

(ii) The Calcutta THIKA Tenancy Stay of Proceedings (Temporary Provisions) Second Ordinance, 1968 (West Bengal Ordinance No. 1 of 1968) promulgated by the Governor of West Bengal on the 5th January, 1968.

(iii) The West Bengal Premises Tenancy (Amendment) Second Ordinance, 1968 (West Bengal Ordinance, No. II of 1968) promulgated by the Governor of West Bengal on the 6th January, 1968.

(iv) The Calcutta THIKA Tenancy (Amendment) Second Ordinance, 1968 (West Bengal Ordinance No. VI of 1968) promulgated by the Governor of West Bengal on the 9th January, 1968. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-525/68.]

(2) A copy of the Annual Report of the Central Warehousing Corporation for the year 1966-67 along with Annual Accounts and the Audit Report thereon under sub-section (11) of section 31 of the Warehousing Corporation Act, 1962. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-526/68.]

(3) A copy of the Indian Maize (Temporary Use in Starch Manufacture in Haryana) Order, 1968, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 479, in Gazette of India dated the 8th March, 1968 under sub-section (6) of section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-527/68.]

NOTIFICATIONS UNDER DISPLACED PERSONS (COMPENSATION AND REHABILITATION) ACT, 1954

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR, EMPLOYMENT AND REHABILITATION (SHRI D. R. CHAVAN) : I beg to lay on the Table :

(1) A copy each of the following Notifications under sub-section (3) of section 40 of the Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act, 1954 :—

(i) The Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Third Amendment Rules, 1967 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 8 in Gazette of India dated the 6th January, 1968.

(ii) The Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Fourth Amendment Rules, 1967, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 74 in Gazette of India dated the 13th January, 1968.

(2) A statement showing reasons for delay in laying the above Notifications. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-528/68.]

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

FIFTY-SECOND REPORT

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBIAH (Nandyal) : I beg to present the Fifty-second Report of the Estimates Committee on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Hundred and First Report of the Estimates Committee (Third Lok Sabha) on the Ministry of Education—Aligarh Muslim University.

12.28 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO WEST BENGAL AND WEST BENGAL STATE LEGISLATURE (DELEGATION OF POWERS) BILL—CONTD.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA) : On behalf of Shri Y. B. Chavan, I move the following Resolution :

“That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 20th February 1968, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of West Bengal”.

"That the Bill to confer on the President the power of Legislature of the State of West Bengal to make laws, as passed by the Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration".

I do not want to go into the details of this matter. This has been discussed in this House....

SHRI SRINIBAS MISRA (Cuttack): On a point of order under rule 70. I have gone through the Bill. Perhaps there is no more glaring delegation of power than as shown in this Bill. But there is no compliance in it with the mandatory provision of the rules that it must be accompanied by a memorandum. So it cannot be moved.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur): That is required.

MR. SPEAKER: It will be moved and it will be explained.

SHRI SRINIBAS MISRA: How can it be moved?

Sir, Rule 70 is very clear. It says:

"A Bill involving proposals for the delegation of legislative power shall further be accompanied by a memorandum explaining such proposals and drawing attention to their scope and stating also whether they are of normal or exceptional character."

Now, you kindly look at the Bill. This Bill provides only for delegation of powers, but it is not accompanied by the necessary memorandum. The words 'shall be' indicate that it is mandatory and we cannot override this.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : यह बिल नहीं आयेगा, सिर्फ प्रस्ताव आ सकता है।

SHRI NATH PAI: We do not want to take up your time. But you will see the cogency of the point of order raised by the hon. Member.

AN HON. MEMBER: He cannot move it, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Minister may explain the position. As explained by the hon. Member, I think, it ought to have been done. Anyway he may explain it now.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: As I was saying, Sir, the circumstances that brought forward the present state of affairs in West Bengal have been debated in this hon. House.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara): Let him first reply to the point of order, Sir.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: I am coming to that.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS rose

AN HON. MEMBER: Then why begin with the Bill now?

SHRI NATH PAI: I did not quite follow what was your ruling we were looking forward to.

Mr. Speaker, the hon. Minister gave us an impression that he began defending the Bill. But we wanted a reply to the specific point of order raised by my hon. colleague that the provision is mandatory. It is 'shall' and there is a second provision that the memorandum should incorporate an explanation of such proposals and state whether they are of normal or exceptional character. Sir, we shall, therefore, like to first hear the hon. Minister on this point. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, I submit to you very respectfully that this is a mandatory provision and the Government have failed to supply it.

MR. SPEAKER: Will you please read out the relevant Rule?

SHRI NATH PAI: Rule 70 says:

"A Bill involving proposals for the delegation of legislative power shall further be accompanied by a memorandum explaining such proposals and drawing attention to their scope and stating also whether they are of normal or exceptional character."

[Shri Nath Pai]

Mr. Speaker, the three points are very clear in the Rule itself. This is a Bill which is making provision for delegation of powers but the necessary memorandum and explanation have not been supplied. We therefore, appeal to you that the Government be ordered first to come with the memorandum and pending supply of this document, the hon. Minister be restrained from moving the Bill. (*Interruptions.*)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Now that a point of order has been raised by my hon. friend, you will ask the hon. Minister to explain that particular point why that memorandum has not accompanied. Otherwise, he should not be allowed to speak on the Bill or on the proclamation.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : Sir, you will see from the Bill that the entire Bill is for delegation of legislative powers to the President. There is nothing else in it. The Bill itself explains the whole thing... (*Interruptions*) Sir, if it does not satisfy the requirements of Rule 70, then we could append it. But we can discuss the Resolution now and a little later we can append the memorandum to it and circulate it to the hon. Members and then later on take up the discussion of the Bill.

MR. SPEAKER : The point is this. Absolutely there are no two opinions. The Rule is very clear. It is a mandatory provision. It has been passed by the Rajya Sabha. I do not know—evidently, nobody took notice of that. Whatever it is, if you want the work to go on, as you suggested, we shall discuss it and ask them to append the memorandum later on. (*Interruptions.*)

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS *rose*

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : Sir, this is not the first time.

SHRI NATH PAI : Sir, this is the second time they were caught napping.

Sir, we fully appreciate to your co-operative spirit and I fully want to

reciprocate the co-operative manner of your looking at the question.

MR. SPEAKER : No, certainly I am not asking.

SHRI NATH PAI : You did not ask us. You appealed, whether we shall ask him to proceed further and then supply us the memorandum. Sir, this is a very constructive approach, but I have an objection to it nonetheless. Normally, when it comes from you I usually uphold it, but, on this occasion I find myself in a position not to agree. The reason is simple. Your objection is that the Rajya Sabha has done something. That will not justify a wrong thing being repeated here. We should be more alert. Secondly, Sir, my point is this. This is the second time in a single week—in the course of the week—when the Government have been caught napping. I don't think we should encourage this kind of tendency on their part by allowing them to proceed with the Bill.

SHRI M. R. MASANI (Rajkot) : Sir, I feel that the discussion could proceed on the Resolution and the Bill may be held over until all the formalities are completed.

MR. SPEAKER : We will proceed on these lines. The Memorandum will be circulated to Members by 2 O'clock and we will take it up.

श्री मधु लिमये : उत्तर प्रदेश का भी आप ठीक करें, वरना यही होगा। बिहार का भी ठीक करें। मैं समझ गया हूँ कि आप बिहार में क्या करना चाहते हैं।

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour) : Sir, this is a glaring instance as to how seriously the Government treats this House.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : Sir, as I was saying, the Hon'ble House is well aware of the tragic circumstances which brought about the President's rule in the State of

West Bengal. I do not want to cover that familiar ground except by saying that once it became impossible to carry on the Government in West Bengal in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, it was but inevitable to take a decision; and as soon as the Governor's report was received it was decided that we should dissolve the Assembly in West Bengal and order mid-term election. As soon as this Presidential Proclamation was issued, there was a demand by the opposition parties that the mid-term poll in West Bengal should be held as early as possible. We shared this anxiety. Immediately we wrote a letter to the Election Commission requesting them to hold the mid-term poll in West Bengal as early as feasible. On receipt of that letter the Chief Election Commissioner proceeded to Calcutta and he started consulting the major political parties there and although we have not yet been officially informed, we saw some press reports that the consensus of opinion there during his consultation was that the mid-term poll could probably be held around November. I want to assure the Hon'ble House that we are one with all hon. Members here that the mid-term poll in West Bengal should be held as quickly as possible. We also want that poll to be held in a peaceful and non-violent atmosphere. That is why I do not wish to bring in any political motives or political considerations.

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : अतुल्य घोष हिंसा करेंगे तो क्या होगा ?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : So, I am putting forward this Resolution to the Hon'ble House. Subsequently when I bring the Bill before the House for their approval, that too will be in pursuance of the constitutional responsibility that is on the Union Government to carry on the work in the State of West Bengal during the interim period until popular Government can again be elected by the people of West Bengal.

As far as the arrangements for the election and other things are concerned, the hon. Members know that the prime necessity in any State, particularly in West Bengal, would be to maintain proper order during an election so that the people have complete and unfettered freedom to express their opinion during the coming mid-term poll there. And, in this, I would request the hon. leaders of the opposition to give us their cooperation, to maintain complete law and order during this time and during the time when the election campaign goes on and during the time when the elections are held there. I am sure that if we approach the problems of West Bengal in an objective and non-political manner as far as law and order matters are concerned, we would be able to hold elections which will truly reflect the opinion of the people.

With these words, I commend the resolution for the acceptance of this House.

MR SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That the House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 20th February, 1968, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of West Bengal."

SHRI N. DANDEKER (Jamnagar) : Sir, while supporting the presidential proclamation, I feel I must refer briefly to the background which has led to this situation, because it has a bearing on what the minister said just now about the tentative decision, subject to the Election Commission's approval, about holding the mid-term elections so early as in November this year.

The proclamation marks the end of a chaotic abuse and subversion of parliamentary institutions in West Bengal. At its least, for the people of Bengal, it was a period of very serious trial and tribulations while a large number of politicians were going round committing all kinds of errors. That

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is to put it at its least. But we know in fact that during the last year, it has been a period for the most part of deliberate and calculated subversion of internal law and order designed to facilitate the forcible take-over of West Bengal by the communists, with the aid of foreign powers, *a la* Vietnam. It was also a period of tacit acceptance, which was really more remarkable, by a number of other parties who were constituents of the UF, of whom one expected better, but for whom the molini of power was apparently irresistible; they were not concerned, in their desire for power, with more fundamental things such as not to countenance complete and organised internal disorder nor to allow anything to be done to imperil the national security and integrity of the country, because everybody knows what the left communists, the major partners in the Government that was there for some time, were up to.

I would like to add that while these several constituents in the UF were associated with a government which, its own Chief Minister admitted and whom I will presently quote, was flirting with the Governments of China and Pakistan to bring about subversion in this country, some of them are also the gentlemen who have been going round and saying that the acceptance of the Kutch award, lamentable as it is, is a national calamity, endangering the security of this country. It is these very people who were participants in this UP Government.

One man who could have ended that chaos, without the need for a presidential proclamation, was the unfortunate but tragic, Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee. He did not have the courage to proclaim what he had put down in writing as something of which he was personally convinced. He did not have the courage to carry out his expressed intention of not continuing as Chief Minister with that government, but resigning from it. I will take the

liberty of reading one or two extracts from his letter :

"From the activities and professions of these parties, it is quite evident that they do not believe in parliamentary democracy and their main aim is to strengthen their own parties by taking advantage of ministership and Assembly membership." (*Interruptions*).

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHURI (Berhampore) : On a point of order, Sir. It is an established rule that if any member quotes from any document purported to be an official document, he must lay it on the Table. Mr. Dandekar is claiming that he is reading out from a letter or a statement purported to have been made by Shri Ajoy Mukerjee when he was Chief Minister. We would first like to know where is that letter. I categorically state that that letter or statement is not in existence. Certain reports were published in papers saying that such a letter was in existence, but up till now that letter was not delivered. Subsequently Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee himself in a public statement stated that there is no such thing. If it is Mr. Dandekar's claim that this is a letter which was written by Mr. Mukherjee, he must be prepared to authenticate it and lay it on the Table.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Dandekar is reading from a newspaper. It was published in all newspapers. He has not said that it is the original letter from which he is reading so that we can ask him to place it on the Table. Reading from newspapers is not prohibited. A number of hon. Members from all parties do it. Just now Shri Rabi Ray read something from a newspaper. Therefore, there is nothing to be placed on the Table. If hon. Members so desire he will place the newspaper on the Table.

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli) : Let him say so.

SHRI N. DANDAKER : Sir, I am very thankful to you for your kind words. I would only like to add for

record in the House that Shri Ajoy Mukerjee has never contradicted this letter or denied that he wrote such a letter. I would like to quote another paragraph :

"This is being done in a planned, well thoughtout manner. In the name of 'gana committees' intimidation, assaults and raids are being organised in different areas to create a region of terror...."

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Sir, I rise to a point of order. Shri Dandeker his misleading the House. Shri Ajoy Mukerjee had given a draft to a person for approval and for circulation subject to his further confirmation. That letter had never seen the light of day.

MR. SPEAKER: You are giving information which was not known to us.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Shri Dandeker said that Shri Ajoy Mukerjee never contradicted this. That is because the letter was never released to the Press.

MR. SPEAKER: There is no point of order. The hon. Member is only giving information to the House. Hon. Members will get a chance to speak. Let them then contradict what Shri Dandeker is saying now. Let them not try to contradict his statements by raising points of order.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal): Sir, the letter of Shri Ajoy Mukerjee which Shri Dandeker is now quoting has been extensively quoted in this House and it was never contradicted that this letter had not been written by Shri Mukerjee. So Shri Dandeker is perfectly at liberty to quote it.

SHRI NABIAR: Let Shri Dandeker correct himself in this way by saying "alleged letter". Let him not say "the letter". He should not mislead the House because there is no letter like that.

MR. SPEAKER: There is no point of order. After all, it was widely published in the whole of India. Shri Dandeker is only quoting from that. Shri Ajoy Mukerjee's name has been mentioned. Hon. Members can contradict the statement of Shri Dandeker when they get a chance to speak.

SHRI N. DANDEKER: Sir, that is what Shri Ajoy Mukerjee said about internal state of law and disorder. In external matters he said:

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

"Things have gone to such an extreme that in the heart of West Bengal boys and girls are shouting slogans in Chinese 'Mao Tse-tung lai salam, Lal Chin Lal Salam'."

Shri Ajoy Mukerjee ended up this way:

"This Left Communist Party and its associated parties should not be allowed another day's opportunity to bring ruin to the country through their membership of the Cabinet. Keeping this in mind I am compelled to resign as Chief Minister with a very heavy heart."

Here was a gentleman who did not have the courage of his convictions; I will grant that; but I will also insist that he had clear convictions.

From this chaos West Bengal was rescued by two brave men—one was the Governor and the other was Dr. P. C. Ghosh. But these men were defeated in the task, not by the deliberate efforts of the United Front

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people to foment a near rebellion as they endeavoured to do during the months of January and February, but by the criminal refusal of the Congress Party to shoulder the responsibility of constitutional government until it was too late. They came too late and then too their attempt was defeated by two sinister men, one of whose name is Shri Atulya Ghosh, and the other gentleman was Shri Ashu Ghosh. And these people were assisted by a perverse ruling of an extraordinary Speaker. (Interruptions). So, Sir, we have come to this Presidential Proclamation. I remember there was a resolution moved in this House by my friends here of the Left and the Right Communist and all kinds of other Leftists demanding President's rule. Of course, technically I suppose they have won a victory because President's Rule has been imposed.

SHRI DWAIPIYAN SEN (Katwa) : Whatever has been said about Shri Atulya Ghosh is not only incorrect but malicious.

SHRI N. DANDEKER : I refuse to yield. Technically, of course, they have won because they were demanding President's rule. But, in reality, what has won is sanity; because this was the only course to adopt in the circumstances which prevailed when the Presidential Proclamation was made.

Now Sir, the question that arises is this: what next? And in considering what next, there is this suggestion,—ordinarily a suggestion which I would welcome with the greatest pleasure,—that we should have early elections in Bengal. But I am wondering whether Government have given thought to the necessity first of all of letting things to settle down. Unless things are allowed to settle down, the second stage may be even worse than the first stage through which we have just gone.

Let us not forget what a government in which there are Communists, or a so-called United Front Government dominated by Communists, what such governments really mean in practice. The Communists, once in power or in office, will not readily part with power. That is the first lesson. Then, United Fronts with Communists are suicidal. I address this to my various socialist friends here, that United Fronts with Communists are suicidal. They know it well that during this period a number of perfectly good honest socialist workers have been murdered, trade unions have been sabotaged and there is a deliberate and calculated attempt to wipe out every kind of Socialist party other than the Left and Right Communists. And history is replete with examples of what happens when you have Communists as bed-fellows; only the Communist wakes up alive and the other does not.

13 Hrs.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Do not sleep with Communists.

SHRI N. DANDEKER : As I said, it needed the courage of a Governor and of Dr. P. C. Ghosh to prevent Bengal becoming a Vietnam and I would beg of the Government to think seriously of this matter, because of what they are attempting to do so soon after this chaotic situation. They are making available once again the democratic process for those parties whose very objective is the destruction of democracy and the Constitution on which democracy is founded. I say, are we so blind? Do we not know what they stand for? Do we not know what they have done in furtherance of what they stand for? Have they not over and over again said this and even abused the judiciary in this country saying that the Constitution is all wrong, that the judiciary is functioning wrongly? And there was the famous contempt of court case against the communist Chief Minister, Nambudiripad.

MR. SPEAKER: He may continue at 2 o'clock.

13.01 HRS.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Fourteen of the Clock.

RESOLUTION re. PROCLAMATION
IN RELATION TO WEST BENGAL
AND WEST BENGAL STATE LEGIS-
LATURE (DELEGATION OF
POWERS) BILL—contd.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the chair.]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Dandeker to continue his speech.

SHRI N. DANDEKER: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we view West Bengal in a very special way from two points of view. In the first place and, above all, as a major security risk for the country, for it is situated, geographically, as a place which is almost at the cross-roads of all those who have evil designs on this country. And the importance, therefore, of West Bengal from the security point of view and from looking at it as a security risk is outstanding. Secondly, but only secondly, we look upon it as a lesson for the whole of India in regard to the working heterogeneous United Front Governments.

From the security point of view, the one experiment of a so-called Government of the United Front dominated by Communists and dragging along with it a lot of fellow-travellers was, I suggest, enough and I do not think we can take risks with that kind of thing happening again. From the general or all-India point of view, we can no longer tolerate an insatiable thirst on the part of the Congress Party for power and for their unbridled ambition once again to establish a monolithic corrupt and a monopoly Government.

It follows that in Bengal a period of some two or three years must be allowed to pass, to let the people of Bengal settle down,—settle down to law and order, settle down to normal civilised existence, to good Government and, above all, to tackling the formidable problems which are peculiarly the problems of Bengal. The sheer problem of population, the sheer problem of shortage of agricultural food crops, the sheer problem of enormous industrial unemployment, the sheer problem of unutilised industrial capacity, the sheer problem of settling the millions of refugees from Pakistan who live from day to day without a hope of any better times; these would be the formidable problems for any State but for Bengal they are of a magnitude which require special consideration. And that can only be done at a time of peaceful and good Government.

Now, Sir, meanwhile what? I suggest that meanwhile,—and I say this with very careful thought and consideration,—the Communist Party in India must be banned.

SHRI NAMBIAR: If the Swatantra Party comes to power, it may happen. Then, the Swatantra Party will get ruined.

SHRI N. DANDEKER: Sir, I recognise that if the Communist Party is banned, its members will undoubtedly infiltrate into many other parties, the Congress, the various Socialist parties and the many other fellow-travelling parties of that kind. There is this danger, which we in the Swatantra Party to might have to guard against, of some of them endeavouring to infiltrate into our Party. I suggest, that the risk is worth taking because dissipated in that way, they may not be so harmful and dangerous to this country as they undoubtedly are now, organized in the way they are.

