

「अध्यक्ष महोदय, बंकि काफ़ी मुझे बोलना है लेकिन समय नहीं है, इसलिए मैं आखिर में एक बात कह कर समाप्त करता हूँ श्री यह यह है कि प्राज देश के अन्दर बहुत बड़ा कोहराम सा पैदा हो गया है और यह है बेराय के मसले को ले कर । बेराय के मसले ने देश के मजदूरों को अदकित्मती का मसला पदा किया है बंगाल और बिहार के अन्दर और अध्यक्ष महोदय, दूसरे प्रदेशों में भी इन मसले को शुरू करने के लिए मजदूर सोच रहे हैं । जहाँ इन्डस्ट्रीयल पीस रख कर प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ाने का मन्थन पैदा होता है वहाँ पर यह नपुंसक ट्रेड यूनियन लीडर्स यह बेराय पैदा करके ट्रेड यूनियन के नाम पर खम्बा लगा रहे हैं । जहाँ देश में मही डग से, मजदूरों को लीड करने का सवाल पैदा होता है वहाँ हमारे लिए इंडस्ट्रियल डिस्प्यूट ऐक्ट है, हमारे लिए ऐडजुकेशन है, ट्रिपार्टीट काम्फरेस है, हमारे लिए और बहुत सारे गस्ते हैं जिनसे मालिक अगर कहीं जुल्म करते हैं तो मालिकों को नीचा करने के लिए उन मालिक से मजदूरों के हक़ को हासिल करने के लिए हम लड़ते आ रहे हैं और उन से लड़ कर के कई सालों से हम उनको नीचा करते आ रहे हैं और मजदूरों के डिमांडेड्स को मनाते आ रहे हैं . . . . .

श्री मधु सिन्घे : आप लड़ रहे हैं ?

श्री बी० बेर्कडाइलाबी : मैं वहाँ लेबर में 1949 से यह काम कर रहा हूँ और मैं प्रायः प्रदेश के कई मसले बताना चाहता हूँ, कई प्रिबिलिजेज मैने सुप्रीम कोर्ट से लड़ कर जीते हैं ।

मैं बेराय के मसले का पूरी तरह से खंडन करना चाहता हूँ और यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वही लोग इस सवाल को उठाते हैं जिन के अन्दर ट्रेड यूनियन मूवमेंट चलाने का मन नहीं है । यह कहते हुए मैंने जो भी बक्त किया है उस के लिए मैं आप का धन्यवाद करता हूँ ।

17. 18 hrs.

DISCUSSION ON HOME MINISTER'S STATEMENT Re ASSAULT ON SHRI BIMALKANTI GHOSH, M.P.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Dwivedy.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North East): I rise on a point of order, Sir.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): I have not made my speech yet. Unless I begin, how can there be a point of order? After my speech is over, there can be a point of order.

Mr. Speaker: He rarely raises a point of order. Let us hear him.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: But a point of order cannot be raised in a vacuum.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: If he makes his speech, the entire point of my point of order will be lost. You may decide against me, that is a different matter.

You have given your consent to this motion under rule 183. I am sure before giving your consent about the admissibility you had read rule 186. Under rule 186, in order that a motion may be admissible, it has to satisfy a certain condition, and it is stated obligatorily at page 81:

"it shall not relate to any matter which is under adjudication by a court of law having jurisdiction in any part of India."

As far as the content of the matter is concerned, we have already in this House expressed ourselves against political hooliganism. But in so far as the assault on a member of this House is concerned, I saw in yesterday's Calcutta papers how in the West Bengal legislature, the Chief Minister expressed his inability to say anything more than the fact that certain court cases and counter-cases in relation to this assault incident are there. Therefore, his hands were tied, his lips

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sealed and he could not go any further. I wish also to point out to you, when our hon. friend, Shri Madhu Limaye was assaulted and we tried to raise a discussion in the House we were stopped, to my mind technically correctly, because there was a court case concerned with it. I heard a little while ago that Dr. Ranen Sen was sought to be assaulted and when hon. Members tried to raise a discussion in this House you perhaps ruled it out because, maybe, some court cases are expected to be there.

**Mr. Speaker:** I know about Shri Limaye's case but I know nothing about Dr. Ranen Sen's case.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** I have given a Calling Attention Notice.

**Mr. Speaker:** Calling Attention Notice would not have been admitted on other grounds.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** I just heard it from Shri Banerjee. The other day, when the *choti sadri gold case*, a case of gold having been secreted and taken away allegedly by the Chief Minister of Rajasthan, was sought to be raised here I found the Government spokesman with leonine zeal pointing out to you that there was a court case or some investigation by a tribunal and you, to my mind correctly, tried to put an end to the discussion at that point of time.

I just want to say this. If you are pleased, in your wisdom, to rule this motion as admissible, then I would submit, in all humility, that a motion of which a notice may very well be given almost here and now in regard to a discussion of the *choti sadri gold case* should also be permitted to be discussed. I am concerned in regard to these things with certain procedural improprieties and, Sir, you are concerned most of all to tell us what to do about it. If we have this discussion, let us have it. I have myself spoken very sharply against political hooliganism. It is not that I want to shut it out. My friend behind tells

me, let there be a discussion. Let there be a discussion on everything under heaven and let there be a discussion on such things as the gold secretion because, Sir, if you beat me I am only an individual who will be assaulted but if you beat up the country and assault it, it is a much bigger thing. Those things are not being discussed. That is why I have raised this procedural question.

**श्री मधु लिमये (मुंबेर) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, इन्होंने बहुत महत्वपूर्ण मामला आपके सामने रखा है, मैं भी इस में एग्रीड पार्टी हूँ। अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस के बारे में मैं आपकी व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ। यह हिन्दुस्तान की पार्लियामेंट है और मेरी यह हमेशा राय रही है कि सार्वजनिक महत्व के जितने मामले हैं, उन मामलों पर यहां चर्चा और बहस होनी चाहिये और कोई कानूनी हरकतों और कानूनी आक्षेप को लेकर चर्चा को दबाना नहीं चाहिये। इस लिये अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की हमारी ओर से जो चर्चाएँ आयेंगी या उधर से जो आयेंगी सब के लिये समान नियम, समान रवैया होना चाहिये। उस वक्त जब मैं छोटी सादड़ी की चर्चा उठा रहा था तो जो जानकारों सदन को देनी चाहिये थी, वह नहीं दी गई। आज यह बहुत आसान हो गया है कि किसी भी चीज पर केस चालू करो केस चालू होने के पश्चात् लोक सभा के सारे अधिकार खत्म हो जाते हैं। मैं इस के बारे में आपकी ओर से कोई ठोस और निश्चित व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ जिससे हमारे अधिकारों की रक्षा हो और हमें चर्चा करने का मौका मिले। ऐसा न हो कि हीरेन मुखर्जी के आक्षेप को खत्म कर दिया जाय और चव्हाण साहब के आक्षेप को माना जाय, यह अच्छा नहीं होगा।

**Mr. Speaker:** The point is, unfortunately, when I am considering these motions, it is not as if the Speaker is aware as to what case is there,

whether it is in the munsiff's court or the district court, and other detail. I only see whether they are matters to be discussed before the House. Until the Government brings to my notice I cannot possibly know whether a case is there somewhere in a court. Even presuming it is in a court of law—for instance, the gold case where the hon. Minister said that it is in a court of law—I do not know what is in a court, against whom it is, whether the matter can be raised here, etc. All these details the Speaker is not expected to know. Even if it is in a court, whether it is a case of assault or something that is in a court, I think we can discuss matters without touching the points that are in the court. At least we should express our sympathy. We will not refer to cases pending in courts. We do not know who the culprits are and we do not want to condemn anybody but we want to condemn that act as such. The hon. Members of our House, to whichever party they might belong, whether it is Shri Madhu Limaye or Shri Ghosh, want to express condemnation of this violence. Whether a case is pending in a court of law, I have no agency to know, unless I am informed by some parties. Therefore, I would request hon. Members not to deal with those aspects which deal with the case in court and take the discussion to a higher level instead of going into small details.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara) Sir, I thank you for your ruling. I assure my hon. friend, Shri Hiren Mukerjee that I am not going to deal with the merits of the case which, I know, is sub judice. In fact, I would not have even raised a discussion on this matter if the conclusions that one derives out of the incident have not wide repercussions. Rightly, therefore, on that day, the Home Minister, though in a different manner, pointed out—I will quote what he said:

"If this kind of violence against political opponents of the party

in power continues, orderly and civilised political life would become impossible."

What I want to draw the attention of the country and this Parliament is to this aspect of the problem. If it is an ordinary assault, it does not matter even if he is a Member of Parliament, if he indulges in any lawless activity, even violence and if he is dealt with, even by the public, I would not like to raise that matter here. But I have met Shri Ghosh in the hospital a few days back. He was admitted in the hospital on the 24th of June, the day of the incident. Till now he has not recovered, he will take about a month or more to recover completely. I appealed to him: why don't you come to Delhi? He said "it is not possible for me to come to Delhi in this condition." Such is the dastardly attack on him.

I again say that whoever might have done this, that will be proved in the court. Already 24 persons have been arrested. But we must proceed in this matter on the basis of the statements that the Governments, both in the West Bengal Assembly and here have made about the incident. In the Home Minister's statement I do not find any reference to anybody. So far as this incident is concerned, he only refers to the miscreants. But I have here a verbatim report, a copy of the statement made by the Chief Minister of West Bengal in the West Bengal Assembly. Here he specifically mentions a party I hope my friends would not take it amiss. I am not dealing with the problem to blame anybody. But the facts are before us and we have to draw our conclusions from the available facts. He says in the course of his statement:

"While the meeting was in progress some local youths of about 40 in number who are supporters and sympathizers of the CPI(M), including Subhas Chanda of Bhadrakali Women's camp, Prasad Mukherjee of Sakherbazar and

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Swapan Ghose of Sakherbazar came to the venue of the meeting and started altercations with the speakers and interrupted their speeches."

Again, he proceeds to say:

"The said Subhas Chand and 50/60 others who were creating disturbances in the meeting followed Shri Bimal Ghosh, M.P., and his group, raised slogans, moved up and down. Meanwhile, the information of the assault of Shri Ghosh reached Shibhala, Bhadrakali, which is a stronghold of . . ."

Then, there was a complaint, and some Member referred to it, that Shri Subhas Chand complained that he was assaulted and he went to the hospital. Even to that the Chief Minister of West Bengal has referred in his speech:

"Subhas Chanda also went to Uttarpara P.S on the same night to complain of pain in his chest and testis but he had no visible mark of injury anywhere on his person. He was sent to Uttarpara Hospital also by the police."

