

[श्री मंगर उईके]

है, हमें यह बेलफेयर नहीं चाहिए और हमें यह स्कालरशिप नहीं चाहिए जिससे हमें अपने बाप-दादों का रीति-रिवाज छोड़ना पड़े। इन बातों के लिए हम गवर्नमेंट के नियमों के अनुसार ईसाई बनें और अपने बाप दादों के धर्म को छोड़ें यह हम नहीं करेंगे। इतना कहते हुए मैं ज्वाइंट कमेटी ने जो पास किया है उसका समर्थन करता हूँ और गवर्नमेंट ने जो अमेंडमेंट रखा है उसका मैं घोर विरोध करता हूँ।

SHRI K.M. Koushik (Chanda): Mr. Chairman, yesterday when the Bill was introduced in the House by the hon. Minister he spoke of two guidelines: recommendations of the State Governments and the report of the Joint Committee. I would have been glad if in the inclusion or deletion of tribes they conformed to those two guidelines. In the first place so far as the Maharashtra Raj Gonds are concerned, the Maharashtra Government had stated that they should not be deleted. Even with regard to the M.P. Raj Gonds; that Government also stated that they were not to be deleted as they still continued their primitive traits. So far as the first guideline is concerned, it is against deletion of Raj Gonds from M.P. and Maharashtra State. That is the first submission of mine.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please continue next time. We take up another business.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मी बाई (मेडक): यह क्या बात है जब भी शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट ऐंड शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की बात आती है तो वह कंटिन्यूड नहीं चल पाती है, दस मिनट, पन्द्रह मिनट इस तरह से करके उसको क्यों लिया जाता है ?

MOTION RE. ENCOURAGEMENT TO SUBVERSIVE AND VIOLENT ACTIVITIES IN THE COUNTRY—Contd.

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM (Chitradurga): I support the resolution moved by Shri Prakash Vir Shastri and the anxiety reflected in that resolution. Our country is confronted with many grave problems and many dangers and menaces. The gravest

danger which it has to encounter is that of the Naxalites. The dangers are both external and internal. We can fight the external dangers with confidence, but not the internal danger; we cannot fight against our own people who indulge in anti national activities and are a source of anxiety to the future of the country. This Naxalite problem came into prominence a few years back at Naxalbari. Evidently it was engineered and fostered by foreign agents, especially by the President of the Republic of China, Mao Tse-Tung. They derive all their inspiration from him. There was a big upsurge in Naxalbari. Many persons were killed, much of their property was burnt and many estates were destroyed and for a few days that part was practically without any law and order. Subsequently those who wanted to indulge in anti-national activities found a fertile ground in West Bengal at the time when the Government was dominated by Marxists and these activities spread widely in the country. There was no check on these anti-national activities.

श्री जगेश्वर यादव (बांदा): सभापति महोदय, मेरा प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर है। मेरे जिले में हम लोगों पर राजनीतिक दबाव बहुत अधिक हो रहा है। हमारी पार्टी के सेक्रेटरी—श्री गंगा मुंशी को छुरा भौका गया है। ता० 14-15 की रात को वह अपने होटल से घर जा रहे थे, उनको रिक्शा में छुरा भौका दिया गया, उनकी हालत चिन्ताजनक है और वहां पर पुलिस के कुछ अधिकारी गुण्डों से मिले हुए हैं। . . .

सभापति महोदय: आप बैठिए, यह कोई प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर नहीं है।

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM: The Naxalite movement, I was saying spread in West Bengal. This movement was fostered and encouraged by the then Government of the State of West Bengal. There was literally no check on them. The police did not come to the help of the civilian population. So much so, in course of time the Chief Minister himself had to resign from that coalition. He himself revolted and went on fast and admitted that in the State of West Bengal

there was no law and order and the Government was helpless; it was unable to save or protect the lives of the civilian population, their property and honour. Inspite of that the movement has gained ground and it has in fact spread to the colleges. Many students have become disciples of Mao; they are Maoists and indulge in shameful activities. They have burnt the campus and colleges and libraries. What is more shameful and sinful is that they have burnt the literature of Gandhiji and his photo and various other things which we hold sacred. It has come to such a pause that nobody can deny that West Bengal has become a symbol of lawlessness and disorder. Nobody's life is safe there; all industries are being ruined. Business has disappeared and it is with great reluctance that one goes to Calcutta. The people of Calcutta themselves feel insecure; they feel that their future is dark and uncertain and are at their wit's end. West Bengal has become like a queen bee [spreading its activities and tentacles to all the other States in India. Assam is being menaced by Naxalite activity. Punjab, UP, Bihar, Andhra, Kerala—I think every State has got some symptom of this activity. The Naxalites have succeeded in throwing their network and spreading their tentacles throughout the country. I do not know what the future of the country will be. Yesterday we read in the papers that in Kerala a law-abiding innocent landlord was brutally murdered. His wife and servants were also murdered. His head was chopped off and placed as an exhibition on the public road. The same thing is happening in other parts also. I doubt what will be the future of the country if this movement is not checked effectively by the Government of India. The Central Government always takes shelter under the plea that it is the responsibility of the State Government to put down this lawlessness. They shy to take up and shoulder this responsibility. This movement which has spread throughout the country must be viewed as a national problem and the Government of India must take necessary steps to check it.

What are the real causes of this Naxalite menace creeping into our country and why is it spreading throughout the country? It is because of the influence exerted on a section of our population by our neighbouring

countries who want to spread their dogma of Maoism or communism. It is their mission and ideology to bring as many of the countries round about under the field of communism as possible. The Chinese communism has adopted a new form of imperialism. It is not only strategic, ideological and economical, but it is attended with danger to the safety of all the neighbouring countries. That is the kind of imperialism that China wants to practise on all the countries of the South-East. There is no country in the South East which is free from Chinese menace. They want to have their influence in every country and that is why they are having trouble with almost every country round about. They want to create a similar situation in India because they are our next-door neighbour and we are their next-door neighbour. They have got very greedy eyes cast on us and they have got their agents in India who pose themselves as Naxalites. This is the greatest danger that the country has to confront.

It is the policy of the present Central Government, which is communist-inspired, that is responsible for the spread of this movement. It seems to me that the Government of India has taken a complacent attitude. In fact, when they know that such a grave danger has been facing the country, it is the duty of the Central Government to take all preventive precautions. They must, if necessary, ban the parties that are responsible for this sad state of affairs. They must ban the parties that are responsible for so much lawlessness and indiscipline in this country. They must ban the parties which are responsible for the murder of so many innocent people. They must assess the real need of the country, take a realistic view of the situation and take effective measures. It is quite necessary to restore law and order in West Bengal. But the government have not taken any punitive or effective steps. West Bengal is, as it was a few months back; even in spite of Mr. Dhavan conditions have not improved.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam): Because of him.

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM: There is a widespread demand that the Governor should be withdrawn or summoned back,

[Shri J. Mohamed Imam]:

because it is patent that though he may not be a communist his sympathies are more towards communism than towards democracy.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Question.

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM: It is a well-known fact. There is a pressing need to take both preventive and remedial measures to bring West Bengal back to its normal condition. Otherwise, if we allow these things to continue as they are, I am afraid the whole country will be under the heel of communism.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta-North East): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not mind in Shri Shastri's motion the obvious motivation which can be read between the lines. But I give Shri Prakash Vir Shastri the credit of being if not quite a *Sthita Pragna* at least a *Sthitadhee* kind of person, and I do not wish him to show a complete lack of a sense of proportion and a fundamental irrelevance to basic issues that are confronting not only our country but the whole world today. But, unfortunately, that is exactly what he seems to have done.

I shall disregard many of the things which are said in season and out of season, specially about West Bengal the favourite whipping boy of certain sections or our people. History will give its verdict some time or other in regard to which way the wind will blow, as far as the people are concerned, in every part of our country. So, I shall disregard the footling little things said from time to time about West Bengal and I shall beseech my friend, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri, to look at the fundamental aspects of the situation.

There is no doubt today that there is a lot of violence about. It is in the air, so to speak, whether we like it or not. Some of that violence might even be thought to be subversive, but the main point is that we cannot wish it away, that there are fundamental reasons for such social distemper, and our job is to tackle those fundamental reasons, and not merely to beat our breast and shout from the housetops about Naxalites or what have you. That is not the way in which we have to proceed if we are to settle this problem.

At one time you will remember how the expression "divine discontent" used to be fashionable. I am sure, my hon. friend, Shri Ranga, in the old days of the Central Assembly was very familiar with that kind of expression. Now the discontent of our people, divine or secular, has reached a certain stage and those who are in power must respond to the basic urges indicated in that discontent or they will quit the stage of history.

This motion talks about subversive or violent activities; students have been mentioned. Young people everywhere in the world today sense a sort of helplessness about their existence and about the future of man. In this House this sort of expression might seem to be particularly inappropriate. I would not go into expatiating the reasons for it but the fact of the matter is that the younger generation to whom the world belongs—you and I are not going to be here in 2,000 A.D. or even earlier than that; it is the people who live in the year 2,000 A.D. who will take charge of creation and we have to take note of what is agitating their minds and not to think of the ante-diluvian ideas which someone might have imported from somewhere—from that angle you see how the youth of today in this country as well as in most other countries, sense a sort of helplessness in the air. Naturally, being young they are more sensitive. They understand how the misery of the people is something avoidable and, yet, is not avoided. They are faced with the problem of unemployment with nothing whatever to do, nothing to sustain their physical being, nothing to sustain their spiritual dreams, visions and aspirations. They look at the force of the plans in India which, in spite of having done a certain amount of infrastructural and super-structural apparatus building, have not touched the heart of the problem, the core of those things which really matter to the people of our country. The result is that the masses, except where they can be led away by easy demagogy which also flourishes in this kind of atmosphere of desperation, are astray in one way or another, in a creative way or in a destructive way. This is not a matter of political infighting; this is not a matter which you can ascribe only to something which has been done by some foreign agency. You

cannot merely say that the Communist Parties—right, left, middling or whatever they are—are to be put in the same damn box and sent out of the country. You cannot solve problems that way because problems have now become so acute that you just cannot deal with them in that kind of authoritarian fashion.

I have heard Gandhiji's name bandied about. Even today Shri Imam referred to Gandhiji. I did not know that he was such a fervid admirer of Gandhiji. Anyhow, I have heard the name referred to over and over again. Gandhiji preferred violence to cowardice. In 1920-21 Gandhiji was on record—you can consult Tendulkar's Biography of Gandhiji—as having told the Muslims who were joining the movement in enormous numbers in those days that if swaraj was not achieved by the Gandhian method in a year, they were free to follow their Koranic tenets which did not adhere to the idea of non-violence. In 1942, when he gave the slogan, "Do or Die", he was ready to say, "Leave India to anarchy and to God." He was ready for certain things because he was a creative personality.

I cannot enter into a discussion of this but let us not bring Gandhiji's name and damn all violence. What is the good of saying, all violence is rotten? It is a part of life; there is no doubt about it. You and I merely saying that violence is rotten will not help eliminate the fact of violence being practised by all and sundry. You have terror of all sorts—red terror as well as white terror of even more dastardly description. If these are facts of life which you have to tackle, do not merely say that we are against violence.

I have heard so much being said in this House over and over again that the Constitution is being subverted. But I have said in this House before and I repeat it: Did not Abraham Lincoln, the very high priest of democracy, say that the people have an indivisible right, their constitutional right, of amending the Constitution, and, if they so choose, their revolutionary right to overthrow and subvert it? This is what he said in that very famous Gelysburg speech which must have been read by everybody.

This is the sort of thing that is there. You may want a revolution in as gentlemanly a manner as possible. That is a different thing. Can you do it? Let us hope we can do it. Let us get together in such a fashion, mobilise all progressive forces in such a fashion, that we can eliminate all avoidable violence. We can go ahead in that manner if we have some ideological orientation. If you have no ideological orientation, then you will have politicking of the sort which everybody is practising from Mrs. Indira Gandhi downwards in this country. Every political party is practising political manoeuvring. They have no touch of ideological thinking. If we have no ideology, the people would call us back to ideology.

What exactly is happening in my State? You may have read the book "The Grapes of Wrath" by Steinbeck. The grapes of wrath are stored in my part of the country. They could be grapes of beauty too. Their juice is the life-blood of the people. What do we want? What sort of grapes do we want? Do we want grapes of beauty or grapes of wrath? What are you going to give to our young people? Nobody cares to answer this kind of question . . .

SHRI RANGA: We see violence everywhere. Indiscipline takes place in the House itself. . . (*Interruption*)

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE: Prof. Ranga must apply his mind to certain things which matter most deeply and essentially to the life of man. That is what worries the youth of today. It is no good dealing with footling little political problems that come up from time to time, and winning one's point and gloating over it, because after gloating over it, you will have to wallow in the misery of defeat. That is the kind of thing that goes on. What are you going to do about it? The violence is in the air. You cannot just stop it. The politicians of every hue have grievously failed and it is no surprise that our people are in a towering rage. What are you going to do about it? Mr. Imam would suggest more powers to the police, to the military and to everybody else.

You are talking of West Bengal. I do not want to claim any primacy for my part of the country as to what is happening in West

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

Bengal. If you cannot tackle it creatively and successfully, that will happen in the rest of the country tomorrow or the day after. There is no stopping it. You cannot merely shout from the housetops about Naxalites and other menaces. You cannot just stop it. There was a well-known writer Franz Fanon whom my hon. friend, Mr. K. C. Pant, must have known about for he has been connected with the Indian Council of Africa. This is what Fanon has said in one of his most beautiful books, "The Wretched of the Earth":

"This irrepressible violence is neither sound nor fury nor the resurrection of savage instincts. It is man recreating himself."

You and I may differ from it. Maybe, we are at a stage of life when this kind of statement comes to us as a shock. Maybe, most of our people get a shock at the sight of blood, specially at the sight of our own blood. Maybe, that is the way in which we are constituted. But that is no reason for thinking that the problems of the world would come to be solved easily and in the way we like it.