The second thing, in the meanwhile, that I suggest is that the Congress Party must get down to sober reflec-

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tion and recognise the facts of life not only in Bengal but throughout the country. In the first place, in Bengal, the Congress Party is definitely a corrupt Party bossed over by bosses of various kinds whose names are familiar and bandied around in the streets of Calcutta. It is a Party in complete disarray, once again particularly so in Bengal, to an extent that the saner and the sober elements of the Congress Party have been leaving it steadily over the past year or two. Finally, the Congress Party must also recognise that, in this country, to continue to hope any longer to exercise a monopolistic, monolithic power as one Party is entirely out of question. It is for them to recognise that this is not a country where the two-party system or the three-party system, in its pure form, is likely to emerge or likely to work. The Congress Party must, therefore, reconcile itself as intelligent people—I hope it does contain some intelligent people,—to this; it must think of itself as only one of the many Parties, a Party which has made great contribution to the affairs of this country in the past, a Party that is dragging down this country at present, and a Party that might perhaps be able to revise its own outlook and to clean itself and to rehabilitate itself to the end that it may once again get back those objectives of service to the country which had once illumined its history ... (Interruptions).

Consequently, Sir I suggest this. One may not like it, and when we say this, we might be misunderstood, but we are willing to take the risk of being misunderstood. We are not the ones who ever like continuation or perpetuation of the President's rules; nevertheless, we on this side of the House, with considerable knowledge that some of us have of Bengal, view with great concern this suggestion that the President's rule, through the Governor of Bengal, should be a temporary one, expiring from six to eight months

from now. Throwing Bengal back at this junctures into the doldrums if not chaos would not be in the best interests either of Bengal or of India.

I, therefore, reiterate the essentials of the situation today; there must not be any hurry about this question of rescinding the proclamation and thereby reinstating the kind of so-called Parliamentary Government we have had in Bengal; there should be a great deal of hurry to ban the Communist Party; thirdly, there should also be a great deal of hurry in the Congress Party to undertake the task of self-examination and to clean its Augean stables. Then, alone will there be some hope for Bengal, which is our security province, and there is then possibly also hope for the whole of India.

श्री मधु लिमये : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है . . .

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : A point of order was raised....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He has already got up on a point of order. Let him speak first. I will also allow him.

श्री मधु लिमये : मेरा पहले है, आप कैसे कह सकते हैं ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, चूंकि यहां बंगाल पर बहस चल रही है और बीच में मैं 12 बजे मामले को रोकना नहीं चाहता था, इसलिये मैंने दाण्डेकर जी का भाषण खत्म होने तक इंतजार किया और अब इस को उठाया है। मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उनके भाषण के बारे में नहीं है। आप आज की कार्यसूची को देखिये मैं इसके आइटम नं० 4 की ओर आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। आज खाद्य मंत्री, अन्नासाहिब शिन्दे ने पश्चिम बंगाल के बारे में राष्ट्रपति के द्वारा जो चार आर्डिनंस जारी किये गये थे, उनकी नकल सदन की मेज पर रखी। उसके सम्बन्ध में

मेरा प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर है। मामला जरा लम्बा है लेकिन मैं संक्षेप में ही बोलूंगा फिर भी 4-5 धाराओं के सम्बन्ध में बोलना ही पड़ेगा।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You see there is a limit. When they were laid on the Table of the House, was not that the appropriate time to raise this.

श्री मधु लिमये : यह जरूरी नहीं है। बंगाल की चर्चा आने वाली थी इसलिये मैंने यही उपयुक्त समय समझा। डेलीगेशन आफ पावर्स का बिल आ रहा था, मैं पहले उठाने वाला था लेकिन मैंने बीच में अड़ंगा डालना मुनासिब नहीं समझा। वरना मैं पहले ही इसको कर सकता था।

आप जानते हैं कि पश्चिम बंगाल में राष्ट्र-पति शासन लागू करने के पश्चात् क्या स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई। उसके बारे में जो प्रस्ताव है वह इस वक्त विचाराधीन है। उसी तरह प्रेसीडेंट को कानून बनाने का अधिकार देने का बिल भी विचाराधीन था लेकिन उसको वापिस लेना पड़ा। अब तीसरी चीज बजट भी है। अब मैं आपका ध्यान धारा 356 की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। इसको आप ठीक से पढ़ेंगे।

"If the President on receipt of a report..... the President may by Proclamation—

- (a) assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the State and all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor or anybody or authority in the State other than the Legislature of the State."

अब इसमें गवर्नर के और कार्यकारिणी के अधिकार राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने हाथ में ले लिए। उसके बारे में मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है।

(b) declare that the powers of the Legislature of the State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament."

मतलब यह है कि पश्चिम बंगाल के लिए यह संसद अब विधान सभा का काम करेगी। हमको सारे कानून बनाने के अधिकार हैं। अब धारा 357 को देखें :

"Where by a Proclamation issued under clause (1) of article 356, it has been declared that the powers of the Legislature of the State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament, it shall be competent—

- (a) for Parliament to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State to make laws, and to authorise the President to delegate, subject to such conditions as he may think fit to impose, the power so conferred to any other authority to be specified by him in that behalf."

धारा 357 की तहत यह बिल है। अभी पास नहीं हुआ है। यहां पर विचारार्थ भी नहीं आया है क्योंकि उसके ऊपर आक्षेप उठाया गया है। जबकि प्रेसीडेंट को पार्लमेंट ने कानून बनाने का अधिकार नहीं दिया है तो कानून तो प्रेसीडेंट बना ही नहीं सकते। प्रेसीडेंट को कार्यकारिणी और गवर्नर के अधिकार हैं। अब आप देखें कि गवर्नर के क्या अधिकार हैं। गवर्नर को, जब विधान मण्डल का या विधान सभा का सत्र न चलता हो, दो सत्रों के बीच में, आर्डिनेंस जारी करने का अधिकार है। वही अधिकार ज्यों का त्यों राष्ट्रपति को मिल जाता है। इस वक्त विधान सभा या विधान मण्डल यह संसद बन गई है। संसद का सत्र चल रहा है। जिस तरह से जबकि विधान मण्डल का सत्र चल रहा हो तो गवर्नर आर्डिनेंस जारी नहीं कर सकता उसी तरह से जब संसद का सत्र चल

[श्री मधु लिमये]

रहा है तो राष्ट्रपति आर्डिनेंस जारी नहीं कर सकते। कानून बनाने का जहां तक सवाल है, बिल पास होने के बाद वह कानून बना सकते हैं। लेकिन इस वक्त वह कानून बनाने के अधिकार का इस्तेमाल नहीं कर रहे हैं, वे आर्डिनेंस जारी करने के अपने अधिकार का इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं। अब आप देखें कि आर्डिनेंस के बारे में धारा 123 है। उसी तरह से गवर्नर के बारे में भी है। मैं एक ही पढ़ता हूँ :

If at any time, except when both Houses of Parliament are in session, the President is satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action, he may promulgate such Ordinances as the circumstances appear to him to require.

अब आप तारीख देखिए। 20 फरवरी का एक आर्डिनेंस है जबकि पार्लमेन्ट सेशन में थी। यह तो आप मानते ही हैं।

20 तारीख को पार्लमेन्ट सेशन में थी या नहीं, यह मेरा सवाल है। जब कानून बनाने का अधिकार देने वाले विधेयक को हम पारित करेंगे, राज्यसभा ने तो किया ही है, राष्ट्रपति की उस पर मोहर लग जायेगी तब वह कानून बना सकेंगे। वे कानून बनाने के अधिकार का इस्तेमाल नहीं करेंगे जबकि वे 357 की तहत में उन अधिकारों का इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं जो कि गवर्नर को प्राप्त हैं। 356(ए) की तहत में मिल गए हैं उसके अनुसार 123 में भी काम करना है। 123 बिल्कुल स्पष्ट है जैसे कि राष्ट्रपति वाली धारा स्पष्ट है। जब विधान मण्डल का सत्र न हो उस समय गवर्नर आर्डिनेंस जारी कर सकता है। राष्ट्रपति के लिए भी वही धारा लागू होती है, वही मर्यादा लागू होती है जोकि राज्यों के बारे में है।

मैं बसु की नई किताब खं० 3, पृष्ठ 58 से पढ़ना चाहता हूँ। इसमें परिभाषा दी गई है डिजोल्डेशन की।

When both Houses of Parliament are not in session. A session is a period of time intervening the first meeting of Parliament and its prorogation or dissolution whichever takes place earlier. Parliament must therefore be deemed to be in session till it is prorogued or dissolved.

मतलब यह कि अगर आप एडजर्न करते हैं अनिश्चित काल के लिए तो भी पार्लमेन्ट को माना जाएगा कि वह सत्र में है, जब तक कि सत्रावसान नहीं हुआ है, प्रोरोग नहीं किया गया है तो एडजर्नमेन्ट का कोई सवाल ही नहीं है। जब सत्र चालू है तो राष्ट्रपति जी को इस तरह का आर्डिनेंस जारी करने का क्या अधिकार है। अब राष्ट्रपति जी जो काम करते हैं उसमें उनकी नुकता-चीनी का कोई सवाल नहीं है क्योंकि राष्ट्रपति को जो काम करना है वह अपने मंत्रिमण्डल और प्रधानमंत्री की राय पर करना है। तो मेरा यह आरोप है प्रधान मंत्री पर, गृह मंत्री पर और समूचे मंत्रिमण्डल पर कि उन्होंने राष्ट्रपति के द्वारा ऐसे काम करवाए हैं जोकि, जब संसद चल रही है, उनको करने का अधिकार नहीं है। यह संसद के अधिकारों पर घोर अतिक्रमण है। मैं सांविधानिक दृष्टि से इसकी तुलना चीन और पाकिस्तान के अतिक्रमण से करता हूँ। इस पर मेरी आपत्ति है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह बहस आगे न बढ़े जब तक कि इस आर्डिनेंस को हटाया नहीं जाता है।

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA :
I am afraid the hon. Member has not read the Order Paper properly, May I read it again for his benefit? It says: 'A copy each of the following Ordinances—which have been issued by the Governor, not by the President—under article 213(2)(a) of the Consti-

tution read with clause (c)(iv) of the Proclamation which has been issued by the President' and that has been laid on the Table of the House, and in terms of the Proclamation issued by the President, none of the Ordinances, as he would see from the Order Paper has been issued by the President. All these Ordinances have been issued by the Governor and here it is a Proclamation dated the 20th February, issued by the President in relation to the State of West Bengal. The hon. member, Shri Madhu Limaye is misreading it as if the Ordinances have been issued by the President. There is no point of order. I would request you to consider this matter in this light.

There is another point which I want to make clear and that is regarding the earlier point of order raised by another hon. Member about rule 70. If you see the chapter under which rule 70 occurs you will see that it is entitled 'Bills Originating in the House'. This particular Bill which is under our consideration originated in the Rajya Sabha and did not originate in this House. That is why I say that that objection taken by the hon. Member is not valid.

The other point which has been urged is that a memorandum or delegated legislation should be attached to the Bill in case there is any provision for subordinate or delegated legislation. This particular clause has been omitted since there is no proposal to have subordinate legislation. That is why that particular memorandum has not been appended to this Bill.

In spite of that, since the matter has been raised, we have agreed to circulate the necessary memorandum, and we will circulate it. But I would like to point out to you that in the past, whenever such a thing had happened, namely, that Bills originating in the other House had been brought forward here, we had never appended any memorandum of this kind. This would be the first time

that we shall be doing it. But since the Hon. Speaker directed us to do it, we shall do it.

I would now request you to permit me to move the Bill also so that both the discussions can go on together. The cyclostyled copies of the memorandum will be coming here and they will be circulated to hon. Members. But you can clearly see from the rule that the rule does not relate to the Bill which is under discussion here at present and which I propose to move for consideration.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : So far as the second point that he has raised regarding the decision given by the Speaker is concerned, I would say that once he has decided in a particular way, I have no authority to reverse it, and the House also cannot do it. So, as it is, he has got to abide by it. There is no question about it...

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I am not saying that....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I know that what he has said is correct. If he had advanced this argument perhaps at that time, then things would have been different. But at the present juncture I am not in a position to revise that ruling. As for the first point, I also felt that what has been laid on the Table is something done before. I think Shri Madhu Limaye would agree with me on that point. So, his point of order not stand.

Since the Speaker has given his ruling in regard to the memorandum that is the final thing now. So far as the other point of order raised by Shri Madhu Limaye is concerned, the contention of the hon. Minister is correct.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : The hon. Minister has just now said that the cyclostyled memorandum is coming and it will be circulated. But what about circulating it to all the Members of the House? All of them are entitled to receive it.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Yes, that may be done.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal) : I rise to support the resolution brought forward by Government with regard to the imposition of President's rule in West Bengal. I had occasion to hear very carefully the speech made by Shri N. Dandekar with regard to the conditions prevailing there and also the desirability of not holding the mid-term elections as has been contemplated by the Election Commission in the middle of November.

West Bengal is really posing the greatest challenge to the parliamentary democracy of our country. That a land where great sons of the soil have been born and have preached and sacrificed for the sake of the country should come under President's rule since the norms of constitutional functioning of parliamentary democracy have been very successfully frustrated there makes a sad story.

I feel that I should not speak from the particular angle of the political party to which I belong. I want to make an objective assessment of the entire situation and I hope the House will bear with me and appreciate my assessment of the situation.

I am very unhappy to say that in the events that had followed before the imposition of President's rule, the Central Government here had failed in their duty towards the people of West Bengal. When the Naxalbari events had taken place, when there has been conclusive proof to show that a militant section of the Communist Party had maintained contacts witness with our two enemies, when parliamentary democracy has been subverted, when people have begun to take the law into their hands, when public opinion was against at the way in which events have been happening there,

that would have been the most appropriate time for the Central Government to act. By failing to do so, they have failed in their duty to the people of West Bengal and of the country.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : Hear, hear.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Who are these strange bed fellows ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Like-minded people.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : When Shri Ajoy Mukherjee in his letter accused the constituent units that put him in power, particularly the Communist Party, of subverting parliamentary democracy, of trying to get a foreign power on the soil of our country....

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Carrying a ladder into the Assembly !

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : ...that was the time to act. The Central Government have failed in their duty in failing to act at that time.

I would also say this that when Shri Ajoy Mukherjee had clearly consented to call the Assembly into session on such and such date, there was no purpose or point in forcing a decision advancing the date of the convening of the Assembly. On these three counts, I will say that we missed a golden opportunity and we have not done our duty by the people of West Bengal and also of the country as a whole.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA (Secunderabad) : Is he moving a no-confidence motion ?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : My friends may accuse Dr. P. C. Ghosh now.....

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Sikhandi.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : ...because he did not agree to be a party to the nefarious activities indulged in by those people. They had

reposed confidence in him earlier as their Food Minister. The moment they found him an uncomfortable friend, a man who raised his lone voice against the anti-democratic and anti-national activities of these people, he becomes an 'enemy of the people'. We must congratulate Dr. Ghosh on the courage of his political convictions.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : Because he wanted to be Chief Minister.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : He was able to rise to the occasion.

DR. RANEN SEN (Barasat) : It is an obituary.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : He rose to the occasion to the rescue of democracy. West Bengal has also a unique role to play in our country.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Make him a Governor.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : These people may accuse him now of being a Sikhandi, but unfortunately it is the Speaker who was the Sikhandi of these people. He was unfortunately the victim, the Sikhandi, and he was responsible for this state of affairs.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : So you wanted to bomb him !

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : It was emulated by his counterpart in Punjab. He set the process of writing a new chapter on the role of the Speaker in our constitutional history.

As regards the mid-term elections, I am in complete agreement with Shri Dandeker (*Interruptions*). West Bengal, as I said is a strategic point. Even its geographical location and the currents and cross-currents passing in that part of the land, make it a vital spot.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Powerful moneybags.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : There is also the transformation that is going on in the Communist Party (Left). Shri P. Sundarayya issues a statement that 'we are not bothered about Naxalbaris.' A new word 'Naxalbarite' has been coined. Just as the word 'quisling', this word also will find a place in the dictionary of our country. Now there is a fight in the organisation, may be for other reasons. I am not able to say whether it is a fight or only for strategic reasons, this is being done. I warn my countrymen, more so the Congress party, about the danger that is now being posed by the Congress—I am sorry, by the Communist Party.

श्री मधु लिमये : यह दिल की आवाज है ।

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : Of course, it is most unfortunate that certain political parties while professing that they are firm believers of democracy, are obsessed with anti-Congress feelings and they are prepared to go to any length, even drowning this country in anarchy. Mr. Madhu Limaye is spearheading that agitation unfortunately. I would appeal to all the political parties, including the Congress. I do not want to mince words. It is high time that we should mend and fend ourselves, so that the Congress Party may be revitalised. I completely agree. We must give credit to any person, to whichever party he belongs, as long as he stands solidly by the ideals and objectives of his party. In that context, I would appeal to all the political parties to wake up to this danger. It is not as though it is going to overwhelm the Congress Party. It is going to overwhelm the other political parties too. Ultimately it may lead to anarchy and disintegration of the country. They believe in nothing less than disintegration of this country.

We have seen their role from the time we started our fight against the British Government. The moment

[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

Russia entered the war, overnight it became a people's war! The moment Russia joined the side of the allies, they acted as not patriots, but as agents handing over some of our patriots to the police. That is the nefarious role they have played in the body politic of this country. They were not hesitant even to brand the Father of the Nation as the agent of the bourgeois government. They even accused Netaji as a dog licking the boot of Tojo. Can we forget the shady past of this party?

SHRI NAMBIAR : He is unearthing several small things which have been repudiated several times.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati) : On a point of order, Sir. Is he making an election speech?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : That is not a point of order.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : It is the duty of every political party believing in democracy, secularism and integrity and sovereignty of the country to fight this menace. The public life in West Bengal had come to a standstill. Industrial development had gone to dogs. People had been bullied. The entire West Bengal is held to ransom by some people having extra-territorial loyalties.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : By Mr. P. C. Ghosh and Mr. Dharma Vira.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : So it is the duty of this Government to take the responsibility of maintaining law and order and give the people a good government and also to mobilise public opinion. It is not as though the entire people of Bengal are with these people.

SHRI RANGA : They are not.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : They are not. Peace-loving, law-abiding people are being bullied and are being stampeded. The Central

Government must go to the aid of these people.

Sir, I am against banning the Communist Party. I do not want that the party should be banned, because it is our duty, the duty of every political party to work among the people and to explain our position there. If this party is banned, every other political party will be adulterated. Infiltrations by these people will take place into every other political party. I would, therefore, only say, let us honestly work. We must mark the time. Unfortunately, without even our realising it, we are going fast towards disintegration. The sooner we realise it the better. I would appeal, taking this as an occasion, to all the political parties to evolve a code of conduct and to again rehabilitate the confidence of the people. Politicians must avert this crisis of character and confidence. That is the most important thing. With these few words I wholeheartedly support this.