These are certain facts which clearly indicate certain things. I must say that it is not an isolated incident. It is a pre-planned, pre-meditated activity by a particular party in West Bengal. If one goes through the incidents that took place in that State during the last three months, it is very clear and it will be very difficult to draw any other conclusion out of it. A particular party is trying to undermine the constitutional machinery, is trying to subvert the democratic functioning of the State and trying, at the same time, to exterminate the political opponents by assaults, murder, violence and intimidation. I can prove it.

Recently, I visited West Bengal, I went to Asansol and I went to Naxalbari and I also saw Mr. Ghosh. I have with me facts which clearly state during the course of the last three months there is a regular attempt to liquidate

all opposition to them. Mr. Chavan was wrong when he stated that it was only the parties which are opposed to this Government. It is not so. It is also the parties which are opposed to them in the political life even though they are partners in the Government. Therefore, what I find is that there is a regular attempt to liquidate all opposition to them and to bring about conditions of chaos in West Bengal.

Let us forget this particular incident. As I said, the hon. members may have their own views about that. What I want to point out is this. This happened on the 24th June at Srirampur Bhadrakali. What happened in other places? Let us take Asansol, for instance. I want to put it to my friends: Is it not a fact that in Asansol leaflets were distributed saying, "Now that our Government has been formed, whoever opposes us, whoever does not join the union controlled by the C.P.I. (Marxist) would have no place and would be finished" as a result of which a colliery has been closed? It is not because the colliery owner refused to implement any wage award or any such thing. It was closed because conditions of chaos were created there. There was violence and intimidation asking the workers to join a particular union which was not existing before the new Ministry came into being. The police did not control the situation; the police was paralysed. There was intervention from somebody in the Government asking them not to arrest persons who were found to be guilty of offences. It went on; it did not stop there. The colliery has now been closed. But in another colliery, the workers of the trade union which was actually functioning in that area, were intimidated and were tied with their hands on the back by the workers of the trade union which was in control of the local labour and were assaulted. The complaints are lodged with the police; the police would not listen. Ultimately, when they organised a procession to show that such things should not be permitted, what happened? The procession was stopped, bombs were thrown and

the leader of the procession, whose name everybody knows, Mr. B. P. Jha, who has been the leader of the workers there for the last 40 years, was dragged and killed . . .

Several hon. Members: Shame, shame!

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: There were 40 wounds on his body. The police was standing there. The local M.L.A. who happens to belong to the C.P.I.(M) was also present in a jeep. There was a murder in broad day light For 24 days, nobody was arrested. Today, in Asansol, nobody not even an ordinary citizen, is feeling a sense of security. All over there is a sense of insecurity. It is not that Congress-men were not doing it but they were not indulging in violence and they were utilising State machinery to suppress Opposition parties. Now, the same thing is being done by the Left Communists when they are in power. I have a list of cases with me and you will find that as many as 100 cases against the elements whom nobody would ever support but who supported a particular political party which were in the courts have been withdrawn in Asansol. This is how they want to create in the country, and in that particular area, an atmosphere of violence that this Party exists and no other Party has any room to function in a normal manner. (Interruptions).

Again, about Naxalbari, I will just tell you certain things . . . . .

Mr. Speaker: He is raising too many issues.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I am not going into Naxalbari, whether it is agrarian or political . . .

Shri P. Ramamurti (Madurai): On a point of order. The debate was supposed to be over this particular question. Of course, I am for debating every question. (Interruptions) But let us be clear on this. If he is going to debate every question, I must also have an opportunity to talk on every question. It cannot be that somebody can talk and others cannot. (Interruptions). So, Sir, are you going to

allow the debate on this particular question or are you going to widen the scope of the discussion?

Mr. Speaker: Even before Mr. Ramamurti rose on the point of order, I myself pointed out. We have only one hour for this question. If the hon. Member takes up the other questions like Naxalbari, one hour will not be sufficient, it will take a long time.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: As I said, I am not going to discuss Naxalbari as such. I would welcome if this House gives an opportunity to discuss Naxalbari because many Members of Parliament have visited that area recently. (Interruptions).

What I want to say is this. An orgy of violence, this terrorisation, this intimidation, is going on in West Bengal. The country has a right to think seriously as to what is going to be the future pattern of political functioning in this country. As an illustration, I am pointing out that during the three months incidents have happened one after another; not only in this particular place, but in Naxalbari on the 10th, Mr. Nagen Roy Chowdhury was murdered. For three days he was lying in the jute field. The Police was informed. The Cabinet Mission was there . . .

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: On a point of order . . . (Interruptions).

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Not only this incident. How foolish is this! There is a deliberate move to paralyse the regular administration. You will be surprised . . . (Interruptions)

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I insist on my point of order. It is common parliamentary practice that in a federal or quasi-federal set-up, where a parliamentary machinery is supposed to be working, we do not have discussion in the federal body in regard to the law and order situation as far as any particular constituent State is concerned. The Constitution is there. If you have permitted a discussion on the state of affairs in West Bengal, then let him go ahead. But why are we

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using this particular incident to discuss the whole thing? You may appeal to the members to confine themselves to that incident and its implications (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: I think, we should confine ourselves to the particular subject. We may not discuss the law and order situation in West Bengal. The subject under discussion is the assault on Shri Bimalkanti Ghosh, M.P., in his constituency in West Bengal. Many other things might have happened. But let us confine ourselves to the subject under discussion. He may conclude now.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I wanted to make out a point. You will agree, Sir, that the situation prevailing there had led to this incident. There you will find not only political murders; if my hon. friends visit that place, they will have a sense of horror. We went there. A peasant who was having 50 bigas of land did not support a political party in the elections and so, his house was raided, his house was burnt. His house was burnt and his ten-year-old child was shot at with guns by miscreants. (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker: I would appeal to all Members to keep calm.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Peermade): You are allowing Parliament to be the forum to attack the State Government. This is not proper. (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: May I appeal to all hon. Members to sit down. I would appeal to the Member who is speaking, and also Shri Vasudevan Nair and all others to sit down? All of them belong to that Government. It is not as if somebody is doing something here. Shri Vasudevan Nair, Shri Surendranath Dwivedy and all of them belong to the same Government. It is unfortunate. . . (Interruptions).

Shri Umanath (Puddukkottai): They are also a component in the Government. We have no objection to the whole thing being discussed. But let there be a proper discussion. Let it

be a discussion for three hours. I have no objection. We are prepared to face any charge, but let there be sufficient time given for that purpose. . . (Interruptions).

Shri Randhir Singh (Rohtak): We are grateful for the information that he has given to the House.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I stand here to maintain and defend the democratic rights of the citizens of this country. I am not going to spare even a government formed by our own party so far as the rights of the citizens are concerned. Even if it be, my Government, I shall have no compunction on this matter. . . (Interruptions). I do not want to prolong my speech any further. I know where the shoe pinches. I know who are afraid of it. We are not going to pass any judgment. I would say, in spite of all these happenings which are deplorable, which go against all canons of democracy, in spite of all this, I do not want this Parliament, nor do I want the Central Government, to invoke their powers to take over the State under President's rule. . .

Shri Umanath: But that is what he is doing.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I shall never be a party to that thing. Let my hon. friend remember that. (Interruptions).

Shri Bal Raj Madhok (South Delhi): It is guilty conscience which is pricking them.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I do not want that the Centre should intervene. I had expected that my hon. friends would support me when I say this. But I find that there is a deep game behind it. The Left CPI wants President's intervention so that there could be mid-term elections; they have already announced it that they do not want the United Front Government to succeed and they want mid-term elections. (Interruptions) This is a very serious matter.

Before I conclude, I would draw the attention of the country and the attention of this Parliament to one basic question, namely that it becomes

the bounden duty of every Member of this House that if methods other than lawful methods are used, if violent methods are used in political life, to take steps to stop it and put an end to such tendencies. The only remedy is to educate public opinion in this country so that they would not allow such things to happen.

श्री सुनीला नाथर (शांसी) अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बहुत ही दुखी दिल से इन धारा को बहस में हिस्सा ले रही हूँ।

इन देश के रहने वाले हम सब लोगों ने झतनी बेहत से, किन्तु ही लोगों के त्याग और तपस्या की बदौलत, इन मुक्त को आजाद कराया और इन मुक्त में प्रजातंत्र कायम किया। उस प्रजातंत्र ने कमिया हा सकती हैं। उस प्रजातंत्र को चलाने वाले गलतिया कर सकते हैं। लेकिन अगर उन प्रजातंत्र को हम खत्म कर दें तो हम कहा जायेंगे, कहा के रहेंगे— (इंटरप्शन)

Shri Umanath: We know how democratic you are, we know how you treated the CHS doctors (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: This will not do (Interruptions).

Shri Vasudevan Nair: You are a party to this... (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: This question relates to assault on an MP and Members should confine themselves to this matter.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: This is a conspiracy.

You are a party to it... (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: They could refer only to the issue before the House, not to other matters (Interruptions).

May I appeal to all hon. Members to resume their seats? This is a motion about an hon. Member of the House who has been assaulted. If anybody speaks about anything extraneous, I am going to stop it.

1628 (A) LSD-8.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Shri Lumaye is an hon. Member, He was attacked. Dr. Ranen Sen is also a Member of this House. An attempt was made to assault him. What about those things.

Mr. Speaker: If anybody refers to any extraneous matter, I will stop it.

Shri J. B. Kripalani (Guna): She was not talking of any party. She was only talking about democracy. I think in this Parliament every Member has the right to say that democracy should be maintained.

Shri Umanath: What happened to the huts in Madras? Congressmen set fire to those huts. This is democracy of your conception. (Interruptions). This is democracy being practised in Madras... (Interruptions).

Shri Bal Raj Madhok: Are you going to allow them to indulge in hooliganism in this House? (Interruptions).

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Let me finish.

If they have complaints that kisans are being killed or murdered, they have a right to bring them up here. They have every right to bring such instances here to the notice of the House. That is not against democracy. But when a Member of Parliament stands up and supports democracy and thinks that violence is against all democracy, I think our friends have no right to interfere.

Shri P. Ramasurti: As I told you I am not against any discussion of anything, as far as I am concerned, as far as my party is concerned, but I do not want any unfair practice here. In the name of saying that incidents took place, incidents which are not proved, conclusions should not be drawn and a party should not be condemned if that is going to happen, let us go through the whole thing, give us an opportunity. You were saying that he was referring only to certain examples, but they are examples which are unproved, which are just statements by him. This is going to be an unfair thing if you are going to allow it, you do it, we have no help, but I would only point out that this

[Shri P. Ramamurti.]

kind of discussion is not conducive to fairplay.

