

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 29th June, 1971, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of West Bengal, for a further period of six months with effect from the 26th January, 1972.

*The motion was adopted.*

#### DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176 REDETERIORATING LAW AND ORDERSITUATION IN WEST BENGAL

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, as far as the West Bengal law and order situation is concerned, we have heard something in the course of the debate on the Resolution just now passed that something has happened after the President's rule, which was promulgated in West Bengal on 29th June, 1971. It has been made to appear as if the President's rule is from the 29th June and that the period of the President's rule is only for those few months from the 29th June, 1971. I think it is a fallacious description. By making this fallacious description I think the Treasury Benches want to hide their ignominious failure on the quest of law and order in the State of West Bengal. Not only they want to hide their failure in maintaining law and order in the State of West Bengal, but they also want to hide behind this fallacious expression that the President's rule is only since 29th June, 1971. They want to hide (their) perpetration of many murders, many atrocities and many tortures on the people of West Bengal. As a matter of fact, President's rule in West Bengal has been clamped thereon from the 17th March, 1970 and about two years are going to go by since the President's rule was clamped thereupon. The democratic coalition Government was there no doubt, but for how many days it was there? It was not even for a hundred days perhaps. A hundred days would mean three months. We know that in those hundred days the democratic coalition Government could not even stand on its legs. It could not even convene the Assembly regularly.

Such was the situation and such was the weakness. Democracy was murdered on the 17th March, 1970 when President's rule was clamped down upon the State of West Bengal

on the recommendation of a Chief Minister who said that he was handing the resignation of the entire Ministry. But then the Governor of West Bengal at the time had not the democratic sense. As a matter of fact, he was certainly pressurised by circles in Delhi. He never called even the largest single party in 1969-70, namely, our party along with its allies which should have been called. Neither did he ask whether this party was in a position to form a Ministry or not. That was not done; Mr. Dhawan, at that time the Governor, was trying to sail in the boat of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and naturally, he could not do else because he had to live. So, he said that as far as the question of forming a Ministry was concerned, well he would form a Ministry by making a roll-call of persons who would support a particular Government or a particular party. That kind of procedure is unknown in parliamentary history not only in England but throughout the world where there is some semblance of parliamentary rule even. That even was not done when in 1971 the democratic coalition failed. Though our party and its allies had as many as 123 members and it was the largest single party the Governor at that time, at the dictate of persons in Delhi, never thought of calling that party to form a Ministry, a party which has the largest number of members, though it is the parliamentary procedure that the single largest majority party must be called in order to know whether they are in a position to form it.

This is how the President's rule has been functioning since 17th March, 1970. And democracy has been killed and murdered in West Bengal since 17th March, 1970. We know that our kith and kin across the frontier of West Bengal—I mean the kith and kin who are therein what is now called Bangla Desh—are fighting for a democratic government. It is also true that our Indian Government is paying lip sympathy to those lighters for freedom. I am saying 'lip sympathy' because even now, in spite of all kinds of demands from all quarters, this Government has not had the courage to come forward and recognise the Bangla Desh Government. But apart from the cowardice and pusillanimity of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Government in not being able to recognise the Bangla Desh Government, what are the Bangla Desh People fighting for? They are fighting exactly for the restoration of democracy in Bangla Desh. But then, Sir, though our kith and kin are fighting for the restoration of democracy in Bangla Desh, we find to our woe and dismay that this Indian

Government which is so vocal in its phrases about the heroic deeds of the Bangla Desh people is depriving the kindred people of West Bengal of a democratic rifle. Under the President's rule what is happening is this that murders are galore. I am not talking about inter-party clashes and murders. But I am talking of murders by the police. Now in West Bengal no young man is safe because any drunk policeman or any drunk Superintendent of Police or any officer in charge of a police station may catch hold of a young man and shoot him dead by saying that he was throwing a bomb at him.

As a matter of fact, Sir, from 10-10-70 till the end of November 1970 police shot dead at point black range more than 45 youngmen in this fashion and then said that there will be no magisterial enquiry even for these murders. What happened after that? In reply to a question put on the floor of the House, Mr. K. C. Pant, Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs has himself admitted that from 19-3-70 to 1-4-71 the police murdered 166 persons. That is his answer which he gave on 22.7.71. Then, Sir, in this very session the other day in the Rajya Sabha, I think on the 18-11-71, he said that from 17-3-71 to 30-9-71 the police had killed 202 persons in cold blood. Therefore, during the President's Rule it appears that at least about 400 people, according to the official admission, have been killed by the police and there has been no magisterial enquiry. No report has been made on the firings, whether these firings were justified or not. Sir, I assert that the police have murdered these youngmen and there has been no enquiry by the Magistrate. The Government has not cared to find out through magisterial enquiry whether these murders were justified or not.

Sir, It has been said on the floor of the House again and again that some party or the other is indulging in politics of murder. Greatest blame was put upon us. But I want to place upon the floor of the House who is indulging in this politics of murder. The Congress (R) Party by killing 400 young men and by injuring and maiming a couple of thousand people are indulging in the politics of murder as far as the State of West Bengal is concerned. They are killing the flower of the State of West Bengal, the best youth, the best democratic workers, the best trade union workers and the best peasant workers. That is the politics now they are indulging in. Who

does not know, for example—I am not going very far back—that the other day, during this President's Rule, on which the hon'ble Deputy Minister was pinpointing—I mean the period from 29-6-71—what do we find? A meeting was held in Burdwan and was addressed by no less a person than an hon'ble Minister who is still a Minister here and a Member of Parliament who is supposed to be the leader of the youth section of the Congress and also Mr. Chandrajit Yadav. The Minister is Shri D. P. Chattopadhyaya and the other Member who addressed the meeting is said to be Mr. Priya Das. Munshi. He is the leader of the Chhatra Parishad. Incitement was given in the meeting itself and immediately after the meeting two truckloads of goondas went to Allahpur village and hundreds of huts were burnt down and more than two persons were killed. Is it not politics of murder? Who is indulging in this politics of murder? These persons who insulted the people, incited them and killed persons. What happened in Mian Bagan in Beliaghata? Only some days ago on 7th November this Main Bagan was raided by a posse of CR.P. accompanied by Congress (R) goondas. They went there and fired at random killing a 13 year old girl. One girl Ashima Poddar was taken into custody by the police, and do you know what happened? She was stripped inside the police station.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS/गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (SHRI K. C. PANT) : On a point of order. Sir. Is it parliamentary to refer to a party in this manner, saying "Congress (R) goondas"? Is that parliamentary? I want your ruling.

4 P.M.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Very well, Sir, I will call them "goondas in the company of the police." That will not help matters much; but anyway I shall do that. I was talking about the Miabagan Bustee incident. A young girl, Ashima Poddar, was taken under arrest to the Beliaghata Police Station and inside the police station, she was stripped by a constable and she was dishonoured and molested. She was also beaten heavily with broomsticks by the persons inside the police station. And do you know, what happened after that? She was produced before the Magistrate and she narrated these incidents

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with tearful eyes before the Magistrate. The Magistrate was a little more independent than the Congress treasury benches wanted him to be or liked him to be. So the Magistrate issued summons against the constable. Immediately after that, there was a procession and demonstration by, I would not call them goondas but the Chhatra Parishad people headed by an ex-MLA, a known person—the treasury benches know whom I mean. Do you know what the slogan raised by that procession was ? 'The black hand of the Magistrate must be broken that issued summons to the constable on the complaint of that unfortunate girl. Sir who is indulging in the politics of murder ? Who is indulging in the politics of violence and murder if not the Congress, if not the Chhatra Parishad, if not the Yuvak Congress, the youth wings of the Congress ? In this connection, I might also say that as far as this Congress Government in West Bengal is concerned, the honour of women is no longer safe. Therefore, we find that again and again women are being molested, again and again women are being attacked by these Congress people accompanying the CRP and the police. I might go back a little further. That was also a period of President's rule. In August, 1970 when a strike was going on in Durgapur, a 70-year old lady, Sumitra Devi hailing from Chittagunge, with a great tradition of light for independence behind her—I have given all these things to the Prime Minister, but she has not dared to reply to these things—was dragged for 100 yards and then taken into the police station. There she felt thirsty and asked for a glass of water. And the beast of a Policeman who was there offered her a cup of urine. This is what happened to a Bengali lady in the police station at Durgapur.

Sir, it is said that our party has started it. But will that be an alibi for Congress people to molest women ? Will that be an alibi for the Congress Government to mind our young men ? Will that be an alibi for the Congress rulers to raid houses, to burn houses and to burn people dead ? And when I say 'burn people dead' I am not centering into flights of oratory. On the 14th October, 1971, there was a strike in West Bengal against the dismissal of 13 State Government employees. I shall come to that little later. Sir, there was a bustee

in Dakkindari and the goondas attacked, not goondas, the Congress volunteers attacked along with the CRP. I make this accusation with all solemnity and responsibility. We have also written about this to the various persons. I have myself handed over a letter to this Government, to the Governor, Mr. Dias. Two hundred houses were burnt and a lady in that bustee told us what she saw. If Mr. Pant wants, I can give the name of that lady to him provided, of course. Mr. Pant wants to make an impartial enquiry. The lady saw with her own eyes that petrol was sprinkled or poured upon all the huts, and what happened ? The CRP people set fire to the huts with their own matchsticks, and when the people of those bastis wanted to quench the fire, the CRP lathi-charged them. One old woman, who was trapped inside a burning hut, could not be brought out because the CRP and the Congress volunteers—I will not say the Congress goondas—would not allow her to be brought out. Who is indulging in the politics of murder ? Who is indulging in the politics of violence ? Who is indulging in the politics of burning to death ? The other day I raised it on the floor of this House and the Minister has not had the courage, the decency, the courtesy even to make a statement on that. Bi mal Das Gupta was the headmaster of the MAMC School in Durgapur. His school was attacked and when he came out, the Chhatraparishad people—one of them is named Deb Poddar—attacked him, sprinkled petrol upon him and locked him inside after setting his clothes on fire. The poor headmaster was burnt to death. Two girl students came to rescue him, help him, and one of them was also sprinkled with petrol and she is also in hospital. If Mr. Pant wants, can he not conduct an inquiry into these incidents ? Who is indulging in this politics of violence ? Who is indulging in this politics of murder ? You know Priya Das Munshi, the great leader of the Chhatraparishad. I do not want to say anything against a person who is absent; but then these persons are there to support him. Now I understand that—I do not oppose it and I am not a partisan as far as the struggle between the two Congresses is concerned, but it is line that—a band of persons—I would not say hoodlums because against Mr. Pant will object to it—amongst them was Priya Das Munshi—is creating trouble in that Jantar Mantar and is trying to enter there. He was shielded by persons who were present at that place. I am

saying this; that is, the politics of violence, the politics of mind, is now the exclusive property, the exclusive privilege, of the Congress (R) people. And this politics of violence is being indulged in the State West Bengal. I am only warning the people here, those who belong to other States. They are also having a foretaste of it already. This politics is being spread outside West Bengal also. The other day Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said on the floor of the House how the Police Superintendent of Punjab was killing people calling them Naxalites in the State of Punjab. That is an extension of what is happening in West Bengal. You kill democracy in one place and if you cannot save it there, democracy cannot be saved in other parts of India. India is an integral whole that way. And if you kill democracy in one part, democracy cannot be saved in other parts of India. I was saying further that during this President rule, even in the period from 29th June 1963, our District Committee member, Naren Chowdhury, was arrested by the police of the Sonarpur police station. He is a responsible member and leader of our party, a District Committee member, a member of the 24 Parganas District Committee of the Communist Party (Marxist). And do you know what they did to him? He was stripped naked there inside the station, a sharp-cutting instrument was brought and with that sharp-cutting instrument police wrote upon the skull of his head "CPM". I am not talking of anything which is from my notes only. It is on records also. The Magistrate before whom he came and reported this wrote in his order sheet, "Are we living under a civilised Government or a barbarous Government?" These are the words of the Magistrate. Will the hon. Minister Shri Pant assure this House that this government is a civilised government, that this government is a cultured government? The Magistrate himself has asked this question and that question has to be answered by him not only to the satisfaction of the Magistrate, but to the satisfaction of all of us here. Are we living in a jungle? Are we under an uncivilised government or a civilised government?