When that sort of a thing has taken place in different regions and in different periods of history, a new mystique is in the air today and you have to tackle it. What is that mystique? It is a kind of celebration in the manner of that thinker, Sorel, of "cleansing" violence which will "rejuvenate the earth and transform former slaves and masters into full human beings." This is the kind of feeling which at one time used to inspire us also. I remember Jawaharlal Nehru writing in his book, "The Discovery of India", that there were many people in our country for whom the Bastille had not fallen and that for them the great convulsions like the Russian Revolution or the French Revolution or the Chinese Revolution had not taken place. . .

SHRI LOBO PRABHU (Udipi): On a point of order, Sir. We are all committed to uphold the Constitution. In this House, we have taken an oath to that effect. The Constitution provides for the rule of law. I regret to say that my good friend, Dr. Hiren Mukerjee, is preaching the doctrine of violence

which is against the Constitution and which is against the rule of law and which, in my opinion, is most harmful to the country. If the words said here are reach the people, reach the youth of this country, we are going to be in a very bad way. I would, therefore, beg of him that however much he would like to oppose the resolution, he may not transgress the Constitution because he is a Member of this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Lobo Prabhu, there is no point of order.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU: I am standing by the Constitution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, no. He is not preaching violence. There is no point of order.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU: He is preaching violence in very clear words. He has quoted support to his plea from the authors of different countries. Please understand this.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE: Mr. Lobo Prabhu's point is not a point of order as you rightly pointed out. It only shows that he wishes to wish away something which I am saying is a problem of fundamental proportions which this country's leadership has to tackle or quit. That is what is happening and if he raises the question of Constitution, I have quoted in his face Abraham Lincoln who has stated for all times the fundamental rights of the people. If they want to change the Constitution, they will certainly change it. All over the world to-day there is a feeling. . .

SHRI LOBO PRABHU: By law.

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ (Wardha): Until it is there, you have to follow it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is not meaning it.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE: I mean what I say. (*Interruptions*). I am not in this House on the suffrage of Mr. Lobo Prabhu or anybody of that sort. I am here because half

a million of my people elected me to come and speak in this House. If I say something which is against the rules of this House and the grain of decency, you, Sir, are at liberty to pull me up and I am willing to say, 'I am sorry'. (*Interruptions*) But I am not going to be deprived of my chance of saying that these are fundamental questions of world import. Winds of change are blowing not only in other parts of the world but over our country also. These winds of change are blowing furiously which it is necessary to understand. When I see people suffering in the struggle for Afro-Asian freedom call for what they call "equal humanity or equal annihilation," when I find this new mystique also operating here, I have to grapple with it. I wish somebody like Ganghiji could understand what the temper or the spirit of the age was like. Here is an age which is distracted beyond description. Can we meet our children, talk to them face to face and ask them moralisingly to follow this tenet or that? Aren't we aware of the guilt that is in our soul to-day? Aren't we aware of it? Where is it leading to? (*Interruptions*) This is leading to the outbreak of violent activities. This is leading to impetence, to a frantic frenzy for breaking our bonds.

I know that the non-ideological mind will be allergic to any statement which has nothing whatever to do with the miserable job which may be on hand at a particular moment. But you have to have an ideological approach to the problem. If you don't, all this talk about what you are going to do to Bengal, martial law or no martial law, will lead you nowhere. That is the warning. That is the handwriting on the wall which we have to see. Seeing that possibly you would like to have the other kind of dictatorship which some of our people would like to have. They are talking about Generals taking over. They are talking about shutting up of the Parliament shop. All that is not violence to Mr. Lobo Prabhu. What I say is violence because what I say is based on ideological conviction and historical understanding.

I would like, therefore, to say to Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri who is a friend of mine, in particular: please do think of the basic pre-suppositions of Indian living to-day. Please don't run away from the fact that the country is facing problems that cannot be

tackled by normal methods. Please don't forget that if violence is not channelised in a creative fashion, it breaks out in orgies of brutality as have taken place in Ahmedabad, Bhiwandi and elsewhere. Please don't forget that the young people of to-day are depressed beyond words and that is why all over the country, they are getting the sympathy of the common man. When a bus is burnt or something is done to anybody. The people do not intervene because they have come to believe that all politics is to-day a game of black-guardry, that politicking is going on, that corruption is rampant, that morality is nowhere in the picture and some sanctimonious people talk in moralising tones to the youth of our country. That is why the youth of our country is in revolt. That is why so much violent manifestations are taking place.

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If you do not take note of it, if you merely try to apply some remedy from the outside, it will not cure the disease.

You have to go to the root of the matter and that is why I want this Government; I want this country; I warn Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri in particular and such others who think like him that merely talking in terms of law and order being subverted is not tackling the problem. Something very much bigger than that is happening all over the world and also in my country, because, we are not an anchorite peninsula separated from the stream of world events. We have to be in the stream of world events. We have to solve our problem which also happens to be the problem of the world.

I am sorry, Sir, I have inflicted a kind of speech which this House does not like, but I don't care a tinker's cuss.

श्री बलराज मधोक (साउथ दिल्ली) : श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्रीजी ने जो हिंसक तथा सबवर्षिव गतिविधियों के संबंध में यह प्रस्ताव लाकर रखा है, मैं समझता हूँ इस सदन की ही नहीं बल्कि ऐसा करके उन्होंने सारे देश की सेवा की है। आज सारे देश में हिंसक गति-विधियाँ चल रही हैं, सबवर्षान हो रही है और

[श्री बलराज मधोक]

उसके कारण सारे देश की एकता, प्रभुसत्ता, संविधान और वे सभी मूल्य जिनके लिए भारत खड़ा है, जिनकी रक्षा के लिए संविधान में प्रावधान है, वे सब खतरे में हैं। मेरे मित्र श्री हीरेन मुखर्जी ने कहा है कि *Violence is the law of life. Yes, I agree.* वायोलेंस का जीवन में स्थान है। सेनायें किस लिए होती हैं? सेनाएं आर्गनाइज्ड वायोलेंस के लिए होती हैं। जब देश की रक्षा की आवश्यकता होती है, जब अत्याचार बढ़ता है, तब उनके द्वारा तलवार उठाई जाती है। इस देश के महापुरुषों ने भगवान कृष्ण ने, भगवान राम ने तलवार उठाई और आगे भी उठाई जाएगी। श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जैसे एक बिल्कुल ही अहिंसक व्यक्ति ने भी तलवार उठाने का आह्वान दिया था देश को।

परन्तु सवाल यह है कि आज जो हिंसा की भावना देश में फैल रही है, जो आज सबवर्षन देश में हो रही है, उसका कुछ उस प्रकार की वायोलेंस से जिसका जीवन के अन्दर एक स्थान है, जिसका जीवन के अन्दर एक महत्व है, एक आधार भी है, क्या उसके साथ कोई मेल बैठता है? पहली बात तो यह है कि हमें स्पष्ट होना चाहिए कि सबवर्षन किसे कहते हैं? भारत एक लोकतंत्रीय देश है और लोकतंत्र में विचारों की स्वतंत्रता है। हम अपनी बात कह सकते हैं, इकट्ठे मिल सकते हैं, हम देश के अन्दर जो सामाजिक नीतियां हैं, आर्थिक नीतियां हैं, अन्य नीतियां हैं, उनके बारे में तथा समस्याओं के बारे में विचार रख सकते हैं। हम सरकार को बदलने का प्रयत्न भी कर सकते हैं। यह हमारा अधिकार है। उसके लिए नियम हैं, ढंग हैं और उसको करने के लिए कोई किसी को रोक नहीं सकता है, किसी पर कोई रोक नहीं है। लेकिन सबवर्षन वह है जो देश की एकता को भंग करती है, जो देश की प्रभुसत्ता को भंग करती है, जो देश के अन्दर संविधान है, जो देश का आर्गनिक लॉ है, उसके विरुद्ध जाती है, सबवर्षन वह है जो देश के

अन्दर किसी विदेशी शक्ति का खेल खेलकर देश के अन्दर तोड़-फोड़ करती है, विदेशी शक्ति के हित के लिए देश में काम करती है। क्या कोई इन्कार कर सकता है कि आज इस देश में ऐसे तत्व हैं—अकेले-दुकेले होते तो हम इन्हें क्रिमिनल कह सकते थे—लेकिन अकेले-दुकेले नहीं हैं, आर्गनाइज्ड तत्व हैं, जो विदेशी शक्तियों की ईमा पर देश को तोड़ फोड़ कर रहे हैं, इस देश के संविधान को नष्ट करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। माओ त्से तुंग का बहुत मशहूर वाक्य है :

“Military advance must keep pace with political advance.”

सैनिक आगे जब बढ़ता है जब राजनीतिक वातावरण अनुकूल हो। अगर उसके साथ-साथ राजनीति भी एडवांस नहीं करती है तो सेना की एडवांस कामयाब नहीं हो सकती है। इसीलिए हालांकि सन् 1962 में चीन की फौजें आगे बढ़ती गईं और जीत भी गई परन्तु क्योंकि बंगाल के अन्दर पॉलिटिकल तीर पर मैदान उनके अनुकूल नहीं था, इस वास्ते उन्हें वापिस जाना पड़ा। उस वक्त बंगाल के अन्दर राजनीतिक तीर पर ग्राउंड तैयार नहीं था। उस वक्त राष्ट्रवाद मजबूत था और जो चीनी एजेंट थे वे उस राष्ट्रवाद के सामने भाग कर चूहों की तरह बिलों में चले गए। माओ त्से तुंग ने देखा कि वातावरण अनुकूल नहीं है तो उन्होंने अपनी फौजों को पीछे हटने का आदेश दे दिया। पिछले आठ सालों के अन्दर बंगाल में तथा देश के अन्य भागों में राजनीतिक एडवांस, पॉलिटिकल एडवांस करने की कोशिश की गई है और उस काम में वे लगे हुए हैं ताकि कल को अगर फिर भी चीन की मिलिटरी को एडवांस करना पड़े तो उसके लिए उसको ग्राउंड राइप मिले, जमीन तैयार मिले। यह जो कार्य हो रहा है चीन की ईमा पर, देश के दुश्मनों की ईमा पर उसको चाहे कम्युनिस्ट करते हों, राइट या लैफ्ट या नक्सलाइट,

मुझे उससे कोई वास्ता नहीं है। लेकिन आज इस बात से कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता है कि हमारे देश में चीन के पंचमांगी हैं, रूस के पंचमांगी हैं, अमरीका के पंचमांगी हैं तथा दूसरे देशों के पंचमांगी हैं और उन देशों का खेल खेलने के लिए इस देश के अन्दर इस तरह की गति-विधियां कर रहे हैं। बंगाल में घटी गति-विधियां बड़े स्पष्ट रूप में सामने आ रही हैं तथा अन्य प्रदेशों में भी सामने आनी शुरू हो गई हैं। ये जो गतिविधियां हैं, यह सबवर्शन है। यह कहना कि इस देश के अन्दर आर्थिक विषमता है, नौजवानों में फस्ट्रेशन है, सर्वथा ठीक है। मैं हिरेन बाबू से सहमत हूँ। परन्तु हिरेन बाबू आज से बीस साल पहले युनिवर्सिटी में पढ़ाते थे। लेकिन मेरा आज भी नौजवानों से सम्बन्ध है। मैं उनको जानता हूँ। यह कहना कि हमारे नौजवान जो हैं वे इस कारण सारा कुछ कर रहे हैं, गलत बात है, बिल्कुल गलत बात है। ऐसा कह कर इस सदन को और देश को गलत रास्ते पर डाला जा रहा है। यह गलत रास्ते पर डालने वाली बात है। आज नौजवानों के अन्दर ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है। यह ठीक है कि हमारी आर्थिक नीतियां गलत हैं लेकिन उन गलत आर्थिक नीतियों को बदलने की जिम्मेदारी हमारे ऊपर है। आज भी हमारे देश के नौजवानों के अन्दर देश भक्ति है। परन्तु जहां पर देश भक्ति की भावना कमजोर हुई है, जहां पर राष्ट्रवाद की भावना कमजोर हुई है, जहां पर हमारी शक्ति कमजोर हुई है, वहां पर देश विरोधी शक्तियों ने सिर उठाया है। बंगाल के अन्दर आज जो कुछ हो रहा है, मैं जानता हूँ उसके आर्थिक कारण भी हैं, सामाजिक कारण भी हैं। परन्तु सबसे बड़ा कारण यह है कि वहां पर राष्ट्रवादी शक्तियां कमजोर हैं, देश भक्त शक्तियां कमजोर हैं और इस कारण देश द्रोही तथा सबवर्शन शक्तियों को सिर उठाने का मौका मिला है। काश आज डा० श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी जीवित होते फिर हम देखते कि ये कम्युनिस्ट कैसे बंगाल में सिर उठाते हैं। ये उठा नहीं पाते। उनका देहांत हो गया, उनकी जेल में हत्या कर