Mr. Speaker: I have been repeatedly saying that we should confine ourselves to the incident in which an hon member was assaulted. If my friends of the Communist Party feel that even that should not be discussed here, I humbly beg to differ from them. If this forum cannot be used for discussing when an hon member of this House is assaulted

Shri P. Ramamurti: We are not against it

Mr. Speaker: I would appeal to all sections of the House to confine themselves to that. There need not be any sensitiveness when he mentioned only in a general way. It is not somebody who is opposed to the Bengal Government. Mr. Dwivedy is a partner in that Government, as much a partner as Mr. Ramamurti. It is an internal quarrel and trouble for which do not hold me responsible. There is no use of your getting angry

डा० सुवर्णिता नाथर अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप के सामने यह निवेदन कर रही थी कि प्रजासत्तक का रास्ता है अपने विचार रखने का विचारों में दूसरों के हृदय को जीतने का हर एक को खुना हक है अपने बात सुनाने का, अगर जनता हमारे विचार स्वीकार करती है, हमारे साथ चलनी है, तो ठीक है और अगर वह स्वीकार नहीं करती है हमारे साथ नहीं चलनी है, तो वह अपनी इच्छा के अनुसार चाहे जिसके विचार स्वीकार कर सकती है।

हमारे इस सदन के एक माननीय सदस्य, श्री विमल घोष, अपनी कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी में गए। वहाँ पर टेलिफोन एडवाइजरी कमेटी की मीटिंग थी। उन के बाद वहाँ की सेशन क्लबमें कमेटी ने एक पब्लिक मीटिंग का आयोजन किया। जैसा कि श्री द्विवेदी ने कहा है, उन पब्लिक मीटिंग में कुछ बार्ड समुक्त पार्टी के आ गए—उन को मान लेने की कड़ा जरूरत है ?

वहाँ को प्रदर्शन कर रहे हैं, वे सारे देश को बता रहे हैं कि वे कौन थे। (अव्यवधान) उस मीटिंग को उन लोगों ने चलने नहीं दिया। जब वह मीटिंग चल नहीं सकी और डिसपर्स हो गई, तो उन्होंने माननीय सदस्य को पकड़ लिया। उन को पकड़ कर उन का बड़ी और चपचा छोना, उनके पैने और सामान छीना, वह मामूली बात है। लेकिन उन के कपड़े उतार कर उन की पिटाई की। (अव्यवधान)

श्री ज्योतिरमोक्ष बसु (हायमंड हावर) : यह गलत बात है। (अव्यवधान)

श्रीमती: सारकोडवर: सिन्हा (बाइ) : मेरा क्या है कि माननीय सदस्य ज़रूर वहाँ पर थे। नहीं इन को मान्य है। (अव्यवधान)

Mr. Speaker: When your turn comes, you can say all this

Shri J. B. Kripalani: She is not accusing his party. The cap fits them, therefore they are objecting.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. At this rate, I do not think it is possible to proceed. She has not mentioned any party. The Chief Minister himself has made a statement in the House there. (Interruption) Order, order. When I am on my legs, I appeal to all Members that they should not get up. After all, let me repeat that the hon. Member has not mentioned any party. She simply says that they were snatched away and all that. Why should anybody get angry, I do not know. She did not say that Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu took away the clothes. Nobody need get angry. The Chief Minister himself has made a statement on the floor of the House. (Interruption) Let me appeal to you to have patience—Shri Ramamurti, Shri Umanath—all of them. Hear the Members and then they will have the reply. I am only requesting everybody not to bring extraneous matters. That is the best way of doing things. I will give five minutes each—Mr. Ramamurti at Mr. Mukerjee, whoever it is.



Shri Vasudev Nair: After giving 25 minutes to Shri Sumendranath Dwivedy? (Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: He may say that. That is part of your government. I am not responsible.

डा० सुधीर नायर . अध्यक्ष महोदय,  
मैं श्री विमल घोष के पत्र में से दो चार  
फिरके पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहती हूँ :

"After the meeting was closed, they chased me and some they took money, etc."

"I was completely stripped of my clothing and made stark naked."

Some hon. Members: Shame, shame.

Shri Umanath: Who raises the shout now, Sir?

Mr. Speaker: Either they raise it or you raise it, it is the same, she is reading from that statement Let her go on.

डा० सुधीर नायर अध्यक्ष महोदय,  
बाहर के लोग प्रवेश हुआ करते तो हम  
उन की क्या शिकायत कर सकते हैं,  
जब हम माननीय सदन में हम यह  
प्रदर्शन कर रहे हैं, नौजवानों के सामने  
यह नमूना पेश कर रहे हैं। (स्वभाविक)  
श्रीमन्, हम क्या कर रहे हैं? क्या हम  
हम देश के नुमायन्दे हैं? क्या यहाँ पर एन  
ए. व्यक्ति दस दस लाख का प्रतिनिधि है?  
हमें जिम्मेदारी से काम करना चाहिये।  
(स्वभाविक) मैं हाथ जोड़ कर अपने  
भाइयों से कहना चाहती हूँ कि. . . .

श्रीमन्! तारकेबारी सिखा : बतिते  
जाई !

डा० सुधीर नायर : .... वे पांच दस  
मिनट मेरी बात सुन लें और फिर अपनी

बात सुनावें। मेरे मन में और उन के  
मन में जो भाव है, जो समाज ह्व बनाने  
चाहते हैं, उस में फर्क नहीं है लेकिन उन  
के तरीकों और हमारे तरीकों में बेइन्ताह-  
फर्क है, जमीन आम्रामान का फर्क है और  
उनके वे तरीके इस हद तक आ गए हैं कि  
इस हाउस के एक माननीय सदस्य के साथ  
यह घमनायिक व्यवहार किया जाता है।  
जानीय पंचम लोगों ने एक खादमी को  
पकड़ कर पीटा, उस पर बुरा, उन को  
बसोटा ।

फिर श्री घोष कहते हैं :

"Things continued in this fashion  
for a long time Ultimately, they  
declared their verdict to kill me,  
and make the Parliamentary seat  
vacant With the avowed intention  
killing me .

वे लोग उन को ले गये और उस बीच में  
सवाल पंदा हुआ कि उन का कैसे मार्ग ।

"They differed in their opinion  
regarding the method and the  
manner of killing At that time,  
they became somewhat unmindful  
of me. Just at that moment, three  
local gentlemen swooped upon  
them, snatched me away from  
their clutches and hurriedly took  
me within a house."

श्रीमन्, मैं नहीं जानती कि यह सब  
कुछ कितनी देर तक चला लेकिन काफी लम्बे  
समय तक चला। लेकिन वहाँ पर पुलिस  
नहीं आई। जब यह बचा कर किसी घर  
में ले जाए गए, तब पुलिस वहाँ पर आई।  
कुछ केस दर्ज हुए, जा चलते होंगे।

18 hrs.

हो सकता है कि हम में भी गलतियाँ  
की हों, लेकिन मुझे एक और याद आता है .  
"हम ब्राह्मी भरते हैं तो हो जाते हैं बदनाम  
बहु कलम भी करते हैं तो बर्षा नहीं होता।  
श्रीमन्, ये कलम करते हैं और कलम का नाम  
नहीं लेने देते, खान खोलने नहीं देते और

## [भा० सुशीला नायर]

यहाँ पर ड्रामा करते हैं। श्री बिमल घोष किम पार्टी के हैं, उनसे कोई संबंध नहीं है।

वह इन सदन के एक मान्य सदस्य है। इस देश की जनता के दम का नाश लोगों के प्रतिनिधि हैं और एक प्रतिनिधि का यह अहंकार है कि वह अपनी कास्टीट्यूटो में जाये वह जनता को अपनी बात समझाये जनता की बात समझे और यहाँ पर जाये। श्रीमन् लोगों के दिल जीतने की बात होती है डेमोक्रेसी या प्रजातंत्र में। दंड के जोर से डेमोक्रेसी नहीं चलती। जब उन की बात न मानी जाये तो लोगों पर धातक कर के कुछ लोग अपनी बात मनवाना चाहते हैं। श्री द्विवेदी जी ने बहुत सी बातें बतायी कि लेबर में क्या करते हैं, नक्सलवाडी में और कहा कहा क्या करते हैं, मैं उन में जाना नहीं चाहती। मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि बहुत दिनों से जो हुगामा हो रहा था, बंगाल में जो धातकवाद फैलाने की कोशिश हो रही थी वह चरम सीमा पर पहुँच गई है यहाँ तक कि इस सदन के सदस्य भी धातक सुरक्षित महसूस नहीं करते तो धाम जनता का क्या? प्रजातंत्र कैसे सुरक्षित होगा? श्रीमन् मैं समझती हूँ कि इस सदन के सभी के सभी सदस्य किसी भी दल के हों खुलकर यह कहें कि इस किसम की बातें नहीं होनी चाहिए। खुलकर कहें कि हम प्रजातंत्र के हमी हैं। प्रजातंत्र में सब को अपनी बात कहने का, सुनाने का, और सुनने का हक है और उन हक को हम कायम रखेंगे इस में कोई संदेह नहीं है। श्रीमन्, श्री बिमल घोष के साथ जो हुआ यह अविष्य में किसी पब्लिक कार्यकर्ता के साथ न हो यह आशा है इस सदन में उठे और देश के कोने कोने में फैल जाये इस आशा से मैं साथ के नामने यह कदम बन्द निवेदन करती हूँ।

Shri Zulfikar Ali Khan (Rampur): Sir, I have to rise today to criticise a non-Congress Government, and this is no occasion for joy. It was in West Bengal that an honourable Member of this House has been manhandled after the elections and the fair name of West Bengal has been tarnished by the barbarous doings of mob rule, supported by the local authorities. Sir, intolerance, I had an impression, was a Congress monopoly, but I have second thoughts on that matter now, and I am deeply grieved and pained at a brother MP being assaulted and shamed in a brutal manner. This is a bad precedent because State Governments, particularly those belonging to the opposition, should try their utmost to present an impression of responsibility and stability. If such humiliation could happen to a Member of Parliament, I shudder to think what fate has in store for the common citizen of this country. What about the common man? What about his freedoms? If intolerance is to reach such heights, the very basic nature of our constitution and our way of life is threatened and is in jeopardy. I can only pray that this is not a foretaste of what will happen all over the country.

