that there were any extra persons who came from outside and disturbed the proceedings and which calls for the exercise of force.

Sir, the next thing is the statement which my friends Mr. Sitaram Yechury and Mr. Basudeb Acharya have addressed to every Member of Parliament. Sir, I respect both the gentlemen so much that you would not believe that I have studied this much more carefully than I have ever studied any law book.

In the first place, this is not an account by Mr. Sitaram and Mr. Basudeb as a matter of their own personal knowledge. They were both not present at the places about which they have spoken and about the incidents that have been described here. It must be based upon their enquiry from others. If it was a matter on which Mr. Yechury had said, 'Mr. Ram, I tell you that this is what happened and I am a personal witness', I would touch his feet and say, 'Well, Mr. Sitaram, you could not be possibly * 1 could * but you cannot.' So, I accept it quietly and go away. But this being, Sir, ultimately hearsay evidence supplied by others, it calls for a little scrutiny. Sir, I have scrutinised it and found at least two things. And if there is one demonstrable * in a document, then the whole document becomes suspect. Kindly see a very strange thing. If you turn to page 15 of this document, it gives a first list of CPI (M) supporters which were killed by the BUPC between 3rd January and 10th November, 2007. Item No. 2, in this list of 27, is Sunita Mandal, Sonachura (Rape victim) on 9th February, 2007. Now, 9th February incidents are described at page 7 of this pamphlet. The second paragraph deals with February 7. February 9; nothing is shown. February 10; what is shown is this.

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

4.00 P.M.

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]

"On February : 0, Sunita Mondal, a student of class ten, was brutally murdered after torture. Her body was found on a tree, with rope tied to her neck. Her father was ousted earlier by miscreants. The police could not enter into the village to collect information even after such an incident."

Sir, how did these two signatories come to the conclusion that this was a case of rape?...*(Interruptions)*... I am bound to yield if you want to explain. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please tell us how did you become a rape expert?...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I am very ignorant about the expertise on rape. I can grant that expertise to Ram. I am very ignorant about it...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Sir, I object to these frivolous comments about rape victims...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I am not being *frivolous*...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Are you yielding?

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Yes.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, the discrepancy that he is pointing out in what I have written, I am one of the co-authors of this, I presume, is concerning discrepancies of 9th and 10th, the point is that murder took place on 9th and the body was found on 10th. That is what is being written here. That is a point of clarification. There is no lack of credibility on this point...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, I have no doubt that the dead body was found on the 10th. But, how did you come to the conclusion that she was raped on the 9th?...*(Interruptions)*... Now, I will tell you what the motivation is...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please address the *Chtdr*...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, ...*(Interruptions)*... Please...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Sir, this is highly objectionable. What is he talking about, making a joke of all *this*?...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, no. Please sit down...*(Interruptions)*... I will deal with it. Please sit down...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Ram Jethmalani, please, don't make such a wrong statement...*(Interruptions)*... That particular statement will not go on record...*(Interruptions)*... I will deal with it. You please sit down. That sentence will not go on record. Don't make such a blanket statement about it.

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Thank you, Sir...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, I am complaining that there is evidence that there is some fabrication in this document.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): That is your view. You can explain that.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, now, see the incident of 14th of March which has been described in this document. The 14th March incident has been the subject matter of a judgment of the Kolkata High Court which judgment expressly records that the entire incident that took

*Not recorded.

place on the 14th of March, is totally illegal and unconstitutional. Therefore, the theory which is accepted in this document is totally contrary to a judicial finding which till today is a good finding, not disturbed...(Interruptions)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: How. Sir?...{Interruptions}...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Okay. Please proceed...(Interruptions)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, it is challenged...(Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): There is time constraint...(Interruptions)...

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH (Jharkhand): Sir, what time constraint? You speak. You can take my time...(Interruptions)...

SHRI DINESH TRIVEDI: Sir. it can go on for whole day...(Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): I have allowed him...(Interruptions).. Why does he take away your time? ...(Interruptions)... Let him talk. Try to conclude yourself

SHRI RAM JATHMALANI: Sir, it is not a very pleasant thing. I am anxious to conclude Sir. this document itself says that the CPM has proposed that the Government should appeal to the Supreme Court. But. till today, this judgment of the High Court stands. The finding is that on the 14th, a grave breach of the Constitution and law took place and the attack by the police was totally unprovoked and the murders were totally unjustified. Now, if that is so, if this was the situation on the 14th of March, you come back to November and December, nothing has changed. Nothing has changed after that. Nobody is able to show how these people deserted their homes. Now, Sir, there are two or three questions which are of great importance. It is said that this is really a fight between this new organisation. What you call it? BUPC. Now. Sir. the findings are that this organization, the Bhumi Ucched Pratirodh Committee, consists mainly of the CPI(M) members.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: No, no. Who says? ...(Interruptions)... What is this?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Jethmalani, you don't respond to them. You please continue. Otherwise, your time will be curtailed. Don't react to them.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, the evidence has been furnished by responsible people who held a meeting only yesterday at the university and this finding has come, and if not majority of the members, some members of the CPI(M) are members of this organisation.. (Interruptions)...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: No, no...(Interruptions)...

SHRI S.S AHLUWALIA: That is correct.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, as a CPI (M) leader, I am saying, no.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: The second thing is that even the advice of the Central Government is to ensure that people return to Nandigram, to the homes from which they have been expelled. Now, a large number of people who have left are persons who are now rotting in camps still. How did they go out? Even the Minister said this morning that Nandigram is an area in which there is no presence of any Opposition party; BJP practically nil, Trinmool, very insignificant and Congress almost nil. Now, who ensured that these persons must flee in thousands from Nandigram and seek shelter elsewhere? Now, this is important, and their defence is

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]

Maoist. The Central Government is for all purposes, your Government, the Government which depends for its survival on your party. So, Sir, I think, this is a very important thing that today, I believe, we have to move forward from this situation, and I think, it is the duty of the State Government under the present circumstances to come out with the truth, apologise to the nation, and carry on the State Government in accordance with the Constitution. We have no hostility against the Government. We want the Government to survive. But we want the people of this country to live in security. After all, they are your own people; most of them were your own people till today, and it is those people that have run away from the State. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Now, Shri D. Raja ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu): Sir, thank you for this opportunity. We have heard several speeches made in this august House. I do understand the strong emotions, the strong feelings with regard to human sufferings, tragedies that took place in Nandigram. Having said this, I must tell this august House that we are a democracy; democracy is a form of governance, democracy is a way of living, and we should know how to deal with the popular resistance, popular dissent. Nandigram should be a lesson to all the parties. Left or Right or Centre. Nandigram should be a lesson to all the Governments, not only to the West Bengal Government, but to all the Governments and also to the Union Government. But we should also see the politics behind the entire development since we are discussing the proposal to set up SEZ and the large-scale violence in Nandigram. In mathematics, there are two methods; one, a problem is given; you will have to arrive at the solution, and the other, a solution will be given; you will have to analyse it and find out what is the problem. Now, that is what I understood when I heard the BJP leader Smt. Sushma Swaraj's speech. She said, "Now, it is time the Centre should invoke article 356 and place the State under President's rule." If that is the solution, what is the problem? And who created this problem? Sir, we will have to try to understand and analyse the entire situation because as regards the SEZ Act, when it was passed by the Parliament, we were also party to it, but when the law was passed, it was very harmless. After that, the rules were framed. When the rules were framed, we understood the adverse impact of the SEZ Act and the rules. The Left parties, in fact, asked the Union Government, the UPA Government, to go for drastic amendments of the SEZ Act and the rules. It is because of the macro economic policies pursued by the UPA Government that there is a race among the State Government on the SEZ issue. And this is one thing which one has to try to understand because there is a wrong notion that SEZ is imperative for industrial development of the country or SEZ is equated with the industrial development of the country. Since 1956 when the country adopted the Industrial Policy Resolution, we did build the industries, light industries, medium industries and heavy industries, and we have a strong public sector industry and a private sector industry. This all happened without SEZ also. If you argue the SEZ is imperative, inevitable for industrial development or industrial assertion, we have a strong reservation, and we do not agree with such an understanding. But when SEZs are created, we did demand that fertile land, agricultural land, should not be taken for establishing SEZs. In fact, the Congress Party also made a Resolution to this effect. But what is happening, in practice, is a different thing. So, for Nandigram, there was a proposal. There, I agree with the hon. Minister, Mr. Priyaranjan Dasgupta that there was a notification by the Haldia Development Authority on the question of acquisition of land for some kind of a chemical lab. Our Party was critical of that. And in fact, Nandigram is represented by our Party MLA. And our Party took a stand that there should not be any chemical lab; no land should be acquired. And this is known to everybody. Despite this, how our MLA was roughed up; how he was manhandled; how he was driven away from his house; how he was not allowed to enter into his own place; who was responsible. ...*(Interruptions)*....'

SHRI K.B. SHANAPPA (Karnataka): But who was responsible for that ...*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI D. RAJA: That is what I am asking you; who was responsible? ...*(Interruptions)*... I am asking you because you know everything. ...*(Interruptions)*... Because you are asking, I am asking. Sushmaji was narrating all the stories. And she should say who was responsible if she has some information. Otherwise, the Home Minister is sitting here; let him respond to it. ...*(Interruptions)*... The Home Minister will be responding. You are not the Home Minister. He is there. So, let him respond.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Raja, please address the Chair ...*(Interruptions)*... Please address the Chair. Don't react.

SHRI D. RAJA: Sir, the point here is, we should try to understand what went wrong there. And here, I must say, the State Government, later on, made a categorical statement that no chemical lab would be set up there; no land would be acquired there. After this, who precipitated the issue? For ten months, eleven months, how Nandigram became a liberated territory? It was treated as a liberated territory. Now, what is written? A recapture took place. My question is: Who captured it first? There was a capture. Then only the question of recapture arises. So, who captured and who kept Nandigram out of bounds? The State Government could not function. No schools were run; no college was run; thousands of people were driven away and they could not live in their own homes. If you think that they are also human beings, you must have concern for those human beings. I agree that the tears of mothers, whether Hindu or Muslim, Dalit or Tribal, are the same; the blood of children, whether Hindu or Muslim, Dalit or Tribal, is the same. We understand that. Do you have any sense of guilt for driving away thousands of people from their homes? How could it happen? You may accuse that the State Government failed to handle the situation. Even I may think in retrospect that the State Government could have handled it in a different way. That is not the thing. In a democracy, you see how these people were not allowed to live in their own homes and in their own lands. How did it happen? For 10 months or 11 months, how was this entire area treated as a liberated territory? Here I agree that there are other elements. Illegal arms were accumulated there. How did it happen? The Home Minister may not reveal everything. But he has acknowledged and admitted, "Yes, there were illegal arms; illegal weapons were accumulated there". How did it happen? ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please don't disturb. Let him speak. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH: Who is responsible for that*(Interruptions)*.... Who is taking note*(Interruptions)*....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): What is the problem? ...*(Interruptions)*.... No, please. ...*(Interruptions)*... You don't respond. The Home Minister will respond. ...*(Interruptions)*... You are not the Home Minister. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH: Sir, who is taking note? May I know who is taking note?*(Interruptions)*.... Tell me. Who is taking note? ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): There is a Cabinet Minister here*(Interruptions)*.... There is a Cabinet Minister here *(Interruptions)*.... No *(Interruptions)*.... There is a Cabinet Minister.*(Interruptions)*.... Mr. Digvijay Singh, there is a Cabinet Minister.*(Interruptions)*.... In any way, there is Cabinet Minister here *(Interruptions)*.... That is enough. It is collective responsibility. You were in the Cabinet. You know that*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH: But she is not taking note. *(Interruptions)*....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, she can understand.(Interruptions).... Now, you please continue, Mr.. Raja.

SHRI D. RAJA: The point here is that there were some elements, extreme political elements, who were involved in this entire episode and one may call them Maoists. If the hon. Minister like Mr. Priyaranjan Dasmunsi does not like the word "Maoists", we can call them Left Extremists or Naxalites. We should understand that the Left-wing Communism is an infantile disorder. I did not say this. Actually, it was stated by Lenin during his time. Even now, so many years after Lenin, if Left-wing Communism continues to be a disorder, nobody should take advantage of that disorder. I must warn against this and that this disorder must be fought ideologically and politically. This is not simply a law and order issue. We are well aware of that. We will have to go into the socio-economic roots of this Left-wing extremism. We need to fight against it and nobody should take advantage of this Left-wing extremism.

Having said this, I must say that, In Nandigram, we the CPI, pointed out that the State Government should take the people and the political parties into confidence, and there must be a political process to convince the people and efforts were made.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude

SHRI D. RAJA: The House knows that Mr. Ashok Ghosh, senior leader of the Forward Block, tried his level best to find a solution. Connrade Jyoti Basu had himself initiated some process. But all these political measures failed and the issue was precipitated. Here I must make a mention of the intellectuals. I have a lot of respect for intellectuals. I have a lot of respect for Aparna Sen and all intellectuals and creative artists in Bengal. In fact, I have admiration for Bengali literature and Bengali cinema. Having said this, they should also have some introspection over it because there is an attempt to equate Nandigram with Gujarat. I cannot simply agree to this position. It is well known that what happened in Gujarat was genocide. And, you cannot say that Nandigram was genocide

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude

SHRI D. RAJA: I will conclude Sir. Nandigram cannot be compared to Gujarat. In fact, people are referring to High Courts. Our great eminent lawyer, Shri Ram Jethmalani, was referring to the High Court. The Supreme Court made an observation about Gujarat as the modern day Nero. What could we do with the modern day Nero in the case of Gujarat? We could do nothing; in fact, Shri Ram Jethmalani and others should rise to the occasion. My simple point is, you cannot compare Nandigram with Gujarat. I don't agree with it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Raja, you have taken more time, Please conclude (Interruptions)....

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: सर, साबरमती एक्सप्रेस में इतने लोगों को मारा गया, तब गुजरात हुआ। नंदीग्राम का कारण क्या है? नंदीग्राम का कारण पूंजीपति हैं।

SHRI D. RAJA: It is a State-sponsored genocide (interruptions)....

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी. जे. कुरियन): छोड़िए, छोड़िए, थोड़ा शांत रहिए। Please conclude now.

SHRI D. RAJA: I am concluding. If you discuss on intellectuals, I agree, even the intellectuals are divided. They are also having introspection. I think they will arrive at correct conclusions. But having said this, I must say that today's Hindu carries a report from Chomsky and other

intellectuals on Nandigram, where he says: "The balance of forces in the world is such that it would be an impetus to split the Left. We are faced with a world power that has demolished one State, Iraq, and is now threatening another State, Iran. This is not time for division, when the basis of division no longer exists....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude *(Interruptions)*....

SHRI DINESH TRIVEDI: We also want time *(Interruptions)*....

SHRI D. RAJA: Mr. Trivedi, you do not interrupt now, If you allow me, then, I will finish. If you interrupt, I am not going to yield. So, Sir, now we should discuss this issue dispassionately and we should not have a politically motivated debate. If you want to malign the Left Front Government in West Bengal, then, that is politics. And by doing so, you are opening the floodgate for dragging many other issues into this august House. Now, some people are referring to even Tamil Nadu and tomorrow some other people may talk about any other State*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI N. JOTHI: I am the one who referred to Tamil Nadu.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please do not talk about Tamil Nadu or Kerala. You try to conclude.

SHRI D. RAJA: Nandigram should not become a precedent to bring any little issue from any State, and Parliament discusses the State affairs. The, what will State Assemblies do? I am not saying this because I am opposed to the discussion. In fact, the Left was for a discussion, for a meaningful discussion from day one. But some people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): That is all explained here. Why do you have to repeat?

SHRI D. RAJA: So there must be a meaningful discussion. There must be a proper discussion. And, now, there is a reconciliation process. Normalcy has been restored, and we should see how the State Government would carry on. It is not that you can scare the State Government. We have issued directives under article 355, and the BJP has made a demand that we should follow it up with article 356. We cannot agree to such a demand*(Interruptions)*.... We are not scared. We know what the people of West Bengal will do. We know what the people of India do. They cannot accept your suggestion to the Union Government.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN). Now, conclude please. Yes, this is the last point

SHRI D. RAJA: The point here is, when you talk SEZ, the UPA Government should make it very clear. Of late, they have come out with a rehabilitation policy. But, on SEZ, there is a need to have a fresh look and go in for drastic amendments in the SEZ Act and rules, and the State Governments must be enlightened on this position. If you pursue the same macro level, neo-liberal economic policies, then, there will be ways for SEZ in States and that will lead to displacement of farmers, that will lead to acquisition of land. We have an obsolete Land Acquisition Act of 1894. That needs to be drastically amended, and we will have to look at these issues in a larger perspective beyond Nandigram boundaries.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Thank you very much. Now, Shri S.S.Ahluwalia .. *(Interruptions)*.... Beware of the paucity of time.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand)*: Hon'ble Deputy Chairman Sir, I feel proud or rather felt proud about the fact that I was born in the land that gave birth to such stalwarts as Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, Raja Rammohan Roy, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar and poets like

*The speech was originally delivered in Bangla.

[Shri S.S. Ahluwalia]

Rabindranath Tagore, Kazi Nazrul Islam and leaders like Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I feel sad by the fact that the State that was once known all over the world as a gentleman's land, for its gentleness, its civilization and its culture, has now been engulfed in a widespread fire. I would specially like to draw your attention, Mr. Deputy Chairman Sir, to Midnapore district. Shri Priyaranjan Dasmunsi has told us about the history and legacy of Midnapore district in his speech. I had been to hundreds of demonstrations and meetings in the District in my student days. I had never forgotten to make a mention of the famous freedom fighter, Matangini Hazra in my speeches during those days. Matangini Hazra once said, if you want to win over the world, give me a mother who can bear able sons who can in turn offer their sacrifices and fight for their Motherland to help her achieve freedom. The 73-year old lady climbed the Tamluk Collectariat building in an attempt to hoist the tricolour and to bring down the Union Jack. It was in the year 1942. She chanted Vande Mataram and then was shot at by the British Police. Bullets were fired at her and she was about to fall down but she did not let the flag be lying down on earth. I pay my sincere homage to the courageous lady Matangini Hazra. She was a prominent leader of the Quit India Movement. I have a report with me titled 'August Revolution and two years of National Government in Midnapore', written by a Committee of four members of Indian National Congress which inquired into the situation that had prevailed in Midnapore during 1942 Quit India Movement. You may not be aware of the fact that a National Government was formed here in 1942 cutting Midnapore off from the colonial rule for 16 days.

Nandigram has a history of its own. Hundreds and thousands of the people of Nandigram participated in a popular movement against the colonial British rule. Participating in the 'Quit India' movement they gheraoed the local Police station of Nandigram and in the ensuing police firing, four of them died and hundreds were injured. But the people never abandoned the movement and the land they lived in, in spite of Police oppressions. They faced great tragedies. It's the same Nandigram. What does it say today? The peace in Nandigram has now been shattered. Its air is laden with the smell of bullets, and burnt houses. Its soil is drenched with people's blood. The sky has fallen silent at the yelling of women and children who have been victims of atrocities and assaults. Why should this happen to them? No Nadir Shah ventured into Nandigram, nor Taimur Lang or Atilla the Hoon. But, it appears, wild wolves have been let loose on the peasants of Nandigram by their own people only. What have the common people demanded? The people irrespective of caste, colour, religion or political party affiliations lived there in peace and harmony. They lived together and tilled the land together to earn their livelihood. The previous speaker, Smt. Sushma Swaraj told us that the land yielded three crops in a year there. The sweet, smaller sized beetle leaves, a specialty of West Bengal, are grown in Nandigram only. Were they living in any kind of hardship? These people were traditionally earning livelihood through farming in the lands bestowed to them by their forefathers. There was no big factory there. Neither religious identity nor political affiliation had been able to divide the people in Nandigram. Shri Priyaranjan Dasmunsi informs us that 45% of the population belonged to the minority community. They did not have any differences over religion or caste. They had only one demand to make—that the land was theirs and it was their life. They voiced only one demand unanimously. "This piece of land which they tilled and which was their sole source of livelihood could not be given away. And they said they would not part away with the land. What was their fault in demanding so? But, well, there might be some fault on their part. Our friends in CPI (M) would well remember the days when they would walk the streets with the group of sharecroppers to demonstrate against the landowners. The popular refrain of the group was 'Jaan qabul aar maan qabul, aar dibona dhan.' When the possession of land was transferred in favour of the sharecroppers...

SHRI PENUMALLI MADHU (Andhra Pradesh): They are proud of it.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: I know that. You might not have seen but I have seen it; *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, do not disturb, please. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: When they walked along with the groups of sharecroppers, they would sing such songs...

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: Could you sing please?

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: What, should I sing the song?... So, there was a movement against the landowners. The same land is now witnessing disturbances. Why did it happen? Why did the firestorm of fury sweep through Nandigram? It was due to a single reason. The Chairman of the Haldia Development Authority who happens to be the Member of the other House, Shri Lakshman Seth, issued a circular to the effect that the specific land area would be acquired for the sake of SEZ. It was circulated by the end of 2006. The circular was pasted on the walls of BDO office and the Circle office and soon the movement picked up. The movement started gaining in strength, but our leaders like Shri Sitaram Yechury... he is not present here now... he had been telling us, there had been no notice issued for land acquisition. He has been telling this repeatedly.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: Correct, correct... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Please wait. I am coming to that only... Why was it necessary? What was the necessity for an SEZ? During the 30 year-long tenure of CPI(M) in power... not even one or two years, during those 30 years of rule by CPI(M), 65000 factories had been closed in West Bengal. What was the reason behind these closures? Please remember the words of that great pioneer, Bidhan Chandra Roy... *(Interruptions)*

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: You should furnish the details, whether it's 65 or 1 lakh factories...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: During his rule of 14 years as the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Bidhan Chandra Roy helped propel West Bengal to the second top position among the states of India in the category of industrialization. Now West Bengal has come down to the eighth position in that list. When Bidhan Chandra Roy established Durgapur Steel Plant, Durgapur Alloy Plant or MAMC, there had been no movement against them. When he established Kalyani, there has been no protest. When he built Salt Lake City in the suburb of Kolkata with the technological help of Yugoslavian experts that enabled dredging of the silt from river Ganges and pump it into the shallow stretch of barren lands on which a satellite township was built, there had been no objections to it. But why is Nandigram facing such fierce objections? What are the reasons behind them? The reason behind is that you have acquired 1,23,136 acres of land during the last two years only. It is meant to be given away to the business groups like the Tatas, Birlas etc. But there is another name among them and he is an investor from Indonesia. His name is Salem Ciputra. He has an agent named Praam Chatterjee who arranged for Salem's investment. And 79000 acres of land out of the total 1,23,000 acres go only to Salem Ciputra. I have a ready list here with me. I can read it out for your benefit—the list containing the names of the companies, how much land has been given to each, and the purpose of the land being given. The very first name in that list is that of Salem group of Indonesia who were given 12,500 acres of land in Haldia, East Midnapore to build SEZ, Biotech Park, IT Industry etc. Why was it done so? I should not have said this, but Shri Somnath Chatterjee, who is the present Speaker in the other House, had been the CMD of West Bengal State Industrial Development Corporation during those times. He was nicknamed 'MoU Dada' because he was on a signing spree of many Memorandums of Understanding (MoU). However not a single MoU could be implemented.