दी गई और जिन लोगों के हाथ में सत्ता रही है, कांग्रेस वालों के हाथ में, उन्होंने सिवाय अपना पेट भरने के और सिवाय वहां पर दादाओं को खड़ा करने के और कोई काम नहीं किया है। उन्होंने बंगाल की समस्या को हल नहीं किया है। वहां चूंकि राष्ट्रवाद की भावना में कमी आई है इस वास्ते आज जो परिस्थिति वहां है उस परिस्थिति में वहां का व्यक्ति दुखी है और इसलिए वह आसानी से शिकार हो रहा है। उन तत्वों का जो वहां तोड़ फाड़ के काम कर रहे हैं। जो तोड़ फाड़ का काम कर रहे हैं उनके पीछे एक आइडियोलोजी है, यह ठीक है या गलत लेकिन आइडियोलोजी है। उनके पास साधन भी हैं। वे केवल चीन के ऐजेंट ही नहीं पाकिस्तान के ऐजेंट भी हैं और बंगाल में जो कुछ हो रहा है, मुख्य रूप से चीन और पाकिस्तान के ऐजेंटों की मिली भगत से हो रहा है। उनके साथ जितने भी एंटी-सोशल एलीमेंट हैं, जितना भी गुण्डा एलीमेंट है, वह मिल गया है। पहले जो डाका मारता था उसकी सारा संसार निन्दा किया करता था लेकिन आज दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि उसका पोलिटिकल कवर मिल गया है, डाकू भी रिसर्पेक्टेबल बन गए हैं, किसी का सिर काटना भी रिसर्पेक्टेबल बन गया है। यह सबसे बड़ा दुर्भाग्य है। इसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी सरकार की है, प्रधान मंत्री की है जिसने इस प्रकार के तत्वों को पोलिटिकल रिसर्पेक्टेबिलिटी दी है। आज उनको पोलिटिकल तत्व कहना, यह कहना कि यह आर्गनाइज्ड पोलिटिकल ग्रुप है, गलत है। वे गुंडे हैं, देशद्रोही हैं, पंचमांगी हैं। जो पंचमांगी हैं, जो गुंडे हैं, जो देशद्रोही हैं उनके साथ कोई पोलिटिकल सेटलमेंट नहीं हो सकता है। उनके साथ पोलिटिकल सेटलमेंट की बात करना सबवर्शन को बढ़ावा देना है। उनको दबाने के लिए शक्ति का इस्तेमाल करना होगा। पंचमांगियों के साथ कभी सेटलमेंट नहीं किया जा सकता है।

आज दुर्भाग्य यह है कि सरकार की इस गलत नीति के कारण इस देश के अन्दर और

[श्री बलराज मघोक]

भी पंचमांगी खड़े हो रहे हैं, मुस्लिम लीग भी खड़ी हो रही है। जिस तरह से नक्सलाइट्स का या कम्युनिस्टों का आर्गेंनाइज्ड फिफथ कालम है, चीन का फिफथ कालम है देश में, इसी प्रकार मुस्लिम लीग आज पाकिस्तान का फिफथ कालम बन कर देश में खड़ी हो रही है। वह अपने टंटेकल्ज, अपने शिकंजे फैला रही है।

आप देखें कि पाकिस्तान का आधार टूनेशन थ्युरी है। अगर टूनेशन थ्युरी खत्म होती है तो पाकिस्तान खत्म होता है। अभी पूर्वी बंगाल के अन्दर चुनाव होने जा रहे हैं। वहां हिन्दू दस परसेंट हैं। जितने हिन्दुस्तान में मुसलमान हैं, उतने हिन्दू पाकिस्तान में हैं। उन्होंने मांग की है कि हमें ज्वायंट इलैक्टोरेट दिया जाए और पाकिस्तान ने उनको ज्वायंट इलैक्टोरेट दे दिया है। उसको लेकर पाकिस्तान के आफिशल आर्गन, पाकिस्तान टाइम्ज के एडीटर ने एक एडीटोरियल लिखा कि वहां हिन्दुओं को ज्वायंट इलैक्टोरेट देकर पाकिस्तान सरकार ने बहुत बड़ी गलती की है, टूनेशन थ्युरी की पीठ में छुरा घोंपा है। ज्वायंट इलैक्टोरेट से टूनेशन थ्युरी खत्म हो जाएगी और पाकिस्तान का आधार ही खत्म हो जाएगा। इसलिए उसने मांग की है कि उनसे ज्वायंट इलैक्टोरेट छीन कर उनको सैपेरेट इलैक्टोरेट दिया जाए। जो एडीटोरियल पाकिस्तान टाइम्ज में मि० मुलेरी का छपा उसको अभी 11 अक्टूबर को हमारे स्टेटसमैन ने कोट किया है और कहा है कि वहां पर ज्वायंट इलैक्टोरेट के विरुद्ध आन्दोलन चलता है और यहां पर पाकिस्तानी पंचमांगी मुस्लिम लीग इत्यादि सैपेरेट इलैक्टोरेट की मांग उठा रहे हैं। क्यों? पाकिस्तान जानता है कि अगर भारत का मुसलमान हिन्दुस्तान के राष्ट्र-जीवन के साथ एकरूप हो गया, अगर हिन्दुस्तान में टूनेशन थ्युरी खत्म हो गई, तो जिस आधार पर पाकिस्तान बना है, वह

आधार ही खत्म हो जायेगा और पाकिस्तान का अस्तित्व खतरे में पड़ जायेगा।

सभापति महोदय, मैं वैंस्ट पंजाब का रहने वाला हूँ। वहां के लोग जो बोली बोलते हैं, वही बोली मैं बोलता हूँ। उनके बुजुर्ग मेरे बुजुर्ग हैं। अगर टूनेशन थ्युरी खत्म हो जाए, तो अमृतसर और लाहौर के बीच की दीवार नहीं रह सकती है। इसलिए पाकिस्तान के शासकों के निहित स्वार्थ, वेस्टिड इन्ट्रेस्ट है कि हिन्दुस्तान में टूनेशन थ्युरी कायम रहे। उसके लिए वे करोड़ों रुपये खर्च कर रहे हैं, लाखों एजेंट भेज रहे हैं। ये मजलिसे मुशावरात और मुस्लिम लीग उन्हीं एजेंटों की गति-विधियों के परिणामस्वरूप हैं।

यह सरकार एक तरफ तो देश की एकता की बात करती है और दूसरी तरफ पाकिस्तान के एजेंटों और पंचमांगियों को प्रश्रय देती है। पाकिस्तान की बात तो समझ में आती है। पाकिस्तान को भारत में मुस्लिम लीग चाहिए टूनेशन थ्युरी को जीवित रखने के लिए। पाकिस्तान अपने परपञ्च के लिए यह खेल खेल रहा है और यह सरकार अपने परपञ्च के लिए यह खेल खेल रही है। प्रधान मंत्री को यह कहते हुए शर्म भी नहीं आती है कि मुस्लिम लीग कम्यूनल नहीं है।

इसलिए मैं सबवर्शन के लिए केवल बंगाल के नौजवानों को दोष नहीं देता हूँ। इस देश में जो सबवर्शन हो रहा है, उसके लिए सबसे बड़ी दोषी हमारी प्रधान मंत्री, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी हैं। उनके वचन और कर्म ऐसे हैं, जिनके द्वारा सबवर्साव फ़ॉसिज को बल मिलता है। मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि जगजीवन बाबू बैठे हुए हैं। वह कई बार उन पर लगाम लगाने की कोशिश करते हैं। लेकिन उनकी लगाम काम नहीं करती है। जब वह खरा और होशियार हो जायेंगे, तो घोड़ी पर लगाम रख सकेंगे, लेकिन अभी वह ऐसा करने के काबिल नहीं

हैं। इसलिए वह धोड़ी तेज चल रही है। इसी कारण देश में सबवाशिव एक्टिविटीज को बढ़ावा मिल रहा है।

देश के सामने बड़ी गम्भीर समस्या है। हम पाकिस्तान और चीन को दोष नहीं दे सकते हैं, क्योंकि वे दुश्मन हैं और दुश्मन हमारे देश के हालात को खराब करना चाहेंगे। लेकिन अगर हम उन हालात को खराब होने देते हैं और उनका खेल खेलते हैं, तो सबसे अधिक दोषी हम हैं।

जहां तक इस सरकार की नीतियों का सम्बन्ध है, लोग कई बार एक ठीक मांग लेकर जाते हैं, उसके लिए तर्क पेश करते हैं, कांस्टीट्यूशनल और डेमोक्रेटिक ढंग से उस मांग को मनवाना चाहते हैं, उसको पार्लियामेंट में और बाहर पेश करते हैं, लेकिन सरकार के कानों पर जूँ तक नहीं रेंगती है। परन्तु अगर उसी मांग के पीछे वायलेंस खड़ी कर दी जाए, बसें जलाना शुरू कर दिया जाए, तो सरकार उसी मांग को मान जाती है। This Government is putting a premium on violence. यह मेरा सबसे बड़ा चार्ज है।

जहां तक श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी का सम्बन्ध है, उनकी अपनी एक आइडियोलोजी है। He believes in armed revolution, in violence. लेकिन जो गांधीवाद में विश्वास करते हैं, जो अहिंसा की बात करते हैं, वे अपनी नीतियों के द्वारा हिंसा को बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं। So long as you go on encouraging violence, so long as you go on putting a premium on violence, violence is going to increase, whatever you may say.

इसलिए मेरी प्रार्थना है कि इस देश में वायलेंस और सबवर्शन के जो मूल कारण हैं, हम उनका विश्लेषण करें। बिना किसी मर्ज की तशखीस के उसका इलाज नहीं हो सकता है। अगर मर्ज का निदान न करें, उसको डाइग्नोज न करें और उसका इलाज करें, तो इलाज नहीं हो सकता है। ये जो डाक्टर बैठे

हुए हैं, ये उस मर्ज का डाइग्नोसिस करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं।

अन्त में मैं तीन चार सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। ये वायलेंट एक्टिविटीज और सबवर्शन देश के लिए खतरा है, यह तो सब मानते हैं। लेकिन उसका इलाज क्या है? पहली बात तो यह है कि हमें देश में ऐसे हालात पैदा करने होंगे, जिनमें इस प्रकार के सबवर्सिव एलिमेंट्स न पनप सकें। उसके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि देश में रूल आफ़ लॉ के लिए रेस्पेक्ट पैदा की जाये। दुनिया में दो ही ढंग हो सकते हैं: रूल आफ़ लॉ या लॉ आफ़ जंगल—बीच का कोई रास्ता नहीं है। हमारा तंत्र रूल आफ़ लॉ का तंत्र है। लेकिन अगर हम रूल आफ़ लॉ के तंत्र की बात करते हुए लॉ आफ़ जंगल को, लैंड ग्रैबिंग को, एनकरेज करेंगे, तो फिर रूल आफ़ लॉ नहीं रहेगा। हमें देश में ऐसे हालात पैदा करने होंगे, जिनमें रूल आफ़ लॉ चले और लॉ के द्वारा लोगों की जेनविन ग्रीवेंसिज, कठिनाइयों और शिकायतों को दूर किया जा सके और जिन ग़लत नीतियों के कारण देश के लोगों में फ्रस्ट्रेशन और निराशा है, उनको बदला जाये।

इसके अलावा देश में प्रबल देशभक्ति का भाव पैदा करना होगा। दुनिया के और बहुत से मुल्क हैं, जिनमें आर्थिक और सामाजिक हालात हमसे भी बदतर थे और हैं। परन्तु वहां कम्युनिस्ट पांव नहीं जमा पाए, वहां सबवर्शन नहीं हो पाया, क्योंकि वहां देशभक्ति और राष्ट्रियता का भाव रहा है। अगर देश में राष्ट्रियता और देशभक्ति का भाव खत्म हो जायेगा, तो फिर कोई भी आदमी किसी का खेल खेलेगा। इसलिए देश में राष्ट्रियता को प्रबल करना होगा।

हमारे भाई हर रोज कम्युनिज्म की रट लगाते हैं। मैं उनसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि राष्ट्रियता कोई इस देश की कल्पना नहीं है, बल्कि वह एक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कानसेप्ट है। राष्ट्रियता के

[श्री बलराज मघोक]

जो आधार जर्मनी, जापान और इंग्लैंड में हैं, वही आधार भारत में हो सकते हैं। हम राष्ट्रीयता के आधारों और उसके प्रेरणास्रोतों को समझें और उनके आधार पर देश में प्रबल राष्ट्रवाद की भावना जगायें। अगर भारत में ऐसी प्रबल राष्ट्रवाद और देशभक्ति की भावना जगेगी, तो फिर इस देश का कोई भी आदमी चीन या पाकिस्तान का एजेंट नहीं बनेगा।

यह भी जरूरी है कि हमारे देश में एक ला आफ़ ट्रीज़न बनाया जाये। दुनिया के हर एक देश में ला आफ़ ट्रीज़न है। जिसमें डिफ़ाइन किया गया है कि गद्दार कौन है। अभी तक हमारी स्टैंटूट बुक में इसकी डेफ़िनीशन नहीं है कि ट्रेटर, देशद्रोही कौन है। इसको डिफ़ाइन किया जाये और अगर उस डेफ़िनीशन में मैं आता हूँ, तो मुझ पर कोई रहम न किया जाये और अगर कोई भी आता है, तो उस पर भी रहम न किया जाए। लेकिन ला आफ़ ट्रीज़न बनाया जाना चाहिए और देशद्रोह के लिए सख्त सज़ा देनी चाहिए। हमारे यहां जो ट्रेटर हैं, जो काश्मीर को भारत से अलग करने की बात करते हैं जो देश में तोड़-फोड़ करते हैं, जो माओ और अयूब का गुणगान करते हैं, वे तो देशभक्त हैं। लेकिन जो भारत में भारतीयता की बात करता है, मेरे जैसे उस आदमी पर मुकदमा चलाया जाता है। ये इस सरकार के डबल स्टैंडर्ड हैं। इस सरकार को पता नहीं है कि देशद्रोही कौन है और देशभक्त कौन है। वह भले और बुरे का विवेक नहीं कर सकती है। जो सरकार भले और बुरे का विवेक नहीं कर सकती है, जो देशभक्ति और देशद्रोह में विवेक नहीं कर सकती है, वह देश की रक्षा कैसे करेगी? वह देश में सबवर्सिव एक्टिविटीज़ को चेक नहीं कर सकेगी।

हम सब, जो लोकतंत्र में विश्वास करते हैं, मिलकर यह कोशिश करें कि देश में इस प्रकार के हालात पैदा न हों, हम सबवर्शन को

