

rushing through with things. Yesterday we rushed through with the Criminal Procedure Code. If this is so, there is no need for having this House at all. So many parties are there and you want to dispose of two important controversial things in just two hours. We would like to hear the viewpoints of each other even if I may not agree with them. You seem to be over-accommodating Government.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : What is your suggestion now?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I say let there be reasonable discussion, reasonable debate. It is for the House to say whether there has been a reasonable debate.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : What would you consider reasonable? Three hours, four hours, '—

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am not arguing like that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right, five hours?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is not the point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : May I say this? Suppose we sit from 3.00 to 7.00 P.M. today, that will be four hours and for one or two hours tomorrow we can have this. Would it be all right?

SHRI S. D. MISRA : (Uttar Pradesh) : Not 7.00: we have other meetings.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Only till 6.00 we sit.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan) : Sir, we come here at 11 o'clock and we cannot go on like this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right, we will sit till 6.00 P.M. The House stands adjourned till 3.00 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at three of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.

# **STATUTORY RESOLUTIONS RE REPEAL OF THE WEST BENGAL (PREVENTION OF VIOLENT ACTIVITIES) ACT,**

1970 AND THE WEST  
BENGAL MAINTENANCE OF  
PUBLIC ORDER ACT, 1970.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Sir, I beg to move :

"That this House resolves that in pursuance of sub-section (4) of section 3 of the West Bengal State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Act, 1970, the West Bengal (Prevention of Violent Activities) Act, 1970 (President's Act No. 19 of 1970), laid before the House on the 23rd November, 1970, be repealed by the President by an enactment.

This House recommends to Lok Sabha that Lok Sabha do concur in this Resolution."

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House resolves that in pursuance of sub-section (4) of section 3 of the West Bengal State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Act, 1970, the West Bengal Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1970. (President's Act No. 20 of 1970), laid before the House on the 2nd December, 1970, be repealed by the President by an enactment.

This House recommends to Lok Sabha that Lok Sabha do concur in this Resolution."

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) : Do we take them together?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Yes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, the two Acts which are before you for consideration are regarded as black laws in the country. As you know, this House did not and Parliament as a whole did not renew the Preventive Detention Act which had continued for twenty years and more. Last year in December when the matter came up for renewal, the Government decided to drop it. It should, therefore, be presumed that

1 selves beyond the limits of the exist-

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] Parliament was not in favour of re-enacting the PD Act as a Central Act, although after this certain States promulgated their own Preventive Detention Acts. But now West Bengal is under the President's rule. We cannot understand why there should be a Preventive Detention Act signed out by the Central Government for West Bengal. The PD Act is a negation of the very principles of rule of law. It means denial to the citizens of their rights and liberties and it is always liable to be abused by those in authority. We have had the experience of twenty years of the Preventive Detention Act which had been grossly misused by the powers that be in the States as well as in the Centre and many of us had been victim of such laws. Later on we had the Defence of India Rules more or less incorporating the provisions of the P. D. Act and in fact the D1R and the P. D. Act both continued simultaneously, and we know how the D1R was abused for detaining people without trial. On one reckoning it was estimated that over the period of the emergency nearly 75,000 people had been arrested under the D1R and held in preventive detention at different points of time for one period or another. Now in West Bengal we have got this Act and another Act called the Maintenance of Public Order Act which is even worse in some respects because it gives unlimited power to the police to shoot at sight, almost to arrest people, to raid homes, to occupy properties and create terror. Already West Bengal has been under a reign of terror even before these two particular measures came into force. The West Bengal authorities have taken into their head that the so-called Naxa-lite problem has to be tackled by a policy of extermination on the part of the authorities. When I say that the Government has adopted a policy of extermination of Naxalites and other suspects. I am speaking with authority and this is indirectly admitted even by the Police Commissioner of Calcutta. I would invite your attention to a recent issue of the Hindustan Standard, of the 12th December, and this is what it reads:

"The Commissioner of Calcutta Police, Mr. R. Gupta, while emphasising the need for deterrent steps against the Naxalites, has, however, ordered his men not to strain them-

mg law .

The order published in Calcutta Police Gazette on December 3, reads: "The Commissioner of Police desires all ranks to devote themselves to chase and pursuit of the Naxalites and the anti-socials and break-up their organisation without delay. In fulfilling this task, they will move with the people and with the help of the people. The support of the-people is essential".

Mr. Gupta quoted extensively from Robert Thompson, an expert on Communist insurgency, to stress his point that the police must function, in accordance with law, since "a government which does not act in accordance with law forfeits the right to be called a government and cannot then expect its people to obey the law".

It was pointed out that "there is a-very strong temptation in dealing both with terrorism and with guerilla actions for government forces to act outside the law, the excuses being that the normal safeguards in the law for the individual are not designed for an insurgency and that a terrorist deserves to be treated as an outlaw anyway."

"Not only is this morally wrong, but over a period it will create more-practical difficulties for a government, than it solves", the order said.

The order gave ample indication to the strategy of the Government in dealing with the Naxalites.

Here is a Commissioner of Police issuing an order through the Gazette that the police must not take the law in their own hands and act outside the authority of law. He would not have issued this order but for the fact that the police has been behaving in this manner taking into its hands the law, shooting people at sight, raiding homes, etc, in a campaign of counter-terrorism against the so-called Naxalites and other elements. Now, I quoted this thing only to show that even the Government has woken up at last that something has to be done to restrain their policemen, and they have asked them to do so.

Now, Sir, what is happening is extraordinary. First of all, I should like to make one or two positions clear. As far as our party is concerned, we are against terrorism as a method. Surely,

Sir, we are opposed to the terrorist actions whether they are directed against police officials or other individuals or whether they are against any institutions and so on by what they call the Naxalites and others. We do not think that by such method\* a good revolutionary cause can ever be advanced. Socialist and communist movements must be based on the masses; the basis of such movements must be mass action. Unfortunately, the young Naxalites and others have taken to the wrong and self-defeating path which is decimating the revolutionary potential and which is at the same time providing an opportunity to the elements of reaction to mount offensive - if this kind which has been mounted in Calcutta and in other parts of West Bengal. I therefore earnestly hope that those Naxalites and others who have been guided sometimes by the lofty ideals of social justice and revolutionary impulses would ponder over what they are doing and desist from the war course of terrorism which they have adopted. Their path is the path of mass movement. We would like to see them taking their stand side by side along with others in the revolutionary mass movements among the working people, among the peasantry and among the other sections of the toiling masses. Therefore this is a political task on our part to persuade them, to argue with them, to impress upon them, that they have taken the wrong path. We are doing it.

Inter-party terrorism has developed in West Bengal. Now, Sir, inter-party terrorism is shocking. If the Naxalites are doing what they are doing with some romantic factors or elements in it, inter-party terrorism was an attempt by one party to attack another party, to eliminate the other party by the use of physical violence. This is shocking, is brutal, is utterly degrading, and I do not see as to whether these political parties, especially the one party which is entirely responsible for it, should not be in a position to put a stop to inter-party terrorism in West Bengal. Sir, ideological, political disputes among the various parties are natural . . .

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar) : Can you identify that party?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : All right. I will tell you.

Sir, ideological disputes, political disputes and other disputes naturally arise in the political life of various parties. These disputes should never be settled or be sought to be solved by the use of violence, by recourse to physical terror against the other party. This will not suit any democratic party. We have seen the greatest revolution led by Marxist and Leninist revolutionaries all over the world but we have not seen this kind of method being used, never. We have seen them defeating the deviators in the course of the struggle for Bolshevism, for Communism, for socialistic revolution, but never did we see the Bolsheviks or others sanctioning, in any case, terrorism against social democrats, against the elements in the social democratic movement. That never commends itself to the Marxist-Communist thoughts and ideas. In fact from the very beginning, from the very days of Marxism and Leninism it was so. Even in the last century Engels always spoke against individual terrorism; Marx and Engels fought the greatest ideological battle, isolated the deviators, both on the right and left, and established the ideological superiority of their revolutionary theory and practice. But they never preached terrorism against other parties who did not share their views or people who took up the wrong position in the working class movement. That is our tradition, that is the tradition of the Communist movement. The Communist movement never believes in this kind of inter-party fights, fights between one left party and another left party or, for that matter, they do not seek to terrorise other parties by methods of violence when they are practically fighting a class struggle. But surprisingly we find that there is a party which claims to be a Marxist Party and which at the same time is using methods altogether alien to the thoughts and ideas and revolutionary signs of Marxism and Leninism. Sir, we hope all the political parties in West Bengal would come to a solemn agreement and give a solemn commitment to the people of West Bengal that whatever be their differences, whatever bitterness they may have in ideological or political disputes, they will never try to gain ground by attacking others, by physically exterminating others, by inflicting terrorism against others. Surely, the West Bengal genius is not at such a discount today that the political parties cannot come together and give a solemn

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] assurance to the nation and to the people of West Bengal that they will live in West Bengal in a democratic manner, that they will fight their

battle politically and ideologically leaving the masses to decide as to who is right and who is wrong. It is an insult to the masses when we, in the name of political and ideological fight, or in the name of working for the masses, knife each other and attack each other. It is regrettable, Sir, that a party which claims to be the biggest left party is indulging in such a thing. Therefore, I say this responsibility is first and foremost with any responsible political party. This commitment should be given. This commitment must come forward from all the political parties. I

Sir, as far as our party is concerned, I, on behalf of my party, declare that we will seek no solution of our disputes, ideological or political, with either parties belonging to the Right or parties belonging to the Left, with methods of violence, with methods of terrorism and with physical attacks. This is abhorrent to us. I hope my sentiments would be reciprocated. Unless we create that sort of climate amongst us, this kind of fratricidal murders will not lead us anywhere. We should create a climate amongst the people that they should dissuade the Naxalites to desist from the course they have taken and fight against the police terror which has been let loose.

Sir, in this connection coming to the terrorism of the police which is always superior to any kind of terrorism, nothing can match it. And yet West Bengal has been subjected to this kind of terrorism today. What is happening there is shocking. Sir, I have before me a few things to show to the House. Here are photos of eight youngmen who had been brutally done to death. They are all in their teens. Their bodies were found in the Barisat area, thrown over the streets. Some of them were brilliant students of the University. One month has passed but there is no trace of the culprits. There is no clue to the investigation even. Therefore, you can see how competent the police is. Sir, people suspect that the police is responsible along with some other people for these murders. Even the name of an officer—I do not want to mention his name—has been mentioned in connection with this extermination

campaign. It is he who has been carrying out these murders. If the Government has failed to find out the clue, that itself is a serious matter. Are we going to give more and more power to this incompetent, worthless machinery of the Government which cannot detect the group murder of youngmen and which has shocked the conscience of the whole country? Sir, it is a shame that the C. I. B. and others have not been able to find out the clue. I take it there is some difficulty in finding out the clue because this enquiry may reveal certain things which the Government would like to hide. Therefore, what would the enquiry do? What is the Enquiry Committee going to do when the police is failing in its primary task of investigation and finding clues to this group murder?

Sir, just 24 days earlier, in the Belia-ghatta area, from the Calcutta Improvement Trust, about a hundred youngmen were taken into custody in the early hours of the morning, on the 19th November. Four of them were shot dead on the spot one after another.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : In the presence of many.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Who asked the policemen to shoot these people dead? Now the matter has been gone into by MPs and they have found what had happened. Am I not to believe the MPs who have gone there and come here to tell the story of how the people were butchered in a campaign of extermination? Young men were wrested from the bosoms of their mothers, taken to the street and shot dead like street dogs. Is this democracy? Is this constitutional functioning? Is it the principle on which we are trying to deal with the critical situation of West Bengal? That is what I ask. Here I have got the picture of one Uday Singh. (Time-bell rings.) No. I will continue. In any case, I get half-an hour. The mother of Uday Singh has sent me a letter. Here is the letter in her own hand. It is dated 29th November 1970. Now, what does she say in this letter? Her son was taken from the house in an Ambassador car and the next morning his dead body was found on a street along with the body of another young man who had also been similarly arrested. Now, these matters call for investigation. Here is the photograph of Uday Singh aged 16. You can see the bullet wounds on his

body. I have not got the picture of the other young man. He is Lakshminarayana Singh, aged 1; he was picked up by plainclothes men in a private car from a street in North Calcutta. His body was later found on the street. Now, are they guilty? Supposing they are guilty, are they to be killed like this? What happens to the process of law, if they are killed in this way? Who authorised them to kill people like this? Other people are also being killed. Four other persons were shot dead in cold blood. Hamik Shvik, a kisan worker of the Socialist Unity Centre, was taken out and shot dead in cold blood; the SUC is another leftist party. One Nani Nandy was tortured to death in police lock-up on the 22nd November. In Jalapaiguri, in the evening of November 27, policemen ran amuck, raided and ransacked houses, looted shops, beat up pedestrians, stopped buses and assaulted passengers. On December 3, following the murder of a policeman, a curfew was imposed and during the curfew a number of shops were looted. On December 5, following a clash in a bus, the policeman again ran amuck. Then, on December 2, a few students were arrested on the street and taken to Bhawanipur police station. Mr. Priya Das Munshi leader of the Yuva Congress (Youth Wing of Congress-R) who happened to pass by, went to the police station and asked why the boys had been arrested. The police officer replied: "We cannot even arrest the President of the Ind in Union." This is happening! And is a protest against police repression, the Congress-R and its youth organisation have carried out a 24-hour hunger strike and taken out processions and demonstrations. So, it is not that it is only we who are protesting. Even the Ruling Congress members, young boys and others, are protesting against police terror of this kind. There are many other cases. In a village in Bara: it, two peasant workers belonging to our peasant organisation were brutally murdered. In the Basirhat sub-division in Kadampur, on the 9th of this month, two workers, Mohd. Mujibur Rahman and Mohd. Rahman Mulla—Rahman was a member of our party—were brutally murdered by the jotedars and their men. Now this is happening. This is not being reported by the Government. Nobody talks about such things, when the workers and peasants are being slaughtered in this manner by the jotedars and their hooligans with the connivance of the

police, with the help of the police. We are in this situation today.

I can give many examples. Now you have given these powers to the police which is incompetent. Do you know what is happening? One police I. G. has gone to the court to contest the appointment of Mr. Prasad Bose as Inspector-General of Police. The Additional I. G. has started litigation against him. I am not saying if it is right or wrong. That is the morality in the police. Two heads of the police are there. One is the I. G. appointed by this Government from outside the ordinary police frame—he has been taken from the Border Force—and the other is who was in the police force, Durgapati Bhattacharya. He has filed a petition in the High Court and the deal has completely demoralised the police administration. What is happening in West Bengal? Policemen are fighting each other. In one case, policemen killed policemen. One I. G. fights another I. G. Therefore, they go to the court of law to fight each other. This is the morality of the police and you give them these powers.

Sir, I think this is a serious matter. My friend of the Syndicate Congress may have something to say. May I draw your attention to a speech of Shri Prafulla Chandra Sen, former Chief Minister of West Bengal? He made a speech to the Syndicate Congress on the 12th of December in the Subodh Mullick Square in Calcutta. Do you know what he said? He said "Go against Indira Gandhi, go against the Communists, go against the Soviet Union". That is to say, you go against the Soviet Union, oust Indira Gandhi and do away with the Communists. Unless the people change them, he says, "I shall myself be a Naxalite". That is what he said. Now I will hear speeches from this side. Here is a leader of the Syndicate Congress who says "I shall myself be a Naxalite" if you do not do such things, namely, come out against the Soviet Union, oust Indira Gandhi and do away with the Communists.

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR (West Bengal) : You are quoting him out of context. What he said was that if violence could do it and if the Naxalite people could do it, he would be with them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My friend has not read his speech. I think I have quoted him exactly. . . (Interruptions). . .

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala) : Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee said it. He wanted people to cut off noses and ears.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why are you joining the interruptions by the Syndicate Congress? You are my old friend. Do not join them in interrupting me.

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

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now what is the position in West Bengal? The Naxalite problem has its roots in socio-economic conditions and, surely, as I said before, nobody supports terrorism. But is it the way to tackle the problem? You have already put in prison, not under the Preventive Detention Act but under other laws, nearly 15,000 people. Some of them may be on bail. You are arresting people under the P.D. Act also. Who are the authorities administering the P. D. Act? The policemen, the so-called Board of Advisers, the retired High Court Judge, some officials and so on. Therefore, no remedy can come. That, I say, is the situation in West Bengal; it is serious.

