

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right, please sit down. We have had enough discussion.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: Whatever Mr. Rajnarain has said should be expunged.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have had enough discussion on this and we have got very important business. Therefore, we adjourn and meet at 2.30 p. m.

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

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

SYATUTORY RESOLUTIONS RE. REPEAL OF THE WEST BENGAL (PREVENTION OF VIOLENT ACTIVITIES) ACT, 1970 AND THE WEST BENGAL MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIC ORDER ACT, 1970—Contd.

SHRI MAHIMOSH PURAKAYASTHA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the whole atmosphere in West Bengal is surcharged with violence. The price of every commodity has gone high in West Bengal. Only the human life is the least costly. After the United Front Government came into power this cult of violence was preached openly by the constituents of the United Front and specially the Communist Party (Marxist). When the United Front ruled for the second time the CPM bargained for the major portfolios in the Cabinet and they got Home, Education, Relief and Rehabilitation and Revenue in their hands, and with these portfolios they tried to strengthen their position in the fields, in the factories and amongst the students by utilising their position in the Government. They divided the West Bengal Police Association and set up a rival Police Association. With Education in their hands they reconstituted the Managing Committee and Governing Bodies of schools and colleges and manned them with their own men. Their only purpose was to eliminate other

political parties from the field and take on things in their own hands. So, if anybody is responsible for the violent atmosphere in West Bengal, it is the CPM which is mainly responsible.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, other constituent parties of the United Front cannot also absolve themselves from that responsibility. Shri Bhupesh Gupta's party, the CPI; controls the All India Trade Union Congress. I want to read and excerpt from the resolution adopted by the General Council of the All India Trade Union Congress on 24th and 25th of November, 1970, at their meeting held in New Delhi. In that resolution on inter-union clashes they say:

There have been innumerable instances in the history of mass trade unionism of our country and in the history of the unions of the AITUC where they had to clash with strike-breakers, blacklegs and gangsters of the employing classes. Such clashes also lead to deaths and killings on either side including managerial and police personnel and were the inevitable outcome of the class struggle.

If in the name of class struggle they incite violence, give encouragement to violence, how can that violence be crushed?

Let me also quote what the West Bengal Forward Bloc—Mr. Chitta Basu's party—Secretary says. The Secretary, Mr. Ashoka Ghosh, says at a meeting—

"Socialism cannot be achieved through parliamentary democracy and as such, Forward Block strongly believes that there is no other means except a bloody revolution to change the present system of the capitalist society."

So, all the constituent parties of the United Front openly preach violence and that has encouraged our younger people to take recourse to violence.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): My friend is undoubtedly a very young man. He has not been encouraged.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): He is not looking to you, he is looking to Mr. Kalyan Roy.

SHRI MAHITOSH PURAKAYASTHA: When these Bills were placed before the first meeting of the West Bengal Consultative Committee held in May last—I am also a member of that Committee—at that time we did not like these enactments and we opposed them. So, they were dropped from the agenda of the last meeting. But in the meantime, violence began to take place in a greater measure. The figures furnished by the Government—which I need not read out—showed that between 1.4.1970 and 31.10.1970, as many as 1,373 incidents of lawlessness and violence by Naxalites occurred. Thirtysix members of the police force were killed and 400 injured. And during this period 350 inter-party clashes took place and many people lost their lives, many people were injured. And the total number of murders in these inter-party clashes during this period rose to 172. So, to curb this increasing lawlessness, we felt that legislations like the West Bengal (Prevention of Violent Activities) Bill and the West Bengal Maintenance of Public Order Bill were necessary and so they have come up.

Now, Sir, they are saying that democracy is at stake. Is killing democracy? Is stabbing democracy?

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Is firing by the police democracy?

SHRI MAHITOSH PURKAYASTHA: Certainly, it is not democracy.

So, democracy is not at stake, what is at stake is the existence of their parties. That is why they are resorting to all sorts of violent activities. To prevent these stabbings, these killings, these legislations have been enacted. And I want the Government to put as large a number of people into jail as possible, and if a large number of people who are responsible for these activities are put behind prison bars, they will get time for rethinking. I have come to politics through the revolutionary movement.

So have Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and many of the other political workers of West Bengal. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will bear me out when I say that when all those people were arrested for these activities by the British Government and were put behind prison bars, their rethinking took place and for almost all the revolutionaries....

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Do you want to adopt the British practice?

SHRI MAHITOSH PURAKAYASTHA:..and for some Communists also, this jail life gave opportunity for rethinking.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Is it your contention that the West Bengal (Prevention of Violent Activities) Act which is a preventive law has been passed with a view to setting up a university for rethinking?

SHRI MAHITOSH PURAKAYASTHA: If it acts as a university, it will be most welcome. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta knows how the Communist Party changed their line of thinking in the latter part of 1941. A document was circulated to the members of the Communist Party. At that time I was a member of the Communist Party and was interned in my home village. The document was known as the "Jail Document". It came from the jail comrades of the Party. The Communist Party changed their line at that time. Of course, I did not agree with them, and in the August Movement of 1942 I left the Party.

Similarly, in 1950, although I was then a Congressman I was put behind prison bars along with many Communist friends in a special jail set up for security prisoners at Nowgong in Assam. At that time also an article appeared in the Comintern organ namely, "For the Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy" which became a subject for discussion in the jails for the comrades. Then, in 1951 the Communist Party again changed their line and took to Parliamentary democracy. So, Sir, I was saying that jail life gives an opportunity to the people to have rethinking. So instead of

being killed outside if these young-
 men are sent to jails, I think it will
 be a great benefit for them. They will
 be able to rethink about their line
 because they will get ample opportu-
 nity to think as to what line they are
 to adopt in the changed circumstances
 of the country.

Sir, it is no use blaming the Naxa-
 lites only for the violence in West
 Bengal. Other political parties are
 also responsible for it. I also know
 how many anti-social elements and
 agents of foreign powers and agents of
 the C.I.A. have crept into these move-
 ments. In the name of Naxalites they
 are perpetrating many indecent acts.
 So to prevent these activities it was
 felt necessary that these laws should
 be enacted. Therefore, by the Presi-
 dential Order these laws have been
 enacted and we should give our full
 support to it and see that laws are
 properly implemented.

I do not rule out the chance of mis-
 use. The police may make excesses.
 If the police make excesses let there
 be an enquiry. In Barasat eight young
 men were killed. Shri Bhupesh Gupta
 and others demanded that there
 should be a judicial enquiry and the
 Government have ordered a judi-
 cial enquiry. You accused the police
 of perpetrating these murders. Now
 you will complain that the police is
 inactive because we have set up judi-
 cial enquiry. Judicial enquiry against
 whom? Judicial enquiry against all
 those responsible for the murders. And
 since there is suspicion against the
 police, the police also cannot be en-
 trusted with the enquiry in such cases.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, only by enact-
 ment of laws this violence cannot
 be prevented. To prevent it some
 constructive work has got to be done.
 Though I am a member of the ruling
 Party, I must admit that the Govern-
 ment has also not done what it ought
 to have done during these last 23
 years. There is unemployment in
 West Bengal. So many people are
 unemployed. So many factories have
 closed down. The President's Rule
 is continuing there for more than
 eight months. But during these eight

months our Government has not done
 anything to improve the industrial
 relations, to improve the employment
 position. In West Bengal today as
 many as six lakhs of people have
 enrolled themselves in the Employ-
 ment Exchanges. In addition there
 are a large number of educated un-
 employed who are yet to be regis-
 tered.

Sir, we talk of giving unemploy-
 ment relief to these unemployed.
 But the unemployed can very well ask
 us, "Well, you talk of giving us relief
 But you are taxing us by charging
 us some fee whenever we apply for
 a government job". If this is not
 taxation, then what else is taxation?

Sir, in the Employment Exchange
 Act there should be provision for
 compulsory notification of vacancies.
 If that is done these unemployed
 would not have to pay this tax.

(Time bell rings.)

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am conclud-
 ing by saying that the Government
 also must rise to the occasion. But
 only by governmental action, I feel
 this violence cannot be effectively and
 enduringly met. It can be effectively
 and enduringly met only by mobilis-
 ing public opinion against it. We are
 happy that in Calcutta a citizens'
 committee has been formed and it is
 trying to bring people to sense. They
 are holding *pada yatras*; they are
 holding meetings. But the CPI(M) is
 obstructing even that. There is a re-
 port which has appeared in yester-
 day's *Hindustan Standard* under the
 heading "CPI(M) Men Stop Peace
 March at Chandernagore". It says:

"Sarvodaya peace marchers, led
 by Mr. Dinesh Chandra Mukherjee,
 had to face an opposition from a
 group of about 60 CPI(M) support-
 ers during their public relations
 work at Chandernagore on Tuesday.
 The CPI(M) supporters blocked
 the way of marchers at Goswami-
 ghat and refused to hear them tell-
 ing that they believe in dialectical
 materialism"

Does dialectical materialism mean
 killing? So, I would appeal to all the

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political parties; let us forget all our differences; let us unite; let us form peace committees; let us form citizens' committees and exhort our young men to adopt peaceful and constitutional means for changing the present system.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Very helpful suggestions. Now, Mr. Chatterjee.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, let us see how the two Acts which we are now discussing were passed. They were passed under the State Legislation (Delegation of Powers) Act by the President. But before the President passed them, he had to consult the so-called Consultative Committee for West Bengal. Now, everybody knows the composition of the West Bengal Consultative Committee. The composition of it was quite different from the composition of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly before it was dissolved. The parties which got the majority in the West Bengal Assembly were not represented according to their strength in the West Bengal Consultative Committee. You know, Sir, there was a protest against that and our party refused to participate in the deliberations of the West Bengal Consultative Committee. Now, Mrs. Gandhi's Government again and again says that it will not have any truck with the Right reactionary parties. But may I ask, who stuffed this Consultative Committee with these Right reactionary parties? As a matter of fact, we find that the Left democratic parties which got a majority of seats in the West Bengal Assembly did not get seats in the Consultative Committee according to their strength and certain other parties were brought in which had been swept off the election board in West Bengal, I mean, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party. Now, with their help and with the support of the representatives of these parties, Mrs. Gandhi's Government got a majority in the West Bengal Consultative Committee for these two Acts. Sir, even hypocrisy has its limits. But, then, I think, Mrs. Gandhi has

surpassed those limits also. She has always cried to the nation, "The Syndicate is coming, the Syndicate is coming. Therefore beware and give me some more powers." But with the help of the members of the Syndicate, with the help of the members of the Jan Sangh, Mrs. Gandhi got the consent to these two black Acts. Sir, in West Bengal, for example, we often find that the mothers in order to lull their children to sleep say "The devil is coming, the devil is coming." Now, Mrs. Gandhi, to lull her political children in her camp to sleep says "The Syndicate is coming, the Syndicate is coming." But when the necessity arises, when it suits her, she always combines with the Syndicate, she always combines with the Jan Sangh. And combining with the Syndicate, combining with the Jan Sangh, she has got these two black Acts passed. And yet we have heard from Mrs. Indira Gandhi that Syndicate is the greatest danger in the country. Not merely that. These are the stances, the poses which Mrs. Indira Gandhi often strikes and after all a bogeyman has to be there. After all, she is Lady Macbeth of Indian politics. She wants only the crown. It does not matter if in getting the crown young men of Bengal have to be murdered or the sea of blood has to flow, the blood of the people whom the CRP and the police administration have shot dead in the streets of Calcutta as well as in the villages of Bengal: that blood will be multitudinous seas incarnadine. Perhaps if I may again quote the famous author—her hand is so polluted with the blood of men of Bengal that all the perfume of Arabia will not sweeten her hand. But then, in spite of all these things she will have a stance and she requires a bogeyman and will be crying about that bogeyman, and she will have all the powers to herself. And then, when it suits her, she will combine with them in order to bring these black Acts into force. Not merely that. What is actually happening? Mr. Mohan Dharia said yesterday the situation is very complex in West

Bengal. It is, it is very complex. We find in the Hindustan Standard of the 15th that the assailants on Mr. Parimal Ghosh's wife and son had free access to his residence, according to the police authorities. And it was also stated by the police that the assailants on Mr. Goswami's wife and son were familiar with Mr. Ghosh's household. It is a strange thing which we see in West Bengal that a Minister is harbouring those elements which are going to murder his wife and child. We are again finding that in the streets of Calcutta in the name of Naxalites, college student and school boys are being shot down at point blank range. It is very strange I must say. As Mr. Mohan Dharia said yesterday, in this strange world we see further that the Cong (O) and the Cong (R) have both combined together in beating back the progressive elements of West Bengal. I can refer to incidents which are not very far from Calcutta. In Dhapa area on 1st June, 1970, Mr. P. C. Sen, a person belonging to the Cong (O), gave a speech and immediately after the speech, the police and the CRP came and began to fire and a lady called Maharani Santra was killed by the police bullets. Another person called Dilip Ghosh was also shot down by the police on 11th June, 1970. What is happening in the Dhapa area is that those lands were of the Corporation and those lands had been resumed by the Corporation. And the peasants of that area, because the lands had been resumed by the Corporation, have refused to pay the rack rents which were demanded by Jadunandan Singh and others, the same Jadunandan Singh and others who are patrons of Mr. P. C. Sen of the Cong (O). Now, after Mr. P. C. Sen lectured on behalf of Jadunandan Singh and others, bullets were being fired, the CRP came, the police came, and they supported the Cong (O) and killed these peasants. It is a strange world that here we have the Congress (R) shouting at the Cong (O) while in West Bengal the Congress (R) combined with the Congress (O) in killing peasants. And we have also seen that

in West Bengal Ministers are harbouring elements who kill their wives and sons. Not merely that. Look at the Barasati incident on 3rd November, 1970. One Aditya Ghosal was murdered. He was the brother of one Ajoy Ghosal. Who does not know what Ajoy Ghosal is the supporter of Congress (O). He started issuing threats from 4th November to the parents of the eight murdered persons in Barasat saying that their sons were involved in the murder of Aditya Ghosal and therefore beware. On the 20th November what has happened is almost everybody's knowledge. The police, on behalf of this Congress (O) man, rounded up eleven persons, murdered them or caused them to be murdered and dumped them on the streets of Barasat. That is how Congress (R) is combining with Congress (O) in West Bengal. In Parliament they are like chaste wives because the Congress (R) says: "We do not combine with Congress (O) because they are very bad people". But in West Bengal this is what is going on. And we also hear of a possible electoral alliance between Congress (O) and Congress (R). Who does not know that as far as Barasat murder is concerned. . . .

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): The hon. Member is accusing my party also for this murder. It is a pity....

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: The Barasat murders are such murders where we have given even evidence to the police. The CBI says that they have not got anything. No less a person than the Commissioner of Kamarhati municipality gave a statement before the DIG (CID) implicating many persons, giving for example even the number of the Ambassador cars from which the bodies were thrown. But Ajoy Ghosal is untouchable because Mrs. Gandhi, whatever she may say here, has her own combination and alliances in West Bengal with Jan Sangh, Swatantra and Congress (O). Otherwise, how could she bring forward these black Acts on the basis

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 of consensus in the consultative committee? I also submit that as far as West Bengal situation is concerned...

श्री श्याम लाल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
 आप जरा बताएं आपकी पार्टी का क्या रूल है
 जैसा पुरकायस्थ साहब ने अपने भाषण में कहा
 उसका जवाब क्या है आपके पास ?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: What is happening in West Bengal? In West Bengal, Mrs. Gandhi's socialist police—because she is a socialist lady and therefore her police also must be socialist—have been raiding village after village and they are trying to take away whatever the peasants had gained during the regime of the United Front. I can refer only to one village in Jadavpur, namely, Bainch tolla village. That village was raided 75 times by the Police and the CRP between April and October. Do you know why? The peasants there had occupied the benami lands of the landlords. The police wanted to dislodge them. The police are in league with anti social elements in the villages. We have known how police are helping goondas. In that particular village there is a kisan called Khagen Patra, who is a samiti worker. His daughter Nandrani, was abducted by one of the goondas and she is still un-
 3 P.M. traceable. I wrote a personal letter to Mrs. Indira Gandhi stating all those things, stating what has happened in Jadavpur. But Mrs. Gandhi has not got the courtesy to reply to that letter. She has not replied to that letter wherein I have said that in league with the CRP and the police, with the knowledge of the CRP and the police, the goondas are molesting the women and the goondas are abducting women. I have given scores of instances to the Prime Minister. It is not that the honour of women is such, the honour of the women of Bengal is such as does not require her interference, require, well her support.

Sir, I went to Malda. The peasants there, Sir, have now named their village as Ho Chi Minh Nagar and in

that Ho Chi Minh Nagar, they occupied the benami lands of one Chowdhurani.