Sir, who does not know what is happening inside the jail? Some Members have already referred to it. Fifty seven prisoners have been killed from November 1970 up to-date in the jails by this brutal Police. In

200 years of British rule this has not happened. And what is the *alibi* of the government for doing this? The prisoners attacked the police. Is it to be believed? Has the hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs the courage to send a M.P. team to Alipur Central Jail where six persons were killed and 215 persons injured to find out what happened there? We do not want to be on that team. Let the team consist of people from all ranks and even Congress people. Let the Treasury Batches dominate and other Opposition parties dominate. Let them go and find out what is happening in West Bengal and the jails there. Is this not politics of violence? Is this not politics of murder? Who is indulging in the policies of violence and who is indulging in the politics of murder?

Sir, the other day you know what happened? A mother had only two sons—Bablu Sinha and Subroto Sinha. Bablu Sinha was already killed. In Taliganj the Police first raided their house. The mother came out. The son followed the mother. In the presence of the mother, Subroto Sinha was shot by the police. That was also said on the floor of the House. The Minister did not have the courage to make a statement even on this. This is the kind of civilised government that we are conducting in the State of West Bengal. Sir, our heads hang down in shame when these things are being told over the Dacca Radio. All the brutalities that are committed in West Bengal are told from Dacca Radio. All that is broadcast by our enemies from abroad. Our heads hang in shame. Who is dishonouring the face of mother India, if not Shrimati Indira Gandhi's government? Who is dishonouring us? How can we tell the outside world that in our country we have democracy? We cannot say that because of this butchering of democracy that is going on in the State of West Bengal—the butchering that has been made by this government.

The other day—I was not here—I heard that something that was said by Shri Rajnarain created a furore. I am not an apologist for Shri Rajnarain. I am not holding any brief for him. But I heard that there was a furore in the Treasury Batches over what he had said. And it was said that Shri Rajnarain said something which was disrupting the unity of India. I do not know whether his words broke the unity.

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or not. But I am quite sure that the unity of India is being broken by these murderers and hoodlums that are let loose in West Bengal by the Indira Gandhi government. Sir, history has a momentum of its own. I would like to warn the Treasury Benches. I am a member of the Communist Party. Shri Bhupesh Gupta said the other day that we are bemoaning. Not at all. Nobody should think that we are bemoaning. Communists must be prepared for all sacrifices. We are ready to face murderers and get murdered. We will be tortured and killed. But we are like that proverbial plant. The more it is trampled upon, the greater fragrance it will give. The Communist Party can thrive only through suffering and sacrifices. So, we are not afraid of suffering! We are not afraid of torture and murder. But tomorrow belongs to us. Upon our shoulders the future rests. Therefore, I want to give a warning to the Treasury Benches. History has a momentum of its own. That momentum has led the people of Bangla Desh to revolt against the tyranny of Yahya Khan. Do Shri Pant and Shrimati Indira Gandhi expect and hope that if that kind of Yahya Khan torture is carried on in West Bengal, then that momentum will not be seen in the State of West Bengal also? Well, Sir, they know the full impact and they know the momentum. But, then, Sir, if that momentum comes, if that situation comes I say on the floor of the House, Sir, that the responsibility is theirs and they will be held responsible for disrupting the integrity of India and for disrupting the unity of India. Sir, it is they who are killing sons in front of their mother!; it is they who are raping the women of West Bengal; it is they who are burning the huts of people there; it is they who are killing the workers there; it is they who are indulging in the politics of violence; and it is they who are indulging in the politics of murder in the State of West Bengal. Therefore, Sir, let them beware.

Sir, it was the hon. Minister who said that much has been said by them and some statues were saved by them. Sir, at least the Naxalites with whom we have no sympathy, saved the statue of Rabindra Nath Tagore. Sir, a certain examination was held last year in the Calcutta University Law College. Do you know that that examination was cancelled due to mass copying? And, Sir, do you know who appeared in that examination? Shri Priya Das Munshi

and Shri Subroto Mukherji appeared in that examination and it was cancelled by the University Law College because of mass copying. Then, Sir, they started a case in the Calcutta High Court, filed a writ petition and it was dismissed. And, Sir, what did they do after the writ petition was dismissed? Three days ago, they went to the Dharbanga Building, they went on a rampage, I mean. I hear that the Chatra Parishad volunteers and not goondas. I do not know whether Shri Priya Das Munshi and Shri Subroto Mukherji were there. They went on a rampage and they destroyed the furniture there and the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Sen. has ruefully said in a Press statement that he was not so much worried about the destruction of the furniture, but because the portrait of Rabindra Nath Tagore, which was painted by a great painter, Nanda Lal Rose. I think, has been destroyed by the Chatra Parishad volunteers. At least, Sir, the Naxalites do not touch the portraits of Tagore. But they have done it, Sir, and they have destroyed the culture of West Bengal, the volunteers of the Chatra Parishad and the Congress people..

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now. You have already taken half-an-hour.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Sir, I was saying that these are all attacks in a larger context, on the democratic rights and liberties of the West Bengal people, on the trade union rights of the West Bengal people. Sir, Shri Bhupesh Gupta said just now— he is much nearer the Treasury Benches than nearer to us, but sometimes he has to speak the truth, because, after all, he has to face the public—that a Birla firm dismissed eight workers and they went to the Birlas and asked : "Why did you dismiss them?". He gave a reply like this : "When the government can dismiss persons under Article 311 (2) (c) without giving any show-cause notice, why can't we?" Sir, the other day, a piece of hypocrisy was perpetrated on the floor of the house when the Industrial Disputes Act Amendment Bill was brought in when it was said that under the International Labour Organisation Recommendation No. 102 and so, dated so and so of August 1969, no person should be dismissed, no person should be terminated, without being given an opportunity to show cause and that was why the Industrial Disputes Act Amendment Bill was brought forward. But what about their own employees?

What about their own servants ? Sir, 13 State Government employees were dismissed from service and 32 Central Government employees have been dismissed and no show cause notice was given to them. It was merely said, "We are pleased to terminate your service". Sir, this is an attack on the State Government employees, Union in collaboration and in combination with the Chatra Parishad volunteers and the Congress Party. Sir, the Writers' Building was again and again attacked; the different Government Offices have been again and again attacked by these Chatra Parishad people; and, Sir, chairs are being occupied in the offices. But, Sir, they say that they will try to tone up the government administration ! If it is the tone of murder, if it is the tone of violence, then they are successful. They have succeeded in bringing a tone of violence, in bringing a tone of murder. I have not much time left to me. .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI A.P. CHATTERJEE : I will wind up within two minutes.

I will further say this that in Jorahagan police stations two young men were murdered, and what happened was that four persons had been summoned by the magistrate for murder. One of these four persons, one is the officer-in-charge of the Jorahagan police station; he is still in office. The Government does not even think of suspending him, does not even think of removing him, who is indulging in the politics of murder. When the magistrate of Sealdah issued summons against the constable for molesting a woman, did the Government have the decency or courtesy or the good sense to suspend or to remove that constable of Baliaghata police station ? No. It has not that courage. It has not that decency. They are supporting this; they are encouraging this.

Therefore, Sir, I am saying this—T am not appealing to the treasury benches. I am saying to them—that if you are worth your salt, if you are worth the protestations that you make, if you want to make the image of India better outside—don't think that the people outside don't know about it; the whole world is watching this thing today—if you don't want to dishonour Mother India any longer, then you must stop this, and send a non-official team, consisting of Mem-

bers of Parliament, to inquire into all this. We don't mind if we are not taken in that inquiry team. But such a team must go and inquire into matters and the Government must make a declaration that if anybody is found guilty of any murder, then he will not be tolerated and will be properly brought to book.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Shrimati Mukherjee.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman. Sir, I was wondering how long and how far untruth, and unmixed untruth, can be told in this House with impunity. The instances Mr. A. P. Chatterjee quoted all through his speech are nothing but an untruth. . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Then why...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Don't interrupt.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Why don't you be in the inquiry committee ?

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, mention was made about the Alipore Central jail incident. Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, Union Minister for West Bengal Affairs, was in Calcutta only yesterday and the day before yesterday. He reached on the 27th. by Calcutta flight. From the airport he drove straight to the Alipore Central Jail where the incidents took place. He personally inquired into the matter, because in the morning paper he read the statement of Mr. Jyoti Bosu, on the plane. Mr. Jyoti Bosu, the CPM leader, made a categorical statement and demanded an inquiry. It was not Mr. Jyoti Bosu or any member of the CPM who went to visit the Alipore Central Jail and inquired into the matter...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : They won't allow us.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Why didn't you ask ? did you ask ?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : But even the wife of the person (killed and others were not allowed.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : The Union Minister personally inquired into this. The Union Minister saw that case personally. Who is holding the union there ? The employees' union is of the CPM party. It is the CPM Union, of the CPM minded employees, who clashed with the Naxalites. . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Why don't you hold an inquiry ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Don't interrupt.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : I will not mind. Rather I will also agree with this suggestion to expose the CPM and Mr. Chatterjee. . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I state here on the floor of the House that these persons who committed these brutal murders, these bestial murders, inside jail, cannot belong to our party. They belong to the Congress party . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please don't interrupt.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : I remained absolutely quiet when you spoke. Have the same courtesy for me also when I speak.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the CP (M) having its Union in the Alipore Central Jail, if anything has happened there, the CP (M) Union, its members, and the party cannot shift its responsibility.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Wonderful.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Was it an internal clash between the CP (M) and the CP (ML) that took place there ? Was it a personal vendetta against the Naxalite prisoners that they showed in the prison itself ? Sir, some people wanted to escape from the jail, and they started the disturbance on the eastern side and their motive was to attract the attention of the whole jail administration to that disturbance while they tried to scale the wall on the other side, on the western side. After some time it attracted the notice of the jail administration, of the warders of the jail, there are only 32 warders in the jail. In the melee that took place some were brutally

assaulted. No doubt about, it. But who assaulted them ? Who has the Union there ? It is the CP (M) party which has its union there.

Sir, he was telling us about the Dakshindari incident. May I explain that incident ? An ordinary labourer was brutally murdered by the CP (M) people. Do you know how ? They placed a nail on his head and inch by inch they drove that nail into his skull, and gradually he was murdered. If there was retaliation from the local people, can you blame them ? Sir, he was telling us about the Chhatra Parishad. I can understand the heart-burning of Shri A. P. Chatterjee's party against the Chhatra Parishad and the boys of the Youth Congress in my State. I am proud of them. I am proud that the Chhatra Parishad boys in West Bengal are in the vanguard of the movement to again establish and restore democratic way of life there.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Vanguard of hooliganism.

SHRIMATI PURABIMUKHOPADHYAY : Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is the Chhatra Parishad boys who have launched the movement against hoarders and blackmarketeers. It is the Chhatra Parishad boys who are launching the movement against the rise in prices in all the markets—no CP (M) worker will be there. It is the Chhatra Parishad boys who raised the slogan of capturing the chairs which will be left by the CP (M) workers and employees in the Writers Building. Sir, the employees are paid from the State exchequer. We do not mind if the employees have their personal affiliations or some political affiliations with some parties. But certainly the people of West Bengal will never tolerate that those employees, who are being paid from the State exchequer, from out of the taxes paid by the poor people, should indulge in politics sitting in the chairs in the Writers Building. Our boys started that campaign and they said, 'When you are not leaving your jobs, you must do your duty. If anybody is found to be absent from his chair, in response to the *bandh*, the Chhatra Parishad boys will occupy that chair.' And that movement has had a salutary effect. The *bandh* *faM*. So the CP (M) is afraid of the Chhatra Parishad boys.

Sir, he was telling us about the Chhatra Parishad boys, and sometimes he called them

goondas. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we in West Bengal who run the Congress organisation will gradually leave its leadership in the hands of the Chhatra Parishad boys and the Youth Congress boys because it is the younger section which is now running the whole show in West Bengal. And the CP (M) is mortally afraid of them, afraid of the youth Congress and the Chhatra Parishad boys. The Chhatra Parishad and youth Congress boys prevented the recent *bandh*. The people resented *Uic bandh*. The employees themselves resented the *bandh*, and the *bandh* was a failure; so the CP (M) was hurt.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, only the day before yesterday the results came of the Burdwan municipal elections. This municipality, since 1967, was the stronghold of the CPM. The strength of the CPM in this district was so much that out of the 25 seats in the Assembly, the CPM alone got 24 seats. But now the situation is changed. I will show you how. The results of the municipal elections have come. Out of the 25 seats Congress candidates, as many as 19 were elected. The CPM has got only two seats... (*Interruptions*)... He was saying "Why don't you have elections?" We are ready to face the elections any day the Government or the Election Commissioner fixes. West Bengal has now found peace and has found out who are the people who destroyed West Bengal. We will win most of the seats, if not all. Let there be an election. The people have revolted against the CPM and its goondaism. We should gratefully acknowledge the contribution of the people in restoring normalcy in our State.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : One question only. Can you give some seats to the CPI ?