I will tell you about the political situation. It is strengthening the forces of reaction—whether they are open or they are covered—and what is more, when all over the country there is a trend for all progressive and democratic forces to come together to meet the challenge of the right reaction on a national scale—even in West Bengal—this police action which is inspired by some rightists and others in creating difficulties for them.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) : क्या पुलिस ऐक्शन को राईट रिप्लेशनरीज ने प्रभावित किया है?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes, Sir. In the police administration there are CIA people and the CIA is the principal organiser of right reaction in our country. The CIA was brought in, intelligence from America was brought in, to advise the Government of India.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : Why has your Prime Minister gone to West Bengal with L. P. Singh?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You better come when the question of privy purses is brought. . . (Interruptions) You have your time. Sir, let him not provoke me.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Does not matter. In any case I am prepared to stand it from you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You always fight but when it comes to fighting the princes, somehow or other you are absent in the House.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: You cannot browbeat me like that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Then, Sir, he has brought in something. Let me tell you something about that. I say among the political parties which are responsible for indulging in violence it is the Marxist Communist Party in West Bengal. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, please finish now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But Naxalites are accused because you can easily attack them, denounce them. It was in fact the Marxist Communist Party which was setting the police administration against the people. (Interruptions) Let a count of the murders that take place be taken and you will find that the Marxist Communist Party has committed more murders than the Naxalites . . .

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes, they have gone and killed our people in Azadpur. They also went to the present house of our organisation and they killed! three people there. Can they deny it?

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : When?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am not going into the details of it now. Mr. Arun Chatterjee asked for the names but I avoided giving the names . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: We wanted you to come out in true colours.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have come out in true colours. Only you are in such dark and hateful colours. Your

of violent Activities Act, 1919 and people go and murder young boys. I tell you one of my cousins' son was killed...

SHRI K. I SUBRAMANIA MENON: You are responsible for that because you are supporting this Government. Now you are shedding crocodile tears.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know you met Shrimati Indira Gandhi... *(Interruptions)*... for getting licence to whatever you did in West Bengal and when Shrimati Indira Gandhi did not oblige, you go against her. I know the stuff you are made of. Mr. Jyoti Basu met Shrimati Indira Gandhi here. When Mr. E.M.S. Namboodripad went to your Politburo meeting he made a public statement which appeared in all newspapers some time back saying that there was nothing like Indira Gandhi, she was so good and so nice and democratic. It appeared in all papers. Therefore, with a personal note, I say ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You should finish now, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): Let him speak, Sir. He is speaking the truth today.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: It has come to him as a compliment.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: Many thanks, Mr. Dharia.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I know my Marxist Communist friends will indulge in a lot of heroism...

SHRI K. P. ANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala) : He was asking for something. He was speaking the truth today.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I can tell you the policy of the gun and the pipe-gun in the bomb is not going to pay in India. As far as the other parties are concerned, they come to meet this challenge of the pipe gun in an appropriate manner. Therefore, I am not going to be bullied by such things. It is a party which is broken. It does not hesitate to do many other things in our country. And they need not teach me morality. I am not going into some of the personal things. I say this thing...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you have taken half an hour already. You have taken a long time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If there had been no interruptions I would have finished by now. Anyway, I am just finishing.

The honourable Member should note one thing. I have got relatives. I have got cousins. Two of my cousin's sons, both in their 'teens, were murdered, one by the Marxist Communist Party and the other was in the list of eight people who were murdered in Basirhat. That is there to be found out. This is the thing. I am not giving it as a personal thing. Many of us are losing our people. If the Marxists had not murdered me. I am grateful for that. I hope my friend, Mr. Arun Chatterjee, because of our old friendship, will see that I am not killed. After all, I can pass away after a life of 55 years and you can kill me... *(Interruption)* No? You will not kill me?"

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : Do not get funky.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My getting funky? Your leaders in Calcutta are protected by the CRP at a cost of Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 per day. Your Pro-moderate Das Gupta was protected by the CRP. Mr. Jyoti Basu was protected by the CRP. Let him deny it. It is no use saying Bhupesh Gupta is getting funky. Bhupesh Gupta does not want the CRP. It is you, who talk of a big revolution, who are protected by the CRP and lecture against the CRP. We do not take protection of the CRP. Go and see. I would like my friends Shri Jyoti Basu and others...

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: They did not ask for it. Because this government support you...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My friend says that they did not ask for it. You are being protected by them and my friends are loved by the CRP without being lovers of the CRP. Let them not talk like that. This party stands exposed today and their political isolation has come to such a point that such popular leaders like Shri Jyoti Basu, because of the disruptionist, sectarian policy of the pipe-gun, has today to be protected by the whole army of the CRP men. This is the worst condemnation which any political party can deserve today. *(Time-bell rings)*, There-

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] fore, finally, before I sit down, I appeal to the government that they must withdraw these measures and they should not interfere with the situation because the whole political situation in West Bengal is being spoiled. The Marxist are happy because they can exploit the situation and other reactionaries are also happy because the situation comes in the way of getting together of all the progressive forces in order to build a common front in West Bengal and defeat the rightist forces in the country. That is why Shri Profulla Sen and the Marxist friends speak in the same way. Therefore, I say that it is a big political game. I condemn the Central Government's action and I would ask them to beware of the most dangerous consequences behind this police counter terrorism. In the police services and in the administration there are people who are rightists and arch reactionaries who, in collusion with big landlords, want to create an impossible situation in West Bengal so that the leftist and democratic forces, both belonging to the Congress and outside the Congress, cannot come together. This political game should be borne in mind. I, therefore, demand that the West Bengal situation may be met with a correct political approach in the correct political and ideological perspective. I demand that these measures should be withdrawn at once and I demand investigation of all the cases that have been placed before the government from time to time—these cases of coldblooded murders committed by the police. I may tell you that the police have recruited to its army some antisocial elements who are in Plain clothes and they are used to murder people. After that the police take possession. It is reported that this murder of eight young men whose bodies were found on the 20th last month was the work of policemen and certain other private elements. Therefore, I demand that all the cases should be gone into and a public inquiry should be there. As far as CBI is concerned, it should be castigated and they should be asked either to come out with clues for the murder of these young men whose bodies have been found, or alternatively they should be given punishment for dereliction and failure of their duty. Terrorism has become the policy of the police in West Bengal and terrorism has become an instrument of policy of Marxist Communist Party in the inter-party relations. Regretfully enough, some young men

today calling themselves Naxalites or Marxist Leninist Revolutionaries have gone to the wrong path and persuaded themselves to take to this self-defeating cause of terrorism which will not advance the cause of socialism. We want to bring these young men, these brothers, back to the path of correct revolutionary struggle. That is why we never call the Marxist party CIA or anti-social. We call them Communists who have gone wrong. We want to bring them back to the revolutionary movement.

Sir, I do hope that the House will associate itself with the sentiments I have expressed against terrorism and counter terrorism of the police and I would appeal to all those in Bengal who are indulging in terrorism to desist from the path of terrorism. Sir, the West Bengal revolutionary tradition is expected to deliver much better things. The West Bengal people have learnt after 1967 and 1969 mid-term election that unity of the leftist and the democratic forces is our salvation and I do hope that hon. Members in this House will raise their voice or agony, of pain and of sorrow on behalf of West Bengal and would appeal to the parties and the politicians to desist from the course of individual and other kinds of terrorism and I hope equally that they would condemn and restrain their Government from indulging in the counter-terrorism which one can think of to be the worst type of terrorism... {Interruptions}. My Jana Sangh friends are laughing. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No, Mr. Bhu-pesh...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: When you wanted to unify the democratic front, when you said you were appealing for unity, for left unity...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order, order, please.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE .... you could have joined the other side.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Having put the Syndicate in the Kerala Assembly, having elected the Syndicate members to the Kerala Assembly, he is talking about left morality.



THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, please...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, some day I will have to go to Grand Street to understand the lessens of chastity. Some day I will have to go to the red-light area to be given lessons in human morality.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Now please sit down. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, please sit down. Please sit down. They will excite you and you will take the whole time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I have made certain appeals and therefore, I move that my motion be accepted and I am sure, my able friend, my fighting friend, the valiant fighter, Mr. Chitta Basu, will take up the fight where I am leaving.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise not only to demand the repeal of these two atrocious, reprehensible and despicable Acts which are now being named as President's Acts No. 1\* and No. 20, but also, in so demanding, to voice the sentiments of not only the millions of the State which I represent, but also the sentiments of the people beyond West Bengal who have got the greater regard for democratic way of life.

Sir, it is not the battle of the people of West Bengal today to preserve democracy, to preserve the democratic way of life, and to defend themselves against the police atrocities against the activities of individual terrorism now reigning there, but it is also the duty of the people all over the country to extend their cooperation and sympathy in this great battle of the people of West Bengal for the normalisation of the political climate in that part of our country, Sir, my complaint is that in a state of helping the process of restoration to normalcy by this Government at the Centre, it is this very Government, it is this Government led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, which have unnecessarily added fuel to the fire. They have added fuel to the fire because of the recent enactments, of these two atrocious Acts, namely, the West Bengal (Prevention of Violent Activities) Act and the West Bengal

Maintenance of Public Order Act.

Sir, never in the history of this country people have witnessed this kind of Draconian measures and if you have got the time to have a cursory glance over the provisions of these two Acts, particularly, I mean, the West Bengal Maintenance of Public Order Act, Sir, you will shudder to think that this kind of unrestrained, this kind of unbridled, power was never given to the Police even under the British Raj.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN (Tamil Nadu) : 33 lakhs of people were allowed to die of starvation. Have you forgotten that?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Mr. Anandan, you please listen and then put your question. What is this Maintenance of Public Order Act? Have you ever seen the provision? Sir, it provides for shooting, it gives the power, it legalises the police, to shoot at sight any person.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE, DEPARTMENTS OF ELECTRONICS AND SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH (SHRI K. C. PANT) : No, no.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Yes. . . -  
(Interruptions).

SHRI BALKRISHNA GUPTA (Bihar) : You know how the British people shot civilians.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : There have been several instances, but never such as to shoot a man at sight. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You address me.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Ask them not to interrupt.

This provision gives the police officers the right to arrest any person at any time at any place they like, and that also without a warrant. I think this is not in tune with the democratic practice or the normal democratic life we aspire. It gives powers to the Government to requisition any property, movable and immovable. It gives the police the power to arrest any person, to enter into any premises between sun-rise and sun-set. It gives powers to police

[Shri Chitta Basu.]

officers to stop and search any person on any road or in any street. It gives powers to the police officers to search any place, vessel, vehicle, aircraft, etc. Such are the sweeping powers; such are the Draconian powers this Act seeks to arm the police with. About the character of the police, I will come to that later on. Under what pretext? That is also to be taken note of : That is under the pretext of preventing subversive acts, under the pretext of maintaining public order. Sir, what is a subversive act? That has also been defined in a persuasive and elastic manner. Under this definition of subversive act, any normal democratic people's movement can be deemed also as a subversive act. Do you support it? That is the main question. The definition of 'subversive' says that any kind of person may be arrested for any kind of work which is associated with normal, democratic life. Sir, our past experience in that State and in other parts of the country has been that under this kind of Draconian power, under this kind of sweeping power, the police naturally misuse it and abuse it, and directs it against the democratic movement of the country. Sir, under the definition of 'looting' and 'raiding', even a normal democratic procession can be deemed as looting. Sir, even for 'raiding', the police officers do not fire to kill a man. There have been communal riots. Even there, instead of shooting they try to disperse the people. But, Sir, in this case they have been instructed to kill, not to disperse—but to kill any person who, as told to them, has taken part in a riot or looting. Sir, this kind of power is being given to the police by this Act. Sir, even a Head Constable is being given the power to declare an assembly as illegal. Any Head Constable, if he feels that a meeting in a street corner or a meeting which is being addressed by a political worker or a meeting addressed by a worker near a factory, can immediately call it an illegal assembly. And by whom? It is not the Sub-Inspector of Police or an Inspector of Police. But the Act provides for the power of a Head Constable to declare an assembly illegal, and in order to disperse it, he can start firing.

Again I will say that this Public Maintenance of Order Ordinance is worse than the P. D. Act in many respects because it is the normal prac-

tice—you are an eminent lawyer and Mr. Sanyal also knows—that an accused person has the right to pray for bail. Here the Act provides that your petition for bail cannot be entertained even or you cannot be granted bail unless the prosecution is given time to build up a case to oppose the bail. Only after a period of 6 to 12 months, the petition for bail can be admitted. The petition for bail shall not be considered by a trying magistrate unless the signal is given by an ordinary prosecuting officer. Again it is found in this Bill that he may be granted bail only when the trying magistrate is convinced that he is innocent of the alleged charges. Without proving his charges, without knowing whether he is guilty or not, he is condemned to a life of jail or police custody only on the pretext that a Sub-Inspector or a Circle Inspector or the prosecuting officer is not ready to oppose the petition for bail. Many a time I was, because of the good grace of the Government, detained even under the Congress regime. Even we had the limited scope of being provided with charge-sheets within 7 days. We had the right even to reply to the charge-sheets. There was a Board even to consider the charges and the replies to the charge-sheets but here even without giving that kind of an opportunity of receiving and replying to a charge-sheet, a young man, an accused, is refused the right of having bail.

श्री नेकी राम (हरियाणा) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी मेरे साथी ने कहा मैं भी हवालान में रहा करता था, इस सरकार की हुकूमत में। अभी तो हत्याएं हो रही हैं। क्या आप भी हत्या करके आए हैं ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : आप बैठ जाइए।

श्री नेकीराम : आप रुलिंग दीजिए। आप उनको जवाब देने के लिए कहिए। मैं तो बंधा हुआ हूँ, आपके प्रोटेक्शन में हूँ।

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I could not follow his Hindi.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : He was asking for protection from you.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : You are a privileged person of the House. You are sufficiency protected. What protection do you want from me?

**श्री नेकीराम :** मैं तो चयर से कहा, जहाँ कुछ भी कहा।

THE VICE-CHIEF AIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Basu, are you discussing the regulations or your own protection?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I am not concerned with self protection. Please protect me from that Haryana Member who is as mighty as the Haryana bull.

**श्री नेकीराम :** उपसभापति महोदय, मैं अपने साथी से कहता हूँ कि पहले पंजाब की मिमाल देखो फिर बात करो।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My friend from Haryana may be put under guard for his prelection.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Therefore you will find that this kind of unlimited unrestricted aid unbridled powers are being given to the police. What kind of police is there As a matter of fact there have been several occasions in the past either on the floor of this House or from different platforms, it has been said by many respectable Members that the Police in Bengal had let loose a counter-violence.

Six, I think you will have the patience to bear with me when I now proceed to give a large number of specific instances to show how the police have indulged in limitless atrocities on the innocent men and women of our State. Sir, young men are taken out of their homes in the early morning and taken to police custody, where they are tortured and even done to death. I now refer to the case of one Samir Bhattacharyya. Sir, it was found that he was done to death when in police lock-up, but the case has not been properly enquired into. It was also found that some irresponsible officer was guilty of doing him to death. What action you have taken against that police officer? Nothing. Then, Sir, ...