चेक कर सकें और देशद्रोहियों की रोकथाम कर सकें। इसकी प्राइमरी जिम्मेदारी सरकार की है। अगर सरकार ढिलमिल रहेगी—अगर वह सी० पी० (एम०) पर निर्भर है, तो वह अच्छा है और अगर वह ज़रा अलग हो गया, तो बुरा; अगर जनसंघ उसका दोस्त बन गया, तो वह राष्ट्रवादी और प्रगतिशील हो गया और अगर वह उससे अलग हो गया, तो वह कम्युनल और रीएक्शनरी बन गया, अगर सरकार के सोचने का ढंग यही रहा, तो वह देश की स्थिति में कोई सुधार नहीं कर पायेगी। सरकार को अपने सोचने के इस ढंग को बदलना होगा। अलग-अलग पार्टियां रहेंगी, लेकिन जहां तक राष्ट्रवाद, राष्ट्रीयता और राष्ट्र-प्रेम का ताल्लुक है, उसके बारे में अलग-अलग मंयार और अलग-अलग कसौटियां और स्टैंडर्ड नहीं हो सकते हैं। देश में जो देशद्रोही शक्तियां हैं, उनके बारे में यह नीति कभी नहीं अपनानी चाहिए कि कभी उनको हमारे खिलाफ़ और कभी हमको उनके खिलाफ़ इस्तेमाल किया जाये। हम सब मिलकर काम करें और किसी प्रकार के देशद्रोही तत्वों को, चाहे वे चीन के एजेंट हों और चाहे पाकिस्तान के, कोई क्वार्टर न दें। ऐसा करने से हमको पोलिटीकल लाभ हो या हानि, हमारी पार्टी को चन्द वोट मिलें या न मिलें, लेकिन हम देश के व्यापक हितों का विचार करके कोई योजना बनायें। यह समय की आवश्यकता है। मुझे आशा है कि सदन और सरकार इस पर ध्यान देगी। धन्यवाद।

श्री शशि भूषण (खरगोन) : सभापति महोदय, मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता हुई है कि मेरे साथी राष्ट्रीयता, प्रजातंत्र और गांधीजी की बात कर रहे हैं। जब हम उन लोगों के मुंह से यह बात सुनते हैं, जो एक झंडा, एक गुरु और एक धर्म पर विश्वास करते हैं, जो प्रजातंत्र के विपरीत एक फ़ाशिस्ट ढंग से एक राष्ट्र के सिद्धान्त पर विश्वास करते हैं, . . .

श्री बलराज मधोक : श्री शशि भूषण इस हाउस के एक आनरेबल मेम्बर हैं। गाली देने के लिए उनको छुट्टी है। वह गाली दे सकते हैं। लेकिन हाउस के सामने इस वक्त जो इस्मू है, वह उस पर बोलें।

श्री शशि भूषण : माननीय सदस्य तो प्रधान मंत्री के बारे में कितना कह रहे थे। मैंने तो कुछ कहा ही नहीं है।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी (कानपुर) : ऐसा मालूम होता है कि भूत गीता पढ़ रहा है।

श्री शशि भूषण : जो प्रजातंत्र पर कभी विश्वास नहीं रखते हैं, जो हिन्दुस्तान में एक विदेशी विचार-धारा, फ्रासिस्ट विचार-धारा, लागू करना चाहते हैं, वे आज प्रजातंत्र की बात करते हैं। ब्रिटिश जमाने में हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी की लड़ाई में वे अंग्रेजी फ़ीज में भर्ती कराते थे और आज वे प्रजातंत्र की बात करते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान में प्रजातंत्र कायम करने के लिए भगतसिंह ने कुर्बानी दी। सभापति महोदय, आप भी जेलों में गये। देश में जो प्रजातंत्रीय शक्तियाँ हैं, उन्होंने इन लोगों को मजबूर कर दिया है कि वह सही रास्ते पर आएँ और खुशी की बात है कि कम से कम अब वह प्रजातंत्र की बातें करते हैं। वरना उनके दल के लोग सुबह जब रोज़ झंडा लेकर खड़े होते हैं, उस वक्त का उनका संभाषण कोई सुने तो पता चले कि प्रजातंत्र का कोई नामोनिशां नहीं है। जहाँ तक कहा गया कि हिंसा का वातावरण संसार में बहुत बढ़ गया है, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ जो लोग यहाँ सतयुग के प्रतिनिधि हैं उनसे कि कलियुग में हिंसा बहुत कम है। सतयुग में बहुत बड़े-बड़े महाभारत और बड़ी-बड़ी लड़ाइयाँ हुईं। आज तो हिंसा और लड़ाई कम है। . . . (व्यवधान) उस वक्त में ज्यादा लड़ाइयाँ और झगड़े होते थे। आज सारी दुनिया में विश्व-शांति लोग चाहते हैं और बड़े युद्ध से डरते भी हैं। आज हम हिंसा को पहचानने लगे हैं। पहले लोग हिंसा को पहचान नहीं

पाये। आज की दुनिया में सारे मानव समाज की बात मैं कर रहा हूँ। इसलिए हिंसा के खिलाफ जो एक विरोध है वह सब जगह है। लेकिन इसके बाद भी आज लोग यह भी पहचानने लगे हैं कि आखिर यह जो बड़े और छोटे का भेद है उसको बढ़ाने वाली शक्तियाँ कौन हैं। जब उनके खिलाफ कोई बात की जाती है तो उस वक्त कुछ लोग कभी राष्ट्रवाद के नाम पर, कभी दूसरे नाम पर बड़े-बड़े पूँजीपतियों की, बड़े-बड़े राजे-महाराजों की रक्षा के लिए चौकीदार बन जाते हैं। यह राष्ट्रीयता के आडम्बर में रक्षा करते हैं। विदेशी पूँजीपतियों की, देशी पूँजीपतियों की और देशी राजे-महाराजों की। जहाँ तक कलकत्ते का सवाल है मैं पिछले दिनों वहाँ गया। वहाँ हालत यह है कि ज्योति बसु भी आराम से बाहर नहीं निकल सकते और ज्योतिर्मय बसु हमारे मित्र हैं, हम तो अहिंसा पर विश्वास करते हैं, अगर इन पर कोई नक्सलाइट हमला करता है, हाथ उठाता है तो मैं अपनी जान देकर भी इनकी रक्षा करूँगा। हम तो चाहते हैं कि जिस ढंग का भय का वातावरण सी० पी० आई० (एम) के जो कार्यकर्ता हैं उनके ऊपर छा गया है उसमें अगर हमारे हाउस की तरफ से उनके लिए कोई एल० आई० सी० के द्वारा फ्री इन्वोर्सेस करने का भी सुझाव आए तो हम चाहेगे कि एल० आई० सी० की तरफ से इनको कम्पलसरी इन्वोर्ड किया जाय, ताकि यह सुरक्षित रहें। हम तो यह चाहते हैं। लेकिन हालात यह हैं कि ज्योतिर्मय बसु, मैं और भूपेश गुप्ता एक बार अंदाज से आ रहे थे, रास्ते में देखा कि सैकड़ों आदमी लाठियाँ लेकर एक दूसरे पर झंडा चला रहे हैं। भूपेश ने कहा कि देखो भाई, यह क्या हो रहा है? इन्होंने कहा कि यह कांग्रेस का बीस साल का मिसरूल है। मैंने कहा कि बीस साल में हमें किसी ने चेलेंज नहीं किया मारने को और आपके लिये तो एक साल में ही पहले-पहले सुबह होते ही 18 साल का नक्सलाइट लड़का डूँडता है कि यहाँ कोई सी० पी० एम० का कार्यकर्ता रहता है? वह नहीं मिले तो उसके

[श्री शशिभूषण]

रिश्तेदार को ढूँढते हैं। वह भी नहीं मिले तो पुलिस में जो इनके द्वारा भर्ती हुए हैं उसको ढूँढते हैं और वह भी न मिले तो फिर तीसरे आदमी को ढूँढते हैं। तो एक साल में जो इन्होंने वातावरण बनाया है अगर यह प्रजातंत्र की नीति में विश्वास करें और जितनी प्रजातंत्रीय शक्तियां हैं उनके साथ मिलकर इस गुंडागर्दी का राजनैतिक तौर पर मुकाबला करें तो हो सकता है। बैन करने से यह चीज हल नहीं हो सकती है। इसका हल किसी को सी० आई० ए० का एजेंट कह देने से या चीनी एजेंट कह देने से भी नहीं होता। क्योंकि जो बहुत राष्ट्रवाद की बात करते हैं सबसे ज्यादा वही विदेशी एजेंट हैं। इस देश में मैं देखता हूँ कि शिव सेना को जो लाखों करोड़ों रुपये आते हैं वह कहां से आते हैं? बहुत से हमारे भाई नाराज होंगे इस बात से, उनको पैसा देकर कत्ल कराया जाता है, कहीं हड़ताल होती है तो शिव सेना के लोग उसको रोकवाने के लिए चौकीदार बना कर भेजे जाते हैं और महाराष्ट्र के नाम पर, घर्म के नाम पर, पता नहीं किस किस नाम पर कितना-कितना राष्ट्रवाद चलाया जाता है? तो इस प्रकार जो हिंसा की भावना है वह कोई पूंजीपति बढ़ाए या कोई साम्यवाद के नाम पर बढ़ाए, हमारे देश ने प्रजातंत्र अपना लिया है और दूसरा रास्ता यहां नहीं चल सकता। यह जो कम्युनल रायट होते हैं यह क्या हिंसा नहीं है? हजारों आदमी अहमदाबाद में, मार दिए गए, भिबंडी में मार दिए गए। क्या यह हिंसा नहीं है? आज इनको जो पंचमांगी कहते हैं वह सबसे बड़े पंचमांगी हैं। अंग्रेज जिस चीज को हमारे देश में बो गए हैं ताकि हमारा राष्ट्र एक न बन सके उसी की परिपाटी पर चलते हुए अपने आपको यह राष्ट्रवादी कहते हैं? देश की आजादी के लिए, देश के हित में कभी जिन्होंने एक बूंद खून नहीं बहाया, गांधीजी के मर्डर के बाद कुछ लोग जेल जरूर गए और बाद में माफी मांग कर चले आए, वह आज राष्ट्रवाद की दोहाई देते हैं। इसलिए अच्छा तो यह हो

कि एक दूसरे पर आक्षेप करने के बजाय इस बात का पोलिटिकल हल निकाला जाय, जितनी प्रगतिशील ताकतें हैं बंगाल में वह सब मिल कर खड़ी हो जाय तो यह चीज आसानी से हल हो सकती है।

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour): Sir, I start from where Mr. Shashibhushan ends, that the Naxalites are looking for CPM whenever they want to find out somebody for attacking. The bogie of subversive activities has been intensified from the time the CPM-dominated United Front came to power in West Bengal. Today, to quote Mrs. Gandhi's close allies, in the papers edited by them, the headlines are: "Naked Police Terror stalks President's Rule in West Bengal", "Under Governor Raj no law. Only orders to shoot and kill". This is from New Age. I promise I shall quote nothing from the papers where we have got interest.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA (Raiganj): Quote from *New Age* also where it speaks of CPM tyranny.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: I will do that later to satisfy you.

Even the British satans, the tyrants, the suckers, who came to rule and exploit our country thought that there should be a regulation by which every police firing should be enquired into either by an executive enquiry or judicial enquiry. But today, the great Samajwadi Mahila Indira Gandhi proposes to do away with that and say, "Shoot anybody you choose." Even if a policeman shoots for a personal purpose, there is none to check him. I quote from *Hindustan Standard*, a paper controlled by Congress: "No executive enquiry into the firings now."

I wrote a letter to Mrs. Indira Gandhi to which she replied like this:

"I have your letter of 1st November regarding the reported decision of the West Bengal Government not to hold an enquiry into police firings. I myself have no further knowledge beyond what has been stated in the press. We are finding

out the facts from the West Bengal Government after which I shall write to you again."

Look at this untruth that has been given to an MP.

SHRI RANGA: She is your friend and ally.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: I will tell you later on how close she is to us. *Jugantar*, a paper owned by a Congressman, Mr. Tarun Kanti Ghosh—he happens to be the Secretary of the West Bengal Ruling Congress—says; what? It says that:

"the decision was taken by the Government there in a meeting where the Advisers were present. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Dhawan, the Governor and everything was conveyed to the Central Government for their information and approval. What Mrs. Gandhi has written to me is—I do not want to use the word 'lie'—wholly untrue and not becoming of a Prime Minister. We must find out how low she is willing to stoop to maintain herself in power.

At the present moment, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's sole operation is subversion. That is her sole operation in order to capture power and consolidate and install her party in West Bengal, which has been routed out ruthlessly like a piece of rag when it was offered to the people for getting elected.

Do not forget that in 1967 when, for the first time, the United Front came into power, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Chavan created fake documents to convince Shri Ajoy Mukerjee that we were hand in glove with China and that we were unfit to be in the government. They created fake photographs and letters and the old man was convinced and a conspiracy was hatched and the name of the operation was operation Hooghly. By that they wanted to shoot 2,500 Communists in one or two days, then they wanted the resignation of the Chief Minister and they wanted to form a new government. Where is the draftsman of that resignation, Shri Asok Sen? He is not seen here. Here too they were building castles in the air. Then they wanted a Shikandi government and they went to the extent of planting a bomb in the

lift of Lal Bazaar and the Congress papers in Calcutta, and the papers which had to rely for newsprint and advertisements on Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Government, raised a hue and cry that the bomb was made in China and it was planted by the CPM. Later on, it was found that the whole thing was untrue and it did not work. This is how throughout the last 23 years, and even before that, communal riots have been created—the same type of machinery, the same personnel have been operating there.

We have not forgotten the PDF atrocities, which were created by Delhi, with the help of money of foreign and Indian monopolists, atrocities which knew no bounds, the atrocities that they committed in college campus like Uttarpara and Ganguli Bagh where the walls of colleges were smeared with blood and professors and students dare not speak of it for fear of creating trouble. This is the finding of the inquiry commission.