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : That you did last time and have now been frustrated. I will reply to that question. Mr. A. P. Chatterjee knows very well that his party colleagues, his leaders, have called the CPI to join hand with the CPM in their elections and also in the united movement. That was only two days back. When they found that the CPI was not responding to that call, they are now saying that CPI has come to our side. We do not want the CPI or the CPM to join our ranks. In a democracy these parties

will be there and if they have even an iota of patriotism, they should be gratefully doing their work helping the people of West Bengal in bringing back normalcy. In that matter I gratefully acknowledge the contribution of the CPI—how they are helping normalcy to come back. On the contrary, it is the CPM which is trying its best to mar the West Bengal tranquillity in every way. Mr. A. P. Chatterjee who was so very vociferous against the Chhatra parishad has one reason to be so—because in the students recruitment in various political party students fronts, that is taking place all over West Bengal, the students are recruited first to the Chhatra Parishad. That is number one recruitment. Number two is going to Naxalites; number three to other democratic parties; number four is CPI and the last is CPM. That is the reason why CPM Party members are so much against the Chhatra Parishad boys.

He was telling us about Subroto Mukherjee. I am proud of Subroto Mukherjee, he being my junior colleague. Subroto Mukherjee won the seat in the Ballygunge constituency, defeating the CPI satellite Education Minister Jyoti Bhattacharjee. He was angry that Subroto Mukherjee...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : On a point of order. Jyoti Bhattacharjee is not present in this House. I do not mind if she mentions him, but why should she call Jyoti Bhattacharjee a satellite?... (*Interruption*)... I protest against that thing.

SHRI K. C. PANT : May I point out that at least she is honest in calling him a satellite ? My friend was obliquely calling very many people goondas and he was using a cheap lawyer's trick to do that.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : He was very angry with Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, I am proud of Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, as the real leader, as a student and youth leader not only of West Bengal but also of the whole country. He is the President of the All-India Youth Congress. Priya Ranjan Das Munshi defeated the CPM candidate, Ganesh Ghosh. Naturally the anger of Mr. A. P. Chatterjee is well understood. He says they were the examinees. Our student-leaders are really students. Not like Mr. A. P. Chatterjee's Party's professional students that is, they enter their names in the college in a particular year and they remain in the



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same class year after year; they never appear in any examination and they go on meddling in students' politics in the name of students. They are the grandfathers or the fathers of many children and still taking part in youth and student politics. But Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munshi is no more in the Chhatra Parishad. He has transcended himself to the youth leadership. I am proud of that. I am proud of that young force who is our main strength in politics and who is doing the best kind of service to the students' community in the name of Chhatra Parishad. Sir, he was telling about the incident of Main Bagan. I am not one of those who will do or will go against any interest of a woman. If what Mr. Chatterjee said be so the Government is thereto investigate. But let me tell you. In Baliaghata our three or four boys of Chhatra Parishad were drinking tea in a small restaurant.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Tea or stronger drink ?

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : You may be used to it, but not our Chhatra Parishad boys. Mr. Deputy Chairman, at that time a national flag was being burnt by the CPM workers. These Congress boys rushed from the shop. They came unarmed. They were having tea there, they rushed to save the honour of the national flag. I shudder to think that when they rushed to save the honour of the flag, the CPM workers who were standing with pipe guns on the bridge of Baliaghata shot them down, shot the Chhatra Parishad boys down. Are you not ashamed of that ? And Mr. Chatterjee is very vociferous against police administration. Have you forgotten all you have done, Mr. Chatterjee ? Mr. Deputy Chairman, may I ask through you Mr. A. P. Chatterjee whether it is the CPM who deliberately infiltrated in the police rung ? Thanks to the Government of West Bengal and the Government of India, we are now getting rid of them. It is the CPM police even now a section of it is there, who are out to discredit the Government. The Government is aware of that section. You are telling so much about the CRP. Even Mr. Jyoti Basu cannot say that about the CRP because Mr. Jyoti Basu himself is always guarded and protected by the CRP. But when they come here, they speak against the CRP. Have one yardstick, have one standard, Mr. Chatterjee.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, may I ask Mr. A. P. Chatterjee about the premises of the AICC office ? Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munshi who happens to be the leader of the Youth Congress, who happens to be the President of the Youth Congress there, his official address is still 7, Jantar Mantar Road. If Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, as a leader of the Youth Congress as the President of the Youth Congress, wants to go there, who is there to prevent his entry ? The Congress (O) should have that courtesy, they should voluntarily quit from that house.

I do not hold a brief for anybody but may I just remind Mr. A. P. Chatterjee of their days when they clashed with CPI in 1962 ? What did you do Mr. A. P. Chatterjee and your Party when there was a clash between CPI and CPM ? Didn't we see the worst on the streets of Calcutta which is very unpleasant for you to face even today ?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Even the saree of Shrimati Abha Maity was taken away by Chhatra Parishad men.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Sir, even in this House Mr. Chatterjee has the guts to expound the theory of cessation. It is Mr. Pramod Das Gupta, General Secretary of the West Bengal branch of the CPM Party who expounded this theory of cessation to strengthen the hands of Mr. Yahya Khan, to strengthen the hands of other foreign agencies. He is again doing this on the floor of this House, is he not ashamed of this that at a critical juncture when the people are facing aggression from Mr. Yahya Khan, he compares Shrimati Indira Gandhi with Mr. Yahya Khan ? Is that the kind of patriotism that he brings forward before the country ? I will never be a person to support that kind of patriotism.

Mr. A. P. Chatterjee said that instead of our lip sympathy why did not we recognise Bangla Desh Government. May I remind you that we are doing more than that ? It is not a question of merely recognising Bangla Desh. We have done much more than that; we are doing much more than what we would have done by merely recognising. Here I want to remind the House about the politics of CPM with regard to Bangla Desh evacuees. They are going to the evacuee camps and telling the evacuees : "look, what kind of shelter the Government of India have provided for you. You are not being paid enough; you are not being

put up comfortably." The same party people cross the camp and go to a village of the locality and tell those local people : "look, what kind of treatment you are getting from your own Indira Gandhi's Government whom you support so much. Look at the evacuees; they are being treated as grandsons and son-in-law of West Bengal when you are being denied everything." This is the sympathy of the CPM towards Bangla Desh. I warn the CPM party of this dangerous role that they are playing in West Bengal. They are saying one thing in the evacuees' camp and another thing to the local population there and instigate them against the Government. I say this with authority. I have come from West Bengal only yesterday at 11.30 in the night. I have seen the evacuee camps where the CPM is holding meetings and they are instigating the evacuees. They are telling the evacuees: "leave the camps and go to Delhi, ask for more things. You are being treated very shabily; this Government of India have invited you from Pakistan." This is what the CPM is saying. They do not have any face to tell us about Bangla Desh. They are the people who will ruin Paschim Bangal one day. The CPM party stands exposed. They have said that the condition is deteriorating as if it was better and now it is deteriorating under the President's Rule. What was the condition in their time?' Sir, the condition in West Bengal has improved and improved to a great extent. We may not be very nappy; everything has not calmed down. How can it improve when the CPM party which claims to be the major party in West Bengal is behaving in such an irresponsible manner? How can the people of West Bengal find peace so easily? Thanks to Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, Shri K. C. Pant and the new Governor who has been posted in West Bengal and thanks to the Prime Minister of India who has taken special care to see that the maladies of West Bengal are removed early. Quickly things are improving and we are getting full co-operation from the people of West Bengal. This Government in West Bengal is going ahead. We are not afraid of any election let the elections be held tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. We are ready for it and I can claim that we will get the maximum number of seats if it is held here and now. Mr. Deputy Chairman. Sir...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You please conclude now.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Please give me two minutes.

Sir, Shri Chatterjee said that his party was not called before the President's Rule was clamped. Sir, you know the Democratic Coalition Government had not fallen; the Cabinet had not fallen. It was the Government of West Bengal and the Government of India that thought that for handling this colossal task of evacuees it would be easier for the situation to be handled if there was President's Rule. We mean to extend it now for another six months. That Mr. A. P. Chatterjee's party is now being discredited completely has been shown by the Burdwan Municipal results and it will be shown in all other places. When the employees were discharged could they hold a massive demonstration? They could not. Could they have a sympathetic strike in all other Offices? They could not. It shows that their influence in the State is dwindling and it will dwindle more and more as days go on.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI ((Maharashtra) : Mr. Deputy-Chairman, Sir, we have heard with rapt attention the two speeches made on the floor of the House, one by Mr. Chatterjee and the other, a very forceful reply, by the hon. lady Member on the opposite side. It is not my desire to pick out every sentence of what they said. I for my part want to stick to certain general principles which govern West Bengal today under the President's Rule. I am not one of those who believe that everything that my friend, Mr. Chatterjee, said is true. There may be some instances here and there, but we have to judge it from the point of view of what was the situation before the President's rule came into being. We must also note at that time who were the rulers and how they were ruling. To say that there is restlessness in West Bengal today is far from the truth according to me. I am speaking from a Bench which is supposed to be opposing the ruling party, but I cannot overlook the facts as I see them today. Even though we may differ in our political ideology and politics, we will have to concede certain things when we assess the situation in the correct perspective. Take this for example. During the last few months when the President's rule is there through the Governor and his advisers, hardly 150 political murders have taken place, whereas before nearly 1037 murders had taken place. Then, Sir, during these six months the law

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and order situauon has improved according to me because 60 per cent of the factories, which were closed, have started work and the workers have been employed. If that was not a fact, then I would have very well agreed with my friend in saying that there is no improvement in the law and order situation in West Bengal. Then, Sir, there is hardly any report of strikes and Gheraos these days. The "Government has tackled this problem with guts. If I do not compliment them I will be failing in my duty as a citizen of this country. This situation has come about during the President's rule. Before that Gheraos, strikes and go-slow were the order of the day. Not only that. Those who talk of democracy today on the Floor of the House were instigating them to kill democracy, to go slow in work, to go in for Gheraos and strikes, so that those who are employed may sit at home and become devil's workshop. Do you want that they should remain a devil's workshop? Certainly not. If sixty per cent of the factories are opened, it will be the duty of the Government to see that the rest of them open and the workers get employment.

Coming to another point, prominent Naxalites and extremists have been rounded up and that is the reason why it pinches some hon. Members and they have come out with all sorts of imaginary horrors and they may be in the air also. I want to submit to you, Sir, that these were the very persons who had destroyed West Bengal's peace, these were the very people who tried to destroy everything when they were in jail. If they were not to be rounded up, if in circumstances beyond control they were not to be fired upon when they were escaping from jail and if you want the Home Minister and the Governor to sit silent and watch it, I am afraid, Sir, that it would be a very bad day in the history of India, if that is going to happen. I am glad that after all, the Government of India have been able to spot a man who is today a strong Governor of that State, Mr. Dias. I happen to know him from Bombay days when he was the Chairman of the Bombay Port Trust and I was his colleague. Here is a man who is a good administrator and if you want to pull him down by quoting here and there some instances I am afraid at least I cannot be a party to it. Let there be a good administration. If there are excesses created

by (he police, by all means you have a right to make an inquiry; you have a right to press for an inquiry also and if found guilty, the Government must punish them. There is no doubt about it. I am not prepared to condone anybody. But who are the police? As very rightly said by the hon. lady Member there, they are the very people who have been put in when they were in the Government and it has taken time to drive them one by one. Some of them have remained, and they, in order to give a bad name to the party, have been doing this. Therefore, to that extent, I am sorry I cannot agree with my friend, Mr. Chatterjee.