THE VICECHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has referred to these cases.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : He has referred to certain cases. I am simply increasing the number of cases because he has given only 8 or 10 or 12 cases. But I have in my possession no

less than 50 cases. Fifty pretty young men have been done to death, by this kind of hooligans in the uniform of police. There are limitless police atrocities let loose on us. Then comes the death of one Samir Saha while in police custody. The statement of the Police Commissioner regarding Saha's illness was not at all convincing. The report was published in the press on 23-10-1970. Then there is the death of one Arun Ghosh in Bhawanipore Police Station in Calcutta and the death occurred under still more mysterious circumstances. The report was published on the same day as Samir's death. The police report said that he died from a fall while trying to escape by scaling the wall. A fall from the low wall round the Bhawanipur Police Station cannot ordinarily cause death. Then I refer to the case of one Anil Karmarkar. Anil Karmarkar died in police custody. Magisterial enquiry established that 'Karmarkar was perhaps killed'. The plea of the police is that none of those, who were with him in the lock up, complained of beating of Karmarkar by the police—as if the beating would be done in the lock-up before other prisoners. No enquiry has been finished and nothing has been done to punish the officer concerned. Then the case of Anup Bose and two others, Ajay Sanyal, a Reserve Bank employee, and Sanku Datta, who were shot in front of Bhawani Datta Lane, Calcutta, in the small hours of the night of 26-9-1970 is a case in point. Anup was arrested while he was coming out of the Calcutta Medical College at about 6 P.M. on 25-9-1970. Then, Sir, Murari Kusari, a teacher of Behala Sikshayatan, who was taken into custody by the police a few days back, was taken to the area of his arrest along with another person in police custody. With them was tagged another person. All of them were killed by the police, who gave out that they laid a trap for the police by proposing to lead them to an ammunition dump. It is all a lie. Then I take the case of one Kajal Banerjee. He was the first of this nature. He was shot at point blank range by plain clothes policemen, and afterwards the story of an encounter was circulated. By all local accounts no such encounter took place and Kajal was completely unarmed. Then a boy named Biren Deb-nath was shot at and his dead body was dragged before the very eyes of a few thousand people who were enjoying a 'jalsa'. He was killed and his dead body was displayed before the people

[Shri Chitta Basu.]

who were enjoying a 'jalsa'. Sir, are we living in a civilised country? Are we living in the 1970's? Can such a thing take place in 1970 where a boy is killed and his dead body is displayed before thousands of people as if it is a great achievement of this kind of uncivilised Government, if I may be permitted to say so. Sir, then I come to Krishandas Biswas, 'a student of the 5th year Philosophy class of Calcutta University. He was shot dead on 25-9-1970 before the Centenary Building when he was going to attend his class. One Dulal Bhowmik a student

of the Rastraguru Surendra-4 P.M. nath Evening College and an

employee of the day section there was shot dead on 7-11-1970 in Rifle Road area of Calcutta where he resided. So there are many instances and this kind of killings and this kind of atrocities are being committed on the young men of West Bengal. And the pity of it is, all these specific instances, I have handed over to the Prime Minister who is in charge of Home Affairs on 17th November last and today it is 16th December. One month has elapsed and I do not know whether any enquiry was held and what efforts the Home Ministry made in this matter and what results those efforts yielded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Now you must finish; you have taken 20 minutes and there are so many Members.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : No, no. I have taken only 15 minutes. And I want five or ten minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No; you have taken 20 minutes. Just finish it in two or three minutes.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : From a note circulated by the Home Ministry it appears that the primary objective of this Bill is to curb the Naxalite violence in the State. Sir, I am second to none in fighting Naxalite violence in our State. Naxalite violence is not only in West Bengal but it is there in other parts of the country also but Naxalites violence has to be met at the political level. I want to remind Mr. Pant about what his predecessor in office said regarding this Naxalite

problem. I am quoting Mr. V. C. Shukla who says :

"We have already stated that this question of extremist activities in the country has many facets. It is not a one-sided question; it has got many facets and it has to be handled in that manner. We have also stated in this House that we do not regard it as a mere law and order question. We have devised our own strategy and we are trying to employ that strategy in West Bengal."

This he said on the 29th April this year. Now, what is that strategy for fighting Naxalite activities? Is it these two draconian Bills? My answer is, definitely not. The only method by which we can fight Naxalite activities is by sustained, enlightened political activity by all the left democratic parties. That we have already started.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam) : Have you succeeded in that?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : We have succeeded to some extent and I think we will succeed. But his bullets. . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal) : Not his bullets: say Mr. Pant's bullets.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Chitta Basu, you should finish.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: This is not the way. What I feel is this. They have only one strategy and that strategy is to give more and more powers to the police to indulge in limitless atrocities. It is not in this way that you can solve this problem. Punitive measures is not the answer to this kind of political problem.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is one of the answers.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: So far as other atrocities are concerned it is quite known to this House that our Marxist Communist friends, right from the day they rode to power with the assistance of the people riding on the crest of the victory of the United Front, went on to crush. . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY: First they grabbed all the posts of power from Home Ministry to Education Ministry and then jumped over the fence.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : They made partisan use of the police in order to annihilate the other democratic and left parties and to our great surprise it is these police peisonnel who are standing guard or thst great Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal, Mr. lyoti Basu, at his doorstep. He is being escorted by the police. The police escorts him all the while he moves. I have got the figure about what is the amount spent by Mr. K. C. Pant for the protection of Mr. Jyoti Basu and Mr. Promod Das Gupta. (*Inte rptions*)

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Is he against giving aiy protection to Mr. Jyoti Basu?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I am very much willing to jive him protection. I have got no enmity towards Mr. Jyoti Basu. His life is very valuable.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULY (West Bengd) : His supporters know that there will be havoc in West Bengal if anything happened to him. That is why he is doing something for the protection of Mr. Jyoti Basu. Mr. Jyoti Basu never wanted it.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : It is serious. That means they are in a position to create havoc h West Bengal. Otherwise, they must be having huge arms in their possession.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI CHITTA BASU : It is not correct to say that we are not concerned with it. The 'ntire House expressed its concerned wh< n an attack was made on the life of M . Jyoti Basu at Patna. Therefore, it is incorrect to say that Parliament did rot express concern. It is incorrect to sty that we did not express our concerned.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULY : They know that when Mr. Jyoti Basu's little finger was injured, there was one day's strike. My learned colleague associates us with something. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. lyoti Basu is a citizen and it is the duty of the Government to protect him.

(*Interruptions*)

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SHRI KALYAN ROY : There must be more police protection given and if not police the Army should protect him.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : So long as the Indian Navy is not called into the Hooghly River, it is all right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Now, I call Mr. Mohan Dharia.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I am to conclude. I was all the while being interrupted.

(*Interruption*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why are you objecting ? Mouth-guns are better than pipe guns.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I have been interrupted and so I should get five minutes.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, please. You have already taken more than twenty minutes.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I have been very much interrupted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : In two minutes you please conclude.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Even at this late stage I would appeal to our Marxist communist friends to rethink and denounce this kind of terrorism that they themselves have let loose, so that there can be restoration of normal political climate in the State.

I have a word of appeal to the Congress Members, particularly Members coming from the State of West Bengal. While they are saying something against us, is it not a fact that their youth section is also very much outspoken in the matter of condemning these police atrocities? I quote Mr. Priyadas Munshi : "In the name and under the garb of curbing Naxalism, the police has resorted to unprecedented violence killing a number of innocent students in cold blood." This is the feeling of the youngmen of West Bengal, whether the young man belongs to the left party or whether he belongs to the Congress party which he or she represents. There have been limitless atrocities.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Therefore, we cannot give our consent for perpetuating these Draconian Acts.

I would urge upon the Congress Members sitting in this House that they should also search their heart, they should also listen to the voice of their own people who are fighting police atrocities in that part of the country and then consciously give their consent for the perpetration of these two Draconian measures. In the end I would appeal to this House that in the name of democracy, in the name or in the interests of helping the process of restoration of normal political climate Parliament should in its wisdom repeal these two Draconian Acts and really create new possibilities for the restoration of normal life in that part of the country. That is the only way. No police measure, no police atrocities can lead us anywhere.

*The questions were proposed.*

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, at the outset I should say that the situation that prevails in Bengal is most alarming and causes concern, and we have all sympathy for the people of Bengal. Sir, it is a part of our country and particularly when we see that this disease is likely to spread all over the country, when we see that these atrocities pose a threat to law and order and to our parliamentary democracy, it becomes all the more serious. From the description that we now heard from the two hon. Members of this House—I will deal with that regarding police atrocities afterwards—one thing is very clear that law and order in West Bengal has come to an end and it is the duty of the executive to see that law and order is maintained, and I feel that so far as one could judge from both the speeches they very much substantiate the action taken by the President and by the Home Minister. If the police are supposed to look after law and order. They must be armed with some power. Otherwise to deal with such a situation is absolutely impossible. If the situation comes to normalcy. I shall be perhaps the first Member of Parliament to come before this House and urge upon the Government that these two laws should be repealed; I shall certainly join my friends, but today I feel that it is not possible.

The other day we have heard regarding the incident where the wife and the son of one of the Ministers of State, Shri Parimal Ghosh, were stabbed and they are still in hospital. The condition of the son is yet grave. As was rightly said by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, his own relatives are also victims of atrocities. By whom were they committed? Of course the Government—for some incidents, not for all—has already appointed a Commission of Enquiry, and I am sure that the Commission of Enquiry will go into all aspects. If there are some other serious incidents which are being repeatedly said about here by hon. Members like Shri Bhupesh Gupta and Shri Chitta Basu, if they are having valid reasons, I may urge upon the Government to refer these matters also to the Commission of Enquiry. Nobody would like that the police who are alleged to have committed atrocities should be allowed to get away like that. From my own information I have no doubt whatsoever that it is the Naxalites at one end the members of—my friends will please excuse me—the Communist Marxist Party, these are the two sections who are responsible, who have created this situation in West Bengal. Of course without creating any disturbance to other citizens had they gone on fighting and killing each other, perhaps they would have brought peace. But in this democratic country of ours, we cannot allow these things also, and hence the police have to be strengthened. Sir, so far as the problem of the youngsters is concerned, those who are becoming victims to such Naxalite activities, we cannot forget that it hinges on this fact that if this country fails to secure the future of the younger generation of this country and makes them lose their faith in parliamentary democracy, it is the failure of this Parliament, it is the failure of the parliamentary institutions, in not rendering justice to the youngsters of this country.

SHRI J. P. YADAV (Bihar) : It is because of Congress administration, not Parliament or democracy.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is only with the programmes that we adopted that we can solve the socio-economic problems facing the country and not with those of parties who are supporting these ex-rulers and the feudal and capitalist system in this country.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव: सवाल यह है कि आज तक किमने देश में शासन किया, कितनी पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ हुईं जिसके होते हुये भी देश में इतनी बेकारी है और उस वजह से यह है। कभी आप सोशलिस्टिक पटनें आफ सोसाइटी का और कभी कोई नारा देते हैं। कौन सा प्रोग्राम किया है जिसके कारण कि समस्या हल हो। और किसी को क्या दोष देते हैं। किसको दोष दे सकते हैं, रूल आपके हाथ में रहा है।

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : With all my love for my friend, I pity his ignorance because it was we, within our party, who did it and that was one of the reasons why the party also got split. He should not be under the impression that we are not alert, we are very much alert, I can assure this House. . .

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : गद्दी नहीं छोड़ी वह तो बराबर आपकी रही।

श्री एम० एम० धारिया : जरा मुन लो। हमारे और आप में इतना डायलाग यहाँ नहीं हो सकता, बाहर होगा, यहाँ नहीं हो सकता।

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : What about the Congress? And do you think that Nehru was a renegade?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Do not interrupt please.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : सोशलिस्ट के नाम पर क्या गलत बोलते हैं।

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Unfortunately, today. . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Is the daughter is also following the same path? What about the achievement of Jawaharlal Nehru

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : We can very well leave; I think. Unfortunately, it is not the issue for discussion. I can assure my friend, that if my party fails to implement those programmes that we have pledged to the people, I shall be one of the rebels who will go against the leadership also. That is not the problem here. The main problem here is this. In this country of ours, how can we allow a section of people who openly say that they do not believe in the Constitution? They would like to have . . . (Interruptions.) 7—64 RS/70

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No interruptions, please.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Chatterjee knows very well. . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You said that.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I am not the person to say that. In this country of ours, in this parliamentary democracy of ours, we cannot allow a section of people who say that they have no faith in the Constitution.

(Interruptions.)

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : What are you talking? Your permission is not required here to tell the facts.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Please listen to me as I will also listen to you when you are on your legs.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : We cannot allow this.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I also represent a section of the majority of people in this country. Don't be under that impression also. I am also voicing. . . (Interruptions.) I am representing a major section in the country. I have no doubt that this country cannot tolerate any section which believes in violent activities, which wants to mock democracy and the Constitution of this country. They shall have to be curbed. There is no other alternative. With all the power at my command, I say that that shall be done. Even I may say that I am a . . .

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON : You have flouted the Constitution.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : It is really strange—when some liberalisation starts in Czechoslovakia and even if the Soviet Army enters Czechoslovakia, all of us do not bother. If in Vietnam or Indo-China, more than five lakhs of American troops go and fight against the Asian people, there are some who take pleasure in it. In spite of the fact that the army is marching in one country and 12 lakhs of people. . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : It was the Americans. . .

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : It is un becoming on your part to interrupt. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Mr. Arun Chatterjee should at least -how some courtesy of listening to my views.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Very good.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Thank you very much. My submission was that it rive lakhs of American soldiers . . . (Interruption by Shri Kalycrn Roy) Please listen to me. If more than live lakh soldiers come to Indo-China, then it is all right. If the Russian forces march into Czechoslovakia, then it is all right. It is taken as if it is a battle for socialism. But if we give some powers to our own police for protecting the mother land and democracy, it is termed as reaction.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I oppose invasion on some other country by the Soviet Union.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Please do not get agitated. I am speaking to those who are not of my views Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, my submission to this House is let us consider anil understand the position as it stands today. If the police have committed atrocities I am not here to defend it. Bui at the same time let us not demoralise tthe police force who is supposed to maintain law and order in such areas where it had become absolutely impossible to move. Where leaders like Shri Jyoti Basu, who is so much popular in a city like Calcutta, requires the C.R.P. for his own protection, what must be the fate of the common man? Let us not forget this situation.

Sir, from this point of view I feel, Sir, that these powers which we are entrusting to the police are absolutely essential. At the same time may I bring to the notice of this House that even the Police Commissioner of West Bengal has issued specific instruction to the police to arrest but not to kill? If the Commissioner of Police gives this advice, I think it is a welcome measure. Instead of criticising everything and attacking them with all possible *mala fide* allegations, let us try to have some faith in the *bona fides* of :he police, they are also in the service of (his great ^country,

Coming to the problem of law and order, I feel Sir, that those who believe in democracy, all the parties who believe in democracy, shall have to mobilise all possible strength in West Bengal. It will be my appeal to all and to the Government—I know that some Members may not like or may not appreciate my suggestion—that the peace-loving citizens of West Bengal should be provided with enough arms and ammunition by the Government, if necessary, at subsidised rates. Perhaps the Government may not agree with this idea of mine. But those who are national-minded, in whom the Government can have faitti, if they are strengthened with arms and ammunition, it will be a proper check to meet atrocities. Perhaps some Members may not appreciate this suggestion. Even the Government will not like it. But in some countries they have tried this experience. If the gangsters are aware that the people have their own armies and they can protect themselves they will have to go. So, Sir, instead of getting much more emotional, let me appeal to all these groups to consider the question rather dispassionately as to how we can save West Bengal and India from this violent situation. If at the one end socio-economic measures are absolutely necessary, at the other we cannot forget that this country cannot tolerate any move whatsoever from such parties or forces who have no faith in the country who have no faith in our independence, who have no faith in our Constitution and in our Parliamentary democracy. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, when a few people say very openly that Mao would be their Chairman, that they believe in Mao and that they would break everything here, how can we allow this thing to go in this country? At least patriotic people, those who believe in the independence, integrity and unity of this country, shall have to come forward and shall have to say, "No This movement shall have to be controlled". And if I have understood the Government well, these powers are given to the State Government or to the police not to kill young men or arrest young men, but to maintain the unity, integrity and sovereignty of this country, to maintain the democratic institutions in this country. And if ihe police do not recognise this fad, then it will be the failure of the police and also of the Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Mr. Dharia, we are your colleagues. We



have said so many things about police atrocities. At least in regard to some cases, some of your vehemence and talent should be utilised.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Sir, at the very outset I said that when hon. Members like Mr. Bhupesh Gupta have very openly made allegations about atrocities committed by the police, it is for the Government to take serious note of it. And if there is a *prima facie* case, I am of the opinion that such matters also should be referred to the commission of inquiry. I am not saying that if the police commit "atrocities, there should be no protection and that if somebody else commits atrocities, he should be penalised. That is not my point of view. The police are vested with certain powers. They are the prestige of the society and it is for them to behave with more responsibility and not in any erratic way. That is how I look at the situation. I hope Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is now satisfied that I am not vehement on any one point, but that I am equally vehement so far as a judicial approach is concerned.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, let the hon. Members who have moved these motions realise that the situation is very serious, particularly because of those forces who are cut to destroy our peace and tranquillity, who want more and more of such explosive situations and incidents to happen. And to control these explosive situations and incidents, there is no other alternative for the Government except to vest the police and the State Government with these powers.

Lastly, we should not forget the basic tenets with which we fought for our independence. The basic tenets were our independence, unity and integrity of the country, democracy, socialism and secularism. These were the five tenets for which we fought during our struggle for independence and we are now struggling to make that independence a true independence. If challenges come from some foreign forces or individuals to these basic tenets, are they not to be curbed with a heavy hand? I am here to urge on the Government that they should not hesitate to crush such sort of violent activities, even if they are blamed by the Communist friends as being a reactionary Government, they should not mind it. It is not a question of whether one is a reactionary or one

is a progressive. It is a question of whether one is patriotic or not. Are we not in a position to understand the challenge to our nation? I feel that this challenge shall have to be accepted and met with all possible force. Let us, as I said, fight among ourselves in a peaceful way. Let us try to have our own ideologies in a peaceful way. But in case there are people who do not have any faith in constitutional behaviour, then naturally some other actions are also called for. When I say this for the extremists I would like to mention certain intelligentsia classes also, those who cannot realise the change in times. There is the instance of the decision of yesterday in the matter of the privileges and privy purses of the Princes. I am really sorry that the learned judges of the highest judicial forum in the country, the Supreme Court, should fail to realise the change in times in the country, and to understand what the feelings of the people are and what is in their mind. Such sort of people also create blockades in the way of our constitutional functioning. I have no doubt in my mind that the decision given in the Golaknath case by the Supreme Court has created a great blockade in the way of constitutional behaviour of Parliament. So the intelligentsia classes also will have to realise the changing times in the country. I feel it is for all of us to extend our sympathy to the youngsters in Bengal and all over the country. But at the same time, it is also for all of us to stand by the Government when it is taking such firm action. I have been insisting on this kind of action right from 1967. But unfortunately it did not come. I am happy that the Government has now taken that firm action and I would like to urge on all the friends who believe in the independence of our country to stand by the Government. I would request my honourable friends to withdraw the motions moved by them requesting the House to repeal this Ordinance.