When the Speaker, Shri Bejoy Banerjee created some deadlock he got the reward of a highly explosive bomb in his house with the express object of killing him. All this subversion is done from the South Block in Delhi.

They went to the extent of creating communal riots and riots based on regionalism. A riot was created between Bengalis and Sikhs, who are our very dear friends. They are welcome to Bengal because any workman is always welcome in Bengal. Here I would like to quote the Deputy Commissioner of Police (Special Branch), Shri Surendranath Gupta, who gave evidence before an inquiry commission presided over by a High Court Judge. He was in charge of the Intelligence Department in Calcutta at the relevant time. When questioned about the motives of the organisers of the Sikh riots on 20th March 1967, this is what the Deputy Commissioner, Shri Gupta, said:

"The motive, as far as we can get through the intelligence reports, was to discredit the then United Front Government for which a few rich people and an unseen hand had spent considerable sums of money."

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

So, you can understand that it is the socialist government of South Block and their allies, the big money bags, who are creating subversion in this country. In the mean time, they went about vigorously recruiting thousands of people for intelligence service. We have definite information that they have created a parallel central police net work of centre intelligence in West Bengal and eastern region, including parts of Assam.

The bourgeois press raised a lot of hue and cry. When the Rabindra Sarovar incident of atrocities on women was gone through by a High Court Judge it was found to be nothing but untrue. The whole object of this is to isolate and separate CPM, the real enemy of Congress (R) and thus resettle Indira Congress in West Bengal which, I can tell you, will never happen.

Shri Ajoy Mukerjee—unfortunately, I have to call him a stooge here—Indira's stooge, was used for forming, what we call, a *sikhandi* government, for the Congress.

After this land grab agitation in Midnapore, at a place called Bhoglasul, P.C. Sen said:

"In the process of land grab, when the CP(M) worker is involved in a murder, the blood colours red; when it is done by any of Mrs. Gandhi's allies or Ajoy Mukherjee's allies, the colour looks to be yellow or amber."

How is it so?

The cat is out of the bag in yesterday's Consultative Committee meeting if I have got it right. My dear friend, Shri K.C. Pant, will tell us. It is that they do not like a united front type of government to come back because it will bring political instability. They want the Congress to come back. Are you not building a castle in the air?

The second objective of Shrimati Indira Gandhi is to create a reign of terror and over-publicise it so that it becomes convenient for her to refuse the mid-term poll. She knows, her party will be thrown out of the polling booth without any difficulty.

The third one is that she wants a smooth

passage for the black Act. One of the Calcutta papers, the *Hindustan Standard*, a Congress paper, says that this is a much harsher piece of legislation than the one that was in existence. It is taking blanket powers and, no doubt, they will be used against the cadre of those who are posing a danger to her power-grabbing and to her throne.

The fourth one is that by this Act they want to imprison our cadre and create a smooth passage through the election. That is not going to happen.

Lastly, it is to destroy the CP(M) by physical annihilation of its workers and cadre. You have concentrated on our important organisational leaders. During the President's rule you have killed not less than 107 CP(M) persons during this regime of eight months. You ought to be ashamed of yourself.

We really wanted to sort out the things with the Naxalites. We wanted to fight them on political grounds. But today you have annihilated a good part of them because you consider them to be very unsafe. Not many are there.

Today the whole State has been captured by your Central Intelligence led hard criminals, agents provocateur and unemployed varieties of those "Whatelse-to-do's", because you have offered nothing before them during the last 23 years. You want to make the fullest use of them for your political growth.

You have had a death of sergeant major, Mukerjee, of an armed battalion. Who had killed him? Another policeman. You had another death of a traffic constable. Who had killed him? Another policeman. You have planted hundreds of policemen as agents provocateur to do these jobs and tell the world that it is being done by the Naxalites. It is your job. You are financing it and are doing it. You have sent a consignment of very veteran intelligence officers in March immediately after the fall of your government with lots of your money in your discretionary funds and also the money given by your monopolist friends. We want to know what are the truths in these.

Here is another cutting from the *Hindustan*

Standard, "Dismissed constable held at Naxalite hideout." It is on the 30th September. I want a reply on this.

The CIA is not sitting idle. They are hand in glove with your operations. American made machineguns were found in Jaduguda forest. I had written two letters to Shri K.C. Pant. He is taking shelter under one word, "The matter is under investigation." Whenever you seize a weapon or anything in operation, you make a seizure list within 15 minutes. I want a clear and categorical reply from Mr. Pant. Whom is he trying to shield? What about those 2 American revolvers found on the person of two boys near Barrackpore very recently? I have written a letter to him. No doubt, he will try to take shelter. I do not know whom he is trying to shield.

There is another interesting item about the so-called Naxalites in *Jugantar*. It says that out of 400 and odd numbers, 349 persons had no relation with politics in the past. Who have recruited them? Who are paying for them? Who are training them? Who are providing them with weapons and explosives?

Then, two Naxalite leaders were arrested in the house of Dr. Sunil Bose in Mao Hospital. Is it not a fact that Dr. Sunil Bose contested an election on the Congress ticket?

There is another article in *Jugantar* which says that behind Calcutta happenings, big business hands are working. It says that the explosives are being imported freely. I would like to give one case where explosives and bombs worth Rs. 7 lakhs were seized and the Calcutta police confiscated more than 6500 Kgs. of Potassium Chloride. What is the police doing? Is it not being done with their connivance? Who will believe that all these bombs worth Rs. 7 lakhs were brought to Calcutta without the knowledge and connivance of the police?

There is another article in *BASUMATI* saying: Where from are the so called Naxalites getting weapons and arms? The Commissioner of Police says that they are trying to institute an inquiry. He said it months ago. But nothing can be done because you are providing them with weapons

and everything else. The police is seriously involved in it. You are supplying them with weapons, explosives, guidance and, lastly, protection.

There is no motive for loot and robbery. They stab a man or they murder him. But his wrist-watch or his trousers are seldom touched. That shows they are being paid by a third hand. Who is so resourceful to pay people for months and months to thousands and thousands of them? None but the Government with their monopolist friends. They are not touching a single foreigner exploiter, no big businessmen, no posh schools and no hoarders and blackmarketeers and food adulterators.

Now, I refer to an article which has come out in the *Blitz* saying that the police pickets in Calcutta were being attacked by the so-called Naxalites. But there has not been a single casualty. So, a decision has been taken to sacrifice a few constables and petty officers. Those who know the terrorist days of early 1930s will remember that they used to aim at senior officers only, the S.Ps, the D.I.G.s, and so on. Today, they cannot touch them. There will be revolt in their base, in the present Government's base, and they live on bureaucrats. They cannot annoy them.

How does the police protect the miscreants? The Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, has noted with great dissatisfaction that there have been a large number of cases of ineffective firings by the police. Can you imagine that? They protect them. They go through the drill of firing. When the so-called Naxalites are attacked by the local resistance group, the police comes and protects them. For example, we have numerous cases in Bengal Engineering College and other places and we have seen, time and again, that the police is protecting them.

There is not much in villages because villages have no slums. You cannot get foreigners to go there. You cannot inject miscreants and agent provocateurs because they would be found out on the very first day. Today, there are 11 battalions and 2 companies of C.R.P. consisting of 8500 persons. You have also got armed police from Haryana and other States. Why are they creating bad blood between the people of Haryana and the people of Bengal?

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

There have been inhuman torture and killings of boys in police lock-ups. Will you kindly tell us what is the report about the death of one Mr. Samir Bhattacharyya in Shaympukur station. I had written about it to the Prime Minister also earlier. And the Commissioner promised an inquiry. He was beaten to death—a boy age 17. A Sub-Inspector calle Bala was watching and a Head Constable, Lalan Mistri, pressing both his legs on his neck killed him and at the post-mortem it was found that lungs, kidney and the spleen had burst. We have numerous cases in Behala.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please finish.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: I am concluding.

The subversion again has started from New Delhi. The subversion is in South Block. If you want to stop subversion, let us go and search that place, talk to those people and tell them that they are the people who have brought subversion in every sphere of life in this country.

SHRI S. R. DAMANI (Sholapur): At the very outset I want to congratulate my friend, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri, for raising this important subject of erosion of law and order and peace of the country.

I have very carefully listened to their remarks and the speech of my hon. friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Basu and the hon Minister will give a reply to all the points raised by him. But I can say only one thing that they have started all the trouble since they came into power in West Bengal and from that time, the situation in West Bengal has started deteriorating and is continuously deteriorating.

Calcutta is a very important port of the country. It is one of the biggest industrial towns of the country where hundreds of thousands of workers are getting employment and are engaged in one sort or other of the activities. Since last two years what is happening there? Workers are not getting employment. Industrialisation has stopped. Production has stopped and there is no safety of life of any person there. Every body is

afraid. Who is going to suffer out of this? The sufferers are the workers. The sufferers are the common men or the middle class people and my friend who will attack the Government and who will attack our Party should know that during the twenty years when Congress was in power, there was a lot of industrial development of Calcutta and millions of people got employment in several kinds of industries in Calcutta and West Bengal. But, since then, everything is disturbed. They know only one thing — destruction. They do not know that no country can progress through destruction. Only by construction a country can progress. Their method is to instigate the workers to go on strike, to obstruct the management and to threaten the officers and create such situation that the factory and the industry does not work. Is this the way a country can develop? Is this the way that the youth will get employment? Is this the way that our country will become self-sufficient and will develop any further? These are not the ways.

My friend has said that they are getting instigation from other countries which are not happy with us, that is the reason why these activities are being continued. How long can Government control it because it is going to affect our industrial development? In these circumstances I say that the Government has been very very lenient so far in not taking severe action against those who are indulging in such kinds of lawlessness. What is it that we are reading everyday in the newspapers? Every day we are reading that 3 or 4 policemen have been killed; we hear that so many post offices have been attacked; we hear that so many buses have been burnt; we hear that some persons have been stabbed and so on. These are becoming cases of daily occurrence. If this is not controlled, if this continues, then, Government will be failing in its duty to carry out the maintenance of law and order in the country.

Therefore, I strongly recommend to the Government that the Government should take the strongest action against those persons and those parties indulging in this kind of lawlessness and creating violence and terror in that part of the country, in Calcutta and in other places.

Our exports from Calcutta port form 35 per cent of our foreign exports. Similarly, there are large imports into the Calcutta port. So many items are being exported and imported which are vital for the economy of our country. Strikes and lawlessness are affecting the export and import trade. This is affecting the economy of our country. Our whole economy is being affected. Our progress and our activities are being damaged and handicapped because of this. Therefore, I think, Government should take strict action to bring the law and order situation under control by taking whatever measures they think fit.

श्री बि० प्र० मंडल (मधेपुरा) : सभा-पति महोदय, मैं अपने मित्र श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस प्रस्ताव को सदन में रक्खा। यह तो सभी को मालूम है कि हिन्दुस्तान गैर-बराबरी का मुल्क है और यहां पर आर्थिक और सामाजिक शोषण हो रहा है। एक तरफ आदमी इस तरह की गरीबी में रहे और दूसरी तरफ अमीरी में रहे, यह किसी तरह बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जा सकता। फिर भी जब हम संविधान की शपथ ग्रहण करके यहां आये हैं और गांधीजी के रास्ते पर चल कर हमने स्वराज्य हासिल किया तब हम किसी भी तरह वायोलेंस को प्रोत्साहन देकर किसी मसले को हल नहीं करना चाहते।

पश्चिम बंगाल की बात यहां कही गई। लेकिन आपको मालूम है कि जब हमारी स्टेट बिहार में चन्द महीने या एक साल पहले कोई भी नक्सलाइट्स का नाम नहीं जानता था, तब आज वहां नक्सलाइट्स का बहुत बड़ा हंगामा शुरू हो गया है। पटना में जगह-जगह उनके नारे लिखे हैं। यहां तक कि गांधी और बुद्ध की मूर्तियों को तोड़ा गया है।

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) : मूर्तियों को नहीं तोड़ा गया है।

श्री बि० प्र० मंडल : न तोड़ा गया होगा, लेकिन पेपर में ऐसा था। मुजफ्फरपुर में एक आदमी को मार दिया गया, समस्तीपुर

में एक सिनेमा प्रोप्राइटर को मार दिया गया। इस तरह से बिहार में नक्सलाइट्स का हल्ला शुरू हुआ। मैं पूछता हूँ कि आखिर ऐसा क्यों है? जब कभी कोई राज्य शासन या सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट कमजोर हो जाती है, जब अप्वाइन्टमेंट्स और ट्रांसफर्स में लोग पक्षपात करना शुरू कर देते हैं, जब मजिस्ट्रेसी और पुलिस का भौराल खराब हो जाता है तब इस तरह के नजारे देखने में आते हैं और आज बिहार में वही हो रहा है।

जब से बिहार में रूलिंग कांग्रेस को बोल-बाला हुआ, उनका मुख्य मंत्री हुआ और उनका शासन चल रहा है तभी से यह बातें शुरू हो गईं। एकानमिक प्रब्लेम बिहार में कोई एकाएक, ओवरनाइट, तो खराब हुई नहीं। बिहार का एकानमिक प्रब्लेम जैसी कुछ दिन पहले थी वैसे ही आज है। लेकिन जो नक्सलाइट्स का हल्ला-गुल्ला है, जो उनका अतंक आज है उसका नामो निशान आज से पहले नहीं था। आज रूलिंग कांग्रेस के शासन में आने से ऐसा हुआ है। इसी तरह से पश्चिम बंगाल में भी स्वराज्य के बीस वर्षों बाद तक ऐसी हालत कभी नहीं हुई थी जैसी आज है। हम नहीं कह सकते थे कि पश्चिम बंगाल की परिस्थिति हिन्दुस्तान की और जगहों के मुकाबले खराब है, लेकिन युनाइटेड फ्रंट गवर्नमेंट के बंगाल में आने के बाद ओवरनाइट वहां पर नक्सलाइट्स का हंगामा शुरू हुआ, हिंसा शुरू हुई।

मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि चाहे राज्य गवर्नमेंट हो चाहे सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट हो, वह किसी भी मूल्य पर गद्दी से चिपके रहना चाहते हैं, चाहे उनको देशद्रोही से मिलना पड़े चाहे फिफथ कालम के लोगों से मिलना पड़े, चाहे कम्यूनलिस्ट्स से मिलना पड़े, चाहे जमींदारों से मिलना पड़े। चाहे उन लोगों से मिलना पड़े जो अप्रगतिशील हैं या जिनकी जड़ दूसरे मुल्क में हो।

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री : जड़ यहां है तभी यहां चुनकर आए हैं।

श्री बि० प्र० मंडल : ऐसी परिस्थिति जब हो जाती है तभी देखने में आती है इस तरह की बातें। आज हिन्दुस्तानमें ऐसी परिस्थिति हो गई है कि चाहे सेंटर में हो चाहे किसी स्टेट में, सब लोग किसी न किसी तरह से गद्दी से चिपके रहना चाहते हैं। आज परिस्थिति ऐसी आ गई है कि मजिस्ट्रेसी और पुलिस डिमार-लाइज हो गई है और लालेस एलिमेंट्स को प्रोत्साहन मिलता है।

इसलिए हमको मिलकर नेशनल लेवल पर विचार करना चाहिए कि इसके लिए क्या किया जाए और अन्त में मैं अपने मित्र श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस सम्बन्ध में इस प्रस्ताव को रक्खा।

श्री शिव नारायण (बस्ती) : सभापति महोदय, मैं श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि आज देश में जो ऐक्टिविटीज चल रही हैं उसकी ओर उन्होंने ध्यान दिया है। आज यह सब कुछ खुले आम हो रहा है, उसकी कोई रूकावट नहीं है। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज बंगाल में मिलिटरी रूल की जरूरत है। मेरी यह डिमान्ड है कि वहां पर मिलिटरी रूल किया जाये जिससे वहां की पब्लिक को शान्ति और सुख मिले। मैं श्री चव्हाण को धन्यवाद देता हूँ जो यहां पर होम मिनिस्टर थे और जिन्होंने बड़ा अच्छा काम किया। मैं श्री पन्त को भी उनके पिताजी की याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ जो यहां पर होम मिनिस्टर थे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि श्री पन्त भी अपने पिताजी की तरह से काम करें।

आज यहां पर बख्शी गुलाम मुहम्मद नहीं बैठे हुए हैं। मैं जुलाई में काश्मीर में था। वहां पर सादिक गवर्नमेंट है। वहां पर एक मीटिंग थी जिसमें मैं मौजूद था। वहां पर गुण्डागिरी हो रही थी, जिसके कारण वहां पर गड़बड़ हुई और 30 हजार लोगों में से मुश्किल से 15 हजार रह गये। आज काश्मीर

की भी यह हालत है। हर जगह अराजकता फैलाने की कोशिश की जा रही है। इसलिए मैं होम मिनिस्टर से कहना चाहता हूँ कि Tighten your belt and come down with a strong hand and deal with this goondaism, and finish it once and for all, so that peace and normalcy is restored once again in the country.

With these words, I support the motion moved by my hon. friend Shri Prakash Vir Shastri.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna): I had no intention to speak, but the amount of historical ignorance that has been shown here impels me to say a few words.

First of all, I was much surprised at the speech that was made by my hon. friend from the Jan Sangh, Professor Bal Raj Madhok. I do not know where he was a professor. At least, he does not seem to have read history. If he were a student of history, he would know that India has always come to trouble because of its leaders.

The leaders in the olden days were the Kshatriyas. How did they behave in the country? How did foreign rule come in this land? These brave people fought against each other and they allowed the country to be conquered. I would like to ask my hon. friend Shri Bal Raj Madhok whether that is not a fact.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: Yes, it is.

17 hrs.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: Yes, that is the fact. And how did the Muslim rule fail in India? Because the rulers were effete, and also the subahs were in revolt against the Centre. Is that a fact or not? How did the Maratha Empire fall? The Peshwas fought against the new kings, Sindias, Holkars, Gackwaid. All these people fought among themselves. Nobody can say that the Rajput soldiers were in any way inferior to the soldiers that came from outside India. They were suicidally brave. I remember reading an incident in their history. A barber was shaving a Rajput. In those days, there were no safety razors. The razor used caused

a little scratch on his cheek and he began to say 'Ah'. The barber said: 'You are a Rajput and you are crying at a little scratch?' 'Is that so?' said the Rajput, and took his *bhala* and put leg upon him and thrush the spear through both the legs. That was the bravery of those people—and their folly also.

I was talking of the Muslim rule. They also fell because their leadership felled. The Marathas also fell because their leadership fell. I am sorry there is no Sikh sitting here—he has gone away. When the Sikhs went to fight, they were brave soldiers, braver than the Tommies who came from the streets of London. They were a formidable force, when they opened their bags of gunpowder, they found there was no gunpowder, only *sarson*, mustard!

Our friend, Shri Madhok, does not know Indian history.

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK: I had not talked of history; he was not here when I spoke.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: You cannot know politics without knowledge of history. Therefore, his politics is wrong. He must remember that if this nation comes to trouble, it will be on account of its leaders. There is nothing unusual in it.

Then there was another speaker, another Jyoti Basu, who has risen here in this House, not in Bengal. He does not seem to have read history. I could understand it. But why should Shri Madhok not know history? In every country's history, violent revolution has swallowed its own sons. This is what happened in the French Revolution with the Girondists and the Jacobins. They fought against each other, killed each other, guillotined each other. What happened in Russia? Lenin and Trotsky were the leaders of the Revolution. But if Lenin had lived a little longer, the party successor, Stalin, would certainly have liquidated him. He had got all the power, but as Lenin was not living. He liquidated his companion Trotsky. Trotsky was a better organiser, better soldier, better theoretician of Marxism and yet that man was liquidated and feed the country where he was killed by Stalin agents.

Then, what happened to Stalin himself? Stalin was buried near Lenin in the Kremlin and his grave was dug out and his body was taken away, one does not know where.

Then after Stalin came Krushehev who called Stalin a cruel sadist.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: All very relevant.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: It may be irrelevant to you, but it is not irrelevant to the House, it is not irrelevant according to history if you have ever read any history.

What is happening in Bengal is that it is the revolutionary who is eating the revolutionary. The revolution must kill its children. This is the logic of violent revolutions. It is not so many Congressmen killed, but it is so many Naxalites killed, it is so many Marxists, followers of Basu, who are being killed today. It is the members of the party of our professor, Shri Mukerjee members of the CPI, who are being killed. Congressmen have not been killed because congressmen are unbelievers. The believers can tolerate unbelievers, but they cannot tolerate those who swear by the same creed because they are renegades, because they are black sheep and if they go unpunished they spread the disease of dissension. They are the first enemies.

This happens in religion also. When the Inquisition was organised by the Catholic Church, who were killed? The greatest Christian saints were killed, not unbelievers. The first wrath of the violent revolutionary is against those who believe in his philosophy but do not subscribe to the details held to be orthodox by those who are in power. This is what is happening in India. It is absolutely historical.

Again Professor Madhok says that there is the law of the jungle, instead of the rule of law. Don't you know that the law of the jungle is more natural than the artificial rule of law? Why do you want the natural law not to prevail in India? Why do you want the artificial law made by Parliament or by the Constituent Assembly to prevail in India? We are people more natural than artificial. Why are you surprised at that? These people should get historical knowledge

[J. B. Kripalani]

and they will understand that what is happening in India is absolutely logical, legitimate and in accordance with the genius of our people.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, AND MINISTER OF STATE, DEPARTMENTS OF ELECTRONICS AND SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH (SHRI K. C. PANT): This motion has been before the House for quite some months now and the House has had an opportunity of discussing it on previous occasions and of discussing various other problems relating to it.

I am very happy that the debate has ended on a high note and Acharyaaji has introduced into it not only a dash of intellect but his usual humour. Except for Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu all seem to have enjoyed it. I cannot possibly go into all that has been said. Speeches had been made by Mr. Shastri, Mr. P.C. Verma and Mr. Patel and Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri and others. In fact much of the information that they sought had been given to the House not only in answer to questions but in the course of the debates here on the law and order situation in the country, particularly on the debates on the situation in West Bengal. I do not think that I need to cover all the ground once again.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: It is a fire escape.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I wish he would not provoke me; I have had my fill of dealing with the CPM on the last occasion. . . If he insists may I point out to him, particularly after Dada's speech how dangerous it was for him to refer to the fact that children could be known by their pedigree because when one understands the relationship between the Naxalite and the CPM, it becomes very dangerous.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: These so-called Naxalites are the goondas or hardened criminals whom you have recruited by the thousands; do not mislead the world.

SHRI K. C. PANT: In the course of his speech he very kindly referred to the fact that there was reign of terror in West Bengal

but the rest of his speech seemed to suggest that there was a reign of terror against the CPM.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: That is exactly what I wanted to establish—Your whole action is aimed at annihilating your political opponents. . . (*Interruptions*).

SHRI K. C. PANT: In the course of his remarks perhaps unwittingly he says: that if the Congress went to the next elections—let him check the record—the Congress will be thrown out of the pooling booths. I do not know whether that was the slip of the tongue or an instance of compulsive truth telling.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Give us a mid-term poll; it is now eight months. . . (*Interruptions*.)

SHRI K. C. PANT: I have a feeling that some plans which he has in mind slipped out. He has given a very laboured defence of his party's position. But the real point is that he need not protest so much. All that he and his party have to do is to get up and say: we renounce violence as a way of life and we reject it as a political philosophy; that is the end of the matter. . . (*Interruptions*) I think that will satisfy the House and the country also. But they avoid this.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Our leader Comrade Ramamurti had amply made it clear the other day before the House that our party resolution was very clear on the subject; we shall take to violence only if we have to face violence. . . (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order. You have made your speech; let not interruptions go on like this.

SHRI K. C. PANT: He does not say: we denounce the politics of violence and we reject it for all times regardless of circumstances. He qualifies the rejection of violence in such a way that he can use violence when it suits him. That is the danger of his philosophy. My hon. friend Mr. Hiren Mukerjee spoke. . . (*Interruptions*). I had not intention of referring to his speech, but he provoked me and so I said a few things. I will not speak about him any longer if he lets me proceed in silence.

Prof. Mukerjee's speech was on a different plane altogether. He dealt with the various causes of violence and spoke of the tendency to glorify violence. He spoke of the restlessness among the young today throughout the world. I really do not know why Shri Lobo Prabhu objected to what he said, because Prof. Mukerjee's speech was a sensitive response to the situation as it obtains in the world today. It is a fact that in various parts of the world, the young are restless and are being attracted by the philosophy of violence in various ways. I may not agree with Prof. Mukerjee when he suggests that that is a natural process or that that is a good process. But the fact that the young are being attracted by violence in different parts of the world is a fact of life today. When Prof. Mukerjee points to it, I do not think anybody who is aware of what is happening in the world should take objection to it. It was a thought-provoking contribution. He spoke in terms of the temper and spirit of the age. It is really in that temper and spirit that we should take his speech. But even while one would agree with this fact of violence in our lives to which he pointed out, I would plead with him to understand that the administration of the day has to face certain practical problems in the field. On the political plane, we might take certain actions. In the educational sphere, we might take certain actions. All that action would be ultimately aimed at changing the attitudes and minds of men. Unless we approach the problem with an idea to change the attitudes and minds of men to get to the roots of the problem of violence, we will only touch its surface. But this process of changing the attitudes and minds of men cannot be divorced from the necessity of keeping law and order right now. It is a long-term process of give-and-take of ideas, a process which takes a certain amount of time. It cannot be said that in the meantime, the Government should abjure its responsibility of maintaining law and order. That is a responsibility which the government of the day has, no matter what the government and what the circumstances under which it operates. It is for this reason that the government must take administrative steps to contain the malaise of violence in our midst, because violence does interfere with the freedom of others. After all, there may be different ideas and different approaches but the whole substance of de-

mocracy is that all these ideas, all these approaches must have free play. And in order that they may have free play, none of them should be allowed to become a barrier to others. That is why violence is an anathema to democracy because it does not allow some of the approaches, some of the ideas to have full and free play and it comes in the way of them. Because the situation is extraordinary, sometimes extraordinary remedies are sought, as in the case of West Bengal. But I assure Shri Mukerjee that the broad sweep of analysis which he presented to the House is certainly something which all of us should think about.

There are three aspects of the situation which my hon. friend, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri, has referred to in his motion, which he has referred to in his speech. These are certainly matters of continuing concern. One is in regard to the ideological and other links between certain types of political activity in the country and some foreign power. The second was about the special risks when violent activities threatening the very foundations of our democracy and national integrity are organised in sensitive border areas. The third was in regard to the manner in which the politically-motivated agitations promote a climate of violence.

There is no doubt that ours is an old society, a traditional society in many ways and that within the society there are various tensions, and these tensions are aggravated in the very process of change which will ultimately help to release them. Since there is a transformation, a social and economic transformation, these tensions are likely to grow till the structure cannot contain them any longer and there will be explosive violence. But the very process of change also aggravates the tensions and really today the violence is partly to be met by properly understanding the aggravation of these tensions and the way in which we can bring about these changes in a peaceful manner so that these tensions do not exceed a certain limit. By bringing about these changes we prevent a build up of tension. So, it is really a dynamic process in which we are engaged and the understanding of this process is necessary if we are to bring about this change in our society, and at the same time do it in a peaceful manner.

[Shri K. C. Pant]

There is another aspect of violence to which very little mention was made, and that is communal violence. While my hon. friend, Shri Madhok, spoke about other forms of violence, as far as I could see, he did not condemn this form of violence.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: I have condemned all kinds of violence.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am glad he condemns this form of violence also. He spoke strongly against the emergence of the Muslim League in India. If I put a question to him in all seriousness, it is not for winning a political point. If the Muslims in this country are not to seek a separate identity for themselves, then they must naturally form part and parcel of the normal political life of this country. If he or his party or others single out one community time and again for criticism, does this not create a defensive reaction in their mind? Would it not always be so?