[Shri S.S. Ahluwalia]

We have four main issues in this discussion: the first being the problem of SEZ, which I have already discussed. Shri Priyaranjan Dasmunshi had been telling since morning that BJP did not utter a word on the issue of SEZ. I have already answered on the issues of SEZ. The second issue is that of Nandigram and what happened after the notification. Who or what was the reason behind it? And why is there so much disappointment? It is being said that Nandigram has been populated by the supporters of Mao-Zedong. My friends Shri Sitaram Yechury and Shri Amar Singh have also been telling without naming any leader of CPI (ML) or Maoist leader that they have come over from Jharkhand. Sir, I want to react to it because of lack of truth in it. I have been elected a Member from Jharkhand. To find the clue, I urge you to read a report published in *The Statesman* of 4th April, 2007. It reflects on why suddenly the CPI(M) of West Bengal got so nervous. The main reason behind was that in the last 30 years, it was for the first time that the CPI (M) lost the polls in Haldia Dock Institute elections. It was a total rout, a total defeat for CPI (M)...

The results have created a sensation in the port city as the CITU-controlled Kolkata Port Trust and Shore Mazdoor Union have been ousted after 30 years of its stay in power.

They were totally defeated in both the Kolkata Port Trust and Shore Mazdoor elections. Why were they defeated? Because in the year 1998 ...*(Interruptions)*

... You don't know anything about Bengal.

Before the 1998 Panchayat elections, Nandigram had been a stronghold of CPI party, but not of CPI(M). During this time in 1998, Trinamool Congress, BJP and other parties made their presence felt in the area. In 2003, the CPI(M) got jittery and it resulted in the incident of Chhoto Angaria. A sense of terror and tension was created in Chhoto Angaria area between 2000 and 2002 for physical elimination of the Oppostion. You will be surprised to know, Mr. Deputy Chairman Sir, that for this atmosphere of terror created, it was for the first time in a democratic system, that about 23000 members out of a total of 56000 Panchayat members were declared elected uncontested. Whoever went to file their nominations were either intimidated and beaten up or their families threatened by the 'terror groups' to withdraw their nominations. They were told to either withdraw or be killed. ...*(Interruptions)*

I am speaking about Nandigram only ...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please, Please, please... please don't disturb. Sit down please.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: Why did you leave West Bengal, Mr. Ahluwalia? It was such a sad decision... you stayed there for so many years, such a sad thing. Mr. Ahluwalia...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: I am telling you, telling you...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please, please, please. Mr. Ahluwaliaji, don't look at them. You look at the Chair and address. Please proceed. Please, don't disturb him. Let him speak. You can have your say. Why do you disturb now? Please continue.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: We are asking for more information.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Mr. Deputy Chairman Sir, Sushmaji narrated to us in the fTorning whatever happend in January, and on 14th March and then in November this year. I just-want to add some more information regarding those incidents. When our Hon'ble Member Shri Ram Jethmalani said in his speech earlier that there were members of CPI(M) in the Bhumi Ucched Pratirodh Committee, you voiced your opposition saying there were no members from your lide. But I also tell you that yes, there were members from your party in Bhumi Ucched

Pratirodh Committee. What was the reason behind it? In December last when pressure was being created in the name of the circular, widespread protest erupted in the village. The Gram Sabha was dominated by the CPI(M). All are CP1(M) supporters—whether it was by coercion, due to fear psychosis or even elected. All are their supporters, but they said they would not part with the land. They said they would not give away the land. Then the hardcore members told them, "No, you have to give away the land because this is the direction from the High Command." When the High Command. ...*(Interruptions)* Prashanta Babu, Prashanta Babu. ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, Mr. Ahluwaliaji, there is... No such running commentary, please proceed. See they are taking away your time, so please address the Chair ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Prashanta Babu, you have been a resident of Kolkata and you were the Mayor of Kolkata ...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please proceed

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: If even 2% of the total members of Bhumi Ucched Pratirodh Committee, if only 2% of them quit the village... The people who were trying to create pressure on the issue by using force, were thrown out of the village in the month of January. All the villagers, and people from all the blocks and the area became members of the Bhumi Ucched Pratirodh Committee. Because they knew they had to protect their land. Thus started the movement. And when the movement started, Sir ...*(Interruptions)*

What? ... Those people who were pressuring others to part away with their land and trying to coerce them to sign on the dotted lines, to sign the papers... all of them belonged to the CPI(M), I have been telling you, they were from CPI(M)... These people, after being socially boycotted and thrown away out of the village by the majority, took shelter in Khejuri, Khejuri is the den of CPI(M). And in Khejuri, you have the Janani Brick Kiln. It is the place where you, the CPI(M), used to stockpile all the arms and ammunitions. It was the Janani Brick Kiln, from where the CPI(M) cadres used to attack with bullets and bombs from time to time making their ways via Sonachura and other places. I voiced my concern in this House on 14th March regarding the firing in Nandigram and the Hon'ble Home Minister had then responded to it saying that yes, there had been firing in the area and he said, we are told that there were about 20,000 people standing over there. Police went... The same language, what Sitaram Yechury said ... You were told by the State Government, he was also told by the State Government.... Because both of them were not present there....'... There was resistance offered by the people who had gathered there and the Police workers go there and start the work. In the process, pelting of stones was started and then the Police also, it seems, resisted. And then, they burst some tear gas shells... W<? were told, that some few crude bombs were also burst and some firing was done and Police also fired'. In that, how many people died? Some people died.... So, what happened then? Some 25000 Hindu villagers were offering Puja to protect their land, the Muslim villagers were also offering *ibaadat* (prayer) that may Allah save their land. But then the Police came and gheraoed them and they sprayed tear gas shells to disperse them. And what happened then? The wind was blowing in the opposite direction and the smoke erupting from the tear gas shells engulfed the Police instead. The Police fired bullets indiscriminately and no one knows how many people died in the firing.

Sir, we visited the place on 17th March. Sir, this incident reminds me of similar happenings in Tiananmen Square and in Jalianwala Bagh. It can be compared to the incident in Nandigram. I am reminded of these two places. ...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. R.J. KURIEN): Please, please ... don't get disturbed and please try to speak ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, you will be surprised to know that when we visited the place on the 17th ...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No please, please. Don't disturb your speaker. Don't disturb when your partyman is speaking, please sit down. Mr. Pani, don't disturb.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: They know Bengali....

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: No, no, no,... if you do not like Bengali language ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Mr. Ahluwalia, please speak. You please address the Chair. Brindaji, don't please ...please address the Chair. Mr. Ahluwalia, please address the Chair.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: You cannot digest the truth spoken in Bengali...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Lots of speakers are there, so try to conclude.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, an NDA delegation including Shri L.K. Advani visited Tamluk Hospital during that time. We interacted with many people there, especially two women who were raped. When we interacted with them through Sushmaji-she was given the responsibility to speak to them- and I also acted as an interpreter because Advaniji had difficulty in comprehending what was being told in Bengali. Many of the members did not understand Bengali. The lady described the incident in which she was raped in the cowshed. The injured people themselves told us that the attackers were the cadres of CPI(M) dressed in police uniform. Have you ever seen policemen dressed in full police uniform with guns but without boots and cap? They were wearing only 'Hawai chappals'... It can happen only in West Bengal ... *(Interruptions)*

AN HON'LE MEMBER: It's untrue...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: No, nothing is untrue in it, it's the truth only..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You sit down...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: This is true. It was recorded in the CBI report. Sir, two of my five children are doctors ... *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, please, sit down. You are also doing the same thing. Please sit down.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: I also want to listen to him. This running commentary cannot go on...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You also know this. You blame the man and do the same thing. Don't do that. Please try to conclude.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, as my daughters are doctors and I having been gone through a long political career and acquiring vast experience, I know it well... so I asked the CMO and a lady doctor present there ... tears welled up my eyes ... I asked the lady doctor, "Bet, these people will get justice only if they have a proper medical report". She told me that she understood my concern. I told her again that if the medical examination were not done within 48 hours, they

would not get justice. You should examine the clothes and the body for clues. She said, "Sir, these two women were brought here in an unconscious condition. But surprisingly they had been brought here after a thorough bath. Their dresses had been changed and were dressed in new clothes. The evidence was destroyed. And it's not me speaking: it is in the CBI report. And the people who were killed in police firing, those who were killed in police firing... Sitaramji, I did not say anything while you were speaking... Please listen to me... You can say when your turn comes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, no, ...you can reply when you speak. Please sit down.... And try to conclude it fast.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, I am concluding. I am speaking, please spare me some more time to speak...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You took much of time, now please conclude.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, the whole of West Bengal has been witness to the facts that occurred there. It is a norm that the clothes of the people who have been killed in police firing are sent for forensic examination. He is the Home Minister, he knows it better that the clothes that bear the signs of firing, are also sent for forensic examination. Sir, it so happened that the number of people who were killed in police firing was sent to the hospital naked. Their clothes were taken away deliberately in order to prevent proper forensic investigation into the cause of death, nature of the fatal injury etc. Evidences were destroyed. Sir, I do not want to say anything. But what's the purpose of saying "Our people, their people" and "My people, your people?" What was the sources of such phrases? During the pre-lunch session, Hon'ble Member Shri Sitaram Yechury was talking about the Maoists. When in 1967, they indulged in armed revolution, they were left out. Why was it so? Have you forgotten Naxalbari? Have you forgotten Gopiballabhpur or Srikakulam? Gopiballabhpur is in Midnapore, like Debra etc.; Naxalbari is in North Bengal and Srikakulam is in Andhra Pradesh, where were you when the air all around ranted with slogans "like China's Chairman is our Chairman" and "Mao Zedong, Lal Salaam?" Were you fighting then? I was then a student of Law in Calcutta University. I know it well how you were fighting them ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI TAPAN KUMAR SEN (West Bengal): I was very much there in Kolkata at that time ... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: But phrases like "Our people, their people" ... the statements issued from Alimuddin Street and Writers' Building should not be same. If you have taken the oath in the name of Constitution, you should not say, "Our people, their people"; you should rather always say, "Our people". All are people of West Bengal. But did you do? You say in the same language from Writers' Building whatever you said from Alimuddin Street.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Yes, please conclude.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, there had been a great demonstration to protest against the happening in Nandigram. It has been observed of this protest rally that...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Shri Ahluwaliaji, please conclude now. I think your points are over ...*(Interruptions)*... A lot of speakers are there ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: I am concluding. Sir,... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You may please conclude now.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: I am concluding. Sir, Over one lakh people participated in the protest rally in Kolkata. Most of them are intellectuals. They were protesting. The books written by each of these authors are read by millions of people. They have been taking part in that protest rally. And what are the Marxist friends telling us? They say that the rally organized by them the following day was much bigger in strength than the previous one. Sir, these eminent intellectuals and large masses of people volunteered to rally in protest against the CPI(M)' atrocities on the defenceless people in Nandigram. These participants were not coerced to participate. They had not been brought in vehicles; they came on their own volition, even the physically challenged persons were walking miles after miles in protest... but even then you were not ashamed! And you keep telling that Maoist literatures written in Telugu were found there. How many Telugu activists have been arrested in Nandigram? You have said that Telugu literature was found there, but *Anandabazar Patrika* published this report contesting your claim thus: ...'a part of the CPM claims two of their supporters have been killed by the mines laid by the Maoists who are members of the Resistance Committee (BUPC)... There was no satisfactory answer, however, as to how the Maoists could lay mines in the Mansingber area, beside the Bhangabera bridge in the CPM stronghold of Khejuri.'.... So, how could they lay the mines? And further it says, The District Police says,... What did the District Police Superintendent say? He says, 'Two people have died in the explosion. Whether this is due to bombs or mines are not possible to assert at this moment.'

Do you know the reason behind it? The reason was that these two people were making the bombs and during the processing of trying them they were killed in explosion. This incident is being thrust upon the Maoists. It was widely reported that these two people belonging to the CPI(M) died in the process of making the bombs. But you are not accepting this and saying that it was the handiwork of the Maoists. And it further says, "On land mines, The State Home Secretary says, 'Cannot be ascertained at present. We are investigating.' 'Are the Maoists behind the blasts? The Home Secretary is now being questioned thus... 'He is of the opinion-so far it is not clear. But he comments, if it is a handi work of the Maoists, then it is a matter of concern.'

But the Home Secretary, who collects information from CID, IB and other agencies and sends the report to the Governor and the Chief Minister, himself says that there are no Maoists. And you still say that there is Maoist presence in the area.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Shri Ahluwaliaji, please conclude.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, I am concluding... There are no Maoists there and it is being said...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You have taken a lot of time.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Yes, Sir, I am trying to conclude... Now the point is, who has done this? ... (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Let him conclude ...(*Interruptions*)... Please don't disturb ...(*Interruptions*)... Don't provoke further. Let him conclude.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I will take just half a minute, if he yields. Sir, I just want to make a record straight in the House. I was not in the House. I got the information that a very distinguished leader and a friend of mine from Samajwadi Party, Shri Amar Singh, took my name in connection with a few leaders. The fact is that we are all together, including Shri Amar Singh, and my distinguished colleague Shri Subroto Mukherjee's real product was Shri Amar Singh in the movement those days. Shri Amar Singh's Party President, Shri Vijay Upadhyaya, who is the State President of Samajwadi Party in West Bengal, was the only leader who sat in the *dharna* with Mamataji against the Chief Minister on Singur and Nandigram issues. I would like to keep it on the record.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN). Okay. Now, Mr. Ahluwalia, please conclude.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, there is a question mark hanging in this House. The Hon'ble Home Minister is thinking that some people say there are Maoists, and some others say there were no Maoists. You are quoting Press reports and I am also quoting from Press reports. On the other hand, the Home Secretary of West Bengal said there were no Maoists there. So who did all these things? Who was responsible? Sir, it was the handiwork of Salim Laskar. Salim Laskar is a notorious dacoit and mercenary from Magrahat. The CPI (M) assured him of Twenty thousand Rupees per day for every hired criminal for Operation Nandigram. The contract was for 3 days. Salim Laskar...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Sir, how is it relevant to ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: I am quoting from *The Statesman* ... since morning you have been quoting from ... *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Now, please conclude.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Please listen to me. Sir, I have some documents. You have been talking about IB and I am telling you about the Intelligence Department. He has been arrested by the State CID. And he said that his contract with CPI(M) was Rs. 60000 for three days only per head. He supplied 300 criminals at the rate of Rs. 20000 each for killing people. The total deal was for Rupees eighteen crore. What was their job? These people are like hungry wolves. These hungry wolves were collected and given directions to do anything they like to do. These people were sent under the protection of CPI(M). These bunch of 300 people were contracted at the total cost of Rupees 18 crores. -The agreement was for Rupees 18 crores, Sir... this is the first-page news that has appeared in yesterday's '*Dainik Statesman*' I am quoting from that ... But it did not stop here, Sir, These anti-social elements were positioned in the front row and in the second row were cadres collected from all over West Bengal. There is only one political party in India that has an "Action Squad". It was the CPI(M)'s Action Squad ...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, I am about to conclude. इसको मैं हिन्दी में भी बता देना चाहता हूँ ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, there is no time left.

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: सलीम वाहिनी एक सलीम कुख्याल गुंडा मगरहाट का, जिसको पश्चिमी बंगाल के गुप्तचर विभाग ने परसों पकड़ा है। वहां के सीआईडी डिपार्टमेंट ने पकड़ा, गुप्तचर विभाग ने पकड़ा। उसके साथ मैं एक चुक्ती हुई थी कि वह 20 हजार रुपए एक दिन का एक आदमी का लेंगे और 300 आदमी तीन दिन के लिए सप्लाई किए गए। यह 18 करोड़ की चुक्ती थी, जिनका काम था वहां के लोगों का कत्ल करना, कत्ल वाहिनी ...*(व्यवधान)*... I am about to conclude, Sir, ...*(व्यवधान)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, I am about to conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): There is no time left.

श्री कलराज मिश्र: सर, इनको बोलने दीजिए। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) - That is enough; please conclude.

SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, this is totally incorrect. He is misleading the House. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MATILAL SARKAR (Tripura): Sir, he is misleading the House.

...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, I am about to conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You may refute those charges later on. Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI TAPAN KUMAR SEN: Sir, I am not trying to interrupt him. But when he makes a comment like that. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Let him conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*... What do you want to say, Mr. Prasanta Chatterjee?

SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE: Sir, he has been quoting unconfirmed reports from the newspapers. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You are not on a point of order. Mr. Ahluwalia, please conclude. You have taken a lot of time.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, I am concluding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You are repeating what you have already said. ...*(Interruptions)*... आप जल्दी खत्म करो ! ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: सर, यह दैनिक स्टेटमैन, बुधवार, 21-11-2007, बंगाली का अखबार इसमें लिखा है कि सलीम वाहिनी संगे तीन दिने, अर्थात् सलीम वाहिनी के साथ तीन दिन का एग्रीमेंट था। सलीम लश्कर नाम का एक कुख्यात डकैत जो है मगरहाट का, उससे 300 आदमियों की सप्लाई ली गई। एक-एक आदमी को 20-20 हजार रुपया पर डे और खाने-पीने का सामान, सब कुछ, उसने खुद गुप्तचर विभाग के सामने बताया है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You are repeating what you have already said. Why are you repeating what you have said? वहीं बात आपने बंगाली में बोली। अब हिंदी में क्यों बोलते हैं ? ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: सर, श्री टायर स्ट्रेटजी अपनाई गई। पहले रखा गया। इन खत्म वाहिनी के लोगों को। सेकेंड स्टेज पर ...*(व्यवधान)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Don't repeat what you have said.

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: सेकेंड टायर पर रखा गया एक्शन स्क्वाड के लोगों को, थर्ड टायर में रखा गया पुलिस आफीसर्स को। ...*(व्यवधान)*... इन्होंने इस तरह से कब्जा किया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी. जे. कुरियन): प्लीज, खत्म करो।

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: सर, यह 18 करोड़ की डील है। एक आदमी का 60 हजार तीन दिन के लिए और यह 300 आदमियों की सप्लाई, यानी 18 करोड़ की डील है। उन्होंने पैसे नहीं दिए, इनको अंततः पकड़वा दिया और गुप्तचर विभाग ने सारा स्टेटमेंट रिकार्ड किया है। मेरी मांग है कि सीबीआई, जो इन्वेस्टीगेट कर रही है, वह सलीम लश्कर को अपने कब्जे में ले और इसका स्टेटमेंट रिकॉर्ड करे। पहली बात। दूसरी बात, महोदय।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी. जे. कुरियन): ठीक है। नहीं, दूसरी बात नहीं। बहुत बात हो गई, अब आप खत्म करो।

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: सर, मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष(प्रो.पी.जे.कुरियन): हां, जल्दी खत्म करो। प्लीज...(व्यवधान)...

Mr. Chatterjee, you may reply when your turn comes. You may reply later, please don't worry. I will give you time to reply.

SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE: Sir, you must expunge it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): I will give time to your party to speak. Why are you worried? You may reply later. There is no time now; I shall give you time when your turn comes. Mr. Prasanta Chatterjee, Members from your Party will also speak. At that time, they can reply.

SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE: He is not authenticating...(Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): I am giving time to your Party. Why are you worrying? You can note down these points and then reply.

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: सर, यह मैं नहीं बोल रहा, अखबार में भी छपा है और अखबार से अभी तक कंट्राडिक्शन नहीं छपा, सरकार ने कोई कंट्राडिक्शन नहीं दिया, कोई वहां के गुप्तचर विभाग ने कंट्राडिक्शन नहीं दिया, यह प्रूव करना उनका काम है। हमारी तो मांग है कि CBI उसको कब्जे में ले और इसकी पूरी confessions लाए और तब बताए।

महोदय, ये लोग गुजरात की चर्चा सवेरे से कर रहे हैं और कह रहे थे कि गुजरात में...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Don't go to Gujarat. Please, conclude.

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: वहां पार्लियामेंट का ऑल पार्टी डेलिगेशन जाना चाहिए। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ, शिवराज जी यहां बैठे हैं, शिवराज जी गुजरात में ऑल पार्टी डेलिगेशन में सोनिया जी के साथ गए। श्री प्रमोद महाजन के नेतृत्व में एक डेलिगेशन गया, पार्लियामेंट्री अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर एक डेलिगेशन लेकर गए, जिसमें शिवराज जी थे, श्री सोमनाथ चटर्जी थे, श्री रघुवंश प्रसाद सिंह थे, ऑल पॉलिटिकल पार्टीज के लीडर्स थे, मैं भी गया था उसमें, सोनिया गांधी जी भी गई थीं और पार्लियामेंट में सच्ची बात रखने के लिए हम लोग गुजरात में जाकर लोगों से मिलकर आए थे और सारी बात की गई थी। यही नहीं, एक यूनेनिमस मोशन पास करके 355 में डायरेक्शन देने की बात इस सदन नेकी थी 6 मई को। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि आज हम क्यों हिचकिचाते हैं नंदीग्राम पर एक मोशन पास करने के लिए?