Sir, Naxalbari is an organised attempt....

Mr. Speaker: No, I take objection to it. We are not discussing Naxalbari now. We are discussing the assault on Mr. B. K. Ghosh. (Interruptions).

An hon. Member: It is his maiden speech, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: I know.

Shri Zulfikar Ali Khan: Naxalbari is an organised attempt by friends of China to liquidate our way of life—our democratic way of life—and to create a rear-guard action for our forces guarding the frontiers of our country. If a fifth column is allowed to work in such a way, it is no wonder people shout slogans like "Naxalbari Ambarbari, Vietnam Amarnam".

Sir, I understand from a statement given by Mr. Ranadive that certain

elements have taken advantage of uniforms supplied to the local people to fight the guerillas. They are creating a problem, as a parallel police is being formed to fight the regular constabulary. What happened to the hon. Member, Shri Bimalkanti Ghosh is not an isolated incident. It is a conspiracy carefully manoeuvred and planned by subversive elements to create disturbances all over the State. This sort of thing is an attack on our elementary freedom. It is an attempt to create a problem in the rear to isolate West Bengal and Assam from the rest of India. An attempt at creating another Vietnam in India has been made, and unless this is scotched immediately, the present coalition in West Bengal will be charged by future generations for having willy-nilly acquiesced in the destruction of our country. Shri Ghosh committed the crime of criticising the local government. This has been happening all over the country, in all State Governments and the Centre also. Everyone criticises every other person.

Had the position been reversed, would this House stand for such a thing. It is irrelevant and immaterial who was attacked, but when a Member of Parliament, an elected representative of the people, is stopped from exercising his right to freedom of speech, no words can be strong enough to condemn this action. And, to pretend that it was not politically inspired, but that the people were interested in robbing him of his few possessions, is to put a big strain on the credulity of the Indian public. Shri Ghosh, today, has become a symbol of our democratic freedoms and we honour him for his courage and forthrightness. Let it be understood that a repetition of such an incident will create forces in this country which will not be easily controllable and there will be a violent reaction. A tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye is no pattern of behaviour for a civilized society. I am sure such a thing is not wanted by any Member of this House.

Sir, I only hope that this is the first and last incident of this nature and the Union Government will take strong action to ensure that such barbaric acts are not repeated.

श्री बलराज मधोक (दक्षिण-दिल्ली) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, बंगाल में श्री घोष के ऊपर जो आक्रमण हुआ, जो उन्हें पीटा गया उस की सब तरफ नित्ता हो रही है, होगी भीर होनी चाहिए, इस में कोई दो मत नहीं। परन्तु इस प्रश्न का जो व्यापक पहलू है उस के ऊपर आज हर देश जनत को भीर हर उन व्यक्ति को जिस का लोकतन्त्र में विश्वास है विचार करना होगा। हम ने लोक तन्त्र अपनाया है। लोक तन्त्र का अर्थव्यवस्था महोदय, आधार है विचारों की स्वतन्त्रता, बोलने की स्वतन्त्रता, मिल बैठने की स्वतन्त्रता, एक्सप्रेसन की स्वतन्त्रता। जिस देश के अन्दर यह स्वतन्त्रता न रहे वहाँ लोक तन्त्र नहीं चल सकता। इसलिये यदि हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश के अन्दर लोक तन्त्र रहे, तो हमारे चाहे जितने भी मतभेद हों हमें हर भारतीय को, हर नागरिक को, हर देश जनत को यह आजादी देनी होगी कि वह अपने विचारों को व्यक्त करे, लोगों को अपने विचारों के अनुकूल बनाए। हमें लोक तन्त्र में सरकार बदलने का अधिकार है। हम सरकार बदलने की बात कहते हैं, हम जनता में जा कर यह कहेंगे कि सरकार की यह नीति गलत है, इसलिए हम सरकार बदलना चाहते हैं। हमें यह बात कहने का अधिकार है, सरकार को, जो अपनी बात कहने का अधिकार है। जब तक यह अधिकार कायम है लोकतन्त्र कायम है। परन्तु यदि लोकतन्त्रीय अधिकारों, लोकतन्त्रीय लिबर्टीज, लोकतन्त्रीय फ्रीडमस का इस्तेमाल कर के सत्ता में आने के बाद कोई लोक तन्त्र के द्वारा किसी ताकत का प्रयोग कर के लोक तन्त्र की जड़ें काटना चाहता है, उन लिबर्टीज को खत्म करना चाहता है, लोकतन्त्र को ही सबर्बट करना चाहता है तो यह बहुत दुरी बात होगी। दुर्भाग्य से दुनिया के अन्दर कुछ बल हैं, कुछ देश हैं, जहाँ सानासाही

[श्री बलराज मधोक]

हैं, चीन में तानाशाही है और पश्चिमी एशिया के देशों में तानाशाही है, कहीं कम्युनिस्ट तानाशाही है, कहीं फासिस्ट तानाशाही है और बहु किसी प्रकार सत्ता में घाने के बाद किसी दूसरे को बोलने नहीं देते और दूसरों के सारे अधिकार खत्म कर देते हैं। यह स्थिति इस देश में पैदा न हो, यह हमें देखना है।

बंगाल में जो कुछ हुआ है—वहा एक विशेष दम मत्ता में आया है इस देश के सविधान के मुताबिक उसे भी काम करने की आजादी है। सत्ता में आने के बाद वह लोक तन्त्रीय संस्थाओं, लोकतन्त्रीय मेवाओं, लोकतन्त्रीय सिविलीज का प्रयोग कर के लोक तन्त्र की हरया करना चाहता है। प्राज जो हमला बिमल घोष पर हुआ है, यह उस व्यक्ति पर झटक नहीं हुआ, यह उस के बोलने की स्वतन्त्रता पर झटक हुआ है, यह उन मूलभूत सिद्धान्तों पर हमला है जो लोकतन्त्र की मकसदों के लिये आवश्यक है। परन्तु इस मामले पर जिस प्रकार का परिचय दम हाउम के कल्ल लोखों ने दिया है, जिस मनोवृत्ति का परिचय उन्होंने दिया है उस में हम सत्य और सच्चे हैं कि सबन के बाहर ये और उन दम क्य कुछ नहीं कर सकता। हमारे भी मनबोध है, कांसेस से है, पी० एस० सी० से है, एन० एम० पी० से है, मगर जहा तक लोकतन्त्र का सम्बन्ध है, जहाँ तक इस देश की एकता का सम्बन्ध है जहा तक राष्ट्रीयता का सम्बन्ध है वे सत्य रूप से कहेंगे। चाहेता है कि हम एक नहीं हम दो नहीं, हम 105 हैं। इन लिये यदि हम प्रकृति के विरुद्ध अपनी रक्तों, नै आप से भी नही नही, सम्मेलन महोदय, यह इन्टरनेशनल है रही है। कोई कादमी कोई बात कहें, तो उन दम के लोग एक दम और की दाढ़ी में तिनके की तरह खड़े हो जाते हैं। इन प्रकृति के आने दम का नगा कर रहे हैं, बुनियाद पर नै अपने दम को नगा कर रहे हैं, परन्तु नै आपसे स्पष्ट रूप से कह दें, चाहता हूँ कि हम इन प्रकार की चीजों की बचटीवरीट नहीं करेंगे। हम मुआवजा करेंगे लोकतन्त्रीय

दम के और यदि किसी को नर्ब है कि वह और दम से कुछ कर सकता है तो वह यह जो रखे, वह उस दम से कुछ नहीं कर सकेगा। हम इस प्रकार की चीजें इस देश में बरदास्त नहीं करने और इस दृष्टि से मैं श्री बिमल घोष के साथ जो कुछ किया गया है उस की पूरी पूरी निन्दा करना हूँ।

बिनीती तारकेश्वरी पिन्दा (बाइ) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जा कुछ भी अभी हमारी वृद्ध ने कहा और मधोक माइब ने कहा मैं उस को तहेदिल से मानती हूँ। प्राज इस चीज में बैठे हुए जितने भी मदस्य हैं वे इस समूह के परिवार के मदस्य हैं। हम लोगों ने मिल कर एक प्रतिज्ञा की है, एक ही बात अपने मन में मानी है कि निर्मल लोक तन्त्र की बुनियाद पर इस देश का चलना है, बनिक् साथ ही साथ इस लोकतन्त्र, इस प्रजातन्त्र की रक्षा भी करनी है। मैं, अध्यक्ष महोदय, उस घड़ी की इनबाज में भी कि चाहे जो भी वाक्या श्री बिमल घोष के साथ हुआ, उस की शिकायत और उस का खण्डन यहाँ बैठे हुए हमारे वाक्पंथी साथी भी करेंगे। क्योंकि यह किसी पार्टी का मबान नहीं है, यह किसी दम का मबान नहीं है यह किसी पडनि का मबान नहीं है, यह मबान है इस मदन के एक मदस्य की मर्यादा का, यह मबान है—लोकतन्त्र की जो बुनियाद है, उस के हिलने का। बाकिर हम लोग यहाँ रहने हैं, मनुष्य में एक दूसरे की धाराधना करने हैं, एक दूसरे की टीकाये करते हैं, परन्तु हम लोगों में एक दूसरे से सम्बन्ध है, स्पेह है, एक दूसरे की इज्जत के बारे में हम सब लोग उसी तरह में जागरूक हैं और जागरूक रहना चाहिए। मैं श्री बलराज मधोक की बातों से सहमत हूँ—जब उन्होंने कहा कि इस तरह की बात का परिचय इस बात का सकेत देता है कि कहीं और की दाढ़ी में तिनका है। बाकिर इसके अपने ऊपर तो कोई आक्रमण नहीं हुआ था। अगर इनके ऊपर की आक्रमण होना