Again, look at the announcement which the Government has made. You must have seen in the morning's papers that the Government has announced a 16-point programme and that programme is for the development of West Bengal except Calcutta and the 24-Parganas, and they have treated the whole of West Bengal excluding Calcutta and the 24-Parganas as a backward area. Does that not show that the Government has taken the situation seriously? They want that there should be employment. Therefore, they have said, we will create employment, we will employ people, we will see that industries come up, we will give you 10 per cent subsidy and wherever possible the Financial Corporation would come to the assistance and help of industries so that more industries come up and the remaining ones can reopen. How can peace be established unless those who are idle get employed, unless you produce more and supply to the consumers? Therefore, all the 16 points of the programme which has been announced by the Government are welcome. The wagon industry was facing difficulties. Today the announcement has come that the Government will see that the wagon industry gets orders irrespective of whether they will need them or not. The employment potential will increase. These are the things that every Government is expected to do, and this Government has initiated it. Why should we find fault with people who have started doing good things? I am prepared to criticise and condemn even acts of omission and commission wherever they are found. For example, the hon. lady Member in her oratory lost sight of the fact, while speaking, about the law and order situation created by her party members in Calcutta, 24-Parganas and Jantar-

Mantar Road. I have seen condemning the attack by newspapers. I know several friends sitting round here and in the Lok-Sabha saying in private that they have felt hurt. Now, are you going to support such things ? In her oratory the hon. lady Member said something which does not deserve to be said by an hon. Member of this House.

Coming to raw materials and requirements of West Bengal, there also a special cell is being created in the Ministry so that for want of raw material the buildings and the factories do not close down . We have been given this morning to understand that a legislation is being enacted in West Bengal on the lines of the Textile Corporation. If that is going to come up, I for one have some reservations on this whether this will work or not. There is no doubt that if this works properly, the textile mills which have been closed down will restart with the result that cloth will be available in West Bengal itself and employment again will be seen.

Coming to the remarks which my friend, Mr. Chatterjee, made in connection with the dismissal of some secretariat employees. If there is anything to be said, I would say that I congratulate the Governor who in the initial stages of his career took such bold step to see that those who were disrupting the administration were brought to book. He had the guts and the courage to dismiss them without giving any notice. He know where the shoe pinched. We are all aware of the fact that since then there is no trouble at all so far as the Secretariat is concerned. The Secretariat works smoothly and they know that if they do not work, if they do not behave, there is a person who will not tolerate any nonsense from any employee of the Secretariat.

Lastly, Sir, it is necessary that West Bengal which has seen lot of trouble for some time during the course of last few years, with different governments, with murders, loot and arson, should continue under President's Rule. We have already taken the decision about 1 \ hours ago that the State should continue under the President's Rule for some time more. I hope and pray that in these coming months the stability of the State would be there, that law and order would be there and democracy will be restored again by way of

having the Legislature functioning by having elections soon, but not. Sir, till the law and order is completely established. The President should never be in a hurry to have the elections there till the law and order situation is completely under control. Therefore, I very strongly oppose this Resolution which has been moved in the form of a discussion and I say that the Government should be congratulated for establishing law and order in West Bengal. Thank you.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : Sir, it has been claimed by the hon'ble Deputy Minister in the course of his speech about more than half an hour ago that there has been much improvement in the law and order situation of West Bengal. Sir, I do not know what is the basis on which he has come to this conclusion. What has been the yardstick in the matter of measuring the improvement in the law and order situation in the State of West Bengal ?

SHRI LOKANATH MTSRA : Less murders.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : There are murders even today. I am coming to it. The reality is different. The reality in West is that today there are murders. There are Strocities committed by the police and the C. R. P. There is panic and

terror and life is not safe. 5 P. M. And people cannot move freely even to-day because of the apprehension of being killed by antisocial elements or by certain political parties or by the CRP or by the police. Sir, before giving instances of the atrocities committed by the police and the CRP, I shall refer to the figures given by the Government itself. Sir, in reply to a question on the 18th November as to the number of persons killed by police firing, it was stated that 202 persons have been killed by the police during the period March to September, 1971. If we go deeper into it we woield find that 808 persons were murdered during the period July to October, 1971. If we take the entire figure for the year, i.e. from January to October, it comes to 1.037. These are all political murders. Apart from this, the number of other murders is much more: I think it has more than quadrupled. I am citing this figure to show the extent of poltical murders. This is a figure which has been given by the Government itself and I rely on this

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figure alone. This is a figure which conceals more than it reveals. Yet it reveals very dangerous trends, it reveals very dangerous portents, it reveals a great apprehension about the late of this democracy. What are the revelations? Firstly, it reveals that there have been political murders during this period, at least a hundred each month, and more and more people have been butchered by the police in a cold-blooded way. Is it not staggering, is it not horrible, is it not ghastly that the police kills 202 persons in a way I shall describe later on? Can we say that we are living in a Civilised State? Can we say that we have got an administration which can ensure the life and dignity and honour of the men and women of the country? Sir, I think you will agree with me that it is terrible, it is ghastly, it is despicable, it is reprehensible. Sir, again the very fact that 202 persons have been killed by the police goes to prove and prove unerringly that you have now decided to rely more and more on the bureaucracy, that you have decided to rely more and more on the trigger-happy policemen, that you have decided to rely more and more upon the CRP. Sir, what does it indicate? It indicates that the Government has lost all its political initiative, the Government has lost all its political leadership and the Government is relying increasingly on the trigger-happy policemen and trigger-happy CRP. Sir, it also reveals a very clear departure from the Government's declared policy. I want the attention of Mr. Chinai. When President's rule was promulgated, Mr. Siddharata Shankar Ray was appointed with much fanfare to look after the affairs of West Bengal. Sir, if you remember, Mr. Siddharata Shankar Ray made a statement that we should all join together in order to put an end to the politics of violence, the politics of terror and the senseless politics of murder. And he was on record to say that this could be done not by way of mere administrative methods, not by relying on bureaucracy, not by relying on the trigger-happy police and the CRP, not by relying on the bayonets, not by relying on the P. D. Act. . .

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : I did not say this.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I am coming just do not lose patience. The statement

also reveals a departure from that political approach to the problem of West Bengal's law and order. A political approach to the problem of law and order was and still is the correct approach. Instead of pursuing that policy, instead of approaching the problem of law and order from a political point of view, the West Bengal Government under the President's rule has chosen to rely more and more on the bureaucracy, more and more on the police, more and more on the CRP. more and more on the officialdom. Therefore, these major trends cannot be concealed by figures. Yet the statement has concealed, and effectively too, the barbarity with which these murders have been committed. I have got instances to show when sons have been killed in the presence of their mothers husbands have been killed in the presence of their wives, many people have been killed in the presence of their dear and near ones. Is it not a barbarous method of killing people? Is it not a shameful on the part of the so-called civilised Government? Can we boast of democracy where you have police who commit cold-blooded murders in the presence of mothers and wives? I do not at the same time underestimate nor do I ignore the barbarity which is perpetrated by antisocial elements. I do not like to underestimate or ignore the barbarities committed by anti-social elements masquerading as political elements, particularly, Naxalites. But then, does it justify a civilised Government to take to that method? Does it justify that two wrongs can make one right? Does it justify that terror can be met by terror alone? This statement of the Government reveals that the Government is bent upon pursuing a strong-arm policy, that the Government wants to have a terror-against-terror policy. This is dangerous, this is fascist, this is shorn of democratic principles. No democratic country, no civilised country, can assume that attitude towards a law and order problem. I also in this connection cannot afford to forget that this politics of violence has been first brought by our CPM friends, Mr. Chatterjee's friends, under the very mistaken notion of intensification of class struggle. (Interruption) They should realise that this fratricidal war, this battle, this killing in the name of the so-called class struggle, has really brought into play fascist forces. The situation in West Bengal today really presages the emergence of fascist tendencies. They should all realise that fascist tendencies breed fascist tendencies alone; fascist tendencies

ncies do not breed democratic trends. Therefore, it is high time that they realised that it is only on the basis of the broadest unity among the left and democratic forces that this onslaught of fascism can be resisted. Unless this onslaught of Fascists is resisted, it will mark the doomsday of democracy. It is also to be noted by the House that the Congress (R) leadership in the State of West Bengal have already given shatter to a large number of those persons who were engaged in depredation. A large number of Naxalite elements who were found engaged in depredation are to be very much found in the Congress (R) ranks in the form of Chhatra Parishad workers. This is not good. Politics in West Bengal is not in the hands of politicians of the State. Politics of West Bengal are not controlled by the politicians of the State, this Party or that Party, smaller or bigger. It is the anti-social elements and rowdy elements who are controlling the politics of West Bengal today and these elements are conveniently sheltered by the ruling party. These elements join the ruling party because the ruling party can provide them shelter and all kinds of patronages which enable them to continue their depredation. This has been the state of affairs in West Bengal. Indian Parliament has to note that unless this state of affairs is stopped and unless fascist tendencies are resisted, real fascism will emerge in a matter of days. This will mark emergence of dark days.

T referred to the departure of government policies with regard to law and order. It was on the 5th July that Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray invited all political parties to discuss and devise ways and means to find out political solution to the law and order problem of the State. It was also decided that all the political parties should write to the Governor or Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray with regard to concrete suggestions in the matter of improving law and order situation particularly for the purpose of putting an end to the fratricidal war. Almost all the political parties including CPM, our Party, CPI and other Parties made specific suggestions. Since I have no time, would simply say that all the political Parties underscored two major points, namely, that the law and order problem can be solved provided there is a code of conduct and it is implemented honestly by all parties. But this statement provides that the Government of West Bengal, parti-

cularly Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray did not implement that thing particularly after that carnage in Cassipore and Baranagar. I do not know whether the Government of India has the information as to who were indulging in that carnage. On the 15th August it was agreed at the 28 Party meeting held under the chairmanship of Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray, Union Minister in charge of West Bengal-it was unanimously decided that the people responsible for the carnage at Baranagar and Cassipore should be suspended and it was also agreed, that representatives of some political parties will conduct a joint inquiry into that carnage. Nobody knows that happened. Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray did not fulfil that unanimous decision taken the previous day in the 28 Party meeting. Why? We should know it, because by the time the Congress Party took the decision, they also followed the same path, the same way, as the previous anti-social elements, led by some political parties, trying to foist their control upon them, trying to foist their authority on them, trying to spread their sphere of influence. They also want to follow exactly the same way to expand their sphere of influence, to capture forcibly the trade unions, to capture forcibly the party offices, [to capture forcibly the young men to seek their allegiance and also some of the other political parties to the Congress (R).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right. Mr. Yajee, please.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Sir, instances are there of all these things. I say here, Sir, that a police officer of a Thana told me that there are requests from the Congress (R) people that they can withdraw the cases provided the Naxalites or the known antisocial elements can bring some chits...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: ...from the local Congress office !

Therefore, Sir, with this kind of policy of indulging in patronisation by the State, patronisation by the police, patronisation by the people in high authority, the law and order situation cannot improve in the State. Therefore, Sir, I implore that the Government should take note of it and they have to take a basic decision, if they are sincere in this matter of ending the politics of violence.

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nee and tenor, that there should be a political approach to the problem, and that the political approach to the problem cannot be a partisan approach, but it must be an all-party approach and a democratic approach. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down now.

SHRI CHITTA BASU :....which can lead us away some day from the frenzy and panic that is gripping the State of West Bengal and for that. Sir, the Congress Party and the Congress Government at the Centre are responsible for creating the necessary precondition, the necessary climate, for bringing about an improvement in the State, in the law and order situation of the State of West Bengal. Thank you, Sir,

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right. Mr. Yajee, please.