अंत में मैं श्री रवीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर को क्वोट करते हुए सिर्फ एक कप्लेट बताना चाहता हूँ, वृंदा जी, आपके लिए हैं, आप लोग गाते रहते थे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Now I'm speaking in Bengali again. Sir, I want to conclude with a couplet written by Rabindranath Tagore. Brindaji, you have been singing this song for long but might have forgotten now. The song follows like this:

If you create obstacles, the struggle will ensue and we may have to court death.

If you block the road, you have to clear the way.

You want to become rich with the wealth accumulated by looting.

You will fall on the dusty road just in a minute.

If you want to shake it, you will also be shaken.

[SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA]

If you create obstacles, the struggle will ensue and we may have to court death.

You have to accept the truth. And please tell the Chief Minister who says, "An eye for an eye", that this is not the way. If you want to win over the people, you should work on other ways, but not this way. And please also arrange for their rehabilitation. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI RAVULA CHANDRA SEKAR REDDY: Sir, we have been discussing since noon time about the issue of Special Economic Zones, specially Nandigram, and consequential violence in that area. Sir, there are two distinct things—one is Special Economic Zones and the other part is violence in Nandigram. Sir, this is an unfortunate incident in Nandigram and going by the newspaper reports and going by the speeches, I feel that one should express sympathy to the victims. The Government should take all the steps for rehabilitation and extending financial assistance for all the victims and we should see that normalcy is restored at the earliest. Sir, main cause for all these incidents and events, which are avoidable, is Special Economic Zones. The Government of India, as of now, have sanctioned 375 Special Economic Zones. Sir, the very purpose is defeated. Sir, going by the trends in the country, going by the resistance from land owners, small and marginal farmers, it is going to end up as a displaced development and as misplaced priority. I feel that in the name of SEZ, many people, who are close to ruling dispensations in various States, are floating all the economic zones. We are aware of the concessions given to these Special Economic Zones, specially tax exemptions, duty free import, domestic procurement of goods for development, hundred per cent income tax exemption, exemption from minimum alternate tax, exemption from Central sales tax, service tax, single window clearance for all these economic zones etc. For whose benefits, they are floating these Special Economic Zones. The Government should have a thorough review of these economic zones. In my own State, Andhra Pradesh, 70 Special Economic Zones have been cleared. Sir, 25,000 acres of land is going to be acquired, and, most of them are already floated there in the State. And, Sir, people who are very close to the Ruling Party are floating these Special Economic Zones. Sir, information technology companies are also acquiring lands in the name of Special Economic Zones. The concessions are given to the entrepreneurs, and, more than fifty per cent concession is availed for real estate purposes. Why should the Government of India or the respective State Government act as middlemen in acquiring the lands? Sir, literally, they have become real estate brokers.

Sir, now, the land has become very precious, and, in the name of SEZ, people are grabbing the agriculture lands. Sir, already, when the cultivable land is shrinking in the country and the agricultural production is also coming down, we are encouraging Special Economic Zones in the agricultural fields. Sir, a day will come when instead of earmarking Special Economic Zones, we will have to earmark certain land for special agricultural fields. Sir, we can call the present SEZs as 'special encroachment zones' into the agriculture fields and thereby becoming special exploitation zones. They are literally exploiting the fields.

Sir, the concept of SEZ has to be thoroughly reviewed. There should be an evaluation. Sir, I am having the data with me. Due to paucity of time, I cannot give all the details. Many Special Economic Zones are floated by people who do not have the expertise or experience in these fields. Taking advantage of their association with the ruling dispensation, they are getting these cleared both at the national and the State level. Many of them remain on papers. Sir, the resistance is not only there in Nandigram. In many parts of my own State, there is resistance. Sir, I have a statement of the hon. Minister wherein he has stated about the resistance. 'SEZs only if locals don't oppose it'. This is a statement of hon. Minister, Shri Kamal Nath. Sir, in spite of the resistance from the farmers, why are these Special Economic Zones floated and why is the

Government pressurising them to part away with their lands. I request the Government of India to have a fresh look at the whole system and review these economic zones. As far as the number of economic zones is concerned, in Maharashtra, 75 Special Economic Zones have been cleared, in Andhra Pradesh, 70 Special Economic Zones have been cleared. In Karnataka, this number is 36 and in the State of Haryana, it is 29. Sir, all the Special Economic Zones are acquiring huge lands, which are with the small and marginal farmers. They are acquiring the lands through the Government agencies; either the Industrial Infrastructure Corporation or some other organisation is notifying these lands. Why should the Government act as middlemen? If an entrepreneur is really willing to set up an institute or industry there, let him go to the agriculturists, convince them and buy the land. Instead of doing that process, you are depending on age-old Land Acquisition Act, pressurising the small and marginal farmers and acquiring it under compulsory acquisition, thereby displacing them. Is it not the displaced development; is it not a misplaced priority, Sir? By virtue of all these things, instances like Nandigram are happening. Not only in Nandigram, in Maharashtra, or, in my own State, Andhra Pradesh there is lot of resistance against these SEZs and the Government of India should not encourage such real estate deals. Literally, in the field, they have become real estate brokers.

Sir, land has become very precious in the urban areas. In the past 3-4 years, the land value has gone up very high. Now a poor man, a middle-class man cannot afford to purchase a house in semi-urban area. In the name of Special Economic Zones, they are exploiting the small farmers; they are acquiring real estate and selling the land at exorbitant prices.

This is encouraging the middlemen, encouraging the people who are really interested, not in putting up an industry, but only in minting money in the name of Special Economic Zones. My heart goes for the people who are really suffering in Nandigram. I am not going into the details because since afternoon I have been hearing this side and that side. Sir, there should be a healing touch for the victims. There should be a real compensation. We should help them and we should see that normalcy is restored at the earliest. We should be cautious in dealing, in sanctioning and in encouraging these Special Economic Zones. With these words, I thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Thank you for sticking to the time limit and especially for the term 'healing touch'. That is what is needed.

DR. ABHISHEK MANU SINGHVI (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, hon. Members, I am deeply obliged for this opportunity. Let me, at the outset, say that whatever I am going to say is not meant in the slightest manner as fault-finding or accusation. I am saying this in a spirit of humility; I am saying this in the spirit of constructive reforms because I think that, at least, some of the events, some of the incidents, irrespective of State, irrespective of colour, irrespective of political colour, must necessarily lead to realisation of shame and fault without which we cannot rise above these things. Sir, the first aspect which I wish to draw the attention of this august House to is the debates when our Constitution was being formulated. When our Constitution was being formulated in the Constituent Assembly, there was a debate at some length as to how and how much and what to give to the States in terms of Constitutional power. We, ultimately, ended up with the First List of the Constitution which is extremely large and very voluminous. The territory and the area covered by the First List of the Seventh Schedule is, in proportion, much larger than the State List or the Concurrent List. That is why from being a fully federal Constitution, we are called a quasi-federal Constitution. But, even in that debate—because our founders were concerned about the possible break-up of this nation, about the fissiparous tendencies which beset the nation at that time in the context of partition—there was a very strong move to say that law and order is something which we must give to the States; law and order is something which must be given in the widest possible meaning and amplitude to the States because we cannot have the beginning of federalism unless we gave law and order, not only as a word, but in spirit and in an enlarged zone also to the States. And, that is why, in the

[DR. ABHISHEK MANU SINGHVI]

Second List for the States, the first entry is law and order. Even in certain aspects, of what the Supreme Court has called the three concentric circles—the narrower circle is law and order, the slightly larger circle is public order and the largest circle, is the security of the State—the security of the State, the largest concentric circle, may be given and has been given to the Centre. But, the entirety of law and order, and in that connected sense, large parts of public order were deliberately, after much debate, much comments by the framers, given to the States. There is a reason for it. And, it is for that reason, every State Government—I don't mean this only for West Bengal, but certainly we are speaking in the context of West Bengal—has to realise that there is no State without law and order. And, for law and order, there is no political complexion, there is no political colour, there is no party affiliation. As you know, the first condition of the original social compact, the social contract, by which the State was formed, was, 'I, the citizen, am ready to- give up my rights, am ready to be taxed, am ready to be limited, am ready to suffer some diminution in my human rights because you, the State, are going to give me the first primary condition and that is law and order'. That was by the Hobbes, Locke Rousseau and all the other philosophers. That is also in our ancient Indian tradition. Well, that is because unless law and order is protected, only those who protect law and order get law and order themselves. And, if you allow, today, on any consideration, which is not objective, which is party related, which is otherwise subjective, a diminution of the aspect of law and order, then, you are not only diminishing the State, but you are, in fact, creating a Frankenstein Monster who will ultimately threaten you, who will ultimately try to swallow you. So, I think the law and order aspect of this is the most important one. You may have differences and we are proud of our democracy, but when there is a situation which is emerging, which is explosive, and which is developing, you have to come down with an even hand, with an objective hand, and with a strong hand because you are the administrator of the State. You do not have to look left, right or back and, of course, behind you is always Mr. Shivraj Patil's Ministry. It is always the Home Ministry which is available. You can ask, you should ask, and you must ask, and I do not think there is a single instance of that support being wanting. But you cannot afford to be in the slightest sense softer or slower merely because of considerations other than those which affect objective policing or objective law and order considerations.

Sir, the second aspect which Nandigram raises in the more abstract sense is the issue of party and Government. Party and Government is again a very important constitutional principle, a philosophical principle and of utter importance in a democracy. Yes, the party is the mother of the Government. Yes, the Government is in a sense the offspring of the party. But then this is an umbilical chord which has to be cut at the threshold because the Government is also the *parens patriae* of the entire State. The Government has to, first and foremost, rise above everything else and be the protector of the State and its citizens and for that, it has to turn a blind eye to every party, including the party which brought it into power. We have had regrettably to observe that where party is given precedence over governance issues, over issues of security, over issues of law and order, then there is not only an inherent contradiction and danger but you are threatening the very constitutional edifice in a democracy which maintains that distinction. Sir, it is being said that to err is human but to forgive and forget is divine. If I may modify that, to err is human, but to realise the error, to begin the process of realisation and through realisation to begin the process of correction and rectification is truly divine. What has happened has happened. But if the Government in power, if the party in power, and if others there begin to realise and accept this fact, then, I think, a major significant movement is made. But if you turn a blind eye, if you indulge in self-denial, if you deny the reality itself, then that, in fact, compounds the felony. That is even more culpable than the original sin. You do not diminish yourself in any sense by accepting that there have been excesses there; you do not diminish yourself by accepting that there is scope for improvement. In fact, you dignify yourself, enhance your image by saying so and accepting that.

Naturally, Sir, several questions arise. A question arises, for example, that if yesterday, with a generally motley crowd, largely unarmed crowd of 200-odd we are told, it was felt necessary to call in the Army, why were not more significant steps taken, not earlier but even in January this year or March this year? Surely, the same Government felt sufficient provocation to call in the Army. Well, I must then remind you of the events of 3rd of January or of the events of 14th of March. They were certainly on a larger scale or a bigger scale or a more serious scale and yet it was not felt necessary to even utilise the police forces fully. These are the questions which are not being asked in a fault-finding manner. But we are here at the temple of democracy to raise these issues and to indulge in the introspection and hopefully, as I said, to indulge in realisation and therefore in correction and, therefore, ensuring against a recurrence in the future. I heard it some time ago in this august House that in those killed, there were perhaps also some of our boys, or if I may use the word 'innocents' which belonged to our party or our group. Let me ask this question, Sir. Let us assume that that is so. Well, then why were innocents killed? Why were innocents killed which belonged to your party? Why six? Why twelve? Why should innocents at all be subjected to police firing? There should therefore, be an admission of excess and that is necessary because without that you will not go to the path of improvement. The figures of the dead or directly affected are, of course, very vital and important. But, the figures of those uprooted, those supposedly missing and those supposedly displaced, are even more important because those figures are sometimes neither accurate nor known for a fact, but they cause, in that sense, much more suffering and misery to the living than to those dead who have, undoubtedly suffered misery, but who have departed for a better world.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I find it intriguing that on different dates, at different times, on different fora, different figures have been supplied about the missing or the homeless or the uprooted. From news reports, I have checked. The party as well as the Government in that State has suggested at one time that there are about 4,000 homeless or uprooted. That figure by the same Government and the party was scaled down to 2,900. Subsequently, at the forum of BDO, the Block Development Officers, it is mentioned as 1,100 and finally, we are told that the figure is 300. What should be believed? What are we to believe? What is correct? What is relevant? The important thing is, as I said, so long as you indulge in self-denial, you cannot have improvement. Even if you let bygones be bygones, it is important not to indulge in self-denial, it is important to begin to realise, which alone can lead to correction. There has been for the State Government and for the parties in power in that State, if not last year, at least, for many months now, the availability of researched independent investigative reports, including those by the CBI. Those reports have been filed in a formal forum like the High Court. They have been reported. The State Government surely would have access to the action report. Many of us have read them in the Press. The point is these reports of the CBI, for example, pointed out in detail—and I am giving only one example out of many in the CBI report filed in the High Court in the proceedings in that State—there appears to be virtually no presence of Maoists, at least, they have not been able to find. But, that apart, I am going further. They pointed out that five actual persons were interrogated by them, questioned by them and their statements were recorded. All of them, in their statement, said, "Yes, we were found in uniform by the CBI. The uniform was of the police, but we belong to the CPM or the Left cadre." All of them said so. It's recorded. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, you can imagine the reaction of a rural group or an unsuspecting citizen of Nandigram if he finds a group of uniformed persons approaching, which otherwise should inspire confidence and faith—the dress of uniformed persons—but, he knows that these uniformed persons, far from being protectors and guardians, are, in fact, likely to be the perpetrators themselves. So, he does not know whether to receive them with confidence and faith or with deep-rooted fear and apprehension. These are all matters which have been documented. It is important. Recently, we read reports that 10,000-odd persons are in the camps and the Headmaster

[DR. ABHISHAK MANU SINGHVI]

of a nearby school says that there is not enough place and that they should be moved. Where would these homeless people be relocated? Where is the provision for them? These are all aspects which must be made part of a larger rehabilitative policy. It's part of the primary and basic point which is made several times by people as the 'healing touch'. But, the 'healing touch' is not mere verbiage or mere adjective, it has to be a concrete rehabilitation policy. When we ask for a rehabilitation policy and when the very same party of the West Bengal asks for a rehabilitation policy for example, in other States or in other water systems or in uprooting situation like dams, we talk of the same because uprooting or displacement is the same whether I am an uprootee or a displacee in West Bengal or in Tehri or anywhere else. And, therefore, the State Government owes it to this nation, to itself and to the people of West Bengal that they come up with a comprehensive rehabilitation policy.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is ironical that with the abolition of that concept there, or, the announcement of the abortion of the SEZ complex in Nandigram—an announcement which the Chief Minister has made with much fanfare—there is so much of violence. What would have happened if the original concept of Nandigram and the SEZ had been implemented? We are having so much problem there which is uncontrollable. What would have happened if this had been implemented? May I and by saying that West Bengal has had a great tradition of dissent? It has been in the vanguard of our freedom movement. We look with pride to West Bengal, not only to the political movement, but to the literary movement, to the creative movement, to all the arts and cultures in West Bengal which have been in the vanguard of democracy, of freedom, the root word of which is dissent. Well then, those who govern West Bengal, have to rise to the occasion and harken back to that tradition and recognise, indeed cherish, dissent, and in doing so, they will not diminish themselves, but they will, in fact, enhance and dignify themselves. I hope and trust that that will be the charter for the future. Thank you so much.

प्रो.राम देव भंडारी: माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपका आभार व्यक्त करता हूँ कि आपने मुझे इस महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर बोलने का अवसर दिया है। आज की बहस की शुरुआत माननीया सुषमा जी ने की थी और नंदीग्राम में तीन बार का उनका जो दौरा हुआ था। उसके संबंध में उन्होंने बड़े विस्तार से चर्चा की है। उनका प्रयास रहा कि उनके तरकश में जितने तीर हैं उन्हें निकाल कर के विरोधियों पर जितना हमला कर सकें उतना हमला किया जाए। महोदय, मुझे लगता था कि इस बहस में कोई राजनीतिक रंग नहीं आएगा, क्योंकि यह जो विषय है, जो घटनाएं घटी हैं, जिस प्रकार की हिंसाएं हुई हैं, यह राष्ट्रीय चिंता की बात है। निर्दोष लोगों की हत्याएं हुई हैं, दर्जनों घायल हुए हैं और हजारों लोगों को अपने घरबार छोड़ करके सड़कों पर आना पड़ा है। बहुत दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण और दुखद घटनाएं हुई हैं, मैं अपनी पार्टी की ओर से उनके प्रति संवेदना व्यक्त करता हूँ। महोदय, जनवरी, 2007 में पश्चिम बंगाल की सरकार ने इण्डोनेशिया की एक कम्पनी के साथ स्पेशल इकॉनॉमिक जोन के अंतर्गत जमीन देने का प्रस्ताव किया था। देश के कई राज्यों में स्पेशल इकॉनॉमिक जोन दिए गए हैं और उसी क्रम में विकास को सामने रखकर के पश्चिम बंगाल सरकार ने भी स्पेशल इकॉनॉमिक जोन की स्थापना का प्रस्ताव किया। उसमें किसानों की जमीन ली जानी थी। जैसे ही किसानों को पता चला कि हमारी जमीनें स्पेशल इकॉनॉमिक जोन में ली जा रही हैं, स्वाभाविक रूप से उनकी ओर से विरोध शुरू हुआ। विरोध शांतिपूर्ण था। धरना और विरोध का जो तरीका होता है उस तरीके से विरोध शुरू हुआ। सरकार तक यह खबर पहुंची और फरवरी में ही मुख्य मंत्री जी ने कहा कि किसी प्रकार की जमीन एक्वायर नहीं की जाएगी। जब प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री कह रहे हैं कि जमीन एक्वायर नहीं की जायेगी, तो बात वहीं पर समाप्त हो जानी चाहिए थी। मगर बात समाप्त नहीं हुई, बात आगे बढ़ती चली गयी और मैंने जो कुछ समझा है, वह आंदोलन सिर्फ किसानों का आंदोलन नहीं रहा। उसको राजनैतिक स्वरूप मिला, राजनैतिक पार्टियों ने उसमें अपनी शिरकत करनी शुरू कर दी और बाहरी तत्वों ने भी इसमें भाग लेना शुरू कर दिया।

महोदय, नतीजा यही निकला कि हिंसक घटनाएं घटनी शुरु हो गयीं। सुषमा जी कह रही थी कि वहां पर तीन बार हिंसक घटनाएं हुई हैं और तीनों बार सुषमा जी वहां पर गयी थी। वहां लोग मारे गये, खासकर के मार्च में जब पुलिस फायरिंग हुई।

इसके बारे में येचुरी जी बोल रहे थे कि आठ लोग पुलिस की गोली से मारे गये और छह लोग पुलिस की गोली से नहीं मारे गये। उस आंदोलन में ऐसे तत्व शामिल हो गये, जिन तत्वों ने हिंसक घटनाएं करने में आर्म्स का उपयोग किया, बम का उपयोग किया।

महोदय, किसानों की जमीन सेज के लिए ली जाती है। हम वैसे भी जानते हैं कि अपने देश के जो किसान हैं, उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी नहीं है। हर वर्ष किसानों द्वारा जो आत्म-हत्याएं की जाती हैं, उनकी खबरें मीडिया द्वारा आती हैं, हम संसद में भी किसानों की समस्याओं पर चर्चा करते हैं। धीरे-धीरे मार्जिनल किसानों की और छोटे किसानों की संख्या बढ़ती चली गयी। पहले बड़े किसान से छोटे किसान हुए और अब छोटे किसान से मार्जिनल किसान होते चले जा रहे हैं। वैसे भी छोटे किसानों का अपनी जमीन से गुजारा नहीं हो पाता है, मगर इसका कोई उपास उनके पास नहीं है, कोई विकल्प उनके पास नहीं है। इसीलिए जो भी जमीन उनके पास होती है, वे उसमें उत्पादन करते हैं और उस उत्पादन से अपने परिवार का भरण-पोषण करते हैं। जब एकाएक उनको यह जानकारी मिलती है कि उनकी जमीन ली जा रही है, हम जमीन से बे-दखल हो जायेंगे, तो स्वाभाविक है कि उनका गुस्सा बढ़ता है और जब गुस्सा बढ़ता है तो जो भी सरकार होती है, उस सरकार के खिलाफ वे विरोध प्रदर्शन करते हैं।

महोदय, किसानों से जबरदस्ती जमीन क्यों ली जाती है? अगर सरकार को उनकी जमीन किसी काम के लिए लेनी है, तो उनको विश्वास में क्यों नहीं लिया जाता है? उनको एकाएक नोटिस मिलता है कि उनकी जमीन ली जा रही है, जबकि उनको इसके बारे में कुछ भी पता नहीं होता है। सरकार को किसानों को विश्वास में लेना चाहिए।

महोदय, दूसरी बात यह है कि जो मुआवजा, जो कम्पनसेशन किसानों को मिलता है, वह कम्पनसेशन उनको मार्केट रेट से नहीं मिलता है। जो लैंड एक्विजिशन आफिसर, वह सरकारी दस्तावेज से या जैसे भी हो, कम से कम कम्पनसेशन किसानों को मिले, ऐसी नीयत से काम करते हैं। किसानों की जमीन औने-पौने दाम पर चली जाती है। जब जमीन ली जाती है तो उस समय आश्वासन दिया जाता है कि परिवार के किसी आदमी को नौकरी देंगे और जैसे-जैसे समय बीतता जाता है, उनको वह नौकरी भी नहीं मिलती है। कोर्ट में जाने से, जो भी पैसा उनको कम्पनसेशन में मिलता है, वह पैसा भी खत्म हो जाता है। उनसे कहा जाता है कि अगर आपको कम्पनसेशन का इनहांसमेंट कराना है, तो कोर्ट जाइये। कोर्ट जाने पर वह पैसा भी खर्च हो जाता है, जो उनके पास होता है। इस प्रकार किसान मारे जाते हैं, जब उनकी जमीन का अधिग्रहण किया जाता है। महोदय, यह किसानों के साथ न्याय नहीं वह केवल पश्चिमी बंगाल की ही समस्या है, यह बात भी नहीं, किसी भी प्रदेश में इस प्रकार की समस्या उत्पन्न हो सकती है। जब सरकार किसानों की जमीन जबरदस्ती लेने का प्रयास करेगी तो किसी भी राज्य में यह समस्या उत्पन्न हो सकती है।