With these words I conclude.

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR : Sir, when the United Front Government was dismissed, it left a legacy of crime, anarchy, lawlessness, violence, and everything. Then, when the President's rule came we thought that things would improve and that probably Bengal would go back to its olden days of peace. But I am sorry to say that nothing of that

sort has happened. Bengal's condition today is a telling example of what untold miseries can be brought upon the people by an opportunist Government without any policy or ideology. When the Government first took over, no doubt lawlessness was there. But it went on increasing day by day. There has been no end of the murders, looting and violence, and the situation started deteriorating dangerously. Still the Government at the Centre is dilly-dallying. Soon after the President's rule, we heard there was a move to bring in the Preventive Detention Acts. The President's rule was imposed in March and all along since then they have been allowing Bengal to be ruined and burnt, by an unrealistic and dilly-dallying policy. Then all of a sudden, one day we were asked to pass the Preventive Detention Bills in the Consultative Committee of Parliament for Bengal. On behalf of our party we lent, with a heavy heart, a reluctant support to this measure thinking that since the Government felt that without these measures it was helpless, that it will not be able to tackle the situation without them. So, we thought let them have it as a last recourse because we want peace in Bengal and nothing else. It is now more than twenty or thirty days since the Acts have come into force after the Presidential Order and then what? The speakers previous to me have narrated harrowing tale of Bengal's misery. So many young people have been murdered and are daily being murdered. Many innocent mothers have lost their children. There is no count as to how many women have lost their husbands—even after the passing of this Act. This is the state of things in Bengal. So one has to repeat the question—has the situation in Bengal improved in any way? Can the Minister point out a single day in Bengal passing without any incidence of crime or lawlessness? Previously probably lawlessness and crime were mostly confined to inter-party classes. But what is the picture of Bengal now? Even the innocent men, people who have no connection with any party are murdered; business men are murdered; professionals are murdered and still nothing is being 'done to prevent these atrocities. When I spoke in the Consultative Committee I said that we are giving support to this Bill with a heavy heart and pointed out that I was sure the Government would not be able to improve the situation because

they really do not want to do so and that a day will soon come when these Acts would recoil on them. I was not wrong. As I see, the situation is not improving in any way. How can things improve unless the Centre is firm and unless we have a strong Government in the State firmly determined to bring peace and security? We have a Governor only for name's sake. Do you ever hear about the Governor these days? Previously whenever he spoke, he put himself in trouble and now what is he doing? He is sitting idle in the Governor's palace getting salutes and garlands. Probably he has been asked by Delhi not to interfere in anything. Then he has a body advisers. If the head is wrong, how can the body function properly? The advisers also are as useless as the worthless Governor. What stake have they got as most of the Advisers were superannuated and many of them would probably retire within a year or two. Instead of the old people you should have young officers of the age of 40 to 50, young men with imagination, drive and dash, in charge of affairs in Bengal. You should have a Governor who can inspire confidence and who can move among the people, who can study the problems of West Bengal and deliver the goods. But what is happening in Bengal? Violence which originated during the time of the United Front Government is continuing unabated and in a manner never heard of in the history of India during the last 100 years. Then there is another strange phenomenon. Those who are inciting violence and committing violence are themselves seeking the protection of the police. Shri Jyoti Basu the former Home Minister of West Bengal has sought police protection and is always surrounded and protected by the police. Every day there are requests from the CPM Leaders for police protection. A study tour by some Members of Parliament not including any from my party recently visited West Bengal and what they said about West Bengal? Is the Government still determined or willing to do something? No. On the contrary they want to see Bengal ruined with a useless Governor. Then again how can the Centre do anything because they have to depend on the support in Delhi of some other party for their very existence? They are therefore afraid of dealing with the situation strongly. What a horrifying report the study team of Members of Parliament have given us?

We hear about police atrocities. I am sure atrocities are being committed by the Police and I demand that proper inquiry should be conducted into each and every case and the police should not be spared if found guilty. These atrocities certainly must stop. Unfortunately, the police force itself is paralysed even today. What a strange argument Shrimati Pirabir Mukhopadhyaya had put forward in the House the other day. She said her Party did not want the P. D. Act earlier because the police was then indoctrinated with Marxists and that there were undesirable elements within its ranks. Now that the Police has been cleared of the undesirables, her party wanted these acts to be passed. What a strange argument! Has the police been purged? They are still divided into two camps and this is one of the reasons why police cannot take effective steps. There have been complaints against the Police for atrocities. It is very bad. At the same time to maintain law and order the police has a very special responsibility and special type of duty to perform. All the same it is for the Government to be strict and to see that the police does not exceed its limit. To maintain law and order they will have to make arrests but that does not mean that they should commit atrocities. If they are allowed to go on with the atrocities, the situation would be getting bad to worse and there will be retaliations from all quarters against the Police and the Government. I wish this does not happen.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta has called these Acts as "black Acts". It is certainly dangerous to arm the Government with such wide powers. But armed with such powers only are trying people will not solve our problem. I ask the Government what they are doing to ameliorate the condition of the people of Bengal. The situation is not only political or of law and order but also socio-economic. Unemployment is soaring high. There is fall in production. There is scare among business men and therefore a continuous shift of industries. There are labour troubles everywhere. There is also the problem of the refugees. But the most dangerous of all our problems is that of the young and educated unemployed who are led to violence. These unfortunate young men who are so easily led astray by politicians will be our voters at the time of the next elections and they are being indoctrinated to the cult of violence and are being

spoiled. Sir, this is a serious thing. Will the Government care to give its special attention to this serious problem? What have they done so long for providing employment to the educated youth in the state whose number is swelling day by day? I would once again warn the Government to be determined, to make up its mind and to see the writing on the wall and to come out boldly to improve things in Bengal. For doing that, Sir, they should not be afraid that because they are strong and determined they will lose the elections. It is their sacred duty as they have taken upon themselves the task of restoring peace and prosperity to Bengal. Irrespective of the fact that by doing so they will lose the support of this party or that party either in the State or here at the Centre, they must act now and act firmly. As I said this is their sacred duty which they must and must discharge.

The other day, Sir, my friend, Shri Pant, spoke in the Lok Sabha and I had read his speech. He spoke in a State of utter helplessness. He said that the Government cannot by itself do anything unless it gets public support. Public support is indeed needed. But where is the atmosphere in Bengal for people to dare and come out in the streets of Calcutta and organise peace parties and go from door to door? Can we give such protection when his own policemen are ineffective and they themselves need protection? You know, Sir, several senior officers of the Calcutta Police have taken shelter in the Rai Bhavan because they are afraid that if they come out alone in the streets of Calcutta they would be killed. Then how do you expect, in a situation like this. Leaders who are not connected with any party to come out and organise peace parties to go to the people and talk to them? They are afraid that if they do so they will be running the risk of losing their lives.

Sir, I say once again that if the Government really wants to improve things, it has first to remove the Governor. He has become unpopular and there have been demands from every quarter for his removal and I am told that even the members of the Central Cabinet have been advising the Prime Minister to remove the Governor. Sir, there is a word in Hindi and I do not know its English equivalent. The Hindi word is "id" and it is the Prime Minister's "id" that the Governor will not be removed.

[Shri R. S. Doogar.]

Coming back\* once again to the grim situation in West Bengal, I would cite only two instances which have taken place after these acts were passed. First take the case of Aditya who was brutally murdered. He belonged to the Congress (O). Then the other day a procession which Shri Bijoy Singh Nahar of Congress (R) was leading had been attacked. I had never so long heard of any procession being attacked with Bombs.

The reason for the present state of lawlessness in Bengal is because the police is ineffective and paralysed because the administration is very weak, and they are as such unable to protect the lives, and properties of people of West Bengal. Take the case of the murderous attacks on the lives of Shri Parimal Ghosh's wife and son. His factory was attacked a few days ago and he was threatened that his wife and son would be murdered. The police knew it. Then the mouthpiece of the political party of Bengal published an article saying that Mr. Ghosh's son was responsible for sheltering the Naxalites. But where was the police to give protection? You have taken enough powers from us and we have reluctantly given them to you. So do something! Other wise, if you keep yourself armed with these powers without trying to do anything to improve the present situation and lawlessness or to ameliorate the conditions of the people, to solve question of the unemployment, to solve so many other problems which beset Bengal then why are you there? But I know you will not do anything and therefore no amount of power you are armed with and howsoever wide (hey may be, they will not help you. It is for you to decide or rather it is for the Prime Minister to decide because we have one person's rule in the country today. I do not think that she wants to save Bengal. Sir, we in this House have been discussing the situation in Bengal day in and day out. We have been giving our advices and narrating our tales of miseries and sufferings. But everything has fallen on deaf ears. Six or seven times I alone had the opportunity of speaking in this House and had tried to explain the seriousness of the situation in Bengal. But all that I said have fallen into deaf ears. Who cares for what? None though the situation in Bengal has gone from bad to worse and from worse to worst. Shrimati Indira

dhi does not care to understand the writing on the wall. She is sitting on a volcano. It is going to erupt soon if she does not take effective steps even now. If she still does not act with Bengal the whole of the country will also go.

Thank you.

I) K. B. N. ANTANI (Gujarat) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise with deep anguish to participate in this debate. Sir, I have lived through the times of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and other such catastrophies. But when I see the present conditions in Bengal, I hang my head in shame. There was never a more agonizing and a more tragic condition in this ancient country than we find in West Bengal today. Sir, my leader, who has his ninety-second birth day, said that he was a weeping philosopher. That is the culmination of his life after 60 or 70 years of his political career. He says, "I am a weeping philosopher."

Sir, I have listened to the debate here. I have seen screaming, yelling dramatized with a tinge of sincerity in the debate. I have still to find a physician here who tries to diagnose the disease, much less to treat it. I say, Sir, that I have been thinking very seriously on the conditions today. Those who are today not serious enough for Bengal will have to weep for the 17 remaining States tomorrow. Conditions have come to a stage when there is personal aggrandizement and tussel for power. Nobody cares for the country and the future welfare of this great country. Are we going to Raj ghat to put flowers on it? The Man is dead. Long live the man! If he would have alive today, what would he have said about Bengal?

Sir, I do not know what is my time. When the bell rings, I will immediately sit down . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have got 15 minutes.

DR. B. N. ANTANI : I am a man who, at the age of 17 years, took inspiration from Bengal in 1907, and then I went to East Africa. Has the place of Aurobindo, the place of Khudhiram, the place of Asutosh come to this that there will be a street-to-street fighting, house-to-house fighting, brother-to-brother fighting? And for what? They are fighting for what? They are fighting for the wretched, miserable political

(lower of a part) Once I go to mortgage the country to China, the other fellow goes to the Soviets. Nobody goes to the Ganges or the Brahmaputra. And this is the culmination. This is the culmination; now we have come to, Sir. I am, therefore, here to appeal to the country through this distinguished House; May Congress (O) go to the Heaven; May Congress (R) go to the Seventh Paradise: But for God's sake, save the country and save the shame in the world with which we are looked at today. When they think of Bengal! I have been reading about the harrowing tales. Things have come to such a pass when the wife and the son of a Union Minister is stabbed. There is the 'Hindustan Standard' which says that the assailants were familiar with the household of the Minister. They regularly used to go to that House and they were being harboured and encouraged and they are the people who are today arrested for having committed this crime. I ask these benches: "Do you do these things? Do you harbour these anti-social elements in your houses to create and ferment these disturbances in Bengal?" Let anybody contradict it. I am here therefore to ask that let the Government be there which governs. Is there any Government, not only in Bengal but even in India, even at the Centre? The Leader of the House is here. I hope. Nobody on the Treasury Bench is scribbling here. The Speaker says: "The Supreme Court has given its judgment". When Rome is burning, Nero is fiddling. This is the condition of Bengal today. The Government is there which governs.

AN HON. MEMBER: The entire country is like this.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: The Government is there which governs. I have had the honour in my life to be responsible for law and order situation in three of the erstwhile Indian States but whenever such things happened, the only thing to do is to put your foot down and see that it is nipped in the bud. You have been advertently or inadvertently coming and colluding to create conditions in Bengal where by you can come to power. Never, never dream of it, Mr. Minister with dharias, spears or knives, this will not happen.

SHR. SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: They do not follow the meaning of dharia.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: Had Sudharsan Chakra been in his hands things would

be different. The Ministers are given only paper dharias. I have seen the Ministers doing it. My eyes are very strong still but they are only dharias blunted. They do not act. He who laughs last laughs the best. The only remedy is that the Governor should go. My friend said that he is not capable of even creating mischief. They are more dangerous. Those who are neither men nor women are more dangerous. Therefore the best remedy today is to call back or dismiss this Governor forthwith and see that law and order is restored at any cost. Law and order must be restored without any delay. My Party—do not call it reactionary and do not be led away—is called the party of rightists. I challenge this Government: 'Quit your office for a fortnight and I shall see that there will be immediate restoration of law and order in Bengal.' You are incapable. You are incompetent. You are eager to see that this goes on in West Bengal, and they are the reasons for the happenings in West Bengal. I therefore say that these things should be considered very seriously and dispassionately irrespective of parties. My friend, with pathos, just now said that it was the economic conditions that brought about these in West Bengal. Fish? There is no famine of fish in the world. There is no famine of rice in the world. Even in that famine in Bengal, when millions died, Bengal never died. Bengal never begged. Bengal never wept. Bengal was never ashamed to suffer. And that Bengal, today, is being stabbed from house to house. We hang our heads in shame and pray to God that, for God's sake, this Government should either govern or quit in a moment. Otherwise, the country will drive you out lock, stock and barrel.

Thank you, Sir.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA (West Bengal): Sir, I was listening with rapt and respectful attention to what the aged parliamentarian, Dr. Antani, was saying. He was very clear and unequivocal, and I would have been happy if I could, be so clear as he was. But when a situation is complex, ignoring that complexity, if I resort to clarity, that will be unfair to the situation, to the complex situation now prevailing in West Bengal. It is under a painful necessity that we had to endorse and enact the Prevention of Violent Activities Act and the Maintenance

[Dr. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya.] ance of Public Order Act. No democratic Government, in its ordinary state, or in the usual time of history, would like to enact such unfortunate laws—I say the laws are unfortunate— but the situation now prevailing in West Bengal is extra-ordinary, and the extraordinary situation calls for extra-ordinary measures. It is only in this con-text, with reluctance and hesitation, I have to endorse these measures for expeditious and quick restoration of law and order in West Bengal. Now, the political conditions which precipitate this present state of affairs must not be lost sight of. It is no use recounting the incidents the tragic and painful and the endless number of incidents, but we must scratch the surface, go into depth, follow the trends and try to understand the situation rather than abuse this or that party before we start trying to disabuse our minds of some wrong and rhetoric notions about West Bengal. I being a citizen of West Bengal, am, for obvious reasons, 'more interested than others in the maintenance of public order in West Bengal. But how it could be done is not clear, is not even vaguely clear to many of my honoured colleagues sitting opposite. I appreciate their eagerness to maintain law and order, but I cannot approve of the approach they are advocating in the House, so rhetorically, so vociferously and sometimes so bitterly. We should remember that there was some backlog of problems, a backlog of two decades, and they are the economic problems, in the face of which our party had to sit in the Opposition, and the parties, which came in a combination, in a lump, in a bucket—I should say—to power, they could not justify, they did not justify their election success, that enormous massive public support to them in their elections, as in the crest of their glory they forgot their allegiance to the people, to the election promises they made to the people. They started killing each other, and the game of killing they started was not according to the rules of the game. So the game of politics turned into a gamble of fortune-seeking, political fortune-seeking, resulting in the tremendous loss not of life and property alone but of basic democratic

values, jeopardising people's SPM basic faith in democracy itself.