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : उपसभापति जी, मैं किसी के कहने पर नहीं, किसी सरकारी रिपोर्ट के आधार पर नहीं बल्कि मैं पश्चिमी बंगाल में प्रायः बार-बार जाता हूँ और उसी के आधार पर कह सकता हूँ कि अभी जो मौजूदा गवर्नर साहब एल० डायस हैं, उनकी मैं दाद देता हूँ, प्रशंसा करता हूँ और तारीफ करता हूँ। मैं इस सदन में ही उनकी तारीफ नहीं कर रहा हूँ, बल्कि कलकत्ते में जाकर उनकी दाद दी, प्रशंसा की, बघाई दी और यह कहा कि आप बड़ी मुस्तेदी से जो काम कर रहे हैं, ला-एन्ड आर्डर सिचुएशन को जिस तरह से आपने हाथ में लेकर शान्ति स्थापित कर दी है, उसके लिए हम तमाम जो पार्लियामेंट के सदस्य हैं, वे आपका शुक्रगुजार करते हैं। जिनके ऊपर मैं प्रहार करना चाहता हूँ, जवाब देना चाहता हूँ वे श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी तो भाग गये हैं। आज उन्हें वहाँ के गवर्नर की दाद देनी चाहिये और प्रशंसा करनी चाहिये।

जब सी० पी० एम० पार्टी के लोग वहाँ पर वज्रात करते थे, तो कई बार इस सदन में और बाहर भी बोला गया, खुद हमारे अजय मुकर्जी जो मुख्य मंत्री थे अपनी सरकार के, उन्होंने अपने डिप्टी चीफ मिनिस्टर श्री ज्योति बसु के

के बारे में क्या कहा था। उन्होंने साफ-साफ कहा था कि जो सिचुएशन इस समय है उसके अनुसार एक दूसरे पोलिटिकल पार्टी वालों की हत्या की जाती है और सरकार जो है वह बारबेरियन तथा अनमिविलाइज्ड है। यह सर्टिफिकेट जो वहाँ की सरकार का हेड था उसने दिया था। लेकिन हमारे चटर्जी जी साहब अपोजीशन में बैठ कर इन बातों को भूल जाते हैं और दूसरे प्रवाह में बह जाते हैं, उनको ईमानदारी के साथ देखना चाहिए कि पहिले जो सिचुएशन थी, जो हालत थी, उसमें सुधार हुआ है या नहीं? उन्होंने यह बात ठीक कहीं कि अगर कोई राजनैतिक पार्टी हत्या करती है तो यह बुरी बात हुई। यह तो वंसी ही बात हो गई जैसे "ए डेविल इज कोटिंग स्क्रिप्चर" जो वहाँ पर वायलेंस कराया जा रहा है, जो हिंसा कराई जा रही है डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर और न मालूम किस-किस नाम पर कराया जा रहा है, यह सब सी० पी० एम० की नीति की वजह से हुआ है और आज वे वहाँ पर घड़ियाल के आंसू बहाते हैं। आज यदि कुछ कांग्रेस जन या छात्र-परिषद् कोई इस तरह का अनुचित कदम उठाते हैं तो इसकी जवाबदेही वहाँ की सरकार की नहीं है, वहाँ की सरकार की नहीं है, बल्कि खुद ए० पी० चटर्जी की पार्टी के काले कारनामे हैं। उन्होंने इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति पैदा कर दी है। लेकिन मैं दाद दूंगा छात्रों को और छात्र परिषद् को और वहाँ की पेट्रियटिक जनता को जिसने कस कर मुकाबिला किया और ऐसा मुकाबिला किया कि आज श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी की इतनी हिम्मत नहीं है कि वे उनका मुकाबिला कर सकें। आज उनकी पार्टी को मैदान से उखाड़ कर फेंक दिया गया है। आज चाहे किसी यूनिवर्सिटी में यूनियन का इलेक्शन हो रहा हो या और कहीं इलेक्शन हो रहा हो, हर जगह कामरेड ए० पी० चटर्जी से पूछिए कि उनकी क्या हालत है। आज उनकी पार्टी का जनाजा निकल रहा है। हर जगह उनका इंफ्लुएंस घट रहा है, इसलिये वे रोते हैं और घड़ियाल के आंसू बहाते हैं। जो डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर, गणतंत्र के नाम पर, गणतंत्र की हत्या करते हैं, आज वही दूसरी-दूसरी बातें कह कर के इस तरह की चीजें पैदा करना चाहते हैं। आज जो वहाँ हिंसा हो रही है उसका करने वाला कौन है। हमारे श्रेष्ठ नेता हेमंतकुमार बसु मारे गये। उनको मारने वाले कौन

लोग थे। वह ऐसा पैट्रियट, ऐसा देश भक्त और ऐसा समाजवादी नेता था कि उसको फार्वर्ड ब्लाक के लोग कहते थे कि सबसे अग्रगामी है। चूंकि वे इलेक्शन में हार जाते इसलिये शायद लोगों ने सोचा होगा कि उनकी हत्या हो जानी चाहिए। उसके बाद जब उनकी जगह चुनाव होने लगा तो अजित विश्वास का भी मर्डर कराया गया। लावी में जब वे बात करते हैं तो वे कहते हैं कि यह तो फार्वर्ड ब्लाक के ही लोगों का ही काम है। क्या फार्वर्ड ब्लाक के वर्कर फार्वर्ड ब्लाक के लोगों की ही हत्या करेंगे। आज इस तरह की भी बात होती है कि प्रिय रंजनदास मुंशी, एम. पी. हत्या कराते हैं। यह ठीक है कि छात्र परिषद् के लोगों ने एसटिव एटीट्यूड लिया है। अब कामरेड ए० पी० चटर्जी की पार्टी मैदान में हिम्मत करके नहीं आयेगी और हत्याएं नहीं करेगी। इतना ही हमारी छात्र परिषद् का कसूर है कि वहां जो हत्याकांड होता था, उसको उसने रूकवाया। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि टिट फार टैट होना चाहिए। यदि कहीं वर्कर्स ने गड़बड़ी की है तो हम उसको छिपाते नहीं हैं। तो आज उनकी बोलती बन्द है। जो वायलेंस करते थे, पोलिटिकल वर्कर्स को मारते थे, आज वे आइसोलेटेड हो गये हैं और कोई पार्टी उनके साथ नहीं है। इसीलिये यह करुणकंदन आज डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर हो रहा है कि बंगाल की हालत बिगड़ रही है, लोग फेसिस्ट हो गये हैं। लोग फेसिस्ट होते तो श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी यहां बैठते। श्री चित्त बासु भी हमको फेसिस्ट बोलते हैं। यदि वे ईमानदार हैं तो बतलायें कि इस हाउस में फेसिस्ट लोग आपको कैसे बैठने देंगे। फेसिस्टों का विरोध करने वाले तो दूसरे लोक में भेज दिये जाते हैं। आज फेसिस्ट कहना बड़ा सरल हो गया है। जो गवर्नर इतनी सेवा कर रहा है आज वह फेसिस्ट हो गया है। फेसिज्म की परिभाषा हम भी जानते हैं और वे भी जानते हैं। इसलिये कामरेड ए० पी० चटर्जी और कामरेड चित्त बासु, जो पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं, उनको संयत भाषा में बात करनी चाहिये और उनको समझना चाहिए कि फेसिज्म की डेफिनीशन क्या है, हिटलरिज्म की डेफिनीशन क्या है। इसके आधार पर यहां डेपोगामी करना एक संसद् सदस्य का लक्षण नहीं है। इसलिये उनको हकीकत बोलनी चाहिए कि हो क्या रहा है। यदि वहां शांति स्थापित हो रही है तो इसके लिये उनके गवर्नर

को दाद देना चाहिए, गवर्नमेन्ट को दाद देना चाहिये। हमारी लेडी मेम्बर ने यह ठीक ही कहा कि कामरेड ज्योति बसु बिना पुलिस के चल नहीं सकते। लेकिन जो रक्षा करता है उसको भी वे गाली देते हैं। जहां पुलिस अत्याचार करती है, जहां पुलिस जुल्म करती है, उसको हम भी कंडेम करते हैं। लेकिन जैसी कि हमारे इधर एक कहावत है जो के साथ धुन की पिसता है। जब जो पिसता है तो उसके साथ जो कीड़ा रहता है गेहूं में वह भी पिस जाता है। यदि पुलिस इस तरह से, गवर्नर इस तरह से स्ट्रांग ऐक्शन न लेती तो काम नहीं चलता। आपने देखा कि आज वहां टेरेरिज्म का नाम नहीं है। आपने वेस्ट बंगाल में ही देखा कि चीफ सेक्रेटरी से लेकर चीफ मिनिस्टर तक सब हड़ताल पर जाते थे। तो वहां क्या अनुशासन रहेगा। लेकिन आज वह दिन लद गये और अब वहां जब तक पूरी शान्ति नहीं हो जाती और वहां का गवर्नर यह रिपोर्ट नहीं दे देता कि अब वहां की सिचुएशन ठीक हो गयी है, तब तक वहां इलेक्शन नहीं होने चाहिए, अगर 6 महीने ही नहीं, और 6 महीने भी इस अवधि को बढ़ाने की नौबत आये तो उसे बढ़ाना चाहिए, लेकिन वहां की सिचुएशन काबू में आनी चाहिए और इसके लिये हर एक पार्टी को काम करने के लिए तैयार रहना चाहिए। मैं किसी पार्टी को कंडम नहीं करता, लेकिन जो पार्टियां कहती हैं और हमारे सी० पी० एम० के लोग कहते हैं, सी० पी० आई० के लोग कहते हैं कि हम डेमोक्रेटिक मेथड से, पार्लियामेंटरी मेथड से, बुलेट से नहीं, बैलेट से समाजवाद लायेंगे, उनका कत्तब्य हो जाता है कि वे इस तरह की परिस्थिति पैदा करें कि जिसमें वहां शान्ति और व्यवस्था हो और तभी वहां पर इलेक्शन हो सकता है और इसके लिए हर एक पार्टी को काम करना चाहिए।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे जो रिफ्यूजीज हैं, कितने ही लाखों की तादाद में, उनका बंगला देश के बारे में जो एटीट्यूड है उससे गड़बड़ी पैदा होती है। अगर वे किसी के इशारे पर कोई काम करते हैं तो वह ठीक नहीं है। आज वह साफ-साफ कहते हैं कि बंगला देश की जनता लड़े और गवर्नमेन्ट को उसके लिए मदद नहीं देनी चाहिए। तो सी० पी० आई० (एम) के जो लोग इस तरह का प्रचार करते हैं वह ठीक



[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

नहीं है। उनका इरादा दूसरा है। वह देखते हैं कि अगर ऐसी लड़ाई जारी रही तो उसमें वे अपना उल्लंघन कर सकेंगे और ऐसे में एक वियतनाम यहां भी बन सकेगा। एक वहां है, दूसरा यहां बन सकेगा। ऐसा करने से बंगला देश की जनता का समर्थन नहीं होता है। बल्कि उनके दुःख को ऐसा करके वे बढ़ाते हैं। इसलिए पश्चिमी बंगाल में जो लोग ऐसी भावनाओं की दृष्टि कर रहे हैं वह निन्दनीय है और उनकी भर्त्सना होनी चाहिए। आज वहां की हालत सुधरती जा रही है और इसके लिए जो वहां के अधिकारी हैं और खास कर गवर्नर साहब, मैं उनको दाद देता हूं और मैं समझता हूं कि निकट भविष्य में जिस तरह से मुस्लिमों के साथ और तेजी के साथ वहां की पुलिस और वहां का अधिकारी वर्ग और वहां की पोलिटिकल पार्टीज के लोग काम कर रहे हैं, उससे वहां की परिस्थिति सुधरेगी। जो लोग समझते हैं कि गड़बड़ी करने से भी फायदा होगा, उनकी तो बात छोड़ दीजिए, लेकिन बाकी लोगों का विश्वास है और वे चाहते हैं कि वहां जल्द से जल्द ऐसी परिस्थिति आये कि जिसमें वहां के इलेक्शन हो सकें। लेकिन जब तक वहां पूरी शान्ति न हो जाय, तब तक वहां कोई इलेक्शन नहीं होने चाहिए और मुझे उम्मीद है कि वहां के सारे कल कारखाने ठीक काम करेंगे और गवर्नर ने हड़तालों के लिए जो अंकुश लगाया है, उससे अनुशासन भी आयेगा और सारे कल कारखाने ठीक से चलेंगे और अगर वहां पर ठीक काम होने लगा तो वह दिन दूर नहीं है कि जब वहां पीपुल्स रिप्रेजेंटेटिव्स चुने जायेंगे और वहां की सरकार का काम ठीक से चल सकेगा। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं वेस्ट बंगाल के जो सदस्य हैं, उनसे कहूंगा कि उनको हकीकत बोलने की परंपरा कायम करनी चाहिए और वहां शान्ति की स्थापना करनी चाहिये। जय हिन्द।