महोदय, मैं अब खत्म ही कर रहा हूं। किसान की जो स्थिति है, जो जमीन के अधिग्रहण करने की बात है, तो मैं इस पर चार-पांच सुझाव देना चाहता हूं। एक प्रकार की पॉलिसी है कि जो बंजर भूमि है, जो उपजाऊ भूमि नहीं है, उस भूमि का अधिग्रहण किया जाएगा। अगर किसी कारण से उपजाऊ भूमि लेना आवश्यक हो जाता है तो किसानों को हर हालत में विश्वास में लेना चाहिए। उनके साथ विचार-विमर्श करने के बाद ही अधिग्रहण करने की कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए। उनको मार्केट रेट से मुआवजा मिलना चाहिए और कम से कम उसको पचास प्रतिशत बढ़ाकर मुआवजा देना चाहिए। दूसरे, जो विस्थापित हो रहे हैं, जिन्हें विस्थापित होना पड़ता है, उनके विस्थापित होने से पहले, उनके पुनर्वास की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए और उसके बाद जमीन खाली करानी चाहिए। महोदय, उनकी पारिवारिक आवश्यकता के अनुसार उनको नौकरी दी जानी चाहिए। जिस कारखाने के लिए उनकी जमीन ली जाती है, उसके मुनाफे में भी उसको हिस्सा मिलना चाहिए।

महोदय, कई माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है कि लैंड इक्विजिशन एक्ट, 1894 बहुत पुराना हो चुका है। इस एक्ट में, जो लैंड होल्डर्स हैं, उनके प्रोटेक्शन की व्यवस्था नहीं है। इस एक्ट में पावर्स सरकार को दी गई है और लैंड होल्डर्स के प्रोटेक्शन की व्यवस्था नहीं है, इसलिए इसमें अमेंडमेंट होना चाहिए। अभी जो स्थिति है, मैं उस पर कुछ सुझाव देना चाहूंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष(प्रो.पी.जे.कुरियन): अब आप समाप्त कीजिए,कनक्लूड कीजिए ।

प्रो.राम देव भंडारी: नंदीग्राम की जो घटनाएं हैं,मैं उनको ह्यूमन ट्रेज्डी मानता हूं । सबसे पहले नंदीग्राम के लोगों में विश्वास पैदा करें,इन हिंसक घटनाओं से जो उनको घाव लगे हैं,उन पर मरहम लगाने की आवश्यकता है । उनको सहानुभूति और सहायता की आवश्यकता है । उनको अपने घरों में बिना किसी भय के वापस भेजा जाए । शांति का एक माहौल तैयार हो,शांति,सद् भावना और भाई-चारे की बहाली हो । नंदीग्राम के किसानों का जो भी नुकसान हुआ है,उनको भरपूर मुआवजा दिया जाए । मृतक के रिश्तेदारों को पर्याप्त मुआवजा दिया जाए । महोदय,मुआवजे से कोई मृतक वापस नहीं आता है,मगर इससे उनके परिवार को आगे के लिए एक सहारा मिल जाता है । सुरक्षा बलों की कारगर तैनाती होनी चाहिए ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष(प्रो.पी.जे.कुरियन): समाप्त कीजिए।

प्रो.राम देव भंडारी: सभी वर्गों के लोगों की सुरक्षा सुनिश्चित कराई जाए । महोदय,मैं सभी दलों के लोगों से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि इस पर कोई राजनीति नहीं होनी चाहिए । मैंने कुछ सुझाव दिए हैं,मैं इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं । धन्यवाद ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): There are a number of speakers. Hereafter each hon. Member will take five minutes or maximum seven minutes and not more than that.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY (Karnataka): Up to what time will we sit?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): That is why I said that each hon. Member would take five minutes or maximum seven minutes.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, thank you very much for the opportunity given to me. At the same time, there is a stricture that we should restrict our time.

Sir, all of us know that the problem in Nandigram started with the proposal of SEZ. At the outset, I should say, on behalf of my party, the All India Forward Block, that we are opposed to this SEZ, as we think that it is the biggest land grab move during the recent times in the name of promoting exports, in the name of industrialisation. All this is being done to favour a few corporate houses, and some foreign houses, at the cost of millions of poor farmers. It will not only affect our food security, but it will also affect the livelihood of millions of poor farmers. So, we are firmly against this SEZ policy. And, as it has been noticed, irrespective of political affiliations, there has been resistance to SEZs in many other States of the country because the poor farmers have felt a pinch that if the farmland is lost, then, everything is lost. So, in spite of our representation to the Central Government, unfortunately, this has been rejected and all these things are going on. And we also find that the Government of India is merrily giving more and more approvals to SEZs; it is apprehended that it may touch the figure of thousand within a couple of months. So, we are basically opposed to SEZs. The same thing happened when a proposal came for establishing an SEZ at Nandigram. Naturally, there was a hue and cry over it. We are of the opinion that before the announcement of the SEZ, perhaps, proper homework was not done. I can even say, without mentioning the name of anybody, a top-ranking leader of the State, during our internal meeting, admitted that they did find afterwards that this acquisition would not only cover the farmlands, but also temples, mosques and graveyards. These are all being included there. So, there was a panic amongst people. But, unfortunately, this was made a political issue and, very quickly, some committee, in the name of Bhumi Uchhed Pratirodh Committee was formed, led by Trinamool Congress, SUCI and many other parties. And, as it was being debated, a lot of people—I am not using the term 'Maoist' but a lot of dormant extremists—came together and joined hands with it and created much more panic at that time. And, the Left Front discussed it in detail and we wanted to find a mechanism for it. Whenever

there is a problem, within the Left Front, we ask for a joint meeting of the Left Front or a bipartite meeting, and we try to sort out all these things. On the other hand, the Bhumi Uchhed Pratirodh Committee and its members took to the extreme step, and as it was reported and stated by many of the speakers here, it became something like a liberated land. Every communication line was cut off; digging of the roads was done and patients could not reach the hospitals and children could not go to their schools. Gradually the crisis went to its peak. And just at this point the most unfortunate thing i.e., the police firing on 14th March, 2002 happened. We do definitely say that this is the most unfortunate incident. *(Time-bell)* Please give me a little more time. Let me conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Yes, two minutes more.

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Sir, he is part of the Left Front. Let him speak. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. BARUN MUKHERJEE: I am from the Left Front. I want to know why this guillotine is applied on the last speakers. ...*(Interruptions)*... I will conclude now. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am not elaborating it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Now, everybody will be given seven minutes.

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Sir, this is not correct. Sir, others who had nothing to do with it were given a lot of time. ...*(Interruptions)*... Let him speak. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): I have said that everybody will be given seven minutes. ...*(Interruptions)*... I have already announced that everybody will be given seven minutes. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Sir, before you, the Deputy Chairman who was presiding over the House said that there is going to be no limit and the Members can speak. Now the point is, he is representing the Left Front. When so many charges have been made, please give him the opportunity to answer it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): He is not replying to any of those charges.

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: वे लेफ्ट फ्रंट की कमियां भी उजागर कर रहे हैं ...*(व्यवधान)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): You please sit down. Why do you interfere?... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have a point. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Brindaji, he is not replying to any of those charges. I am listening to his speech. ...*(Interruptions)*... I earlier said...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Sir, he is coming to that. He is talking about the BUPC.*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): How can you go like this?

DR. BARUN MUKHERJEE: Okay, I will not take much time. But, I must raise some of the basic points here. Sir, when that most unfortunate thing happened...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Otherwise, the House will have to sit up to midnight. I have no objection. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI: Yes, we will sit up to the midnight. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, applying guillotine only to the last Members is unfair because so far the people who have spoken have taken only the political angle. It is only now that the real facts will come.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Shall I reply to you? Please take your seat. For the Others' Category, 28 minutes had been allotted. All 28 minutes are over and what is now being given is *ex-gratia*. The time is written before me. So, that is over. But, as I said, everybody will be given five to seven minutes. The reason is that ...*(Interruptions)*... Please let me complete it. Since you raised this point I have to clarify it. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please sit down आप बैठिए ... (व्यवधान)... Let me complete it.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJEE: Sir, we are losing time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, you are not losing time because it is an important fact. See, in Others' Category, 11 names are given. I am trying to accommodate all the 11. Is it a wrong thing? Otherwise, one or two Members will be given the time and the rest will not be given. That is the point.

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI: Given the total number of ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. BARUN MUKHERJEE: Sir, should I resume?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please try to conclude immediately.

SHRI DINESH TRIVEDI: Sir, in the morning, it was decided that there will be no time limit, and the hon. Home Minister, I understand, is replying tomorrow. So, we appeal to you to give us more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Okay, please speak. But speak in points. ...*(Interruptions)*... One point I would say is, why should everybody repeat what everybody knows? Make some new points.

DR. BARUN MUKHERJEE: Let me try, Sir. Again, I repeat that it was the most unfortunate incident that this police firing was there in which 14 innocent lives were lost and so many people were injured. Then, we came to the point that something has to be done. As you know, and as I have told earlier, as is the practice of the Left Front, immediately we discussed it amongst ourselves. As a constituent of the Left Front, I would like to say that even amongst ourselves, we did not spare anybody, We are outspoken in the matter. We talked much about it. As a result of it, the Chief Minister himself said that this was his responsibility. He took the responsibility of this firing, and at the same time, he made the categorical statement that there will be no land acquisition; that there will be no SEZ in Nandigram. After these two announcements, incidentally, I should mention that for what happened five years earlier in Gujarat till now we have not heard any regret for it. We have neither heard it from the BJP nor from the Chief Minister of Gujarat that they regret over the killing of so many persons in Gujarat in 2002. There was no announcement on their part. But, here at least, the announcement came from the Chief Minister that there will be no further acquisition of land. But, unfortunately, still, the committee, which was formed to resist acquisition of land thought not only for resisting the land acquisition, which continued, but on other reasons also. Unfortunately, the whole process continued in this way for eleven months. So, irrespective of the political colours, so many people had to flee away from their homes and, definitely, Sir, there was a huge pressure to see to it that at least on the humanitarian ground, people should come back.

6.00P.M.

During the whole process, we thought on behalf of the party that not only the police force can solve the problem, but also there should be persistent socio-economic process going on for a settlement. As you all know, Sir, the veteran freedom fighter and our leader, Comrade Ashok Ghosh took the initiative to have an all-party meeting at Mahajati Sadan in Kolkata but, unfortunately, the Leader of the Opposition, suddenly, in the midst of the peace talks, left. We were taken aback because again the peace process was spoiled.

After some time the former Chief Minister, Comrade Jyoti Basu, also took initiative and cordially invited the Leader of the Opposition to have talks but, unfortunately, even that failed. As you see, we had all these processes continuously. There was Bhumi Uchhed Pratirodh Committee which continued their process of resisting all these things. So, we wanted to have an amicable settlement but we could not reach that. We have done all these things, yet we failed. Until and unless all people are allowed to come back to their homes, relief is given to them, all assistance to have their livelihood is given and all development work by Panchayat of Nandigram is started, real peace is not there.

Lastly, I must mention that it is our apprehension that what happened in Kolkata yesterday—start of violence on Tasleem a Nasreen—was not a current burning issue. But, suddenly it flared up and along with it the Nandigram issue got connected. It is our apprehension that it could have taken the colour of communal violence in a sensitive area and hence stern action was taken. Sir, I would say that it has taken a political colour and, for some, it is a one-point agenda to go on continuing with this issue so that again we fail. We feel that a persistent socio-economic process should go on and people should be taken into confidence. We appeal to all the people, particularly to the intellectuals of the State that we all should join our hands together to find a solution, at least for the large part of the suffering humanity over there.

I once again appeal to the Opposition leaders, to my friends also here. We already have tried on two occasions for peace, let us try again, and I request all to join hands together to find a lasting solution to this vexed problem. Thank you.

श्री महमूद ए.मदनी (उत्तर प्रदेश): सर, बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया, आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया ... (व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी. जे. कुरियन): आप इस बात का ध्यान रखिए कि टाइम की शॉर्टिज हैं।

श्री महमूद ए.मदनी: क्या एक मिनट लूं ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी. जे. कुरियन): नहीं, नहीं मैं बस इतना कह रहा हूं कि आप टाइम का ध्यान रखिए।

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: सर, प्लीज, ये आखिर लोग हैं, अब इस पर टाइम की कंडीशन मत लगाइए या फिर आप एडजर्न कर दीजिए। Sir, this is not fair. All others have spoken. Let him also speak, Sir.

श्री महमूद ए.मदनी: मैं शॉर्ट में ही कहूंगा, ज्यादा टाइम नहीं लूंगा।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): He will speak on whatever he wants, do not worry, please.

श्री महमूद ए.मदनी: हमारी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के दोस्त यहां मौजूद हैं और कुछ लोग मौजूद हैं, लेकिन ज्यादा लोग चले गए हैं। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी से हिंदुस्तान के गरीब लोगों की बड़ी उम्मीदें थीं और हैं। जब कभी जुल्म होता है, अन्याय होता है, अत्याचार होता है, गरीब आदमी की कहीं आवाज नहीं सुनी जाती तो लोगों को अगर कोई आसरा, कोई सहारा नजर आता है तो कम्युनिस्ट में नजर आता है। लेकिन बड़ी बदकिस्मती की बात है कि

[श्री महमूद.ए.मदनी]

आज हम लोग यहां नंदीग्राम पर बहस कर रहे हैं और वह पार्टी जिसका वजूद, जिसका बेस, गरीबों और कमजोरों के लिए था, उस पार्टी ने गरीबों और कमजोरों के साथ ऐसा मामला कर दिया कि जिसके बारे में कभी सोचा नहीं जा सकता। यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य है, बदकिस्मती है, इधर भी और उधर भी, दोनों तरफ थोड़े-थोड़े फर्कों के साथ, यहां बैठने की वजह से या किसी भी वजह से, उनका असर इनमें भी आ गया है। गलत काम का गलत ही अंजाम होता है, गांधी जी ने कहा था कि गलत काम का गलत अंजाम होता है।

आज एस.इ.जेड.की बात बहुत से लोगों ने की, मैं उसको रिपीट नहीं करूंगा। मेरे बुजुर्ग दोस्त हैं सीताराम जी, उन्होंने अपने बयान में एक बात कही कि इस्लामिक extremists से लेकर फलां-फलां और आर.एस.एस./बी.जे.पी. का नाम लेकर कहा कि ये सब एक हो गए। मुझ इसके ऊपर बहुत सख्त एतराज है। इस जुमले के ऊपर एतराज है जो जुमला उन्होंने बोला है- इस्लामिक extremists यह कहते हैं कि कुछ मुसलमान extremists मुसलमान extremists group मिल गए हैं। उन्होंने इस्लाम के साथ उसको जोड़ा है, यह निहायत दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण व बदकिस्मती की बात है कि किसी मजहब के साथ, दुनिया में कहीं ऐसा नहीं होता, यह वह जुबान है जो “बुश” साहब बोलते हैं, जो जुबान इस्तेमाल की है येचुरी जी ने, कि इस्लाम के साथ extremists का नाम जोड़ा है, यह हमारे इस मोअज्जिज हाउस की तौहीन है कि किसी मजहब के साथ इस तरह से extremism को जोड़ दिया जाए। फिर हमारे दोस्त ने अभी कल लोक सभा की बहस में जमीअत-उलमा-ए-हिंदी का नाम लेकर कहा कि उन्होंने इसको सांप्रदायिकता का रंग दिया है। मैं माफी के साथ कहूंगा कि जमीअत-उलमा-ए-हिंदी की तारीख से, उसके इतिहास से यह लोग वाकिफ हैं, जानते हैं उसके बावजूद ऐसी बात करते हैं। यह वह ऑर्गनाइजेशन हैं जिसने आजादी से पहले और आजादी के वक्त जब मुल्क को धर्म और मजहब के नाम पर तकसीम किया जा रहा था और किए जाने की बात चल रही थी तो यह अकेली ऑर्गनाइजेशन थी मुसलमानों की, मौलवियों की, उलेमाओं की, जिन्होंने इसका विरोध किया था कि मुल्क को मजहब के नाम पर बांटा जाए। उन्होंने पाकिस्थान बनाए जाने का विरोध किया था, कुरान और हदीश की रोशनी में कि हम कुरान समझकर कह रहे हैं कि धर्म के नाम पर मुल्क को बांटा नहीं जाना चाहिए। सब जानते-बूझते हुए, सिर्फ इस वजह से कि यहां पर क्लेश हो रहा है और जमीअत-उलमा और इन जैसी तंजीमें इसका विरोध कर रही है उस अन्याय का, जो वहां नंदीग्राम में किया जा रहा है, तो उस वजह से वह सांप्रदायिक हो जाएंगे, देशद्रोही हो जाएंगे, गद्दार हो जाएंगे, extremists हो जाएंगे, terrorists हो जाएंगे, सब कुछ हो जाएंगे अगर हमारी मर्जी की बात नहीं करेंगे, मर्जी के खिलाफ बात करेंगे। इस तरह का रवैया मुल्क को बर्बाद करने वाला है, नंदीग्राम अब एक निशान बन चुका है और उस निशान को, उस चिह्न को, उस symbol को आप ही लोग ठीक कर सकते हैं मैं अपने कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों से कहता हूँ कि आप लोगों के पास अभी भी मौका है, बहुत कुछ नुकसान हो चुका है, लेकिन अभी भी मौका है कि आप इसको ठीक करिए। उनके अहंकार और ज़िद के ऊपर अपनी पूरी पार्टी को और अपनी पूरी सोच को बलि पर मत चढ़ाइए।

मैं इस हाऊस का कीमती वक्त ज़ाया नहीं करूंगा, आखिर में एक शेर कहते हुए अपनी बात खत्म करूंगा।

यह समझते थे कि बुए गुल अमीने राज गुलशन है।
मगर यह खानमा बरबाद खुद फूलों का दुश्मन हैं।
तुम्हें काली घटा को भी पहचानना नहीं आता।
नशेमान से धुआं उठता है, तुम कहते हो सावन हैं।
माफ करिएगा। बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया।

DR. CHANDAN MITRA (Nominated): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. I rise to speak not to score any political points but to express my anguish as a journalist, as a Bengali, as an Indian and above all as a human being. Sir, particularly as a journalist of 25 years' standing, I have seen a lot of terror and a lot of bloodshed, in different parts of the country starting with Punjab, the North-East, Jammu and Kashmir, Bihar and other places. But, Sir, the kind of terror — to use the appropriate Urdu word *Dehshat* — that is being experienced in one part of West Bengal

at present and which I also had an opportunity to see for myself on 13th November, is amongst the worst that I have come across. Sir, I believe that the time has come to rise above political considerations there and to try and reach out and ensure safety, security and the well-being of the people of Nandigram, the people of East Midnapore and West Bengal as a whole. The idea of action and re-action, revenge and counter-revenge, Sir, is getting us nowhere, leading to more and more bloodshed and creating an atmosphere in which constitutional governance is progressively being eroded. Sir, anybody visiting Nandigram today cannot but return without a feeling of shock and shame. It is really unfortunate that 60 years after Independence and after more than five decades of democracy, we have a situation where people are completely afraid to speak out, where the rule of law has collapsed. I am not suggesting that this has happened overnight. I am not suggesting that this has happened only now. But the fact is, there is a problem that is brewing for months and instead of approaching the problem with an aim of resolving the crisis, I regret to say, the State Government, by not taking adequate action, by providing, in fact, protection to the cadre of its own party, has created a situation where people are terrorised and traumatised. Sir, we have been told that it is all the conspiracy of the Maoists, that the Maoists have run riot, and are controlling the place and it was necessary to remove them. Sir, if they are all Maoists, how come when we went to Nandigram we saw every political party's office vandalised, signboards pulled down, defaced, trampled and lying on the road? You fight the Maoists, why fight other democratically functioning political parties? Sir, place after place we found flags piled up to be hoisted on houses that have been vacated by the supporters of Bhumi Ucchhed Pratirodh Committee or others who had resisted the cadres of the ruling party. I want to ask my friends in the CPI (M): 'Is this the way to fight Maoism?' Even if for a moment, I accept for argument's sake that it is a Maoists conspiracy, who is to fight them? Is it the Government, the Government machinery, the State, or is it a private army of a political party? This fundamental question needs to be debated and this has not been brought out so far. We have heard the hon. Home Minister, sitting here right now, yesterday explaining the kind of steps the Government of India is taking to try and combat the menace of Maoist insurgency in different parts of the country. It is being done through the State machinery. This fight has to be done through the State machinery, not through a private army of a political party. Just imagine the situation that if this is allowed and territories are marked out in the name of different political parties, what will be the condition of India? Will we not go back to the post-Mughal time which was what led to the colonisation of this country? Sir, there has been a denial of high-handedness and atrocities. But, day-after-day, the TV pictures are showing us that a cadre of a particular political party, with red flags and *Banda Nach* and flags on their motorbikes moving, from village to village and terrorising people. Sir, are all TV channels lying? Or, are all the media people lying? I believe, today, if Nandigram has become a national issue, if Nandigram has become a National issue, if Nandigram has become a by-word for this kind of terror and trauma that has been inflicted upon, it is because of the valiant work of the media and our 24-hour TV. This kind of a thing has never happened in the past. But, this has brought the gruesome reality into the picture.