And the CPI(M) showed the way as it led the United Front. Now the political conditions are peculiar. Some left parties at that time

i no! interested in naming the parties because I am not interested in abusing the parties; I am only interested in maintaining law and order and in seeing that normalcy is restored as quickly as possible—which played second fiddle or third fiddle to the CPI (M) did no) do their best to stop the rot, to arrest the deterioration in the law and order situation. It was only when the Bangla Congress forced them to dissolve the Government, to come out, they did, otherwise they were dilly-dallying but not coming out. They were all the time playing second fiddle to the CPI (M) who started the game of killing or the gamble of political fortune-seeking. Some of these parties, I am sorry to say, are now committing another fallacy, what I would call the fallacy of *Reductio ad absurdum*. They are reducing all problems, executive problems, legal problems to problems of economics. These who played the second fiddle to the CPI (M) during the United Front regime are now very eloquently committing the fallacy of *reductio ad absurdum*. They are reducing all problems, the problems of law and order, the problems of national unity, the problems of politics, pure and simple to the problems of economics and they are now feeling glorified that they are giving a true Marxist interpretation to a situation created by the Marxists behaving like anti-Marxists. So this is a very peculiar situation. Those who have played second fiddle to the CPI (M) are now opposing the law necessary for maintaining law and order in West Bengal. I am quite aware, which, many of my friends who are Rightists are not, about the very strong persistent economic undertone of the political problem of the law and order problem in West Bengal. I am not in our of committing the fallacy of what I called *Reductio ad absurdum* but of course I do admit which many of my friends not quite conversant with the situation in West Bengal do not recognise, that there is a very strong undertone of economics, undertone of industrial unrest, undertone of unrest among the students, unrest among the teachers who do not get their due salaries in time, unrest among the teachers of schools who have not got their salaries for the last five or six months. Now, the students are unhappy, the teachers do not get their salaries, not even primary school teachers, and still we speak of law and order and take to superficial measures like transfer-rin] a Governor or forcing the retire-

ment of this or that Adviser. It is really doubly curious that this comes from radically progressive people who must be aware of the backlog of the problems of West Bengal, who must be aware of the cumulative and explosive causes of social unrest over the last two decades or so. So removal of the Governor or demotion or promotion of this or that Adviser will not go to the root of the problem, will not even touch the fringe of the problem I am sure.\* So I will appeal to the Government and also I will appeal to all sections of the House to realise the strong persistent economic causes underlying this situation now prevailing in West Bengal. I must say one thing that could be done and I would appeal to the hon. Minister to think of it. They must make some such laws which will compel every employer to employ people from among those unemployed people registered at the different employment exchanges. There are innumerable people now in West Bengal whose names are registered with the employment exchanges, but because of some legal lacunae they do not get jobs and other people not registered get the jobs because of backdoor influence. So, this sad state of affairs must be put an end to. There must be some laws compelling the employer to employ people registered with the different employment exchanges. It is not a radical measure. It is not a revolutionary measure, but I am sure that this is an absolutely necessary measure. It will be done and if it is done it would help generate what I should say an atmosphere of confidence among the jobless youth that the Government is at least trying to do something for them. Secondly, I would say this. Though these are apparently unconnected I believe they are very much relevant to the main issue. Government should see that the college teachers who are not getting their increased salary from 1966 should get it. The money should be released. Thirdly, teachers do not receive their salaries regularly, because they do not get the grants from the Government regularly. That sad state of affairs should also be put an end to. Every problem may look a big problem. Looking at the size of the problem as a whole we get overwhelmed, but if we analyse it into components we find that individually taken it could be easily tackled. If it is solved or even if it is only partly solved, it could generate a climate of confidence. People will start

believing that something is coming up, if it is not coming up yet. I am sorry to say that many of the schools are now breeding grounds of the extremist movement. Many teachers have taken to the path of extremism. I say it as a matter of explanation. Please do not misunderstand me. It is not a word in justification, but it is a word of explanation. Now, if democracy fails to prove that the democratic method is not the right method for bringing about the desired social changes in the desired pace, then people, rightly or wrongly, think of other methods, however adventurous, however alluring and however romantic they may be. This is a truth, a social and psychological truth. Though one hates it, it is there and very much so. Looking at the law and order problem as a whole we should not be overwhelmed. We should look into the underlying causes. We must get into its components, analyse it and then try to solve them in a piecemeal way. Many of these global problems are local in origin, piecemeal in origin and I would request the different hon. Ministers, not only the Home Minister, but also the Education Minister, the Minister of Internal Trade, the Minister of Steel and Heavy Engineering, to tackle the Bengal situation adequately. It is not enough to leave it to the Home Minister. He is there to do his job. He is up to his own job which left to himself can be solved. He cannot solve it partly because of the other parties' partisan opposition, not only the right wing parties. Their opposition for the sake of opposition, I can understand, but there are some other parties who do not believe in it. They all say that they do not believe in opposition for the sake of opposition. They claim that they are with the Government so long as the Government has some popular measures for the people. I think the steps taken by the Government for the amelioration of the economic conditions of the people of West Bengal and for maintaining law and order taken as a whole are progressive, sane and rational. I believe left to yourself, Sir, you will also believe it. It is for the first time within three months after the beginning of the President's rule that a revolutionary land law has been enacted, which could not be enacted by the United Front Government in two different instalments, once in nine months and again in thirteen months. So, judged from that point of view three differ-

[Dr. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya.]

ent laws, progressive laws, laws meant for the upliftment of the economic conditions of West Bengal have been enacted. We find that the Government has set a pattern for progressively arresting the deterioration situation.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Pattern of terrorism and violence.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : I am sorry I cannot agree with my hon. friend, Mr. Chatterjee. I understand that their people have created a reign of terror in Durgapur. I do not know whether the hon. Minister has with him that report which he ordered a long time ago about the Durgapur violence. I would very much like to know if that Enquiry Commission has submitted a report and whether that proves the innocence of the partymen of my friend Shri A. P. Chatterjee who is so much opposed to terrorism. I would very much like to know whether their partymen themselves indulged in terrorism and terrorism of an unbridled sort.

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SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You know about the results of the election...  
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MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You conclude.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : In a minute I will finish. I am sorry to say that police excesses have been committed. I repeat, Sir, police excesses have been committed. . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Thank you for your generosity.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : It is only because of love for truth I have to admit it. I am not playing to the gallery. I am not very fond of rhetoric as the ex-Professor of English and lucrative Barrister or Advocate of the Calcutta High Court. So, I know, Sir, that it is not rhetoric but for the sake of truth I have to admit the little I know that police have committed excesses. But when there is a distinction, distinction must be drawn. If certain police people

have committed excesses here and there, they should be condemned, condemned unequivocally. But for that reason all categories of police people who have been working under a very trying situation and unenviable condition should not be condemned in any irresponsible fashion only to get press publicity or cheap popularity. Whoever is returned in election and has to work with the administration, police and the executive, must be responsible in denouncing the administration, police or non police. I am next to none in condemning the police excesses. I am sorry to say that some of our Chatra Parishad students have been brutally beaten up by the police officers. One of the Secretaries of the South Calcutta Chatra Parishad District, whose name is Sadan Bose, was beaten up in Tollygunge lock-up by one Bepin Bose, Sub-Inspector of Police, and there was a two inch deep wound in his stomach, and one of his left-hand bones was fractured. It was a compound fracture. He had to be removed to hospital. I know that in Beliaghata the nails of three Chatra Parishad students were pulled out by the police. And I have no doubt...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Pant, listen to what your partyman says.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : I say, in some cases police excesses have been committed. But for that the police force as a whole should not be condemned in an irresponsible fashion.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :  
Please conclude now.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : One last word.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Why not have some more words?

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : It is because I obey the Chair. There I differ from you.

So, I will join the voice of sanity uttered by friends like Mr. Chhitta Basu and Bhupesh Gupta that within this hour of crisis in West Bengal, we should raise above petty party politics



and approach the problem of West Bengal as a whole and all parties believing in all that is decent and good in social and cultural life must put their heads together. In this respect, I would also call u on my friend, Mr. Chatterjee who otherwise is not disposed to this sort of call; in the interests of the country. I would ask him, request him, beg of him to think in a calm and cool fashion and try to do something to put an end to the reign of terror. The violence committed by this party against that Party or violence by police against innocent youths or even criminals for that matter or the excess of the miscreants against the police, all should be stopped. And rising above petty party considerations, we should think of the West Bengal situation as a whole and I beg of all party men to come and sit together and do something positive and concrete in this dark hour of crisis in West Bengal.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN  
(Andhra Pradesh). Let us all join together in that.

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** उपसभापति महोदय, बंगाल की स्थिति के बारे में चिन्ता-जनक परिस्थिति है। आज मुझे दुःख के साथ इस काले विधेयक के समर्थन में अपनी बात कहनी होगी।

**श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी :** समर्थन।

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** जी। मैं जानता हूँ कि यह समर्थन उसी उदाहरण के साथ तोल खाता है कि जहाँ पिछले दिनों में किसी शासन के बारे में यह कहा जाता था कि इसके राज में मुर्दों से कफन उतार लिया जाता था और तब जलाने की इजाजत मिलती थी। लेकिन उसके बाद आने वाले शासन ने जब कफन उतारने के साथ मुर्दों को चार बेंत लगाना शुरू किया है, तो पहले वाले शासन के लिये जो मुर्दों से कफन उतारने के कारण बदनाम होता था, इस दूसरे शासन के मुकाबिले में कहा जाने लगा कि इस से तो वह अच्छा था। आज कुछ ऐसी ही अजीब परिस्थिति देश में और विशेष कर बंगाल में पैदा हुई है।

नजरबन्दी कानून या लोगों की आजादी पर हाथ डालने का अधिकार पुलिस को मिले यह कभी भी स्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता, साधारण परिस्थिति में परन्तु आज उसी मिसाल की तरह के हालात पैदा हुये हैं। यह बात मैं सरकार पर एक आरोप के रूप में लगाना चाहता हूँ कि जो विद्यमान कानून हैं, सरकार उनका ईमानदारी से उपयोग नहीं कर रही। इन कानूनों का अधिकार सरकार को बड़ी मजबूरी से देने के लिये हम तैयार हैं, इसी आशा से कि आज जो बंगाल में परिस्थिति बिगड़ रही है, उसको सुधारने में अगर इनका उपयोग होगा तो यह कोई बड़ी हीमत नहीं होगी। सरकार से हम अपेक्षा करते हैं कि इन कानूनों का उपयोग वह समझ से करे, संयम से करे और कुल मिला कर परिस्थिति में सुधार करने का प्रमाण दे।

मैंने जैसा कहा है, हालात बहुत खराब हैं। लेकिन यह हालात आज एक दम नहीं निर्माण हुई। आज बहुत से दल इस हालात के बारे में चिन्ता प्रकट करते हैं, लेकिन पिछले दो तीन वर्षों से या उससे भी पहले से इसकी कुछ शुरुवात हुई। जब शुरू-शुरू में जमीनों पर जबरदस्ती कब्जा किया जाने लगा और कब्जा करने वाले लोग हथियारों से लैस हो कर जमीनों पर कब्जा करने लगे तो लोगों ने कहा कि भूमिहीन लोगों के सवाल को हल करने के लिए अगर हमने अभी तक काम नहीं किया है, तो भूमिहीन और क्या कर सकते हैं अगर जबरदस्ती जमीन पर कब्जा न करे तो? फिर इसी प्रकार व्यापारियों के घरों में घुस कर, उनको लूटने की, उनका सामान छीनने की, कुछ लोगों ने कोशिशें की। तो कहा गया यह व्यापारी खून चूसने वाला है, यह व्यापारी ने गरीबों का धन जमा किया है, इसके घर को अगर लूटा गया, इसके घर में अगर किसी ने चोरी की, तो आज के इस सोशियो इकानामिक प्राबलम के बारे में ध्यान आकर्षित करने का यह एक रास्ता है। ये लोग गांवों में से जब खदेड़े गए, शहरों में आए, तो कालेजों में, स्कूलों में, जबरदस्ती झंडा लगाना, फर्नीचर जलाना, सालाना इम्तिहानों को रोकना ये

[ श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी ]

सब करने लगे। मैं मानता हूँ, जैसा प्रोफेसर साहब ने कहा, कुछ समस्याएँ हैं—बंगाल के भूमिहीनों का प्रश्न है, बेकारी का प्रश्न है, गरीबी का प्रश्न है, मास्टरों को तनक्वाहें नहीं मिलती।

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

लेकिन क्या किसी भी स्ट्रेच आफ इमेजिनेशन से कानून को अपने हाथ में लेकर इन सब कामों को करना, ताकत को प्रोत्साहन देना सही हो सकता है? थोड़े दिनों पहले सी० पी० आई० के कार्यकर्ता मारे जाते थे, फारबर्ड ब्लाक के लोग मारे गए, गोली के शिकार हुए, संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के कार्यकर्ता शिकार हुए और आज मार्किस्ट, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के कार्यकर्ता शिकार हो रहे हैं यह और ये जितने काम गए हैं, सब नक्सलवाधियों के नाम पर कहा गया, यानी यह नक्सलवादी नाम एक किनारे से दूसरे किनारे तक इस प्रकार की हिंसा की मनोवृत्ति में प्रवृत्त होने वाले ग्रुप के लिए लागू होने लगा, लेकिन उनका इस्तेमाल कौन करता था? उनको शरण कौन देता था? उनकी धकालत कौन करता था और कानून को हाथ में लेने वाले इस तबके के पीछे बिहाइन्ड द सीन कौन लोग काम करते थे, इसका विचार करना पड़ेगा। मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ, इसका संबंध सरकार पर बैठे उस समय जो-जो दल रहे, जिन-जिन लोगों ने उन हिंसा पर उतारू तत्व को अपना प्रतिद्वन्द्विता के खिलाफ, इस्तेमाल करने की कोशिश की। तब से यह तत्व हमेशा उनका खिलौना बन गया—किसी समय सी० पी० आई० ने इस्तेमाल किया, किसी समय सी० पी० एम० ने इस्तेमाल किया, किसी समय कांग्रेस ने किया और किसी समय दूसरे दलों ने किया। वह ऐसा हिंसक तत्व है, जिसका इस्तेमाल किसी भी सरकार का प्रोटेक्शन मिलने पर हो सकता है। आज आपस के राजनैतिक विद्वेष को समाप्त करने के लिए इसी तबके का इस्तेमाल किया जा

रहा है और इसीलिए आज इसके डाइमेंशन बड़ गए। आज शिकायत हुए कि राजनैतिक पार्टियों का काम करने वाले जैसा कि सी० पी० आई० (एम) के कार्यकर्ताओं ने आरोप किया—120 से ज्यादा कामरेड मारे गए...

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श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : आई स्टैन्ड करेक्टेड। सरकार का कहना है कि पुलिस वाले 40 से अधिक इन इस बारे कांडों में शिकार हो चुके हैं। कामन सिटीजंस सैकड़ों की संख्या में मारे जा चुके हैं, हजारों लोग घायल हुए हैं। डाइमेंशन इतने तक पहुँच गया। सीधी बात यह है कि क्या हम हिंसा के मार्ग से या कानून हाथ में लेकर किसी भी समस्या का समाधान करना चाहते हैं कि नहीं करना चाहते हैं? यह एक बेसिक इश्यू है, जिस पर हमको अपनी राय कायम करनी पड़ेगी। यह मैं मान सकता हूँ कि जब कभी प्रश्नों को हल करने में इतनी देरी लग जाती है, वह इतना कम्प्लेक्स हो जाता है कि उसमें से डिस्पैरेशन निर्माण होता है, लोगों के मन में विद्रोह पैदा हो जाता है, हताशा पैदा हो जाती है। या तो हम उस हताशा को वैधानिक रास्ते की तरफ लगाएँ या लोगों को हथियार उठा कर या हथियार के आधार पर उस हताश मनोवृत्ति को इस्तेमाल करने के लिए कहें। बंगाल में, जहाँ पहले से मेरा संबंध है, पिछले दिनों में, मैं गलत नहीं हूँ, यह कहते हुए कि जो हिंसा का काम हुआ उससे झगड़ा घटा नहीं है, झगड़ा बढ़ा है। यह कह दिया गया कि यह नान-बंगाली है, यह मार बाड़ी है, यह पूंजीपति है, इसलिए इसके घर पर घावा करो, इसलिए इसको लूटो, इसके कारखाने को बंद करो, इसके कारखाने में आग लगाओ। लेकिन इसका परिणाम आज यह हो गया कि बंगाल का साधारण नवयुवक आज बेकारी का अधिक शिकार बना हुआ है, उसके सामने से एवेन्यूज आफ एम्प्लायमेंट खत्म हुए हैं, आज वही जिन्हें डिसप्लेस बनाया

गया, उन्हें कहा जा रहा है कि कानून अपने हाथ में लो, तुम जमीन पर कब्जा कर लो, सरकार मजबूरी से जमीन बांटने के लिए तैयार होगी। चूँकि किसी ने प्राप्ति वेंजेज नहीं दिए, चूँकि वीनस नहीं दिया, चूँकि मैनेजमेन्ट में लेबर का पार्टिसिपेशन करवाने से इनकार किया, जिसने जमीन सीलिंग से ज्यादा रख कर, जमीन अपने पास दबा कर भूमिहीनों को वितरण करने में रुकावट पैदा की उनका विरोध करने में...