**श्री बी० एन० मंडल (बिहार) :** उपसभा-पति महोदय, जो प्रस्ताव अर्थात् सदन के सामने है उसके सिलसिले में सी० पी० एम० के जो सदस्य बोल चुके हैं, उनको सुनने के समय मुझे आश्चर्य होता था कि आज क्यों वह ऐसा रोना रो रहे हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति में अगर हिंसा लाने का

किसी को श्रेय है तो वह सी० पी० एम० को है। शुरू में इन लोगों ने हम लोगों की जो मजदूर यूनियन थी, उसके एक कार्यकर्ता को इन लोगों ने मारा और उसके बाद बराबर उनकी हरकतें जारी रही हैं और बराबर इन लोगों ने एक तरफ तो गवर्नमेंट मशीनरी को डिमारे-लाइज करके उसे अपने पक्ष में लाये हैं, पुलिस को डिमारेलाइज करके उसे अपने प्रभाव में लाये और इस तरह से जनता में खून खराबा करके वह अपना आतंक जमा कर अपनी पार्टी की जड़ को जमाना चाहते थे। और उनकी जो यह हरकत थी उसी हरकत का यह नतीजा हुआ कि उनसे भी बढ़कर एक दूसरा दल खड़ा हुआ जो इनसे भी लड़ने लगा। अब इस सबका नतीजा हुआ कि हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति में हिंसा इतनी छा गई कि सारा देश उसमें परेशान होने लगा और इसी का नतीजा हुआ कि बंगाल में बार-बार राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होता गया। राष्ट्रपति शासन से कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ है, वहां की हिंसा नहीं रुकी, यह बात नहीं कही जा सकती है। पहले हिंसा का जितना वातावरण था उतना वातावरण अखबारों को देखने से हमको नहीं मालूम पड़ता है या दूसरे लोगों से बात करने से हमको नहीं मालूम पड़ता है। मैं हाल में बंगाल नहीं गया हूं इसलिये, व्यक्तिगत रूप से वहां की हालत के बारे में नहीं कह सकता। लेकिन जो कुछ असर मेरे दिमाग में पड़ा है वह यही असर पड़ा है कि हिंसा का वातावरण पहले जितना था उससे कम हो गया है। लेकिन जो कुछ अखबार में पढ़ते हैं या सुनते हैं उससे एक और बात का असर मेरे दिमाग पर पड़ा है कि शायद अभी जो केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से कार्यवाही हो रही है, जिस ढंग से कार्यवाही हो रही है, उस मिलमिले में ऐसे लोगों की मदद ली जाती है जो कि एंटी-सोशल एलिमेंट्स हैं, जो कि पहले सी० पी० एम० के साथ मिल कर लोगों को तबाह करते थे, उन्हीं लोगों से यह लोग भी सहायता लेने लगे हैं। हम समझते हैं कि इंडियन गवर्नमेंट में अभी भी इतनी शक्ति है कि बिना उनका साथ लिये, बिना उनकी मदद लिये, वहां की स्थिति को वह काबू में ला सकती है और मैं समझता हूं कि ऐसे लोगों की कोई मदद लिये बिना ही अपने बल पर सरकार वहां की स्थिति को काबू में लाने

की कोशिश करे। बहुत दूर तक वह काबू में आई है और भी उसे काबू में लाने की वह कोशिश करे और जो एक आतंक का वातावरण है, वह आतंक का वातावरण खत्म हो जाय। अब जहाँ मैं यह चाहता था कि सी० पी० एम० का जो आतंक का वातावरण है वह खत्म हो, वहाँ यह भी चाहता हूँ कि उसके बदले में जो शायद कांग्रेस (आर.) का आतंक है वह भी खत्म हो, वह भी मैं नहीं चाहता हूँ। इसलिये इस ढंग से वहाँ पर काम करना चाहिये कि चाहे वह कांग्रेस (आर.) हो या सी० पी० एम० हो या कोई पार्टी हो, किसी पार्टी के आतंक के ऊपर मैं वहाँ उसकी जड़ जमे इस तरह की बात नहीं होनी चाहिये।

इसके लिये क्या करना चाहिये। इसके लिये सबसे पहले इस बात में विश्वास रखना चाहिये कि जनतंत्र में ऐसी शक्ति है कि जो वह बुरी हालत को समेट कर के उसको अच्छी हालत में ला सकती है। यह शक्ति जनतंत्र में है। जनतंत्र में शक्ति है, इसका मतलब है कि जनता में शक्ति है, क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता वायलेंस के एटमासफेयर से ऊब चुकी है और यह ऐसी परिस्थिति है कि जिस परिस्थिति में डेमोक्रेसी और जनतंत्र की जड़ जमाई जा सकती है। उसकी जड़ को जमाने के लिये क्या करना चाहिए। उसकी जड़ को जमाने के लिये एक बात तो यह करनी चाहिए कि सारी बात कानून के मुताबिक हो। कानून के खिलाफ मैं पुलिस वहाँ कोई काम करती है तो उसको भी दंडित करना चाहिये। कानून के खिलाफ जो कोई भी काम करे उसको दंड देना चाहिये और हम समझते हैं कि इस तरह से, निष्पक्षता से कानून को सामने में रख कर के उसके मुताबिक अगर निष्पक्ष होकर के काम किया जायगा तो सुधार आयेगा। यह नहीं कि अपनी पार्टी के लिये कुछ स्वार्थ निकाल ले। यह चोर अगर दिल से निकाल दें और ठीक मायने में कानून का राज बंगाल में हो जाय तो निश्चय रूप से जो आज का एटमासफेयर है, उस एटमासफेयर में और भी सुधार होगा। इसलिये सरकार से मेरा कहना है कि ऐसी अवस्था कायम करे कि जिस अवस्था में लोग खुले दिल से जो जायज बात करना चाहते हों, उसको करने में उनको रुकावट न हो। ऐसी परिस्थिति लानी चाहिये।

मैं एक डिमकशन पढ़ रहा था, उसमें हमने पाया कि पहले 516 या 536 कारखाने बन्द थे, जिसमें से 300 के करीब कारखाने खुल चुके हैं। ऐसा कहीं के डिमकशन में पढ़ने को हमको मिला। तो उससे मालूम पड़ता है कि स्थिति में सुधार आया है। लेकिन इसी के साथ साथ मेरा वही कहना है कि इस परिस्थिति को ऐसा नहीं ढाले कि जिस ढालने से कांग्रेस (आर.) का आतंक बंगाल में फिर कायम हो। इस तरह की स्थिति नहीं आने देना चाहिये। इसी में इनका भी भला है और देश का भी भला है; क्योंकि अगर देश में जनतंत्र नहीं रहेगा तो यह भी कहां रहेंगे यह कहना मुश्किल है। हो सकता है कि आज जिस तरह की डिस्टर्ब्ड सिचुएशन हिन्दुस्तान में आई है उस डिस्टर्ब्ड सिचुएशन का नाजायज फायदा उठाने के लिये कांग्रेस (आर.) कुछ कर सकती है। जिस तरह से कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का बन पार्टी रूल होता है, उसी तरह से बन पार्टी रूल ...

**श्री सुलतान सिंह (हरियाणा) :** आन् ए पाइन्ट आफ आर्डर। माननीय सदस्य कांग्रेस (आर.) जो कहते हैं तो कांग्रेस (आर.) तो कोई देश में है नहीं, इंडियन नेशनल कांग्रेस है। पहले होगा लेकिन सुप्रीम कोर्ट में मामला जाने के बाद अब नहीं है।

**श्री बी० एन० मंडल :** अच्छा, हम सरकारी पार्टी कहते हैं। आज जो सरकारी पार्टी है वह देश की स्थिति का इस तरह से नफा नहीं उठाए, कि आतंक के बल पर वह अपना राज हिन्दुस्तान में कायम करने की कोशिश करे। ऐसी स्थिति नहीं आने देनी चाहिए। सरकारी पार्टी के जो आदमी हैं, उनमें भी तरह-तरह के लोग हैं—अच्छा विचार करने वाले भी आदमी हैं और ऐसे भी हैं जो जोश में आकर अपनी पार्टी को नाजायज तरीके से मजबूत बनाना चाहते हैं। ऐसे भी लोग हैं। लेकिन ऐसे लोग जिन्हें डेमोक्रेसी में, जनतंत्र में विश्वास है, उनको चाहिए कि यह जो एक अच्छा रास्ता सगार ने निकाला है, तकलीफ सहकर और अनुभव के आधार पर जो एक सही रास्ता निकाला है, वह अच्छा रास्ता है और

[श्री बी० एन० मंडल]

उसी रास्ते वह चले । इसके लिए हर व्यक्ति को  
कोशिश करनी चाहिये । चाहे वे सरकारी पार्टी  
के लोग हों या और पार्टी के लोग हों ।

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala) : Sir, I have nothing more to say than what Shri Chitta Basu has spoken. He has voiced the feelings of all appropriate right-minded people who are sorry for what is happening in West Bengal, who are sorry that the land of Guru Dev should turn out to be the land of worker-fight, to be the land where exploited people are killed by their own people; should turn out to be the land of fratricidal war. Such a situation should be avoided. I only appeal to Congress (R) friends that they should not follow the foot-steps of such political parties who rely on the government machinery and on the under-world forces of the country to bring about unnecessary bloodshed and confusion in that land. I know the Bengal politics is not the outcome of the political leaders. As Mr. Chitta Basu, has pointed out, the wagon breakers the dirty elements that are in the country are flocking into the political parties. It is easy to get them in because whichever be the Government, the police will be with them and rowdy elements will like to be with them. So, do not be under the impression that you are getting more strength by recruiting such elements. Today, the charges are against you and not against the CPM. There was a time when the charges were against them. Now when you are in the Government, you must be clean. Caesar's wife should be above all suspicions. You should be very clear, but your hands are not clean. I should like to say that your hands are not clean. What we have to do is to see that you do not play into the hands of rowdy elements. I would, therefore, request that whenever there is a clash, whenever there is something wrong in the jail, wherever there is police firing, you should hold an enquiry. That alone can satisfy people. You have been avoiding that and you want to put the blame on somebody else. That is not good. I would, therefore, suggest that you should seriously consider that when any life is lost, as a policy, you should always have an enquiry and let it be judicial enquiry. Charges and counter-charges would not solve the problem. I would again appeal in the name of your

past and not your present to think, what will happen to this country if you allow the bureaucrats, the police to deal with the situation as they like. A policeman is trigger happy. He has imbibed that from the British days and if you do not change, you will be responsible for unleashing forces which will kill democracy in this country. That is all I have to say.

[TBE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.]

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the State of West Bengal has now become synonymous to political instability and economic chaos. All of us are aware of West Bengal's new contribution to political philosophy—Naxalism. For the failure of any activity—economic or political—undertaken by the ruling Congress Government or by the United Front Government comprising of political parties of different hues, the blame is thrown on Naxalites. We have been for long hearing the mud-slinging of political parties in West Bengal. The ruling Congress calls the Naxalites as the offspring of CPI (M). The CPI (M) accuses the ruling Congress of its connivance with the Naxalites for detaining the CPI (M). Of late, we are also leading that there is a split in the CPI (Marxist-leninist), the political body of the Naxalites. The politics of West Bengal is becoming murkier and murkier.

It looked strange to me that the CPI (M) in the beginning after having become the largest single political party in the Assembly offered the Chief Ministership to a party which got only a handful of seats in the Assembly. Should I call this as political chicanery ?

Now we have added more phrases to political dictionary from our West Bengal experience—politics of murder, politics of violence, politics of assassination etc. I would like to ask only one question : an any political party in West Bengal consciously absolve itself from its own contribution to the politics of murder ? The answer is definitely in the negative ...

I make bold to say that the misery of the people of West Bengal, the poverty of the people of West Bengal, is being exploited by all the political parties including the

ruling Congress in the State of West Bengal. It is of the highest political depravity that the misery of the people should have been made the plaything of politicians.

As if the crisis of confidence of the people in themselves, in the political parties and in the administration is not enough, the State is deluged with Bangla Desh refugees. The problems of the State have got aggravated because of the 100 lakhs of refugees from Bangla Desh. I do not know when Bangla Desh will become free and when these refugees will go back to their homeland. I would like to strike a note of warning here to the Government. In a recent political conference the CPI (M) passed a Resolution of great political sophistry that India should be a voluntary union of States. The Government should take note of this seed of disintegration sown by a political party which claims to represent the masses of West Bengal, before it germinates. This Resolution has attracted the attention of eminent foreign political commentators. I would also like to know whether there is a foreign country's influence in framing this new phraseology.