I do not want to go into the other points. Many of which have already been made. But, the fundamental question I would like to raise, first, is this. Is this the correct method to fight the Maoist insurgency even assuming that everything is a Maoist conspiracy there? Secondly, has the State Government even attempted to compile the list of people who are missing? I am not talking about the dead. Let us go by the Government figures. But, there are hundreds and, maybe, thousands of people gone missing. Wherever we went, people talked about their husbands and sons missing. Everybody said 'missing' is a synonym for 'dead' in Nandigram. So, when a person is missing for two months or three months or two weeks or three weeks, it is believed that the person is no more. Why has this figure of missing not been tabulated yet? It is because

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if you actually tabulate the figure of missing, you will find that the number of dead goes up very substantially from what it is today? Why is it that for over so many months disturbance is going on? The people who are supposed to be the mastermind has not been arrested, whether from that side or this side or from third side or the fourth side? Why is it that two of the main criminals-Sukur Ali and Tapan Ghosh-of the *Chota Angaria* massacre were, actually, arrested or rather apprehended by the people of that area when they were trying to flee Nandigram during the violence of last fortnight? They were produced in a court when they tried to get away with false evidence-Why is it that the people, who perpetrated the crimes, even in the past, have not been apprehended? Is this the way to bring peace, law and order and cooperation among all parties? If you have political vendetta, the counter will only be that the people, actually, become Maoists. They will become terrorists, because if they believe that there is no justice, there is no system and their grievances are not going to be redressed through the system. If you resist, you are going to be thrown out of your house, your woman will be raped and you will be driven out of the place. So, what will the people do?

Again, I say that this is no way to bring out normalcy as people have said. Many senior party functionaries there have said that Nandigram is now terror-free and normalcy has been restored. I am very sorry. If this is the normalcy, it is the normalcy of the graveyard. With deep sadness I have to say that I speak not as anything else, but primarily as a journalist. I feel extremely upset and disturbed with what has happened and the lack of protection. This was going on all these years.

Finally, because of the efforts of the media very much has been brought out and I hope the lessons will be internalised and something will be learnt out of it so that Nandigram does not become a by-word for terror and trauma.

In conclusion, I can only recall, Mr. Ahluwalia also referred to, some of Rabindranath Tagore's poems. I will conclude with one of them, because this is very apt in this kind of a situation. With your permission I will take just half a minute.

In the Context of Jalliawala Bagh, Rabindranath Tagore wrote:

" Kantha aamar ruddha ajike
Banshi sangeethaara
Amabashyar Kaara,
Lupta korechho aamar bhuban
Dusshapner taley,
Taito tomay shudhai ashrujaley,
Jahara tomaar bishayechhe bayu
Nibhayechhe tabo aalo,
Tumi ki taader kshama koriyachho,
Tumi ki beshechho bhalo?

I would not translate it. I am sure the meaning has not been lost. Thank You, Sir.

SHRI. EKANATH K. THAKUR (Maharashtra): Thank you, sir, for having given me this opportunity. I rise on behalf of my party, Shiv Sena, to express our deep sense of anguish over what has been happening over last eleven months at Singur and Nandigram.

Sir, you have just now appealed that every member should adhere to his point of view. I will not go into those details that have been repeated *ad nauseum* in this House. The facts are as clear as the Sun. This event of Nandigram is a sad chapter in the post-independent India. Therefore, it makes every proud Indian hang his head in shame. In my opinion, Nandigram is an illegitimate child born of unholy marriage between the CPM communism and the aggrandizing capitalism.

Earlier, whenever communism failed in the world, the 'communism' was described as a God that failed. But, today, the communism has not only failed, but its ugly face has been exposed. And, we know it was never a God, it is a monster on the rampage. Members here are recalling things that have happened in the name of SEZs. The Government's policy is to have no policy on SEZs. In my State, Maharashtra, the Government has sanctioned so many SEZs, but my party has clearly told the Government that they cannot take the farmers for granted. And, come what may, whatever be the sacrifices that may be required, my party will not allow the interests of the farmers to be trampled upon. In this country, during the last seven years, a farmer is committing suicide every thirty minutes. And, a party that always masqueraded itself as a party of farmers, is now killing their tillers. This is something, which history has to take notice of. It is the darkest chapter in the Communist history. The CPM is in a denial mode. It is a human history and human tragedy that people first make blunders and, then, they develop vested interests in those blunders. Nandigam is an episode, which bears testimony to the blunders that Communists have committed, and how, they have, now, developed a vested interest in these blunders. My learned colleague, the veteran legal luminary, Shri Ram Jethmalani, took pains to explain the lack of truth in the literature that is circulated by the Communists. I would like to remind, though I am a small person in comparison to him, that in the Soviet Union there used to be two newspapers-one was the *Pravda* and the other was the *Izvestia*. The writer of 'Gulag Archipelago', Alexander Solzhenitsyn, once said, "the *Pravda* contains no truth and the *Izvestia* is all falsehood". And, please remember that this is true of all the Communist literature. At one time, in my college days, when I read Das Capital, I was a great admirer of communism. But soon I learnt that there was an element of violence in it. Therefore, we, young men, departed from that ideology. And what Alexander Solzhenitsyn said, I repeat, "Pravda contains no truth and Izvestia is all falsehood." and, that is so common about Communist literature everywhere, which has been proved once again by my esteemed colleague, Shri Ram Jethmalani, by pointing out the anomalies and idiosyncrasies that have been there in the literature that has been circulated.

Sir, in this House we saw today, politics makes strange bedfellows. We saw the real face of the Congress also today. For the first time, Congress is for both. When I heard the speeches of the Congress Members; they are for both. They are for truth, they are for reconciliation and they are for forgiveness. I wonder from where the Congress has found this new incarnation of forgiveness when there is rampant violence. When it is the duty of the Centre to ensure that there is law and order and the State is run according to the Constitution, the people who are in power are talking of forgiveness. This is so, Sir, because there is this alliance. Because the Communists are supporting the Congress Government, We must know, and I strongly suspect that the nuclear deal has also led to the Nandigram deal. That is why, today, the Congress people are trying to come to the support of the Communists and are talking of a way to think of compassion and forgiveness. On the one side, they want to strike, but they are willing to strike and afraid to wound. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: We are willing to strike and we are willing to wound(*Interruptions*)....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Why do you disturb?

SHRI EKANATH K. THAKUR: They are willing to strike; but afraid to wound because they will lose their chair. This is the real face of the Congress. You are will to strike and you are attacking your partners on whose shoulders you stand in the Government. Then, you are afraid to wound because will lose your chairs, this is your concern for the farmers of India, for the suffering people of West Bengal, for the suffering people of Singur, and for the suffering people of Nandigram! So, this is also a time for the people of India to take notice of the real face of the Congress; the old Congress or the youth Congress, Congress of Mrs. Sonia Gandhi or the

[SHRI EKANATH K THAKUR]

Congress, maybe, of Shri Rahul Gandhi because now new Gandhis are coming up. I know, they earlier had different surname. Sir, it is the duty of the Centre and the State to ensure the protection of life, dignity, and property of every citizen. It is the duty of the Centre and the State to ensure that freedom of expression, freedom of movement, freedom of vocation, and freedom of association are there for everyone. But all these fundamental freedoms have been trampled upon under the very nose of the Government of India. And the Government of India is shirking its responsibility under articles 355 and 356 to a point where it is not prepared to share with us the correspondence that they had with the Government of Bengal. Sir, this is a thing on which I want to lodge my protest. Sir, I have already pointed out to you. *...(Time-bell)* Sir, you are always in a hurry when the Shiv Sena members speak. As it is, we are 17 Members in the Parliament. We get a chance when everybody has spoken. I know that happens because you are in power. But I am now addressing the Chair. *...(Interruptions)...* We are four Members in the House. So, Sir, please allow me some more time. Sir, please understand the Communist Party, (CPM) is carrying out a unique experiment in this country by recruiting their cadres in the police services. If you see the record of the policemen of West Bengal, you will find that most of them are formerly cadres of CPM. During elections, they give police uniform to their cadres. They go to hutments in rural areas, pick up people and bring them for votes. Whatever the Communists have sowed, they are reaping now. Because the policemen are their cadres: Their cadres are also donning the mantle of policemen. They don the uniform of policemen and bring the people for voting at the time of election. It is this very cadre that control lumpen elements, *goondas*, the anti-social elements which have taken an upper hand in the Communist Party now. Sir, Tread contents of an article now. This is not what my leader Shri Bala Saheb Thackeray says, this is what Shri Ashoka Mitra long time has written. What he has written is very important. What he says will open the eyes of every Indian to the real nature of the Communist Party. Ashoka Mitra says that lumpen elements have taken control of the Communist Party. I quote him. "They have come to take and not to give." One efficient way to bag privileges is to flatter their masters. The party has turned into a wild open field of flatterers and court-jesters." Shrimati Brindaji, Ashok Mitra says, your Party has turned into a wide open field for flatterers and court-jesters. I Quote "Moreover, there has been a rising dominance of anti-social elements, for different reasons. Every political party has to patronize this. But here, they remain in the background and are called to duty in urgent times."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Now, please conclude.

SHRI EKANATH K. THAKUR: Sir, in Nandigram, it is Ashoka Mitra who is saying that the lumpen elements were called to duty in urgent times and in difficult times. That is how Nandigram has happened.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Now, please conclude.

SHRI EKANATH K. THAKUR: Maha Shveta Devi has said, "Nandigram is a killing field." Shri Gautam Ghose has said, "I am ashamed to be called a Communist." Governor Gandhi has said, "Nandigram is a war zone." Shri Priyaranjan Dasgupta has gone on record that what has happened in Nandigram is State-sponsored terrorism. Sir, it is a danger if the CPM Government goes scot-free. Therefore, I appeal to you that let us pass a unanimous Resolution in this House condemning the collaboration and collusion between the Government, the Party and the hooligans in Nandigram. An all-Party delegation should go and try to establish peace there and all the people should be allowed to lead a decent and dignified life.

SHRI ABDUL WAHAB PEEVEE (Kerala): Sir, I thank you for having given me the opportunity to speak on the Nandigram issue. As per everybody, it is on the SEZ, Special Economic Zones. But a lot of Economic Zones are being given permission; why only Nandigram?

Before Nandigram, in West Bengal, a lot of eviction occurred in and around Kolkata. Most of the evictees were Muslims, but when the matter was raised, everybody thought that it was being given a communal angle. But now it is evidently clear; wherever eviction took place in West Bengal, fortunately or unfortunately, the affected people turned out to be Muslims. Nobody has looked at it from that point of view but if it were told that it is about Muslims, then it would be termed communal.

Sir, I fully endorse Shri Madani's stand—whenever we speak against the Communist Party, they resort to Islamic extremism. On the national and international arena, they always pose to be the saviours of Islam. But if even a word is spoken about Communist Party, then Islamic extremism and mine: ity extremism come in. This is happening here also, and that is why, I wished to respond to comrade Yechury's remarks. We did not expect this from the Left parties, especially Communist Party, because whenever Indian Muslims are treated badly anywhere in India the Communists have been the first to react, be it Gujarat or anywhere else. But when it came in West Bengal, the words Shri Yechury used were 'Islamic extremism'. When something happens in Ireland, nobody talks about 'Catholic extremism'. When something happens in Nepal, nobody talks about 'Hindu extremism'. But whenever anything happens anywhere in the world in Muslim-dominated States, the words 'Islamic extremism' come in. That is why, I would not like to explain more because when Mr. Madani expressed his views, he expressed mine too.

Coming back to Nandigram, I had a chance to go to Nandigram after the March incident. I would not repeat the things said by Sushmaji and others here; the situation there is pathetic. Whatever happens, whether it is laying of road or displacement due to anything else, 90 per cent of the affected people are Muslims. Nobody is talking about that, everybody is talking about farmers and others. Of course, Nandigram is a beautiful place. We could go there only on the scooter; the first thing we saw was a beautiful pond and fertile land. It is definitely not fit to be made a chemical hub; that is for sure. In Kerala, we adore Shri Buddhadeb Bhattacharya, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, as he is a progressive Chief Minister. He readily agreed to scrapping this deal but still this problem is going on. We, in Kerala, feel that it is not because of SEZs; it is only because of the fact that the nazist Communist Party took a decision that if somebody goes against their party, then they would take it personally. The Police is not there; their cadres are coming out. This has become a prestige issue for them. Otherwise, Nandigram is represented by the CPI; it is not a CPM hold. Still, CPM is taking their cadres, without taking Police protection; it is taking it as a personal issue. We fear that this problem is not only in Nandigram but will take place in Kerala too, in Kannur; Kannur is also a CPM belt. So, we in Kerala fear that this Nandigram issue would spill over to Kerala also, and as Indian Union Muslim League members, we condemn this sort of attitude towards people, especially the majority Muslims. Thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Thank you for sticking to the time. Now, Shri Abani Roy.

श्री अवनि (पश्चिमी बंगाल): धन्यवाद महोदय, सबसे पहले एसईजेड के बारे में हमारी पार्टी की जो राय है, वह बताना चाहता हूँ। पूरे घटनाक्रम, जहाँ-जहाँ ऐसा चल रहा है, उसके आधार पर विचार करके हम कहना चाहते हैं कि हम इसका सौ प्रतिशत विरोध करते हैं।

Sir, we are opposing this after taking everything there into consideration—the problem of farmers, the problem of the agricultural land, problem of food scarcity that would occur in the long run, which the Prime Minister had also said, and so on. considering all this, we are against these SEZs *in toto*. That is one point.

Secondly, we have discussed the question of violence in this House several times, whether it were Gujarat, whether it were Delhi of 1984, or in some other parts of India, even in the North-

(श्री अवनि राय)

East attack on the Biharis, or the ULFAs creating problems everyday, or some problems in Tripura also, ethnic disturbances and others. We have discussed all these things here. Similarly, if violence had happened in Nandigram, it is correct that we are discussing whether violence will be there or not, or whether violence will be stopped or not, or who has done it, how he has done it, is a separate question. But, here, the question is of violence. No doubt, as a Member of this House from West Bengal, I feel deeply sorry for this incident that has happened in Nandigram.

As a member of the Left Front also, I am feeling very much depressed as to how these things happened there. The Chief Minister, after uttering a yes, withdrew it. But, to add to it, the Haldia Development Authority gave the notice saying that acquisition of land would be there. *Bhumi Ucched Partirodh Committee* was formed only for this reasons that they won't allow their land to be acquired by HDA or whatever it was. They were not ready to give the land. In that particular group, whether you admit or not, not only the people of BJP, which is not there at all; some Trinamool people are there; some Congress people are there; CPI is there; and CPI(M) is also there. If we go through the media reports and other things, then in media also, it has been uttered by a particular old man that he was with CPI, and now, he is with CPI(M) and if they want to take the land, he will not give his land even if he has to leave CPI (M). Whatever it may be, the largest party in the left front is CPI(M), and the Chief Minister, the Home Minister, and the Information and Broadcasting Minister is the same person. So, duty is there to stop this type of violence and being the Home Minister, he should collect information on what is going on there. So, in the month of January, 2007, when the situation was like that, at that time, he should have taken the charge and got the information from the Police Department in this regard. It is the duty of the Chief Minister and the Government itself to go there and stop all these types of incidents, but they did not want to do it. He said, "Scrap the notice." He said that there would be no chemical hub. So, if, as the Chief Minister, he would have gone there to convince the people, I think, this sort of incident would not have taken place. Anyway, after all these incidents happened, and in what manner they happened, whether we agree or not, we are taking some sections of the media which are helping us, and we are not taking the sections of the media which are not helping us. So, we have to believe the media that whatever they are showing or writing, something is correct, if not fully correct. Whatever photographs have appeared in the electronic media or print media, we have to see that something is there. So, looking at all these things, I think, it is sheer failure of the West Bengal Government to protect the people of Nandigram; to go the people and convince them that nothing is going to happen there, and they should maintain peace. I think that was the best method to stop all these things. It happened in Singur also. I am not referring that one. Till now, the police forces are protecting the Tata's industry. But, here, I think, police forces have not taken an action similar to what they took in Singur.

So, as far as the question of Maoists or the outsiders is concerned, the Government should not say that for eleven months, a District or a small block is unable to be controlled. I think, these are not the good words used by the Government or the Chief Minister. (*Interruptions*) Yes, I am a part of the Government. Till now, I say this things. (*Interruptions*) why I am saying this thing, I will tell you. We are part of this Government also. We will ask this Government also. Don't think that I will leave you. If we are conscious enough, and, we go deep into it, then, this thing would not happen. The Haldia Development Authority is also controlled by the CPI(M). Notice has been served by the CPI(M) in that way, which is not known to us. We have raised the issue inside the Left Front also. Apart from that, as far as the question of Naxalites and Maoists is concerned, I would request the Home Minister to investigate into the matter. If there is any naxalite or maoist, take whatever action should be taken by the Central Government or the State Government. I want to know if the State Government has written to you that there are Maoists and for that send the police forces. I do not know. But if it is there, in any part of the West Bengal, then, the State Government and the Central Government jointly have to stop them.

Though it is a reality that from CPI, CPI(M) was formed; from CPI(M), CPI(ML) was formed, and, from CPI(ML), Maoists have been formed. On one side, they are Marxists, Leninists or Maoists, but they are also Leftist. The problem is everywhere. But, if we think that they are dangerous to the society, then it is the duty of the State Home Minister and the Central Home Minister to look into the matter, and, if they are doing any mischief or misdeed in any State, in any form, then, they have to be punished. For that, strong action is required and I request the Home Minister to take action in this regard. (*Time - Bell.*)

One minute, Sir. Sir, other things have been mentioned by many hon. Members. I am not going to repeat them. But, by any means, restoration of peace and harmony is required there. For that you have to win the confidence of the people and the confidence of other political parties. And, if they do not want to kill any citizen of India, any citizen of West Bengal, it is not that we are counting like this.

I am sorry to say what Shri Sitaram Yechury has said. I think, a responsible leader of the CPI (M), a member of the Politburo, should have said that they would take into consideration those who were killed, died or injured there. बड़े दुख की बात है कि हमने यह नहीं बोला। हमारे साथ जिस दंग से चीफ मिनिस्टर ने बात की, हमें उसमें भी नाराजगी है, ऐसा चीफ मिनिस्टर को बोलना नहीं चाहिए था। हमने उनको वैसा ही जवाब दिया, जैसा जवाब उन्होंने मांगा था। I mean to say 'paid in the same coin'. Similarly, he also said, हम और वह The Chief Minister from the Writers' Building, the main office of the Chief Minister, from that place, should not distinguish the citizens of this State in this way and say 'we and they'. All these things create problems. I request everybody to join hands whole-heartedly so that we can restore peace there as soon as possible. I appeal to everyone not to politicise this issue. Enough is enough. Many people have died there. Let us restore peace there. People should be given compensation to build the gutted houses ... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Puducherry): Your Government had ... (*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Narayanasamy, let this debate get completed ... (*Interruptions*)... अवनि राय, जी, आप बोलिए, आप बोलिए। ... (*व्यवधान*)...

श्री अवनि राय: एक मिनट बोलने दीजिए। ... (*व्यवधान*)...

श्री उपसभापति: आप इन्टरवीन करेंगे तो और ... (*व्यवधान*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Your Government... (*Interruptions*)... taken into confidence. ... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ABANI ROY: Yes, definitely, I will do that. ... (*Interruptions*)... But let me tell you Mr. Narayanasamy, it is the duty of the UPA and the duty of the Congress Party also. What you are doing there that is also known to us. So, don't say in this way. Being in the left Front, I am saying this thing. I have got the guts to say like that. You do not have guts to condemn it. You should have come forward.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Abani Roy, you please address me.

SHRI ABANI ROY: So, once again, I feel that शांति बनाए रखने के लिए, सेमपेथी के लिए जो भी कदम उठाने चाहिए, वे कदम उठाए जाएं। जो इंसिडेंट कल हुआ, वह भी एक बहुत दुखद घटना है। Anyway, the Government has taken immediate steps and stop all this. That is a good thing that the Government went there and controlled it. So, similarly, they should control this one also, taking the help of all the political parties and others also because we have to convince the people and उनके मन में विश्वास पैदा करना पड़ेगा कि हम उनके साथ हैं और वे भी हमारे ऊपर विश्वास करें। आगे से जो

(Shri Abani Rai)

भी घटना हो, हम उसको इस ढंग से बनाएं कि पश्चिम बंगाल तथा भारत में कहीं पर भी ऐसी कोई ट्रबल, ऐसा कोई वॉयलेंस न हो और इसके लिए हमें सजग रहना पड़ेगा। ऐसी घटना देश में कहीं पर भी तथा किसी कारण से घट सकती है। हमें किसी को गोली नहीं देनी चाहिए, बल्कि उसकी शिकायत करनी चाहिए। हमने गुजरात की बात कही है, दिल्ली की बात कही है, नार्थ-ईस्ट की बात कही है। देश में कहीं पर भी वॉयलेंस न हो, इसके लिए हमें अपने गृह मंत्रालय, स्टेट के गृह मंत्री और पुलिस के साथ बैठकर कोई ठोस कदम उठाने चाहिए।

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, of the little time that is given to me, I want to use half-a-minute for the guillotine that has been applied to 'Others' speakers in this House. According to my information, there were 47 Members in this House who all in the category of 'Others'. The B.J.P. has 48 Members and I found the B.J.P. using, at least, one-and-a-half hour and to allot only 28 minutes to the 'Others' speakers, I think, is patently unfair. The Party members get time to make *sher-o-shayari*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Joshi, just to tell you, the time taken by the speakers from 'Others' category so far has far exceeded than the time taken by the speakers from all the parties on this debate. The allocated time is 28 minutes, but the time taken has exceeded all other parties. That is for your information.

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI: That is your generosity. We should get that as matter of right.

Sir, I have the largest possible experience in this House of farmers' movements. I have been active in the anti-SEZ movements not only in Maharashtra but also in Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Haryana also. I have seen so many farmers being killed, so much blood flowing that I have no tears left for shedding and I can't get into anything like poetry *or shayari* while speaking about the farmers' agitation. I look at it in a very prosaic and logical way. I was hoping to find some solutions to some of the problems that I was facing in the debate that has now lasted for six hours. There were accusations, there were counter-accusations, and there was even a hilarious claim that the NGOs, the RSS and the Muslim fundamentalists had come under the banner of Maoists for attacking the CPI(M) Government, and then there was also a defence from the Treasury Benches of the Maoists raising how great Mao was. I think the Congress Party will accept that. But I did not get any reply to the questions that I was facing.