AN HON. MEMBER: Ho Chi Minh Nagar?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Yes, Ho Chi Minh Nagar and Ho Chi Minh is a name of revered memory and there they occupied the benami lands of the zamindars there. Do you know, Sir, what the police did? The police went on the 27th March, immediately after the United Front Government fell, and on the 27th March 1970, they went at midnight or after midnight and began to fire at random. One person was killed. But Mrs. Gandhi's Government will be mistaken if they think that by such Draconian methods she will be able to cow down the people of West Bengal. As a matter of fact, the place where Sajjad Hussain died that very place had been named by the villagers there as Sajjadpur. That is the answer that the villagers have given to Mrs. Gandhi's police and Mrs. Gandhi's police bullets. That is the way the Bengal people are fighting against the reaction, the right reaction, and the right reaction's protagonist, the greatest protagonist of right reaction, is Mrs. Gandhi herself. Her Government has let loose the CRP and the police on the people of West Bengal and they are now killing the people they are beating up the people there, they are molesting the women and they are bringing down the houses by demolishing them and they have started a fascist terror there. I also appeal to the benches on that side, "If you have any love or any sympathy for socialism, if you have any love or sympathy for progress, then, you also must come out against the fascist terror that has been let loose by Mrs. Gandhi's Government in West Bengal, because, if you don't do that, then beware you will also be engulfed in this police tyranny and police terrorism". In Hitlerite Germany also you might have seen, when the Communists were beaten up, the Social

Democrats kept out. They thought that the Communists only were beaten up and why should they bother? But, after the Communists were destroyed, then the turn of the Social Democrats came and I, therefore, appeal to the Social Democrats also here. Let them beware, the chance will come for them, the bitter chance, the bitter pill. So, if they want to escape this they must combine with us in our fight against the onslaught of fascist tyranny. If they don't do that, they will also be drowned in the blood to be shed by Mrs. Gandhi's police.

Sir, I am also going to say how the police, in their fascist terror and savagery, has been carrying on havoc throughout the state of West Bengal. Sir, I had been to Alipurduar, because we had set up a Committee of Inquiry. In Alipurduar, men and women, in hundreds, came to us and gathered around us and they put questions to us. They put this question to us: "What shall we do? The CRP and the policemen come to us now and then and abuse filthily our mothers and wives and daughters in our presence, unprintable abuses abuses which send the blood of the people to their heads, but what can we do?" These are the ways in which the CRP men are moving about. They are moving about like hyenas; they are moving about like beasts in hundreds; they are moving about like so many hungry wolves. And these hyenas and wolves are angrily killing the young people. Sir, do you know the extent of cruelty to which they have gone? I have got the evidence of one Jayant Kumar and one Tapan Iatta, the two primary teachers.... (Interruptions). Please listen now. These are primary teachers. I know there are some teachers in those benches also. Sir, Jayant Kumar and Tapan Datta were placed in the police lock-up in Malda. Do you know what they did? The CRP spat on the teachers. Tapan Datta said that the spit was so heavy that he was drowned in the spit of the CRP. Do you not call it bestial?

Do you not call it cowardly? The man is in police lock-up, and you are spitting upon the man and you are drowning him in your spit! This is the way in which they have been proceeding . . .

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

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I will take some time. Sir, I can tell you also that in a place like Kharibari P. S.—the Naxalite movement started from there, you know—where there are only four houses, the police came. One person called Letengu Urao was there when the police came. He was there with a baby in his arms and a toddler by his side. He was trying to flee. The police shot him from the back. The man who was carrying a baby in his arms and a toddler by his side, was shot in the back. Do you know what story the police gave out? They gave out that Charu Mazumdar, etc. had come there, and that there was a fight between them and the police; after the fight he crossed the river and disappeared in the forest behind. Sir, we have gone there. We found that there is no river there, no stream there, not to speak of a 'nallah' even. As far as forests are concerned, there are only paddy fields. This is a false story.

Sir, there is another village in Sili-guri District. We went there and found that there are only three Jotedars who had grabbed all the land there. When the peasants resisted, do you know what the police did? The police arrested them; they were 45. They arrested all the 45 persons and started a case for violation of Section 144 order under Section 188. But there was no Section 144 order in that village, called Khaprel in Siliguri District. This is the way in which the police are going on.

I can give instances after instances. But then, Sir, I will wind up. But before I wind up, I will say this that sadistic tortures have become a habit with the police. The police and the

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 CRP in West Bengal, when they take away a person, always do a hat-trick. Do you know what a hat-trick means? Hat-trick means three victories in succession. When they catch hold of a man, they beat him; when they throw him into the van, they beat him mercilessly; and when they throw him into the lock-up, again they beat him. This hat-trick they are doing there.

Sir, in Calcutta, for example, under the very nose of the Governor of West Bengal, who says that he is a person who has great faith in democracy, under his very nose, in Jorabagan P.S., on a particular day in the morning there was a bomb explosion. One boy died. The police came to another place. The women-folk came out and they said, "What are you doing here? You have come here to our locality, but you have not gone to the locality from where the bomb was thrown?". And, because of this altercation do you know what happened? The CRP people, indecently dressed in 'janghrias', beat them, looted the entire locality, broke open door after door and molested women. Sir, at another place 200 yards away from the place where this took place, they ransacked the house of one of the CPI-M member, Shri Harprasad Chatterjee. This is the way the police have been behaving.

Sir, the whole point is whether this police can be entrusted with any law-and-order duty. Sir, we went, for example, to the Governor of West Bengal and we represented all these things before him. And do you know what the Governor of West Bengal said to us? The Governor of West Bengal told us that this was the first time he had come to know that the police were killing people. The police were killing people at point-blank range. The Governor told an untruth. After all, what can we expect from a Governor when even the Prime Minister tells untruthful things. The Prime Minister in one of her letters to our members said that she did not

know that the inquiry into police firings had been stopped. She didn't know that? So also the Governor said that he did not know that there was any police excess. But only a few days before, we went to the Governor and we told him that Ranjit Chakravarthi and his brother Samir Chakravarthi were shot at point-blank range by the Deputy Commissioner, North Shew Mangal Singh was the Officer in charge of that Police station. The father of these two persons killed represented to the Governor and in that representation he said how his sons had been killed. Do you know how those boys had been killed? Those boys were merely chatting on the ledge of the house. It was heavily raining on that day. There was no incident and Bibuti Chakravarty came in a van along with Shew Mangal Singh and another Thakur and shot at Ranjit Chakravarthi at point-blank range even though Ranjit Chakravarthi said that he was a Police Constable. After he was shot, he went up to a stair-case and took shelter inside a lavatory. The Thakur went up and dragged him down and killed him there after firing many shots. Samir Chakravarthi, the younger brother was also shot. Both of them were taken in a police van. Instead of taking them to a hospital they took them to the Ganga river side and in the river side Samir Chakravarthi groaned and Bibuti Chakravarthi, the beast as he is called out: 'That man is still speaking stop his voice'. The other shots were fired into his chest and Samir Chakravarthi died. These are the cruel incidents and the evidence of their brother, Binay Chakravarthi is there. He was carried along with them and we have got the evidence of Binay Chakravarthi. All this was told to the Governor but the Governor, in spite of all that, told us that he did not know that the police had committed excesses. I do not know to what depths of falsehood a person can descend. Is office so much to be prized? Is office of profit so much to be valued above human values or

sense of human dignity? That is the question. I can give another instance. We have collected statistics of police murders and according to that—I had even circulated it to some of my friends—45 persons have been killed by the Police at point-blank range but then, our latest information is that the Police have killed between 60 and 65. My friend is asking about murders of police personnel. I have also heard some other Members, including Shri Bhupesh Gupta. The question of democracy is in the balance. What is democracy? Democracy means, if at all any one thing, that there must not be fascist terrorism, there must not be police terrorism. Inter-party terrorism is one thing, inter-party violence is one thing but police violence is another. If any person wants to put them on the same level I will say that willy-nilly he supports police violence also. If you want . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Both terrorisms are bad.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: That is not the way to put it. I will say this that if you say both are bad, you are equating them. But I say that these terrorisms are not to be equated. Police terrorism is only one step from fascist terrorism. And there is no difference between police terror and fascist terror. The whole question is this whether you want fascism to go or not and whether you want democracy to survive or not. If you want fascism to go, then you must say that police terror must have to be stopped, and if police terror has to be stopped, then you will have to see that this police violence, which has been going on in West Bengal, which has been going on in the streets of Calcutta, has to be stopped, and all parties, who have got any faith in democracy, they must come out against that violence. As far as the two Acts are concerned, these two Acts are insult added to injury. After the 17th of March, 1970, when the United Front Government was dismissed by the Governor of

West Bengal, after Shri Ajoy Mukherjee betrayed the electorate's verdict, well, after that, between then and now, during these nine months, the police have killed 65 persons, have razed villages, have molested women, have beat up people in the lock-up killing them there, have committed all sorts of orgies. In view of those I am appealing to the democratic sentiments of the people here. Now, as far as this point is concerned, let us not put it on the same level with inter-party violence. Let us put it on another level altogether. This police violence has to be condemned, has to be decried, and further, if actually democracy has to survive in West Bengal, these two draconian Acts for which the Resolutions are being discussed in this House, these two Acts have also to be voted down, have to be struck down. I know that, as far as the political children of Shrimati Indira Gandhi are concerned, she has to give them the bogey-man in order to keep them under control.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): He is speaking nonsense.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: But I can say this; today they may not be with us, but I can tell you and tell them through you that the day is coming when sense will dawn upon them that what they are tolerating today, this police terror, is the beginning of fascism in West Bengal and, for that matter, in India. If you want to do away with fascism, if you want to kill fascism, if you want to nip it in the bud, then all democratic-minded people must rise up against this police terror and against this police violence.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I wanted to speak on these two Bills, on these two Resolutions on the Bills but I was not allowed on the ground that there was hardly any time at our disposal. Sir, may I point this out that, when the Vice-Chairman is not him-

[Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay] self keeping to the time schedule, then we should also be allowed to speak? There should not be any plea of lack of time in our case, Sir. I want my name to be included.

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra): Sir, I think this is the third or fourth time that we are discussing West Bengal in this august House. And every time we discuss the situation in West Bengal, one has to speak with a very heavy heart.

Sir, yesterday I listened with very close attention to what my friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, said. But after listening to his speech I was surprised when he said that these black laws should be repealed. Sir, the whole case, as he put it, was so grim, so full of tragedy, that I did not know how his peroration, towards the end, asking for the withdrawal or repeal of these laws, squared up with what he had said before. Sir, he characterised these laws as black laws, both Shri Bhupesh Gupta and Shri Chitta Basu, did. They are really draconic, there is no doubt about it, but will they not give a little thought to the fact that these laws had to be enacted after a long time, after a great deal of patience, very reluctantly, when it was proved that the situation in Bengal did not improve? Sir, from one side it is being argued that so far as Bengal is concerned the police are indulging in excesses and from the other side it is argued that it is Naxalites and their friends who are indulging in these excesses. We who come from other States look to Bengal with dismay; we who always looked upon Bengal as the land of inspiration, the land of Vivekananda, Paramahansa, Tagore, Chitta Ranjandas—and their names are legion—are surprised that for months together, for years together, this story of horror and murder is continuing. Sir, we are caught in a vicious circle, violence from one side, repression from the other. They say that the police is for extermination on the Naxalites but is it not a fact that the leader of the Naxalites has openly

asked for the liquidation of all those who stand against him? On the one side it is liquidation; on the other it is extermination. Sir, I am really surprised to find my friend here denouncing the police but refusing to say even a single word of condemnation for the acts of violence, destruction and arson committed by some of his friends.

I have got this paper 'People Democracy' and this article here is written by Shri Basavapunniah, who is one of their topmost leaders. What is his characterisation of the Naxalites? Sir, it is a long article but I will only quote one paragraph.

"A look at the latest phase of the so-called Naxalites . . .

He calls them so-called Naxalites.

"...and their activities would convince every honest man and woman that all their tall talk of peasant guerilla war, agrarian revolution, people's war, etc. was a hoax. Bomb attacks on schools, colleges, libraries, killing of students, youth, kisan and trade union workers of other political parties, the cadres of the CPM in particular, the assassination of policemen and civilian officials and organising individual murders on the bidding of some interested persons or parties have become their routine activity."

This is the accusation levelled against the Naxalites by the leader of the CPM and here we witness the spectacle of the CPM spokesman in Parliament laying all the blame on the police and not saying a word about the Naxalites. I would again plead with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta . . .

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: They seem to be in league with each other.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: It is not a question of condemning this party or that party; the question is, we should go deep into the root of the matter and try to find out how this violence, how these murders, how this liquida-

tion, how this extermination can stop. I am interested in that and I suppose the whole House is interested in that. That being the main question I would like to ask Mr. Bhupesh Gupta also. Here is their paper, New Age. Here is a photograph showing thousands of villagers with lathis, spears and swords in their hands marching in a procession to take possession of land. Now, let Shri Bhupesh Gupta reflect for a moment. This was a morcha at the bidding of the CPI. Now, these are the very things which the Naxalites are doing. The CPI is accusing the CPM of having generated violence and allowed violence. All the three parties are doing it. The Marxists are trying to implement Marxism in their particular way. The result is that young people are dying. Women are being molested. Houses are being burnt down. The statues of our national leaders are being destroyed. A good deal of talk was heard just now from our friend here about fascist violence and the inter-party or Marxist violence, but does it make any difference so far as the woman who is molested is concerned, so far as the young boy who is murdered is concerned? Whether she is molested by a fascist gang or a Marxist gang, it makes no difference. Whether the young boy is murdered by the police or by the followers of Charu Mazumdar, it does not make any difference at all. Therefore, I would like to plead with these people. I am reminded of the Sanskrit Shloka:

बौद्धारो मत्सरयन्ताः प्रभवःस्मयद्विषिताः ।
 ब्रह्मघोषहताश्चान्ये जीर्णमंगे मृषापितम् ॥

I sometimes despair of pleading with these people because they will not talk anything except their nostrums and shibboleths. They never think of Bengal as a whole. They never think of this country or democracy. They will never think beyond what their party has taught and what their platforms have taught them. They must get rid of it. I would plead with them that democracy in India, though it is

defective, gives enough protection to all those people who want to abide by law. Even if you want to capture power, it is possible to do so without resorting to arms. Just see what has happened in East Bengal. Is it not really encouraging that, in spite of fifteen years of martial law, in one sweep the people have brushed aside all those who wanted to lord it over them? You will see that 99 per cent of the people had voted. People went to vote. People believe in the power of the ballot box. It is possible for parties to come to power through the ballot box, but it is necessary to forget your nostrums and your theories which are completely outdated. I would, therefore, plead with my friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, the Naxalites and Marxists to decide once and for all that it does not matter who has committed violence. Violence is bad for our country. I do not want to take more of your time and I would certainly like Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay to have some time. I have pleaded my case many times and I am tired of pleading, but I would certainly like these people to think over these things seriously and not indulge in mutual accusations. It is not going to help us in anyway. It is only going to take Bengal to ruination. In the whole country there is a spurt of industrial activity. There is a green revolution. Look at Punjab and Haryana and also look at Bengal. Is there not rise in prices, is there not unemployment, is there not labour unrest in other parts of the country? Why is it that in other parts of the country this sort of bloodshed does not take place? Only recently in my State all the Government employees were on strike for twelve days, three lakhs of them, but there was not a single case of arson or murder or loot.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA
 MENON: What about the Shiv Sena?

SHRI N. G. GORAY: The Shiv Sena also did not succeed in doing it. Therefore, I am saying after all, it is

[Shri N. G. Goray]

not only the duty of the Government or the police to maintain peace. It is the duty of the Opposition parties also to keep the temper and mood of non-violence and peaceful agitation. If you do not want to listen, if you do not want to agree, do not agree, but I am warning you that if this sort of tendency grows, if this sort of movement grows, then it will not be for the good of any of us. You are inviting fascism in this country. That is my charge against you. What can the common people do? What can they do against the police? What can they do against your own armed people? They cannot do anything. Therefore, they would rather welcome a fascist Government than a State where nobody is feeling secure. Therefore, I would like to urge upon these people—all of them are my friends, I have no doubt in my mind that they want political power; I do not blame them for that; all of us want that. When the ballot box is there, when the democratic methods are open for us, why should we go in for this sort of violence unless we want to foist a dictatorship over this country? If you want a dictatorship, of course, you cannot get it, and I can assure you that if the Marxists are still dreaming of dictatorship of the proletariat or a single party, they can get it over our dead bodies, and not so long as we are alive.