I would draw your attention to the Centre's contribution to the worsening of West Bengal situation. I do not know whether it is distribution of political patronage or it is the noble intention of the Centre to help the States that guides the Central Government in the appointment of Governors. If the Centre is guided even by both these considerations, then it goes beyond the comprehension of anyone why a Minister of the Central Cabinet should be given the charge of West Bengal Affairs. What are these West Bengal Affairs—economic or political? If it is 'economic' then why should the Minister of Education in the Centre be made responsible for the economic development of West Bengal? When you have an experienced retired ICS officer as the Governor, do you consider him as incapable of understanding the import of economic policies of the Centre? Does the Centre think that the State Government is full of duds who cannot implement the schemes for the development of West Bengal? If that is so, why not replace the existing set of officials in the State with a more energetic and efficient team?

If the Central Minister is to look after the political affairs of West Bengal, then he cannot divorce himself of the interests of the ruling party to which he belongs. It is politically immoral and constitutionally improper that a Central Minister should be asked to look after the political affairs of a State. I would warn that this kind of authoritarianism will not be tolerated by the people of the country if it is repeated elsewhere.

The Central Government, including the Central Minister-in-charge of West Bengal Affairs, talks of the necessity of creating employment opportunities for the educated unemployed in the State, but, to my dismay, I find that the Company Affairs Department at the Centre has been permitting the shifting of industries from West Bengal for the last so many months. I would like to know the number of industries permitted to be shifted from West Bengal to other States by the Central Company Affairs Department during the past two years. Though it might be countered by the Minister here that it is a State subject, I would like to refer to the callous indifference shown both by the Centre and the State to the rural electrification programme in West Bengal. Out of 38,000 villages in West Bengal, only 2005 villages had been covered at the end of the Third Five Year Plan, that is, after 15 years of planning effort in the country. Though a sum of Rs. 150 crores had been allocated to the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Agency, they could spend only Rs. 16 crores in Calcutta in nearly one year's time. I do not know whether the Centre has ever gone into the question of why they were not able to spend the allotted money for development. Do they have sufficient number of technical personnel to implement the schemes or is there any drawback in the existing procedures? It is not enough for the Central Government to say that adequate funds have been given to the State and they have not spent them. Here I would like to know from the Central Minister in charge of West Bengal Affairs whether he has gone into such questions so far or he is confining himself to the rules of political game.

Before I conclude, I would only say that it is not enough for the Centre or for the Central Minister to say that they would like

[Shri M. Kananathan]

to have the cooperation of political parties in the economic regeneration of West Bengal. Similarly, it would not do for other political parties also to exploit the misery and poverty of the people there and to blame the Centre for all the ills of West Bengal. Unless the widening gap between profession and practice is bridged quickly, the volcanic discontent of the people of West Bengal will erupt any day. Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME

अपराध तथा सशस्त्र

लक्ष में राज्य मंत्री

(SHRI K.C.PANT): Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Members who have participated in the debate. Apart from the reply that has been given by my colleague, Mr. Mohsin, in the course of his reply to the earlier debate, he has given certain facts and figures to show the trend of improvement in the law and order situation, the measures that have been taken to improve the economic situation. He has quoted instances of industrial units which have been reopened, the number of workmen who have been re-employed. He has also given some statistics to show how the police is active against anti-social elements. And I may add here that the Maintenance of Internal Security Act against which there was a certain amount of feeling in the House when it was being considered, is being used in West Bengal against hoarders, black marketeers. . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Question, question. A majority of the members arrested are our partymen.

SHRI K. C. PANT : If blackmarketeers and hoarders are his partymen. How can I help that ? So, he should keep better friends.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : This is absolutely a false, mendacious and tendentious statement on the part of the Minister. As far as the Misa detenus have been concerned, they are members of the Communist Party. If you do not know that the Communist Party people are blackmarketeers, I pity your intellect and intelligence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You must listen to his reply.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : There is a limit to chicanery.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Do not use such words, let us not use unparliamentary language.

SHRI K. C. PANT : There were thefts of overhead wires. In that connection, action was taken against a number of persons who deal in these stolen wires, dealers who are receivers of stolen wires, and they were dealt with under that Act... (*Interruptions*) I am very sorry that he seems to be bent upon establishing his relationship with every kind of anti-social element.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Pant is the greatest anti-social element I have seen in India and he cooperate with these anti-social elements in West Bengal from this place. He is the person who is in charge of intelligence here and it is through his intelligence here and anti-social elements that murders. . .

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : There cannot be a running commentary. You should listen.

SHRI K.C.PANT : There cannot be a running commentary. Sir, even though he may have exposed himself in the House, he should not blame me for that.

(*Interruptions*)

I am grateful to Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay and Shri Yajee for their speeches which have taken care of almost all the political points made by Shri Chatterjee. I am also grateful to Shri Mandal for his withholding the tenet of the rule of law and for his very sober statements on the situation in West Bengal, how we need to strengthen the roots of democracy, and particularly share with him his basic belief that democracy has within itself the strength to correct itself and to correct the politics of the country from going into wrong paths. Temporarily there may be deviations but in the long run democracy has its inherent strength to bring political developments on to the right path. And sharing this belief with him, I do believe that in West Bengal also slowly the politics of violence is being brought under control I cannot say that it has been brought under control. The situation is not a normal one there. But there is no doubt as my colleague said, that

there has been improvement in the last few months. Sir, I think there was general agreement, in fact, in the House that a certain improvement had taken place. Certainly, there had been no deterioration and this by itself is enough to establish the amenability of the motion before us, because the motion before us specifically refers to the deterioration in the law and order situation there; there has been no deterioration. Sir.

I was somewhat intrigued to find that in Mr. Chatterjee's long speech there was not a single reference to the C.R.P.I.— have got so accustomed to hear from him the diatribe against the C.R.P. every time law and order is discussed that this time may I take it that the C.R.P. has improved or he has come to accept the C.R.R. or Mr. Jyoti Basu has directed him to see the better side of the C.R.P. also because this time he was extremely reticent on the C.R.P.? I take it that he is open to reason and that there is hope for him also.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You must appreciate it, Mr. Chatterjee.

SHRI K.C. PANT : Sir, the fact has to be recognised that the administration in Bengal has been coping with so many difficult circumstances. The law and order situation is one of them. But apart from that, the influx of refugees, the border situation, and as my colleague said the other day, the flood situation, which was a very unusual one this year and which caused a great deal of suffering, all these things the administration had to cope with, and I think that in the circumstances in which they are placed and the tremendous burdens which the influx of these evacuees has placed on the administration, they have done a commendable job in the last few months. They have been keeping the administration together. They have been looking after these refugees and at the same time they have been tackling the question of law and order also.

Sir, the Governor in the last few months, along with the administration, has been putting in great deal of work on all these fronts and I think some hon'ble friends have referred to this specific fact. Sir, I do not want to go into the statistics of improvement which my colleague has already placed before the House. Broadly speaking, both in the case of number of the inter-party

clashes and the number of political murders in the last few months the number has come down to almost half. That is the figure for October, and the figure for November I do not have with me. But I have today seen some figures which indicate that it has gone down still further in November. Therefore, that should be enough to satisfy the House that there is improvement. As I said, there can be no complacency in the situation there. Enough has been said on the floor of the House today to show that there can be no complacency. I accept them. But I think that the House should take note of the improvement that has taken place in the situation, and the fact that the elections were held, the examinations were held in spite of threats by extremists and Naxalites and so on, all these have to be taken into account in assessing the overall situation. And beyond that there is this great fact of reduced number of killings, political murders and inter-party clashes.

About glaciers and other things, my hon'ble friend, Shri Babubhai Chinai. Mentioned an improvement. I have some figures. But I do not think figures are necessary.

Sir, the main point to remember is that no administration can tackle the law and order on its own unless the people co-operate. The most heartening feature of the situation in West Bengal today is that the people have decided to put an end to this violence, and it is co-operation of these people to which credit must go for the improvement in the situation in the last few months. It is only that which has helped the police to counter the activities of the extremists as well as anti-social elements.

Sir, this has produced a qualitative change in the situation. I have instances with me where people have come forward and given information about the places where ammunition etc. is stored away and where locally stored arms and ammunition, pipe-guns and other lethal weapons have been kept. This has led to the unearthing of the weapons.

The House will be gratified to know and we are, at any rate, very gratified that a large number of people in West Bengal have organised themselves into "Resistance groups". Our information is that over 22,000 6 p. M. such groups, consisting of about five lakh persons, are active in that State. It is the vigilance of the people at large and of these resistance groups that has made it ini-

[ Shri K. C. Pant ]

possible for the Naxalites and the allied extremist groups to continue their deplorable activities. Sir, somebody said that antisocial elements lend to mix with various parties. Sir, here it is gratifying that antisocial elements can also no longer find ready shelter in the urban areas or even in the rural areas. People give information about them and they are caught. It is this positive role of the people of West Bengal which has brought about the improvement in the situation. It is their vigilance which has brought about the improvement. And so long as that vigilance continues, I think the situation in West Bengal will continue to improve.

Sir, my hon. friend, Mr. Chatterjee, has referred to a few specific cases. He has made somewhat sweeping allegations against the police. He has in the course of his speech blamed the Congress party for all the violence in West Bengal. He has accused the Chhatra Parishad in particular. I do not need to go into the long history of the politics of violence in West Bengal except to remind Mr. Chatterjee that even in to-day's debate, my hon. friend, Mr. Mandal, had thought it necessary to say in the clearest of terms that it is the CPM which has inducted violence into Indian politics. That is the history of violence in Indian politics. In this context, may I remind him how the U. F. Government fell? He asked in the beginning why the CPM was not called. To that my answer is simple. The Government in power had not lost its majority. Therefore, there was no question of calling anybody else. But let him go further back and try to remember why the U. F. Government fell. After all, there was the U. F. Government in which the CPM held the upper hand and that Government could well have continued had there not been dissensions within its ranks and had those dissensions not led to the downfall of the Government. Has Mr. Chatterjee ever done any heart-searching to understand what led the partners in the United Front to give up that Government, what led them to prefer the break-up of the Government to remaining within the Government in a situation in which the CPM was arrogating all the power of Government to itself and was seeing to it that it strengthened its own bases and drove out the other parties in the coalition from those bases? If this is not the truth, then my friend Mr. Chitta

Basu is here, my hon. friends from the CPI are here, my hon. friends from the SSP are here; let any of them stand up and say so. This is the root cause and it is this attempt to gain control over the politics of Bengal through the use of violence, by muscling out all competition, that led to the downfall of the United Front. So, it is not merely a question of eliminating a few persons or a question of killing a few persons, but it is a question of using violence and force and the apparatus of the State for furthering the cause of one's own party which Mr. Chatterjee has to think about and remember. That is also a form of political violence in which the CPM indulged. So, let us not talk too glibly about these matters. Let us not forget our own past. Nothing that I have said would justify the use of violence by the Congress or the Youth Congress. May I say at the outset that I am not here to defend any individual member of my own party or of the Yuvak Congress. If a member of the Chhatra Parishad indulges in any act which is a violent act or which is against the law—I tell Shri Chatterjee, when we had a debate in the other House and one of his party members in a more restrained language, said certain things against the Chhatra Parishad and the resort to violence and the fact that there had been infiltration of certain undesirable elements into the Chhatra Parishad, then Shri Priya das Munshi, a Member of that House, got up and said, yes, there have been some infiltrations and we are aware of it, we are taking steps to see that there is no infiltration, and if anybody who goes by the name of Chhatra Parishad tomorrow commits a crime, then I will be the first man to say that this is not a Chhatra Parishad man, let the State take whatever action it likes against him. Can Shri Chatterjee say that?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Say what ?

SHRI K. C. PANI : Say that you take action against the person who breaks the law, who indulges in violence. You say this.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I am not in the Government.