Sir, the questions very briefly are as follows:

One, why was the Nandigram area of Midnapore District of all the places chosen for this particular SEZ? Because it is a lush green area, a very fertile agriculture area and the only advantage that it has is that it is closer to some of the water sources which was actually used for throwing away the bodies on 14th March and again on 16th November. But that could have also been useful for taking away the effluents from the chemical industry. But apart from that, there is no reason why that region should have been chosen.

I come from Maharashtra and in Maharashtra we have found out a way. The principle that we accepted is that those farmers who want to continue doing agriculture, their land can't be taken away by anybody, and those farmers who do not want to continue with agriculture, they have the full right to dispose of their land to anybody they like, at whatever price they like and whenever they like. Once this principle is accepted, we were able to formulate bodies where the farmers themselves undertook the development of the Special Economic Zones and therefore there has not been any kind of conflagration that we are seeing in Nandigram.

Then, somebody, mentioned that 90 per cent of the people who were dead and injured were Muslims. Why has that happened? There should be some kind of an explanation for that

What was the great high about the idea 'recapture'? Were the people driven out? Why did they go out? What about the high about recapture?

The last question is: Why is it that the ruling party in Bengal is using the kind of brazenness that was used after Tiananmen Square operation by the Chinese rulers? Normally, the Communists do not do that. They very politely try to understand the point of view of the other people and try to find a solution. Why is it that they are going it? Mr. A.B. Bardhan, with whom I had a talk he is the General Secretary of the CPI said that this was the arrogance of power. I don't know if this is the arrogance of power or they are in the flush of the recent victory in Bengal. But this is something that I did not expect from them.

Sir, I also visited Nandigram twice and I took the occasion to go out and talk to the people and farmers who were there. The facts that cannot be denied very briefly are as follows: On 14th March, two facts were established. The police forces in West Bengal have been largely infiltrated and that there has been a deliberate effort to push the party cadres into the police force officially. Secondly, there has been a large degree of indoctrination of the police forces which is also of course understandable as this has happened in every communist country. Then on 14th March again, it was said that eight people were killed in the police firing because the bullets were known to be the police bullets and six people were killed by the bullets that did not belong to the police. Everybody admitted that many people who were using even private firearms and wearing uniforms were actually CPI(M) cadre people. It was established later on in the CBI inquiry that they were CPI(M) fellows who carried on as police people. On 16th November, a different thing happened. Now, they were not the private CPI(M) people masquerading as police forces. They were ordinary people who were looking like farmers. They called themselves 'red army' and in a very military-like operation marched over to Nandigram. They put the hostages of the anti-acquisition people in the front, in between, there were the people, CPI(M) cadres, who were driven out, who were supposed to take over and resettle in the villages and the 'red army' was firing from behind both of them. The people in the villages did not reply because they not want to kill their own brothers. These are the facts which have been established. The number of people killed in the months of March was said to be only 14. In fact, from the local enquiries, I found that, at least, 200 people were missing and they were presumed to be dead. There are witnesses who say that the dead bodies were carried in truckloads and put into the river. Similarly, the number of people dead in the month November and missing as of today, is 400. Sir, I tried to enquire from the farmers what lies behind all this. Sir, the simple story, I will try to explain in the way Sherlock Holmes explains at the end of the novel, the mystery of the whole Nandigram affair. The brazenness of the ruling party comes from the fact that behind Nandigram lies a very serious skeletons in their cupboards and they are very keen to hide them. What is the skeleton? The skeleton is this. The Communist Party and the Left front people always brage about their land reform programme. The fact is that the land reforms have happened in Midnapore and this is the area where maximum land reforms have happened. Therefore, the Communist Party thought that this is an area where all the people who are land-owners are now are the beneficiaries of the land reforms programme and there would not be any resistance. But, in fact, in the operation of the land reforms programme, something very funny happened. There was a share-cropping kind of land reform, to which Shri Priyaranjan Dasmunsi referred to and there were also direct transfer of the land to the original landless people. The funny thing that happened was that the documents relating to land records, either the possession or for the share-cropping, were not transferred to the poeple who received the land rights or who received the land. All the documents are in party office.

(Interruptions)

SHRI TAPAN KUMAR SEN: Can you authenticate this? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI: I can. *(Interruptions)*

7.00 P.M.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please. (*Interruptions*) I cannot ask everything to be authenticated. There are so many things. (*Interruptions*) All right. Let him finish. (*Interruptions*)

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: वे सच्चाई बता रहे हैं...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: पाणि जी, आप बैठिए...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI: Sir, I am giving the logic as to why all this has happened (*Interruptions*)

श्री उपसभापति: जोशी जी, आप जरा कंकलूड कीजिए।

SHRI TAPAN KUMAR SEN: Sir, he must authenticate.

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI: I am responsible for that. And I am asking the Home Minister to search every party office and seal the documents. Sir, this is exactly what happened even in Narmada. The Gujarati Patels were tenants of the adivasis and they were worried that if the compensation is paid for the land to be submerged, then, all the compensation will go to the tribals and not to the Patels. And, therefore, the Narmada Bachao Andolan is continuing. Similarly, with the documents in the hands of the party, the farmers were worried that no compensation will come to them. (*Interruptions*) Sir, I have not used seven minutes.

Sir, the people who left were the people who had masqueraded as police force. The Government officers were in search of them. They would have been arrested between March and November. Not one miscreant has been arrested because they were all in Khejuri. Therefore, they had the necessity to come back to the villages. Unless they had the physical possession of the land, the mere fact that the Communist Party had the documents, would not have entitled them to any kind of compensation. (*Time-bell*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI: Sir, the last sentence I would say. One reason why they are getting majority and such thumping majority in the elections is that the documents of 'he land lie in the Communist Party offices. Next time, when the elections are held, let the documents be taken away from them and then, let's have real election. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shrimati Brinda Karat. (*Interruptions*)

श्री तपन कुमार सेन: अभी भी ऐसा ही होगा...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: अभी वृंदा जी बोल रही है, वे उसका जवाब देंगी।

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: सर, सबसे पहले मैं अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से यह आश्वासन देना चाहती हूँ कि आज जो बहस हुई है, नंदीग्राम के विषय पर सदन के सदस्यों ने जो चिन्ता व्यक्त की है और विशेषकर यह उम्मीद जताई है कि बंगाल की सरकार और बंगाल की जो सीपीआई(एम) है, वे शान्ति के लिए, पुनर्वास के लिए, राहत के लिए और जो भी वहाँ अपराध हुए हैं, उन अपराधियों को सजा दिलाने के लिए ठोस कदम उठाएंगे। मैं इस हाउस को बताना चाहती हूँ कि यह केवल आश्वासन नहीं है, सरकार ऑलरेडी ऐसे कदम उठा चुकी है। कम्पन्सेशन इत्यादि के सवाल पर अथवा जो भी मैंने अभी बताया, सारी प्रक्रिया शुरू हो चुकी है।

हमारे साथियों ने जो बहुत सिंसियरली यह बात की है कि सीपीआई(एम) को तमाम विषयों पर आत्म-मंथन करना चाहिए, सर, मैं अपने साथियों से गर्व के साथ यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि शायद हमने, यहां मैं किसी अन्य पार्टी के ऊपर कोई टिप्पणी नहीं करना चाहूंगी कि बीजेपी ने गुजरात के कितना सबक लिया है अथवा किसी पार्टी ने कितना सीखा है, क्योंकि वह अलग विषय है और यह अलग विषय है, साथ ही हमारी संस्कृति भी अलग है।

सर, जो भी घटनाएं घटती हैं, उसमें क्या सही था क्या गलत था, अथवा उसमें क्या कमियां रहीं, निश्चित रूप से लगातार हमारी यही जानने की कोशिश रहती है और, सर, यह प्रोसेस आज भी जारी है। इसके बारे में जो भी कंसर्न व्यक्ति है, उनसे मैं स्पष्ट कहना चाहती हूँ, कि घमंड का कोई सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता। घमंड न कभी रहा है, न कभी है और न ही कभी रहेगा, क्योंकि जनता का विकास ही हमारी राजनीति के केन्द्र में है और उसके लिए यह अनिवार्य होता है कि पार्टी उस प्रक्रिया में स्वयं को ढाले एवं हम लोग स्वयं को उस प्रक्रिया में ढाल रहे हैं।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ और यह बात मैं बहुत पीड़ा से कहना चाहती हूँ कि सदन में महिलाओं के साथ बलात्कार के, बेइज्जती के या अपमान के केसिज के बारे में जिक्र किया गया और मुझे ऐसा लगा कि उसका कुछ मजाक तो नहीं, लेकिन, हां कुछ trivialization हुआ है। हम सभी लोग राजनीति में हैं और हम सब की अपनी-अपनी राजनीतिक समझ है, उसमें अन्तर भी है, विवाद भी है, और उन विवादों में कभी-कभी हम बहुत जोर से भी बोलते हैं, लेकिन, सर, जहां तक महिलाओं का सवाल है, निश्चित रूप से यह हमारी संसद की परम्परा है कि महिलाएं कभी भी राजनीतिक विवाद के हथियार के रूप में इस्तेमाल नहीं की जाएंगी और मैं उम्मीद भी करती हूँ कि हमारे तमाम भाई, जो यहां बोले हैं, और जो इस सदन के सदस्य हैं कि

Please don't make woman an instrument of your politics, and this is for all parties. I say this for every political party. Today, we are in the situation where women are the most vulnerable section in this country. The number of cases of violence against women are growing. But if we, who are supposed to be giving the leadership in this country's politics, start using women to score political points, then, Sir, I am afraid कि हमारी राजनीति की जो एक गरिमा है, वह गरिमा नष्ट हो जाएगी। इसलिए मैं बहुत स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहना चाहती हूँ कि जिस रूप में यह आरोप लगाया गया, गैंग रेप्स हुए, सैकड़ों, हजारों औरतों के साथ बलात्कार हुआ, मैं यहां के नेताओं से पूछना चाहती हूँ कि जो रिपोर्ट्स उन लोगों ने कोट की है, अगर उन्हें यह पता है कि सौ औरतों के साथ रेप हुआ है, आप नेता हैं, आपने वहां पर एफआईआर दर्ज करवाने के लिए कितनी कोशिश की? सर, मैं यह बात पूछना चाहती हूँ। मैं महिला आन्दोलन के साथ पिछले तीन साल से जुड़ी हुई हूँ और मैं कहना चाहती हूँ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: पश्चिमी बंगाल में एफआईआर दर्ज कराने के लिए...(व्यवधान)...बिना सर्टिफिकेट के एफआईआर नहीं होता है...(व्यवधान)...

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: अभी आप मत बोलिए...(व्यवधान)...मैं कहना चाहती हूँ...(व्यवधान)...मैं कहना चाहती हूँ...(व्यवधान)... Sir, I am not yielding (*Interruptions*)... I am not yielding (*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: She is not yielding (*Interruptions*)... She is not yielding (*Interruptions*)...

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: सर, मैं कहना चाहती हूँ...(व्यवधान)...मैं कहना चाहती हूँ...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: She is not yielding (*Interruptions*)... She is not yielding (*Interruptions*)... आप बैठिए...(व्यवधान)...पाणि जी, आप भी बैठिए...(व्यवधान)...आप बैठिए...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE: (West Bengal): Sir, let her speak.

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: सर, आप मुझे कहने दीजिए...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: आप बैठिए...(व्यवधान)...आप बैठिए...(व्यवधान)...उनको बोलने दीजिए...(व्यवधान)...उनको बोलने दीजिए...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI PRASANTA CHATTERJEE: Sir, you may kindly allow her to speak (*Interruptions*)...

श्री उपसभापति: बैठिए,आप बैठिए,उनको बोलने दीजिए । ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप बैठिए पाणि जी,उनको बोलने दीजिए ।

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: सर,मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि मैं महिला आंदोलन के साथ बहुत सालों से जुड़ी हुई हूँ । मैं जानती हूँ कि अगर किसी भी महिला के साथ बलात्कार होता है,उस केस को दर्ज करने के लिए हम कभी भी अपने प्रयास को छोड़ते नहीं है । मैं कहती हूँ कि पश्चिम बंगाल में,मार्च महीने में,14 मार्च के बाद,पुलिस फायरिंग के बाद 4 महिलाओं ने रेप की **complaint** की और वे चारों रेप की **complaints** तुरंत दर्ज की गयी । किसी महिला ने नहीं कहा कि मैं वहां गयी और मेरे रेप केस की **complaints** दर्ज नहीं हुई । कुछ लोग महिला आयोग के ऊपर गलत आरोप लगाते हैं,उनको पता नहीं है कि वहां महिला आयोग की टीम गयी है,वहां महिला आयोग के सेंटर की प्रतिनिधि भी गयी और स्टेट की प्रतिनिधि भी गयी और उन्होंने वहां जाकर पूरी रिपोर्ट ली है । इसलिए आप पहले अपने तथ्यों को ठीक करो । सर,इन लोगों ने जो रिपोर्ट पेश की है,उन्होंने कहा कि बच्चों की टांगों को फाड़ दिया गया,सैकड़ों बच्चे **missing** हैं,सर,कहां **missing** हैं ? उनकी जो रिपोर्ट है,हाईकोर्ट में जो बी.यू.पी.सी.की तरफ से पिटीशन दर्ज हुई है,उस रिपोर्ट में क्या था,उसमें था कि सैकड़ों नहीं 27 लोग **missing** हैं और बाद में जब तककीकात की गयी तो पता चला कि 27 में से सभी लोग ढूंढ लिए गए हैं और सभी मौजूद हैं । इसलिए यह जो गलत राजनीतिक प्रचार के आधार पर महिलाओं और बच्चों के नाम को लेकर इस प्रकार की कोशिश की जा रही है,मैं हाथ जोड़ती हूँ ।

सर,मैं एक और बात कहना चाहती हूँ । मैं जिस संगठन से जुड़ी हुई हूँ और जिस आंदोलन से जुड़ी हुई हूँ,हमने यह बार-बार कहा है और सर,मैं आज भी कहती हूँ कि रेप केस में बहुत सारी बातें ऐसी होती हैं,जैसे किसी गरीब आदिवासी औरत के साथ जब रेप होता है,वह पुलिस थाने पर नहीं जाती है या दो दिन,तीन दिन बाद जाती है । उस समय उसकी मेडिकल रिपोर्ट में रेप नहीं दिखाया जाता । वह संभव नहीं है । सर,मथुरा केस था,बाद में जब वह कोर्ट में उस रेप केस के लिए गयी तो सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज ने कहा कि तुम्हारे ऊपर गैंग रेप के निशान हैं ? सर,उसके बाद पूरे देशभर में आंदोलन हुआ और उस के बाद पता चला कि यह **Without consent** रेप माना जाए । सिर्फ **consent** का एक सवाल है,उसके बाद अगर आप **consent** साबित नहीं कर सकते,तो वह रेप नहीं है । हम लोगों की मांग है,हमारा यह संघर्ष है और आज भी मैं कहती हूँ,मेडिकल रिपोर्ट ही केवल आधार नहीं हो सकती है । यह महिला आंदोलन की **demand** है । लेकिन अगर कोई पॉलिटिकल पार्टी,कोई पॉलिटिकल दल,अपनी संकीर्ण राजनीति के लिए महिलाओं की उस नाजुकता का दुरुपयोग कर के गलत आरोप लगाएंगे तो हमारे आंदोलन की जो **credibility** है,वह **credibility** कम हो जाएगी । इसलिए मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि आप महिलाओं के बारे में दोहरी नीति मत रखिए । जब काकोली गिरि के साथ रेप हुआ नंदीग्राम की और जब उसे बेहोशी की हालत में उसका लड़का उसे पुलिस थाने में लेकर गया और जब महिला आयोग उस की तहकीकात करने के लिए गयी तो इन्हीं बी.यू.पी.सी.के लोगों ने कहा कि तुम नहीं जा सकते हो । यह सब ड्रामेबाजी है । हम उस अपराधी को चूंकि वह हमारे साथ है ,हमारी सदस्य है,इसलिए हम नहीं करेंगे । सर,"आप" और "हम" हमारी संस्कृति में नहीं है । मैं साफ कहना चाहती हूँ,अहलुवालिया जी हमारे साथी हैं,शरद जी हैं,उन्होंने कहा"हम"और"आप",लेकिन "हम" और"आप" हम नहीं कहते हैं ।

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: बुद्धदेव जी ने कहा है ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: मैं बुद्धदेव जी के बारे में कहूंगी,मैं अभी आप को बताऊंगी.आप धैर्य रखिए ।

इसलिए मेरा दूसरा पॉइंट है कि **don't make women hostages in your politicts. please don't do it. Please don't make them instrument. ... (Interruption) ...** और हमारी जो हमारी सरकार है,उन्होंने कहा है कि अगर कोई भी इस प्रकार का केस होता है,रेप केस को दर्ज करने में एक सैंकड की भी देरी नहीं हुई है और न होगी । मैं यह बात इस सदन में रखना चाहती हूँ और इसे रिकॉर्ड के रूप में रखना चाहती हूँ ,क्योंकि मेरे पास पुलिस के वे सारे रिकॉर्ड्स हैं और उसी के आधार पर मैं बोल रही हूँ ।
...**(व्यवधान)**...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... Nothing will go on record except Shrimati Brinda Karat's speech. ...*(Interruptions)*... आप बैठिए, प्लीज, बैठिए । ...*(व्यवधान)*... अहलुवालिया जी, आप बैठिए ।

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: तीसरी बात, सर । क्योंकि मैं जानती हूँ, हम कभी भी टोलरेट नहीं करेगी, कोई भी पोलिटिकल पार्टी अगर एक औरत की इज्जत का बचाव नहीं कर सकती है, तो निश्चित रूप से उसके खिलाफ आंदोलन होगा और इसीलिए मैं यह बात कहती हूँ, बड़े गर्व से हम कहते हैं कि आज तक बंगाल के अंदर ऐसी कोई शिकायत नहीं हुई और न होगी ।

सर, चौथी बात मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ । मैंने मदनी साहब की बात सुनी और बहुत ध्यान से सुनी । मुझे खेद है कि उनको दुख हुआ, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि जब किसी धर्म का नाम लिया गया, इसका अर्थ कतई यह नहीं है कि किसी ने उस धर्म को कट्टर के रूप में कहा । मदनी साहब अभी यहां नहीं हैं, लेकिन मैंने उनको कहा कि प्लीज, यह गलतफहमी मत रखिए, कोई धर्म कट्टर नहीं होता है, लेकिन अगर कुछ लोग उस धर्म के नाम का इस्तेमाल करके कोई गलत काम करते हैं, तो उनको कट्टरपंथी कहा जाता है । धर्म कट्टर नहीं होता है और अगर इसके बारे में कोई गलतफहमी है, तो मैं उनसे रिवेसट करूंगी कि वह इस गलतफहमी को दूर करें, हमारा कतई कोई ऐसा अर्थ नहीं था ।

सर, मैं गरीबों के लिए कुछ कहना चाहती हूँ । यहां बहुत सारी बातें आई हैं कि क्या सीपीआई(एम) अपने एजेंडे से कहीं पीछे हट रही है? मैं बहुत स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहना चाहती हूँ और दावे के साथ यह बात कहती हूँ कि पूरे देश भर में आज भी जहां तक जमीन बंटवारों का सवाल है, आज भी बंगाल का नंबर पहला है । किसी ने कोई कहा कि एक लाख, पता नहीं कितने हजार एकड़, हम साफ कह देते हैं कि ये प्रपोजल्स हैं । ये प्रपोजल्स हैं, लेकिन आज भी जो जमीन के अधिग्रहण का सवाल है, इसके बारे में बंगाल की सरकार की सबसे अधिक पारदर्शिता है । लोगों को कन्सल्ट करके, कन्सेट लेकर तभी हम किसी प्रपोजल को आगे लेकर जा सकते हैं । सर, इस साल मैं भी, मैं आपको बता सकती हूँ कि बंगाल के अंदर लगभग 35 हजार एकड़ भूमि सरकार ने भूमिहीनों को बांटी है । पूरे देश में और कोई सरकार नहीं बांट पाई, जैसा आज बंगाल के अंदर हुआ है । ...*(व्यवधान)*...