तो भी आज हमारी इस लोक तथा की बही  
विचारकारा होती, हम ने बही संवेदना होती,  
नही कलित होती, जिसे आज हम यहा  
पर व्यक्त कर रहे हैं, क्योंकि हम इनको  
भी अपने परिवार का दस्य मानते हैं ।  
परन्तु इन्होंने तो हर चीज को पार्टी  
की तराजू पर तोलना शुरू कर दिया है ।  
प्रजातन्त्र की तराजू पर तोलने से कौन  
मना करता है । ये किसी भी द के हों,  
इन्होंने प्रजातन्त्र की बुनियाद को मानकर  
कमम खाई है इस ममद की परिपाटी  
को चलाने की । आज विमल बाप पर  
जा हमना दुष्प्रा है, वह हम बाप का मम्बोध  
कराता है कि हम प्रजातन्त्र की बुनियाद का  
हिलाने से प्रथम दे रहे है । जिन्होंने आज  
इस दुर्घटना का खटन नही किया है, उन्होंने  
पहली मीठी झा बाप की तय है कि जिसका  
प्रमत्ताप है, वही विद्रोह की  
भाग लगा दो । लेकिन अध्यक्ष महोदय  
में इस बात की तरफ तबज्जह दिवाना चाहती  
हू कि वह कौन मी भाग लगा रहे हैं, किम का  
भाशियाना जना रहे हैं, किम का नगमन  
इस तरह से बरबाद हो रहा है श्री जिन का  
नगमन बरबाद हो रहा है—क्या वह हमारे  
दुश्मन हैं या हम देश के दुश्मन हैं । जिन का  
नगमन बरबाद हो रहा है—ये हम देश के सपूत  
हैं बाहर के लोग नहीं हैं, जो हम देश के 10  
लाख लोगों की प्रतिभ्यक्ति करते हैं, उन  
लोगों की तमसाधो और आकाशाधों का  
यहा पर प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं—भी उमानाथ  
जब कभी कोई बात कहते हैं, वह कहे, वह हमारी  
आलोचना करे, हमारी व्यक्तितगत आलोचना  
करें—वह ठीक है, परन्तु जब प्रजातन्त्र की  
नीच हिलाने लगती है तो क्या यह जरूरी नहीं  
है कि हम सब मिल कर प्रजातन्त्र के चारो पाये  
नचभूती से पकड़ें और उस की नीच को हिलाने  
से रोकें, उस चर को बरबाद होने से रोकें ।  
मेरे बीच बाये दोस्त कुछ हल्का कर रहे थे,  
न जाने किस बात को लेकर हल्का कर रहे थे ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे एक कहानी याद था  
रही है जो बचपन में मैं ने पढ़ी थी । किसी  
मालिक ने एक बन्दर को नीकर रखा । बन्दर  
नभकहलाल था, बड़ा बकादार था ; मालिक  
ने कहा—देखो, मैं आराम से मोता हू, जरा  
मेरी रखवाली करना । बन्दर ने तसवार हाथ  
से उठा ली और उस की रखवाली करने लगा ।  
थोड़ी देर बाद उस ने देखा कि एक मक्खी  
मालिक की नाक पर बार बार आकर बैठ  
रही है । एक दो बार उस ने उस को पटा दिया,  
लेकिन वह नहीं पटी, फिर तसवार के कोने से  
उस को पटाया, लेकिन वह फिर बैठ गई ।  
इस बार उस ने गुस्से में घ्रा कर वह तलवार  
ही उस मक्खी पर चला दी । पर मक्खी ना  
उठ गई लेकिन मालिक की नाक बट गई ।  
मेरे पीछ के दोस्त हल्का कर रहे थे, किम के  
निये कर रहे थे ? वह इस बात को भूल जाने  
हैं कि वह यहा पर बैठे हुए नहीं होते भग  
प्रजातन्त्र की बुनियाद यहा पर नहीं होती ।  
वह यहा पर नहीं आये होते । इस तरह से हल्का  
करने का मोका नहीं मिला होता जो प्रजातन्त्र  
की बुनियाद यहा पर नहीं होती । . अध्यक्षान

मै एक ही बात कहना चाहती हू—उम में  
इस बात की भपील करना चाहती हू कि हम  
इस महत्त्वपूर्ण बात को समझें । जिस डाल पर  
हम बैठे हुए हैं उस को कुल्हाड़ी से काटने  
से पहले हम समझ ले कि हम क्या करने जा  
रहे हैं । अध्यक्ष जी, यह शेर मैं ने नहीं कहा  
था, किसी और ने कहा था—

दिल के फफोले जब उठे सीने के दाग में  
इस चर को भाग लय गई, चर के चिराय मे ।

श्री एस० एम० जोशी (पूना) : अध्यक्ष  
महोदय, कलकत्ते की जिल बटना को लेकर  
आज इस सदन में जो सवाल पैदा हुआ है,  
मैं उस को लेकर किसी दल के बाये मे कुछ नहीं  
कहना चाहता हू । मेरा अपना यह विचार है  
कि यह सवाल किसी दल का नहीं है, यह पूरे  
सदन का सवाल है और सदन के मालिक  
पूरे देश का सवाल है । यह सवाल क्या है ?

[श्री एन० एम० जोशी]

भाषिण जो दुर्घटना घटी है, वह क्या है ? मैं समझता हूँ कि एक सिम्पटम है, एक लक्षण है बीमारी का और वह बीमारी किसी एक ही दल के घर तक मरूद नहीं रहेगी। मैं तो यह कहूँगा कि अगर पड़ोस के घर में प्लेग का केस होता है तो दूसरे को यह नहीं समझना चाहिये कि अपने घर में घाने वाली नहीं है। जो लोग यहाँ पर बोलते हैं मैं उन से यही कहूँगा कि इस को किसी पार्टी का रुबास समझ कर नहीं चलना चाहिये। मैं यहाँ पर इस को किसी एक पार्टी का मवाल समझ कर नहीं बोलना चाहता हूँ, मैं सैप्ट कम्युनिस्टो को यही बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह बीमारी घाप के घर तक फैल रही है—मेरे पास यह "पियुपिलज डेमोक्रेसी" ग्रन्थकार है, जो सैप्ट कम्युनिस्टो का पेंपर है इस में एक घाटिकल निकला है, जिसे श्री वामवपुर्नया जी ने लिखा है— "रैबल्ल कन आउट इन बेधर हू कलर्स"। इस के मजबूत में मेरा कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है, लेकिन उस का एक वाक्य घाप को पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ जिम से घाप को पता चलेगा कि जो वातावरण घाज अपने देह में पैदा हो रहा है, उस के नतीजे क्या उक जा रहे हैं।

यह वाक्या ऐसा है.

"On June 28, they organised an abortive coup to capture the State Committee's Weekly, Deshhatish and did not hesitate to use gangster tactics of violence against the loyal functionaries and workers of the Party"

यह जो सैप्ट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का पत्रा है यह भी बड़ी शिकायत कर रहा है। यह शिकायत है कि वीमैस्ट्रिज्म और बाएँस कर रहे हैं और उन को उत्तेजना दे रहे हैं। यह कोई कोई अच्छी बात नहीं कर रहे हैं। मैं भी समझता हूँ कि वह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं हो रही है। इसलिए मैं कहूँगा कि हम लोगों को कुछ सबक सीखना चाहिए। भाषिण लोग क्या चाहते हैं ? एक व्यक्तिगत स्वतंत्रता

की बात है, अपने विचार रखने की बात है लेकिन उस के भी नीचे जाकर अगर हम देखें तो पायेंगे कि क्या हम ने आजादी इसलिए हासिल की कि देश में जो वातावरण बढ रहा है हिंसा का क्या उस को बढ़ाने के लिए हम ने आजादी हासिल की है ? भाषिण यह हिंसा और भ्राजकता का वातावरण क्यों बढ रहा है ? मैं समझता हूँ कि हम सब लोग उस के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं। जब जनता ने हम लोगों को चुन कर भेजा है विधान सभ में या यहाँ मजद में ना भाषिण मतदाताओं के प्रति हमारा भी तो कुछ कर्तव्य होता है। घाज डेमोक्रेसी देश में चलती है और डेमोक्रेसी के मायने यह है कि लोगों को अपने शासन को चुनने का अधिकार है। जब जनता के लोगों ने यह देखा कि काग्रस द्वारा उन के दुख, दर्द दूर नहीं होते हैं तब लोगों ने सोचा कि अब घब की मर्तबा गैर-काग्रेसी को चुन कर विधान सभाघा व ससद् में भेजना चाहिए और हम ने देखा कि पश्चिमी बंगाल की जनता ने विरोधी दलों के उम्मीदवारों को जो गैर-काग्रेसी य उन को भारी ताबाद में चुन कर भेजा और शासन की बागडोर उन के हाथ में दे दी। इस के मायने यह है कि लोगों ने हम गैर-काग्रेसी लोगों पर भरोसा रक्खा है और यह सोच कर कि काग्रेस द्वारा उनके दुख, दर्द यदि नहीं दूर किये जा सके हैं, हमें इस बार मौका दिया है और इस घासा के साथ हम लोगों को अधिकार सौंपा है कि हम लोग उनकी आकाशा को पूरा करने इसलिए क्या हम सब लोगों की यह जिम्मेदारी नहीं है और काग्रेस वालों की यह जिम्मेदारी नहीं है कि जो जनता की आकाशाएं हैं जो उन्होंने हम से उम्मीद लगाई है उसे हम पूरा करें ?

मैं घाप से यह धर्म करना चाहता हूँ कि लोगों ने यह सोचा कि हम भी वहाँ पर पार्टनर हैं और इसलिए जिम्मेदार हैं और मैं भी मानता हूँ कि अगर हम की जिम्मेदारी

है तो हमारी भी जिम्मेदारी हो जाती है क्योंकि बहा जो हुकूमत चला रही है उस में हम भी पार्टनर हैं। मैं तो यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जो कुछ वहाँ पर हुआ वह अशांतिपूर्ण है बाकी किन लोगों ने किया और क्या किया इस बारे में तो कोर्ट फैसला देगा। लेकिन जो कुछ बहा पर चोटत हुआ उस के लिए जो दल बहा सत्ता पर बैठा हुआ है सब लोगों का मिल कर उन की यह जिम्मेदारी है और हम सब ही लोगों को मान लेना चाहिए कि जो कुछ हुआ है वह खराब चीज हुई है, अनुचित चीज हुई है। हम सभी लोगो को उस की भर्त्सना करनी चाहिए।

हम विरोधी दल वालों की कई राज्यों में सरकारें हैं, गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकारें कई सूबों में कायम हैं, अब यह बात दूसरी है कि कहीं स्वतंत्र बाने उसे डीमिनेट करते हो, चाटें कहीं कम्युनिस्ट डीमिनेट करे या दूसरी अपोजीशन पार्टीज डीमिनेट करे, जनता ने हम पर उन स्थानों में भरोसा करके सत्ता सौंपी है और यह हमारा काम हो जाता है कि हम अपने काम से यह दिखावे कि लोक तंत्र के जरिए हम कैसे अपने देश में कोई रेडिकल चेजेज लागू कर सकते हैं? जिनका कि लोकतंत्र और अहिंसा में विश्वास नहीं उन की बात भ्रमण है लेकिन हमारे जैसे सभी लोग ऐसा समझते हैं कि लोकतंत्र के मायने यह है कि बिना हिंसा के हम अपने देश में नया समाज में कान्ति लाना चाहते हैं और जाहिर है कि गैर हिंसा के हम उस चीज को ला सकते हैं। पश्चिमी बंगाल में विरोधी दलों की संयुक्त सरकार कायम है और हम भी उस में हिस्सेदार हैं और इसलिये हमारी भी जिम्मेदारी होती है। यू० पी० बिहार, केरल में भी हमारी विरोधी दलों की गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकारें स्थापित हैं बंगाल में जो कुछ हुआ है हम उस की जिम्मेदारी के अपने हाथ धोना नहीं चाहते। बंगाल में सभी तक हम ने क्या काम किया है? जो चीज हम करना चाहते थे सभी तक वहाँ