Therefore, I am saying please abandon this. It is not going to take you to power. It is not going to improve the lot of Bengal. It is not going to enrich Bengal. It is not going to save the cause of democracy. Please abandon this. I will suggest to them a six months' truce. Please ask your followers to adopt democratic methods to take to peaceful methods for six months. You assure the whole country that there will be no violence from your side no murders from your side, no destruction, no demolition. If you do that, let the Government also assure that if these things do not happen, if all parties pledge themselves to peaceful methods, there will be no

repression from the Government side. Let us give ourselves six months or four months of truce and then you will see that the face of Bengal changes. I want to see the face of Bengal change.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): There is much to think about in what Mr. Goray has said. We are all concerned about it. Mr. Rajnarain.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I rise on a point of order. When we said about the police, you did not seem to be concerned about it. It is not good for the Chair to express concern partially. What Mr. Goray has said we take it very seriously because he is one of our very respected leaders. But I also represent a party. When I pointed out to the murders committed by policemen by giving facts and figures—that was not an abstract appeal; we had given you facts and figures, names, number, and so on—at that time you did not say we feel concerned.

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

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Sir, on a point of order. When the debate is going on and on such a subject as this with great respect to the Chair, I must say that the Chair should not show its partiality for a particular party or particular cause. We also put forth our point of view and said that the police violence and police murders of young men are more terrible than inter-party violence. You did not say anything at that time. You should have opened your mouth then. Why do you now open your mouth to support something which goes against our cause?

(Interruption)

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: All that he said was how to establish peace and maintain democracy. It is on account

of those slogans that the Chair supported it. The whole House agrees with it.

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

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You cannot buy peace in Bengal by shooting down people.

(Interruption)

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Order, please. It was the turn of a Congress Member, but Mr. Rajnarain has requested me that he has to go to court for evidence. So, I have exercised my discretion and I have given the chance to Mr. Rajnarain.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश): श्रीमन्, मैं सर्व प्रथम यह निवेदन कर दूँ कि आपने अपने मुख्याग्विन्द श्री गोरे की तकरीर की, जो तारीफ की बात आपके लिये उचित नहीं थी।

SHRI MAHATOSH PURKAYASTHA: Why not?

श्री राजनारायण : अब मैं अपना भाषण शुरू करता हूँ। श्री एन० जी० गोरे साहब, श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी साहब और इसके पूर्व कुछ सम्मानित सदस्यों को सुनने के बाद मैं इस नतीजे पर पहुँचा कि वस्तुस्थिति का सच्चा दिग्दर्शन होगा या नहीं, यह समझ में नहीं आता, एक श्लोक मैं बराबर कहा करता हूँ। चाहे काव्य पूर्ण संस्कृत में हो या बोलने में सारी कलाओं का समावेश हो जाय, अच्छी अंग्रेजी लच्छेदार कोई बोल जाय, मगर यदि उसमें लोक स्थिति का सच्चा निरूपण नहीं होता, तो ऐसे वक्ता को मुख का चक्रवर्ती राजा ही कहना चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज यहां पर विषय क्या है। पश्चिमी बंगाल में जो श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने एक प्रकार से नजरबन्दी का कानून लागू कर दिया उस पर सदन इस सरकार के साथ है या नहीं यह विषय है सदन

के सामने। पश्चिमी बंगाल की सलाहकार समिति में मैं भी हूँ, मगर ऐसे समय में पश्चिमी बंगाल की सलाहकार समिति बुलायी जाती है, ऐसे आनन-फानन में बुलायी जाती है कि उस की पहले से कोई सूचना नहीं होती। मैं तो उस की किसी बैठक में जा ही नहीं पाया। हो क्या रहा है पश्चिमी बंगाल में? अब मैं थोड़ी देर अपने मित्र श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी से आपके जरिये बात करना चाहता हूँ। श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी की तारीफ करनी चाहिए; क्योंकि श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी ने श्री भूपेश गुप्त की तरह अपनी स्ट्रेन्जि को छिपाया नहीं। श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी जो है उसको उन्होंने साफ-साफ कह दिया, सही-सही कह दिया। श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी बायलेस में, हिंसात्मक प्रणाली में यकीन करते हैं और यह उन्होंने साफ-साफ कहा। यह उन्होंने नहीं कहा कि अहिंसा में विलीन करते हैं और हिंसा करते हैं। वह साफ कहते हैं कि मैं डिक्टेटरशिप ऑफ दि प्रोलेटेरियेट में यकीन करता हूँ। वह कह रहे हैं तो मैं उनको तो समझ रहा हूँ लेकिन मैं श्री भूपेश गुप्त को समझने में असमर्थ रहा हूँ। श्री भूपेश गुप्त माने इडिबिजुअल नहीं, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ आज इस सदन में आपके द्वारा तमाम सम्मानित सदस्यों में कि जनतंत्र के माने क्या है? क्या जनतंत्र की कोई परिभाषा है? मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि फासिज्म अधिनायकशाही के मायने क्या है? क्या अधिनायक की कोई परिभाषा है? मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि राइट रिएक्शन क्या है? क्या इसकी कोई परिभाषा है? मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि लेफ्ट रिएक्शन क्या है? क्या इसकी कोई परिभाषा है? मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अनावश्यक बेमतलब और निरर्थक शब्दों का प्रयोग कर के इस देश की राजनीति में ववंडर खड़ा किया जा रहा है और इसमें आज हमारे सी० पी० आई० के लोग बड़े माहिर हैं, क्योंकि उनके पास साधन हैं। उन का मंदिर मास्को में है। उनका खूटा गडा है और जो सही बात हम लोग कहते हैं, वह भी अपनी जगह से आगे नहीं बढ़ पाती है। मैं इस बात को समझता हूँ कि निर्बल सत्य प्रबल अमत्य

[श्री राजनारायण]

के सामने कभी-कभी झुक जाता है। हमारा सत्य है मगर निर्वल है, भूपेश गुप्त का असत्य है, मगर उसमें आमुरी ताकत है, इसलिए हमारा सत्य उन के आमुरी ताकत के असत्य के सामने कभी-कभी बेचारा परेशान हो जाता है। हमारे मित्र श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी साहब चले गये। मैं उनसे पूछता कि चीन का माओ हमारा माओ चीन का नेता हमारा नेता, क्या यह नारा लगाना अपने देश के नागरिक के लिए कोई शोभा की बात है? और यदि पश्चिम बंगाल की हर दीवार में लिखा हो—चीन का माओ हमारा माओ चीन का चेयरमैन हमारा चेयरमैन—तो क्या श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी इस बात को भी कह सकते हैं कि भारत का गिरि, चीन का गिरि, भारत का राष्ट्रपति, चीन का राष्ट्रपति। यह कहने के लिये वह तैयार है मैं जानना चाहता हूँ अपने सी० पी० आई० एम० के भाइयो से।

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

श्रीमान्, मैं यह पूछ रहा था कि चीन का माओ हमारा माओ, चीन का चेयरमैन हमारा चेयरमैन जो लोग कहते हैं क्या वह लोग यह कह सकते हैं कि भारत का प्रेसिडेंट भारत का गिरि, चीन का प्रेसिडेंट चीन का गिरि। अगर वह यह कहने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं, तो भारतीय राष्ट्र के प्रति वह वफादार है या नहीं। मैं ऐसे तत्वों से, ऐसे लोगों से बहुत ही सफाई के साथ पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो चीन के माओ को और चीन के प्रेसिडेंट को भारत का प्रेसिडेंट मानते हैं और तमाम पश्चिम बंगाल की दीवारों पर लिखते या लिखवाते हैं, क्या वे लोग भारतीय राष्ट्र के प्रति वफादार हैं, अगर हैं तो दूसरी बात है और नहीं हैं तो फिर क्या उनके लिये व्यवहार हो, क्या कानून उनके साथ इस्तेमाल किया जाय, इस प्रश्न पर भी गम्भीरता के साथ विचार किया जाय। ऐसा नहीं है। मैं आपको सही बात बता दूँ। वह आगे बताऊँगा आखिर

अब अगर कोई पार्टी डेमोक्रेसी में यकीन चाहती है, जनतंत्र में यकीन करती है, तो हथियार-

तंत्र में नहीं जायगी। जनतंत्र में विश्वास रखने वाली पार्टी हथियारतंत्र में जा ही नहीं सकती। तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सी० पी० आई० भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी आज हथियारतंत्र में नहीं जा रही है।

श्री भूपेश गुप्त : हम तो हथियार जानते नहीं, हमारा तो हाथतंत्र होता है।

श्री राजनारायण : यह हमारे मित्र हैं, मैं इनकी बड़ी इज्जत करता हूँ, क्योंकि यह मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह हमारे साथ आये, इनकी बुद्धि में जो अभी एक जाला है वह कटे, मैं यह इनको निवेदन करता हूँ, इनकी आरगू-मिश्रित करता हूँ और इसलिये इनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि जो जनता हाथ के बोटों से भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को ताकत नहीं दे सकती, वह जनता हथियार कैसे चला सकती है। वह जनता हथियार नहीं चला सकती। इसलिये हथियारतंत्र में आज भारत में जो यकीन करेगा वह फासिस्ट होगा, वह डिक्टेटर होगा, वह एनाकिस्ट होगा। मुझे मालूम नहीं कि मार्क्सवाद को इन्होंने कैसे पढ़ा है। हम चाहते हैं कि वह हमारे साथ जेल में चलते तो हम इनको मार्क्सवाद को पढ़ाते। मार्क्सवाद है क्या? मार्क्स और बुकानिन की यही लड़ाई थी। लड़ाई क्या थी? मार्क्स कहा करता था कि हमारे एक्शन के पीछे मास-सपोर्ट चाहिये, हमारे एक्शन के पीछे अगर जन-ममर्थन नहीं है, जनता नहीं है, तो वह चन्द मुट्ठी भर लोगों का काम हो जायगा और चन्द मुट्ठी भर लोगों के हाथ में ताकत आ जायगी तो वह समाजवाद नहीं होगा, जन-राज्य नहीं होगा, वह चन्द मुट्ठी भर लोगों का राज्य होगा। जैसा कि अच्छी तरह से हम लोग जान रहे हैं कि आज रूस का ढाँचा डिक्टेटरशिप ऑफ दि प्रोलेटेरियट फार दि प्रोलेटेरियट ऑन दि प्रोलेटेरियट है, वह कहते हैं—प्रोलेटेरियट का डिक्टेटरशिप प्रोलेटेरियट के लिये प्रोलेटेरियट पर—यह सब क्या नारा है? क्या यह केवल शब्द हैं, शब्द का जाल-बट्टा है? इसलिये बहुत ही सफाई के साथ आज भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को

दुनिया की बदलती हुई राजनीति में अपने मस्तिष्क के अलर मौलिक परिवर्तन करना होगा, मौलिक परिवर्तन लाना होगा। आज अगर भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी सोचती है कि केवल इन्दिरा सरकार की चाटुकारिता ही समाजवाद है तो मैं इनसे निवेदन करूंगा कि ऐसी बात नहीं है।

श्रीमन्, फिर भी मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि आज वह शांति, आज वह ताकत, जो कि अपनी राष्ट्रीय सीमाओं के प्रति ईमानदार नहीं है, जो अपने राष्ट्र के प्रति भक्ति नहीं रखती है, जो अपनी राष्ट्रीयता की भावना से ओत-प्रोत नहीं है, वह गिरफ्तारी है या नहीं है। यह प्रश्न मैं श्री चन्द्र शेखर के लिये, मोहन धारिया के लिये छोड़े देता हूं और श्री कृष्णकान्त के लिये जो कि बी० एच० यू० के प्रोडक्ट हैं, उनके लिये छोड़े देता हूं। अगर वह बी० एच० यू० का प्रोडक्ट न होते, तो हम दूसरा व्यवहार करते . . .

द्विपक्ष के नेता (श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र) : तो वह आप के बाल-संगी हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : अब तक भारतीय स्वातंत्र्य संग्राम ने जो सीख दी थी, उसको भुला कर हम भागे बढेंगे या उससे अनुभव लेकर, ज्ञान लेकर, आगे अपने रास्ते को सुधारेंगे? यह कभी कभी लोग हमको लेकर देने लगते हैं तो मुझे परेशानी आने लगती है। इस लिये आज, बंगाल की स्थिति क्या है, मैं उसके ऊपर थोड़ी सी रोशनी डालूंगा।

आज बंगाल में क्षेत्रीयता है, आज बंगाल में साम्प्रदायिकता का वातावरण है, एक यूनियन के लोग दूसरी यूनियन पर कब्जा करने के लिए नारी मर्यादाओं को तोड़ने जाते हैं और उन्हें हत्या, आग लगाना, कत्ल करना, महिलाओं को लटाना, घर का सामान जलाना, ये सब शामिल हैं। हमारे मित्र ए० पी० चटर्जी अभी चले गए, मैं उनसे जानना चाहता था कि क्या वह सत्य नहीं है कि अभी-अभी करनारी कोलियरी

में 4 एस० एस० पी० के लोग मारे गए। बाकायदा हमारी रपट है। उसमें 2 बड़े नेता सी० पी० आई० (एम) के दिखाये गये हैं, मगर सी० पी० आई० (एम) के वह नेता अभी तक गिरफ्तार नहीं किए गए हैं। अगर हमारे किसी साथी का नाम सी० पी० आई० (एम) लिखा दें तो उनकी गिरफ्तारी फौरन हो जाती है। मगर उनकी गिरफ्तारी नहीं हुई है, यह स्थिति है। अभी जलपाईगुड़ी में मैं गया हुआ था। जलपाईगुड़ी से मैं सीधा आ रहा हूं, वहां हमारे दो आदमियों को कत्ल कर दिया, कत्ल करने वाले सी० पी० आई० (एम) के लोग बताए जाते हैं, मैं सी० पी० आई० (एम) के लोगों से मोहब्बत करना चाहता हूं, क्योंकि वह इन्दिरा के जाल को अब समझ गए हैं, पहले नहीं समझे थे। अब वह इन्दिरा जी का जाल-बट्टा, इन्दिरा का मायाजाल काटने को तैयार हो गए हैं और हमारी राजनीतिक दिशा की लाइन में आ गए हैं। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूं, जब हम उनको नजदीक लावें तो हमारे पेट पर छुरा, खजर भोंक दें तो ऐसा कितने दिन चलेगा, इसको गम्भीरता से सोचें। मैं आज सी० पी० एस० के लोग, जो इस सदन में हैं, उनसे विनम्रता के साथ निवेदन करूंगा कि हमारी भावनाओं को समझें, अपने नेताओं को जाकर बताएं कि सी० पी० आई० एस० को हम साथ लेना चाहते हैं।

श्री उपसभापति : जो आना नहीं चाहते हैं उनको साथ क्यों लाना चाहते हैं। उनको साथ लेना चाहते हैं और वह आपके साथ आना नहीं चाहते हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : क्योंकि हमारी राजनैतिक दिशा की लाइन में आज वह खड़े हैं, इसलिये वह गम्भीरता के साथ जो उनके कर्म हो रहे हैं, सोचें और पश्चिमी बंगाल की स्थिति में मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूं, हम राजनीति में बेईमानी नहीं चाहते हैं, हम हर जगह ईमानदारी चाहते हैं और राजनीति तो शुद्ध ईमान की चीज

[श्री राजनारायण]

है। मैं राजनीति को अपना धर्म मानता हूँ, यह राजनीति में बेईमानी की जगह मानें तो वह राजनीति नहीं।