श्री कल्याण चन्द (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह समझ में आया कि किसके पास जमीन है।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह मंडारी : तो इन सवालों को हल करने के लिए 20 सालों से जो पसंद इन आथारिटी रहे, चाहे वह कांग्रेस रही हो, चाहे युनाइटेड फ्रन्ट रही हो, चाहे दूसरी सरकारें रही हों, पसंद इन आथारिटी द्वारा कानून को लागू करने में कसूर रहा है, इस बात को स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा।

अभी प्रोफेसर सहव बतला रहे थे कि हमने प्रेजिडेंट रूल के थोड़े ही दिनों में भूमि सुधार के संबंध में प्रोग्रेसिव कानून बना दिया है। एक कानून पहले ही 15 सालों से बन कर बंगाल की स्टेट्यूट बुक में पड़ा हुआ है। कानून बनाने मात्र से परिस्थिति में सुधार नहीं आ सकता। बल्कि सवाल यह है कि उस कानून का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन होता है या नहीं? आज जिनको बर्गदार कह कर बदनाम किया जाता है, जिनको जोतदार कह कर बदनाम किया जाता है, क्या आज उनके पास ला आफ दी लैन्ड के खिलाफ जमीन थी या उन्होंने ला को ब्रीच करके जमीन रखी थी? जो भी इन्डिविजुअल ऐसे हैं, जिन्होंने कानून की अवहेलना करके जमीन अपने पास रखी है, उनको कानून के शिकंजे में लाना चाहिये, इन सारी परिस्थितियों में मैं सुधार आवश्यक समझता हूँ।

आज जो इस समस्या पर चिन्ता व्यक्त कर रहे हैं कि सरकार के हाथों में इस तरह के अधिकार नहीं जाने चाहिये, जो इन चीजों का

विरोध कर रहे हैं, उन्होंने ही प्रारम्भिक अवस्था में इन तत्त्वों को बढ़ावा दिया, इन तत्त्वों को पालापोसा और यदि इन तत्त्वों को ढील करने के संबंध में पुलिस द्वारा यदाकदा कभी सख्ती हुई होगी, तो यही इस सदन में अपील की गई थी कि उनके साथ ह्यूमनीटेरिगन व्यवहार किया जाना चाहिये।

इस वक्त मैं पुलिस के व्यवहार से संतुष्ट नहीं हूँ, पुलिस के संबंध में जो ज्यादाती की शिकायतें हैं, उनसे मुझे दुःख है। यह मामला केवल बंगाल तक ही सीमित नहीं है, पुलिस के सारे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के बारे में, उनके इस तरह के व्यवहार के बारे में चिन्ता करने की आवश्यकता है। मेरा मन इस बात की गवाही देता है कि जिन लोगों को पुलिस कस्टडी में मारा गया है, उनका कोल्ड ब्लड्डेड मर्डर जरूर किया गया है। मैं बंगाल के संबंध में ही यह बात नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ, बल्कि मैं एक ताजा उदाहरण अपनी स्टेट की एक घटना के संबंध में देना चाहता हूँ। डाकू यह एक खराब शब्द है, डाकू समाज के विरोधी हैं, समाज के लिए एक खराब एलिमेंट है और इस समस्या का हल होना ही चाहिये। लेकिन पिछली 17-18 जुलाई, 1970 को धौलपुर के पास जब पुलिस और डाकूओं के बीच में मूठभेड़ हुई तो उसमें कुछ डाकू मारे गये और 5 डाकू जिन्दा पकड़ लिये गये। यह घटना 17 और 18 जुलाई की रात को हुई। 18 तारीख को जो डाकू पकड़ लिये गये थे, उनके हाथ बांध कर सारे गांव में घुमाया गया और घर-घर जाकर हथियारों की तलाशी ली गई। 19 तारीख की सुबह इन डाकूओं के बंधे हाथों गोली मारकर खत्म कर दिया गया। मैंने इस बात का इसलिए जिक्र किया; क्योंकि जिन पुलिस आफिसरों के सामने इन डाकूओं को गोली मारी गई, उन्हीं आफिसरों में पद्मश्री की उपाधि से सुशोभित अफसर भी थे। तो मेरा निवेदन यह है कि इस तरह से पुलिस के आफिसरों द्वारा जो हरकतें होती हैं, उसकी जांच होनी चाहिये। राजस्थान के चीफ मिनिस्टर उस गांव में गए

[ श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी ]

वहाँ गांव के लोगों को तकावियां बांटीं। तकावियां बांटीं, लेकिन अगर वह तकावियां लोगों के मुंह पर ताला लगाने के लिए बांटी गई हैं, तो मैं चाहूंगा कि केन्द्रीय सरकार पुलिस की इन हरकतों का नोटिस ले और उनकी जांच करवाए। क्या इस तरह से पुलिस को ज्यादाती करने और कोल्ड ब्लेड मर्डर करने की इजाजत दी जा सकती है? इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो रिपोर्ट भूपेश गुप्त ने या श्री चित्त बामु ने या प्रोफेसर साहब ने दी है या और मेरे मित्र देंगे सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को उनका नोटिस लेना चाहिए। जिन चीजों के लिए पुलिस रेस्पॉन्सिबिल है, उनका सीरियस नोटिस लिए बिना यहाँ पर एक दूसरा विचार जनता के दिमाग में पैदा होता है।

मुझे आज खुशी है कि श्री भूपेश गुप्त सेंट्रल रिजर्व पुलिस के बारे में कुछ बोले नहीं। वैसे वे उसको बिल्कुल सहन करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। कहीं भी कोई चीज होती किसी भी प्रकार का ला एंड आर्डर के बारे में उनको आक्षेप लगाना है तो वे सी० आर० पी० को स्केपगोट बनाते हैं, पुलिस को स्केपगोट बनाते हैं। जहाँ मैं इंडीवीजुअल इन्वेस्टीगेशन के पक्ष में हूँ, मैं सी० आर० पी० या पुलिस को स्केपगोट बनाने के पक्ष में हरगिज नहीं हूँ। मुझे रिपोर्ट मिली है— श्री भूपेश गुप्त मुझे कन्ट्रैडिक्ट करेंगे, यदि वह सही नहीं तो—कि बिहार के चीफ मिनिस्टर से भूपेश गुप्त ने एक जगह से पुलिस बुला लेने को कहा इस घमकी को देकर कि अगर उनके कहने के आधार पर पुलिस विदड़ नहीं की गई तो ये अपना पोलिटिकल सपोर्ट विदड़ कर लेंगे।

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : What? Do you want to contradict it?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes.

of Violent Activities Act, 1970 and

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : Then, Sir, you must allow me as much time as he takes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Some police camps have been set up in the villages to support the landlords. I have asked the Chief Minister to withdraw the police camps from the village\* which have been used by the landlords to attack the peasants.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I Will clarify the position . . .

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : मेरा यही कहना है की जब कभी भी लड़ाई होती है, तो पीजेन्ट्स और लैंडलाड्स की बात कह देते हैं और जब घर पर होने लगती है तो वह सी० पी० आई० एम० और सी० पी० आई० की बन जाती है। चाहे इंडीवीजुअल नागरिक हो, चाहे कारखाना चलाने वाला इंडीवीजुअल इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट हो, चाहे खेती करने वाला जोतदार हो, अगर वह हिन्दुस्तान के बनाए हुए कानूनों की, सीमा के अन्दर काम करता है, अगर उसके प्रोटेक्शन की जिम्मेदारी सरकार नहीं लेगी, उसको उसका अधिकार भोगने की इजाजत नहीं देगी तो जो पोलिटिकल जेनोसाइड एक दूसरे के बीच में चल रहा है, उसको भी वह रोक नहीं सकेगी। इसलिए मुझे यह निवेदन करना है कि जो अधिकार हम दे रहे हैं सरकार के हाथ में उस सम्बन्ध में आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि जहाँ इन अधिकारों का उपयोग हो, वहाँ समस्याओं के समाधान के लिए भी काम किया जाय।

श्री अन्तर्नी इस बात के लिए बड़े दुःखी थे कि यह वह बंगाल है, जिससे हम प्रेरणा लिया करते थे। पर आज बंगाल के लोग सी० आर० दान की प्रतिमाओं को तोड़ रहे हैं, स्वामी विवेकानन्द पर लांछन उछाल रहे हैं। इसका May God forgive those who are innocent. मतलब क्या हुआ : मैं यह कह सकता हूँ —

आज की भूमिका में सी० आर० दास की महिमा को समझने वाला वहाँ कोई नहीं है। आज की समाज रचना में, जहाँ अर्थ का दास बना कर सारे समाज को लड़ने की वस्तु बना दिया गया है, सी० आर० दास, स्वामी विवेकानन्द और आशुतोष मुखर्जी की महिमा को कोई नहीं समझता।

of Violent Ac'vines Act, 1910ana

आज बंगाल की सिचुएशन को सुधारना है। बंगाल की सिचुएशन 10 आदमी मर गए, 25 को आगे से बचा लेंगे इतने तक सीमित है। तब तो केवल टेक्स्ट आफ ला मदद दे देगा। लेकिन हम समझते हैं कि वहां पर एक बीमारी पैदा हो रही है, जिसके बढ़ने का फैलने का डर है और उससे केवल बंगाल बर्बाद नहीं होगा, पूरे देश की एकता संकट में पड़ेगी, देश की समस्याओं के हल के लिये कांस्टीट्यूशनल एप्रोच को आदत संकट में पड़ेगी, देश की डेमोक्रेसी संकट में पड़ेगी। देश में कानून हाथ में लेकर मनमाया अराजकता पैदा करने की ओर लोग आगे बढ़ेंगे। तो फिर कुछ नेशनल अपील की जानी चाहिए। लेकिन नेशनल अपील करने वाले व्यक्ति को अर्थ का दास बनाने की भूमिका तक सीमित रखना नहीं पड़ेगा।

कुछ वैल्यूज की बात की गई। श्री चित्त बामु कहने लगे कि पुलिस को अधिकार है कि मन-राइज से सन-सेट तक वह किसी के घर में घुस सकती है। हम समझता हूँ कि 50 परसेंट ही अधिकार दिया गया। यह सरकार तो बाइ डे एंड बाइ नाइट काम करती है और आज इस बात का अभिमान लिया गया कि हम तो आधी रात में ऐक्ट करते, सरकार की फर्ज अदायगी करते हैं। क्या आपको खुशी नहीं मनानी चाहिए कि उन्होंने रात को पुलिस को घर में घुसने का अधिकार नहीं दिया है? Must you not thank these people who work day and light?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : But they are killing day and night.

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

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : और इसलिए मैं इस सवाल पर श्री भूपेश गुप्त की अपील का स्वागत करता हूँ कि इसका मुकाबला करने के लिए हमको एकट्ठा होना चाहिए। लेकिन इस सिलसिले में उन्होंने जो केवल बंगाल के लोगों से अपील की तो मैं बनाना चाहता हूँ कि यह सवाल केवल बंगाल का ही नहीं है। इस

प्रकार की अपीलें और इस प्रकार का चचाय की गयी हैं और ऐसे मुझाव दिये गये कि बंगाल में जो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के लोग नान-बंगालीज सर्विस में हैं, उनको देश के दूसरे हिस्सों में जो बंगाली काम कर रहे हैं, उन से अगर इंटर चेंज कर दिया जाय तो बंगाल की सिचुएशन सुधर जायगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस से ज्यादा खतरनाक और कोई दूसरा मुझाव नहीं हो सकता या अगर यह कह दिया जाय कि वहां जो कारखानेदार और मारवाड़ी हैं, उनके हाथ में जब तक यह सब छीन नहीं लिया जायगा, तब तक बंगाल में सोशलिज्म का निर्माण नहीं होगा या बंगाल में गरीबों की दशा नहीं सुधरेगी...

(Interruption by Shri Bhupesh Gupta) ...

Arguments are being given. I have heard it. मैंने आपके तो ऊपर कोई आरोप नहीं लगाया। मैं बंगाल को जानता हूँ और संयोग से मैं राजस्थान का हूँ। बंगाल के अंदर रहने वाले राजस्थान के लोगों के मनो में यह शंका पैदा की जा रही है, उनकी तरफ उंगलियां उठायी जाती हैं, केवल कलकत्ते में नहीं, नार्थ बंगाल, सिलीगुड़ी, मुर्शिदाबाद तक में, लोगों के मनो में शंका पैदा की जा रही है और इसलिए इस मूवमेंट में आप का साथ दूंगा। लेकिन अगर इस में पैरोलियलिज्म को स्थान दिया गया, उन में बंगाली और नान-बंगाली एप्रोच को लाया गया, तो मुझे खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उससे समस्या और जटिल बनेगी, उससे नक्सलवादी मनोवृत्ति बढ़ेगी और यह हो सकता है कि जो आदमी या गुट सत्ता के सहारे इस हिंसा पर उतरे हुए तबके को अपने लिए इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं, वे यह जान लें कि यह दुधारी तलवार है। आज जो शत्रु के लिए इस्तेमाल हो रही है, कल सत्ता के चक्कर में वह उनके स्वयं की गर्दन पर भी गिर सकती है, जिसका मजा हमारे मार्क्सिस्ट कम्युनिस्ट भाई आज ले रहे हैं। दूसरों को भी इससे सबक लेना चाहिए।

अंत में मैं एक अपील करना चाहूंगा। श्री पन्त भी शायद यह कहते रहे हैं कि इस सब के लिए एक अनुकूल राजनैतिक वातावरण

[ श्री मन्दार सिंह भंडारी ]

में जान डालने की आवश्यकता है। एक साइको-लाजिकल अपील चाहिए। तो उस साइको-लाजिकल अपील के लिए ही हम श्री अन्तनी के उस तर्क का अनुमोदन करते हैं जिसमें उन्होंने गवर्नर श्री घवन के बारे में कहा। वे इनकेपेबिल हैं। कुछ नहीं कर रहे हैं। मक्खी मार रहे हैं यह आक्षेप लगाया गया। एम गवर्नर से क्या फायदा? और मेरा दूसरा आक्षेप है कि वे इनकेपेबिल हैं कि कास्टो-ट्रेशन को भी हंडिल नहीं कर सकते। आप किसी भी प्रकार के कानूनों को उनके हाथ में दे दोजिए, उससे फायदा नहीं होगा, जो अधिकारी प्रापरली ऐक्ट करता ही नहीं तो जब तक आप उसके हाथ में डंडा दे कर उसे चलाने की कोशिश करेंगे। मुझे अफसोस है कि आज मारे बंगाल में एक हवा बन गयी है कि इन गवर्नर साहब के रहते हुए यहां की परिस्थिति में सुधार नहीं हो सकता। यहां की परिस्थिति को सुधारने के लिए कुछ और करना होगा, इनके रहते यहां की एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन मशीनरी में उत्साह आ नहीं सकता, उमंग नहीं आ सकती। यह कहना कि केवल एक आदमी के हट जाने से क्या होगा, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक आदमी के हटने से बहुत बड़ा परिवर्तन होता है। आज इंडीकेट कांग्रेस कहती है कि हम तो वहां हैं, मैं कोई आक्षेप नहीं लगाना चाहता, वह कहते हैं कि उनके चार आदमी हट गये, इसलिए हमारी पार्टी को बल मिला है, भले ही ऐसा कर के वे निर-दीवार से मार रहे हैं, लेकिन उसके बाद भी इसमें परिवर्तन आया है। पर्सनेलिटीज का परिवर्तन साइकोलोजी बदलने के लिए एक बहुत बड़ी दवा है और आज अगर हम वास्तव में इन अधिकारों के साथ बंगाल में जाना चाहते हैं, तो एक साइकोलोजिकल एटमास्फियर तैयार करने के लिए, उस का निर्माण करने के लिए भी हमको तैयार रहना चाहिए। श्री घवन ने अपने इतने दिनों के शासन में एक बदन भी पैदा कर दो है कि वे कुछ करेंगे नहीं, वे साम्य-वादियों के पक्षपाती हैं और वे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन

को ठीक प्रकार से अपने अधिकारों का उपयोग नहीं करने देंगे। इसलिए वहां एक ऐसी दवा पैदा करने की जरूरत है कि जिससे पता चले कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट इज मीनिंग बिजनेस। मैंने सुना है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर दो, तीन दिन के बाद बंगाल जा रही हैं। तो अगर उन को असेसमेंट करना है, तो वे असेसमेंट इस सिचुएशन का करें कि श्री घवन के हाथ में इन कानूनी अधिकारों को दे कर वहां की परिस्थिति सुधरी जा सकती है या नहीं और अगर वे समझती हैं कि ऐसा करने से बड़ा की परिस्थिति सुधरेगी नहीं, तो इसको केवल एक जिद का सवाल न बनाये, इसको झूठी प्रतिष्ठा का सवाल न बनाये।

मैं यह भी सरकार से जानकारी करना चाहूंगा कि देश के अंदर किन्हीं कारणों से जो मिडलम पोल की बात चल रही है। उसके साथ ही बंगाल के चुनाव हों या न हों, इस का फैसला केवल पार्लियामेंट के चुनावों के आधार पर न किया जाय। मेरा विश्वास है कि बंगाल की सिचुएशन परमिट नहीं करती कि अभी वहां पर चुनाव कराये जाये, और इसलिए यहां पर मिडलम पोल कराने की हालत में भी बंगाल में किसी भी प्रकार के चुनाव उस समय तक नहीं कराये जाने चाहिए, जब तक कि हम वहां विधान सभा और पार्लियामेंट दोनों के चुनाव कराने की स्थिति में नहीं आने।

इन बातों को ध्यान में रख कर इन अधिकारों को आप उपयोग करें, सदुपयोग करें और बुद्धिमत्ता से उपयोग करें और सदन को रिपोर्ट करें कि आपने इन अधिकारों का उपयोग बंगाल में परिस्थिति को सुधारने में कहां तक किया है। यही इस का एक टेस्ट होगा।

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं दुःखी होता हूँ, जब मैं बंगाल की अवस्था के बारे में सोचता हूँ। बंगाल की राजनीति पहले तो कांग्रेस के हाथ में रही और उसके बाद वामपन्थी दल उस पक्ष के अनेक दल वहां पावर में आये। कलकत्ता हिन्दुस्तान का सबसे

बड़ा शहर है और कलकत्ते के अलावा भी बंगाल की आबादी 4 करोड़ के लगभग है। बंगाल कोई बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश से गीब नहीं है। बेकारी तो आज सब जगह है और देश के अनेक भाग बंगाल से ज्यादा गरीब हैं, बंगाल से ज्यादा त्रस्त है, बंगाल से ज्यादा बेकार दूसरे भागों में हैं। यह तो वामपन्थ का नंगा नृत्य जब बंगाल में शुरू हुआ, जो एक पार्टी के लोगों द्वारा दूसरी पार्टी के लोगों को मारने से शुरू हुआ, जोत जोतदारों के खिलाफ शुरू हुआ, जो कारखाने के मैनजरों के खिलाफ शुरू हुआ, वहीं आज सारे बंगाल में फैल गया है। आज भी बंगाल में दो लाख मजदूर जूट मिलों के हड़ताल पर हैं और उनकी स्ट्राइक चल रही है, जूट कलकत्ते की प्रधान इंडस्ट्री है। आज वहाँ 5 रुपये के लिए बड़ा भारी धिंतंडवाद हो रहा है। 5 रुपये की कमीवेंशी के लिए यह लेबर लीडर और बड़े-बड़े उद्योगपति दोनों इतनी गड़बड़ कर रहे हैं और बंगाल की ऐसी परिस्थिति में जब स्ट्राइक होती है, तो उसमें वायलेस भी होती है और इस के लिए किस को क्या कहा जाय। योति वमु मेरे साथ लंदन में रह चुके हैं, भूषेण गुप्त भी रह चुके हैं। मैं भी एक वामपन्थ पार्टी का सदस्य हूँ और बंगाल में 1926 से पढ़ता रहा हूँ। यह सब देखकर मुझे दुःख होता है। जब तक वहाँ अमन चैन कायम नहीं होगी, तब तक चाहे वहाँ बजमोहन बिरला कहें कि हम बंगालियों को नौकरी देंगे या वहाँ के सारे मारवाड़ी पलट जाय और कहें कि 5, 5 बंगालियों को हम नौकर रखेंगे, यह प्राबलम साल्व होने वाला नहीं है। जब तक शान्ति और अमन चैन कायम नहीं होगा कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान की पुलिस पर अनेक लांछन लगाये गये हैं। मैं हिन्दुस्तान की पुलिस को अंग्रेजी जमाने से जानता हूँ और कई दफा उस जमाने में भी और इस जमाने में भी जेल गया हूँ और मैंने देखा है कि पुलिस में कोई सुधार नहीं हुआ है। लेकिन आज प्राइवेट सिटोजन बिना पुलिस के प्रोटेक्शन के वहाँ कैसे चल सकता है, यह उपाय भी किसी ने नहीं बताया। पुलिस

मौटे भी मारती है, हवालात में भी पीटती है। वह एक पद्धति अंग्रेज चला गये थे और स्वराज्य, समाजवाद सब कुछ आया, लेकिन हमने पुलिस को नहीं बदला, अपनी जेलों को नहीं बदला, हमने कोई मानवीय दृष्टिकोण नहीं अपनाया और वहीं अंग्रेजी ठाठ ले कर चलते रहे, तो आज पुलिस पर इलजाम लगाना बेकार है, जब कि पुलिस के 70-80 आदमी कलकत्ता में मारे गये हैं। वह पुलिस कांस्टेबल जो कि 80-100 रुपया महीना पाता है, वह भी उसी मजदूर वर्ग के हैं। उनको वामपन्थी लोग मारते हैं, शाक-सब्जी लाते हुये मारते हैं, चावल-दाल लाते हुये मारते हैं, घर में घुसते हुये मारते हैं। इसी तरह परिमल घोष के घर में घुस कर मारा है। मैं उस घर में दो-चार दफे हो आया हूँ। उनका घर अहाते से दूर है और उसके अन्दर घुस कर के उनकी स्त्री और बच्चे को मारा जाता है, तब आप सोच सकते हैं कि परिस्थिति कितनी बिगड़ गई है।

लोगों ने सोचा था कि जब युनाइटेड फ्रंट खत्म होगा तो कुछ मुक्ति मिलेगी। मैं आपसे सच कहता हूँ, मैं युनाइटेड फ्रंट की एक पार्टी का सदस्य था, उस वक्त लोगों ने यह सोचा कि अगर युनाइटेड फ्रंट की गवर्नमेंट मिले तो किसी तरह से लोगों राहत मिलेगी। लेकिन जब से प्रेसिडेंट का राज हुआ है—शायद यह मार्च के महीने में हुआ, 9 महीने होने को आये हैं, तब से परिस्थिति और बिगड़ती जा रही है। शान्ति स्वरूप धवन के साथ बिलायत में मैं पढ़ चुका हूँ और उनको अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ, वह भी मेरी तरह के वामपन्थी हैं। एक आदमी पर इलजाम लगाना और कहना कि एक आदमी के हटने से सब कुछ सुधार जायगा, यह भी आजकल की राजनैतिक चालबाजी का एक चक्कर है। मैं नहीं कहता कि शान्ति स्वरूप धवन कोई अच्छा काम कर रहे हैं, लेकिन दूसरा कोई गवर्नर वहाँ जा कर के एक मिनट में ही शान्ति स्थापित कर देगा, यह कोई नजर नहीं आता है।

[श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त]

तो पुलिस को इतने बड़े अधिकार दिये गये हैं कि जिसमें पुनिम मनमानी कर सकती है, फिर भी कलकत्ता में रोजाना 20-30 आदमी मरते हैं, उनकी हत्या होती है, पुलिस कहां कहां जायगी। वह खुद डरती है। पोठ के पीछे न देख कर चले तो उधर से छुरा और बाईं तरफ देख के न चले तो उधर से बम्ब। यह सब कलकत्ता का दृश्य हो गया है। बंगाल के लिये मेरे मन में दुःख है, क्योंकि मैं एक किस्म का आधा बंगाली खुद हूं, मैं वहां रहा हूं, वहां पला हूं, वहां पढ़ा हूं, वहां कई भाई और भतीजे सब लोग रहते हैं। हम लोगों ने तीन पीढ़ी से वहां व्यापार किया है और आज भी बंगाल में हम लोग मौजूद हैं। बड़े-बड़े करोड़पति वहां से भाग कर आ सकते हैं, उन्होंने फरीदाबाद, गाजियाबाद और जगह-जगह अपनी फैक्टरियां खड़ी कर ली हैं, ब्रज-मोहन बिड़ला साहब की फैक्ट्री वहां भी चलती है और दूसरी जगह भी चली है, लेकिन हम जैसे मध्य-वित्त के आदमी अगर बंगाल छोड़ दें, तो हमारी रोजी-रोटी खत्म हो जाती है। हमारे खाने-पीने का साधन मिट जाता है, इस तरह की अवस्था है। अनेक बंगाली बेकार हैं, मेरे दोस्त हैं, मेरे सहपाठी हैं, मेरे साथ पढ़े हुये हैं, उनके लड़के-बच्चे हैं, मैं उनके घर में जाता हूं तो बेकारी का दृश्य देख कर के आंसू आता है। लेकिन यह तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान का ही हाल है। नेहरू जी ने जिस तरह की पंचवर्षीय योजना चलाई, उसमें कभी यह नहीं सोचा कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो श्रम-शक्ति है, उसका किस तरह से उपयोग करना चाहिये, वह ऊपर की बातें, हवाई समाजवाद और हवाई उद्योगवाद चलाते रहे और उससे न तो लोगों को पूरा काम मिला और न कुछ हुआ। एक दफा अमेरिका ने कह दिया कि टेक्निकल नो-हाऊ की कमी है तो जगह-जगह इंजीनियरिंग कालेज खोल दिये और आज एक लाख इंजीनियर पढ़े लिखे जगह-जगह चक्कर काटते घूम रहे हैं और क्लर्कों की नौकरी के लिये, चपरासी की नौकरी के लिये तैयार हैं।

यह सिर्फ सोशियो-इकानामिक प्राबलम नहीं है। बंगाल हिन्दुस्तान का अंग है, बंगाल की अवस्था खराब होती जा रही है। अभी हमारे दोस्त राजनारायण जी बंगाल से ही आ रहे हैं, उनको भी मोका दीजियेगा ताकि यहां आपको बंगाल की हालत बतायें।

**श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** पूरा हालत बताऊंगा।

**श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त :** मेरी पार्टी के लोग बहुत से मारे जा चुके हैं, जलपाइगुड़ी में मरे हैं, आसनसोल में मरे हैं, चौबीस परगना में मरे हैं। यह जो वायलेंस का दौड़ पार्टियों के बीच में चल रहा है, वह सी० पी० एम० ने शुरू किया और अब यह नक्सलपंथ सी० पी० एम० का एक शंग बन कर निकल पड़ा है, जो माओ-त्से तुंगको अपना चेयरमैन मानता है और उसकी लाल किताब तो है ही अपने साथ छुरा लेकर, भाला लेकर हथियार लेकर, पाइप लेकर, आइरन रीड लेकर चलता है। ये हिन्दुस्तान के नेताओं पर कीचड़ उछालते हैं। मुझे शर्म आती जवाहरलाल नेहरू मार्ग में और पार्क स्ट्रीट में जहां गांधी जी का स्टेच्यू खड़ा है, उसके चारों तरफ बाड़ लगा दी गई है और पुलिस का पहरा दिया गया है, अनेक स्टेच्यू वहां गिरा दिए गए हैं। मैं रुम भी गया हूं, वहां पर इतनी बड़ी क्रान्ति हुई है, लेकिन पुराने स्टेच्यू अब भी कायम हैं, कोई चीज नहीं गायब हुई है। मैंने मुना है फ्रान्स में इतनी बड़ी क्रान्ति हुई, अभी तक सब तसवीरें और स्टेच्यू मौजूद हैं। यहां तो यह क्रान्ति नहीं, क्रान्ति का बखाना है जो नक्सलपंथ के रूप में निकला है, इससे कोई बड़ा समाज परिवर्तन नहीं आने वाला है। आजकल प्राइम मिनिस्टर से लेकर सड़क पर चलने वाला तक समाज परिवर्तन की बात करता है। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी 5 वर्ष से प्राइम मिनिस्टर की गद्दी पर विद्यमान है, मुझे तो कहीं पर समाज-परिवर्तन नहीं दिखाई दिया, न बैंकों के नेशनलाइजेशन के बाद ही दिखाई दिया। थोड़े दिनों पहले उन्होंने पटना में



बड़ा शोर मचाया, मैं 5 लाख आदमियों को काम दूंगी, मुझे तो कोई 50,000 आदमियों को नया काम मिलते दिखायी नहीं देता। जगह-जगह लोग कहते हैं हमारे पास साधन नहीं हैं, रुपया नहीं है हमारा बजट डेफिशिट है, यह प्रोग्राम नहीं बन सकता, यह पुल नहीं बन सकता या यह सड़क नहीं बन सकती। हमारी रेल भी बंद हो रही है। सहारनपुर शाहदरा की कल बात हो रही थी, कलकत्ता के अंदर तीन चार लाइट रेलवे की बात हो रही थी। उल्टे एम्प्लायमेंट घटता जा रहा है और यह सरकार झूठी घोषणाएं कर-कर लोगों को भड़का रही है कि यह समाजवाद बड़ा क्रांतिकारी है। बड़ी जान अफ आर्क हैं, बड़ी लेनिन हैं, बड़ी माओ हैं, मैं तो देख रहा हूँ देश की जो हालत हो रही है, बंगाल की जो हालत हो रही है। जो हालत ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी आने से पहले, अराजकता की वहां फैली थी, वैसी ही हालत आज हो रही है और पहले मीर-जाफर वगैरह नबाबों ने सहायता की, जगत-सेठों ने सहायता की, तो अब वामपंथी निकला है जो आज बंगाल के गुलाम बनाने की कोशिश में लगा है। तब पता लगेगा तबत में क्या हुआ, सिकियांग में मुस्लीमों का क्या हुआ और मंगोलिया में बुद्धिस्टों का क्या हुआ। माओ को चयरमैन बना दोगे तो बंगालियों का बंगालीपन खत्म हो जाएगा और वहां की जो संस्कृति है, वहां का जो वैभव है, उसको वह छीन ले जाएगा। तुम उतना ही दुखी रहोगे जितना ब्रिटिश शासन काल में भी नहीं थे। लेकिन आज सब पोलिटिकल पार्टीज को बै ठकर बंगाल के बारे में एक कान्फ्रेंस करनी चाहिए, वहां जाना चाहिए, वहां के लोगों से मिलना चाहिए और वहां के उद्योग-धंदों को पुनर्जीवित करने की कोई बड़ी कोशिश करनी चाहिए। मैं किसी खाम आदमी पर, किसी खाम पुनिसमैन पर, किसी खाम पोलिटिकल पार्टी पर कोई खास इलजाम नहीं लगाना चाहता। सभी दुखी हैं, सबके आदमी मारे गए हैं और सब के आदमियों ने इस बंगाल की स्थिति को बिगाड़ने में आज आग में घी डाला

है। सबसे बड़ा अपराध कांग्रेस का है, जो 20 वर्ष राज करती रही, फिर उसके बाद इन 3 वर्षों में वाम पंथी पार्टी ने जो कर दिया है, उससे बंगाल के लोग कांग्रेस के 20 वर्ष के पापों को भूल गए हैं। मैं आपसे क्या कहूँ, मैं जब कलकत्ता की सड़कों में गुजरता हूँ, लोगों के, दोस्तों के घरों में जाता हूँ, तो देखता हूँ वहां लड़के बेकार हैं, लड़कियां बेकार हैं, तीस-तीस वर्ष की कन्याएं बेकार हैं, उनकी शादियां नहीं हो सकती हैं। मैं आसाम में गया वहां भी यही हालत है। और आज जो बंगाल में हो रहा है, कल वह सारे हिन्दुस्तान में होगा। आप इस तरह की छोटी-मोटी योजनाओं से और इस तरह की दलबंदियों से, इस तरह के झगड़ों से अपने को दूर नहीं रखांगे तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान में बंगाल की हालत की पुनरावृत्ति होगी। और इस देश को माओवाद से कोई नहीं बचा सकता है। मैं बड़े दुःख के साथ और हृदय पसीज कर कह रहा हूँ, क्योंकि मैं 60 वर्ष का हो गया हूँ, मुझे तो जीवन से निराशा हो गई है कि हम लोग किधर जा रहे हैं। कौनसा वामपंथ है और कौनसा समाज परिवर्तन है और कौनसी चीज है, यह बात समझ में नहीं आ रही है। रूस के लेखक सोलित-सीद को नोबल पुरस्कार मिला था, लेकिन उसको स्टाकहोम नहीं जाने दिया गया और जेल में बन्द कर दिया गया। जो लोग रूस को आदर्श समझ बैठे हैं, जो उसको स्वर्ग समझ बैठे हैं, उनको यह देखना चाहिये कि अगर आज रूस में जनता को वोट देने का हक मिल जाये तो वह वर्तमान शासन को मिटाने के लिए तैयार है। वे लोग वहां पर बहुत सारे सुधार करेंगे जो पूँजीवादी और समाजवादी के बीच की चीज होगी। लेकिन यहां तो ऐसी हवा चल रही है कि रूस स्वर्ग है, चीन स्वर्ग है और अमेरिका नर्क है, जर्मनी नर्क है, इस तरह की यहां पर हवा चल रही है और इस तरह से कोई प्राबलम साल्व होने वाला नहीं है।