हो ही पाई है। हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने उस रोज हम से पूछा कि भाई अब तो बहा बंगाल में शासन की जिम्मेदारी तुम लोगों के हाथों में आ गई है अब तुम ने यह कानून क्यों नहीं बनाया? सवाल उनका भाकल है और उस का जवाब हम लोगों को देना चाहिए। अगर बहा जमीन की भूख भी और जमीन नहीं थी तो जो बहा 25 की सीलिंग है उस को हम ने 15 क्या नहीं बना दिया? क्या ऐसा करना राज्य सरकार के हाथ में नहीं है? अगर ऐसा करने के मामले में सेटल गवर्नमेंट था तो अब हम उस से लड़ने के लिए तैयार हैं लेकिन वह सीलिंग को तोड़ कर देने का काम तो हमारे बहा की राज्य सरकार का था लेकिन वह कार्य हम ने नहीं किया। इसी तरीके से ट्रेड यूनियन के मामले में लडाइया होती है इन प्रगडों को निबटाने के लिए और बहा पर शांति स्थापित करने के लिए हम लोगों ने क्या तुच्छा दिया? हम लोगों ने कहा था कि ट्रेड यूनियन में वोट लिये जाय जिन को ज्यादा वोट हासिल हो वह बारगैनिंग एजेंट हो जाय लेकिन यह लडाई क्यों हो? एक दूसरे को मारने, कटने की क्या जरूरत है। अगर हमारे हाथ में कानून है तो ऐसा कानून बनाना चाहिए और जैसे मैंने कहा बहा जमीन की सीलिंग को नीचे घटाना चाहिए।

एक काम बंगाल की हुकूमत में प्रच्छा किया है जिसके लिए मैं उन लोगों को धन्यवाद देता हूँ और वह काम है ट्रामवे वाला। ट्रामवे को उन्होंने अपनी तरफ ले लिया...

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is going too far astray. He has covered all points except Shri Bimal Kanti Ghosh. He has not even mentioned his name.

Shri S. M. Joshi: I have mentioned it.

श्री बिमल कान्ति घोष के साथ किशक गया बर्ताव एक बीमारी की निशानी है...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो गया है।

श्री एन० एम० जोशी बत में एक बाहिरी बात कह कर ध्यान किये दे रहा है क्योंकि घटी आज जाने के बाद धीरे बैठ जाने के लिए कहने के बाद बोलते रहना यह बेरि शकत नहीं है।

आप से कहना कि यह चीज होनी चाहिए, श्री लेकिन वह नहीं हो पाई। एक चीज अच्छी हो गई उस के लिए ये धन्यवाद देता हूँ लेकिन वह भी हमारी कमीटी होगी आगे चल कर उस को चलाना होगा। इसलिये मैं अपने दोस्तों में और आप लोगों से भी यह कहना कि इस देश में जनता प्रजापत्र पर विश्वास करनी है और हम जाने हम लोग जो कि जनता के प्रतिनिधि हैं मधो का यह फर्क हो जाना है कि लोकतन्त्री तरीको से और अहिंसा के जरिए इस देश में क्रान्ति, रैडिकल चेंजेज जाने की कोशिश करे। हम सभी लोगों ने सविधान की निष्ठा की शपथ उठाई है और हमलिये कोई भी श्रावमी चाहे वह आप के दल का हो, हमारे दल का हो या उन के दल का हो अगर उन के खिलाफ कोई काम करता है तो उस श्रावक के खिलाफ हम सभी लोगों को अपनी श्रावाय बुलन्द करनी चाहिए। यह सबक उस दुर्घटना से इस को सीखना चाहिए।

Mr. Speaker: Now, I am not going to call any Member from the Congress Benches, of course. I would be calling Shri S. M. Banerjee and Shri P. Ramamurti. Already, we have debated this for one hour, and we have heard one side of it from some Members. Now, we must hear Shri S. M. Banerjee and Shri P. Ramamurti also because they represent a different point of view. It is no use hearing the same point of view being expressed by other Members. I would request hon. Members to hear Shri S. M. Banerjee and Shri P. Ramamurti patiently.

Before I call Shri S. M. Banerjee, I would like to say one thing. All this time, when I have been admitting motions abusing the Congress and the Government here, they have been very happy. But Shri Vasudewan Nair's remark has wounded me very much because he said that I was responsible for this. I would only point out one thing. So long as motions abusing the Congress as being corrupt or this or that or abusing the Government were admitted, the Speaker appeared to be good, but the moment a little prick comes on them, we find how intolerant they become that they even begin to pass remarks against the Speaker. Am I here only to admit motions abusing the Congress Party and the Congress Government. Further this discussion has not been initiated by the Congress Party but by a Member belonging to a party which has formed a government with them.

So, I would only appeal to the hon. Member to think about it calmly tonight and consider whether his remark was justified in this House or outside. After all, nobody is doing it much more than they themselves; if they have differences among themselves, they can resolve them outside. But here in this House, if the Speaker allows a certain Member to speak and he makes some remarks which are not relevant, is the Speaker responsible for it. Am I to understand that every speech which is made is just relevant and nothing else is being said by anybody. Even when questions are put some insinuations are there and other things are there. The Speaker is in an unfortunate position; he cannot control them before the remarks are made; he can control them only after such insinuations or remarks are made.

I know that the hon. Member is in a very uncomfortable position because not only the Congress Members but his own partners are also attacking him. But that anger should not be shown against the Speaker. The Speaker is not here to admit only abuses against Government.



Therefore, I have been so much pained by the remark. I feel that it has been said in a moment of anger and it is sitting on my mind so badly. I am appearing to Shri Vasudevan Nair to think about it whether he was justified in making such a remark. He should be a judge of himself.

Now, I would call Shri S. M. Banerjee

Shri Vasudevan Nair: I should like to say that I am sorry for having made that remark.

Mr. Speaker: I thank the hon Member for this.

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी (कानपुर) - अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे बहुत ख़ुशी है कि आज कम से कम इन चीजों के ऊपर बहस करने का मौका मिला और यह कि हम लोग इन बारे में अपने विचार रख सकें।

मुझे केवल एक बात कहनी है कि मैं जिस प्रश्न को विनियम करता हूँ उसका कोई भी सदस्य या कम्प्यूनिस्ट पार्टी या कड्डिया का कोई सदस्य इन बातों में विश्वास नहीं करता है कि पोलिटिकल प्रीसुमैट को माया जाय और उसके ऊपर किसी हालत में हिमालयक घटक किया जाय। मैं एक चीज का विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि श्री विमल कान्ति घोष के ऊपर जो कुछ हुआ मेरी उनसे पूरी हमदर्दी व सहानुभूति है लेकिन उस चीज को लेकर आज एक इतना बड़ा मतला बना दिया जाय कि सारे प्रजातंत्र की इमारत और उनकी बुनियादी हितों से खतरे में आये। बख्शाम नहीं करता। आप को याद होगा कि अभी बोर्डे ही दिन पहले, शायद तीन चार दिन पहले एक टेलिग्राम, एक टेलिफोनिक मेसेज डा० रनेन सेन को मिली थी। वह भी इस सदन के चुने हुए नुमाइन्दे हैं। विमल घोष वहाँ की ओकी लेकर बीते हैं और हम लोग कड्डिया लेकर बीते हैं। लेकिन अब कॉन्ग्रेस घटकेन के लिये हमने कोटिब विद्या उब शायद आपने

समझा कि वह मामली मतला ही, केवल घटकेन घटकेन है। जब तक खोपड़ी फटती नहीं है, तब तक शायद यह नहीं जा सकता है। आप ने तोषा कि वह भरे नहीं है, यह जो उनको मारने की कोशिश की गई थी। इसी तरह श्री मधु लिये को माया गया था, मारने की घटकेन की गई थी। उनका ना बिल्कुल खतम ही कर दिया गया था। क्या कांग्रेस के सदस्यों ने या मेरे मोमंत्रिज दाम्न श्री शिवेदी ने उनको कडेम किया ?

एक मामली सदस्य हमने कडेम किया है।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी - जकर किया हुआ, मैं प्रहमान फगमाग नहीं हूँ।

श्रीमती: सरकोबरी सिन्हा - मैं याद दिना द, हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने पहले उनको कडेम किया था।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी - जिन तरीके से मधु लिये का माया गया उस पर बहस होना चाहिए थी। वह हमारा गोजवान मायी नग था कर चलता है, आज भी उनके दर्द होता है। लेकिन कभी बहस का मौका नहीं दिया गया। अगर प्रधान मंत्री जी ने उनका कडेम किया ता जब उनकी नाक में घोट लगी थी तब हमने भी उनको कडेम किया था। हम किसी की नाक कटने नहीं देंगे। हमारे प्रजातंत्र में यह नहीं होना चाहिये।

मेरे आशा करना था कि मेरे मोमंत्रिज दोस्त श्री शिवेदी जी जब इन बातों को बड़ा रखेंगे तब कोई और बात भी कहेंगे। मेरे पास एक डाकुनट है, उसमें जो कुछ लिखा है उसको मैं पढ़ना चाहता हूँ। उनमें लिखा है कि :

"The facts behind the incident of 24th June, 1967 concerning Shri Bimal Kanti Ghosh, MP"

इस पर कुछ नोटों में दस्तखान किया है। अगर आप कहें तो मैं इन की बहा सदन की बैठक पर रख दूँ।

An hon. Member: What is this document?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: This is signed by Prof. Basudev Paul, Prasanna Dutta, Dr. Ajit Guha, Gopi Bandopadhyaya and Santosh Deb.

An hon. Member: Who are they?

श्री स० श्री० बनर्जी : वह छात्रों हैं । मैं कह रहा था कि उसमें लिखा क्या है । अब मोटिव हो रही थी . . . .