श्री बेबी शंकर शर्मा (बंका) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पश्चिम बंगाल में राष्ट्रपति शासन की घोषणा की गई, करनी भी चाहिये थी, और मेरी समझ में बहुत पहले की जानी चाहिये थी। लेकिन जिस ढंग से राष्ट्रपति शासन पश्चिम बंगाल में स्थापित किया गया, उससे हमारा मतभेद है। पर इस बात से मैं और मेरी पार्टी सहमत हैं कि पश्चिम बंगाल जिन व्याधियों से ग्रस्त था, उसकी यदि कोई औषधि थी तो वह एक मात्र राष्ट्रपति शासन थी।

यह बड़े दुःख की बात है कि जिस बंगाल में सब से पहले स्वतंत्रता संग्राम आरम्भ हुआ उसी स्थान में राष्ट्रपति शासन हो। जहां हमारे अनेकों नहीं, सैकड़ों बंगाली नवयुवक, बंगाली वीर पुत्र फांसी के तख्तों पर जनता का राज्य कायम करने के लिये चढ़े, वहीं आज राष्ट्रपति शासन है। हमें इस बात का दुःख है, लेकिन इसमें दोष किस का है? आज यह विचार करने की चीज है। संविधान के

अनुसार पश्चिम बंगाल में गत आम चुनावों में जनता की सरकार बनी और चौदह पार्टियों ने मिलकर वहां अपनी गवर्नमेन्ट बनाई। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि जब उस सरकार का बहुमत वहां नहीं था तब जनतांत्रिक सिद्धांतों के अनुसार असेम्बली कक्ष में उसका निर्णय क्यों नहीं किया गया। कम्युनिस्ट हमारे मित्र हैं, हम उनके साथ बैठते हैं, उनके साथ हम ने बहुत जगहों पर सरकारें भी बनाई—दुर्भाग्य से वह चल नहीं सकी यह बात दूसरी है—लेकिन हम ने उनको समझने की कोशिश की, उन्होंने हमें समझने की कोशिश की, फिर भी एक बात मैं आज तक नहीं समझ सका कि पश्चिम बंगाल की असेम्बली में उन्होंने क्यों ऐसा अड़ंगा लगाया जिसे वहां जनमत की परीक्षा नहीं हो सकी। जहां तक मेरा खयाल है सब को गद्दी का मोह होता है और गद्दी का मोह छोड़ने के लिये कोई तैयार नहीं होता। वहां जो कुछ हुआ, मेरी दृष्टि में वह गद्दी के मोह के लिये ही हुआ, और उसकी जितनी भर्त्सना हम करें, थोड़ी है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज बंगाल में राष्ट्र-पति शासन से सभी एक तरह से खुश हैं। हमारे स्पीकर साहब श्री विजय मुखर्जी इसलिए खुश हैं कि उनकी रूलिंग हाई कोर्ट की रूलिंग के मुकाबले में अधिक वजनदार ठहरी। हमारे पुराने मित्र श्री ज्योति बसु एन्ड को इसलिए खुश हैं कि उनके मुंह की लाली रह गई है और उन्होंने दिखला दिया है कि लाठी और मुक्के के सामने जबान की और तर्क की कोई कीमत नहीं। कांग्रेस और पी डी एफ वाले इसलिए खुश हैं कि रोज की चख चख, पैतरेबाजी और दल बदल की धिंगा मुश्ती से तो पिंड छूटा। व्यापारी वर्ग इसलिए खुश है कि अब उन्हें घेराव के चक्करों से मुक्ति मिल गई है। और आम जनता इसलिए प्रसन्न हैं कि वह अब शांतिपूर्वक अपने दैनिक जीवन यापन के लिए अपना

दैनिक कार्यक्रम चला सकेगी। यदि इस राष्ट्रपति शासन से कोई नाखुश है, कोई क्षुब्ध है तो वे हैं हमारे गवर्नर श्री धर्मवीर जी जिन्होंने सोचा था कि शासन तंत्र और उसकी जिम्मेदारियों से मुक्त हो कर अब वे बंगाल की मसनद पर बैठ कर शान शौकत और आराम के साथ कम से कम पांच वर्ष तक अपनी जीवन चर्या चला सकेंगे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति शासन चाहे कितना ही अच्छा क्यों न हो हमारे संविधान के अनुसार और जल्दी से जल्दी खत्म कर उसकी जगह पर जनता का शासन स्थापित करना जरूरी है। इसलिए वहां पर मध्यावधि चुनाव जितनी जल्दी हो सकें, कराने की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिये। किन्तु जैसा अभी राज्य मंत्री श्री शुक्ल जी ने कहा है इसके लिए ऐसे शांतिपूर्ण वातावरण की आवश्यकता है जिसमें प्रत्येक नागरिक नर्भीक हों कर अपना मत दे सके। इस आठ महीने की कम्युनिस्ट प्रभावित साझा सरकार ने बंगाल में केवल घेराव, हिंसा और आतंक के वातावरण की ही सृष्टि की है जिससे लोगों के मनों में एक प्रकार की दहशत सी हो रही है। जब तक उनके दिलों से इस दहशत को दूर नहीं किया जाता बंगाल में कभी सच्चे माने में ठीक और स्वतंत्र चुनाव नहीं हो सकते। अतएव सबसे पहले वहां शांतिपूर्ण वातावरण को बनाए रखने की आवश्यकता है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय अतएव आज सब से बड़ी आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि जितनी जल्दी हो सके हमें हिंसक और अन्तराष्ट्रीय तत्त्वों से बंगाल को मुक्त करना है। आप में से बहुत से माननीय सदस्य जानते ही होंगे और अगर नहीं भी जानते हैं तो आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि आज कलकत्ते में दो तीन सौ रुपये में आप पिस्तौल खरीद सकते हैं, 1800 या 1900 रुपये में आप स्टेनगन प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। और जहां तक बंबें और

[श्री वेणीशंकर शर्मा]

ग्रेनड्ज का सम्बन्ध है जिस तरह दीवाली के अवसर पर पटाखों की बिक्री होती है उसी तरह इनकी भी बिक्री वहां आजकल होती है। वहां इनको खुले आम खरीदा जा सकता है तो ऐसी अवस्था में हमने देखा है कि जब कभी भी वहां पर किसी प्रकार की गड़बड़ होती है तो इनका खुलकर प्रयोग किया जाता है। ऐसी अवस्था में यह अपेक्षा करना कि चुनाव के दिनों में इनका प्रयोग नहीं होगा, दुराशा मात्र ही सिद्ध होगा। इस वास्ते मैं गृहमंत्री महोदय से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वह बंगाल में राष्ट्रपति शासन को लागू करके चुप न बैठ जायें। जितने भी वहां अराष्ट्रीय तत्व हैं, जितने भी कानून तोड़ने वाले तत्व हैं, उनको वह सख्ती से दबायें और जहां जहां बमों, पिस्तीलों आदि के जखीरे हैं उनको वह बाहर लायें और उन लोगों को वह पकड़ें आतताइयों को वह दण्ड देने की व्यवस्था करें।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपके माध्यम से मैं बंगाल की जनता से भी एक प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूं। बीस बरसों तक हमने कांग्रेस का शासन देख लिया। आठ महीने तक हमने चौदह पार्टियों के चूंचू के मुरब्बे का भी स्वाद चख लिया। अब हमें इन आने वाले चुनावों में ऐसी पार्टी और ऐसे लोगों को ही भेजना चाहिये जिनका दृष्टिकोण विशुद्ध राष्ट्रीय हो और जिन के सिर या पूंछ का सम्बन्ध किसी विदेशी शक्ति से न हो।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज बंगाल समस्याओं का केन्द्र बना हुआ है। अतएव वहां तरह तरह के षडयंत्रों का होना अनिवार्य है। आप मानें या न मानें बंगाल ही भारत का मुख्य द्वार है। इसी ओर से अंग्रेजों के चरण भारत में बढ़े और इसी ओर से भारत में स्वतंत्रता का सूर्य का भी प्रकाश फैला और अब भविष्य में यदि देश की स्वतंत्रता को किसी प्रकार

का भी खतरा आएगा तो इसी ओर से आएगा। अतएव यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि जिस मूल्य पर हो हम बंगाल में शांति कायम रखें। कारण यह है कि अशांत वातावरण में ही देशद्रोही कीड़े अधिक पनपते हैं।

हम देखते हैं कि आए दिन बंगाल में एक न एक बहाने से एक न एक फसाद खड़ा किया जाता है। अन्न के मामले में बंगाल एक डिफिसिट एरिया है। उस पर उसे कलकत्ता सरीखे एक कौसमोपोलिटन नगर का भी भरण पोषण करना है। कलकत्ता एक विशाल नगर है और मैं समझता हूं कि इसके बारे में एक प्रकार से केन्द्र का ही यह उत्तरदायित्व है। हमने देखा है कि गत कुछ वर्षों में किस प्रकार अन्न की कमी को लेकर कुछ राजनीतिक दलों ने अपने दलात स्वार्थों के साधन के लिए प्रदेश के जन जीवन के साथ खिलवाड़ की है। इस कारण से करोड़ों रुपये की आर्थिक क्षेत्त्र में न केवल हानि हुई बल्कि सैकड़ों प्राणियों का बलिदान दिया गया। अतएव यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हम अन्न के मामले में वहां के प्रशासन को चिन्ता से मुक्त करें और उसके हाथ काफी मजबूत करें ताकि ये राजनीतिक दल जो स्वार्थवश इस तरह से काम करते हैं, अन्न की कमी से लाभ उठाते हैं और भोली-भाली जनता को गुमराह करने हैं, वे ऐसा न कर सकें।

सौभाग्य से इस बार सम्पूर्ण देश में अन्न की अच्छी फसल हुई है। बंगाल में भी अच्छी पैदावार हुई है। केन्द्र से जो सहायता दी जाती है जब तक हम उसमें वृद्धि नहीं करेंगे तब तक बंगाल की समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकेगा। मेरी खाद्य मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना है कि जितना अन्न अभी केन्द्र से पश्चिम बंगाल को दिया जाता है और जितना पश्चिम बंगाल में उत्पादन हो रहा है उससे पश्चिम बंगाल की खाद्य समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती

है और केन्द्रीय सहायता में पर्याप्त वृद्धि वह करें। वह बंगाल को कम से कम तीन लाख टन अन्न और दें। यदि आप बंगाल को चावल नहीं दे सकते हैं, तो गेहूं दें, अगर गेहूं नहीं दे सकते हैं तो मकई दें, और मकई नहीं दे सकते हैं तो चना दें। कोई भी अन्य अन्न आप उसको देकर उसकी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति कर सकते हैं। अगर अन्न वहां पर पूरी मात्रा में दिया जा सके तो अराष्ट्रीय तत्वों के हाथ के जो हथियार हैं उन हथियारों में से एक हथियार को छीना जा सकता है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बंगाल के प्रशासन के समक्ष जो दूसरी समस्या है वह वहां के नवयुवकों में फैली हुई बेकारी की समस्या है। वहां के नवयुवकों में महामारी की तरह से यह बेकारी फैली हुई है। आज वहां सैकड़ों की तादाद में नहीं, हजारों की तादाद में नहीं बल्कि लाखों की तादाद में ७०० और ८०० बीघ सड़कों पर बेकार फिर रहे हैं। नवयुवकों का दिमाग कच्चे बांस की तरह होता है। आप जो चाहें, जब चाहें और जिस दिशा में चाहें उसे घुमा सकते हैं। हमारी राजनीतिक पार्टियां अपना स्वार्थ सिद्ध करने के लिए इनको साधन बनाती हैं जिससे वहां पर एक तरह की अराजकता सी फैल जाती है। जब कांग्रेस का वहां शासन था तब संयुक्त दल वाले उन्हें अपने साथ लेते थे और जब संयुक्त दल वालों का शासन आया तो हमने देखा कि कांग्रेस वालों ने उन नवयुवकों को प्रशासन के विरुद्ध भड़काया। उनको राजनीतिक दल प्रशासन को ठप्प करने में प्रोत्साहित करते रहते हैं। अतएव हमें तत्काल इस समस्या का समाधान करना चाहिये और उनको किसी न किसी काम में लगाने की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए ताकि वे अपना भ्रमण पोषण करने के साथ-साथ राजनीतिक दलों के हाथ में खिलौना न बन सकें।

तीसरी समस्या जो हमारे सामने है वह इस प्रदेश में शांति स्थापना की है। कुछ

स्वार्थ निहित राजनीतिक दल अपना उल्लू सीधा करने के लिए बराबर किसी न किसी प्रकार की अशांति बनाये रखने में ही अपना और अपनी पार्टी का हित समझते हैं। दूसरे यह कि यह सीमा प्रांत है जिसके दो सिरों पर भारत के दो दुर्द्धर्ष बैठे हुए हैं। ये शत्रु कभी करीमगंज और कभी कृच बिहार की सीमा पर उपद्रव और छेड़खानी करते हैं और कभी कहीं। और आप यह न सोचें कि कुछ पटाखे छोड़ कर ही ये जो हमारे शत्रु हैं ये चुप बैठ जायेंगे। आज की युद्ध नीति का जो कायदा है उसको आप देखें। शत्रु केवल सीमा पर ही झगड़ा नहीं करता है बल्कि देश के आंतरिक मामलों में भी वह दखल देता है और इसके उदाहरण हमारे सामने हैं। आए दिन हमारे देश में दंगे फसाद होते रहते हैं। मैं उन लोगों में से नहीं हूँ जो चाहते हैं कि इस देश में हिन्दु मुसलमानों के फसाद हों और वे आपस में लड़ते झगड़ते रहें। इनको लड़ाने वाली कोई दूसरी ही शक्ति है। ये आपस में नहीं लड़ते हैं लेकिन दूसरी शक्ति इनको लड़ाती है। पहले जब अंग्रेज यहां थे तब वे लड़ाया करते थे। आज उसके बदले पाकिस्तान आ गया है। कलकत्ता में अभी हाल दंगों का जो सूत्रपात हुआ वह बहुत ही मामूली सी बात पर हुआ। वह दंगा भी मामूली था। लेकिन हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी वहां दौड़ी हुई गईं। मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि उनको वहां जाने की कोई आवश्यकता थी। फिर भी वह गईं। उचित तो यह है कि हम इसका विश्लेषण करें और देखें कि इनके पीछे किस का हाथ है। वहां जो भी दंगे हुए हैं ऐसे स्थानों में हुए हैं जहां हिन्दू मैजोरिटी में नहीं थे, मुस्लिम मैजोरिटी एरियाज में ही ये हुए। हिन्दुओं का कोई इन से सरोकार नहीं था। मैं दावे के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहां के मुसलमानों का भी इन दंगों में हाथ नहीं था। वहां कुछ पाकिस्तानी एजेंट और तत्व ऐसे हैं जो इस बात की कोशिश में रहते हैं कि किसी न किसी

[श्री वेणीशंकर शर्मा]

प्रकार का यहां उत्पात मचे। उन्होंने यह उत्पात किया। संतोष की बात यह है कि हिन्दुओं के मुहल्लों में इसका रिएक्शन नहीं हुआ और कलकत्ता में शांति बनी रही। दूसरी जगह भी इस प्रकार के जो तत्व हैं वे सक्रिय हैं। मैं बिहार से आता हूँ और मैंने वहाँ भागलपुर में भी यही देखा है। पहले भी बिहार में दंगे हो जाया करते थे। लेकिन इस बार वहाँ पर भी मैंने देखा है कि मुसलमानों ने ये दंगे वहाँ नहीं करवाये लेकिन कुछ पाकिस्तानी इनमें ऐसे थे जिनका स्वार्थ ऐसे दंगे कराने में था, इस तरह का खून खराबा कराने में था, और यह चाहते थे कि देश में अशांति पैदा हो और इस देश का शासन कमजोर हो और इस देश की पुलिस और फौज की शक्ति देश में ही शांति और व्यवस्था कायम रखने में खर्च हो। इसलिए देश की सुरक्षा का, देश की स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा का ताकाजा है कि हम इस बात की तह में जायें और देखें कि इसके भीतर किन लोगों का हाथ था। मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि आप केवल इस बात पर ही न जायें कि यहां हिन्दू-मुस्लिम कुछ छुटपुट दंगे हुए हैं लेकिन आप इस को भी देखें कि इस प्रकार की घटनायें हिन्दुओं-हिन्दुओं में, ब्राह्मणों-ब्राह्मणों में, नाइयों-नाइयों में भी हो जाती हैं। इसलिए अगर हिन्दु मुस्लिम कहीं झगड़ा हो जाता है तो उसको साम्प्रदायिक रूप देना मेरे खयाल में गलत है, मूर्खता है। हमें उस के कारणों में जाना चाहिए।

मैं गृह मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि बंगाल की वर्तमान स्थिति में सबसे पहली आवश्यकता यह है कि वहाँ पर एक शांत वातावरण बनाया जाये। वहाँ पर जितने भी खुराफाती एलिमेंट्स हैं, जिनके गोदामों में बम, पिस्तील और स्टेनगन पड़े हुए हैं, उनका पता लगाया जाना चाहिए। मेरी

समझ में नहीं आता कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट इतनी शक्तिशाली होते हुए भी इतना छोटा सा काम क्यों नहीं कर सकती है। उसके बाद इलैक्शन का काम किया जाना चाहिए।

मैं इस बात को दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि यह हमारे लिए बड़े शर्म की बात है कि जिस प्रांत के लोग देश की स्वतंत्रता के लिए हजारों नहीं, लाखों की संख्या में जेलों में गए और फासियों पर चढ़े, वहाँ एक घड़ी के लिए भी राष्ट्रपति शासन रहे।

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI (Howrah): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the imposition of the President's Rule has ended the sordid chapter that was ushered in the march of elections. I would just quote for your information a news item that appeared in the *Statesman* of 15th February just to emphasize why the President's Rule was much too needed and was ushered in at proper time. I quote :

"The joint session of the two Houses broke up in total confusion. The United Front M.L.As shouting slogans blocked the main door preventing the Governor from entering the Chamber in ceremonial procession, pushed him when he entered by side door, some throwing cushions and black flags. Mr. Dharma Vira, apparently, read a few sentences of his Address. But his voice was drowned by continuous shouting of slogans and other assorted noise."

Then, under other circumstances also, the President's Rule was imposed in West Bengal. If we go back to the history of West Bengal for the last few months, we will find that the law and order completely broke down in West Bengal and there was a conspiracy hatched in between by a part of the United Front Government which was popularly known as Communists and also certain external agencies who are enemies to India the result of

which was demonstrated in a very deplorable form in Naxalbari when every law and order was thrown to the winds.

Sir, at that time, in this House, I had the honour to propose to the Government that the Communist Party should be banned immediately. But then I changed my opinion about it. I feel that the Communist Party of today, some Members of which party are represented here, have all lost revolutionary potentialities and are only indulging in parliamentary intrigues and conspiracies. That is bringing about these defections in different States. It would be indeed giving them some kind of a martyrdom if we ban them at the present stage. We need not ban the Communist Party at the present stage. Today the ball is on the people's side and in the 8 months' time, the people's verdict will be known in West Bengal and I am absolutely certain that the people will return Congress to power.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Not at all.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI : I am not one of those who will, like my hon. friend, Shri Venkatasubbaiah, think of a coalition either with the Swatantra Party or any other party in West Bengal. If we have not to have any truck with the Communists of West Bengal, we do not want to have any truck with the extreme right element in this country. We can pull on with our own resources provided we can see that the people's miseries can be removed by certain methods that Congress will take at this stage. The only problem that faces West Bengal today is this. In West Bengal, that truncated part of Bengal—it was indeed a tragedy—that truncated part of Bengal, which is popularly known as West Bengal, we have suffered immensely. Millions of people of Bengal left East Pakistan for West Bengal, lakhs of them are fleeing to West Bengal, for shelter; their miseries are very great. We know that this problem can be solved only if

the left Parties which engineer all kinds of mischief banking on the sorrows and miseries of these people, are eliminated. If we can serve the interests of those people, if we can rehabilitate them and give them food and shelter, I am sure that no Left Party or any Communist Party will have any hold in West Bengal.... (Interruptions). It is a fact of history that the Congress ruled West Bengal for twenty years and gave not only law and order but also gave a peaceful rehabilitation to thousands of people who came from East Pakistan to West Bengal because of the Partition of India. The Congress, during their rule, brought about a situation where people could work with safety, the man and womenfolk could work with safety, and normal life was prevailing. But what has happened after the last General Elections, after the twenty years of rule by the Congress? The political opponents who were functioning in the name of democracy were working for the destruction of democracy all the while, they were preaching, taking advantage of the miseries of the people, that we could not solve the problem of unemployment there, that we could not rehabilitate those lakhs of people who had come over to West Bengal for shelter and for food; taking advantage of the miseries of the people, the Left Parties created these conditions there and the people were misdirected. I am quite sure, Sir, that people are re-thinking, they are craving for a stable government, and the imposition of the President's rule is the direct outcome of the desire of those people.