मगर क्या मैं श्री भूषेण गुप्त से पूछ सकता हूँ उनके साथ मोहब्बत है, इसलिए उनका नाम जवान पर आ जाता है—या सी० पी० आई० से पूछ सका हूँ कि क्या आज बंगला देशों में बंगाली और गैर-बंगला बंगाली का झगड़ा बड़े पैमाने पर नहीं खड़ा कर दिया गया है? उसका परिमार्जन क्या होगा? ज्यों-ज्यों राष्ट्रीयता की भावना जाएगी, त्यों-त्यों क्षेत्रीयता की भावना प्रबल होगी और यह हो रहा है। अगर यह मानव हैं तो आपके जरिए उनसे कहना चाहूंगा कि अब बंगाली और गैर-बंगाली का विभेद पश्चिमी बंगाल में खत्म होना चाहिए, वहाँ राष्ट्रीयता की भावना होनी चाहिए। क्या आज पश्चिमी बंगाल में श्रीमन् हिन्दू और मुस्लिम की भावना नहीं बढ़ायी जा रही है? आज मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, बहुत सफाई के साथ, यह हमारी श्रीमती पूरबी मुखर्जी साहिबा बहुत जोर से बोलेगी, कि इन्दिरा कांग्रेस आज पश्चिमी बंगाल में हिन्दू और मुसलमान का झगड़ा उकसा रही है और उसे बड़े पैमाने पर उकसा रहे हैं ताकि चुनाव के दरमियान ऐसी स्थिति आ जाय, जिससे वहाँ पर हिन्दू मुस्लिम संघर्ष हो जाय, जिसके द्वारा वे सारी ताकत अपने हाथ में ले लें और फिर इस तरह से फासिस्ट तरीका अख्तियार कर लें। जब मैं यहां पर यह बात कहता हूँ तो मैं श्री चटर्जी की बात का समर्थन करता हूँ कि पुलिस वहाँ पर अत्याचार कर रही है। पुलिस ने हमारे दो साथियों को चलकग्राम में मार दिया और दो आदमियों को उठा कर ले गई। जो लोग पुलिस की चंगुल से भाग कर आये थे, वे हमें जलपाईगुड़ी में मिले थे। उन्होंने बतलाया कि हम किस तरह से पुलिस की चंगुल से भाग कर आये। श्री चटर्जी ने अपनी यहां पर एक नई थ्योरी बतलाई। उन्होंने यह कह दिया श्रीमन्, जरा आप सुनिये।

श्री उपसभापति : समय काफी हो गया

है। आपको 15 मिनट दिये गये थे और अब 20 मिनट हो गये हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : हमने समय के संबंध में किसी से वादा नहीं किया था। तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि उनकी अजीब थ्योरी है कि पार्टी के आन्तरिक संघर्ष में गोली चलाई जा सकती है। पुलिस को गोली और पार्टी के आन्तरिक संघर्ष की गोली में फर्क है। पुलिस द्वारा जान लेना और पार्टी के आन्तरिक संघर्ष में जान लेना हम दोनों में फर्क है। उनके कहने के मुताबिक चटर्जी साहब समर्थन कर रहे हैं कि पार्टी के संघर्ष में अगर उनके लोग हमारे लोगों की जान ले लें तो यह गलत चीज नहीं है। मैं जनतन्त्री प्रेमियों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश में जो राजनीतिक दल आन्तरिक जनतन्त्र को सुखाते हैं, तो राष्ट्र के अन्दर जो जनतन्त्री प्रशासन है, वह सूख जाता है। जो दल अपने दल के अन्दर जिस ढंग की बात को अख्तियार करेगा, अगर उसके हाथ में शासन की बागडोर आयेगी तो वह वही तरीका वहाँ पर चलायेगा। जो दल पार्टी के अन्दर हिंसा को बढ़ावा देती है, वह अवश्य शासन हाथ में आने पर हिंसा को बढ़ावा देगी। इसलिए मैं चटर्जी साहब से कहना चाहती हूँ कि वे सफाई के साथ अपने दिमाग को साफ रखें। अगर वे दल के अन्दर हिंसा को बढ़ावा देते हैं, तो उनके दल में हिंसात्मक तत्व रहेगा और उनका ढांचा और संगठन भी हिंसात्मक होगा और जब उनके हाथ में ताकत आयेगी तो तब वे हिंसात्मक प्रवृत्ति को बढ़ावा देंगे। यह एक सैद्धांतिक प्रश्न है और मैं भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर उनका दामन साफ है, तो वे इस बात का एलान करें कि हमें हिंसा पर कोई विश्वास नहीं है और अपने मकसद को हांसिल करने के लिए उनका दामन पाक होगा और वे हिंसा की प्रवृत्ति को बढ़ावा नहीं देंगे। क्या आज इस बात को सी० पी० आई० मानती है, क्या आज इस बात को सी० पी० एम० मानती है और क्या आज इस बात को इन्दिरा कांग्रेस मानती है या नहीं। आज इस मोर्चे में तीन पार्टियाँ हैं, एक सी०

पी० आई० दूसरी सी० पी० एम० और तीसरी इन्दिरा कांग्रेस ।

मैं अपने मित्र श्री चन्द्र शेखर से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज इस देश में साम्प्रदायिकता की भावना को किस तरह से बढ़ाया जा रहा है । श्रीमन्. 12 दिसम्बर को यहाँ पर एक साम्प्रदायिक विरोधी अधिवेशन हुआ था, जिसमें इन्दिरा गांधी गई थीं । जब वे गई थी तो वहाँ पर जो चैयरमैन हैं, वे क्या बोलते हैं जरा इसको सुनिये । “इन्दिरा जी वह करिश्मा है कि इनके छू जाने से बूढ़े भी जवान हो जाते हैं, उनमें जोश और मींग आ जाता है ।” इस तरह का वहाँ पर भाषण हुआ । वहाँ पर साम्प्रदायिकता को दूर करने के लिए कोई सुझाव नहीं दिये गये, साम्प्रदायिकता के संबंध में कोई बात नहीं कही गई । वहाँ पर जितने भी भाषण हुए उनमें प्रधान मंत्री के ही गुणगान गाये गये ।

श्री उपसभापति : राजनारायण जी इसका यहाँ पर कोई संबंध नहीं है ।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह की हालत बंगाल में हो रही है, वही हालत अब दिल्ली में भी होने जा रही है । अगर स्थिति तो सम्भाला नहीं गया तो पश्चिमी बंगाल की स्थिति दिल्ली में भी आ जायेगी ।

वहाँ पर जो भाषण दिये गये, उनमें कहा गया कि इन्दिरा जी को जिन्दगी हमारे लिए एक पैगाम है, जिसे लेकर हम अपनी जिन्दगी सुधार सकते हैं ।

यही स्वर द्वारे वक्ता श्रीमन्तो मुभद्रा जोशी का था । उन्होंने अपनी आर्थिक कठिनाइयाँ बताया हुए, सरकार से कुछ सहायता का संकेत किया । राधारमण जी को टिप्पणी का समर्थन करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि यह सही है कि इन्दिरा जी का स्पर्श पाने से बूढ़े भी जवान हो जाते हैं । पर ऐसी जवानी न ही कि बचपना आ जाय । अगले चुनाव में कांग्रेस को जिताने का आश्वासन उन्होंने दिया और साम्प्रदायिकता पर कोई

चर्चा नहीं की । इस तरह से वहाँ पर दिल्ली की जानना से वोट पाने के लिए इन्दिरा के गुणगान गाये गये और हमारे 9 आदमियों को गिरफ्तार किया गया ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have called Dr. Talwar.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, देखिए, हम एक मिनट में खत्तम कर रहे हैं ।

श्री उपसभापति : आप बंगाल के बारे में बोल रहे थे, अब 25 मिनट हो गए ।

श्री राजनारायण । हम बताना चाहते हैं कि अगर बंगाल की स्थिति हमारे भाई भूपेश गुप्त सम्भालना चाहते हैं, अगर बंगाल की स्थिति जनसंघ स्वतंत्र पार्टी के लोग सम्भालना चाहते हैं, अगर बंगाल की स्थिति ए० पी० चटर्जी सम्भालना चाहते हैं, अगर बंगाल की स्थिति श्री एस० एन० मिश्र सम्भालना चाहते हैं, तो जो मार्ग मैं बता रहा हूँ उस मार्ग का अवलम्बन करें और वह मार्ग है पहले श्रीमन्तो इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी को हटाना ।

(Interruption).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have called Dr. Talwar. Please sit down.

श्री राजनारायण : प्रोफेसर नित्य कुमार, राजकुमार जैन, उमाशंकर . . .

श्री उपसभापति : आपने बहुत समय ले लिया है, अब आप बैठ जाइए ।

श्री राजनारायण : आप एक मिनट दीजिए, बीच में मन बोलिए ।

श्री उपसभापति : आप घड़ी देख कर एक मिनट में बैठ जाइए ।

श्री राजनारायण : हमारे इन 9 विद्यार्थियों ने इन्दिरा से पूछा कि इन्दिरा जी आप साम्प्रदायिकता विरोधी सम्मेलन कर रही हैं, लेकिन यहाँ तो आपकी कांग्रेस पार्टी का गुणगान हो रहा है, क्या यह साम्प्रदायिकता विरोधी प्रयोग है ? कुछ चपरगत कांग्रेसी और कुछ दलाल उनके ऊपर दूट पड़े, उन 9 लोगों को ले जाकर जेल में बन्द कर दिया, दो दिन तक जेल में रखा और

[श्री राजनारायण]

फिर छोड़ दिया। अपने को क्रान्तिकारी कहता है, वह शशि भूषण चढ़ बैठा विनय कुमार के ऊपर। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इन्दिरा गांधी, होम मिनिस्टर इस तरह नक्सलाइट प्रवृत्ति चलाएंगी तो उनको जवाब देना हम शुरू करेंगे। जब जवाब मिलना शुरू हो जाएगा तो मामला शान्त हो जाएगा।

SHRI SYED HUSSAIN (Jammu and Kashmir): Shri Sashi Bhushan is not present here . . .

श्री राजनारायण : इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम लोग सन 42 के हैं, सन 42 में हमने पिस्तौल भी चलाई है, हमने भी पटाक फेंके हैं। मैं इन्दिरा जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी उपस्थिति में 9 छात्र पोर्ट दिए गए, पुलिस उनको जेल ले गई, उनको शर्म नहीं आई, उठ कर कहतीं कि हमारे सामने उनके ऊपर मार न पड़े। जब यह प्रवृत्ति है, जब ऐसा प्रधान मंत्री हूँ जिसके कि हाथ में पश्चिमी बंगाल है तो पश्चिमी बंगाल में आग लग रही है। उस आग को बुझाना है तो इन्दिरा को जल्दी से जल्दी हटाओ और भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को ठीक करो; क्योंकि उनका कदम बिलकुल उल्टा हो गया है।

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Shri A. P. Chatterjee has given many instances and many other hon. Members on the other side have done the same. But Shri Chatterjee has given many more. Sir, the CPM's ex-Home Minister of West Bengal is under the protection of the police . . .

श्री राजनारायण : आन ए प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर। मैं जा रहा हूँ, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि रेडियो के सम्बन्ध में कब स्टेटमेंट होगा। चेयरमैन यह कह चुके हैं . . .

(Interruption)

श्री उपसभापति : आप दस दिन बाहर रहे और अब आप पूछ रहे हैं।

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र : कल से हम भी कह रहे हैं।

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR: I am not yielding . . .

श्री उपसभापति : आप हाउस में नहीं आएंगे और फिर कहेंगे कि हमारी प्रेजेंस में कीजिए, आप नहीं आये।

श्री राजनारायण : हम आज आए हैं, आपके द्वारा सूचना देते हैं कि कल अगर रेडियो के सम्बन्ध में सफाई ही हुई तो शायद कल आप सदन की कार्यवाही नहीं चला पाएंगे।

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR: It is a very bad precedent in this House. . .

श्री उपसभापति : आप कुछ भी कहें, कल तो गवर्नमेंट बिजनेस नहीं होगी, कल तो प्राइवेट मेम्बरस डे है, नहीं चलने दें तो नहीं चलने दीजिए।

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र : मिनिस्टर को जवाब तो देना है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has come today and is raising it.

श्री राजनारायण : आपकी आँख में रोशनी नहीं है तो हम क्या करें। मैं कल से आया हुआ हूँ।

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR: It is a very bad precedent to be set up in this House to interrupt the speaker who usually hears with patience and with respect all the hon. Members on the other side.

4 P.M. Sir, I was saying that Mr. Chatterjee has given many instances and that Shri Jyoti Basu, the ex-Home Minister of West Bengal, is under police protection. There are so many other leaders, Sir, who also owe their lives and their safety to the protection of the police. Sir, the police excesses might have been there in some cases. Well, we are not there to verify what

is said on the floor of the House unless it is substantiated and there is some kind of evidence. However, they may be correct; but to condemn the police force as a whole and to condemn the very people who are responsible for law and order, the people to whom we owe our lives and safety and property, is, I do not think, good for any party, Sir. If you only demoralise the police, they will not be able to do their duty and they will always be shaky in doing their proper duty.

Sir, with these words, I refer to the two Acts that have been brought before this House. I do think, Sir, that the Government has been forced, has been compelled, to bring these two Acts. They are harsh Acts, there is no doubt about it. They are Acts which no Government would be happy to bring forward for their own people. But sometimes such radical measures have to be adopted. Sir, medically, when a limb or any part of the body is gangrenous, it is dangerous to the life or body of the person and then that limb is amputated, a radical operation is done. Similarly, Sir, in the administrative set-up, Administration also, when conditions get beyond control should take such radical measures, do such radical operations. As for these two Acts, they are justified. Sir, If you give them power, it is not the policemen who have got the power, it is the administrative set-up, the District Magistrate and then the other officers who are on duty, who know all about the people, who know the activities of the different parties, who also have got the power. How radical those are have been graphically described by the hon. Members and I do not want to go into details.

Sir, therefore, I think that the Government is justified in bringing these two Acts. Another point I would like to make before the House and it is the Naxalite menace or this menace of violence. It is not only confined to West Bengal although in West Bengal it had its origin. But it

is spreading very rapidly to the other parts of the country. Sir, I will try just to draw your attention to today's "Hindustan Times". It has published a very alarming item, "The Naxalites kill the constable near Kapurthala to free colleagues" and read the 'just few lines of it, Sir. "A constable was killed and another seriously injured when some persons, believed to be Naxalites, opened fire to secure the release of an alleged Naxalite being taken by the two constables on G.T. Road near Kapurthala yesterday."

Sir, the two constables were taking the Naxalite in a passenger bus to Kapurthala from Amritsar for interrogation.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: These two Acts relate to West Bengal.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR: But I am just saying that the Naxalites are spreading everywhere.

I am saying just this that the Naxalites are spreading everywhere. In West Bengal, their activities are intensive. So it is necessary to deal with them very intensively rather than allow the whole of this type of violence to spread in the whole of India.

Sir, I know that there are some young people—probably from important colleges from this city—who have gone and written letters to their parents saying that they should not try to follow them or should not try to trace them. There are hundreds of people who are going in such a way also from other parts of the country. Therefore, it is not just a question which is confined to West Bengal alone, and, therefore, to deal with this type of violence is most essential for the Government.

Mr. Chatterjee and others have said that it is the police who has committed atrocities, committed excesses, committed murders and all types of heinous crimes. But I will just refer to a paper "Hindustan Standard" of

[Dr. (Mrs.) Mangladevi Talwar.]

Calcutta, dated 3rd December, 1970, where it is stated:

"Naxalite violence in Calcutta on Wednesday claimed three more lives. In the morning, two men were killed in the Entally area where an attempt on the life of a police officer. . ."

I just want to bring to your notice that attacks on the lives of policemen are being made every day and everywhere by these Naxalities. It says:

"...an attempt on the life of a police officer ended in failure, when resistance came from the local people. . ."

I am glad to say that local people are also becoming conscious and they are resisting these Naxalites in protecting the law-abiding citizens and the police. These young people came to their rescue at Tollygunge. It goes on:

"At Tollygunge a student supporter of the CPI(M) was stabbed to death. At the Entalley incident, one of the victims was Amulya Bhacha, aged 40 years, a carpenter at the locality, while the other was an unidentified Naxalite, about 20 years old. . ."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: It is very unfair. You allowed Mr. Rajnarain to go to the Supreme Court. He took nearly 40 minutes. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Only 23 minutes, not 40.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR: He was an unidentified man of 20 years. Again I quote:

"The police officer, Mr. Amar Gupta (35) of the Detective Department, escaped with knife wounds, but had to undergo an operation at Medical College hospital. Before collapsing, he managed to fire three shots from his .38 revo-

lver, killing on the spot the unidentified young man who had stabbed Mr. Bhacha fatally in the stomach".

Sir, the thing is that really these Naxalite, also with other unsocial elements, must be there, and they are now after the police. They are killing the police personnel. They are killing constables on duty. They are killing police officers and other officers. Sir, we all know the tragic incidents.