DR. K. KESHAHA RAO: In Andhra Pradesh, we distributed 3.75 lakh acres. ...*(Interruptions)*

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: उसमें साढ़े बारह लाख एकड़ हम लोगों ने, ...*(व्यवधान)*... यह पूरे देश भर का रिकॉर्ड है, हमारा रिकॉर्ड नहीं है । यह भारत सरकार का रिकॉर्ड है कि लैंड रिफॉर्म का जहां तक सवाल है, आज भी बंगाल पहले नंबर पर हैं । मैं यह भी कहना चाहती हूँ, प्रियरंजर दास मुंशी जी ने भी इसको स्वीकार किया है, जहां तक कंपनसेशन का सवाल है, जहां तक कन्सेट का सवाल है, आज भी हम दावे के साथ कह सकते हैं कि हम ही हैं, जो खेत मजदूर को, शेयर क्रोपर को, वहां की महिला सेल्फ एड ग्रुप्स को उस प्रोजेक्ट के साथ जोड़कर कोई वैकल्पिक नीति बनाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं । मैं यह बात भी आपके सामने पेश करना चाहती हूँ । इसके अलावा इसमें बहुत गलतफहमी हुई है । हमारे साथियों की बातों को सुनकर हमें लगा कि एक गेप है, वह अधिग्रहण नोटिस, तथाकथित नोटिस के सवाल पर । मैं साफ करना चाहती हूँ, वह नोटिस मेरे पास है, यह कतई कोई लैंड एक्वीजिशन नोटिस नहीं है । इसमें यह क्या लिखा है ? इस प्रकार का एक प्रपोजल है और इस प्रपोजल में यह — यह गांव और यह-यह इलाके प्रभावित होंगे । और वह क्यों था ? वह भी मैं आपको बताऊंगी, सर । हमारे साथी अमर सिंह जी ने बिल्कुल सही कहा कि असेम्बली की उस स्टैंडिंग कमेटी में तृणमूल कांग्रेस के, तमाम पार्टीज के लोग, माफ कीजिए, अहलुवालिया जी, आप बंगाली बहुत बोले, हो सकता है कि आपको अगली बार वोट देकर आप दुबारा संसद में आएँ, लेकिन इस समय तो खेद की बात है कि बीजेपी का कोई एमएलए हैं नहीं, अगर वह स्टैंडिंग कमेटी में होते, तो कोई और बात हो जाती । खैर, जो स्टैंडिंग कमेटी की बात हुई, उसमें यह बिल्कुल स्पष्ट हुआ कि यही वह जगह चुनी गई । लेकिन कोई फैसला नहीं हुआ । क्यों वहां वह नोटिस निकाला गया, इसका भी एक बैकग्राउंड है, क्योंकि जान-बूझकर एक गलतफहमी पैदा करने के बाद

वहां गलत प्रचार किया गया, leaflets बांटे गए। क्या था leaflets में ? मंदिर तोड़े जाएंगे, मस्जिद तोड़ी जाएंगी, burial grounds तोड़े जाएंगे। क्या यह कभी वह बंगाल सरकार कर सकती है जिस सरकार का आज तक हर धार्मिक स्थान और धार्मिक जगह की रक्षा करने का सबसे बड़ा कमिटमेंट है। 30 साल से हम ही बंगाल में हैं, जहां इस प्रकार की कभी कोई घटना नहीं घटी, लेकिन इस प्रकार का प्रचार करके एक गलतफहमी पैदा की गई। मैं मानती हूँ, सर, कि गैप जरूर होगा, लेकिन हमारे मंत्री जी प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी जी नहीं हैं, मैं उम्मीद करती हूँ कि बाकी सदस्य उनको थोड़ा अवगत कराएंगे। उन्होंने बताया कि 3 जनवरी को जब वे गए तो उन्होंने यह-यह देखा, उन्होंने यह नहीं देखा कि क्यों हुआ। सुषमा जी ने मेरे से पूछा कि आप कभी नंदीग्राम गई है, सुषमा जी तो मध्य प्रदेश की एम.पी. हैं, वे तो आराम से जा सकती हैं नंदीग्राम, लेकिन समीरन बीवी, जो उस पंचायत की प्रधान है, वे 11 महीने नंदीग्राम में नहीं जा पाई।

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: तीन बार गए।

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: समीरन बीवी नंदीग्राम में एक बार नहीं जा पाई। क्यों, सर? 3 जनवरी को जब श्री प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी गए तो उन्होंने पता लगाया कि क्या हुआ 3 जनवरी को, क्यों यह घटना घटी, उन्होंने कोई तहकीकात की, वे एक सेंट्रल मिनिस्टर हैं। पंचायत का आफिस जलाया गया, वहां के जो लोग हैं, जो पूरा पॉलिटिकल एलायंस है, उन सब ने एक साथ मिलकर पंचायत आफिस को, पंचायत घर को जलाकर, समीरन बीवी को बालों से पकड़कर, निकालकर उन्होंने भगाया। उस दिन, यह 3 जनवरी की घटना है, सर, it's a matter of record, 100 से अधिक घर जलाए गए, लूटे गए, तोड़े गए। हमारे पत्रकार हैं, मैं आपकी बहुत कद्र करती हूँ, हमारे पत्रकार जी हैं, वे तो बहुत इन्वेस्टिगेटिंग जर्नलिज्म भी करते हैं, बहुत ज्यादा इसमें इन्वेस्टिगेशन की जरूरत नहीं थी, स्पष्ट आंखों से दिखाई देता था कि उस पूरे इलाके में किस प्रकार चार पंचायतों के आफिस को तोड़कर, पंचायतों के चुने हुए सदस्यों को आर्म्स के, हथियार के आधार पर वहां के निकाला गया, क्योंकि वे बेहथियार थे। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: किसने निकाला ? ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री तपन कुमार सेन: यह ही फैक्ट है। ... (व्यवधान)....

श्री एस.एस.अहलुवालिया: आपके आदमियों ने जो विरोध कर रहे थे ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: अहलुवालिया जी, आप वृंदा जी को बोलने दीजिए। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: सर, प्लीज मुझे बोलने दीजिए। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: तपन सेन जी, आप बैठिए। ... (व्यवधान).... अहलुवालिया जी, बैठिए। ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: सर, मंत्री जी ने कहा है ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: बैठिए, बैठिए।

श्री मती वृंदा कारत: सर, मंत्री जी ने कहा है सलीम के बारे में मुझे मालूम नहीं, हो सकता है कोई और सलीम हो, लेकिन जो पुलिस का रिकार्ड है, जो सलीम मारे गए, उनकी लाश सुबह 3.00 बजे भांगाबेरिया ब्रिज के पास मिली। उनका घर कहाँ है ? भांगाबेरिया ब्रिज से 10 किलोमीटर दूर से भांगाबेरिया ब्रिज पर आकर सुबह 3:00 बजे वे क्या कर रहे थे ? वहां जो निकाले हुए लोग थे, उनका वहां रिलीफ कैम्प था और उस रिलीफ कैम्प के ऊपर एक जबर्दस्त हथियारबंद हमला हुआ था और उस हमले, उस क्लेश के अंदर वे मारे गए। इसलिए मैं कहती हूँ कि ... (व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Certain things have to go on record. You please give me permission. Don't stop me.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no question of stopping. It is a question of time ...*(Interruptions)* ... We are liberal. We have given a lot of time.

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Sir, I am going to conclude.

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: इनके हाथ में राज्य सरकार है, ये केन्द्रीय सरकार की Advisor हैं, 4 तारीख को जो हुआ ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री मती वृदां कारत: सर, मुझे मालूम नहीं, मैं तो बहुत जूनियर हूँ आप सबसे, लेकिन जो मैं जानती हूँ, उसके हिसाब से पार्लियामेंटरी प्रोसीजर में यह है कि जो व्यक्ति सदन में नहीं है, उनके बारे में इस प्रकार के आरोप नहीं लगाने चाहिए, लेकिन हमारे साथियों ने हमारे मुख्यमंत्री श्री बुद्धदेव भट्टाचार्य पर बगैर किसी लगाम के न जान क्या-क्या कह डाला। मैं यह कहती हूँ कि मुझे गर्व है अपने उस मुख्यमंत्री पर, इस रूप में कि कोई और मुख्यमंत्री ऐसे कर सकते हैं कि Sir, as soon as he realised and understood that there was this confusion about land, he is the only Chief Minister in the whole country who said that if the farmers do not consent, there is going to be no question of any project in that area. ... *(Interruptions)*...

मैं पूछती हूँ आपसे, सर, आप महाराष्ट्र से हैं, मेरे आदरणीय गृह मंत्री जी भी महाराष्ट्र से हैं, वे जानते हैं कि रायगढ़ में कितना जबर्दस्त आंदोलन चल रहा है, आप यह बताइए कि 10 हजार, 15 हजार के इतने बड़े-बड़े जुझारू प्रदर्शन हुए हैं, आज तक वहां के मुख्यमंत्री ने उनके बारे में एक शब्द नहीं बोला, लेकिन जाकर कांग्रेस के तमाम पंचायत के सदस्यों को खदेड़ देते, तो क्या करते आप, आप पुलिस को इस्तेमाल करते, लेकिन मैं आपको बताती हूँ कि जब यह 3 जनवरी को हुआ, तो ये मेरे मुख्यमंत्री हैं, वे जनवाद पर विश्वास करते हैं, एक नहीं दस बार, दस बार नहीं बीस बार, बीस बार नहीं सौ बाद, उन्होंने कहा कि आप आइए, बातचीत कीजिए। यह रिकॉर्ड का सवाल है, न जाने वे इनके साथ हैं या किनके साथ हैं, यह तो हम बता नहीं सकते, लेकिन अगर वे इनके साथ हैं, तो वे संभालें, अगर किसी और के साथ हैं, तो वे संभालें, लेकिन बंगाल के अंदर जीम opposition, the TMC refused to come to the talk इससे क्या होगा, आप बताइए? हम जनवाद की बात करते हैं, हम governance की बात करते हैं, मान लीजिए हमने कहा कि हम बात कर रहे हैं, लेकिन आप बातचीत के लिए नहीं आएंगे और आप यह कहेंगे कि कोई पुलिस ले जाएगी, आप पूरे liberated हैं। आज हमने देखा है, मुझे बहुत दुःख हुआ कि इतनी संकीर्ण पोलिटिक्स के लिए आज BJP और एक केन्द्रीय मंत्री जो बोले हैं, मैं नहीं मानती हूँ कि वह पूरी कांग्रेस की समझ हैं, मैं नहीं मानती हूँ, मैं जानती हूँ कांग्रेस की लीडरशिप को, यह समझ जरूर उनकी नहीं है, लेकिन जिस रूप में उन्होंने माओवादियों की हिंसा को glorify किया, उसका महिमामंडन किया, segregate करो, नरमपंथी रूख उन्होंने अपनाया और आज सुषमा जी ...*(व्यवधान)*....

DR. K. KESHA RAO: He did not glorify the Maoists. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Who glorified the Maoists? The Congress Party did not do it. ... *(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Narayanasamy, please take your seat. ...*(Interruptions)*... अलका जी, बैठिए ...*(व्यवधान)*....

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Sir, the BJP and the Congress are one in a soft approach towards the violence of the so-called Left Extremists if it suits their political interests. ... *(Interruptions)*...

श्री उपसभापति: वृदां जी, आप conclude कीजिए ...(व्यवधान)....

श्री मती वृदां कारत: उपसभापति जी, मैं कहती हूँ कि जो चुनाव से नहीं जीत सकते, जो चुनाव में नहीं जीते, जो चुनाव में हार गए, आज अगर liberated area तथाकथित liberated area के नाम पर वे अपनी तानाशाही लागू करना चाहते हैं, तो बंगाल की जनता इसको कभी बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगी। Just two more points. Sir. फिर मैं समाप्त कर रही हूँ। मैं एक सवाल पूछना चाहती हूँ, मैं अपनी सीनियर साथियों से जानना चाहती हूँ कि एक सेंट्रल मिनिस्टर की एक मर्यादा होती है, जब मैं एक सेंट्रल मिनिस्टर हूँ, तो उनको सोचना चाहिए कि यह कौन सा बयान है और मैं क्या बोल रहा हूँ, यह खुद सोचना चाहिए। हमने CRPF की मांग की, CRPF थी या नहीं की थी, यह गृह मंत्री जी ने उस सदन में जो जवाब दिया, वह अखबारों में आ गया कि चुनाव के कारण या जो भी कारण है, दो बटालियन बंगाल में थे, वह दो बटालियन गृहमंत्री जी जानते हैं क्योंकि नॉर्थ बंगाल में कांतापुरी का जो पूरा आंदोलन है और आप जानते हैं कि बंगाल अब हर प्रकार के एक्सट्रीमिस्ट और टेरिस्ट टारगेट बन रहा है कि किस प्रकार से वहां डिस्टेबलाइज करें तो एक सेंट्रल मिनिस्टर अगर वह सिर्फ कांग्रेस के नेता के रूप में होते तो हमारा कोई एतराज नहीं है, पॉलिटिक्स-पॉलिटिक्स आप बोलिए, लेकिन एक सेंट्रल मिनिस्टर अगर यह बयान दे कि बंगाल में सी.आर.पी.एफ. नहीं जाएगी, क्या यह सही है? एक सेंट्रल मिनिस्टर अपने पद संभालते हुए कहे State-sponsored massacre क्या यह सही है? I do not know, I am just putting the question in the House whether the Parliamentary Affairs Minister should speak such a language? That is the question. Another question I want to put. If the External Affairs Minister were here, I could have asked him directly. But I want to know, what is the role of the representative of foreign countries? What is it? Can the U.S.' main representative in Kolkata call people and start discussing domestic issues with them? Can they call somebody from the TNC and discuss what is happening in Nandigram? Can they call somebody from another organisation and start discussing what is happening and what should be done, etc.? I do not know. Is it allowed? Is it permissible? Can the Indian representative over there call anybody they want from the whole of America and start questioning them in their discussion and dialogue? Have they informed the State Government about it? Have they informed the Central Government about it? I do not know, I want to know what is the position. (समय की घंटी) सर, एक मिनट में मैं यह भी कहना चाहती हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति: वृदां जी, घड़ी की तरफ आप भी देखिए।

श्री मती वृदां कारत: सर, मैं समाप्त कर रही हूँ। मैं यह भी कहना चाहती हूँ कि यहां इस सदन में कुछ साथियों ने नंदीग्राम का नाम लेते हुए गुजरात का नाम लिया। मुझे पता चला और हमने एन.एच.आर.सी.साहब को भी जवाब दिया। उन्होंने कहा Godhra and Nandigram in the same breath, लेकिन इस सदन में स्पष्ट हुआ कि Nandigram is a question of one block and now there are 300 people still in the camp. It is our commitment, with the help of all those concerned, that they should go back to their homes. There is no question about it, absolutely. Today, in Gujarat, 30,000 people are still displaced. Today, in Gujarat, no cases of the major issues of massacre of minorities have been filed even on those arrested. Today, in Gujarat, the issue of compensation for the plunder that the whole country witnessed is yet to be given.

Therefore, I would say, to those who want to use the name of Gujarat in the context of the tragic incidence in Nandigram, which was caused because of a political conspiracy, please do not trivialise the suffering and the trauma that the minorities of Gujarat have faced.

In conclusion, Sir, I would like to say, once again, on behalf of my party that as far as we are concerned, there is no question of 'us' and 'them', there is no question of their poor and our poor. West Bengal Government and the CPI(M) and all my Left partners are committed to ensuring is restored in Nandigram and the rights of the poor are defended. Thank you.

DINESH TRIVEDI: Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, for letting me have the

last word. मदनी साहब नहीं हैं।

श्री उपसभापति: कौन नहीं हैं ?

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: सर, मदनी साहब ने कुछ शेर से अपनी तकरीर खत्म की थी।

श्री उपसभापति: आप भी शेर से शुरू कीजिए।

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: सर, उसका समरी यही था कि “चिनगारी कोई भड़के तो सावन उसे बुझाए, सावन अगर अगन लगाए तो उसे कौन बुझाए”। उन्होंने बगिया की बात कही और माली की बात कही कि वह कैसा माली है, वह कैसा माली है जो बगिया को, अपनी बगिया को खुद उजाड़ रहा है। Sir, I am aware of the constraints of time and I am also aware that we have had a very, very lengthy debate on the subject of Nandigram. But I must tell you, Sir, in our political life, in public life, we have all experiences. See, the measures of public life, Sir, is the trust of the people, is the morality, बारे वृदां जी, आपके बारे में जो-जो कहा Sir, on trust, on morality, on ethics, on perception of the people and the last word is legality starting with trust जब वृदां जी अपना बयान दे रही थीं यहां, वे कह रही थी-हमारे चीफ मिनिस्टर ने यह कहा, हमारे चीफ मिनिस्टर ने वह कहा, और कहीं कोई रेप नहीं हुआ है, कहीं कुछ नहीं हुआ है, तो मैं सिर्फ यह कहूंगा कि वृदां की आपने लोगों का विश्वास खो दिया है। आपकी बात को मानने के लिए अब कोई तैयार नहीं हैं, तो ट्रस्ट चला गया। सी.पी.एम. के साथ morality, ethics and perception of the people की बात हम कर ही नहीं सकते, क्योंकि जो चीज हैं नहीं, उसकी बात हम क्यों करें ? आत्म-मंथन की बात कही गई, अब जो चीज है ही नहीं, उसका मंथन आप कैसे करोगे ? आत्मा चाहिए मंथन के लिए। यदि आत्मा होती, तो आज यह नंदीग्राम की घटना घटती नहीं। अब रहा लीगल प्वाइंट। जो हाई कोर्ट का जजमेंट आया है, उस जजमेंट को आप पढ़ लें, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आज इस बहस का मतलब भी शायद न रहे।

सर, यह बहस हम मांग रहे थे ग्यारह महीने से। हमने नोटिस पर नोटिस दिए, इतने नोटिस दिए कि उसकी इतनी बड़ी फाइल बन गई, शायद Guinness Book of World Records में उसका नाम आ गया हो ? मगर क्या हुआ ? जितने भी डेमोक्रेटिक इंस्टीट्यूशन्स हैं देश में, We are all very proud of that our hon. Governor spoke out, not today but on 14th March when that incident took place. The hon. Calcutta High Court spoke out, the Human Rights Commission spoke out, and the people of Bengal spoke out. The people of India also spoke out. Sir, but this august House of Parliament, I am shocked, surprised, sad and perhaps some day history will note that for some strange reasons and we all know we were shouted down that we will not discuss Nandigram. If my friends were so much concerned about a State within State, a territory within territory, they should have been the first one to talk about. But, no, it did not suit them and this temple of democracy went unheard. Sir, this is where our *vayatha* is, our pain is. If we would have discussed Nandigram 11 months or 9 months or when that tragic incident of 14th March occurred where so many of our brothers and sisters died, we do not know even the exact figures, I am sure the rest of the carnage which took place subsequently almost on a daily basis but more so during that auspicious time of Diwali. लता मंगेशकर जी का गाना जिससे पंडित नेहरू की और देशवासियों की आंखों में आंसू आ गए थे कि

जब देश में थी दीवाली, वो खेल रहे थे होली।

जब हम बैठे थे घरों में, वो झेल रहे थे गोली।

नंदीग्राम के लोग, हम जब दीवाली मना रहे थे, तब वे गोलियों की बौछार की दीवाली मना रहे थे। हमारे कांग्रेस के भाई स्वाभाविक रूप से थोड़े उत्तेजित हो गए जब ऑनरेबल प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी पर इन्होंने टिप्पणी की। मैं उसमें नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। करेक्टर असेसिनेशन इनका एक बड़ा हथियार है। जो भी उनके खिलाफ कुछ बोले, चाहे वह हाई कोर्ट हो, चाहे वह गवर्नर हो, चाहे वह नेशनल ह्यूमैन राइट्स कमीशन हो, चाहे वह आर्टिस्ट हो, चाहे कोई भी हो...(व्यवधान)....

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि: चाहे पार्लियामेंट हो।

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: पार्लियामेंट कुछ करे तो वे उसके खिलाफ भी बोलेंगे। यानी वे डेमोक्रेसी में विश्वास नहीं रखते। आपको याद दिलाना चाहूंगा कि हम इस विश्व की, देश की या एशिया की बात नहीं कर रहे, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के विषय में इन्होंने क्या कहा था? वह बात शोभा नहीं देगी-पार्लियामेंट की बात छोड़िए, बाहर भी आप इस बात को नहीं कर सकते, ऐसे लफ्जों का आप इस्तेमाल नहीं कर सकते। राजीव जी के बारे में इन्होंने क्या कहा था? जब वी.पी.सिंह की सरकार थी, हम साथ थे। इस प्रकार करेक्टर असेसिनेशन तो इनका धर्म है। ...**(व्यवधान)**.... नेता जी, महात्मा गांधी और जितने बड़े-बड़े नेता हैं-इनका मकसद है, पहले अपने नेता और कल्वर सबको तहस-नहस कर दो। वृदां कारत जी ने बहुत सेंटीमेंटल होकर कहा-मैं एक औरत की व्यथा को समझता हूँ कि रेप बहुत घिनौना अपराध है, यह बात बिल्कुल सही है। मैं सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि रेप वहां नहीं हुआ होता तो हाई कोर्ट यह निर्णय नहीं देता कि जिनके साथ रेप हुआ है, उनको दो लाख रुपए का मुआवजा मिले। उसका कारण यह है कि रेप हुआ है। वृदां जी, महाश्वेता देवी मेगसेसे अवार्ड विनर है, उन्हें देश और दुनिया में कौन नहीं जानता। वे क्या कहती हैं? वे कहती हैं कि "Hundreds of houses have been demolished. Rice, clothes, utensils have been looted. Ponds and other water resources have been poisoned..."

यह अभी हुआ, दीवाली के बाद के हादसे की बात करेंगे। " ...and woman were raped.* आप विश्वास खो बैठे हैं क्योंकि यदि हम कहते तो मान लिया जाता कि चलिए, कोई विरोधी पक्ष कह रहा है, ये लोग *हैं, इनको कहने दो। मगर जब महाश्वेता देवी कहती है? जिनकी उम्र हमारी दादी की उम्र के बराबर होगी, तब लोग सुनते हैं और उनका लीनिंग रहा है, झुकाव रहा है-वामपंथियों की तरफ। आपके साथी दा सबने कहा कि हमें कुछ भी कहो, मगर हमें उनके साथ अब मत जोड़ो। हम अगल पार्टी है। आप जो बार-बार कहते हो कि लेफ्ट ने यह किया, लेफ्ट ने वह किया, माफ कीजिएगा, लेफ्ट ने नहीं किया, हमने नहीं किया, हम अलग पार्टी हैं। आप सीपीएम कहो, लेफ्ट मत कहो। आज लोगों को शर्म आती है, जो उनके साथ रहे हैं, वह कहने में। इस प्रकार कहीं न कहीं कुछ न कुछ तो हुआ ही होगा कि होगा कि भूमि उच्छेद प्रतिरोध कमेटी ने कुछ कहा, तृणमूल ने कुछ कहा, कांग्रेस ने कुछ कहा। मगर आपके लोग अब कह रहे हैं। सर, इतिहास में बहुत सारी घटनाएं घटती हैं। Many instances take place which are supposed to be the black dark days in the evolution of human civilization and one of those dark days, just to spot out a few of them, is Hitler's Gas Chamber. The moment this name comes, everybody shivers. Then come Hiroshima and Nagasaki. My friend, Mr. Ahluwalia, has mentioned about Jdianwala Bagh. And, in recent times, we had the Tiananmen Square incident and some of us watched it on television also. Several communal riots have taken place in our country. These are all dark spots. Added to that dark spot—in fact, it is the darkest spots—is the genocide in Nandigram...**(Interruptions)**...