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: It was this kind of argument, fallacious argument, which created the Muslim League before partition with all its consequences. I would beg of you to think seriously that there are not only Muslims, there are other communities also. Why should the Muslims alone think that they are different from others. I do not want to discriminate against Muslims. Well, they can join your party or my party. But what is the need of a Muslim League here? Do not take shelter behind this kind of slogans and in that way you only encourage communalism in this country.

SHRI K. C. PANT: After the lesson of partition, does he want to repeat partition again?

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: That is my difficulty. You have not learnt any lesson from partition and you are allowing the same condition to be created. If you allow the same condition to be recreated, you will have the same results. That is why I am worried about it.

SHRI K. C. PANT: This is precisely why I am also worried. Why does he not

realise that when he singles out a single community. . . (Interruption)

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: I single out the Muslim League and not a community.

SHRI K. C. PANT: When he singles out even the Muslim League, is it enough just to single out the Muslim League? Should we not understand why the Muslim League has again reared its head?

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: Because of you and your policy.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am trying to go a little deeper into the question. As I said, I am not trying to argue from the point of winning a point.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Balrampur): Why are you defending the Muslim League?

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am not defending the Muslim League. You listen to me calmly. All I say is that if you keep on attacking day in and day out a particular community, it naturally develops a defensive mechanism and it tends to assert its identity in this political manner. It is only when you stop doing this and realise the danger of your approach, that the Muslims can legitimately feel that their interests are fully safeguarded in the normal and natural manner.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: This was the argument given before the partition and we have seen the result. The same argument you are repeating.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: May I submit that this discussion was introduced on account of the conditions in Bengal? If we confine ourselves to that, it would be much better and there will be less controversy.

SHRI K. C. PANT: This was an important point which, I think, is necessary to touch upon because of this aspect of violence about which all of us should be anxious. It is an important form of violence which we find in the country today. These are some of the points but the canvas is very wide and I cannot possibly go into all the points which have been raised, as I said earlier.

Acharyaji is interested in knowing about the Naxalite movement. I certainly will tell him about it all that I know about it, in the time that is available to me. The Naxalite movement was born in 1967. Its seeds were sown in Naxalbari. The House is aware that it emerged as a breakaway movement. Some groups broke away from the CP(M) in various States. They ultimately merged into a movement with the emergence of the CP (ML) party in March 1969.

SHRI P. GOPALAN (Tellicherry): Everybody knows that. You need not repeat it.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I said, the House knows it. It is good that you are reminded about it.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN: When are you going to remove the Governor of West Bengal? ** (*Interruption*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: That will not go on the record.

SHRI K. C. PANT: The House also knows that there were a number of criminal cases which were withdrawn by the then Government in West Bengal. I am afraid that some of these cases involved violence and the explosives Act.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN: I withdraw that.

SHRI K. C. PANT: This withdrawal of cases and the release of a large number of people convicted of violence did enable the Naxalite movement to build a secret organisation, collect arms and explosives and organise its activities in a centralised manner. This, in brief, is the background.

Today my hon. friend, Shri Mandal, referred to the fact that some Naxalite activity is visible in Bihar. It has been visible in several other States also. Somebody mentioned Andhra Pradesh; somebody mentioned Kerala and so on. But I think the House should know the fact that concerted efforts have yielded results in controlling the activities of Naxalites in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa and even in Kerala, although occa-

sionally there are very gruesome incidents in Kerala. By and large the Naxalite activity is under check. They are under check in various other States also. But the situation in West Bengal is a matter of concern. I would agree with Shri Mandal that there has been an increase of Naxalite lawlessness in Bihar in recent weeks.

About the Naxalite movement in West Bengal, I have told the House that since April there has been an increase in Naxalite lawlessness. During the last few months, that is, upto the middle of August, the violence was directed towards educational institutions, towards Government offices and towards national symbols. But the number of incidents has come down since the peak reached in July. That does not mean that the situation there is by any means normal. Everyday, as we go into various incidents, we find that there has been an increase in the number of planned attacks on individuals, including the police personnel. As I gave the figures to the House, 37 policemen were killed and 400 sustained injuries. Shri Jyotirmoy Basu said that the police is helping them. In fact, so many policemen have lost their lives or have been injured.

Then, Shri Jyotirmoy Basu referred to the fact that the Prime Minister had written to him a letter in which she had said that she was trying to find out the facts about a certain point that he had raised. He took an objection to that.

AN HON. MEMBER: He said that it was a lie.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Everyone uses the language he is accustomed to.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: I have not used that language. Why are you carried away by others?

SHRI K. C. PANT: All that has been done with regard to these matters is that automatic inquiries are not held after every police firing. But it does not mean that an inquiry will not be held if there is an excessive use of firing or if the police firing is unwarranted or unjustified. Certainly, it would

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri K. C. Pant]

be done. I hope he will reflect on the strong language which he used and will in future get the facts before he uses such a strong language.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: I have got the letter of the Prime Minister in which she says, "I have no knowledge of it." But the spokesman of the Government has given a statement to the *Jugantar* saying that the Government is fully in the picture. What are you trying to tell the House?

SHRI K.C. PANT: Sir, I have referred to Bihar and now I want to go over briefly to the steps that have been taken to meet the situation. I want to refer to the steps in some detail because every day in the House, during the Question Hour, various questions are raised and I never have an opportunity of putting the full picture before the House. I want to take this opportunity of putting the full picture before the House with regard to the steps that have been taken to meet the situation.

The state Governments and the Union Territory administrations are fully alive to the situation and are taking action under law to deal with violent and other unlawful activities of the Naxalites. The steps have been taken to streamline the intelligence machinery and to effect better coordination and cooperation at all levels. The systematic drives to recover illicit fire-arms and explosives are also paying dividends. A large number of Naxalites have been arrested. In West Bengal alone, 4,400 have been arrested. The State Governments of Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, U.P. and West Bengal have launched conspiracy cases against Naxalites. Some leaders like Mr. Charu Mazumdar have been declared as proclaimed offenders. Amongst the Central Committee Members of the C.P.M., Mr. Kanu Sanyal, Mr. Patnaik, Mr. Appalasuri of Andhra Pradesh and Mr. Menon in Kerala have already been arrested on specific offences. The Members of the Central Committee from Andhra Pradesh, Mr. Satya Narayana and one other were killed in police encounter in Srikakulam district. Several other leaders have also been arrested or killed in police encounters in different parts of the country.

The State Governments have been urged to make appropriate arrangement for inter-State co-operation and co-ordination as the Naxalite movement cuts across State boundaries. The agencies charged with the maintenance of law and order are also being given the appropriate training and orientation to deal effectively with the changing tactics of the Naxalites. The Central Government has also been maintaining close touch with the State Governments and providing all reasonable assistance to them including additional armed police reinforcement, wireless and other equipment and pooling of intelligence. This covers the steps that we have been taking.

Reference has been made to links with foreign powers. Sir, on a separate occasion, I had taken the House into confidence about the information we have regarding the links between the Naxalite movement and some other interested foreign powers.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Name them.

SHRI K. C. PANT: The House is aware that it would suit some foreign interest if the North-Eastern India and also West Bengal were to be in a state of turmoil. There had been almost near unanimity in this House not only to-day but whenever a discussion came up, to condemn extra-territorial affiliations of any political organization. Some of the typical activities of the Naxalites are not only wholly foreign to our democracy, traditions and culture but also are deliberately calculated to hurt national pride and sentiments. Therefore, Sir, these activities have to be firmly dealt with. In dealing with these activities, therefore, the law and order aspects are bound to be predominant.

There are some who say that the Government is trying to minimise the seriousness of the problem when it refers to the socio-economic aspects which. . .

SHRI PILOO MODY: A false argument. A Marxist jargon.

SHRI K. C. PANT: It is not a Marxist jargon. I think it is something which we have to understand.

SHRI PILOO MODY: The whole world understands.

SHRI K. C. PANT: The whole world looks round to you from where you are.

But the socio-economic situation and the political ramifications of that situation have to be understood if you are to tackle the roots of this problem. Both law and order and development are necessary. I have already said that it is necessary to take measures to strengthen law and order but along with that you have certainly to take side by side ameliorative steps and developmental measures.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: You go ahead. We support you. If there is no development, who is at fault?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Therefore, we are trying to understand the problem, I hope.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: What have you been doing all these 23 years?

SHRI K. C. PANT: We have been keeping company with you over part of the time.

Being aware of the complexity of the problem does not mean that firm steps are not being taken on the law and order front. We have repeatedly expressed our determination to put down this kind of violence and ensure that conditions return to normal. Representatives of this House and of the other House will resume their discussions later in the evening on some of the additional legal Powers which the Government consider are inescapable in the present context. But as I had mentioned right in the beginning, the problems has a wider connotation. The Government are aware that the socio-economic and larger political questions cannot be resolved overnight, and that those aspects should not come in the way of our determination to deal with violence as a law and order problem.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Correct.

SHRI K. C. PANT: But simultaneously, the Government have to address themselves to the larger issues as well. It would be taking a simplistic view of the whole matter if, as

suggested by some, the whole question were to be treated solely as socio-economic or political in character.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: Your Governor is tackling that problem.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am glad that he has got a certificate from Dada.

A political campaign, therefore, in itself will not lead us anywhere. But, to the extent that conditions are favourable for any kind of a political solution, Government have always come forward with their proposals in that regard and I may cite the example of the announcement that the Government made in regard to Statehood for Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya because these were intended to take into account the legitimate political aspirations of the people living in those areas. Even though we were fully aware of the problems likely to be created by so many small States in area, we are trying to tackle these problems. . . .

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: You have to tackle the political aspirations of Delhi also.

SHRI K. C. PANT: We are taking into account the political aspirations of Delhi. We have given them a Government representative not merely of a few lakhs but of 50 crores of people.

Our emphasis on the importance of speedy land reforms, development of tribal areas, special attention to economically backward pockets in the country, well-planned urban development schemes particularly for metropolitan areas like Calcutta and all our other economic measures underly our firm resolve to go ahead with a programme of 'development with special justice.' These political as well as economic measures should go a long way in taking care of two of the major aspects I had referred to earlier. For, in the ultimate analysis, it is a sense of meaningful participation by the people in political as well as development efforts that strengthen democracy and it is the love of democracy that would be the surest safeguard against the blandishments of deceptive foreign ideologi

[Shri K. C. Pant]

Vigilance too will ultimately be the vigilance of the people against the open and not so-open threats to our liberties. Governmental action in this behalf cannot be isolated from the people. But we, belonging to different political parties, have to be firm in our resolve that the politics of violence has to be jettisoned because if we fail to provide a resolute leadership in this context the people will no longer look to us.

Effective and firm measures on the law and order side is one indication of our resolve to put down violence and the support to such firmness coming from the different sections of the House strengthens our resolve. I have no doubts that with the enlightened cooperation of all leaders of opinion, constant vigilance on the part of the administration as well as people and with our emphasis on planned development, the protection and preservation of our rich heritage as well as all that we hold dear in our Constitutional democracy, is not a task beyond our capacity. Thank you.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (हापुड़) : सभापतिजी, मैं अपने उन सभी सहयोगी सदस्यों का हृदय से आभारी हूँ जिन्होंने मेरे इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन किया है।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : प्वाइंट ऑफ़ आर्डर। आर्डर पेपर में साढ़े पांच बजे हाफ़ एन आवर लेने की बात है तो वह डिस्कशन होगा या नहीं, यह बता दीजिए।

सभापति महोदय : वह भी लिया जायेगा लेकिन पहले इसको तो खत्म हो जाने दीजिए।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : केवल दो सदस्य जो कि साम्यवादी दक्षिण की और वामपंथी पार्टियों से सम्बन्ध रखते थे उनकी प्रा. में कुछ भिन्नता थी। लेकिन जहाँ तक इन हिंसात्मक घटनाओं का सम्बन्ध है और देश में बढ़ रही इस प्रकार की प्रवृत्तियों का संबंध है, मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि उन्होंने भी इस बात की अपने शब्दों में निन्दा की। निन्दा करनी भी

चाहिए थी। क्योंकि यह इस प्रकार का राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न है जो कि सबके लिए समान रूप से महत्वपूर्ण होता चाहिए।

जहाँ तक सरकार का सम्बन्ध है, मैं समझता था कि केन्द्रीय गृह राज्य मंत्री श्री कृष्णचन्द्र पन्त आज इस प्रस्ताव के उत्तर में कुछ स्पष्ट घोषणा करेंगे और देश तथा इस सदन को अपने विश्वास में लेंगे। इस समस्या की गम्भीरता का इसी से आप अनुमान लगाइये कि मैंने इस प्रश्न की सूचना 17-12-68 को दी थी। इस प्रश्न पर चर्चा आरम्भ हुई 16 मई, 1969 को और आज 18 नवम्बर, 1970 को वह चर्चा पूर्ण होने जा रही है। तो इससे इस बात का अनुमान लगाइये कि जहाँ सरकार इस प्रकार की समस्याओं पर उपेक्षा बरतती है वहाँ यह समस्या पहले से अधिक गहरा रूप लेती चली गई है। आज इस प्रश्न का जितना महत्व है उतना डेढ़ वर्ष पहले इस प्रश्न को पेश करते समय भी था। मैं यह भी समझता हूँ कि श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र पन्त के भाषण में जो कुछ दुर्बलतायें थी उसका एक बहुत बड़ा कारण यह है कि आज जिन कंधों पर यह सरकार टिकी हुई है उनको ध्यान में रखकर ये कोई बहुत बड़ी सबल भाषा का प्रयोग भी नहीं कर सकते हैं और कोई बहुत बड़ा निर्णय भी नहीं ले सकते हैं। परन्तु इनको इतना अवश्य जानना चाहिए कि इस प्रकार की प्रवृत्तियों से देश में क्या हानि होती है।