"The Congress Party convened a meeting on the 24th June, 1967, at Bhadrakali Sakher Bazar. The attendance in the meeting was of about 20-25 people"—

हो सकता है कुछ ज्यादा हो ।

"The Speakers in the meeting began slandering the UF Government by false and provocative speeches. The network of this provocation was preplanned inasmuch as some notorious Hirelings were imported from outside the locality"

यह पन्नायरी चस ग्ही है ।

"When this news, particularly of the arrival of the Congress hirelings from outside spread in and around the meeting place, some citizens and passers by began collecting there. Some of them asked questions and wanted clarification on the false allegations that were being made against the UF Government. Despite this, the meeting ended peacefully as usual. The people disappeared. But after a while, the friends and relatives of one Shri Subhas, a college student, raised an alarm that Subhas was missing. They were anxiously searching for him when someone informed that he had seen 4/5 unknown persons dragging a boy towards the Ganges. The excitement reached the climax. The people collected there rushed towards the bank of the Ganges where a boatman also confirmed that a boy had been beaten, dragged and thrown into the Ganges. The people saw some

persons running on the muddy bank of the Ganges"—

बीकती सारकेवरी सिद्धा : क्या आप वस्तुतः कराने गये थे ? अभी हाउस के पास थे ।

श्री स० श्री० बनर्जी : अब बिगर पास कर बैठे, मेरी बारी आई ।

"They chased and caught hold of them after a scuffle. The persons, among others, included Shri Bimal Kanti Ghosh, Congress M.P. of Serampore, Dibyendu Guha, a notorious goonda of Chandannagar, Rashbehari Bandopadhyaya, a Congress worker of konnagar and Profulla Dutta of Uttarpara Congress. In the scuffle that took place between the people and the Congress hirelings from Serampore and elsewhere, several persons were injured including Sri Bimal Kanti Ghosh. M. P."

इनकी ईमानदारी से उन्होंने लिखा है, हमलिये में चाहता हूँ . . . .

श्री सिध नारायण : हम ने नक्सलवाड़ी का नाम लिया तभी हम को रोक दिया गया ।

Shri Dwajpayan Sen (Katwa): Has he seen the statement of the Chief Minister of West Bengal? What has he is to say to that.

Shri Umanath: Because it was sub-judice he did not give the details.

श्री स० श्री० बनर्जी : मैं सारी चीज पढ़ने के लिये तैयार हूँ, केवल इतना ही नहीं । साथ कहा गया कि प्रजासत्ता की नींव हिल रही है । मैं इन कांग्रेसी हुकूमत के नुमाइन्दों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर यह चीज की किन्ने ?

श्री सिध नारायण (वस्ती) : हम में किसी का मस नहीं काटा ।

श्री स० श्री० बनर्जी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि 1948 में जिस मस पर गांधी जी ठंड कर पूजा किया करते थे और देश को अहिंसा की बात बतलाते थे, उसी मस की कॉपी

में पहली कार्रवाई काबिल राज में हुई थी जिसमें दो तीन आदमी मारे गये थे। कानपुर जिले के बिलहौर तहसील में तीन एम० एम० पी० के बर्करों का दो महीने के अन्दर खून किया गया। जब डा० लोहिया गोरखपुर में भाषण दे रहे थे और उन्होंने कहा था कि काशी विद्यापीठ का नाम काशी विश्वविद्यालय होना चाहिये तब ईट पत्थर उन पर चले थे और खून का कतरा उनका गिरा था। (श्रवणबान) ... डा० लोहिया यहां रोने के लिये नहीं आये थे। उन्होंने नहीं कहा कि प्रजातंत्र की नींव हिल गई है।

भाज अग्र कायेम के भाई यह कहना चाहते हैं, और यदि श्री द्विवेदी जी भी हमारी बर्बाकस्मती में इस मसले को इस तरह से उठा कर यह माहित करना चाहते हैं कि बंगाल में भनाकी है, कोई आदमी जान नहीं सकता है, सारे लोग भ्रमोंत हैं, और यदि श्री चन्हाण इन तमाम चीजों को लेकर दिल में यह माच रहे हैं कि वहा सेटुल इटरवेशन हो, नं: मैं एक चीज कहना हू . . . .

कुछ भावनीय सवस्थ : नहीं, नहीं।

श्री स० श्री० बनर्जी : कि जिन तरीके से केरल में जैसों के तीखों के अन्दर बन्द लोग चुनाव जीत कर आये हैं दुबारा और उनकी चुनी हुई सरकार को खत्म कर के सरकार ने प्रजातंत्र की रक्षा की थी, जिन तरीके से अस्तर महाराज को गोली मार कर उन्होंने प्रजातंत्र की रक्षा की थी . . . (श्रवणबान) जिन तरीके से जिन मधु लिमये ने सरकार के कारनामे एकस्वीय करके सरकार की चालों को खत्म करने को कोशिश की उनको मार कर उन्होंने प्रजातंत्र की रक्षा की, किसानों पर गोलियां चला कर और अपने मन की जांच करवा कर उन्होंने प्रजातंत्र की रक्षा की, मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हू कि अगर उन्होंने इन तमाम चीजों को सामने रख कर रिप्लेट

करने की कोशिश की, अगर सेटुल इटरवेशन की बात हुई, तो उसके बाद अगर बंगाल में गली गली में हमें उतका मुकाबला करना पडा तां मुकाबला होगा। हम वायालेम नहीं करेगे लेकिन अगर निहत्थे लोगों पर गोलियां चली ता हो सकता है कि हम उतका भी मुकाबला जरूर करे।

Shri J. B. Kripalani: He talked about the Bastar question. The Bastar question was discussed in this Parliament, and we gave our opinion. What is he talking about?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order When I am on my legs everybody must sit down When I am standing, everybody must sit, including the hon. lady Member Before I call a Member from the Communist (Marxist) group, I would like only one of them to speak If Shri Jyotirmoy Basu has any information, he may give it to Mr Ramamurti, because there is no time We have already spent more than an hour The Minister is yet to reply. I am sorry there is no need for any more Congress Members now to be called, because the Opposition Members also, many of them, have spoken in sympathy with this gentleman

Several hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: I am sorry; at this rate, I will have to adjourn the House. Well, if you want to sit longer I have no objection. After Mr. Ramamurti has spoken, the Congress Members will continue speaking for one hour, and I will then call somebody else.

Dr. Maitreyee Basu (Darjeeling): I am just making one point of information (Interruption). That is with regard to the statement that Mr. S. M. Banerjee read out. One of the signatories stoned my meeting during the 1967 election campaign And that is the letter he has read out

Mr. Speaker: Mr Ramamurti.

An hon. Member: How long will he speak?

Mr. Speaker: After so many Members have spoken, has not this Member also got any right to reply? I am not going to say how many minutes I will allow him. I will see the trend and then, as I have said, I will call the Congress Members to speak. All the Members will patiently hear the speeches. I do not mind even one hour more for this. I am going to put somebody in the Chair. I do not want to be unfair to them.

Several hon Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: I will call you all, Mr Randhir Singh, Mr. Sheo Narain Now, Mr Ramamurti.

Shri F. Ramamurti (Madurai): Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I want to associate myself with the sentiments expressed in this House over the attack on Mr Bimal Ghosh. Let not the people go under the impression that I or the party to which I belong either support such attacks or do anything of that type. But what I cannot understand in this House is this: I have been today given a number of homilies by a number of hon Members, from the Jan Sangh, from the PSP from the Congress Benches. They talk to us very much about democracy and all that. But it is a strange kind of democracy I am now witnessing. All the facts are not enquired into; it is on the basis of some assumptions, conclusions to be drawn, and this House obviously has not got the time to go into all the facts and so many strings of things are being bandied about here. If this is the kind of democracy about which I am asked to learn a lesson, I refuse to take this lesson on democracy from those people, and I would ask them to remember one thing, those people who are talking of Gandhiji, who are in season and out of season, invoking the name of Gandhiji. I also have been a humble follower of Gandhiji, (Interruption), and during the period when I was in the Congress, one lesson that I learned from Mahatma Gandhi was that we cannot condemn

any person unless the facts are gone into and are proved to the hilt. Today, in this House, Members belonging to many parties, go on talking about so many things, and, at the same time, obviously,—it is not possible for me, because I also do not claim to know every fact—opportunity for the party or those people against whom some allegations are made is not even given to counteract that opinion, and if this is the kind of democracy that we are asked to function in, I would say democracy in this country will be finished for ever.

An hon. Member: Question.

Shri F. Ramamurti: If this is the kind of democracy, then nothing will happen (Interruption). I do not want to go into the other questions regarding Asansol etc, that have been raised because I do not want to widen the scope of the debate.

Take the attack on Mr Bimal Ghosh. It was said of Yudhishtira in Mahabharata that he was a very truthful man and in order to make him utter the truth and at the same time utter an untruth, he was made to say

द्वयवचनमादातुं Then there was a bell rung and then he said Kunjaraha. I cannot say that our Home Minister is even of that type. At least Yudhishtira uttered the word Kunjaraha which was drowned in the bell. The other day the Home Minister had stated that on 24th June this hon. member was stripped of his clothes and paraded naked in the streets of Badrakali. This thing did not appear in any newspaper published in Bengal before the Home Minister's speech.

An hon. Member: Are you challenging his statement?

Shri F. Ramamurti: I am challenging every one of the statements. I have got with me the FIR given by him to the police. There he does not mention that he was stripped naked or paraded in the streets of Badrakali. After the Home Minister's statement

here, he comes out with a statement that he was also stripped of his clothes.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** The whole case does not depend on this one factor of his being stripped of his clothes. It is a bigger thing than that.

**Shri P. Ramamurti:** When Mr Banerjee read that statement by four citizens of Badrakali, somebody asked what veracity can be attached to it. Here is a paper *Basumat*, it is not a paper run by the communist party. It is owned by a member of the ruling party, Mr. Ashok Sen.

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:** Complete infiltration by the communists.

**Shri P. Ramamurti:** On the morrow of the statement made by Mr Chavan in his House, this paper came with a sub-editorial under the heading "Distortion of Truths". Of course, it is in Bengali. There it is said that Mr Chavan's statement was a total distortion of truth. It is said there that when the meeting was being held, this gentleman abused in very wild and filthy language the UF Government. Some people then put some questions. One college boy—Subhas—was whisked away from there, taken to the Ganga and beaten. That is what the paper says. It is not a communist paper.