One gentleman who has been much maligned in this House, Dr. P. C. Ghosh, bore all the odium for his patriotic effort to save West Bengal from the conspiracy of all those who wanted to bring about a situation in the country so that they can take over a part of India for their own gain, so that this part of India might one day be the playground of the overlords of Peking and Pindi... (Interruptions).

[Shri Krishna Kumar Chatterji]

I am sure, the shoe is pinching somewhere, but I have to tell certain truths standing here today as the representative of that unfortunate State, that troubled State. What is needed today is providing food and employment, maintenance of law and order; the efforts for maintaining and increasing the industrial production must be fully restored.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention one fact and that is this. Speaking in the Rajya Sabha the other day, our Minister of State for Food and Agriculture, Shri Annasahib Shinde, admitted that the shortfall in the Centre's supply of foodgrains to West Bengal during the last four months since November, had totalled up to over 1,50,000 tonnes. Sir, during these four months the State was allotted 576,000 tonnes of foodgrains by the Centre but till February 17, the State has got only 426,000 tonnes. I must congratulate our present Governor, Shri Dharma Vira, who said the other day in no uncertain terms that he was a servant of the people and that he would be trying to see....

15 hrs.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपकी व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ। आपने सदन को आश्वासन दिया था कि भविष्य में कोई न कोई मंत्रिमण्डल का सदस्य वहाँ अवश्य उपस्थित रहेगा। लेकिन आज फिर कोई मंत्रिमण्डल का सदस्य उपस्थित नहीं है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shuklaji is here. He is responsible for this.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (उजैन) : कैबिनेट मंत्री होना चाहिए। आप ने आश्वासन दिया था कि भविष्य में इसका ध्यान रखा जायेगा।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I said I would convey your desire.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI: Sir, this House should congratulate the Governor, Shri Dharma

Vira, when he uttered at a Press Conference only on the 2nd of this month:

"I shall not be silent spectator to my people being fleeced by profiteers and blackmarketeers. If we are going to allow ourselves to be held to ransom by a few blackmarketeers, then the Government has no reason to stay."

But, then, Sir when the State was in the hands of profiteers and black-marketeters, the then Chief Minister, Shri Ajoy Mukerji, had not the courage to say that he would root out the black-marketeters and hoarders, out of fear of them and they were having some kind of a link with these black-marketeters to enhance their Party funds and procuring them for some kind of anarchy to be produced in West Bengal. The then Chief Minister, Shri Ajoy Mukerji, for whom even to-day we have some respect for his personal integrity and patriotism—we have to admit—has made a miserable failure. I quite agree, even on our side some of the Central and State leaders have also erred and when the time was there and when the green signal was given to the Congress to help Dr. P. C. Ghosh by participating in the Ministry—I am glad one of the hon. Members mentioned it—the Congress wavered and the result was quite tragic in that a section of the Congressmen defected and Dr. Ghosh Ministry was brought to an end and Sir, it was a miserable day. . .

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: He should be made a Deputy Minister this time at least.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI: Sir, Dr. P. C. Ghosh was just trying to wrest West Bengal from disorder, chaos, ruin and complete destruction. He was trying to bring about some kind of order in the State. Then what happened to this Ministry which was installed by the Governor who was quite convinced that Dr. Ghosh's Ministry had the necessary majority. There was some kind of wavering on the part of the Congress leadership here or somewhere—I do

not know—and I did not want to go into that question and the Ghosh Ministry went out of existence. Even then we were not sorry for it. We are prepared to accept any challenge from any quarter whatsoever and if you want mid-term elections, we are prepared to face it any time, even in two months. The Election Commissioner would bear me out. At the conference of Party representatives he held on the 12th, we said we are prepared. The Congress Party is prepared to face the election even within a month. We are prepared for that, but then law and order has to be maintained.

Sir, I have to point out that attempts are being made to utilise the students for this purpose. There was a news item which appeared in the *Statesman* of the 15th February which says :

“Students’ Day in the current U.F. agitation against the Ghosh Ministry here to-day was marked by a three-hour running battle between police and students in the Dharamtalla area. Seventy-three people were arrested. Eight policemen and about 10 members of the public were injured.”

Sir, these things have not ended. Even to-day the students are being utilised for the purpose of creating a condition in which a General Election and a peaceful atmosphere is not possible.

One more word and I will finish. Sir, this is how things are being done. There were some communal riots recently. Sir, if some inquiries were made, it will be out—I am quite sure—that an attempt is made with a certain political purpose. The Prime Minister has not categorically stated that she was convinced about the political motivation, but certainly she threw out a suggestion that these communal riots had a peculiar pattern. Sir, I am quite sure that this is done only with a political motivation, with an eye on the future general election. From the Congress Party, Sir, we can assure you that West Bengal under the President’s Rule will be going

ahead for some time so that I am quite sure the President’s Rule, as the Governor said, will bring about equilibrium in the society, where peaceful existence will be possible and where industrial factories will open up and employment will be possible and the destructive forces which are hindering the progress of West Bengal will be removed. With these things, I am quite sure that in the general election the Congress will come out with flying colours. I am quite sure that even to-day people feel that a stable Government is possible only under the Congress. Sir, if by some, I should say, accident of history they have come to disrepute in certain States, that thing will not be repeated in the near future. That I can assure my hon. friends on the other side.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHURI (Berhampore) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would at the outset very categorically state that imposition of the President’s Rule in West Bengal has been the correct thing.

It ought to have been done much earlier when the constitution very nearly broke down in the State of West Bengal. I refer to the incidents of last November. But unfortunately there, the Governor in collusion with certain politicians, took it upon himself to institute what has since then become a general feature in many other States, a defectors rule. On 21st of November the United Front Ministry was dismissed on the ground that it had lost the majority support in the Legislative Assembly. I would have understood if the Congress party had been called upon to shoulder responsibility because the Congress party at least had the support of 130 Members of the Assembly, not only the support, but actually the strength of the Congress party was 130 and at least that would have been a major party inside the Assembly. But instead of that, a party of 17 defectors was installed in power. I need not go into the sordid political history of the

[Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri]

State since then, but nemesis has come, and I support President's rule because in practical terms it signifies the end of the collusive conspiracy that was sought to be perpetrated in West Bengal to keep up a regime of defectors, a regime of bribery and blackmail. At least that has ended. That is why I welcome President's rule. It was rather amusing to hear Shri N. Dandekar declaiming the United Front Government and also calling for the continuation of the President's rule for the next three or four years. He would like to prolong President's rule as long as he can so that the party which he has the honour to represent, namely the Swatantra Party, might have time to build up its organisation there.

But in order to keep the record straight and also to inform the Members of this House of the real state of affairs, I may tell the House that the Swatantra Party had only one Member in the State Assembly and that Member also elected to support the United Front Government. Of course, when the defection took place, the Swatantra Member inevitably joined the defectors and was made a Minister, and Shri N. Dandekar and his party must now naturally be very sore that he has not been permitted to continue there because of President's rule, but as a lesser evil he would prefer this rule to continue for three or four years so that in the meantime the Swatantra Party and the money-bags who are behind them might build up their organisation there. But I hope that howsoever much they may spend money and they may try their level best, there would be no Swatantra Party there; money alone does not work. In West Bengal, they have to win the people and there is such a thing in West Bengal at least as what is called the people. The President's rule has come there because the people would not tolerate the Government of 17 defectors, that was imposed on that State.

In this whole affair, instead of our

going into vituperative politics, I think this House would do better if we could give some thought to the constitutional issues that were raised in the course of the chain of events in West Bengal. One of those issues relates to the powers of the Governor and the other relates to the powers of the Speaker.

Unfortunately, the provisions of the Constitution are couched in such a way that they are capable of any kind of interpretation. Unless this House and the whole country and constitutional experts give serious thoughts to these many more crises would be in the offing, and that they are in the offing can be easily seen from what has happened in Punjab.

In this connection, I would like to dilate on one thing specially, namely the powers of the Governor, apart from what have been provided exactly by the provisions in the Constitution, particularly in regard to the powers of the Governor for inducting any Government into power or for dismissing a Government. Particularly in the case of West Bengal, the way the present Governor Shri Dharma Vira has acted has raised serious doubts in the minds of the people in regard to the role of the Governor in the politics of various States.

Now, the UF Ministry was dismissed by the Governor on the ground that it had lost majority support in the Assembly—at least the Governor had reasons to believe so. But when did he become convinced of this? Really, it is now on record that certain members of the UF Parties had through Dr. P. C. Ghosh sent certain letters to the Governor on different dates extending over several months indicating that they had withdrawn support from the UF Government. But that fact was never brought by the Governor to the notice of the Chief Minister who ought to have been the first person whom he should have taken into confidence. But that was not done. Why? That again is

a sordid story because some members of the Congress High Command here in Delhi—and I would say some members of the Congress Central Government also—were hoping that instead of Dr. Ghosh and the defectors he had collected, they would perhaps be able to persuade Shri Ajoy Mukherjee to come over to them.

I have hardly the time to go over the whole story of the *ad hoc* committee, the sorry episode of how the Congress was to be reformed by the institution of an *ad hoc* committee, how the opponents of that proposal managed to sabotage the whole thing by pulling wires here and in the end the powers that be here in Delhi had no other alternative but to ask the Governor to act on his own and dismiss Shri Ajoy Mukherjee. That was done despite the fact that Shri Mukherjee and his Cabinet were prepared to face the Assembly—they had actually taken a decision to call the Assembly into session on 18th December. But the Ministry was dismissed on 21st November when the Cabinet had decided to summon the Assembly on 18th December, that is within only 26 or 27 days. They were not allowed to do so. Instead, a minority Government was installed in power, and the whole country knows now what happened in the course of those three months.

Eventually, I must congratulate the people of West Bengal on rising all over the State, in every district, to protest against this travesty of democracy and this gubernatorial dictatorship. Ultimately, the Central Government here were persuaded to impose President's rule. It is also very good that more or less a consensus has been arrived at between the parties that the elections should be held as early as possible. At least in West Bengal, nobody is very eager to oblige Mr. Dandekar or his party. All the parties which count for anything there are unanimous about early elections. Most probably that will be in November.

Then the people will have a chance to give their verdict on the performances of the UF Government as well as of the 20 years of Congress rule and 3 months of Congress-PDF coalition. Before concluding, I would ask the Government to consider whether in view of all that has happened, it is proper to keep the administration of the State in the hands of the same Governor, Mr. Dharm Vira. I know he is an experienced administrator. We have known him in various capacities in the Central Government. He was also Cabinet Secretary for some time. But merely being a member of the top echelon of the bureaucracy does not give you political insight. The least I can say is, the way he has mismanaged things during the last 3 or 4 months has created complete confusion. A sizeable section of the people and the parties have no confidence in him. If you want normalcy to be restored, the Central Government is not short of administrators even more capable than Mr. Dharm Vira. He should be recalled and replaced by somebody who is at least not a party to the current politics of Bengal, so that the elections can be held in a proper, democratic and healthy atmosphere.

SHRI HIMATSINGKA (Godda): Sir, I rise to support the resolution moved by the Home Minister for the reason that there was no other possibility for any Government being formed by the popular representatives elected by the people. One thing is clear. After the promulgation of the ordinance and President's rule, after has been restored, and out of a large number of factories which had closed, some have begun to work and a number of persons have got employment. The others are not functioning, not because of any fear of gherao, etc., but because there is recession.

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH (Pali): What happened in Calcutta last Sunday? There were riots.

SHRI HIMATSINGKA: It would be improper to call it a riot.

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH : The Prime Minister had to rush there.

SHRI HIMATSINGKA : That may be because of wrong information given to her. There was no riot at all. I was in that locality where one person had been stabbed. Thousands of people were moving in the area. There was no question of any panic except that certain people tried to create a panic. There was no riot at all. There were three or four stray incidents in different localities. The trouble started because some colour had been thrown on persons who did not want it. One or two stabbing cases took place. To call it a riot will be a misnomer and use of a term which should not be used for what happened there. In fact, I saw Muslims and Hindus talking together and standing together. There was no trouble at all. I was in that very locality holding meetings. People from different localities had come there. Therefore, there is no doubt that law and order has been restored and things have improved very considerably.

My hon. friend Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri suggested that the Governor should be recalled for the offence that he dismissed the Ministry headed by Shri Ajoy Mukerjee.

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHURI : That was not my charge. I suggested his recall because during three months all sorts of confusion has been created and not because he dismissed a Ministry.

SHRI HIMATSINGKA : My hon. friend says that all sorts of confusion has been created by the Governor and therefore he should be recalled. I do not know what is the confusion referred to by him. So far as we know things have been straightened out and things are moving very properly in Bengal. Almost everybody who wants law and order to be maintained is happy and there is no complaint of any confusion having been created by the Governor. As a matter of fact, I come from Calcutta and I know how

things have improved there and how things are moving.

15.25 hrs.

(**SHRI G. S. DHILLON** in the Chair).

Another complaint that has been made is about the support being given to minority governments. I feel that my hon. friends should remember that it was the Opposition Members who started this game of supporting minority governments. Firstly it was in Haryana, then in Punjab, then in U.P. and then in Madhya Pradesh. In Madhya Pradesh, certainly, the minority has been supported when there was defection. So a grievance of that is not only not proper but it does not fit in in the mouth of those who started that game.

I feel that the time that has been selected or is being proposed for mid-term elections does not, to my mind, appear to be proper. November is a time when crops will be standing and a large number of places will be absolutely unapproachable. Every party has suggested early elections. Certainly, that should be done. But the time should be so selected that every voter can come to the polling station and the officers concerned can also reach the polling stations. I know from my own experience that November will be a very unsuitable time because, as I said, crops will be standing and cars and lorries cannot reach many places. Therefore, elections should possibly take place not before February or, at any rate, the last week of January. If November is intended to be fixed it will have to be postponed before it is finally decided upon.

Certain other steps have also to be taken. As was mentioned by the hon. Member there, a large number of unauthorised and unlicensed revolvers and guns are available in Calcutta and other places. The Government must take steps to recover them and remove them from the hands of the mischief-makers; otherwise there will be a lot of trouble especially during the time of elections.

I will conclude by saying that the Government should take into consideration, in consultation with the Election Commissioner, a proper time for elections and in the meantime should take all proper steps so that law and order may be maintained and the atmosphere may become calm and quiet for peaceful elections to be held without any interference by any party whatsoever.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur) : Mr. Chairman, unlike some of the speakers who preceded me, we of the DMK have no axe to grind in West Bengal. Hence, our approach to the problem will be very objective and we can look at things more dispassionately. DMK as a party was built up with democratic traditions and so we feel so concerned as to what is happening to democracy in this country in many States all round.

This discussion is about the forthcoming elections and the conditions that prevail in West Bengal. I am sure the issue that we are discussing is not about the ban of the Communist Party in India. But, I am sorry to say, the two speakers in the beginning were very vociferous in demanding a ban on the Communist movement in India. It is neither relevant, nor proper, and I think there is another resolution that is coming up tomorrow, if the Chair permits. We are very much concerned with protecting the interests of democracy in this country, particularly in West Bengal.

What is happening to democracy in this country after the fourth general elections? With the emergence of various forces after the general elections, can Congress put their hands on their heart and honestly say that their approach to the various problems in the different States is really in the interests of democracy in this country? Beginning from Rajasthan, till the recent defunct Mandal Ministry of Bihar, where the coalition Ministries were toppled, the emerging forces

were not of the Congress. Let them remember that. The emerging force was again a coalition. If the Congress is really interested in keeping or maintaining majority rule in this country and if it has got any respect for the canons of democracy, why should it support a puppet Ministry in Bihar, Bengal, Punjab or, for that matter, in any State? If it really wants to save democracy in this country, the basic approach of the Congress, which enjoys a sweeping and comfortable majority at the Centre, should be to see that a proper party system is built up in various States. If the non-Congress Governments cannot agree to come together, if they are unable to form coalition governments, the best way is to leave it to the Governor. Why should you go there, organise a defectors group and put up a puppet show? This in effect is the logical corollary of the thirst for power of the Congress. After enjoying power uninterruptedly for a spell of 20 years, like a wolf which has tasted blood, their thirst for power is insatiable.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. C. PANT) : Is that your experience in Madras?

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : I would like to give one concrete example. Even in a State where the Congress can never dream of coming to power before the 1972 elections, in Madras, there are many Congressmen, top Congressmen at that, who are trying to topple the Ministry at Madras. They are fomenting trouble and creating the bogey of law and order problem. Recently, when the leader of the DMK group in Parliament, Shri Anbazhagan, was rushing to the station to catch a train, it so happened that some Congressmen were there to receive or to see off some Congress leaders. It so happened that my leader's car had a DMK flag. When they saw the DMK flag and my leader, immediately they started creating trouble. I do

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not want to dilate on that because those people were arrested and the whole matter is pending before the court. This is a clear indication of the degradation of the Congress Party, the sordid position to which Congress has stooped in order to get into power again.

If the Congress cannot reconcile itself to its fate and is not able to appreciate the emerging forces in this country, I am sure, no power in this country can save democracy for us. So, it is the heavy responsibility and duty of thinking and reasonable Congressmen to appreciate the position. Their just throwing it at our face that the Opposition parties do this so they are also doing this, really is not a justification.

With regard to Bengal, let us put the matter in juxtaposition with what happened in Madhya Pradesh. In Madhya Pradesh there was a Congress government under Shri Mishra. When a considerable number of people dissented and joined the Opposition, he was no more in a position to carry on with the government. I think, you will remember what he said then. He advised the Governor to dissolve the Assembly and paved the way for mid-term elections. Of course subsequently the developments were such that it did not materialise.

But there is one relevant point to remember here. When the ex-Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh said that he was advising the Governor to dissolve the Assembly and was asking for a mid-term poll, no minister at the Centre, either the Home Minister or the Law Minister, commented on that, whether the Chief Minister of a State, when he has lost the majority, had the power to advise the Governor to dissolve the Assembly. Nobody thought of it; no responsible person, the Home Minister or the Prime Minister or anybody for that matter, commented on that because it was very inconvenient for them.

In Bengal, after all, what did Shri Ajoy Mukerjee want? When he was told that he was not in a comfortable majority to carry on with the government and when the Governor advised him to summon the Assembly, he wanted some time.

AN HON. MEMBER : Why ?

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : There is a very relevant point here. Is it for the Governor to be so insistent on the Chief Minister? It was a matter of days; for 20 days or so he wanted time. After all, in the Constitution there is a provision that between two sessions of an Assembly time cannot exceed the six months' limit. There is a time limit there. If at all the Government was felt to have lost its majority, within the six months' period it had to face the Assembly and it could be voted out. And, in this case he did not want some months; he wanted a month or so. But that the Governor was not willing to concede, with the result that the Government was toppled.

So, I feel that there is justification for the people of that State to feel that the Governor has acted in a very autocratic way without respecting the Constitutional obligations that he has to discharge. Let me not be misunderstood as casting aspersion on the integrity and probity of that high dignitary who is occupying that office there. It is far from my mind. What I am trying to say is, taking for granted that what he did was with the best of intentions, there is a stigma attached because he was involved in that political fight and in many things. Whether we agree with it or not, there are political parties in that part of the country who try to come to power again; it is within their right to aim for that. When even a party like the Swatantra who, I am told, do not have any hold there, thinks that they have got a prospect there, I am sure the Communists will definitely think that their success is assured. Probably the

Congress may also think in those terms. So, it is for them to fight. If the fight has got to be fair, reasonable and free from all kinds of inhibitions, we should create the atmosphere for every party in that State to feel that their position or prospects are not in any way administratively hampered or tampered with. For that, I feel, it is very necessary that someone who is beyond suspicion, like Caesar's wife, and who could be acceptable at least broadly to all the parties there—at least to the parties that were in power before—must immediately replace him; otherwise, I am afraid, there will be room for complaint and justifiably so. So, this is the only demand I would like to make. I am making this demand not with any particular knowledge of West Bengal. I am neither briefed by the right nor by the left, nor I asked for it. I am looking at it quite objectively because we know what is happening in that State in the past few months. It is in the interest of democracy that we should see to it that a proper atmosphere is created for the healthy functioning of democracy in the State.