आज ईस्ट और वैंस्ट जर्मनी के बीच में क्या हो रहा है? आज उन दोनों देशों के बीच

[ श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त ]

में बिजली के तार लगा दिये गये हैं क्योंकि ईस्ट जर्मनी की आबादी भागकर वेस्ट जर्मनी जा रही है। स्वर्ग छोड़कर नरक क्यों जा रहे हैं यह बात सबको अच्छी तरह से मालूम है। आज ईस्ट जर्मनी की आबादी इस तरह से कम होनी चली जा रही है और रोजाना काफी तादाद में लोग वेस्ट जर्मनी भागकर चले जा रहे हैं। युगो-स्लाविया के 20 लाख आदमी इस समय वेस्ट जर्मनी में काम कर रहे हैं, हंगरी के कर रहे हैं, चेकोस्लावकिया के कर रहे हैं और ये सब बातें यहां पर नहीं निकलती हैं। आज चीन से लगातार लोग हांगकांग आ रहे हैं, मकाऊ में आते हैं। जो लोग मकाऊ आते हैं उनमें से कुछ डूब जाते हैं और कुछ गोली के शिकार हो जाते हैं, फिर भी लोग चीन से भागकर आते हैं। इस तरह की बातों को छिपाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। वामपंथी होते हुए भी आज वामपंथी पतित हो गये हैं। इस समय इसमें बड़े सुधार की जरूरत है। आज रूस में बड़े लेखक और सुधारक जो हैं वे जेलों में बन्द पड़े हुए हैं। मालरीक ने लिखा है कि रूस कम नरक है, रूसी पद्धति में कमी है और उसके इस तरह की बात लिखने पर उसे जेल भेज दिया गया है। मैं स्वर्ग की तारीफ नहीं करता हूं, वहां पर भी अन्दाय है, वहां पर भी दुःख है, लेकिन जो दुःख और साम्यवादी देशों में है उसके मुकाबले बहुत कम है।

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the situation that obtains in West Bengal has been causing serious concern to the whole nation for quite some time. Indeed the problems that West Bengal faces to-day are national problems and therefore, everybody in this country must feel concerned about it. Particularly whatever happens in West Bengal has every chance of spreading to the neighbouring areas and as one coming from that area, I feel particularly concerned about the situation prevailing in Bengal. Now we are discussing a motion which wants to Tepeal two Acts promulgated by the Government. The question is why were these two Acts necessary at all. The simple answer is because of the violent

situation in Bengal. Then the question arises how this violent situation has come about. There is no doubt that since independence, not only Bengal has been very much neglected but the Government has failed to solve the basic problems of Bengal. Particularly I blame that regime which was dominated by Shri Atulya Ghosh and P. C. Sen. It is that regime which ruled Bengal for a long time. Not only they failed to solve the basic problems of Bengal but they governed the State in such a way that ultimately the young

people of Bengal became more 6 P.M. frustrated and desperate. As a

result in 1967 the people of Bengal threw them out and elected a leftist Government, the United Front Government. Men like me felt very much enthused and inspired that perhaps an end was coming to the rule of corruption, to the rule of nepotism, to the rule, of exploitation, to the rule of injustice, and that the new United Front Government would usher in a new era in the life of Bengal. But, Sir—I need not go into details of what happened,—the United Front also disappointed everybody. And why? Were they not in an absolute majority? Were they not in absolute control of the administration of the State?

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : We had decided that we shall stop this debate at this hour and continue tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I will have to find out the intention of the House. In the meantime let Mr. Bipinpal Das finish his speech in five or ten minutes.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : The understanding was that this debate will be continued tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : He will be finishing his speech now, in, say, five or ten minutes.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI : Let him finish now. I have no objection.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : I think tomorrow this should continue. Our friend Mr. Rajnarain will perhaps also speak on the matter of Bengal.

पर मुनहसिर करता है।

श्री राजनारायण : हम तो वहाँ से आ रहे हैं ।

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : This is what I say. So, tomorrow, first we pass the Bill in Himachal Pradesh, and then this discussion can proceed.

श्री राजनारायण : नहीं नहीं, दुमरो के पहले सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जजमेंट के बारे में . . .

श्री कृष्ण कान्त : वह हो गया ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, जरा सुन लीजिए । मैं तो सीधा आसाम मेल से उत्तर कर आ रहा हूँ । मुझे खबर दी गई कि सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने जो निर्णय दिया है उसकी नाइसिटीज पर बहस हो रही है ।

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Our House has discussed it.

श्री राजनारायण : आन ए पाइन्ट आफ इनफारमेशन । मैं अ पसे यह जानने का हक रखता हूँ कि सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने जब प्रधान मंत्री माहिवा के चेहरे पर कालिख पोत दी है तो इस कालिख को धोने का क्या प्रबन्ध हुआ । मैंने पहले ही कह दिया था कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर मिली हुई हैं, इसीलिए उन्होंने हमारे संगोधन को नहीं माना । अगर वे हमारे संगोधन को माने होते तो संगठन कांग्रेस, संसोधन सब हमारे संगोधन के साथ थे ही ।

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : In this situation, Sir, I would prefer to continue my speech tomorrow.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Let him continue his speech, Sir, but I am making this suggestion for the consideration of the Government. I suggest to the Government that tomorrow we take first the Himachal Pradesh Bill, and then this debate on Bengal will continue.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA) : We have no objection, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You now continue your speech, Mr. Bipinpal Das.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : What I was going to say is that under the constitution I know that the powers of a State are very much limited. But still, within the limitation of those powers, a State Government can do quite a good many things. But instead of doing service to the people, instead of attempting to solve the basic problems of the people, what did the United Front

Government do in Bengal? They started quarrelling among themselves. Not only they started beating among themselves, but sometimes also killing among themselves. And ultimately, as was to be expected the United Front Government had to fall. And it fell. Now, the people of Bengal, particularly the youngsters of Bengal who had been long frustrated under the regimes of the previous Governments, were further frustrated because of the absolute incompetence and mis-rule of the United Front Government. This was the result. And therefore, these young men have taken to a path which is not democratic, which is violent in character which is subversive in character. And, this is what has happened in Bengal today. Now the question is, if people take to violent path, if people take to subversive methods, if people openly declare that they have no faith in parliamentary institutions, what should a Government do? That is the question. If mass scale killings go on, if terrorism goes on in the name of revolution what should a Government do? That is the question faced by the Central Government. Sir, I know these young men in Bengal. They are inspired by high ideals perhaps; I am not very sure but let me grant it. But then I am absolutely convinced that terrorism and individual murders and that kind of thing are no substitute for a revolution. No history of revolutions would support such a thing. Therefore it is nothing but pure terrorist activity and any Government must put it down with a strong arm. There is no way out of it. But the point is, when this thing goes on, the basic cause being economic and social, merely trying to suppress the movement, however undesirable and violent it may be, will not ultimately solve the problem. The Government must also attempt simultaneously to solve the problems of Bengal, solve the social and economic problems of the people there. I do not know what they have done in this direction. I hope the hon. Minister for Home Affairs will kindly enlighten us as to what steps the Cen-

[Shri .Bipinpal Das]

tral Government have taken for the solution of the social and economic problems of Bengal since the time the President took over the Administration of West Bengal.

But then I am not in agreement with the motion of Shri Bhupesh Gupta and of Shri Chitta Basu. They have condemned in their speeches the police atrocities; I also condemn it. Atrocities and violence from any quarter must be condemned by any democrat and in no democracy can police atrocities be tolerated. If any Government has to empower the police with extreme powers to do violence on the people there is no greater shame for a democracy; I have no doubt about it. But my friend Mr. Chitta Basu and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta have not said anything about the other side of the picture. Why has this situation come about? When previously the Government did not introduce such a legislation they were accused of being too lenient towards the terrorists, towards the Naxalites: they were accused of being weak in discharging the duties of the Government. They were accused of putting there a weak Governor in charge of the State. Now that the Government has come forward with this, our friends should have told us why the Government have felt compelled to come up with such extreme legislation, which is bad, which is harmful, which should -not have been done in a democracy, and in what circumstances the Government was forced to do this. They have condemned the police, very good; they have condemned in words the Naxalites; again very good. But I would ask those parties, the popular leftist parties—I do not care for that group led by Shri P. C. Sen and Mr. Atulya. Ghosh; that is almost dying and that will die very soon, I have no doubt about it—like the Bangla Congress the Forward Block, the CPI and even the CPM—let me for one moment accept their argument that CPM is not responsible for this violence, though I say that Naxalites ate nothing but the bottom cadres of the CPM who have now taken up arm against the CPM; I know that, but still let me for argument's sake accept it—what these progressive leftist parties have done so far to build up popular resistance against these terrorist activities. Have they organised any peace squad? Only the Congress (R) is reported to have organi-

sed some' peace squad somewhere but it is not enough. Have these popular democratic leftist parties of Bengal combined to offer popular resistance to the Naxalite and terrorist activities in Bengal? Have they done it? Let me have one instance at least. They have not done it and if they do not do it what should the Government do? The democratic parties have not come to their help. Those who are wedded to Naxalism and terrorism are creating havoc and this goes on spreading, threatening our very democracy and the democratic way of life and our parliamentary system. Therefore no responsible Government can sit tight over the situation. So, most regretfully I have to support the Government in this particular situation. I support the Government in this particular situation because of the compulsion of circumstances and this I do with regret. I would ask the Government simultaneously to take such steps which will ease, if not solve, the various social and economic problems and tensions in Bengal. Only then ultimately peace can be restored in Bengal and later on in the rest of the country. Otherwise, merely by strengthening the bayonets and rifles of the police the problem is not going to be solved. I hope in his reply the hon. Home Minister will enlighten the House as to besides these powers, what other steps the Government have taken or propose to take in order to solve the basic problems of Bengal.

One word more. While I support these measures taken by the Government because there is no other solution or no other way for the Government, at the same time I would warn the Government that they should take all possible steps, so that no individual policeman or no individual police officer or a group of policemen, out of a vindictive attitude, can take such steps which will go against the very basis of law and democracy. They must: not indulge in terrorist activities and Government must assure us that, whereas they have taken these powers in order to curb and suppress violent activities by the Naxalites and other anti-social elements, they will not allow any policeman or any police officer to indulge in any terroristic type of activity against the common citizen.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALT KHAN) : Is it the pleasure of the House that we take up the Himachal Pradesh Bill first and then the

present debate "ill continue? (Interruptions) Towo row first we will take up the Himachal Pradesh Bill and then we will continue with this debate.

**श्री राजनारायण :** हम बंगाल से सीधे सी चले आ रहे हैं और हम को कल पटना जाना है।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** कितने बजे।

**श्री राजनारायण :** बोलने के बाद हम को जो भी प्लेन या जो कुछ मिलेगा उससे हम चले जायेंगे। वहाँ पर बोटिंग है . . . (Interruptions.) क्या आप चाहते हैं कि श्रीमती गांधी की समर्थित सरकार गिरे नहीं। (Int rruptions.)

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I am asking the pleasure of the House, whatever you decide.

SHRI BHUPI SH GUPTA : It would be an abnormal procedure to interrupt this debate for a Bill. We can do so only on the basis of some understanding. It should be clear as to by when we conclude the debate on the Himachal Pradesh Bill.

SHRI OM 1 IEHTA : Not more than one hour The discussion will be for a maximum of one hour. The time allotted is : one hour.

**श्री राजनारायण :** देखिये, आप मेरी एक बात सुन लीजिये। (Interruptions.) मेरी अर्ज यह है हूजर आप से और आप के द्वारा इस सम्मानित सदन से कि हिमाचल प्रदेश पर चर्चा होगी और आप कहेंगे कि वह एक छोटा सा विधेयक है, मगर उसका असर सारे देश के स्ट्रेस रिआर्गनाइजेशन पर भी आयेगा। आज हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश में श्रीमती फीरोज गांधी का चाल बढ़ा चल रही है, उसपर भी चर्चा आयेगी। श्रीमती फीरोज गांधी आज उत्तर प्रदेश के बटवारे की पूरी साजिश कर रही हैं और वे चाहती हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश का एक हिस्सा ग्रेटर हरियाणा के नाम पर चला आये, कुछ हिस्सा इधर चला जाय, कुछ हिस्सा उधर चला जाय। एक घंटे में उस

पर चर्चा पूरी नहीं होगी। इसी लिये श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने मेरी तारीफ की कि जो डिबेट पश्चिम बंगाल पर चल रहा है इसको बीच में हम डिसकांटीन्यू न करें।

**श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** अगर ऐसा है तो मैं यह तजवीज करूंगा कि इस डिबेट का टाइम तय कर लें और उस वक्त एसेंशियली यह खत्म कर दिया जाय एक घंटा आप तय कर दीजिये और उसके बाद वह खत्म हो जाय और फिर दूसरा बिल आ जाय (Interruptions.)

**श्री राजनारायण :** बंगाल के लिये आप कर लीजिये दो तीन घंटे . . .

**विपक्ष नेता (श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र) :** बंगाल के लिये बात हुई थी 6 आवर्स की . . .

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Let us fix the time for Himachal Pradesh at 4 o'clock.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : Three hours today and three hours tomorrow.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We shall conclude in three hours and after that we will finish that Bill in one hour.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : We will finish it tomorrow.

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, एक मिनट में मेरी एक बात और सुन लीजिये। गुजराल साहब के विरुद्ध हमने और मिश्रा जी ने विशेषाधिकार अवहेलना का प्रश्न उठाया था और चेयर ने कहा था कि उनका स्टेटमेंट यहाँ पर होगा। उसपर हमने कहा था कि जब मिश्राजी आ जायें और हम रहें तब स्टेटमेंट हो। तो चेयर ने इस सदन में कहा है कि जब आप लोग रहेंगे, तब स्टेटमेंट होगा। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि वह स्टेटमेंट हुआ या नहीं हुआ।

**श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र :** हुआ नहीं।

**श्री राजनारायण :** अगर नहीं हुआ तो कल जरूर हो।

**श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र :** कल आप कह दीजिये कि वह यहां रहें।

**श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र :** आप नहीं थे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): So far as this debate is concerned...

**श्री राजनारायण :** अब मैं आ गया हूं, उसकी कराइये। डिले नहीं होना चाहिये।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On

**श्री राजनारायण :** हमरा तो कहिये कि क्या हुआ, जो कि हमने कहा उसके लिये क्या कहते हैं।

Himachal Pradesh thing we are all committed. We feel very strongly about it. It will be passed tomorrow, no doubt about it.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : We will pass it tomorrow.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :** उम पर मैं कुछ नहीं कह सकता।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The House will debate this subject till 4 o'clock.

**श्री राजनारायण :** आप सेक्रेटरी से पूछिये, आप उसे ड्राई पास कर कर के जवाब देते हैं।

**श्री श्याम नन्दन मिश्र :** फोर ओक्लाक में कैसे होगा ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The Minister will take note when you say something.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How 4 o'clock? We shall have three hours.

**श्री राजनारायण :** देखिये, मैं आपको बतला रहा हूं, मैं दस दिन के बाद आया हूं। श्रीमन्, इसी बात को ले कर के इतनी बात हुई, आज दस दिन के बाद तो मैं आ रहा हूं और मैं यह आपसे अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि कल उस पर जरूर बात हो जानी चाहिये।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The balance of three hours will be taken tomorrow. The Himachal Pradesh Bill will be taken up tomorrow and disposed of.

**श्री राजनारायण :** हां, ठीक है। अब आप एडजर्न करिये। हम उठें।

**श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र :** वह बात होगी। तय है, वह आपका इंतजार कर रहे थे।

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

The House then adjourned at seventeen minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 17th December, 1970.

**श्री राजनारायण :** इसको 15 दिन से लटकाये हुए हैं।