अकेले पश्चिम बंगाल के सम्बन्ध में मैं तीन उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। अभी कुछ दिन पहले पिछले अधिवेशन में इस्पात मंत्री ने बताया था कि एक दुर्गापुर कारखाने की हड़ताल से पिछले साल तक 53 करोड़ रुपये का नुकसान हुआ जो कि अब बढ़कर 57 करोड़ हो गया है। और बाकी जितने कारखाने हैं उनके अन्दर जो नुकसान हुआ है वह सब मिलाकर 113 करोड़ रुपये का है। यदि और भी छोटे मोटे कारखानों को मिलायें तो दो

अरब रुपये से अधिक का नुकसान इस देश को अब तक पश्चिम बंगाल में हो चुका है। इसके अतिरिक्त जहाँ तक पश्चिम बंगाल के औद्योगिक संस्थानों का सम्बन्ध है, आप अनुमान लगाइये कि 57 कारखाने जो वहाँ पर नए लगने वाले थे वह लगने से रुक गए, 63 कारखाने इस प्रकार के थे जो कि अपना विस्तार करना चाहते थे लेकिन उन्होंने अपने विस्तार के कार्यक्रम को रोक दिया। लगभग 27 कारखाने वे हैं जो कि वहाँ से उठकर दूसरे राज्यों में चले गए। अब इस बात का पश्चिम बंगाल की जनता पर, वहाँ के सामान्य व्यक्ति की आर्थिक स्थिति पर क्या दुष्प्रभाव पड़ेगा उसका आप स्वतः ही अनुमान लगा सकते हैं।

इससे भी बढ़कर विशेष बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि अभी पिछले गृह मंत्रालय की सलाहकार समिति में सरकार से जब हमने पूछा कि आप आखिर यह तो बताइये कि वहाँ अब तक जो मृत्युएं हुई हैं, खास तौर से जो पुलिस कर्मचारी मारे गए हैं उनकी संख्या कितनी है? सरकार का कहना यह था कि करीब 37 पुलिस के अधिकारी और जवान मारे गए और चार सौ के लगभग पुलिस के अधिकारी और जवान घायल हुए। इसी से आप इस समस्या की गम्भीरता का अनुमान लगा सकते हैं। जो राजनीतिक मृत्युएं वहाँ पर हुई हैं उनकी संख्या पश्चिम बंगाल के अन्दर अब तक 1300 से भी ऊपर पहुँच गई है। पुलिस पर 211 बार हमले हुए थे। ऐसी स्थिति में एक प्रांत के अन्दर जब यह स्थिति है तो दूसरे प्रांतों की भयंकरता का अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है। अभी मेरे मित्र जो कि मेरे पीछे बैठे हुए थे, वह आपके राज्य बिहार से आते हैं श्री विद्येश्वरी प्रसाद मंडल, उन्होंने बिहार की चर्चा की। बिहार की स्थिति यह है कि पिछले थोड़े से समय में जब से बिहार की वर्तमान सरकार, जो आज कम्युनिस्टों के कंधों पर चल रही है, उसमें जब से अपने हाथ ढीले छोड़े हैं तो पिछले वर्षों में घटनायें बहुत बढ़ गईं। पहले कहीं एक वर्ष में चार

हमले हथियारों से हुए, कहीं किसी वर्ष में सात या आठ हमले हथियारों से हुए लेकिन पिछले दस महीनों में अकेले बिहार के अन्दर, 76 बार इस प्रकार के हथियारों से हमले हुए और उसमें भी पुलिस के कुछ अधिकारी मारे गए। राजनीतिक हत्यायें भी हुईं। इसी प्रकार से श्रीकाकुलम डिस्ट्रिक्ट जो कि आंध्र प्रदेश का है वहाँ की घटनायें हैं। अब तक वहाँ पर 33 राजनीतिक मृत्युएं हो चुकी हैं। जम्मू कश्मीर जो कि हिन्दुस्तान का बड़ा भावनात्मक भाग है और जिसके साथ कई तरह के राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न जुड़े हुए हैं, वहाँ पर आज जनमत संग्रह मोरचे को खुली छूट दे रखी है। दुर्भाग्य से वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री जिनको कि इस प्रकार की प्रवृत्तियों पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाना चाहिए था, वे स्वयं उनको प्रोत्साहन देने का काम कर रहे हैं। मैं आपको चेतावनी के तौर पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर जम्मू कश्मीर की स्थिति इसी प्रकार की बनी रही और सरकार ने इसी प्रकार की उपेक्षा बरती तो आने वाले निर्वाचनों में जम्मू कश्मीर का भविष्य क्या होगा उसको मैं अपने शब्दों में आज इस संसद में कहना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन मैं यह अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार की इस उपेक्षा की नीति से देश के सीमावर्ती राज्यों की स्थिति इतनी विषम होती चली जा रही है कि किसी भी समय दूसरे देश के शत्रु हमारी आन्तरिक स्थिति को खराब करने के लिए उन प्रदेशों का उपयोग कर सकते हैं।

सभापति जी, हमारे देश में अक्टूबर तक जो हथियारों से हमले हुए हैं उनकी संख्या कुल मिलाकर सारे राज्यों में मैं समझता हूँ दो हजार के लगभग है। मेरा जो यह प्रस्ताव है इस पर श्री हीरेन मुर्जो ने यह कहा कि आखिर ये परिस्थितियाँ क्यों पैदा होती हैं जिनसे कि देश में इस प्रकार की हिंसात्मक घटनायें बढ़ें और तोड़ फोड़ की घटनायें घटें। मैं श्री हीरेन मुर्जो से इस अंश में सहमत हूँ कि सरकार की इस प्रकार की जो दुर्बलतायें और कमजोर नीतियाँ हैं—चाहे वह केन्द्रीय

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

सरकार की हों या प्रान्तीय सरकारों की हों— और उन्होंने जो गरीबों की समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं किया तो वह असंतोष भी इस समस्या को बढ़ाने का कारण हो सकता है।

लेकिन मेरा वह प्रस्ताव नहीं है। मेरा प्रस्ताव यह है कि विदेशों से धन लेकर, विदेशों से हथियार लेकर जो राजनीतिक दल इस देश की आंतरिक स्थिति को बिगाड़ रहे हैं, जिनकी वफादारी दूसरे देशों के साथ में है, उस प्रकार की प्रवृत्तियों पर सरकार किस प्रकार का अंकुश लगाना चाहती है। आपको पता होगा कि पश्चिम बंगाल के अन्दर हथियारों से भरा हुआ एक जहाज जो कि हांगकांग से ढाका जा रहा था, उसकी तलाशी लेने का जब सवाल आया और प्रातःकाल जब पुलिस पहुँची तो रात रात में जितने भी हथियार जहाज में थे उन सारे के सारे हथियारों को वहाँ से हटाया जा चुका था। हथियार ले जाने वाली जो माल गाड़ियाँ हैं, जो सैनिक सामान ले जाती हैं आज इस देश में उनके ऊपर आक्रमण किए जा रहे हैं, आज इस देश में पुलिस पर आक्रमण किये जा रहे हैं।

मैं तो सोचता था कि आज गृह राज्य मंत्री कुछ सबल भाषा में संसद के माध्यम से देश को बतलायेंगे कि सरकार किस तरह से दृढ़ता के साथ उनका मुकाबला करना चाहती है। लेकिन जैसा मैंने पहले बतलाया, उनकी बड़ी भारी दुर्बलता यह है कि आज वह बेचारे जिन कंधों पर खड़े हुए हैं, उनके खिलाफ वह कुछ कह नहीं सकते, कोई निर्णय नहीं ले सकते।

मुस्लिम लीग की चर्चा मेरे मित्र श्री बल-राज मधोक ने की। मुस्लिम कम्यूनिटी को उन्होंने नहीं छोड़ा, केवल मुस्लिम लीग की चर्चा की। यह मुस्लिम लीग वही है जिसने देश का विभाजन किया और जो आज पाकिस्तान के इशारे पर देश के आन्तरिक वातावरण को विषाक्त बनाना चाहती है। राष्ट्रीय प्रवृत्ति के जितने मुसलमान हैं, जैसे श्री चागला

और श्री बाकर अली मिर्जा, वह परेशान हैं। जिन्होंने सारा जीवन देश की सेवा में लगाया आज उनकी मुनने वाला कोई नहीं है। केरल की मुस्लिम लीग को प्रधान मंत्री सर्टीफिकेट देती हैं कि वह साम्प्रदायिक संगठन नहीं है। लेकिन जो आल इंडिया मुस्लिम लीग का जनरल सेक्रेटरी है वह क्या कहता है? वह कहता है कि जैसे केरल की मुस्लिम लीग है वैसे ही सारे देश की मुस्लिम लीग है। प्रधान मंत्री ने केवल केरल की मुस्लिम लीग को देखा है, दूसरे राज्यों की मुस्लिम लीग को नहीं देखा। हमारे काम करने का ढंग एक जैसा है। इसका मतलब यह है कि मुलेमान सेठ यह कहते हैं कि सारे देश में मुस्लिम लीग का जाल और कार्य करने की पद्धति एक जैसी है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री का सर्टीफिकेट सही है या आल इंडिया मुस्लिम लीग के जनरल सेक्रेटरी का सर्टीफिकेट सही है?

इस तरह की प्रवृत्तियों को प्रोत्साहन क्यों दिया जा रहा है? केवल इसलिये कि उनसे राजनीतिक संरक्षण लेना है और उनको साथ लेकर इस देश में अपने अस्तित्व को बनाए रखना है। अगर इस प्रकार की प्रवृत्ति इस देश में बढ़ती रहेगी तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम मुस्लिम लीग के उस नारे को अपने कानों से भ्रांझल न करें जो देश का बटवारा करते समय वह देकर गए थे कि “हंस के लिया है पाकिस्तान, लड़ के लेंगे हिन्दुस्तान”। आज उनके हथियार पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आ रहे हैं, राजस्थान से आ रहे हैं, असम क्षेत्र से आ रहे हैं और देश के आन्तरिक वातावरण को बिगाड़ने और हमारे देश की अखण्डता को चुनौती देने में वही हथियार बहुत बड़ा काम कर रहे हैं।

इसलिए अपनी बात को ज्यादा न बढ़ाते हुए उपसंहार के रूप में मैं चार सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ इस सरकार को। पहला सुझाव यह है कि विदेशों से हथियार और धन लेकर जो दल हिंसा और तोंड़ फोड़ कर रहे हैं, जिनका

विश्वाम प्रजातंत्र में नहीं है, जिनकी वफादारी बाहर की ओर जा रही है, उनकी गतिविधियों पर यह सरकार प्रतिबंध लगाए। दूसरा मुझाव यह है कि पश्चिम बंगाल के गवर्नर को हटाने की बात को इस सरकार को प्रतिष्ठा का प्रश्न नहीं बनाना चाहिए बल्कि पश्चिम बंगाल से, जो आज भारत का पूर्वी द्वार है, तत्काल वर्तमान गवर्नर को हटा लेना चाहिए। तीसरा मुझाव यह है कि विदेशी धन किन-किन मार्गों से आता है, कहां-कहां से आता है और कौन-कौन कैसे उसको व्यय करते हैं इसको स्पष्ट बताया जाये तथा उसके आने के रास्ते बन्द किए जायें। चौथा और अंतिम मुझाव यह है कि पश्चिम बंगाल में जिस समय श्री ज्योति बसु गृह मंत्री थे, उन्होंने पुलिस के अन्दर बड़ी भारी संख्या में जो भरती की थी उसकी जांच कराई जाय। अगर उनकी वफादारी किसी दल विशेष के साथ हो तो इस प्रकार के व्यक्तियों को पुलिस की सेवाओं से या दूसरी सेवाओं से निकाल बाहर किया जाये और देश का प्रशासनिक वातावरण शुद्ध किया जाये।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपने प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

17.53 hrs.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION RE. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN FOURTH PLAN

SHRI S. R. DAMANI (Sholapur): I am happy that even after two postponements I have got an opportunity to raise this very important subject on the floor of the House. It is a matter of grave concern that our industrial production is not picking up as per the Plan or as per the demand which is coming up; on the contrary, it is going down. As such, it is a matter requiring serious attention. By this discussion, my intention is to know from Government the reasons why industrial production is not picking up, what are the hurdles and what action Government propose to take to remove them and increase

production. The Planning Commission has fixed a target of an annual increase of nine per cent in industrial production. Last year our production increased by 7.2 per cent and the previous year by six per cent. The increase in these two years was not due to establishment of new industries but due, to a great extent, to the utilisation of idle capacity. And there is still capacity remaining idle. First, therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Minister how much idle capacity still remains in this sector and due to what reasons, whether it is due to shortage of raw material or spare parts or anything else, and what steps are being taken to utilise this idle capacity to the full immediately so that industrial production can be increased.

Last year the hon. Minister gave an assurance that during the current year, as against the increase of seven per cent, production increase would exceed the target of nine per cent, but I am very much disappointed to find that it will be much less than seven per cent.

The National Council of Applied Economic Research recently conducted a study called *Middle of the Year Look at the Economy*, in which they have come to the conclusion that in the prevailing climate, industrial growth of eight to nine per cent during the current year is altogether unlikely. Dr. Gadgil, Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission, says that because of low production rates, neither in the private sector nor in the public sector is production looking up at the expected rate. So, he is also not hopeful. Similarly, the World Bank team which visited this country also says that industrial investment is still lagging behind.

This is an important subject and, therefore, I may be allowed a little time. I shall be as brief as possible.

This being the position, I want to know what steps the Government have taken or contemplate to take to increase industrial production to achieve the targeted growth.

18 hrs.

According to me the first reason for the slow progress is the numerous restrictions