SHRI TAPAN KUMAR SEN: You don't understand what is 'dark'...
(Interruptions)... If you want to symbolise...**(Interruptions)**...

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: सर, आश है कि इनकी कोई व्याख्या दे ही नहीं सकता है। ...**(व्यवधान)**.... सर, ऐसा है कि कुछ घटनाओं के बाद उनका सर शर्म से झुक जाता है। जो मानवता में विश्वास करते हैं और जो दानवता में विश्वास करता है और जो दानव होता है वह छाती ठीक कर सकता है कि हां, हमने किया है। You have been paid back by your own coin. यह दानवता है मानवता नहीं है। सर, मैं सबसे पहले यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी डेमोक्रेसी के जो पिलर्स हैं उसमें एक बड़ा पिलर है मीडिया आज यदि मीडिया नहीं होता, प्रिंट मीडिया और इलेक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया दोनों, तो नंदीग्राम के हालात उजागर नहीं होते। मीडिया वाले अपनी जान पर खेल कर वहां गए हैं। सर, उन्होंने जो झेला है, जो देखा है वह सब रिकार्ड हो चुका है। हमारे पास उसकी सी.डी. है जो तृणमूल या कांग्रेस या बी.जे.पी. या भूमि उच्छेद कमेटी किसी ने नहीं बनाई है यह है फुटेज ऑफ इलेक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब को यह उनके दफ्तर में जाकर बहुत अदब से पेश करना चाहता हूँ और आपका विश्वास इसीलिए उठ गया है कि लोगों ने ...**(व्यवधान)**....

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, let him lay it on the Table of the House
...(Interruptions)...

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: मैं आपको अभी दे सकता हूँ। I can authenticate. And, if rules permit, I would like lay it on the Table of the House. हम सही मायने में बताना चाहते हैं, सर, आज यदि सब मेंबर्स ऑफ पार्लियामेंट को यह सी.डी. दिखाएं तो आपको पता चलेगा कि दहशत क्या होती है। एक बुढ़िया के घर में जाकर लाठी मारी, वह बोलती है कि हमें बचाओ। मुझे लगता है कि यदि कंस या रावण, इसकी परिभाषा किसी को हो तो ...**(व्यवधान)**....

देखिए, एक कैमरा झूठ बोल सकता है, सौ कैमरे झूठ नहीं बोल सकते और यह परसेप्शन की बात होती है। आप हंस लें मगर लोग रो रहे हैं, डेमोक्रेसी रो रही है। कलकत्ता में कल 200 आदमियों की जुलूस निकला और दो घंटे में आर्मी आ गई, जो बहुत ही अच्छा हुआ जिसके लिए मैं सरकार को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि दो घंटे में आर्मी आ गई, स्थिति नियंत्रण में हो गई। हम सब डर गए थे कि कहां जाकर यह पहुंचेगा। 200 लोग कौन थे, कहां से आये थे, किसी को पता नहीं। मैं इस बात का जिक्र इसलिए कर रहा हूँ कि यदि आप कहते हैं कि **state within state** था, माओ थे, चाओ थे, जो भी थे, लेकिन आपका वहां नियंत्रण नहीं था। मैं दो बात कहूंगा। पहली बात तो यह कहूंगा कि दो घंटे में कोलकाता में आर्मी आ सकती हैं, 11 महीने में आपने कभी यह नहीं सोचा कि हम आर्मी बुला लें, हम खुद जाकर होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहें, जिस पार्टी को आप सपोर्ट करते हैं, वहीं पार्टी है, हम यूपीए के एक अंग हैं, यहां आतंक का माहौल है, हमें तुरन्त फौज भेजिए, सीआरपीएफ भेजिए, हेलिकाप्टर से जाकर देखिए और माओवादियों को यहां से हटाइये। आपने इसके बारे में नहीं सोचा और 11 महीने तक आप सोते रहे। यदि आपने यह सोचा नहीं और माओवादी घुस आए, प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी जी ने जो कहा, इतनी बारीकी से उन्होंने सब कुछ कह डाला। यदि यह देखा जाये कि इतने सारे पुलिस पोस्ट पार करने के बाद भी वहां कोई घुसपैठ माओ की या आतंकवादियों की हुयी, तो बंगाल में कोई सुरक्षित नहीं है। वे आपके रायटर्स बिल्डिंग में पहुंच जायेंगे और आप सोते रहोगे। आज बंगाल में एक बच्चा सुरक्षित नहीं है, यदि यहीं उसका आलम हैं, यदि आप मंत्री हैं और आपकी आंख के नीचे यह हो रहा है, 11 महीने तक **And, if you could not stop it, then, you have no business to be in power; you have no business to be in power in Bengal. Today, nobody is safe in Bengal, if this is the case. (Interruptions)**

श्री उपसभापति: आप बोलिए। दिनेश जी, आप बोलिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**....

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: उनकी जो रेड आर्मी थी, उनकी जो वाहिनी है, यह तैयार हो रही थी। मैं उस पर आऊंगा। मुझे थोड़ा पांच मिनट का समय दे दीजिए।

श्री उपसभापति: नहीं, नहीं। कितना समय देंगे। आप लास्ट स्पीकर है। आप जल्दी बोलिए ...**(व्यवधान)**....

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी : देखिए, सच कड़वा होता है और वह कड़वाहट यहां तो आपको झेलनी पड़ेगी तथा लोगों की और भी ज्यादा झेलनी पड़ेगी। सर, प्रियरंजन दास मुंशी ने एक और अच्छी बात कही और अहलुवालिया जी ने उस पर चांद लगा दिए। नंदीग्राम का यह इलाका है, जो आजादी की लड़ाई में अग्रसर था, उस आजादी की लड़ाई में, जिसकी वजह से आज पार्लियामेंट हैं और आज फ्रीडम ऑफ स्पीच है, जिस पर हमें बहत फख हैं, गर्व है और वे उसके हिस्से रहे हैं। मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि नंदीग्राम में जो हुआ, वह एक Sepoy Mutiny की तरह ही एक है। इनका साम्राज्य डोल गया है, जैसे अंग्रेजों का साम्राज्य डोल गया था, डगमगा गया था, थरथरा गया था, क्योंकि उन्हीं के सिपाही उनके खिलाफ बगावत पर उत्तर आये थे।

सर, नंदीग्राम का मामला इतना सहज नहीं है। यह बहुत ही उलझा हुआ है और फिर मैं प्रियरंजन दास जी की बात कहूंगा कि आपके लोग, हमारे लोग का सवाल यहां पर नहीं है। नंदीग्राम में जो लोग थे, वह पहले सीपीएम के खुद के लोग थे और उन्होंने जब यह नोटिस जारी किया, हमारे पास सारा चिट्ठा लिखा हुआ है, मगर मुझे लगता नहीं है कि उसकी कोई आवश्यकता है, अब उसकी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। यह एक ऐसा केस हैं, जेठमलानी जी, यहां पर बैठे हैं, जिस पर तर्क बहुत हो चुके हैं और आज वे जमीन के लिए, उन्होंने जमीन के

अधिग्रहण का नोटिस दिया, सब कहते हैं कि हमारे चीफ मिनिस्टर ने कहा, फाड़ डालो, फैंक डालो, धो डालो, यह नहीं होगा। मगर 15 मार्च तक वह नोटिस किसी ने वापस नहीं लिया था। यह कोर्ट का बयान है, विश्वासघात, इसीलिए एक sepoy Mutiny जिसको कहते हैं। हम बहुत संजीगी से बात कर रहे हैं और यह समझने वाली बात है कि ये इतने घबरा क्यों रहे हैं? इस तरफ से हमारे *...(व्यवधान)....

श्री उपसभापति: आप नाम क्यों ले रहे हैं?

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: वे हमारे दोस्त भी हैं।

श्री उपसभापति: आप नाम मत लीजिए, जो डिफेंड नहीं कर सकते हैं।

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: मिसेज कारत के हसबेंड हैं। अब सीपीएम के जो नेतागण हैं, वे कहते हैं कि नंदीग्राम बहुत छोटा सा एक ब्लाक है, उसको लेकर हमारी नीतियां नहीं बदलती हैं। मगर जो मदनी साहब ने कहा, वह राजनीति के गलियारों और सड़कों पर बात हो रही है कि नंदीग्राम का बलिदान हो गया है, ताकि न्यूक्लियर डील आगे बढ़े। उन्होंने यह बात भी कही कि हमारी येचुरी जी यहां वहीं लफ्ज इस्तेमाल करते हैं, जो जॉर्ज बुश इस्तेमाल करते हैं। मुझे उसमें कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता है। सर, मैं sepoy Mutiny की बात कर रहा था। ये इसीलिए थरथराए कि हमारे सीपीएम के कांडर हमारे खिलाफ उतर आए हैं। आज यदि वे नंदीग्राम में उतर आते हैं तो कल पुरुलिया में होगा, परसों बांकुरा में होगा फिर दुर्गापुर में होगा, इससे तो हमारा पूरा साम्राज्य हिल जाएगा। जो साम्राज्य दहशत के बल पर चलता है, जो साम्राज्य टेरर के बल पर चलता है, जिसको कहते हैं, state-sponsored terrorism. इसलिए हमने चिगारी की बात कही है। यदि हमारा यह साम्राज्य हिल गया तो किसी को हमारी दहशत नहीं रहेगी। यदि आप चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब का बयान सुनेंगे तो पाएंगे कि उन्होंने यह कहा है कि, "Yes, they have been paid back in their own coin." सर, यह एक गब्बर सिंह सिन्ड्रोम हैं। हम बहुत सीरियसली कह रहे हैं। जब गब्बर कहता है कि हां, हमने मारे हैं, ताकि गांव-गांव में यह बात फैल जाए और मां बच्चों को कहे कि बेटा चुप हो जा, गब्बर आ जाएगा। तो यह Writers' Building में गब्बर सिंह सिन्ड्रोम जो हैं, देश की राजनीति को तो छोड़िए हमारे संविधान, लोकतंत्र rule of law. इसके बिल्कुल विपरीत हैं। सर, यहां पर बहुत सी बातें हुई हैं। आपने मुझे समय दिया है और कहने को भी बहुत कुछ हैं। मैं आखिर में कहना चाहता हूं कि peace talk की बात कर रहे हैं। सर, जब यह हादसा हुआ तब 14 मार्च थी। हम 12 मार्च को विदेश जा रहे थे। हमें कहा गया कि आप कहां जाओगे? वहां नंदीग्राम में तो बहुत बड़ा कांड होने वाला है और यह सीपीएम, पुलिस मिलकर करने वाले हैं। हमने ममता जी को फोन किया, हम दिल्ली में थे। उन्होंने कहा कि हां, ऐसा होने वाला है। हम होम मिनिस्ट्री में दौड़े, फैक्स किया और चिट्ठी लिखी, गिडगिड़ाए, रोए और सब कुछ किया कि यह होने वाला है, इसे रोकिए, रोकिए। हमने गवर्नर साहब को फोन किया, तो उन्होंने कहा कि मुझे भी ऐसा अंदेशा है, मेरे पास भी ऐसी रपट हैं। फिर मैंने सोचा कि यदि सारा संसार जानता है तो शायद यह नहीं होगा, मगर हुआ और विदेश नहीं गए। जब यह कांड हुआ तो फिर हम इतनी बार होम मिनिस्ट्री में गए, मुझे पता है कि इनकी मजबूरी है, हम मजबूरी समझते हैं। आप सी.पी.एम. की ऑक्सीजन से जी रहे हैं, मगर नंदीग्राम के लोगों को भी ऑक्सीजन चाहिए। उनको भी इस संविधान से जीने का अधिकार दिया है। इतिहास गवाह होगा कि एक तरफ आपकी गद्दी थी और दूसरी तरफ नंदीग्राम की जान थी। शिवराज जी हमारे बहुत ही महान् नेता हैं, उनके लिए कुछ भी विशेषण नहीं दे सकता हूं, बहुत ही आदरणीय हैं, बहुत ही शरीफ हैं और कांस्टीट्यूशन का पूरा मान करते हैं, परंतु उनके हाथ बंधे थे। मैं वह समझता था। उनके मन में व्यथा थी, मगर हाथ बंधे थे। मगर आपने नंदीग्राम की बजाया शायद गद्दी को चूज किया। इसके बारे में मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है, यह इतिहास पर छोड़ दें। दीवाली आई, सभी दीवाली के रंग में, मौज में रंगे थे। फिर यह बात आई कि आतंक का माहौल होने वाला है। 4 नवंबर को वही आलम था, जो 11, 12 और 13 और मार्च को था। हमने एक चिट्ठी शिवराज जी को लिखी मैं सिर्फ उसका शीर्षक पढ़ूंगा। The subject is, "Fear of fresh attack from several fronts, Specially, from Khejuri to kill innocent villagers of Nandigram including women, children, minority and the Scheduled Castes by the assisted by the CPM-led West Bengal Government." हमने डिटेल दी कि कौन ऑफीसर मिला, कहां मिला, क्यों मिला, सभी कुछ इसमें हैं, I can lay it on the

*Not recorded.

Table of the House, "मगर अफसोस कि कुछ नहीं हुआ,कहीं कोई सुनवाई नहीं हुई।यही डिबेट यदि मार्च में होती,उससे पहले होती तो अच्छा होता। जो इंस्ट्रक्शन्स संविधान के अंतर्गत आपने दिए हैं,चाहे आर्टिकल 255 हो,क्या इंस्ट्रक्शन्स दिए हैं,हमें यह जानने की जरूरत है। यह इंस्ट्रक्शन्स पहले जाते और और हो सकता था कि नंदीग्राम के लोगों की जान बच जाती। जो पीस टॉक की बात चल रही थी,14 तारीख को यह कांड हुआ,12 तारीख को हमारे एम.एल.ए.ने मुख्यमंत्री को चिट्ठी लिखी। उस चिट्ठी की कॉपी मेरे पास है। 12 या 13 को चिट्ठी लिखी,इसकी कॉपी मेरे पास है। 13 तारीख को लिखी थी। चिट्ठी में कहा कि आप मेहरबानी करके जो 3000,4000 पुलिस की टोली भेज रहे हैं,वह मत भेजिए,यहां दहशत का माहौल हो जाएगा,लोगों में पेनिक हो जाएगा,मैं आपके पांव पड़ता हूं,मत भेजिए। यह सब है। वे हमेशा पीस टॉक में रहे। वहां पर मार्च में एग्जाम बरकरार हुए। माध्यमिक,उच्च माध्यमिक एग्जाम हुए। वहां पर हंड्रड परसेंट पल्स पोलियो हुआ। जो कह रहे थे कि स्टेट विदइज स्टेट कोई जा नहीं सकता था,सभी जा सकते थे,पुलिस चौकियां भी वहां थीं। हंड्रड परसेंट पल्स पोलियो कैसे हुआ। आप हमारी बात मत मानिए,आंकड़े देखिए। आप थोड़ी देर के लिए भरमा सकते हैं,लेकिन सभी को हर समय नहीं भरमा सकते। ममता जी ने पीस टॉक की बहुत पहल की। ज्योति बाबू ने उन्हें फोन किया। ममता जी ने कहा कि मैं आधे घंटे के अंदर आ रही हूं। उन्होंने फोन रखा,जैसी थी,जो पहना था,वैसे ही ज्योति बाबू जी के पास गई। अशोक मित्रा क्या लिखते हैं? अशोक मित्रा हैं,इसीलिए उसकी अहमियत बढ़ जाती है कि सात साल साथ रहा,अब उन्हें क्या लेना-देना है। वे बहुत व्यथा के साथ लिखते हैं। **The seniormost political leader of the State and the country had to take initiative to call up Ms. Mamata Benerjee, sit and discuss with her a few conditions for Resolutions. The Government was intimidated about them but did not proceed. An all-Party meeting was convened.** अशोक घोष जी ने जब मीटिंग बुलाई थी,ममता जी खुद वहां गई थीं। **That also got stalled due to the indirect pressure from the Ruling Party".** यह हम नहीं कह रहे हैं,अशोक मित्रा कह रहे हैं। सर,वे कह रहे हैं,...(व्यवधान)....

श्री तपन कुमार सेन: वे मीटिंग छोड़ कर चले गए थे।

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: वे कह रहे हैं 'indirect pressure'. यह अशोक मित्रा कह रहे हैं...(व्यवधान)....

श्री उपसभापति: पाणि जी,आप बैठिए ...(व्यवधान)....दिनेश साहब को बोलने दीजिए ...(व्यवधान)....

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: मैं अब अपनी बात खत्म करूंगा ...(व्यवधान)....

श्री उपसभापति: आप क्यों बोल रहे हैं ...(व्यवधान)....आप इनको बोलने दीजिए।

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: मैंने पहले ही कहा कि if you join issues with falsehood, then you are giving credibility to falsehood. So, an intelligent person never argues with falsehood. Let him say whatever he wants to say ...(Interruption)... 'It is better to look further' ...(Interruption)... I am not yielding ...(Interruptions)... 'It is better to look further into the past.' ...(Interruptions)... "Nandigram was not after all the first blood; the Singur episode had happened before that. The Government does not like nationalised industries. They want to set up private industries in the State. Hence, there are promises to acquire land to be given to the private sector, international capitalists, since there was the declaration in their manifesto". और अंत में वे कहते हैं, "All of a sudden, peasants were told, 'leave the land; the masters would set up an industry here'. This is what Ashok Mitra is saying. "For eleven months complete silence and inactivity were carefully maintained by the State Government", Sir, he refers. "No political or administrative alternative was explored. Suddenly, a new plot was hatched. As has been repeatedly admitted by the Bengal Home Secretary, the Police was instructed to remain inactive", पुलिस को कहा गया कि आप वहां

(श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी)

कुछ मत करो। वहां प्रशासन, पुलिस कोई नहीं गई। जब नंदीग्राम में दिवाली के रोज यह गोली की होली खेली जा रही थी, वहां पुलिस को कहा गया कि आप withdraw कर जाओ। वहां कोई जर्नलिस्ट नहीं जा सका। कोई परिन्दा पर नहीं मार सका। आगे वे कहते हैं...(व्यवधान)....

श्री उपसभापति: वे क्या कहते हैं, वह नहीं, आप कहिए न।

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: सर वहीं है। सर, हम कह रहे हैं, हम अपनी बात को खत्म कर रहे हैं। हमने इसलिए उनका ज़िक्र किया कि उनकी credibility हैं। उनको यही कहा कि न तो जर्नलिस्ट को जाने दिया, न मेधा पाटकर को, ममता बनर्जी की गाड़ी पर उन्होंने गोली चलाई, यह रिपोर्ट भी है। उसके बाद जब सीआरपीएफ-ये सीआरपीएफ की दुहाई दे रहे हैं-उनके डीआईजी से पूछिए, उनको भी चार दिन तक नहीं जाने दिया और ये बड़ी-बड़ी बातें कर रहे हैं कि state within state. सर, अब तो यह बात आ गई है कि ...(व्यवधान).... आप और carnage करने वाले ...(व्यवधान).... आपको शान्ति नहीं है ...(व्यवधान)....

श्री उपसभापति: आप कंकलूड कर रहे थे।

श्री दिनेश त्रिवेदी: हम आखिर में यह कहना चाहेंगे कि हमें बहुत डर है कि 10 हजार, 15 हजार, बहुत से लोग बेघर हो गए। आखिर में इनका प्लान क्या हैं, वह जो syndrome है। इनका प्लान यह है कि ये हमेशा कहते आए हैं कि हमारे चीफ मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि जब तक नंदीग्राम के लोग नहीं चाहेंगे, कैमिकल हब नहीं होगा। आप इसे मार्क की लीजिए, बहुत अहम बात बता रहा हूं। उसका मतलब क्या है कि जिस दिन नंदीग्राम के लोग कहेंगे कि हमें हब चाहिए, आप उनको हब दोगे। ये जो असली नंदीग्राम के लोग हैं, सेनानी हैं, वे तो कहते हैं कि हम खून देंगे, जमीन नहीं देंगे। उनको नंदीग्राम से हटा दो, भगा दो, मार दो या जो भी करो और नये लोगों को वहां बसा दो ताकि पूरी demography ही बदल जाए। दो-तीन महीने बाद चुनाव कराओ और उस चुनाव में 100 प्रतिशत उनके लोग आ जाएंगे, फिर वे कहेंगे कि अरे। आप कैसे चीफ मिनिस्टर है, आप हमारा उद्धार नहीं चाहते हैं, हमें यहां पर कैमिकल हब चाहिए। आप हमें कैमिकल हब क्यों नहीं देते? फिर बुद्ध बाबू राइटर्स में कहेंगे कि देखो। मैंने कहा था ना कि ये लोग हमें गुमराह कर रहे हैं, इन्होंने हमें गुमराह किया, अब यही लोग कह रहे हैं कि हमें कैमिकल हब चाहिए, इन्हें कैमिकल हब जरूर मिलेगा।

सर, मैं और कोई उदाहरण देना नहीं चाहता हूं। मैं यही कहता हूं कि यह एक बहुत बड़ा षडयंत्र हैं, तारीख इस बात को बताएगी। आज ये लोग इस बात को समझ गए हैं, मुझे समझाने की जरूरत नहीं है। जब एक लाख लोग कलकत्ता शहर में उतर आते हैं जो किसी और पार्टी के बजाए इनकी लीनिंग ज्यादा रखते हैं, यहां मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि उन्होंने किसी और पार्टी को वहां पर आने भी नहीं दिया, लेकिन यह भी बहुत अच्छा हुआ।

Sir, Nandigram has gone beyond party. It has gone beyond Parliament. It has truly become a people's movement.

सर, आखिर में मैं बड़े अदब के साथ होम मिनिस्टर साहब से यही कहूंगा, मुझे लगता है कि इस बार आपका जवाब लोक सभा जैसा नहीं होगा। आपका बयान कुछ बदला हुआ होगा।

कि तू इधर-उधर की न बात कर।
यह बता कि काफिला क्यों लुटा ॥
मुझे रहजनों से गर्ज नहीं।
तेरी रहबरी का सवाल है ॥

धन्यवाद, सर।