SHRI K. C. PANI : Sir, even that he hesitates to say. Anyway the point is that I do not discriminate between one party and another. I see anybody who commits a crime as a criminal and this includes the police, if the police commits excesses

then I am not here to hold brief for them. But let us remember that the basic point is, do we eliminate the approach of violence from our politics? Do we believe in a peaceful method of resolving disputes by coming to an agreement?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : May I make a humble request? What Mr. Pant has said is rather interesting. But I am just requesting him one thing. If he really believes in what he just now says, will he set up and send to West Bengal, particularly in view of the instances that have been given both in this House and in the other House, an impartial inquiry committee to inquire into these incidents? If he does that, many things will come out.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You have already said that.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Many things have already come out. That is his tragedy. Many things have come out in the last few years for him to regain political ground and this way he has lost that political ground. And I am very sorry to say that this kind of a thing will not enable him to regain that political ground. Let him know that. He seemed to suggest that no magisterial inquiries are held in cases of firing or in cases of these incidents. Let me assure him that magisterial inquiries are held. That is the rule.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You have not given any details.

SHRI K. C. PANT : According to the rule magisterial inquiries are required to be held. There was a short period of two or three months I think, speaking from memory during which magisterial inquiries were not held. But they were restored and were held in each of these incidents. That is the information that I have with me. I checked from the West Bengal administration. I was told that this is the rule applicable...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : In your answer to my question you said that you cannot get that information.

SHRI K. C. PANT : You should have some patience. I never said a word while you were speaking. I never said a word.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I talked facts, you talk fiction.

SHRI K. C. PANT : You talked facts? I am glad you said today that it will be said that our party started this politics of violence. Sir, he said this he is on record. He said that our party started it. Will that be an alibi for Congress rulers to do such and such things? He said this. If he concedes this fact, I am glad he also acknowledges this basic fact...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : On a point of order...

SHRI K. C. PANT : What is the point of order?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : This kind of distortion is not to be allowed...

SHRI K. C. PANT : What is the point of order? He is here and the whole House is here. Sir, he cannot interrupt like this.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : As a matter of fact, the Congress Party has been creating a reign of terror from the very beginning and it is they who are responsible for these murders and bloodshed.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, I am not yielding to him.

I shall also deal with a few of the specific instances he mentioned...

SHRI A. D. MANI : There is a blackout tonight !

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : A blackout of democracy also by Mr. Pant's Government.

SHRI K. C. PANT : One instance he referred to was with regard to magistrates making some adverse comments against the police. I should have thought that if anything were required to support the proper functioning of the Government of West Bengal, it was a fact that wherever the police is wrong, the magistrates do not hesitate to say so. What is objectionable in that? I am very glad that the Magistrates are making very categorical and clear statements in cases where they think that Police has committed excesses. That is a necessary check and I welcome the statement of the Magistrate in this case.



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Sir, I cannot go into each of these incidents. He mentioned the incident of the Headmaster at Durgapur. I made enquiries and I find that prompt action was taken by the Police and six persons have been arrested immediately. Further investigation is under progress. It is not as if Police has been sleeping over the matter.

My friend Shri Chitta Basu referred to Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray and my friend from the DMK also—he has gone—wanted to know what was the advantage of having Shri Ray as the Minister of West Bengal affairs. One big advantage is that he has been able to impress upon the various political parties in West Bengal the need to take concerted action to tackle this problem of violence in the politics of West Bengal. He had meetings / and dialogues. Slowly but steadily the realisation has been strengthened in the minds of all the political parties that something needs to be done about it. Some heart searching has started. These are good signs and I think good will come from this.

He referred to a meeting of 28 Parties and to a commitment that a five member committee should go into this Cassipore and Baranagar incident. The fact is that Shri Ray did suggest a committee of five Parties. He suggested Shri Jyoti Basu, Shri Nahar, Shri Jalin Chakravarty, Shri Nirmal Banerjee and Shri Viswanath Mukherjee as members of this Committee. But at that meeting there was no agreement on the names and somebody objected to one or the other of the persons who had been named to the Committee. Therefore, the committee could not be formed and could not go into this matter.

The other point he raised was with regard to OC. Shri Ray went into this matter and he made a statement in the other House that he suspended these Policemen in the sense that he transferred them from one place and has not given them appointment elsewhere. The reason was that facts were not before him. If he had suspended, they would have lost half their salaries or three quarters of their salaries. But since facts were not before him, he thought that it would be unfair to them to subject them to this reduction in their salaries.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : It was agreed at the all Party meeting to take certain action against certain officers. He also agreed. It was even put in the evening news bulletin of the All India Radio at Calcutta. Subsequently without taking others into confidence, the decision was reversed.

SHRI K. C. PANT : If you like, I will quote Shri Ray. He said :

"I felt that after inquiry action should be taken against them. They wanted I should have him suspended immediately. I said, if suspension is necessary, certainly they will be suspended. I said I shall look into the matter and if suspension is called for, I will do that" and soon. He went into the matter. He said :

"Thereafter on the 15th night, further facts started coming and very serious facts. . ."

"....Now, if I or any other Government Officer were to suspend these officers, they will get half the salary or something like that which will be doing injustice to these officers. Because it was not at that time possible to apportion blame or responsibility. I did this which really amounted to suspension."

Then Sir I have explained what he did. So, these are the facts as narrated by Shri Siddharatha Shankar Ray himself and I cannot hope to improve on that.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : What about the inquiry ?

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, the other specific instances I am going to leave out, because it will take very long. But all that I can in a general way, assure my hon. friends is that while we will take very firm action against any violation of law and order and while we shall continue to deal with the law and order situation firmly, we shall not hold any brief for any excess done by the police. The law and order situation has improved there and we want to keep up this improvement and measures will have to be taken in order to keep this improvement going on and in this, I hope, just as I said earlier, the co-operation of the people will be forthcoming. I agree with Shri Chitta Basu that it is not the police alone which can do this thing and people must cooperate and now the people are coming in

such large numbers and I hope all the political parties will openly come out against violence and then we shall be able to create the atmosphere in West Bengal for which now the time seems to be ripe. In this, Sir, I do not know if I can secure the co-operation of the mover of the Resolution, because his party has not exactly taken to less violent methods in the recent past and it almost seems that just now it is a case of the CPM *versus* the rest in West Bengal. I think F had gone into the roots of that... (*Interruptions*). I need hardly remind him about the release of many criminals during the UP regime, about the fact that Naxalism grew out of the CPM in 1967 and thereafter and it grew steadily under the UF regime, because no action was taken and because the police and the administration were demoralised deliberately and that is what led to its growth, what led to their rise although they had an initial setback and now, having sown the wind of violence they are perhaps reaping the whirlwind and I am sorry for that and I do not want that. But let him not forget the genesis of this, let him not forget how it began and all that.

Sir, in the recent past, all the other political parties in the State have been suffering attacks from the CPM, murderous attacks in most cases...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Complete nonsense.

I  
SHRI K. C. PANT : ...and my information is that the CPM was involved in about 220 cases.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : False slander.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Mr. Mandal has spoken. Would you call that slander? I ask you, would you call that slander?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Of course, if it is against the CPM.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, this shows his attitude. This shows his attitude wonderfully. He says, if it is against the CPM, it is slander. It means that the CPM can do no wrong!

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Certainly, we call it slander.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, this kind of overbearing attitude...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Certainly, we call it slander.

SHRI K. C. PANT : ... I have isolated them. ...

(*Interrupt ious*)

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I have given you twenty instances. Can you tell where the CPM has attacked any party in the recent past? It is no use telling these philosophical things,... (*Int?mptions*)

SHRI K. C. PANT : It is precisely this kind of overbearing attitude....

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : No.

SHRI K. C. PANT : ...that has isolated the CPM in West Bengal today.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Give us one instance. Mr. Vice-chairman, Sir, if he is honest enough, let him give one instance Sir, let him give one instance. Let him give one instance where any other party was attacked. ...

SHRI K. C. PANT : Don't provoke me to give instances. ...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : ...otherwise, what he is telling is all falsehood.

SHRI K. C. PANT : The CPM was involved in about 220 cases with all other parties in the State, including the CPI, and Forward Bloc and others, during the last four months, and over 100 cases since the beginning of this year. If he really wants me to give instances—although I don't want to give them—I will give him instances. There have been numerous incidents where 'incriminating material including arms and ammunition have been recovered from the members and supporters of that party \_\_\_\_

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Which political party has been attacked for the last 4 months by us?

SHRI K. C. PANT : What is the use of "this kind of interruption? Why is he so nervous? Listen to me. Don't be nervous.

In this year on as many as 95 occasions their members and supporters attacked the

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Police causing injuries to 40 Policemen and death of 2 Police personnel. The Police has had to visit their offices to curb these incidents. I may recall that in March, in the course of a raid at their office at Bena-Chiti in Durgapur the Police recovered 17 pipe-guns and 5 bombs and made 8 arrests. Again, in the same month, from their office in Silliguri the Police recovered one pipe-gun, ten cartridges, ten bombs and two daggers, of which one dagger was blood-stained. On 26th March, from their office in Noepara in 24-Parganas District, the Police recovered four bombs and one dagger. On 19th April, from their Local Committee office at Barasat, the Police recovered 20 live bombs, 13 molotov cock-tails and 4 kg. of explosives. On 20th July the Police seized from the house of Shri Arvind Ghosh, Secretary State Government employees Co-ordination Committee and a prominent member of the CPM a rifle. On 16th September, the Police arrested Shri Laxman Dey, Member of CPM and Calcutta Corporation Councillor who was found in possession of an unlicensed revolver. On 26th August, a motor-vehicle which was later found to belong to Shri Promod Das Gupta was seized after its occupants had earlier assaulted while a dagger a Police party...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Which is political party which was attacked? That instance he has not given...

SHRI K. C. PANT : I am not interested in giving too many instances...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Why? Because you are telling arrant falsehood.

SHRI K.C. PANT : Mr. Vice-Chairman, you bear witness. Indeed he pressurized me to give all these instances. In fact, I myself did not want to give...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : We know all this is falsehood. You could not substantiate...

(Interruptions)

SHRI K.C. PANT : Why are you so bubbling? I am prepared to say whether it is his own violence or whether it is Government violence, we repudiate it, we consider it to be wrong, is he prepared to do that?...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : We are not school children...

SHRI K.C. PANT : This is the problem. He is not prepared...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You cannot give lectures to us...

SHRI K.C. PANT : He is not prepared to do that...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You cannot give us lectures what we should do and what we should not do. Our programme is public...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Here the question is about violence...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You have no right to give us lectures. We don't want that. We have a right to give a lecture if the Government does not stop violence...

SHRI K. C. PANT : You have another instance of his overbearing attitude...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : This is precisely what is destroying the democratic structure in West Bengal—this killing, murdering...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You have said all that. Now listen...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : In their voice, in their tones they show that they are not murderers...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please sit down.

(Interruptions).

SHRI K. C. PANT : Then a DMK friend asked me about the CPM Resolution. He said that it speaks only of disintegration and whether a foreign country had a hand in it. Now, I can not answer that DMK friend. But my friend, Shri Chatterjee, will answer this question which the DMK member has asked.

Sir, in the end may I say that the Bangla Desh situation just now is one in which all sections of this House and the country have

to co-operate, have to pull together, and this is not the time for disturbances in Bengal, certainly not the time for go-slow *anti bandhs*, and so on? I am glad *bandh* organised by the CP (M) was a flop.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Not at all, it was grand success.

SHRI K. C. PANT : The patriotic workers of Bengal and the patriotic Government employees of Bengal will never countenance a *bandh* at this stage—I can tell Mm that.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Knowing the facts, yet he will try to falsify facts and falsify history.

SHRI K.C. PANT : Now, Sir, shouting cannot replace truth, however much you try. *(Interruptions)* So, Sir, this is not the time to have these *bandits*, etc. I do hope that this improvement in the law and order situation will be kept up, and those friends, who express their anxiety about Bangla Desh in the abstract will, in concrete terms, take steps, and not do those things which seek to disturb the peace and seek to disturb production in Bengal at a stage when all

these things are needed to further the cause of Bangla Desh. It is in this spirit that I would like to appeal to my friends of the CP (M) also to consider this larger framework within which we are operating at the present moment, and take steps to strengthen the forces of law and order and to strengthen the forces of production in Bengal at this stage. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I do hope and pray that things will go on improving and all political parties will join to fight against violence, and concentrate on the problem of Bangla Desh.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : What are we expected to say, amen '?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The House stands adjourned till 11 A. M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty-seven minutes past six of the Clock till eleven *of* the Clock on Tuesday, the 30th November, 1971.