There is one thing more which has been referred to that some 15 young persons have gone from Rajasthan and other places. Of course in Bengal the posters of Mao's pictures are displayed in the distant parts of the countryside. Also the statues of local leaders, leaders of national importance, etc. are being disfigures and Gandhiji's literature are being burnt. It is not so superficial. It is very deep-rooted. I agree that the case of it is not altogether political. It was instituted mostly in the beginning, by foreign powers and perhaps they still give aid in arms and money and these people must be getting even now from some of the neighbouring countries but they want to destroy the very culture of our land which he hold so valuable. They do not want us to have our culture or education. I will give some figures. Over 1600 incidents of a violent nature have come to the notice of the public in the last few months. Hundreds of people have lost their lives and as many as 45 members of the Police have been killed. Thousands of them have been wounded. This difficult and dangerous situation in Bengal has deeper maladies. It is economic no doubt. There are the landless people and there are the unemployed people in very large numbers. The people coming from East Pakistan have added to the difficulties of West Bengal. One thing more I want to say. Calcutta city is in a very bad shape. The condition of the city must be improved and improved quickly. With these wars, I oppose

both the motions moved by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Chitta Basu.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Shyam Lal Yadav.

श्री श्यामलाल यादव : उपसभापति महोदय, यह जो द्वितीय बंगाल के 2 विधेयकों के संयंत्र में विरोध का प्रस्ताव आया है मैं उसका विरोध करता हूँ और विरोध करने के दो कारण प्रापक सामने रखता हूँ। आज बंगाल में जो विस्फोटक स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई है उससे इस देश में जनतंत्र को बहुत बड़ा खारा उत्पन्न हो गया है। वास्तव में बंगाल की जो आज स्थिति है अगर पीछे का इतिहास हम देखें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि 1967 के आम चुनाव के पूर्व कांग्रेस सरकार सन् 1952 से 1967 तक थी। तो उस दमियान में बंगाल में जो प्रगत होती चाहिये थी, भूमि के जो सुधार होने चाहिये थे, हिन्दुस्तान के बटारों से जो वहाँ का विद्रोह पश्चिमी उत्पन्न हो गई थी, जो विस्थापित, पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आए उनके लिए जो सुधार होने चाहिये थे, बनाने की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए थी वह नष्ट हुई। उसका परिणाम यह है कि 1967 के चुनाव में बंगाल में बहुत सी छोटी-छोटी पार्टियाँ आगे उभरकर आई और वह बंगाल जो क्रांति का आधार था, जिसका हम लोग गुणानुवाद करते थे, जिसने बड़े-बड़े दिग्गज नेता पैदा किए थे, उस प्रदेश में दुर्भाग्यवश ऐसी पार्टियाँ शासन में आई जिनका विचार ही जनतंत्र में नहीं है, जो इस जनतंत्र के माध्यम से हुंमत पर निर्भरता कब्जा करना चाहते हैं, वह पार्टियाँ जिनका विश्वास ही हिंसा में है, जो हिंसा के बल पर शासन को हथियाना चाहती थीं वह पार्टियाँ शासन में आ गई और खुले आम उसका उद्देश्य था, जिसकी वह घोषणा करती थी और उस समय जो संयुक्त सरकार यानि पश्चिमी बंगाल में, मान्यवर, उसने खून रूप से, प्रच्छन्न रूप से हिंसा को प्रोत्साहन दिया, समाज में जो

गुंडे लोग थे, उन्होंने ऐसे लोगों का जो सधन-विहीन थे, जिनको जीवन की आशा नहीं थी, उनका नेतृत्व किया और उसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि बंगाल में अग लग्य हुई है। वहाँ पर स्थिति पर नियंत्रण पाने के लिए सख्त कदम की आवश्यकता है। वहाँ पर इस समय जो अशांति फैली हुई है, उस पर नियंत्रण पाने की आवश्यकता है और इसकी कमी भारत सरकार में दिखलाई दे रही है।

आज वहाँ पर स्थिति यह है कि जो वहाँ पर पार्टियाँ हैं, वे खुले आम हिंसा को प्रोत्साहन दे रहे हैं। हमारे इस सदन में श्री चटर्जी ने कहा था जब दो दल आपस में लड़ते हैं तो पुलिस के गोली चलाने में अन्तर है। मैं समझता हूँ कि गोली के रूप में वे हिंसा को बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं और उसके जरिये वे पश्चिमी बंगाल में कब्जा करना चाहते हैं। वहाँ पर कब्जा पारक वे समझते हैं कि वहाँ से चीन नजदीक हो जायेगा, वहाँ के जरिये समुन्दर का रास्ता नजदीक हो जायेगा जिससे हम रूस के साथ संबंध स्थापित कर सकते हैं। इस तरह से वे बंगाल में कम्युनिस्टों की सरकार कायम करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहते हैं। इस सरकार का यह कर्तव्य है कि वह बंगाल की स्थिति के बारे में सख्त कदम ले, अगर वह ऐसा नहीं करती है तो बंगाल में जिस तरह की स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई है, वह धीरे-धीरे देश के दूसरे भागों में भी फैल जायेगी। अभी जैसा हमारे डा० साहव ने फरमाया कि इस तरह की स्थिति धीरे-धीरे बिहार में भी बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। आज जो कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेता हैं वे माओ की तस्वीर लगाते हैं और अपनी मोटियों में माओ जिन्दावाद के नारे लगाते हैं तथा उसको अपना नेता मानते हैं। इसी तरह के लोग संसद में भी हैं जो माओ को अपना नेता मानते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान की जनतंत्री व्यवस्था से लाभ उठा रहे हैं। ऐसे लोगों के साथ सख्ती और बेरहमी के साथ व्यवहार किया जाना चाहिये, इन लोगों

[श्री श्याम लाल यादव]

के साथ नरमी नहीं बरती जानी चाहिये, अगर इन लोगों के साथ नरमी बरती गई तो आने वाला जो भविष्य होगा वह इस देश के लिए खराब होगा और फिर यही पाटियां इस देश में खूनखराबा करेगी।

पुलिस के जुल्मों के बारे में कहा गया है कि उन्होंने जनता के ऊपर बहुत जुल्म डाये हैं। इसके बारे में बहुत लम्बी चोड़ी बातें कही गई हैं कि पुलिस को गोली से कई लोग मारे गये हैं। अभी श्री पुरकायस्थों जो ने बतलाया कि वहां पर किस तरह से पुलिस के ऊपर हमला किया जाता है। जो पुलिस के ट्रैफिक के सिपाही है उनके ऊपर भी हमला किया जाता है, छुरा भीसा जाता है और इस तरह से उन लोगों को मारा जाता है। जो सिपाही किसी नक्सलवादी को पकड़ कर ले जाता है तो कई नक्सलवादी मिल कर पुलिस की पार्टी पर हमला कर देते हैं और उनके ऊपर गोली और बम फकते हैं। इस तरह की बात आज सारे बंगाल में सी० पी० आई० और सी० पी० एम० के लोग कर रहे हैं।

मान्यवर, मैं अपनी सरकार को यह सुझाव देना चाहता हूं कि अभी कनेडा में एक क्यूबैक वालों का छोटा सा गुट पैदा हो गया है और उसने वहां पर हर तरह की गड़बड़ी पैदा की तथा राजनीतिक व्यक्तियों को पकड़ कर उड़ा ले गये। कनेडा में एक बहुत पुराना कानून है जो पहले युद्ध के दौरान में लागू था। कनेडा एक जनतंत्री देश है और हमारे देश से कई गुना धनी देश है। उस देश में जब वहां पर इस तरह की स्थिति पैदा हो गई तो इतना पुराना कानून लागू करना पड़ा। अगर समाज की सुरक्षा के लिए थोड़े से लोग संगठित होकर नुकसान पहुंचाने की कोशिश करते हैं तो उसका सख्ती के साथ मुकाबला किया जाना चाहिये।

आज कम्युनिस्ट लोग दूसरों की जमीनों को जबरदस्ती छीन रहे हैं। मैं यह निवेदन

करना चाहता हूं कि अगर किसी के पास जमीन है, बेनामी है, कानून के खिलाफ है तो कानून बनाकर उस जमीन को बांट दिया जाय, तकसीम कर दिया जाय, लेकिन इसके पीछे आन्दोलन नहीं होना चाहिये, हिंसा नहीं होनी चाहिये। आज कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी जबरदस्ती किसानों का जल्था बनाकर दूसरों की जमीनों पर कब्जा करवा रही है, उनकी फसल कटवा रही है और इस तरह से वहां पर गड़बड़ी पैदा कर रही है। अगर पुलिस ऐसी स्थिति पर हस्तक्षेप नहीं करती है तो वह अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं करती है।

इसी तरह से ये लोग प्रापर्टी राइट के हक को खत्म करने की बात करते हैं। वे लोग कहते हैं कि प्रापर्टी राइट खत्म कर दिया जाय। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी चाहती है कि अगर प्रापर्टी राइट खत्म हो जायेगा तो देश से जनतंत्र उठ जायेगा और देश में तानाशाही की हुकूमत कायम हो जायेगी। इस तरह से वे इस देश में एक ही गुट की सरकार कायम करना चाहते हैं। वे चाहते हैं कि इस देश में थोड़े से ही लोगों की क्रीमत कायम हो और इसीलिए वे प्रापर्टी राइट खत्म करने की बात करते हैं। तो मैं इन लोगों से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि अगर इस देश की जनता प्रापर्टी राइट्स की बात को खत्म करना चाहती है जैसा कि वे दावा करते हैं कि यहां की जनता चाहती है, तो इस इश्यू पर उन्हें इलेक्शन लड़ने के लिये मैं चैलेंज देता हूं। अगर इन लोगों में हिम्मत है तो वे चुनकर जनता के सामने आये और कहें कि हम प्रापर्टी राइट्स खत्म करना चाहते हैं और फिर मैं देखूंगा कि जनता उनका साथ देती है या नहीं।

तो मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि आज हमारे देश में इस तरह की शक्तियां उभर रही हैं और अगर उनके साथ नरमी का बर्ताव किया गया तो आगे के लिए रास्ता खराब हो जायेगा। जो लोग हमारे देश के दुश्मन हैं, जो संस्कृति सभ्यता और जनतंत्र के विरोधी हैं,

उन दुश्मनों के साथ तस्वीरें बनाना उचित नहीं होगा। अभी हमारे बनारस में सो. पी. एम. की पार्टी के दफ्तर में माऊ को तस्वीरें टंगी हुई थी।

कुछ लोग वहाँ गए, उन्होंने उन फोटोज को जला दिया, हल्ला मचाया गया कि फोटो जला दिए गए। तुम लोग सारे बंगाल में देश जो अंग्रेज नेता थे, जिन्होंने आजादी को लड़ाई में देश का नेतृत्व दिया आज उनकी मूर्तियों को तुम नष्ट कर रहे हो, उनकी मूर्तियों को रखना मुश्किल हो गया है। तुम्हारे भाइयों को इस देश को जनता कुचल कर रख देगा, घरों में, बाजारों में तुम्हारे भाइयों की फोटो नहीं रह सकती, इस देश को जनता ऐसे लोगों को मिटा देगी। अगर सरकार यह समझती है कि कम्युनिस्टों को बढ़ावा देकर वह शासन चला सकती तो इस देश को जनता कम्युनिस्टों को नहीं रहने देगी, सो. पी. एम. के लोगों को नहीं रहने देगी, चीन के नेता को इस देश में नहीं रहने देगा, जो इस देश की धरती पर जबरदस्ती कब्जा किए हुए हैं।

आज बंगाल में इस देश के जनतंत्र को समाप्त करने की वांछित हो रही है। हम इन झूठी कहानियों पर न जायें। आज वहाँ नागरिकों के साथ क्या व्यवहार हो रहा है, पुलिस के साथ क्या व्यवहार हो रहा है, सारा जीवन तस्त हो रहा है, किसी व्यक्ति का सड़क पर चलना मुश्किल हो रहा है। आपने कहा कि अपनी सुरक्षा के लिए पुलिस नहीं चाहिए। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जितने कम्युनिस्ट नेताओं के साथ पुलिस लगी है वह वापस कर ली जाये, फिर देखा जाय कि उनके साथ कौन है। मैंने अखबारों में पढ़ा कि ज्योति बसु की सुरक्षा के ऊपर 80 हजार रुपया भारत की सरकार खर्च कर रही है। आप समाजवाद कायम कर रहे हैं, आपके साथ तो जनता है, आपके साथ तो किसान और मजदूर हैं, आपके ऊपर 80 हजार रुपया क्यों खर्च हो? एक रुपया भी खर्च न हो। आप मौज से घूमिए, देखिए कि आपके कौन साथ है। यदि आपके ऊपर

हमला होता है तो अपने को बचाइए, आप अपनी सुरक्षा के लिए पुलिस की सहायता चाहते हैं और फिर कहते हैं कि हमने तो मांगी नहीं। आपके घर पर पुलिस है उसे वापस कर दीजिए, कौन पुलिस जबरदस्ती कर रही है बहुत से नागरिक मारे जा रहे हैं, उनके साथ पुलिस नहीं जा रही है। जो सुरक्षा व्यवस्था है उसको हटा लीजिए ताकि उनका जो समाजवाद है, प्रगतिवाद है उसके प्रभाव का असर वे देख लें। तो ऐसे लोगों के पास से पुलिस हटा ली जाय तो पता लगेगा कि उनकी क्या हालत है। आप कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि बंगाल में ऐसी अवस्था आ जाय कि कानून और व्यवस्था समाप्त हो जाए, कोई शांति से न रह सके फिर कोई विकल्प नहीं रह जायगा, लोग कहेंगे कि क्रांति का ही, बगावत का ही रास्ता है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि इस कानून में और सख्ती होनी चाहिए और सख्ती के साथ इस कानून का पालन होना चाहिए।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think I will have to call the hon. Minister at 4 o'clock.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: No, Sir. We have been told that two speakers of our party will be allowed and now you cannot say this. And moreover two Bills have been amalgamated together. You have allowed the Socialist Party to take 1½ hours today on this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are not right; you don't say that. You will get your chance, Mr. Kalyan Roy.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कोई मुकाबला उन पार्टियों का नहीं है जो राष्ट्रीय हैं और जो अराष्ट्रीय है।

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I do not know what he is talking about.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You need not raise any controversy. I am only appealing to hon. Members. I will definitely give a chance to you.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथूर (राजस्थान) : सबको दो दो चान्क देने पड़ेंगे। राजनारायण जी को चांस दे कर आपने गलती की, उनकी पार्टी का एक बोल चुका था। अब इनको भी देना पड़ेगा और हमको भी देना पड़ेगा। महापति की ओर से जो व्यवस्था हो चुकी है उसका पालन आपको करना पड़ेगा।

श्री उपसभापति : मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथूर : हमको भी एतराज नहीं था।

श्री उपसभापति : मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं 5-5 मिनट और देने में, लेकिन आज हमें हिमाचल प्रदेश का बिल पास करना है।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथूर : उतने हमें आपत्ति नहीं है, हिमाचल का बिल तो आज पास करेंगे।

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala): After passing the Himachal Pradesh Bill, we can again sit. (Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Tomorrow is private members' day; we cannot have this tomorrow. Today is the last day for Government business. If you want I can allow five minutes more to each Member.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: No, Sir. That will be a gross miscarriage of justice and against the procedure of the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I agree with you that some Members have to suffer injustice because of some other Members. That is the situation in this House.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: But the Chair should not be a party to it.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथूर: आपके निर्णय के कारण ही समस्या पैदा हुई है।

श्री उपसभापति : मैं आप लोगों से यही प्रार्थना कर रहा हूँ कि आप जितना कम से कम समय ले सकें और आधा घंटा ज्यादा भी बैठना हो तो बैठकर इस बिल पर विचार कर लें।
All right. Mr. Mishra.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: Later, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr Kalyan Roy.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am rather surprised and aghast at the utter stupidity of the ruling party. They seem to think or they have been made to think by the bureaucrats who rule West Bengal today that these two Acts would end the violent activities in and around Calcutta. Again, I am deeply disturbed because I know that in the ruling party there are men who believe in democracy. I do believe that in the ruling party there are men who want to fight monopoly capitalism. There are men who are disturbed about the vast unemployment, about the rise in prices, about the degradation and inhuman poverty in which people are living in Calcutta and elsewhere—results of 20 years of capitalist rule. That is why they should take up their position today along with the progressives those who want to fight monopoly capitalism. I am pained at their silence and at their support to these Acts. Do they not see that they are falling into the trap of the axis combination in the country? Do they not see that for the last two years the axis combination or the grand alliance is shouting only one thing, law and order? They cannot shout about the land ceiling. They cannot shout about the urban ceiling on property. They cannot shout about unemployment. They cannot shout about the land hunger. They have only one thing to say and that is the question of law and order. Do they think that they will be able to appease the reactionaries by passing

these two Acts' Tomorrow I know that either the Jan Sang or the Swatantra will come out and say that you should have arrested many more men, you should have shot down more men. The trouble is they are forging the chains which may one day imprison them. May I ask the Congress Members this. Is it only a problem of Calcutta? It has been made the centre of the show as if some people have been able to hypnotise the romantic youth of West Bengal and have been able to lead them astray. Is it so simple?