Lastly, I would like to say a word about the Communist Party. Even some Congressmen were very keen to see that the Communist Party is banned. I am not able to appreciate the recent developments in their thinking with regard to the Communist movement. During our confrontation with China and again during our conflict with Pakistan, this demand was now and then raised with a low voice, not with the volume that we find now-a-days. But I appreciate the point made by Mr. Venkatasubbiah, before he concluded, that he did not want a ban but that he was for exposing the Communist Party in the field. That is really a democratic approach. At the same time, I would like to remind him and also remind the House what has been happening in the last more than 20 years. From 1944 onwards and even before, I think, the Congressmen were doing that job.

In spite of what they did and in spite of their explanations and in spite of their homilies administered to their own people, the people somehow thought fit to return the Communist candidates or other candidates. So, if democracy is going to survive in the country, definitely, you have got to accept the position. If the Government has got any documents, any undisputed evidence, to show that they are traitors to this country, I am sure, there are other courses to take against them.

SHRI HIMATSINGKA : Own admission of the Chief Minister.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : That is neither here nor there.

I remember very well, when Shri Nanda was the Home Minister, he said on the Radio and also on the floor of the House that he had presented a white paper and that he was going to expose their nefarious activities and that kind of thing. But after that, nothing has come to light. At this stage, I would like to plead with the Home Ministry that if they really feel anything wrong with the Communist movement, it is their incumbent duty to tell us at least what they are doing that is against the interests of the country, that could be deemed as the activities of traitors to this country. If that is so, there are, definitely, other legal methods for the Government to adopt. But if you recognise them and if you allow them and permit them to function as a democratic party, definitely, you should treat them with all respect due to a democratic party in this country. Since the Communist Party thinks and it is likely also—that is what I gather—that they may come to power again in West Bengal, it is very fair to give them every opportunity and to allow them to function without any inhibitions whatsoever. The Congress Party, in order to hide their own sins, I am afraid, is raising this bogey

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against the communism and the Communist Party. So, this is not going to pay them in any way and it is in all fairness that we should see to it that a proper democratic atmosphere is created in West Bengal. If the Government fails to create the proper atmosphere, I am sure, they are politically motivated, not interested in democracy in this country.

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा (बाढ़) :
सभापति महोदय, मैं आप का धन्यवाद करती . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Please speak in English.

SHRIMATI TAKESHWARI SINHA:
Sometimes I speak in English and sometimes in Hindi. Please allow me to speak in Hindi now.

सभापति महोदय, आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया इस लिये मैं आप का बहुत धन्यवाद करती हूँ। मुझ से पहले जो डी एम के सदस्य बोले उन्होंने कहा, और इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं है, कि कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी, जो मार्क्सिस्ट कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी है उस पर पाबन्दी लगा कर, उसको बैन कर देने से समस्या का समाधान नहीं होता है। मैं उन की इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि हमें लोगों को इस बात की पूरी शिक्षा देनी चाहिये कि प्रजातन्त्र में कई ऐसे दायरे हैं, कई ऐसी संस्थायें हैं, पार्लियामेंट है, और भी संस्थायें हैं, जहाँ खुले तरीके से इस बात की चर्चा करनी चाहिये कि वह लोग देश के प्रति गद्दारी जो काम कर रहे हैं वह कहां तक देश के हित में हैं। लेकिन सवाल यह उठता है कि ऐसा भी होता है कि हर चीज कानूनी-पाबन्दी और कागज पत्र के अन्दर नहीं आती है। हम देखते हैं कि आज कल जो हमारे कानून रहती हैं उन के अन्दर कभी कभी ऐसा होता है कि खून करने वाला आदमी भी

जज के यहां से छूट जाया करता है। दुनिया जानती है कि एक आदमी ने खून किया है, लेकिन चूक साबित नहीं हुआ कि उस ने खून किया है, बयान में कुछ लापरवाही हो जाती है इस वजह से उसे छुटकारा मिल जाता है। मैं नहीं मानती कि हमेशा कागज पर ही कोई चीज हो तभी किसी पार्टी के हाल चाल और रंग ढंग जाने जा सकते हैं।

मैं दावे के साथ कहती हूँ कि जो भी पार्टी इस देश के हित के खिलाफ काम करती है—मैं कम्यूनिस्टों की ही बात नहीं करती हूँ, न किसी पार्टी के जन्म मरण की बात करती हूँ—जहां तक देश के जीवन का सवाल है, किसी पार्टी की उतनी कीमत नहीं होती, जितनी देश की, देश के सामने किसी भी पार्टी के जीवन या मृत्यु का सवाल नहीं है। पार्टी जिन्दा होती है, पैदा होती है, मरती है, फिर पैदा होती है, परन्तु इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि जहां तक देश के हित का सवाल है, वहां सभी पार्टियों को सोचना चाहिये, चाहे वह कांग्रेस पार्टी हो या कोई और प्रजातान्त्रिक उसूलों में विश्वास करने वाली पार्टी हो, कि पर्दानशीनी की आड़ में किसी छतरी की छांव उस पार्टी को न साथ लें जो इस तरह से देश के अहित के लिये काम करती है। उन को इस तरह की छांव नहीं मिलनी चाहिये जिससे सारे देश का अहित हो जाये। मैं विरोधी दलों के लोगों से यह अपील करूंगी कि जिस छड़ी से वह कांग्रेस को मारना चाहते हैं उस छड़ी का इस्तेमाल ऐसे होना चाहिये कि कांग्रेस तो मरे, लेकिन उस से देश न मरे।

आज हो क्या रहा है? हो यह रहा है कि आपस में सभी के मन में यह शक है कि मार्क्सिस्ट कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी कहीं कहीं कुछ गैर मुनासिब काम कर रही है। मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ, और जिन दलों में यूनाइटेड फ्रंट का साथ दिया था

कलकत्ते में वह ईमानदारी से बतलाये, कि जो कुछ उन के अन्दर हो रहा था क्या वह लोग भी उस से खुश थे ? यूनाइटेड फ्रंट और यूनाइटेड फ्रंट के ज्योति बसु और उन की जमात के काम करने के ढंग से क्या वह खुश थे ? यहां पर श्री एस० एम० जोशी हमारे मेम्बर हैं, उन की पार्टी ने जो वक्तव्य दिया था और जन संघ ने जो वक्तव्य दिया था . . .

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) : वहां जन संघ नहीं है ।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : न हो । लेकिन आप के द्वारा यहां हिमायत जो हुई । फिर यह माननीय सदस्य क्यों बोल रहे हैं ? यह जो माननीय सदस्य बिहार से आते हैं, मैं उन से ही पूछना चाहती हूं कि वह अपनी पार्टी में मार्क्सिस्ट कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के बारे में क्या क्या कहते हैं ? अगर वह बताने की कोशिश करें तो बात जरा साफ हो जाये । मैं चाहती हूं कि कांग्रेस को मारने के लिये जो छड़ी इस्तेमाल हो उस छड़ी की यह कुवत तो रहनी चाहिये कि जो संस्था या उस संस्था में काम करने वाला आदमी देश के प्रति गद्दारी का काम करता हो, उसके प्रति भी वह छड़ी उठे । मैं लेफ्ट कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के सभी लोगों के बारे में यह बात नहीं कह रही हूं, पर कल श्री चट्टाण ने जो वक्तव्य दिया उस में यह बू आती थी कि असम में और नागालैण्ड में जो बातें हो रही हैं उन में लेफ्ट कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के कुछ सदस्यों का हाथ है । यहां पर एक माननीय सदस्य ने उन के नाम लेने की भी कोशिश की, यह बतलाया भी कि उनके नाम क्या हैं, लेकिन गृह मंत्री जी ने खुद इस बात को कहा कि चूंकि बात चीत चल रही है, पूछ ताछ हो रही है, इसलिये नाम वह अभी नहीं बतलायेंगे । लेकिन अगर किसी के द्वारा इस तरह के काम हो रहे हैं तो, मैं कहती हूं, लेफ्ट कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी की ईमानदारी का भी

तकाजा यह है, बशर्ते वह राष्ट्रीय भावना से अन्दर से सराबोर हैं और उन के अन्दर भारत मां की पुकार सुनाई पड़ती है, कि पहला कदम वह यह उठाये कि ऐसे लोगों को वह अपनी पार्टी में जगह न दें और उन को निकाल बाहर करने की कोशिश करें । परन्तु हम अखबारों में क्या देखते हैं ? कल, परसों के अखबारों में हम ने देखा है कि नक्सल-बाड़ी के जो वामपन्थी कम्यूनिस्ट नेता थे, जिन से बंगाल की मार्क्सिस्ट कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी ने कहा था कि उनके साथ नहीं रहना चाहते, चूंकि उन का जोर बढ़ रहा है इस लिये क्षरोखे में बैठ कर उन से आंख मिलाने की कोशिश हो रही है । यह कहां का देश-प्रेम है, कहां का राष्ट्र-प्रेम है ? राष्ट्र को जिन्दा रखने के लिये विरोधी दल हमारे ऊपर उंगली उठाते हैं उंगली उठा लीजिये, लेकिन देश को इस का फँसला करना है ।

मैं समझती हूं कि यह देश प्रेम का परिचय नहीं है आज पार्लियामेंट में बैठ कर एक दल दूसरे दल को सहयोग देता है चाहे कोई दल देश का अहित भी कर रहा हो ।

श्री सत्यनारायण सिंह (वाराणसी) : नागाओं ने अपनी स्वतन्त्र सरकार बना ली है और अपनी फौज बना ली है । उनका तो दिल्ली में आपकी सरकार स्वागत करती है । यह क्या आपकी देशभक्ति का सूचक है ?

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : मुश्किल यह है कि माननीय सदस्य सामने आ कर और खुल कर बात नहीं करना चाहते हैं । शायद उनमें औरतों के सामने आ कर बात करने की हिम्मत नहीं है और वह हमेशा पीछे हो कर ही बात करते हैं । सभापति महोदय, आप मेरी तरफ से उनको एक जोड़ा चूड़ी भेंट कर दीजिये । मैं चाहती हूं कि वह चूड़ियां पहन कर बैठ जायें ।

[श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा]

मैं यह कह रही थी कि पालियामेंट में जिन पार्टियों को सहयोग, ऐसे लोगों का या ऐसे दलों का मिलता है तो उनको अपने दिल पर हाथ रख कर सोचना चाहिये कि उनका रोल क्या रहा है। कांग्रेस जी भी सकती है, कांग्रेस मर भी सकती है। पर कांग्रेस को जिन्दा रखने के लिये विरोधी दल को सोचने की आवश्यकता नहीं। कांग्रेस की जान आपके दिल में तोते की तरह नहीं बैठी हुई है। कांग्रेस की जान हमारे दिलों में बस्ती है। अगर कांग्रेस जिन्दा रहेगी तो हमारे बल पर रहेगी। पिंजड़े में शायद अपने भाइयों को आप बन्द करके रखते हैं। उनको पहले आप छोड़ें तब हम से बात करें। मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि जो लोग आज विरोधी बेंचों पर बैठ कर कांग्रेस के ऊपर उंगली उठाते हैं वे अपनी आपसी हर खामी को देख कर भी उसको पर्दानशीन बना देते हैं। उनको देश के लिए सोचना चाहिये। कांग्रेस के लिए सोचने की उनको ज़रूरत नहीं है। कांग्रेस जिन्दा रहेगी अपने बल से और नहीं रहेगी तो अपनी कमजोरियों की वजह से नहीं रहेगी। उसको देखने वाले हम लोग हैं। कलकत्ते की छतों पर बैठ कर कांग्रेस मरे, कांग्रेस मरे, को जपते रहने से, इस की माला पढ़ते रहने से कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ने वाला है। आप अपने घर को पहले ठीक करें तब कांग्रेस की मस्जिद में दीया जलाने की कोशिश करें। जो देश के हित में काम करने का दावा करते हैं उन से मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि ऐसे लोगों को आज पर्दानशीन करके कौन सा देश के साथ आप उपकार कर रहे हैं।

यह कहा जाता है कि कांग्रेस ने पिटठू सरकारों को जन्म दिया है। जो इस तरह की बात कहते हैं उनको मैं बतलाना चाहती हूँ कि इस तरह की सरकारों को जन्म देने का पहला काम विरोधी दल ने किया है। चौथे

आम चुनाव के बाद राव बीरेन्द्र सिंह को कांग्रेस में से निकाल कर उनको गद्दी पर बिठाने के लिए कौन तैयार हुआ, किस की सरकार उसके बाद वहां बनी। तब वहां अगर पिटठू सरकार नहीं बनी तो कौन सी सरकार बनी। मैं यह भी जानना चाहती हूँ कि चौधरी चरण सिंह जिन्होंने कांग्रेस में रह कर देश की चालीस साल तक सेवा की, जब वह पन्द्रह बीस आदमियों को ले कर कांग्रेस से निकले तो उस समय उनको किस ने गद्दी पर बिठाया। चरण सिंह की सरकार किस की सरकार थी? क्या वह पिटठू सरकार नहीं थी। मध्य प्रदेश में गोविन्द नारायण सिंह जी कांग्रेस में थे। उनको कांग्रेस से बाहर कौन लाया और किस ने उनको गद्दी पर ला कर बिठाया और किस ने उनके हाथ में शासन यंत्र दिया? क्या उनकी सरकार पिटठू सरकार नहीं थी? राजनीतिक मैदान में आज जो व्यतिक्रम पैदा हुआ है, मैं चाहती हूँ कि विरोधी दल के लोग हिम्मत करें और साफ कहें कि हम एक समझौते के साथ उचित सुझाव पेश करना चाहते हैं। हम कांग्रेस के सदस्य आपके साथ मिल कर इस का कोई हल निकालने की कोशिश करेंगे। लेकिन आपमें हिम्मत नहीं है।

मैं यह भी पूछना चाहती हूँ कि बिहार के अन्दर जो यूनाइटेड फ्रंट की गवर्नमेंट बनी थी उस में क्या हो रहा था। मैं इस बात का दावे के साथ इकरार करती हूँ

एक माननीय सदस्य : आपकी पार्टी ने क्या किया था ?

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के जो भाई बैठे हुए हैं उनसे मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि पटना में आपने यूनाइटेड फ्रंट वालों के लिए खुद क्या-क्या कहा था, जनसंघ के बारे में क्या कहा था, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के बारे में क्या कहा था, एस० एस० पी० के बारे में

क्या कहा था, पी एस पी के बारे में क्या कहा था। आज आप अपने उस मजमून को दोहरा लीजिए और उसके बाद मेरे साथ आप बात करें।

बंगाल के बारे में कहा जाता है, तो आप तो जानते ही हैं कि अच्छी बात जहां होती है, जो सही बात होती है, जो अच्छी बात होती है वह सुनने में नागवार गुजरती है। उसको इस बात का इंतजार होना चाहिए था कि दूसरे लोगों के घरों पर पत्थर न फेंके। यह ठीक है कि हम लोग शीशे के घरों में रहते हैं। इससे इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता है। परन्तु जिस शीशे के घर में हम रहते हैं उसकी बगल में ही दूसरे घर में, जोकि शीशे का ही है विरोधी दल के सदस्य रहते हैं। फर्क इतना है कि हम अकेले रहते हैं लेकिन ये जमघट बना कर रहते हैं। इनमें जो दस दास पार्टियां शामिल हैं वे रहती हैं और हम अकेले रहते हैं। ये आपस में सिर फुटव्वल करते रहते हैं। इनके शीशे के घर को बाहर से टूटने का खतरा जितना नहीं है, खतरा तो है अन्दर से ही टूटने का। अपने आप में ही टूटने का खतरा बना रहता है। यही कारण है कि युनाइटेड फ्रंट की गवर्नमेंट अगर टूटती है तो कांग्रेस की वजह से नहीं टूटती है बल्कि इनकी अपनी वजह से टूटती है। आज अगर युनाइटेड फ्रंट की गवर्नमेंट टूटी है तो इन लोगों के आपसी झगड़ों की वजह से ही टूटी है। पी सी० घोष के ऊपर तोहमत लगाना ठीक नहीं है। वह कौन सी पार्टी को छोड़ कर अलग हो गए—(इंटरप्शंस) विरोधी दल के एक सदस्य ने कांग्रेस को बुल्फ कहा। हम सुनते रहे। लेकिन इन में इतनी भी हिम्मत नहीं है कि कांग्रेस वालों की बात को सुनें। कांग्रेस वालों में इतनी हिम्मत है कि अगर हमें कुछ कहा जाता है तो उसको हम सुनते हैं, यह क्षमता हम में है। आज तक हम सुनते रहे हैं। जिस तरह से विरोधी दल न चुनाव लड़ा और कांग्रेस ने जिस तरह से जवाब दिया वह भी

ताजा खबर है, पुरानी नहीं हुई है। बिहार में क्या-क्या होता रहा है औरतों के साथ और क्या कुछ उनको कहा जाता रहा, वह भी आपको मालूम है। विरोधी दल के द्वारा जिस तरह का प्रचार होता रहा है, मैं उन बातों में जाना नहीं चाहती हूं। इतना जरूर है कि हम में मादा है कि हम बातों को सुनते भी हैं। ये गाली भी देते हैं, नसीहत भी करते हैं, तो चूंकि हम प्रजातन्त्र के उसूलों पर विश्वास करने वाले लोग हैं, प्रजातन्त्र के उसूलों पर विश्वास करने वाली हमारी पार्टी है इस वास्ते हम सब कुछ सुनते हैं। परन्तु 'बुल्फ' कहने वाले लोग हमारी बात को, सही बात को भी सुनना पसन्द नहीं करते हैं। 'बुल्फ' कहने वाले माननीय सदस्य भले आदमी हैं, मैं इस बात को मानती हूं। लेकिन न जाने उनकी जबान से कैसे ऐसे शब्द निकल आते हैं। अभी दो मिनट हुए उन्होंने कांग्रेस को बुल्फ कहा था। उसको हम लोगों ने सुन लिया। लेकिन उन में यह ताकत नहीं है, इतना सब्र नहीं है कि हमारी बात को भी वह सुन सकें। पार्लिमेंट में डींग मारने से क्या होता है, गाल बजाने से क्या होता है। मुल्क तमाशा देख रहा है। मुल्क ही इसका फंसला करेगा। कांग्रेस ने अगर गलती की है तो इसका फंसला करेगी देश की जनता। ये कौन होते हैं फंसला करने वाले। आप अपना तो फंसला कर लें। शासन में ये किस तरह से उखाड़ते आ रहे हैं, इसको ये अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। मैं जानना चाहती हूं कि किसी भी राज्य में, मद्रास, उड़ीसा को छोड़कर और केरल को छोड़ कर जहां बहुपार्टी सरकार बनाने के लिए इनको मजबूर होना पड़ा है कहीं किसी एक पार्टी की सरकार ये बना सके हैं? ये राजनीतिक दल बीस बरस से मैदान में हैं, कहीं भी इन्होंने अपनी पार्टी की सरकार बनाई है? और अगर कहीं कांग्रेस हारी है तो इस में कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है। यह जो प्रजातन्त्र का इतिहास है यह इसी देश का नहीं है -- इस देश का तो प्रजा-

[श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा]

तन्त्र का इतिहास नया इतिहास है — और देशों का इतिहास प्रजातन्त्र का आप उठा कर देख लें और आपको पता चलेगा कि अच्छे से अच्छा व्यक्ति, अच्छी से अच्छी पार्टी जो सत्तारूढ़ हुई है, पन्द्रह बीस बरस के बाद उसको शासन छोड़ना पड़ा है। आडीनाबर जिस ने जर्मनी को एक नई रूपरेखा दी उसको छोड़ना पड़ा, चर्चिल जिस ने ब्रिटेन के लिए लड़ाई जीती, उसको भी छोड़ना पड़ा, अमरीका में डेमोक्रेटिक पार्टी और रिपब्लिकन पार्टी के बीच में बराबर ऐसा होता चला आया है। यह ठीक है कि इस देश के प्रजातांत्रिक इतिहास में यह पहली बार हुआ है कि जो पार्टी शासन व्यवस्था सम्भाले हुई थी वह कहीं कहीं राज्यों में शासन व्यवस्था से अलग हो गई है या उसको अलग होना पड़ा है। इस में कोई शर्म की बात नहीं है। इस में कोई चिन्ता की भी बात नहीं है। हम कांग्रेस वालों को इस बात की तनिक भी चिन्ता नहीं है कि हमें शासन की बागडोर छोड़नी पड़ी है। हम प्रजातन्त्र के उसूलों में विश्वास करते हैं। जिस दल का बहुमत हो उसके हाथ में शासन सत्ता जानी चाहिये। प्रजातन्त्र में यही चलता है।

परन्तु मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि विरोधी दल के लोगों से, देशवासियों ने जिन लोगों पर यह जिम्मा सौंपा कि कम से कम पांच बरस तक आप सरकार चलायेंगे उन लोगों का क्या हुआ, आज सब मार पी० सी० घोष पर पड़नी है। वह किस पार्टी के सदस्य थे? किसी पार्टी के नहीं थे। उनका किसी पार्टी से समझौता भंग करने की क्या हमने कोशिश की....