**Dr. Sushila Nayar:** It has a communist editor.

**Shri P. Ramamurti:** Don't think that Congressmen are the paragons of truth in this world. This paper also corroborates everything that has been stated in that statement by the 4 people. I do not have the time to read the whole thing. I dare say the Home Minister's Department must have given him also a translation of the editorial written by *Basumat*. I am not today going into the question whether this is correct or that is correct. My question here is simply this. With regard to the origin of the trouble, how that trouble arose, there

are two versions and both the versions are now the subject matter of an inquiry by a court of law. Evidences will have to be taken on both because cases and counter-cases are going on in the court. Under these circumstances, for us to come to a conclusion and say, no, this is not a fact, the fact is that he was beaten without any provocation on his part, nobody else was beaten, is not proper. I would like to ask the Congress Members, who are today parading so much about truth, non-violence and all sorts of things, how can it be reconciled with the high principles of moral grandeur that you attribute to Mahatma Gandhi. It has nothing to do whatsoever with that.

As a matter of fact, my hon. friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Basu, after getting a copy of the First Information Report from the police court, wanted to point out under Rule 115 and ask for a directive so that the Home Minister might correct it. Of course, I do not expect the Home Minister to correct any of these things. That is his lookout. I suppose this stripping him naked and all these things were not made immediately in the papers and only after it was stated here it was made in the papers. All these things were done in secret, confidentially. (Interruptions).

**Mr. Speaker:** This kind of cross-examination will not solve any problem.

**Shri P. Ramamurti:** If certain truth is unpalatable I cannot help it. I can place this document on the Table of the House. It is a certified copy.

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:** It cannot be quoted and it cannot be placed on the Table. The matter is sub-judice.

श्री नयू लिखते यह पब्लिक डकुमेंट है।

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not allowing it. It is a public document and anybody can get it.

Shri P. Ramamurti: I am not going into the correctness or otherwise of it. I am only saying that in the First Information Report that was given to the police long before Shri Chavan made that statement here, he did not make that allegation. It has got its own conclusion and inference. That is all that I am saying and I am not going into the veracity of this or that.

Therefore, when we are today talking so much of democracy and all that, after all if something happens in a particular place and the matter is subject matter of an inquiry, if conclusions are drawn it will not be proper. My friend was saying so many things I know the PSP before the elections had taken a congenitally anti-Communist attitude. Perhaps they do not feel very happy. As far as these people here are concerned it is quite possible that they are not mentally attuned to work with us. They do not reconcile themselves. I only ask their members in the Bengal Assembly, if these allegations are true, to make these allegations on the floor of the Bengal Assembly.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: They have made the allegations in the Cabinet, what to talk of the Assembly.

Shri P. Ramamurti: What happens in the Cabinet we know. Therefore, this anti-Communist approach is ingrained in them for a long time. Unfortunately for them they have been forced to be in the Cabinet. (Interruptions)

Shri Samar Guha (Contal): You have been forced to be in the Cabinet, not we. (Interruptions)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: May I inform Shri Ramamurti that it is because of compulsion they joined?

Mr. Speaker: Unless a hon. Member yields, the others should not get up and speak. Now, the hon. Member should conclude.

Shri P. Ramamurti: Finally, I would like to point out that a particular incident has happened for which nobody could be held responsible as

yet, no party could be blamed. For instance, may I say that since some Congressmen have been indicated by the IG of Police in Madras for having set fire to certain houses can the entire Congress Party be blamed? I am not saying that. Can I hold the entire Congress Party responsible for it? I refuse to do it. We do not take mean political advantage. We are made of better stuff and we do not make such silly charges... (Interruptions)

श्री: कश्चि नूतन बाजवैर्यः (बाजगान) :  
प्रथम महोदय, डा० गाबलर हिन्दुस्तान मे  
पैदा हो गये हैं। माननीय सदस्य गलत कह  
रहे हैं। मद्रास को उन घटनाओं से काश्मिर का  
कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है।

Shri P. Ramamurti: We know what happened just before the last elections when the Chief Minister and a Member of Parliament of Madras addressed a meeting near Udummalpet; we found how Congressmen prevented that meeting by hurling stones. But merely because of that we did not say that the entire Congress Party is responsible for it. Something might have happened. Therefore, if these things happen, it is for all of us to put our heads together and see such things do not recur. Instead of having that kind of attitude, to take mean political advantage of certain incident and indicting the whole party, I want to point out, that it has nothing to do with democracy, that it has nothing to do with fairness of public life, that it has nothing to do with norms of public life, that it has nothing to do with whatever has been taught to us by our leaders during our freedom struggle.

In the end I would like to point out just one thing. We have lived down many many slanders. The Communist movement not only in this country but in the whole world had lived down many many slanders and it has triumphed. We are absolutely certain that any kind of slander, either in this House or throughout the country,

is not going to shake the people's faith in it and day by day we will go stronger in the affections of the people not only in Bengal but throughout the country.

जीवनी तारकेवरी सिद्धा . मे केवटस के  
बुल हूँ, जो स्वेडर में ही बिजते हूँ ।

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Y. B. Chavan): Mr Speaker, Sir, I heard this unique debate for the last two hours I must say that it is a revealing debate, because it disclosed many interesting political contradictions in our everyday life. But, before I go to the major points, I would like to say something about the facts. This matter is under investigation and the judicial verdict certainly will have to be accepted. So, it is not a question of blaming a man, a group or a party, because that is not the attitude that we are taking in this matter. I would like to assure the Communist Marxists that it is not something which is political in the partisan sense that we are mentioning about it.

Now, about this question they say that I deliberately said something which was not true. Sir, as you know, that day, I remember, it very vividly, I naturally had to base my statement on the facts that I received from the West Bengal Government. But, at the same time, it is very well known that I also gave my information. When I was asked a question by one of the members here who knew the facts, whether this is true, when I had that fact I had to confirm that I confirmed that. Why did it not appear in the press before, it was asked. Possibly that is a question that the hon. Member has to ask himself, whether the press is so demoralised that it cannot come out with facts . . . (interruptions). Please, just listen to the fact. After this notice was given and you have accepted this motion for consideration, I wanted to know more facts from the State Government of West Bengal and for the purpose of this debate I got certain information

I would only read the relevant portion of what the report says, because I do not want to give any opinion of mine. I do not want to give any comment of my own.

19 hrs.

Shri Banga: Let it be placed on the Table of the House.

Mr. Speaker: He is reading it.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: Because certain allegation is made against me I must read certain parts.

Shri Banga (Srikakulam). Why not lay it on the Table of the House?

Shri Y. B. Chavan: If it is necessary under the Rules, I will have to do that.

Mr. Speaker: I do not know, I will have to see it.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: Certainly, it is an information that I have received and it is between the Central Government and the State Government. I would like to read out that portion.

Shri Datatraya Kunte (Kolaba): On a point of order, Sir. If he is referring to a document, it will have to be placed on the Table of the House.

Mr. Speaker: Let us see. I do not want to give any ruling now.

Shri Jyotirmoy Basu: Let it be placed on the Table of the House.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: I would like to read out that portion.

"Being a fat man, Mr. Ghosh could not run away and was accosted by the culprits. He was mercilessly beaten by them and they also tore away all his clothings."

What exactly does it mean? That means he was stripped of all his clothings. (interruption)

Shri Jyotirmoy Basu: What about making him walk in that condition?

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** Coming back to the original motion that Mr. Dwivedy moved in this House, really speaking, this motion is motivated, as far as I have understood, not by any partisan consideration. It is not political motive as far as I understand. If it is motivated politically, it has a fundamental politics behind it, that is, the democratic politics. It is not a party politics that has motivated it. Therefore, if the hon. Members are sincere in their profession, as Mr. Ramamurti says that it is a distardly attack, they should have come out openly to condemn it without any reservation. If an attack is made on any non-Congressman, we certainly join in the condemnation of it. We will not take any other position.

**Shri Jyotirmoy Basu:** A young college boy was first beaten by Mr. Ghosh.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** Why only a young boy? If anybody is beaten by anybody, we will certainly condemn it. It is not a question of that. Therefore, I wish they had come out openly to condemn it. It is not a question of merely the prestige of an individual. An hon. Member of this honourable House, an elected representative of more than a million people

**Shri Ranga:** He represents the whole country.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** . . . and after he is elected, he becomes the representative of the whole country, was humiliated. The way he was humiliated, there should not be any reservation in condemning it. I wish the hon. Member had done it without any reservation. Why this reservation?

**Shri P. Ramamurti:** I have made an unqualified condemnation of what happened.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** I am glad you did it.

**Shri P. Ramamurti:** It is after that I pointed out the other facts.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** I am glad you did that. But, at the same time, you made the points that followed and you said, this is the type of democracy. . . . (Interruption).

**Shri P. Ramamurti:** I cannot today cut out other facts.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** This discussion in the House was a unique discussion. When I say a unique discussion, it is because today I have seen the discussion cutting across party loyalties. I saw that the democratic conscience of this country was quite wide awake. Whatever the difficulties that might come, whatever the crisis this country may have to face today or in future, it is this conscience which is the greatest guarantee for the continuance of democracy. I entirely share the feelings of the hon. Members. There are no political motivations so far as we are concerned. He did not merely speak as a P.S.P. Member. I am not looking at somebody who is representing a part of that Government in West Bengal; this is not a matter of West Bengal Government. It is not a question of Indian Government, of 'A' Party or 'B' Party. It is the basic political values which are in danger which need to be defended at any cost. That is the major point. I, therefore, share entirely the feelings, the sentiments and the views expressed by my hon. friend Shri Surendranath Dwivedy while moving this motion in the House.

श्री मधु लिमये : डाक्यूमेंट सदन की मेज पर रखने के बारे में क्या हुआ ? 368 नियम साफ है ।

**Mr. Speaker:** I am coming to that. This is the rule, rule 368:

"Provided that this rule shall not apply to any documents which are stated by the Minister to be of such a nature that their pro-



duction would be inconsistent with public interest.

Provided further that where a Minister gives in his own words a summary or gist of such despatch or State paper it shall not be necessary to lay the relevant papers on the Table "

Shri Dattatraya Kunte: He has not said that.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: I am saying that

Mr. Speaker: The House stands.

Shri Rang: I wanted to put a question

Mr. Speaker: That has not been the practice Then there will be so

many others who would like to ask questions.

19.06½ hrs

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE  
FIFTH REPORT

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Dr Ram Subhag Singh): I beg to present the Fifth Report of the Business Advisory Committee

Mr. Speaker: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M tomorrow

19.07 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, July 19, 1967/Asadha 28, 1967 (S&K)