Is it not exactly the same attitude which was shown by John Foster Dulles? Any uprising in Latin America or Africa was then dubbed as a communist conspiracy. Nehru to him was a communist. It is not so. Now, I would refer the Congress Members to the latest article in the 'Time' magazine. The heading is: The City as Battlefield: A Global Concern. I want to quote it:—

"The street is the stage, says the American Yippie Jerry Rubin in Do It!, his handbook for the modern revolutionary. In cities throughout the non-Communist world, that stage is alive with alarming activities: politically motivated arson, bombing, kidnapping and murder. The terrorist activity is worldwide and most of it is carried out by a new type in the history of political warfare: the urban guerrilla. In Washington, officials were frankly worried about the possibility that a radical group might try to kidnap or assassinate a U.S. official or a foreign diplomat. Rarely has the capital been so security conscious. Unlike the fortified towns of old, the besieged cities of 1970 are threatened not from without but from within by armies that are hardly ever in sight."

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN (Tamil Nadu): What about the Gandhian philosophy?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Anandan, please do not interrupt him.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I am quoting

from the 'Time' which he reads every week in the library and I have seen him. It says here:—

"But for a year or more there have been almost daily attacks upon police, military facilities, corporations, universities and other symbols of the institutions that underpin U.S. society. Since the beginning of 1970, there have been nearly 3,000 bombings and more than 50,000 threats of planted bombs. At least 16 police officers have been slain in unprovoked attacks."

I do not see that the United States have resorted to these Acts. It says here:—

"Unlike the fortified towns of old, the besieged cities of 1970 are threatened not from without but from within by armies that are hardly even in sight."

It is hardly ever understood that this is the crux of the matter. What are the youth thinking today? I again quote:—

"Their ideologies differ, but in general their rationale is that "the system" is incapable of real change and that the official violence of the government (police, prisons, armies) can only be countered by violence. The aim is ultimately to destroy what cannot be reformed."

This is the position with such mass unemployment, degradation and inhuman poverty in Calcutta and around. What else do you expect? Is it not a fact that today the Naxalite movement in Calcutta is taking the form of a bitter social unrest, a bitter protest against total economic failures?

What are you going to do about it? I am again pointing out what the Time has said. I am reading. What you are doing is what the Naxalites want and what the extreme radicals want. I am quoting:

"Winning out over terror is of little benefit if it leads to a police force with permanently enlarged"

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

powers and a citizenry with permanently curtailed rights. In fact, this is precisely what money of the guerillas want to bring about: government repression that provokes widespread discontent and ultimately revolution. The final weapon against the urban guerilla is a secure and self-confident society that can contain its enemies without resorting to the terrorists' own methods."

You are resorting to the terrorists' own methods instead of drastically changing the structure of society which every genuine democrat wants. What is the unfortunate position today. Even there was once the redeeming feature of the Act against hoarders and speculators. That has been withdrawn. The result of it we have seen. Wagons and wagons piled with goods, edibles, cloth and other things are seen at Ondal, Howrah and other stations, and the speculators and hoarders are not unloading them. You have nothing in the Act, any clause of it, to deal with the profiteers and other elements who are responsible for the present situation in this country.

May I also draw your attention to the 'Jungantar' which came out on the 15th of this month? There it is said that the Naxalites gave a warning to the doctors who were charging a fee of more than Rs. 30 that unless they reduced their fees to Rs. 8 they would be shot. As a result at least many of the doctors have reduced their fees to Rs. 8.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about lawyers?

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I am not talking about lawyers. I am talking about doctors. I say lawyers are unfortunately the parasites in our capitalist society. I am not talking about lawyers. I am talking about doctors. This aspect you should have taken into consideration before enacting this law. What I am lastly pointing out is that by these Acts you are

helping them to recruit more men to the ranks of Naxalites. You are actually strengthening the hands of those people by creating these sort of Acts. This is but one part of the story.

The other part of the story is may I point out with all humility to my Marxist friends like Shri A. P. Chatterjee that Cabinet or in the United Front about the 32 points? But they introduced the 33rd point, and that is the point of dagger, and then the trouble started. That was the day when the seeds of disruption were sown. Is it not a fact that you made the worker fight against the worker? Is it not a fact that you made the peasant fight against the peasant? Can you forget those days when two sharecroppers, landless labourers, were killed in Prosadpur? We had to bring out a silent procession of 10,000 students and youths and peasants and workers on the streets of Calcutta and go to the Writers Buildings to show what was happening. At that time why did you not learn your lesson? After all I agree with you that these are the Acts which pave the way for fascism, the way Spain went under Franco, Italy went under Mussolini and Germany went under Hitler. I do not underestimate the danger of reaction as you do. It is true that it is there. It is no more in the realm of fiction. I see in their daily confabulations and conferences and daily combined attacks by the B.K.D., the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra the grand fascist alliance. I thought that honest elements will combine with us in taking counsel that only negative steps will not do. So I appeal to the Congress Members that they will be failing if they remain silent today as Mr. Chatterjee has failed by remaining silent when our people were being murdered during the United Front days.

Lastly, I would like to point out one or two things about West Bengal. I am surprised that even last year when Mr. Jyoti Basu was the Home

Minister—and we had all respect for him at that time—Mr. Chatterjee remained silent when Shri Hena Ganguly was butchered on the streets of Calcutta. That was the first political murder which took place in Calcutta of an old revolutionary in 1969. At that time the police murdered him in cold blood as they are murdering people elsewhere today. Arun Babu was silent. Today the time has come, and I am not getting an answer from the Government of India. . .

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar): He did not remain silent, he supported it.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Thank you for your contribution to our knowledge and intelligence. What I am pointing out is this: Why is the Home Ministry silent when Mr. Bhupesh Gupta wanted an inquiry, when Mr. Mukherjee wanted an inquiry into the murder of Hena Ganguly? Is the inquiry going to take place or not? I want a specific answer.

Secondly, what about that inquiry into the affairs of the Sripur Collieries where ten bodies were found?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Four.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Anyway four or ten—four is enough for me it may not be enough for you. What about that Sripur inquiry? I have raised question after question. I am here pointing out the answer given. On the 26th November, 1970 I asked what you are going to do about the police officers who are responsible. The answer was:

"The report of the Inquiry Officer is under consideration of the State Government and decisions taken thereon will be laid on the Table of the House".

When? The inquiry is over a year ago. Why are you not taking any action against the most vicious police officers there at that time?

Dr. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukherjee of Bangla
 1602 RS—8.

Congress, myself of the Communist Party of India and the Marxist (Communist) Party all unitedly demanded by letters, by representations that the Circle Inspector of Police, Durgapur, must be immediately sacked and transferred. He is responsible for shooting down the colliery workers, the steel workers, for molesting women and so on. Was not this four-party combined representation enough for you?

The danger is this. You are becoming the prisoner of bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is not going to tolerate you. After all, this bureaucracy at the Home Ministry is in league with the Grand Alliance which today wants to crush everything, to finish the democratic system. Rethink about what you are doing. Would it lead to the liquidation of the Naxalites or would your steps ultimately lead to the liquidation of democracy?

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-सभापति महोदय आज जो स्थिति बंगाल में है, उस विशेष स्थिति के समाधान के संबंध में यह जो 2 आर्डर्स या जो 2 ऐक्ट प्रेसीडेन्ट ने जारी किए हैं, मैं उनका समर्थन करता हूं। जहां तक मेरी पार्टी का संबंध है, मान्यवर कन्सल्टेटिव कमेटी में हमने अपने विचार को बहुत स्पष्ट रूप से रख दिया है और मैं उसमें उससे ज्यादा कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता। मैं यह मानता हूं कि जनतन्त्र को जो मानने वाले लोग हैं, जिनकी श्रद्धाजनतन्त्र में है, उनको कभी भी इस बात से खूशी नहीं होगी कि इस तरह के कानून देश के अन्दर बनाने पड़ें, लेकिन आज जो स्थिति बंगाल की है, जिस तरह से आज बंगाल में आग लगी है, जिस तरह से वहां दिन दहाड़े सड़कों पर आदमियों की हत्या कत्ल हो जाते हैं, जिस तरह से ला एन्ड आर्डर के कस्टोडियन पुलिस आफिसरों को मारा जाता है, स्टेच्यूज तोड़े जाते हैं, जो शिक्षा संस्थाएं हैं उनके अन्दर आग लगती है, जो बड़े बड़े राष्ट्रीय नेता हैं उनके स्टेच्यूज को तोड़ा जाता है, मान्यवर यहीं तक बात नहीं खत्म

[श्री नगल किशोर]

हुई—जिन लोगो ने इस बिल के ड्राफ्ट को बनाया, उनमें से एक सेक्रेटरी को भी मार दिया गया और आफिसरों के भी ऊपर हमला करना शुरू कर दिया है। यहां तक बात हो गई कि जो केन्द्रीय सरकार के मंत्री हैं उनकी कमिनों को, परिवार को भी, सुरक्षा नहीं है—श्री परिमल घोष के बेटे के साथ जिस प्रकार हिंसात्मक कार्यवाही की गई और उनकी बाबी पर हमला किया गया, वह बड़े ही शर्म की बात है। जब चारों तरफ ऐसी आग लगी हुई है, हिंसा फैली हुई है, तो कोई सरकार के सामने चारा ही नहीं सिवाय इसके कि इस तरह का कानून बनाए जिससे कि ये जो हिंसात्मक प्रवृत्तियां हैं उनकी रोकथाम हो सके। मुझे इस बात की शिकायत है कि यह कानून बहुत देर से क्यों बनाया गया। यह सरकार सोती रही है, और जब स्थिति काबू से बाहर हो गई तब जाकर उन्होंने कानून बनाया और यही वजह है कि कानून बनने के बाद भी, चाहे होम मिनिस्टर साहब जो कुछ भी कहें कि स्थिति में सुधार हुआ है, लेकिन मैं समझता हूं विशेष मुद्धार नहीं हुआ है। इस बात का भी मुझे थोड़ा दुख है कि जिस विषय पर आज सारे देश के अन्दर चिन्ता हो रही है, उसमें आज को डिबेट में प्रधान मन्त्री को आना चाहिए था और आकर जवाब देतीं मगर उन्होंने आना भी मनासिब नहीं समझा जब कि बंगाल की इतनी बड़ी भयंकर समस्या है।

गो कि मैं जानता हूं कि श्री पन्त इसका तोड़ मरोड़ कर जवाब दे सकते हैं। जैसा कि मैंने कहा कि सरकार ने इस तरह की स्थिति को पैदा करने में बढ़ावा दिया है। मैं आपकी आज्ञा से शेष जादों का यह शेर पढ़ना चाहता हूँ :

The spring at its source can be turned with a twig. But when it has grown to a river, it cannot be crossed by an elephant.

जब दरिया बड़ जाता है तो उसकी हाथी भी पार नहीं कर सकता है। आज इस सरकार ने अपनी लापरवाही में या यह कहिये कि जिन पार्टियों की वजह से आज बंगाल में इस तरह की स्थिति हो रही है उनसे सांठगांठ कर ली थी, जिनके दबाव से मजबूरन कोई कदम उठाना नहीं चाहती थी। बंगाल की जो स्थिति आज है, मैं समझता हूं कि 1967 में जब युन.इंस्टेड फ्रन्ट की गवर्नमेंट बना थी, जिसमें सी० पी० एम०, सी० पी० आई० की पार्टियां थी तब उसमें जो मंत्री थे उन्होंने वहां पर हड़तालें कराई, जलूसों में उन्होंने हिस्सा लिया, उन्होंने वहां पर बन्ध आर्गनाइज करवाये, घिगव करवाया और जो वहां पर मंत्री बने हुए थे, जिनके हाथों में शासन की बागडोर थी उन्होंने ही कानून को तोड़ना शुरू किया, अराजकता को बढ़ावा दिया और इस तरह से सारे बंगाल के अन्दर यह हवा फैल गई।

श्रीमन्, इतिहास का विद्यार्थी होने के नाते मुझे बड़ा दुःख होता है कि जब हमारे देश के अन्दर राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन हुआ, वे दिन मुझे याद है बंगाल के पार्टिशन के, जब बंगाल के शहीदों और नौजवानों ने सारे देश के अन्दर राष्ट्रीयता का शंख फूंक दिया था, राष्ट्रीयता की लहर फैलाई थी। लेकिन आजकल हमें रोजाना अखबारों में सुवह पढ़ने को मिलता है कलकत्ता में फलां-फलां आदमी मारा गया, आज इतने लोग मारे गये, ऐसा हो गया, वैसा हो गया। यही नहीं आज के अखबारों से यह भी मालूम होता है कि नेक्सलाइट इस तरह का प्लान बना रहे हैं कि जो केन्द्रीय मंत्री हैं, जो स्टेट के मंत्री रह चुके हैं उनको सब को आहिस्ता आहिस्ता लिक्विडेट किया जाय, उनके परिवारों को लिक्विडेट किया जाय और माओ के आधार पर, उनके पैटर्न पर लांग मार्च बोला जाय और इस तरह से नेक्सलाइट सारे देश में आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता कब्जा करना चाहते हैं और इस तरह का वे ख्वाब देख रहे हैं। इन हालातों को देखते हुए भी जो इस तरह की बात कहते हैं कि यह कानून सख्त है तो

मुझे ताज्जुब होता है। मैं तो यहां तक कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर इससे ज्यादा ताकत और अधिकार सरकार लेना चाहती है तो वह उसको दिये जाने चाहिये क्योंकि अगर देश के अन्दर शान्ति नहीं होगी, शान्ति व्यवस्था नहीं रहेगी तो न जनतंत्र होगा, न समाजवाद होगा और न कोई प्रगति होने वाली है। इसलिए मुझे यह भी डर है कि ऐसा न हो कि वहां पर भी वियटनाम जैसी स्थिति पैदा हो जाये और वह एक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्या बन जाये, वियटनाम की तरह फारेन शक्तियों का एक अड्डा बन जाय और इस तरह से यहां के लोग आपस में ही संघर्ष करते रहें। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं पंत जी से कहूंगा कि वे जो कानून यह बनाया गया है उनके आधार पर आराम से सोच जायें क्योंकि इन्फेल्स चलने वाला नहीं है? अगर जरूरत पड़े, तब आर्मी की मदद लें। मैं समझता हूं कि जरूरत पड़ेगी, आज नहीं पड़ेगी तो कल पड़ेगी, वहां की स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए आर्मी की मदद लेनी पड़ेगी अगर आप वहां पर शान्ति और व्यवस्था करना चाहते हैं।

मैंने, मान्यवर, ताज्जुब होता है कि जब गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि इस मामले में डॉप अन्डरस्टैंडिंग की आवश्यकता है, इस बंगाल की समस्या को समझने के लिए डॉप अन्डरस्टैंडिंग की आवश्यकता है। यद्यपि गवर्नमेंट ने हम लोगों को डॉप अन्डरस्टैंडिंग करने का मौका नहीं दिया है, हमें कांफिडेंस में नहीं लिया है, तो फिर इस डॉप अन्डरस्टैंडिंग का क्या मतलब हुआ। मान्यवर, मैं एक बात जानता हूं कि जब सरकार मजबूत होती है तो वह जनता का पीछा देती है और जब सरकार कमजोर होती है तो जनता वस्तु हो जाती है। आज केन्द्रीय सरकार अपने आपको कमजोर महसूस करती है क्योंकि वह आज एक माइनारिटी की गवर्नमेंट है। उसको अपनी जिन्दगी की सुरक्षा के लिए दूसरों के ऊपर डिपेंड करना पड़ता है। आज वह सी० पी० एम० और सी० पी० आई० के साथ मिली हुई है। पिछले चुनाव जब केरल में हुए थे तब

से सी० पी० एम० के साथ उसकी कुछ छेड़छाड़ हुई है, फिर भी सी० पी० एम० केन्द्रीय सरकार के साथ हमदर्दी रखती है। यह जो कमजोरी पैदा हुई सरकार के अन्दर वह अपनी सुरक्षा के लिए वजह से हुई और उसी वजह से आज बंगाल में इस तरह की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है। अगर सरकार यह सोचती कि सी० पी० एम० या सी० पी० आई० सपोर्ट दे या न दे, लेकिन सही बात होगी उसको वह करेगी तो आज बंगाल की स्थिति इतनी खराब नहीं होती।