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री : मंडल साहब की बात करिये।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : रामावतार शास्त्री जी की पार्टी के लोगों का वहां क्या हालचाल है इसकी भी मैं चर्चा करूंगी। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के जो मंत्री बने फिरते हैं वे मंडल जी के बारे में क्या कर रहे हैं, इनकी चर्चा मैं करूंगी। अपने साथियों को माननीय सदस्य जा कर सम्भालें जो अन्दर ही अन्दर मंडल जी की मदद कर रहे हैं जाति के नाम पर। बिहार के मामले में मेरी बिनती है कि रामावतार शास्त्रीजी कुछ न बोलें नहीं तो भानमती का पिटारा खुल जाएगा और उनकी पोल खुल जाएगी।

16 hrs.

प्रश्न यह है आखिर पी० सी० घोष किस के आदमी थे? किस दल से उन्होंने त्यागपत्र दिया? किस दल के नाम पर वह चुनाव लड़े? सब को मालूम है कि उन्होंने किसी पार्टी के नाम पर चुनाव नहीं लड़ा। वह स्वतन्त्र व्यक्ति थे। स्वतन्त्र व्यक्तियों की जमाअत ने यह फैसला किया कि उनका आपके साथ गुजारा नहीं होता। अजीब बात है कि अगर वही काम ये करें, तो बहुत अच्छा और वही काम अगर पी० सी० घोष करें, तो बहुत बुरा। पी० सी० घोष को मिलाना तो बहुत अच्छा लगा था, लेकिन जब वह अलग हो गए, तो कतई अच्छा नहीं लगा। गोविन्द नारायण सिंह को मिलाना बहुत मीठा! और जहां तक बिहार में मंडल साहब का ताल्लुक है, हम ने तो उन्हें पार्टी छोड़ने की नसीहत नहीं दी थी। मंडल साहब गले मिले थे डा० लोहिया की पार्टी एस० एस० पी० से। उन को टिकट मिला एस० एस० पी० से। वह एस० एस० पी० के नीली आंखों वाले लड़के थे। मंडल साहब का क्या हुआ? आखिर हम सारी बीमारियों का इलाज तो नहीं कर सकते हैं। हम अपना, कांग्रेस का, इलाज तो कर सकते हैं, लेकिन दूसरों की बीमारियों का इलाज हम कहा तक

करते रहें ? पर आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि मापदंड एक होना चाहिए ।

यह ठीक है कि आज हमारी राजनीति में जो कुछ हो रहा है, वह ठीक नहीं है । यह ठीक है कि चुनाव में विभिन्न दलों को जो वोट मिले हैं, उन का महत्व जरूर है । परन्तु यह भी ठीक है कि जब कांग्रेस और विरोधी दलों ने चुनाव लड़ा, तो ज्यादातर लोगों ने इस आधार पर वोट दिया कि कांग्रेस को वोट नहीं देना है, और चाहे किसी को भी दे दें । उस में कुछ उथल-पुथल हुई, जो कि स्वाभाविक थी । जो उथल-पुथल हो रही है, वह भी स्वाभाविक है । जिस को अंग्रेजी में "नेगेटिव वोटिंग" कहा जाता है, जब उस के आधार पर वोट डाले गये, तो कोई साफ़ तस्वीर राज-नैतिक धरातल पर अवतरित नहीं हुई । परन्तु क्या उस का जवाब यह है कि जहां विरोधी दलों को अच्छा लगता है, वहां तो वे अकड़ अकड़ कर चले और जहां उनके मन की बात नहीं होती है, वहां हम को राज-नैतिक लगे से मारना शुरू कर दें । अगर नाक पर से मक्खी उड़ाने की जरूरत है, तो जब उधर भी मक्खी बैठे, तो वे उस को भी उड़ायें । हमारी मक्खी तो तलवार से उड़ाई जाती है और जब उन के नाक पर मक्खी बैठती है, तो दूसरे को कहने भी नहीं देते हैं कि नाक पर मक्खी बैठ रही है । हद हो गई है । यह दौमानी भाषा उस ओर बैठे हुए राजनैतिक दलों में शायद एक नई भाषा के रूप में लाया है ।

यह कोई जरूरी नहीं है कि कांग्रेस जो कुछ भी करती है, मैं उस का समर्थन और पुष्टि करती हूं । जहां तक मेरी आवाज है, जिस को मैं गलत समझती हूं, उस को मैं गलत कहती हूं । मैं मानती हूं कि विरोधी दलों के लोग चाहे कुछ भी कर रहे थे, कांग्रेस को ऐसी सरकारें बनाने में मदद नहीं देनी चाहिए थी । हम विरोधी दल में थे और प्रजातन्त्र

में विरोधी दल के कार्य का बहुत बड़ा महत्व होता है । कांग्रेस एक ऐसी संस्था है, जिस में विरोधी दल में रह कर बड़ी शान से अपना कर्तव्य पालन करने की क्षमता है । वह विरोधी दल में रह कर भी बड़ी शानदार पार्टी के रूप में काम कर सकती थी ।

हम ने वह कांग्रेस देखी है, हमारी आंखों में उस कांग्रेस के लिए आकर्षण हुआ था, जिस की चिन्दगी में सूरज निकलने की उम्मीद नहीं थी । जिस समय 1942 का आन्दोलन हुआ, उस समय हम छोटे-छोटे बच्चे थे । हम लोगों की उम्र कम थी । उस समय हम यह सोच कर कांग्रेस में आए कि देश के लिए कुछ करना है । उस समय यह पता नहीं था कि कांग्रेस का हथ्र क्या होने वाला है । यह भी पता नहीं था कि आजादी मिलेगी या नहीं । हम लोगों में से कुछ डिफेंडर बन कर चले गये, लेकिन हम लोग तो अपनी जगह पर बैठे हुए हैं; हमने उस घर को नहीं छोड़ा है । इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि हमारे घर की छत चूने लगी है, परन्तु उम्मीद है कि हम इसे फिर बना लेंगे । हम इस घर को कभी नहीं छोड़ेंगे, यह बात मैं विरोधी दल को बता देना चाहती हूं ।

मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि कांग्रेस ने तो सूरज निकलने की भी उम्मीद नहीं की थी । इसलिए आज यह जमाअत शासन से अलग रह कर भी खूबसूरती से रह सकती थी । यह मेरा विश्वास है और यह मेरा विश्वास रहेगा । जब तक मुझ में ताकत रहेगी, बराबर वही आवाज मेरे मुंह से निकलेगी । माननीय सदस्यों के "न" करने से न मेरी आवाज बन सकती है और न बिगड़ सकती है ।

उधर से जो बड़े बड़े मरसिये पड़ते हैं देश के नाम पर उन देश के सपूतों से हाथ जोड़ कर मेरी विनती है कि जब उन्हें कांग्रेस को देखने से फुर्सत मिल जाये, तो उस के बाव बे जरा देश की तरफ भी देख लें । लेकिन उन

[श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा]

को कांग्रेस की तरफ देखने से ही फुर्सत ही नहीं मिलती है कि वे देश की तरफ देखें और उसकी तरफ तवज्जह करें। जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा है, चाहे कोई भी संस्था हो, चाहे वह कांग्रेस हो, पी० एस० पी० हो, एस० एस० पी० हो, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी हो या स्वतन्त्र पार्टी, वह जिन्दा भी रह सकती है, मर भी सकती है और फिर पैदा भी हो सकती है। परन्तु देश का प्रजातन्त्र और देश के प्रजातन्त्र की बुनियाद की कसौटी अगर आज ठीक नहीं होंगे, तो फिर कभी ठीक नहीं होंगे। एक बहुत अच्छा शेर है :

सिर्फ़ एक कदम उठा था गलत राहें शौक में,

मंजिल तमाम उम्र मुझे ढूँढती रही।

यह प्रजातन्त्र की जो कसौटी है यह जो हमारे लिए एक मंजिल है, अगर हम उस की तरफ बढ़ने के बजाये इस तरह से सरकारें बनाने और बिगाड़ने की गलती करते रहेंगे, तो हम उस मंजिल तक नहीं पहुँच पायेंगे। आज हमारे राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में जो कुछ हो रहा है, प्रेजिडेंट्स रूल तो उस का परिणाम है, कारण नहीं है। और परिणाम की नब्ज टटोलने वाले कारण तक कभी नहीं पहुँच सकते हैं। हमें कारण ढूँढने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। आखिर प्रेजिडेंट, राष्ट्रपति, या केन्द्रीय सरकार पर व्यंग्य मारने से क्या होता है? केन्द्रीय सरकार के पास चारा ही क्या था? इन लोगों ने खुद ही रास्ता खोल दिया — आया, गया, आया, गया।

पी० सी० घोष की सरकार बनी। जब इन लोगों ने शुरू में सरकार बनाई, तो वह बहुत अच्छी, लेकिन जब श्री घोष ने बनाई, तो उसी दिन से उन का खंडन होने लगा। अगर उधर के माननीय सदस्यों को कांग्रेस से शिकायत है, तो वह रहे। हम उस का फ़ैसला

मुल्क में कर लेंगे। परन्तु प्रजातन्त्र की कसौटी पर जो बुनियादी सत्य है, उस का गला घोटने के लिए विरोधी दल के लोगों ने जो रास्ता अख्तियार किया है, वह नहीं होना चाहिए। पंजाब, बंगाल, मध्य प्रदेश, उत्तर प्रदेश और हरियाणा में जो कुछ हो रहा है, अगर उसके लिए कोई सही रास्ता निकालना है, तो आज भी विरोधी दल के लोगों को यहां से आवाज उठानी चाहिए कि हम मिल-जुल कर इस राजनैतिक समस्या का फ़ैसला करेंगे। नहीं तो अगले पांच बरसों में न हम रहेंगे, न वे रहेंगे, और न जाने क्या रहेगा इस मुल्क में। जिस दिन प्रजातन्त्र का गला घुट जायेगा, उस दिन कोई भी हस्ती नहीं रह सकेगी, चाहे वह जनसंघ की हो, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी पी० एस० पी०, एस० एस० पी० और स्वतन्त्र पार्टी की हो और चाहे कांग्रेस की हो।

इस लिए प्रजातन्त्र की छतरी के नीचे ही हम को रहना है। एक दल का शासन बनेगा और दूसरा दल विरोध में जायेगा, यह क्रम बराबर चलता रहेगा। इस के लिए कतई परेशानी नहीं है। परेशानी इस बात की है कि प्रजातन्त्र के मूल सिद्धान्तों को खत्म करने की ये लोग तैयारी कर रहे हैं— कांग्रेस पर उंगली उठाने के लिये। आज मुल्क में हमारे और इन के प्रति, सब राजनैतिक लोगों के प्रति, एक नफरत की भावना पैदा हो रही है। अभी कल उत्तर प्रदेश से विद्यार्थियों का एक समूह मेरे पास आया। उन्होंने कहा कि सब के सब राजनैतिक नेताओं ने देश को कहां ला कर रख छोड़ा है। अगर यही स्थिति रही तो हमारे लिए किसी के दरवाजे पर भी खड़े होने की गुंजायश नहीं रहेगी और जनता चौराहे पर हमें गालियां देगी।

अगर हमारे मित्र इस स्थिति को खत्म करना चाहते हैं, तो यहां पर पर्दानशीनी से काम नहीं चलेगा। वे खुल कर मैदान में

आये और कहें कि वे भी गलत कर रहे हैं और हम भी गलत कर रहे हैं, साथ-साथ हम सब मिल कर प्रजातंत्र को बनाने के लिए उन गलतियों को ठीक करने की कोशिश करेंगे। परन्तु एक हाथ से ताली नहीं बजती है और न ही एक पहिये से रथ चलता है। जब तक दोनों पहिये नहीं चलेंगे, तब तक यह गाड़ी नहीं चलेगी। जब तक इस बारे में दोनों हाथ नहीं मिलेंगे, तब तक यह समस्या हल नहीं होगी।

मैं माननीय सदस्यों से यह अपील करती हूँ कि हम सब साथ मिल कर उस समस्या का समाधान करें यह समस्या जो कि पार्टी से ऊपर उठ चुकी है, जो देश तथा देश के भविष्य के लिए एक भयंकर खतरा बन गई है।

अब उस के बाद एक शेर कहती हूँ। यह डी० एम० के० वाले लोग भी अध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्दी नहीं समझते हैं लेकिन शेर समझ जाते हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, जहाँ तक इस देश का प्रजातन्त्र है यह एक गुलदस्ता है और इस देश के प्रजातन्त्र में जब सब फूल फूलेंगे तभी यह गुलदस्ता खूबसूरत होगा और तभी यह गुलदस्ता लाजवाब होगा। उसी के ऊपर यह शेर है और यह इन के लिए है, यह जरा सोचें।

चमन में इखलाते रंगों बू से बात बनती है।
हमी हम हैं तो क्या हम हैं तुम्हीं तुम हो
तो क्या तुम हो ॥

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) :
Sir, I hope the lady member's eloquence will not be allowed to encroach on my time.

Presidential rule can never be a substitute for democratic rule by the people's elected representatives. It is

a strange combination of circumstances which has brought us in this House to a pass today where the Government brings forward a resolution asking for approval of the proclamation of President's rule in West Bengal and we are not in a position to oppose it, though we cannot support it, because the idea of presidential rule is foreign to us.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR (Jhansi) :
you were asking for it.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Our goal is not presidential rule. Our goal is that the people of our State should once again express their democratic opinion. Mr. Dandekar, speaking on behalf of the Swatantra Party and his counterpart on the other side, Mr. Venkatasubbaiah, both two sides of the same coin, carefully glossed over the events of November 21, 1967, when the UF ministry was dismissed from office in a summary fashion. Mr. Dandekar sought to prove that this proclamation of presidential rule is the culmination of the UF ministry's long period of misrule. Mr. Venkatasubbaiah was angry with his ministers for not imposing presidential rule earlier. When Naxalbari was going on, when gheraos were going on, when law and order was breaking down, why did not the Government have the good sense to take that golden opportunity to intervene? That was Mr. Venkatasubbaiah's charge. They forget one simple thing, viz., they could not intervene despite everything, until they could find the defectors.

In this House last November, Mr. Ashok Sen, speaking from that side, tried to make fun of the UF as a carriage drawn by 40 horses. I had warned the House then that the attempt of the Congress Party in West Bengal with 130 members to come back to power on the backs of 17 horses, led by Mr. P. C. Ghosh, who I regret to say, even at his old age of 72 or 76, cannot restrain his lust for chief ministership, would come to

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grief. And, they did come to grief. The point is, between the dismissal of the UF ministry on 21st November 67 and the proclamation of President's rule on 20th February 68, there was no UF Government, no gheraos, no Naxalbari uprising. These three months are a record of something else. They are the record of a magnificent mass resistance movement by the people of West Bengal, who were determined to see that democracy succeeded, that this Governor appointed by the Central Government in Delhi would not be allowed to subvert the Constitution and to bring down a Government which had no popular sanction whatsoever.

Sir, it is time that in this House we paid some tribute to those people who during these three months suffered unparalleled tortures and repression, 45000 of whom had to go to jail, 18 of whom were killed—shot dead by the police, and hundreds of young men who were tortured in police lock-up, whose bones were broken, whose legs were broken and whose arms were broken in the police lock-up.

AN HON. MEMBER : The politicians are to be blamed.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You can blame the politicians. You can say that all the Leftist parties are bad. You may blame the Speaker who I consider to be the bravest man of all. But you cannot condemn the masses of West Bengal who fought and shed their blood on the streets to see that this conspiracy is defeated.

So many speakers here, both from this side and that side, made passing references to the traditions of West Bengal and the great sons we have produced in the revolutionary movement. Unfortunately, an ICS civilian brought up in the Punjab forgot about the revolutionary traditions of the people of West Bengal. He reckoned

without the real host. He relied on a handful of defectors. He tried that trick before. Of course he acted in collusion with the Central Government in the Home Ministry. But, as I said, he reckoned without the host and the result is there before all to see. Shri Dandekar reluctantly admits that the people may have won a technical victory. It is not a technical victory at all. The Congress Party was determined to avoid at all costs another mid-term election in West Bengal. That was why they were bringing in the P. C. Ghosh Ministry. That was what Shri Atulya Ghosh was also trying for. We were equally determined that the P. C. Ghosh Ministry, which we considered to be an illegally imposed Ministry, should not be allowed to continue in office and that the way must be open for another expression of the people's will through the ballot box. That is the struggle that took place in the last three months. That is the strange combination of circumstances which brings us here today; not to pass your resolution in principle because Presidential Rule we do not like, but under the Constitution there is no other way to get to another mid-term election. That is the victory of the people.

I only wish to say one or two things regarding the Governor. For all practical purposes he is to be a caretaker during this interregnum before the elections. A caretaker is somebody who takes care of something which is entrusted to him. I would like to know what Shri Dharma Vira is supposed to be taking care of. Whose interest is he taking care of? Everything he has done up to now since his induction into Governor's office proves without a shadow of doubt that he is motivated by the sole interest of looking after the Ruling Party's interest here at the Centre as dictated by the Home Ministry. If you want to create a normal atmosphere, an atmosphere in which popular confidence returns, and the hon. Minister said that he

wanted our cooperation to restore order and calm atmosphere before the elections so that the elections can be held in a proper atmosphere, the first thing required to be done is that this gentleman sitting in the Raj Bhavan in Calcutta has got to be recalled. He must be removed. His continuation in that office is a standing affront, an insult, to the emotions and sentiments of the people of Bengal. They are very emotional people, as you know. It cannot be helped. That is their make-up. Everything he has done stands as an affront to them and everything he has done has proved that he is impervious to constitutional propriety. His claim of impartiality, if any, will not hold water for a single second. That is the whole trouble. He has used double standards, one standard to dismiss the Mukerjee Ministry and another, a completely different standard, to try to keep in power the P. C. Ghosh Ministry as long as possible, a Ministry which had already forfeited any claim to have any majority support in the Assembly. This double standard operation by him has foreited for him whatever little confidence anybody might have had in him. Such a person cannot continue as a caretaker during this period prior to the elections. If you go through this interesting document circulated to us—I have no time to read it here—the Report of the Governor in November, the letter that he wrote to the Central Government, the message that he sent to the President of India, in all of these, even in those official carefully-worded, carefully-drafted documents, you will find peeping out here and there the traces of his partisanship. He writes in one of those letters: "Mr Asu Ghosh and his friend came to see me". That is all. He does not say what he advised him to do. But we who are living in Bengal know that he as Governor advised Mr. Asu Ghosh and his friend that you do whatever you like inside the Congress Party, if you want to change the leadership or if you want to bring about some reforms inside the Congress Party in Bengal,

please do it, but remain inside the Congress; do not leave the Congress and join the opposition. Is it the Governor's business to say that? I charge him with having meddled in politics when he did this thing. He has written in his report, the first report I think, when he was busy trying to dismiss the United Front Government :

"It is imperative that there should be a Ministry which clearly enjoys the majority support in the Assembly."

Had the P. C. Ghosh Ministry got the clear majority support in the Assembly? And had Ajoy Mukerjee Ministry clearly lost its majority when the Assembly had no chance of testing it? What are these standards which are applied, I would like to know.

I ask the friends sitting on that side, Shri Shukla in particular, please now look back in retrospect and ask yourself if only you had the patience to wait till the 18th of December, the date on which Shri Ajoy Mukerjee had summoned the Assembly; but you could not wait; you were too impatient; you were scrambling to get back into the seat of power. Shri Dharma Vira, only on the plea that the 18th of December was an unreasonably late date, dismissed the Ministry. I ask you in retrospect: would you have lost more than what you have lost today. If you had patience to wait till 18th December the position would have been different. But you would not wait and now you are faced with exactly the same thing which perhaps you wanted to avoid.

I am not very much worried by what Shri Dandekar says because, as far as Bengal is concerned, Swatantra Party does not come into the picture. It consists mainly of gentlemen who earn good money in Calcutta from jute, tea and so on but who for their votes have to go to Gujarat or Rajasthan. That is the kind of party which the Swatantra Party is in Bengal.

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

From the big companies in Calcutta they earn their profits but to get hold of the people to get votes in the elections they have to go to Rajasthan or Gujarat. So, we are not very much worried about the Swatantra Party. But their spokesman did clearly reveal was openly and bluntly mentioned by Shri Venkatasubbaiah. His friends were a little cautious in saying that from that side. What is that? That is the strategy which should be followed, and any body with the minimum of political commonsense can understand what the strategy is going to be. It is outlined clearly in both the speeches. One said: suppress the Communists; another said: ban them. The other said: no, do not ban them, then they will infiltrate and adulterate. Let them fight between themselves whether we should be banned or not banned, but the common point in their thinking is that before the general elections the ground must be prepared for repression so that the effective workers of the Communist Party are not allowed to function and go to the people for getting votes. This is the strategy. Then, it is common knowledge, I know it, that in the Home Ministry a plot is being hatched, many provocations are being prepared to bring in an excuse.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA: They seem to have a parallel government in the Home Ministry.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: If the report submitted by the Central Bureau of Investigation to the Home Ministry regarding CIA contacts with certain political leaders and defence officials can be printed in full in the *Statesman* on the front page, then it is also possible for us to know perhaps little of what is being hatched inside the Home Ministry. The first thing is this. And the second strategy is very simple: disrupt and divide the partners of the United Front.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: We did not do that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: A friendly warning is being given to Shri Madhu Limaye and other friends: remember, you will be swallowed by the Communists; do not allow yourselves to be embraced by them. The strategy is clear: build another anti-communist front if you can before November. But if you cannot, since Swatantra does not count anyway, they are finished, the strategy is to be

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA: What happened to Shrimati Renu Chakravarti, such an effective Member of Parliament from your party? She was eaten up by the Left Communists.

16.25 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair.]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I was not one of those who interrupted Shrimati Sinha; I am always charmed by her.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA: Thank you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: There is this symbol of bureaucratic reaction and an obedient tool of the Home Ministry and one who has proved himself impervious to minimum Constitutional propriety. That gentleman, the incumbent of the Raj Bhavan in Bengal, must be removed before any kind of proper atmosphere can be created for the elections.

AN HON. MEMBER: He should be arrested.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Just to give you an idea of the dangerous sort of thing which is now going on, after President's rule has been declared, there has been this unfortunate spate of riots or communal disturbances. All sorts of interpretations have been given. One gentleman said that it has nothing to do with the Hindus and the Muslims, there are

some Pakistani agents there and they are the only people who are involved in it. Some people said that it is being magnified; it is nothing very important; that is all. The Prime Minister rushed to Calcutta. Of course, I may be a bit uncharitable perhaps towards the lady if I suspect a little bit—partly at least; I will not say, wholly—of election stunt on her part too. Anyway, she rushed to Calcutta. While she was there the idea was mooted in a meeting with different representatives—the idea was not accepted but mooted—that if this thing continues like this, the army should be called out if the police cannot control it.

We know these parts in Calcutta. They are minority pockets and we know the *goondas*, the professional old anti-social gangs, which are in the underworld of a big city like Calcutta, who have operated many times in the past. It was mooted that the army can be used. When the Prime Minister returned here she is reported to have said in a press conference that the use of the Unlawful Activities Act against such elements might also have to be considered. It is only after that that the very next day, these incidents, I think temporarily, have subsided somewhat.

Now, a lot of controversy has gone on publicly as to whether she really said that they were politically motivated riots or not. Shri Chavan said that she did not say that; somebody else said it to her and so on. But I just want to point out a proof of political motivation if ever there was any. Here is the *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta, a well known paper linked with the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* house, a Congress paper, owned, managed, published, printed and written by well known people who call themselves Congressmen. This *Hindustan Standard* editorial of day before yesterday, which is headed "Indiscreet", said among other things—I just want you to note the tone in which it is written :—

"Mrs. Gandhi, one has to confess, acted in haste in deciding to rush to Calcutta on Sunday—denying herself much-needed rest—as if the Ganges was on fire. The Hooghly on Sunday was as perfect a picture of peace as it had been throughout the rest of the week."

"Rest of the week" means when people were being killed and forced to evacuate.

"If anything made its calm waters look reddish last week-end it was the after-glow of the setting sun and not the innocent blood of victim of mob fury."

This is the Congress paper banteringly saying that the Prime Minister had no business to go there and interfere. The *Hindusthan Standard* says :

"Peace in Calcutta in a sense is the special responsibility of New Delhi inasmuch as the State of West Bengal is now under President's rule. Yet nothing has occurred in Calcutta which would warrant direct Central intervention. Mrs. Gandhi's whirlwind tour has not in any way strengthened the peace-keeping efforts of the State administration. On the contrary, it may have done a lot of damage."

From the next day the incidents have subsided. I do not give the credit to Shrimati Gandhi. But they realised that they were going too far. There might be enough pressure to bring out the army or use a little stronger measures against these people who were carrying out these riots.

But here is a voice. These people who write these kinds of things are active in my State. I think, the phase of communal riots in Calcutta has nothing primarily to do with the religious question, the Hindu-Muslim question. It is politically motivated; it is a part of the build-up for the November election campaign to disturb. (Interruption).

AN HON. MEMBER : Of the Communists.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Communists do not go in for communal riots. If you go on saying "Communists", I will have to bring out all the names, of Bejoy Singh Nahar, Atulya Ghosh and so on. Therefore, this game, I am afraid, I am very apprehensive, may be a part of the Union Home Ministry's plan. They are trying to disrupt the Front on the one hand and, on some pretext, to round-up the Communists roundabout the election time. That I know. Here is another game being played down in Calcutta. That is because the base of the United Front is the common working people, the industrial workers, the busti people Calcutta. They are trying to disrupt them on the lines of not only Hindu-Muslim conflict but sometimes it will be Bengali-non-Bengali also. I know it is being done in order to disrupt the mass support of the United Front.

In conclusion, I would like to say three or four points which are necessary and immediate steps to be taken. There are on the Government's own admission, about 48 political prisoners detained under the Preventive Detention Act. Now, Mr. Shukla will say that there are charges against them, that they are people belonging to Naxalbari group, and so on. I do not know who they are. Before every election, political prisoners detained without trial must be released if a proper democratic atmosphere is to be sustained. You say here, so many people have said, don't suppress these people, try to divert them into constitutional channels. But if you hold these people in jail and if you try to have mass repression later on, surely, as anything, it is you who will be responsible for subverting the Constitution and the ballot box. Something else will come in its place. Then, nobody can stop it. So, these prisoners must be released.

Then, a very difficult period is ahead of food shortage and food crisis. I understand Food and Relief Committees are being reorganised at various levels in West Bengal. I would ask you to see to it that in these Food and Relief Committees representatives are not taken from such parties and such interests who have never made a secret of their opposition to procurement, to levy, to controls, to any kind of harsh measures being taken against black-marketeers, hoarders and jotedars. If you pack these Food and Relief Committees with such people, then we are in for a hard time, the people will suffer and the consequences you will have to suffer.

Another point is that there are many closed industries and factories. Nobody can have any pretext of gherao now. Mr. Morarji Desai, introducing the West Bengal Budget that day, admitted that by now the atmosphere is much better, that there is marked improvement in industrial relations, that confidence has returned, etc. etc. Why are these factory owners who have no excuse of gherao deliberately keeping their factories closed and keeping thousand of people out of employment? Simply in order to see that they get certain favourable terms and conditions from the Government. They want to retrench people and they want to get certain favourable terms from the Government. These factories must be opened.

About this Delegation of Powers Bill which is also here before the House, I would like to say one thing. Many hon. Members have moved their amendments which I support. It is a Consultative Committee of the Members of Parliament which is perhaps to be set up. I want to know : Is there anything sacrosanct about that number, 40 from Lok Sabha and 20 from Rajya Sabha I want to know that. I say that the membership of this Committee should be enlarged. I say that all Members who represent West Bengal should be in this Committee and,

if necessary, certain leading people from West Bengal also should be kept in this Committee. Why not some eminent M.L.As also, the leaders of various groups there, be kept in this Committee ?

Then, it is said here that it will be consulted only when considered appropriate or something like that. That also is consultation. There is nothing to ensure that their views will be accepted. Therefore, I say that it is a farce in the name of consultation. Before any Act is passed by this House, by Parliament, relating to West Bengal, it is necessary that the Committee should not only be consulted but the majority of its Members should approve of the proposed legislation. Otherwise, it will have no meaning.

Sir, I hope that this House will see to it that all possible measures are taken to see that the poll in November is expeditiously prepared for, that no delay of any kind is encountered at a later stage, that a proper atmosphere is created for it and the first step is the removal of Mr. Dharma Vira who has blotted the copy book of the Constitution and outraged the conscience of the people of West Bengal.

श्री ओंकारलाल बोहरा (चित्तौड़गढ़) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बंगाल का नाम सुनते ही एक इतिहास सामने आता है। जब हम बच्चे थे तो 1905 में स्वदेशी आन्दोलन जो बंगाल में शुरू हुआ था और बन्दे मातरम् और जनगण का गान जो बंगाल में सुना तो हमें ऐसा लगा कि राष्ट्रीयता का शंखनाद करने वाला बंगाल, हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के आन्दोलन में सबसे अग्रणी रहने वाला बंगाल और ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य-वाद से टक्कर लेने वाला बंगाल, वहां आज राष्ट्रपति का शासन है तो मैं नहीं समझता कि बंगाल जो जनतन्त्र का प्रेमी रहा, बंगाल जिसने साम्राज्य-वाद के विरुद्ध टक्कर ली, बंगाल जिसने रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर, आशुतोष मुखर्जी, राम

मोहन राय, नेताजी शुभाष चन्द्र बोस जैसे महान पुरुषों को जन्म दिया, उस बंगाल में आज राष्ट्रपति का शासन हो, तो इससे किसी को खुशी नहीं होती। हमें देखना है कि राष्ट्रपति शासन किन कारणों से लागू किया गया। आज यह स्वाभाविक है और इस बात का सबूत है कि राष्ट्रपति शासन की स्थापना का किसी पार्टी ने बंगाल में विरोध नहीं किया क्योंकि सभी चाहते थे कि जिस तरह की परिस्थिति बन गई है, उसमें राष्ट्रपति शासन बंगाल में लागू करना चाहिए।

मैं आपके सामने बहुत स्पष्ट तौर से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ, खास तौर से अपने साम्यवादी मित्रों से कि बंगाल जिसने बंदे मातरम् और जनगण गान दिया, पहले साम्यवादी मित्र इस बात को स्पष्ट करें कि हिन्दुस्तान की एकता और हिन्दुस्तान की राष्ट्रीयता में उनका किस हद तक विश्वास है। जिन अजय मुखर्जी की उन्होंने चर्चा की, जिनके नाम पर वह चर्चा करते रहे, क्या वह अपने दिल पर हाथ रखकर कह सकते हैं कि अजय मुखर्जी की विचारधारा में और उनकी विचारधारा में क्या समानता थी? यह संघर्ष जनतन्त्र का नहीं है, यह संघर्ष विचारधारा का संघर्ष है। इसलिये मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सबसे पहले मेरे साम्यवादी मित्र, और खास तौर पर बंगाल के साम्यवादी मित्र इस बात को हृदयंगम करें कि वे देश के साथ रहना चाहते हैं, राष्ट्रीयता की रक्षा करना चाहते हैं और जनतन्त्र में विश्वास भी करते हैं या नहीं। डी० एम० के० के मेरे मित्र ने बड़े आराम से फर्मान सुनाया, डिमो-क्रैसी का संदेश दिया। मैं अपने डी० एम० के० के मित्रों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब नक्सलबाड़ी के सम्बन्ध में बंगाल में घेराव हो रहा था और अजय मुखर्जी के नेतृत्व में जो सरकार थी उस समय हिंसा और बर्बरता का तांडव नृत्य हो रहा था और जब

[श्री ओंकारलाल बोहरा]

एस० एस० पी० के मजदूर कार्यकर्ता की हत्या कर दी गई थी, तब क्या आपने उस समय अजय मुकर्जी और अपने साथियों को जनतन्त्र का उपदेश दिया था। क्या जनतन्त्र का उपदेश केवल कांग्रेस को ही मुनाने के लिए है? अगर आप सब ईमानदारी से जनतन्त्र में विश्वास करते हैं तो न केवल डी० एम० के०, साम्यवादी पार्टी बल्कि जितनी भी राजनीतिक पार्टियां हैं उन्हें जनतन्त्र में अपनी आस्था को जनता से कबूल करवाना होगा। यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि जब हमारे ऊपर बार होता है, हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण होता है तो जनतन्त्र का सिक्का दिखलाते हैं, जनतन्त्र की बात करते हैं, मैं तो समझता हूँ कि उन लोगों को जनतन्त्र की बात करने का कोई हक नहीं है जो कि विचारधारा से और अपनी भावना से जनतन्त्र में विश्वास नहीं करने।

मैं आपसे सबसे पहले यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि केरल में भी साम्यवादी शासन है लेकिन वहाँ ऐसा संघर्ष नहीं हुआ। उड़ीसा में भी गैर-कांग्रेसी मंत्रिमंडल है, लेकिन आज तक उड़ीसा के बारे में हमने कोई चर्चा नहीं सुनी, उड़ीसा के बारे में कोई दंगल नहीं हुआ। किसी ने आरोप नहीं लगाया कि गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकार पर जुल्म किया जा रहा है। इसलिए सही बात समझने के लिए यह है कि हमारे साम्यवादी मित्र जनतन्त्र में कितना विश्वास रखते हैं और देश की राष्ट्रीयता में कितना विश्वास रखते हैं। यही एक मूल प्रश्न है जिसपर कि हमें चर्चा करनी है। राष्ट्रपति शासन न कांग्रेस चाहती है और न जनतन्त्र की यह भावना ही है। राष्ट्रपति शासन एक निमित्त है, एक परिस्थिति है जिसमें कि राष्ट्रपति शासन को स्वीकार किया गया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि कांग्रेस सरकार ने और केन्द्रीय सरकार ने भी बड़ी इस बात की

कोशिश की कि राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू न किया जाए।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके द्वारा कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे साम्यवादी सिद्धान्तों और साम्यवादी विचारधारा में कोई शिकायत नहीं है। साम्यवादी लोग देश में गरीबी खत्म करना चाहते हैं, देश में बेरोजगारी खत्म करना चाहते हैं, देश में मरणान्तर लाना चाहते हैं और लाखों मजदूरों को ऊंचा उठाना चाहते हैं, तो मुझे उनसे कोई शिकायत नहीं है। देश को आगे बढ़ना है, गरीबी को मिटाना है, समाजवादी व्यवस्था लानी है, इसमें हमें कोई शिकायत नहीं है। इसमें हम उनके साथ हैं। लेकिन एक बात याद रखनी होगी कि किसी भी कीमत पर देश का विघटन वरदाशत नहीं किया जा सकता। देश की एकता सर्वोपरि है। उर्गा एकता के बल पर हम देश को समृद्धि की ओर आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं। आपकी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय साम्यवादी सिद्धान्तों पर चलने की तैयारी है। आप अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय साम्यवादी सिद्धान्तों को लेकर बंगाल के अन्दर एक विशेष प्रकार की व्यवस्था लाना चाहते हैं तो आप पहले अपनी आस्था को टटोलिए कि आप जनतन्त्र में कितना विश्वास करते हैं। जैसा कि मैंने कहा, सबसे पहले आप अपने मन में नोचिये, आपने पी० सी० घोष के लिए शिखंडी की बात कही। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि बावजूद पूरी आजादी के, क्या आपने अजय मुकर्जी को शिखंडी की तरह पूज नहीं किया। आप पी० सी० घोष की चर्चा करते हैं, मैं कहता हूँ कि अजय मुकर्जी जिन्दगी भर एक ईमानदार गांधीवादी और कांग्रेस के देश में स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम के सेनानी रहे लेकिन आपने यह जानते हुए भी कि आपकी विचारधारा और अजय मुकर्जी की विचारधारा में एक परसेन्ट भी मेल नहीं है, फिर आपने उनका उपयोग क्यों किया? फिर

जब आपने देखा कि अजय मुकर्जी आपके अनुकूल नहीं हैं, आपके नियन्त्रण में नहीं हैं तब आपने अजय मुकर्जी की निन्दा की, उनकी बेइज्जती की।

मैं अपने साम्यवादी भाइयों से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह वह है जो कि शिखंडी की तरह अपने विचारों के लिए लोगों का उपयोग करते हैं। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश में जिस बंगाल ने राष्ट्रीयता का नारा बलन्द किया मुझे मालूम है और मुझे पक्का विश्वास है कि बंगाल की जनता और बंगाल के करोड़ों लोग राष्ट्र के साथ हैं और वह देश की राष्ट्रीयता का हृदय में स्वागत करते हैं। मुझे इसमें कतई संदेह नहीं है कि जहाँ से वह वंदेमातरम् का गीत निकला और जो कि मारे देश के स्कूलों में चलता है और यह बंगाल ही है। जहाँ से वह जन-मन-गण वाला राष्ट्रीय गान भी निकला और उस की आवाज़ तमाम देश भर में एक कोने से दूसरे कोने तक मुनाई देती है। इस तरह का बंगाल और उसकी जनता राष्ट्र के साथ कभी दाँव घात नहीं कर सकती कभी गद्दारी नहीं कर सकती।

मैं अपने साम्यवादी मित्रों से खास तौर पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप कांग्रेस को जनतंत्र का उपदेश मत दीजिए, आप किसी दूसरी पार्टी को जनतंत्र का उपदेश मत दीजिये बल्कि आप स्वयं अपनी आत्मा को टटोलिये। आप देश में समाजवादी व्यवस्था लाइये। आप के हाथ में शासन था आप के हाथ में सरकार थी। मुझे आप ऐसे दो कदम बतलाइये जो आप ने अपने आदर्शों और विचारों के अनुकूल काम करने के लिए छांटे हैं। आपने इन 6 महीनों के अन्दर अपनी विचारधारा के अनुकूल अगर 5 प्रतिशत भी काम किया होता तो जनता में आप की इज्जत बढ़ती और जनता आप को