हमसे कहा जाता है कि वहां पर सोशियो इकोनॉमिक प्रबलम है। यह बात मैं मानता हूं, लेकिन यह बात केवल बंगाल में ही नहीं है बल्कि सारे देश में है। आज ईस्टर्न यू० पी० की स्थिति बंगाल से भी ज्यादा खराब है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि अगर सोशियो इकोनॉमिक प्रबलम है तो सरकार ने चाँथे प्लान में बंगाल के लिए कौन-कौन से मेजर या प्लान्स इनिशिएट किये हैं। कितने लाख आदमियों को बंगाल के अन्दर एम्प्लायमेंट देने की स्कीम है? जहां तक मेरी इत्तिहा है, एक-दो साल के अन्दर एक करोड़ से ज्यादा आदमी बंगाल के अन्दर बेकार होंगे। उन एक करोड़ बंगालियों के लिए काम देने की आपके पास क्या योजना है? इसको आप सोशियो इकोनॉमिक इणू व्ह कर टालना चाहते हैं। यह कहने से ही काम नहीं चलेगा। अगर यह सोशियो इकोनॉमिक इणू है तो उसके लिए आपके पास क्या प्रोग्राम है, क्या योजना है। अनएम्प्लायमेंट की हालत आज यह है कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में 14-15 करोड़ आदमी अन्डर-एम्प्लायड हैं, डेढ़-दो करोड़ आदमी बेकार बैठे हुए हैं। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ—होम मिनिस्टर साहब जब जवाब दे तो यह बताएं—कि एजूकेटेड और टेक्नीकल यूथ के एम्प्लायमेंट देने के लिए उनके पास कौन सी स्कीम है जब आप सोशियो इकोनॉमिक इणू की बात कहते हैं।

मैं इस सम्बन्ध में एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। बहुत दिनों से यह बात उठ रही है कि बंगाल में जो गवर्नर हैं ध्वन साहब हैं उनको वापस बुलाया जाय। श्रीभन्, मैं भी उन लोगों में हूँ जिन्हें यह पूरा विश्वास है कि जब तक ध्वन साहब बंगाल से वापस नहीं आएंगे बंगाल में शांति नहीं हो सकती। इस सरकार ने एक फाल्स प्रेस्टिज का इशू बना लिया है मिस्टर ध्वन को वहाँ पर टिकाने का, या यह भी हो सकता है उसे इस बात का विश्वास हो कि चुनाव में श्री ध्वन के जरिए से ज्यादा भद्द मिलेगी। मैं यह जरूर जानता हूँ कि सी.पो.आई. का बड़ा भारी प्रेशर है, खास तौर पर भूपेश गुप्त का, कि ध्वन साहब को बंगाल के अन्दर रखा जाय। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ आपके द्वारा गवर्नमेंट को कि उसे चाहिए कि वह गवर्नर जो वहाँ इतना अनपापुलर हो चुका है, जिसके बारे में—सिर्फ सी०पी०आई०को छोड़ कर सभी पार्टियों को मांग है कि उसको हटाया जाय तो कोई वजह नहीं है कि उसको हटाया न जाय।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस गवर्नमेंट ने वहाँ कोई सिटीजन्स कमेटी नियुक्त नहीं की। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में भी जब ला एंड आर्डर गड़बड़ होता था तो सिटीजन्स कमेटी बनती थी, मुहल्लों के अन्दर कमेटियाँ बनती थीं ताकि वहाँ की जो शांति और व्यवस्था है उसको वह देखें, लोगों से कन्टैक्ट हो। कोई सिटीजन्स कमेटी नहीं बनी। मैं चाहता हूँ कि बंगाल के अन्दर सिटीजन्स कमेटी भी बनाई जाये ताकि लोगों के अन्दर एक विश्वास पैदा हो और उनकी आस्था शांति की तरफ बढ़े।

एक मांग मैं यह भी करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर सोशियो-इकोनोमिक प्राबलम को गवर्नमेंट बहुत सॉरियस समझती है तो बंगाल के बारे में कमीशन बिठाए। वहाँ की जितनी सोशियो-इकोनोमिक, पोलिटिकल प्राबलम है उनको स्टडी किया जाय, उसके बाद उनके समाधान के लिए कुछ न कुछ उपाय उठाए जायें।

आखिर में, मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ

कि मैंने, जो दोनों एक्ट हैं, उनका समर्थन किया है विशेष परिस्थिति में। मुझे यह उम्मीद है और मैं यह समझता हूँ कि सरकार ने इसका मिस्यूज अभी नहीं किया है, बल्कि अधिकारों का प्रयोग जितना करना चाहिए था वह भी नहीं हुआ है, लेकिन साथ-साथ इस बात के लिए भी कोशिश देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हमको वह महसूस हुआ कि इसका ग्रास मिस्यूज हुआ है तो हमको इसका अधिकार होगा कि हम इसकी आलोचना करें, इसकी निन्दा करें और इस बात की भांग करें कि यह वापस किया जायें। जहाँ तक मौजूदा स्थिति है उस स्थिति में दोनों एक्ट्स का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। के० सी० पन्त साहब नौजवान आदमी है और इतिहास से उनको होश का डिपार्टमेंट भी मिल गया है जिसमें उनको अपनी बुद्धि और कुशलता दिखाने का मौका है, लिहाजा वे भजवृत्ती के साथ बिना इस ख्याल के कि सी० पी०आई०आई० मिस्टर भूपेश गुप्त उनका साथ देंगे, उनकी भद्द करेंगे या नहीं करेंगे, वे सही रास्ते पर चलें। देश बड़ा है, बंगाल की यह हालत सारे देश को भस्म कर सकती है, इसलिए आप लोगों को यह कहने का मौका न दें कि जब बंगाल जल रहा था तो सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट नाच रही थी।

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SAN-YAL (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would appeal to all sections of the House to consider that if there is one thing to be avoided, that is avoiding confusion of issues. The straight question is whether the relevant Acts are answering the modern trends and whether they are consistent with the modern pieces of legislation. Go a little back. A responsible Government in West Bengal was displaced by President's rule. The President tried for a few months and got embroiled in a mess of his own and is very eager to abdicate the whole of West Bengal in favour of the police. What is the police? Even to an unpolitical man of the most ignorant type the police is a horror and the police is downright debauchery.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE:
 Question.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SAN-
 YAL: You answer for yourself. The
 police is morally detestable, and le-
 gally, Mr. Yajee knows that under the
 Evidence Act and the Criminal Pro-
 cedure Code, a confession made before
 the police is not evidence. Confession
 made in the presence of the police is
 not evidence. A statement recorded
 by a police officer under section 161 is
 not evidence. Why? Because, the po-
 lice is distrusted. My humble question
 is: If in normal times the police is
 not trusted either by the common
 man as his protector or by the law
 of the land, is it sane, is it wise, is it
 expedient, to give full charge of the
 State of West Bengal, a problem State,
 to these functionaries? After all, there
 is another aspect of this thing. The
 police has committed atrocities, and
 Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has given a list,
 my good friend Mr. Chatterjee, has
 given a list, my friend, Mr. Kalyan
 Roy has given some lists, Mr. Chitta
 Basu has given some lists. So many
 lists have been given of the police at-
 rocities. But they are not denied. Even
 the Prime Minister, in her wisdom,
 has admitted such atrocities and has
 said that they will be dealt with. My
 question is: They will be dealt with,
 how? Dealt with by the ordinary
 law of the land. My another question
 is that if you are not applying the
 preventive laws and the maintenance
 of public order laws to the police, as
 you need not, and if you are relying
 upon the ordinary laws of the land
 for dealing with the dereliction of the
 police. I would ask Mr. Kohan Dhar-
 ia and Mr. Chandra Shekhar to consider
 why the ordinary laws of the land
 could not be application to the ex-
 cesses of the Naxalites or the
 undesirable types. These are the
 questions and these questions have
 to be answered. Why is this discrimina-
 tion? There is the citizens' lawless-
 ness. There is the police lawlessness.
 The police lawlessness is not denied.
 The police lawlessness is proposed to
 be dealt with by the ordinary law
 of the land. I am a lawyer going to
 complete my jubilee. I have been a
 criminal lawyer all my life. I can

assure the Government and my fri-
 ends that the ordinary law of the
 land is good enough to deal with any
 abnormal situation. So why is this
 discrimination? Then there is another
 matter. The underworld has come up
 to the surface. The ordinary admin-
 istration confesses that it is unable
 to deal with it. You are now opening
 the doors of the underworld to the
 police. History will tell you that
 when the police and the underworld
 come together in a link, it is lighting
 the green signal for the advent of fa-
 scism. Therefore, you must beware.
 My good friends who were welcom-
 ing these two pieces of legislation, are
 very impatient. After all, in politics
 and administration impatience is the
 worst thing. You have to wait. You
 have to feel the pulse of the people.
 You have to assemble forces who ap-
 pear to be against you and you have
 to go ahead with the democratic peo-
 ple. After all, the whole of West
 Bengal went on a *hartal* and declared
 itself against laws. Those who are
 impatient, in spite of their goodness,
 cannot deliver the goods. And the
 entire political world in West Bengal
 is with those who are advising cau-
 tion. Therefore, those who are now
 against these Acts represent the real
 voice of West Bengal today and to-
 morrow. You cannot deny that . . .

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE:
 Question.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SAN-
 YAL: If you are questioning that, you
 are questioning your intelligence, you
 are questioning your wisdom and
 you are questioning your past. You
 have been a glorious figure in the past
 and you know that the Britishers could
 subjugate them by methods of repres-
 sion. Yajeeji knows that. Therefore,
 the writing on the wall is clear. You
 can drag a horse by force to the water
 but you force you cannot make it
 drink. I give you this warning.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHER-
 JEE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy
 Chairman . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Your leader
 has brought us into this soup.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: It is because of you. Sir, this is the second time we are having discussion on West Bengal in this session. It is known to all that in the East session, when the consultative committee met in July last, we opposed the Prevention of Violent Activities Act and the Maintenance of Public Order Act. But this time we have to support it. It is known to all what peculiar circumstances have developed in West Bengal from June to November. If I quote a few figures supplied by the Union Home Ministry, that would be sufficient to show under what condition we are living in West Bengal nowadays. Only 1,337 incidents the 1st week of November. Thirty-of violence took place from July to seven policemen were killed and 400 were injured and there were 5,15 inter-party clashes between the constituent parties of the United Front, not between Congress and right reactionary parties. My friend was saying that everything that is happening in West Bengal is due to Ajoy Mukherjee. He should not forget the past. He should not forget that in the first six months of the United Front rule, when the police was inactive and when the police did not interfere in any law and order situation, only 370 political murders took place. My friend Shri A. P. Chatterjee was giving a very long list of how many women were manhandled during the President's regime by the CRP. But he has forgotten—perhaps it is convenient for him to forget—that three young girls of Gajole were manhandled not by hooligans, or anti-social elements, but by political elements belonging to his party. He has conveniently forgotten how . . . (Interruptions) by one of Mr. A. P. Chatterjee's volunteers . . . (Interruptions) Shri A. P. Chatterjee said how people in the police lock-up are treated. I have my own experience how we were treated at the hands of his volunteers. When we were fasting under the very nose of the Governor, and when the Chief Minister was fasting, we know what the volunteers of the Marxist Communist Party were doing. You will be

astonished to know . . . (Interruptions). You will be astonished to know that these happened when all the United Front Ministers were present . . . (Interruptions). These are the things which brought the United Front there to be a breaking point. These are the incidents which are responsible for what is happening in West Bengal nowadays. Mr. Deputy Chairman, nobody would support that police should be given unusual or unlimited powers. Nobody would support that police should be given powers to exterminate anybody, whatever political group he may belong to or whatever philosophy he may believe in. But at the same time, we should remember that police is also part and parcel of the society. That has to be remembered. Shri Sanyal was talking that police people are morally detestable and debauch.

5 P. M. But it is to be known and it is known to all that the morally despicable police are protecting the lives of those hon. Ministers to whom Shri A. P. Chatterjee belongs. It is a very strange thing, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, that on the one hand we shall complain that the police are not giving help to us, that the police are not coming to give protection to us. Shri Chatterjee has complained that the police not only failed to protect the lives of people and failed to give due protection to the wife of Mr. K. G. Bose, but the police are committing excesses. If there are police excesses, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, definitely that has to be taken into account.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: I am finishing, Sir. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is known to all that they are still utilising the police force not only against the other political opponents, but also the fight against the working class movement. Mr. Kalyan Roy is here and he knows that the CP(M) men are there in Asansol and Durgapur. They, in collusion with the local police and C.I. there are not only fighting against the

people, but they are entirely fighting against the working class people in collusion with the employers, in collusion with the coal mine owners. That is the fact, Sir and that is what is happening in West Bengal today. Therefore, Sir, it is no use condemning Mr. Ajoy Mukherji or anybody for the present situation. He should remember that they have encouraged violence, they have preached violence, they have committed violence, and they have boasted of their violence and now violence is coming on them and they are condemning.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: I am finishing in a minute, Sir. He was talking of unity. If good sense prevailed on them, I think the United Front would not have collapsed. He is talking now, "Let us come together and let us fight".

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Never.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: The entire history of West Bengal would have been different and the United Front would not have fallen. The Marxist-Communist and others are responsible for the situation. That is what is happening in West Bengal. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mathur please.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Don't believe that we are going to be united.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: It is only the Syndicate of Swatantra and Jana Sangh . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: So far as the CPI is concerned, they are there . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order, please.

SHRI S. D. MISRA (Uttar Pra-

desh): The CPI has already merged itself with Congress (R) . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order, please.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: He is in the pocket of Mr. Pant who is sitting there . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI KALYAN ROY: It is the Swatantra-Jana Sangh Syndicate . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down . . . Please sit down. Yes, Mr. Mathur.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर: उपलभापति महोदय, जिस प्रकार के भाव श्री चटर्जी ने यहां व्यक्त किए उससे लगता है कि बंगाल के राजनैतिक आंदोलन में वहां की पार्टियों को हिंसा करने दिया जाय, इससे पक्ष में वह हैं। वह चाहते हैं पुलिस उनके बीच में नहीं आए। इस प्रकार की स्थिति जो बंगाल में पैदा करना चाहते हैं, उस नाते से यह जो प्रस्ताव श्री भूपेश गुप्त और श्री चित्त बामु और दुनरे लोगों ने रखे हैं उसका मैं निरनुमोदन करता हू। जहां तक भूपेश गुप्त की पार्टी का सवाल है, श्री कल्याण राय ने चुनौती दी है कि जिन संघ और कांग्रेस और स्वतंत्र पार्टी के साथ आखिरी लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं। तो आखिरी लड़ाई हमने लड़नी है, आप इस बात से निश्चित रहें। बंगाल में जो स्थिति पैदा हो गई है वह हम सारे हिन्दुस्तान में पैदा नहीं होने देंगे।

मुझे तो खेद इस बात का है कि जहां श्री गोविन्द वल्लभ पन्त हिन्दुस्तान के महान राष्ट्रीवादी थे, जिन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी की लड़ाई में भाग लिया, उनके पुत्र के हाथ में आज हिन्दुस्तान की शांति और व्यवस्था होने के बाद आज उनकी ही पार्टी बंगाल में इस प्रकार के तत्वों को बढ़ावा दे रही है। बंगाल में यह स्थिति पैदा नहीं हो सकती अगर यह सरकार में बनी कांग्रेस अपनी राजनीतिक चाल में कभी सी० पी० आई के साथ, कभी

[श्री जगदीश प्रताप माथुर]

बंगला कांग्रेस के साथ, कभी किसी के साथ, अपना गठबन्धन करना चाहती है। उसी का परिणाम है कि आज बंगाल में आग लगी है। मैं चाहता हूँ श्री के० सी० पन्त से कि जब उनकी माननीय गोविन्द वल्लभ पन्त की विरासत मिली है, तो वह इस बारे में निश्चय लें। प्रधान मंत्री के कोई स्वार्थ होंगे सी० पी० आई के अपने साथ लेने में। लेकिन जहाँ तक हमारा सवाल है, हम सी० पी० आई०, सी पी० एम० और नक्सलाइट में कोई अंतर नहीं समझते हैं। ये सब एक ही थाली के घेले बट्टे हैं और इन्हें एक दूसरे से अलग नहीं किया जा सकता है।

जहाँ तक देश की राजनीति का सवाल है, देश की राष्ट्रीयता का सवाल है, इसमें दो राय नहीं हो सकती हैं कि बंगाल में जिस प्रकार की स्थिति इस समय पैदा हो गई है अगर उसको जल्दी से नहीं सम्भाला गया तो इससे देश को नुकसान होगा। आज बंगाल की जो समस्या है वह राष्ट्रीय और गैर-राष्ट्रीय के बीच की लड़ाई हो गई है। कांग्रेस के अन्दर, सत्ताहूँ कांग्रेस के अन्दर आज भी राष्ट्रीय लोग हैं। दोनों कांग्रेस का विभाजन हो गया है और विभाजन के कोई कारण हो सकते हैं लेकिन जहाँ तक आजादी की लड़ाई में भाग लेने का सवाल है सब के मन में राष्ट्रीयता की भावना है।