प्यार करती। लेकिन आपने सोचा कि हम बहुत जल्दी हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर कम्युनिज्म ला देंगे और हम बहुत जल्दी क्रांति कर देंगे। मित्रो, सन् 42 में भी आप ने यही गलती की थी। सन् 48 में तेलंगाना का विद्रोह फैला कर भी आप ने यही गलती की थी। आप जब तक देश की आत्मा को नहीं समझेंगे जब तक देश की राष्ट्रीयता को हृदय में स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कम्युनिज्म का शिकार होते रहेंगे तब तक देश की जनता के दिलों में आपकी इज्जत बर्बाद नहीं रहेगी। फिर यह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कम्युनिज्म जिसके कि पीछे आप दौड़ते रहे हैं वह है कहां? चीनी कम्युनिस्ट अपने बड़े भाई कम्युनिस्ट रूस से लड़ रहे हैं। रूस और चीन आपस में लड़ रहे हैं। इसलिए यह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कम्युनिज्म है कहां? जब चीन हिन्दुस्तान जैसे मित्र को थोड़ी सी जमीन के लिए खो सकता है, थोड़ी सी अपनी राष्ट्रीयता के लिए चीन अगर हिन्दुस्तान की दोस्ती खो सकता है तो क्या हिन्दुस्तान के साम्यवादी अपने राष्ट्र के लिये चिन्तन नहीं कर सकते, अपने राष्ट्र के लिए नहीं सोच सकते। इसलिए बेमिन्न गलती का ममय रहते सुधार उन साम्यवादी भाइयों को कर लेना चाहिए। मैं श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त की इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि हमें एक तरीके से चलना है लेकिन उस तरीके का इस्तेमाल यदि आप जनतंत्र में विश्वास करके नहीं करते हैं, यदि आप राष्ट्रीयता में विश्वास नहीं करते हैं तो कैसे आप इस देश में पनप सकते हैं? मुझे खतरा है कि राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होने के बाद भी अगर पार्टियों का चुनाव हुआ और चुनाव के बाद यह मान लिया जाये कि ऐसी गवर्नमेंट आये जो कि देश के लिए विघटनकारी हो, देश के लिए अराष्ट्रीय हो तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह कोई निर्णय नहीं होगा वह कोई अंतिम समाधान नहीं होगा।

[श्री ओंकारलाल बोहरा]

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप के द्वारा यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश पर कोई भी पार्टी शासन करे उस का एक मात्र नारा यह होना चाहिये कि देश एक रहेगा, हमारा राष्ट्र एक रहेगा और हम फिर समाजवाद के आदर्शों के आधार पर और अपने विचारों के आधार पर अपनी सामाजिक अवस्था को बदलें, कानून बदलें और जनता को उस के अनुरूप तैयार करें लेकिन हर हालत में देश की एकता कायम रखनी चाहिये जिससे साम्यवादी लोग चाहे वह केरल में हों, चाहे बंगाल में हों या कहीं भी हों इस बात का सबूत जनता से प्राप्त कर लेंगे जनता पर इस बात का अहसास हो जाएगा कि साम्यवादी सब कुछ कर सकते हैं लेकिन वह देश की एकता को नहीं बेच सकते, वह राष्ट्र के टुकड़े नहीं करेंगे और उस दिन आप देखेंगे कि जनता आपके पीछे होगी और वह आपको मत देगी। इसलिए उनको समझना चाहिए कि जनता का उन्हें समर्थन कैसे प्राप्त हो सकता है? भारतवर्ष में किसी भी पार्टी की बपीती नहीं है और पिछले चुनावों में हम ने देखा कि किन्हीं प्रदेशों में जनता ने कांग्रेसमैनों को वोट नहीं दिया और वह वहां बहुमत में नहीं आ सके और वहां पर विरोधी दलों ने मिल जुल कर गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकारों की स्थापना की। लेकिन यह आप को स्वीकार करना होगा कि कांग्रेस ने उस बदली हुई परिस्थिति को हँसते हुए स्वीकार किया। जाहिर है कांग्रेस की एक बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है। भारत के स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम में देश को आज़ादी के द्वार पर लाने में कांग्रेस ने बहुत बड़ा काम किया है। इस की वह हैसियत है जोकि उस काज़ी के पास जाने वाली असली लड़के की माँ की थी कि जिसने अपने बच्चे को तकसीम न होने देने के लिए कह दिया कि उसे दूसरी औरत के सुपुर्द कर दिया जाय। कांग्रेस की भी उसी लड़के की माँ वाली

स्थिति है और वह समझी है कि यदि देश जीवित है तो कांग्रेस भी जीवित है और सब कोई जीवित है। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि हमारे नेताओं का यह दृढ़ विश्वास है कि देश के और टुकड़े नहीं होने देंगे। जैसा भी आज वह हमारे पास बचा हुआ है उसी अवस्था में कायम रखेंगे।

मैं अपने साम्यवादी मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज आप राष्ट्रपति शासन का इसलिए विरोध कर रहे हैं क्योंकि आप को इस बात में विश्वास है कि बंगाल की जनता आप का बड़ा समर्थन करेगी और मध्यावधि चुनावों में आप की स्थिति मजबूत हो जाएगी लेकिन मैं फिर आप को राष्ट्रीयता के नाम पर चुनौती देना चाहता हूँ कि यदि आप का जनतंत्र में विश्वास नहीं तो आप चुनावों में भाग मत लीजिए। आप अपने तरीके से कोशिश कीजिए। लेकिन यह जनतंत्र की दुहाई देकर और जनतंत्र के नाम पर आप राष्ट्र के साथ मेहरबानी करके विश्वासघात मत कीजिए और देश के टुकड़े करने के भागीदार मत बनिये। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: This morning objection was raised, but now the Memorandum has already been circulated. So I request Shri Shukla to move the Bill.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to confer on the President the power of Legislature of the State of West Bengal to make laws, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That the Bill to confer on the President the power of Legislature of the State of West Bengal to make laws, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration".

श्री वेबेन सेन (आसनसोल) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी राय में अगर बंगाल का गवर्नर राजनीतिक पक्षपात से काम नहीं लेता और संविधान को मान कर चलता तो बंगाल में आज राष्ट्रपति शासन चालू होने की जरूरत नहीं होती और यह प्रस्ताव भी संसद के सामने लाने की जरूरत नहीं होती।

अगर गवर्नर द्वारा पक्षपात नहीं होता और जबकि श्री अजय मुर्जी ने उन को कहा था कि मैं 18 दिसम्बर को असेम्बली की बैठक बुलाना चाहता हूँ, गवर्नर द्वारा मान लिया जाता तो यह नौबत पेश न आती। गवर्नर को उस को मान लेना चाहिए था। उसे मानने में गवर्नर का क्या नुकसान था? मैं पुनः अपनी उसी बात पर जोर देकर दुहराना चाहूँगा कि अगर वह रिक्वैस्ट मान ली जाती तो आज यह सब बखेड़ा हमारे सामने नहीं आता। उस असेम्बली की मीटिंग में कौन अक्सरियत में है इस का फैसला हो जाता और श्री अजय मुर्जी की अक्सरियत है या नहीं यह भी साबित हो जाता और मामला वहीं खत्म हो जाता लेकिन वह बात नहीं मानी गई। लेकिन उसी गवर्नर ने डा० घोष के कहने पर दो मर्तबा असेम्बली की बैठक बुलाई है एक 29 नवम्बर को और दूसरी 14 फरवरी को बुलाई लेकिन जैसा कि मैंने कहा श्री अजय मुर्जी की रिक्वैस्ट पर एक मर्तबा भी गवर्नर मीटिंग नहीं बुला सके। गवर्नर के इस व्यवहार से उनका पक्षपाती रवैया माफ़ प्रकट हो जाता है। अगर वह अजय मुर्जी की असेम्बली को 18 दिसम्बर को बुलाने की बात मान लेते तो उस में क्या नुकसान हो जाता? इस को मानने में किसी का भी कोई नुकसान नहीं था क्योंकि असेम्बली के अन्दर इस बात का निर्णय हो सकता था कि श्री अजय मुर्जी के साथ बहुमत है अथवा नहीं। अजय मुर्जी को इस तरीके से अपना बहुमत साबित करने का अवसर गवर्नर को देना चाहिए था। गवर्नर

का तो रोल किसी का भी पक्ष लेने का होना नहीं चाहिए था। लेकिन जो गवर्नर ने पक्षपात का व्यवहार किया उस में साबित हो जाता है कि वहाँ पर माजि़श चल रही है एक वहाँ पर षडयन्त्र चल रहा था। दरअसल बंगाल में ऐसी प्रतिकूल शक्तियाँ विद्यमान थीं और हैं जोकि इम किम्म की साजि़श के अनुकूल हैं।

बंगाल में कलकत्ते में ब्रिडला साम्राज्य की राजधानी है। आप को मालूम होगा कि ब्रिटिश पूंजीपतियों का सब से बड़ा फैलावा बंगाल में है। वहाँ पर करीब-करीब 250 खदानें, 100 चटकलें और करीब 300 या 350 चाय बगीचों में ब्रिटिश कैपिटल लगा हुआ है, भरा पड़ा हुआ है। इन की शुरूआत ब्रिटिश कैपिटल को लेकर हुई। इसके अलावा वहाँ पर इस्पात कारखाने के मोनोपोलिस्ट्स का निवासस्थान भी कलकत्ते में है। इसलिए जो बंगाल की पृष्ठभूमि है वह माजि़श के लिए अनुकूल थी और उस पृष्ठभूमि पर वहाँ कई एक खिलवाड़ खेले गये। जो खिलवाड़ खेले गये उन्हें हम दो हिस्सों में बांट सकते हैं। एक उस का नान-आफिशिएल हिस्सा है जिसमें अनुत्पन्न घोष, पी० सी० घोष और आशुतोष घोष हैं और दूसरे आफिशिएल हिस्से में धर्मवीर और गृह मंत्री हैं। इन पाँचों आदमियों ने मिल कर बंगाल का ड्रामा चलाया था। उस ड्रामे में सब से पहला जो ऐक्शन हुआ वह यह था कि श्री अजय मुर्जी की रिक्वैस्ट को इकार कर दिया गया। दूसरा ऐक्शन वह हुआ कि श्री अजय मुर्जी को बर्खास्त कर दिया गया। अब मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह से उन की बर्खास्तगी करने के लिए संविधान में कोई व्यवस्था नहीं थी। संविधान इस तरह से बर्खास्त करने का हक नहीं देता है। उन को संविधान के अनुसार तब तक बर्खास्त नहीं किया जा सकता था जब तक कि बंगाल असेम्बली से इस का निश्चय न करवा लिया

[श्री देबेन सेन]

जाता कि श्री अजय मुकर्जी की अक्सरियत नहीं रही है। जब तक बंगाल असेम्बली में यह निश्चय न हो जाता कि श्री अजय मुकर्जी को अक्सरियत प्राप्त नहीं रही तब तक उन्हें निकाला नहीं जाना चाहिए था। मुझे इस स्थल पर श्री पिट का केस स्मरण हो आता है जोकि इंग्लैंड में माइनारिटी में होते हुए भी दो वर्ष तक वहां पर प्राइम मिनिस्टर बने रहे क्योंकि वहां ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट में इसका फंसला नहीं हो पाया था कि उनकी अक्सरियत है या नहीं। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि जब तक असेम्बली की बैठक में वोटिंग से इस तरीके का कोई फंसला नहीं होता है कि श्री अजय मुकर्जी को अक्सरियत प्राप्त नहीं रही है तब तक गवर्नर को उन्हें इस तरह से निकालने का कोई राइट नहीं था। तीसरा ऐक्शन यह हुआ कि वहां पर डा० घांप को बहाल कर दिया गया। यह तीन ऐक्शन आप देखते हैं। इस के अलावा एक ऐक्शन यह हुआ कि 25,000 आदमी पकड़े गये और 19 आदमी मारे गये डा० घांप के जमाने में। मेरी राय में आज केन्द्रीय सरकार और पश्चिम बंगाल के बीच में इस बारे में झगड़ा चल रहा है।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज बंगाल भूल नहीं सकता लार्ड कर्जन को, बंगाल भूल नहीं सकता पार्टिशन को और बंगाल इस को भी नहीं भूल सकता कि वहां पर 19 आदमियों की मृत्यु हुई जिस के बारे में केन्द्रीय सरकार और पश्चिम बंगाल में व्यवधान चल रहा है। वहां पर जो साजिश थी वह चलती रही और उस के अन्त में यह हुआ कि मंत्रिमण्डल बर्खास्त हुआ अजय मुकर्जी का।

इस बिल के सम्बन्ध में मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि पहले तो प्रेजिडेंट को वार्डपाम किया गया उस के बाद पार्लियामेंट को वार्ड-

पाम किया गया। पार्लियामेंट को वार्डपाम कर के प्रेजिडेंट के हाथ में पावर दी गई दो जगहों पर। एक जगह पर तो यह कहा गया कि पार्लियामेंट क्लेयर एन सेशन आर नाट इन सेशन, दूसरी जगह पर कहा गया कि जो मलाहकार कमेटी बनाई गई उस से मलाह ले या न ले। उस में मलाह लेने की बाध्यता नहीं है। वह कानून बना सकेगा। बिल में भी पार्लियामेंट को वार्डपाम कर के वहां पर एकतन्त्री शासन जारी रखने की साजिश चल रही है।

यह बात नहीं है कि हम लोग एलेक्शन से डरते हैं, हम लोग एलेक्शन चाहते हैं, लेकिन अगर एलेक्शन करने हैं तो आप का सब से पहला काम यह है कि धर्मवीर को वहां से बुलाइये क्योंकि वहां उन्होंने पक्षपात से काम लिया है। अगर वह नहीं बुनाये जायेंगे तो वहां पर फेर चुनाव होने वाले नहीं हैं। इस के बाद दूसरी बात यह है कि अभी तक जो आदमी गिरफ्तार किये गये हैं उन को छोड़ दिया जाये और जिन के खिलाफ वारंट हैं उन को उठा लिया जाय। जो 44 आदमी जेल गये हैं और दमदम जेल में हैं उन्होंने हंगर-स्ट्राइक का नोटिस दिया है, उन को भी छोड़ा जाना चाहिये। उस के बाद फेर एलेक्शन हो। अगर इस तरह से एलेक्शन होगा तो मैं दावा करता हूँ कि यूनाइटेड फ्रंट फिर जीत कर आयेगा और कांग्रेस वहां हारेगी। पिछले चुनावों में कांग्रेस 130 सीट्स पा गई, लेकिन अगले चुनाव में उस को 100 सीटें भी नहीं मिलेंगी। हम लोग सब सीटें ले कर चले आयेंगे। यह बात नहीं है कि हम लोग कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के खिलाफ हैं, यह हम लोगों का गौरव है कि बंगाल में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी है जो लोग कहते हैं कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को बैन करो, उन की बात को मैं ठीक नहीं मानता।

श्री दांडेकर साहब बंगाल के बारे में कुछ जानते नहीं हैं। उन का एक आदमी चुना गया था। उन के आदमी तो बंगाल में सिर्फ व्यापार करने के लिये जाते हैं, वहाँ के लोगों का शोषण करने के लिये जाते हैं। इस लिये उन्हें बंगाल के बारे में बोलने का हक नहीं है।

आज जो बिल आया है मैं उस का विरोध करता हूँ क्योंकि उस के जरिये से वहाँ पर एकनन्वीय शासन जारी किया गया है।

SHRI CHITTARANJAN ROY (Joy-nagar) : Though we are happy at the fact that the P. C. Ghosh Ministry in West Bengal has been thrown to the dust and that was also the logical culmination of events because during his rule, the people of West Bengal had undergone so many troubles, suppression, intimidation and what not, yet, we cannot support this Bill and this resolution because in any case these are not a 'must', and rather these were a continuation of the ugly game started by the Congress Party with the blessings of their bosses in the Central Government. You know they tried to topple the UF Government in West Bengal since the inception of that Government. In doing so, they violated all the democratic norms, conventions and principles so far established in our country. Throwing all these to the winds, they set up a defectors' Government in that State. That is why we cannot support this Resolution and this Bill.

We know that their object in imposing President's rule in the State was only to save their ugly face. It was to save the face of the Central Government and also the Congress Party. We are often told that there is a constitutional deadlock in West Bengal. We do not know what that deadlock is. If there is a deadlock, it was only the logical culmination of the manouvrings of the Congress Party

which the Central Government indulged in through Shri Dharma Vira when they started to topple the Ministry in power there. Out of all that, this has happened. So this constitutional deadlock cannot be called a genuine one. It was artificially created by the Congress Party in connivance with the Central Government so as to grab power once more in that State.

The Congress Party in West Bengal has been isolated from the people, from the masses. Not only that. In all other States also, it has been revealed by the last general elections that the Congress has lost its popularity with the people. The more they are isolated from the people, the more frantically they take recourse to intimidation and suppression of the people's rights. In this way, a dangerous trend has been set in motion. The dictatorial attitude of the Government is increasing and this has its dangerous implications in the body politic of India. If this is not arrested, if this is allowed to go on, if the misuse of constitutional authority is not stopped, the future of Indian politics is going to be dark indeed. Let this be a warning to the Central Government. If this trend is not arrested, the future of Indian politics will take a course where the people will resort to a course of action which will suit their purpose and their interests.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is about 5 P.M. now. We have to have another discussion as per the order paper. The hon. Member might continue tomorrow.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch-Bihar) : How many more hours are left for this discussion? Two more hours?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The time allotted was four hours. Whatever balance is left will be exhausted tomorrow.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : More time should be given for this.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He can reserve that remark for tomorrow.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : We must have time to speak on this.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : May I seek a clarification? What is the basis of your selection of speakers? You have given priority to some friends and not given equal priority to others. What is the reason?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Some Independents are accommodated.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : You are making a selection on your own choice. This is not nice.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : No. no.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : It must be extended by at least another hour.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Vajpayee.

17 Hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

DISCUSSION ON STATEMENT MADE
BY HOME MINISTER RE: CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN
PUNJAB

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, नियम 193 के अन्तर्गत मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय के द्वारा 20 मार्च को पंजाब सम्बन्ध में दिये गये वक्तव्य पर चर्चा उठा रहा हूँ।

यह बड़े खेद का विषय है कि गृह मंत्री ने पंजाब के सम्बन्ध में जो वक्तव्य दिया है वह गिल सरकार से प्राप्त जानकारी के आधार पर दिया है। उस वक्तव्य की कीमत

एक अपराधी के बयान से अधिक नहीं है—ऐसा अपराधी, जो न केवल अपने पाप पर पर्दा डालने के लिये तथ्यों को तोड़ता-मरोड़ता है, बल्कि असत्य का आश्रय लेने में भी संकोच नहीं करता है।

18 मार्च को पंजाब की विधान सभा में क्या हुआ? कुछ तथ्य ऐसे हैं, जो निर्विवाद हैं और जिन के सम्बन्ध में किसी प्रकार का मतभेद नहीं है। एक यह तथ्य निर्विवाद है कि उस दिन पंजाब की विधान सभा में पुलिस वालों को सफ़ेद कपड़ों में बुलाया गया। यह भी निर्विवाद है कि पुलिस पंजाब विधान सभा में मुख्य मंत्री के आदेश पर बुलाई गई। जब विधान सभा की बैठक शुरू हुई, तो पुलिस वाले सफ़ेद कपड़ों में पीछे की बैंचों की आड़ में छिपे हुए बैठे थे। अध्यक्ष के आगमन से पहले ही पुलिस वाले विधान सभा के भीतर आ गये थे और ऐसी जगह बैठे थे, जहाँ से दिखाई न दें।

श्री विभूति मिश्र (मोतीहारी) : आप ने देखा है ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : देखा तो आपने भी नहीं है।

अब यह कहा जाता है कि वे वाच एण्ड वाई के आदमी थे। अगर यह बात सच होती, तो जब विधान सभा के अध्यक्ष सदन में आये, तो उन लोगों को अध्यक्ष के सम्मान में खड़े होना चाहिये था। लेकिन प्रत्यक्ष-दर्शियों का कहना है कि जब विधान सभा के अध्यक्ष सदन में आये, तो वे बैंचों के पीछे छिपे हुए बैठे थे और जब विरोधी दलों की तरफ से व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाया गया, तो वे पंक्ति बना कर बाहर चले गये। वे विधान सभा भवन के बाहर नहीं गये; वे लाबियों में मुख्य मंत्री और डी० आई० जी०, सी० आई० डी०, के आदेश की प्रतीक्षा करते रहे।