आज जो केन्द्रीय सरकार है वह यह कहती है कि वहाँ पर आर्थिक और सामाजिक समस्याएँ हैं। लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर आर्थिक और सामाजिक समस्या का प्रश्न नहीं है। आज बंगाल में जो उद्योगध्वस्त पड़े हैं वे जानबूझकर बन्द हुए नहीं हैं। दोनों कम्युनिस्ट पार्टियों ने वहाँ के उद्योगों को बन्द रखा है, कारखाने बन्द पड़े हुए हैं और लोगों को रोजगार नहीं मिल रहा है। जब लोग बेकार होंगे तो वे अवश्य ही कम्युनिस्टों का साथ देंगे। बेकारी की समस्या को भयंकर बनाकर आज इस

सरकार को कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी अपने जाल फँसी रही है। आज जितने भी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टियों के नीचे कारखाने हैं वे नहीं चल रहे हैं अभी हमारे चर्चर्ची ने पुलिस की ज्यादतियों के संबंध में बहुत सी बातें कही। मुझे भी लोगों से जानकारी हुई है। उन्होंने बताया कि पुलिस इधर उधर जाती है, तो उसके ऊपर बम फेंके जाते हैं और उसके बाद पुलिस गोली चलाती है। इसके साथ ही साथ जब पुलिस वाले लोगों को गिरफ्तार करके अपनी गाड़ी में बन्द करके ले जाते हैं और फिर गोली भार देते हैं, तो फिर इस तरह की चीज को वर्दाप्त नहीं किया जा सकता है और इस तरह की चीजों की अच्छी तरह से जांच होनी चाहिए।

हमारे देश में प्रजातन्त्र है और कांग्रेस और जितनी भी राष्ट्रीय संस्थाएँ हैं वे सब इस बात को स्वीकार करती हैं। जिस प्रकार से साम्यवादी देशों में हत्याएँ होती हैं उसी तरह से आज बंगाल में हत्याएँ हो रही हैं। अगर पुलिस भी इस तरह की हत्याएँ करती है, तो इसको भी निन्दा की जानी चाहिए। लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जितनी भी राष्ट्रीय ताकतें हैं उनको एक हो जाना चाहिए, चाहे वे बड़े इधर हो, चाहे ऊपर बड़े हो, बीच में बड़े हों, सब को एक होकर देश को गम्भीर स्थिति से बचाना होता। कांग्रेस को भी कुर्सी के लालच में फँस नहीं जाना चाहिये और इस सारे प्रश्न में राष्ट्रवादी की लालच पर और उनको भ्रष्ट जितने भी संगठन हैं वे इसमें उसका साथ देंगे। इतना ही मुझे निवेदन करना है।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
 MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS,
 AND MINISTRY OF STATE, DE-
 PARTMENTS OF ELECTRONICS
 AND SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL
 RESEARCH (SHRI K. C. PANT):
 Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, these Re-
 solutions have given yet another op-
 portunity to the House to discuss the
 problems of West Bengal. There have

been references not only to the law-and-order aspect of the problem, but to the socio-economic aspect of the problem as well. Therefore, while I oppose the two Resolutions with all my strength, I do welcome the opportunity that the House has had to go into the problems of West Bengal at a time when man in this country are seriously troubled and very anxious about the situation in West Bengal. Sir, after the various speeches that have been made from this side of the House, particularly the speeches of my friends, Shri Mohan Dharia, Shri Goray, Shri Chattopadhyay and Shri Pranap Kumar Mukherjee. I do not know if it is necessary for me to give an elaborate repl.

I thank Shri Nawal Kishore for his gracious personal references to me. I would have thanked Mr. Mathur also, but I thought his personal references were rather angled. Nevertheless, I thank him also for making these personal references . . .

(Interruptions.)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: According to you, we have committed a crime by not showing to the Government the atrocities, murders and so on?

SHRI K. C. PANT: I began by thanking for bringing the Resolutions so that the problems can be gone into in depth. Sir I was quite moved in one sense and certainly impressed by the speech of my friend from the SSP, Shri B. K. Gupta, because I felt that he spoke not so much as a politician or one engaged in polemics, but as one who felt the pain and anguish at what was happening in Bengal, as one who was living there for many years, since his childhood and who felt for that place. This was the outstanding part of his speech which impressed me. Of course the debate has brought out the concern of various sections of the House at what is happening in Bengal and it has also showed how anxious they are to diagnose the problem and this of course the right spirit and the necessary spirit whatever be the odds against us. My

friend Mr. A. P. Chatterjee introduced as usual, polemics into the debate, perhaps a little more than the others and he accused us of various things and said hypocrisy has no limits. I am quoting him. He ought to know about hypocrisy, certainly, if his memory takes him as far back as Kerala. He accused us of trying to take the assistance of Congress (O) when there was voting in the Consultative Committee of the House. He forgets that he sought their assistance in the elections or that they fought the elections together in Kerala.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: That is a slander but this is a fact that you sought their votes.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Mysore): I was in charge of the elections on behalf of the Party in Kerala and I think his accusing us of certain alliances with the Marxists is not true.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am very glad to hear that because he considers it slander. Therefore I will not pursue that point.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN (Tamil Nadu): That does not make us any the less feel that your statement is untrue.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: It is not a question of pursuing but he should not have brought it.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: If he has any sense of parliamentary decorum he should withdraw it.

SHRI K. C. PANT: None of us is unaware of what is happening in the country. Let us not make too much of it. Then he justified inter-party terrorism in Bengal, he called it different to the police terrorism and so on. I think the only thing that would have satisfied Mr. Chatterjee is an interchange in the titles of the two measures. The two Bills are Prevention of Violent Activities Bill and Maintenance of Public Order Bill. If they had been Prevention of Public Order Bill and Maintenance of Violent Activities Bill I might have got his support.

(Shri K. C. Pant.)

There was a question raised and a serious one which deserves an answer and that is as to why it was necessary to bring forward these enactments. Shri Sanyal asked: Is the ordinary law of the land not sufficient to take care of any law and order situation in the country? The House is fully aware of the lawlessness, vandalism and violence that are taking place in Bengal for the last so many months. It has its roots. I will not go into the roots at this moment. Reference has been made to them by other Members in the House but the fact of violence is there for everyone to see. I do not want to elaborate on it. There are attacks on schools. Over 1500 incidents of varying degrees of violence have taken place and the anti-social elements are mixed up in this violence and are also with some political parties and they, in turn, are using certain political elements in that State. Not less than a hundred persons have lost their lives, and as many as 47 members of the police force have been killed; several more have been injured. This is in the last few months.

And then, Sir, statues of public veneration, to which reference was made by various Members of the House, have been desecrated, statues of the heroes of Bengal and of this country, cultural heroes, national heroes, martyrs, people who have given spiritual guidance to the people of this land. Their statues have been attacked in a most disgraceful manner. All this has been happening. And the House is also aware that, while all this was happening, and even while the demand for some kind of a preventive detention measure was growing, the Administration held its hand. It did try to deal with the situation under the normal law of the land. It did not rush forward with the preventive detention; no one can say—after all, this has been happening in the last so many months—that there was undue haste or impatience on the part of the West Bengal Administration or the Central Government in

bringing forward this measure. It was only when it became evident that the measure was necessary that the measure was brought forward. Now, Sir, the point that the normal law of the land is sufficient has to be considered in the context of the situation in West Bengal, where terrorism prevails, organised terrorism. After all, how is the law of the land to become operative? It becomes operative when people, who see certain crimes being committed, and people who are the sufferers of these attacks or onslaughts, they can go to the police without terror, can file complaints and can give evidence. Now this system does not operate because everybody is fearful of the consequences. How does the law of the land operate in such a situation? Therefore, this is the crux of the problem, and this is the reason that one could not make the charges stick. Even the various people who were arrested—and a large number were arrested—they were subsequently released on bail. They went back into circulation and went back more emboldened to carry on their violent activities. So, this has to be kept in mind. It has also to be kept in mind that the Naxalites indulge in guerilla tactics, in hit and run activities of a certain kind which make it even more difficult to proceed with the normal processes of law and order. And there is a deliberate campaign . . .

SRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL: When the police do not know how to apply even the normal law, how do you expect that these incompetent people will be able to effectively deal with this abnormal law?

SHRI K. C. PANT: I do not know whether he has failed to understand what I said. I think what I said was very clear and I do not think any amount of confusion will now confuse the issue further.

So, Sir, it was an extraordinary situation, and this extraordinary situation called for extraordinary measures. And what was the alternative? My hon. friend, would he ac-

cept the alternative that, without having this preventive measure in the armoury of the Administration, the Administration go on inflicting punishment directly on those who indulge in violence? Would he like more killings of men to go on? I am sure he would not.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: The police would kill more in future in view of this law.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Certainly one of the reasons why this was brought forward was the hope that it would be a less brutal and more humane way of dealing with the problem.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: So you admit that brutality was committed by the police.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am not admitting that, but I am perfectly willing to tell you this, and if it gives you any satisfaction, I can say so quite openly that, if the police is attacked with bombs all the time if they are harassed, if they are shot at, then the policemen, they have no right to kill, they should only operate under the law of the land. I have no doubt about that. But they do overact sometimes and in that situation they get brutalised. The whole process of brutalisation does take place in an atmosphere of perpetual violence, and my hon. friend should realise this, and if he realises this and condemns violence as a way of life, he will contribute to lessening the brutalising atmosphere that prevails in Bengal. Is he prepared to do that?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Police brutalities cannot be softened; they are born as brutes; they are trained as brutes.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Why don't you stand up and

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): Against police atrocities people have the right to defend themselves.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: You are speaking of the number of police dead; why are you not giving the number

killed by the police? You should be honest enough; how many persons have been killed by the police?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, the violence of these interruptions is not also going to move me.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: That we know.

SHRI K. C. PANT: The basic point is this. All that he has to do is to get up and say that I repudiate, I abjure the path of violence as a philosophy of life, as a philosophy of politics.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: We are not obeying you as a mentor but we are saying this here and now that you should condemn the police atrocities and you should give the number of persons killed by the police. We are not going to say anything to you.

SHRI K. C. PANT: This is the way he indirectly encourages violence even in this House.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULY (West Bengal): You are encouraging the police to kill people in the lock-up.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: In the lock-up the police are killing people by brutally attacking them and here you are asking us to abjure violence.

SHRI K. C. PANT: It is this attempt to encroach upon the rights of others to make their normal living in West Bengal that we are seeing there today and it is a small minority which is holding the majority of citizens who want to have a peaceful life at ransom in West Bengal. That is what is happening there and we must fight this.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN: If you hold elections now you will know which side the majority is.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Those who want to destroy democracy and law are using the liberties which the laws provide to destroy democracy.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Therefore beat them up and kill them in the police lock-up? That is the democracy of Mr. Pant.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Therefore these measures are well-conceived, well-directed. They are directed against those who either instigate or indulge in violent activities.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Sir, shall we hear these Fascists?

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GO-SWAMI (Assam): You are worse than Fascists.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order, please.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: These minions of Hitler are more brutal than Hitler himself.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, the House cherishes certain values; the country cherishes certain values—integrity of the country . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I know all that.

SHRI K. C. PANT: . . . democracy, decency . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Decency means tying the hands of people and shooting them in the streets? Is that decency? Is it decency to break the ribs of a man by the police by beating him up in the lock-up?

SHRI K. C. PANT: My hon. friend, Mr. Dharia, has mentioned the basic tenets for which we fight. He had mentioned integrity, democracy and sovereignty and all the values that go with them as matters on which we will not yield and no matter how many interruptions I get from Shri Chatterjee we cannot yield on these basic policies.

Sir, there need not be any undue fear about the wording of the Acts. Great care has been taken in drafting the Acts. The original proposal before the Consultative Committee which some of my friends still have in their minds was much wider

in that any person who was envisaged a risk for reasons connected with the security of the State or maintenance of public order came within the mischief of that Bill. Now the scope of these two terms was not defined or delimited in that and therefore aroused certain apprehension. All that has been taken care of in the present measure. Care has been taken in the present measure to spell out clearly the violent activities to prevent which the power of preventive detention could be evoked. A number of statutory safeguards have been built into the legislation against possible misuse and if one goes through these provisions it will be clear that they are pointedly directed against the outrageous activities of the Naxalites and other anti-social elements operating with them in West Bengal. Recourse to preventive detention can be had only against persons who are likely to indulge in one or more of the activities enumerated in section 3 of the Act even though the interests of maintenance of public order or security of the State can be breached by other activities also. But here it has been deliberately limited. I may further point out that the State Government have issued instructions to all concerned to take note of these provisions and to see that they are brought into play in the proper manner. That is why when I am asked sometimes why suddenly people have not been arrested in large numbers, I have to say that it is because we are particularly careful to see that innocent people are not harassed. They have not gone on the rampage. They are using it very carefully and I think the House should pay some compliment to the police as they are showing some restraint in this matter.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Police atrocities.

(Interruptions)

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Every word of Mr. Pant will breed a crocodile. You are speaking so much in a hypocritical tone that every word will breed a crocodile.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: You have done your job and so you can talk like this.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I want to say that these things have been gone into, as the House knows, in a form in which it mitigates, if not eliminates, all possibilities of abuse.

There have been references to police excesses. It has been of two kinds. One is that certain persons who were taken into custody were killed in police custody. The other type of case is that someone was killed without provocation, but shown as having been killed in an encounter. These, I think, were the two kinds of charges or allegations that were made. Now, I am not here to hold any brief for any erring policeman. I am not here to defend anyone who has broken the law, whether he be a policeman or anybody else. Everybody must operate within the law. About any individual case that is mentioned to us we have made our position very clear. We shall enquire into it and action will be taken if we find that anyone has been committing a mistake.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: What about the political murders of Hema Ganguly in 1969?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Yesterday or today there was an Unstarred Question in this House. I shall give you this very instance. We were asked what action we have taken on it. My friend, Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee, had asked that question. The papers could not be traced. When I got this reply I rang up my officer and asked him: Why have you not enquired into it? He said: We cannot trace the papers. Then, I rang up Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee at night and told him that the papers were not traceable and asked him whether he could give us the papers.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I brought it to the notice of Mr. Chavan, the then Home Minister. I made out a case that he was a patriot who had been killed in this manner and I also requested that his family should

be given financial assistance. Mr. Chavan was good enough to extend financial assistance to the family members of Hema Ganguly. Surely the case had been on the files of the Government. He wrote to me a nice letter.

SHRI K. C. PANT: That I can easily explain. The section which deals with financial assistance to freedom fighters is a different section. I am giving the facts as they came out to me yesterday. I told Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukherjee that I would like to have the information, so that we could enquire into it. This morning he has given it to me. So, I would like to assure the House that any specific cases, if they come to me, will be looked into . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I have written a letter to the Prime Minister about those killed recently by the police. What about them?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Be patient and I will tell you. Some of these things you may like and some you may not like.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Do not confuse these killings with the killing which occurred some months ago.
 (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order please.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: The persons he has mentioned are in China. What can Mr. Pant do about them?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Polemics must end at least with death.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: That we expect of you also. Enquire into the recent cases.

SHRI K. C. PANT: My hon. friend, Dr. Chattopadhyaya, who sits on our side of the House referred to various instances of police excesses. He referred to the case of Mr. Priyadas Munshi of the Chatra Parishad. He also referred to various instances. It is not that we want to cover up any kind of excess at all. I can tell Shri Bhupesh Gupta who mentioned various instances in his speech . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Last night I had a letter from a Congressman belonging to your party, Shri Paritosh Mukherjee, belonging to your Congress . . .

SHRI K. C. PANT: It will take more time. Let me give you information. For instance, we have seen instances published in the journal New Age dated December 13 and 14; we forwarded the allegations to the State Government for being looked into. Now I will give him the results in some of these specific instances. A number of these complaints had been looked into and I may mention that in at least two cases, Samir Chatterjee and Anil Karmakar, cases have been registered and investigations are in progress. Disciplinary action has also been taken against some policemen. The House is also aware of the Government's decision to appoint a Judicial Commission to go into the discovery of eight dead bodies under mysterious circumstances in Baraset. The police authorities have reiterated their instruction to the subordinates to deal with the problem with the requisite firmness tempered by utmost restraint. Yesterday, Sir, Shri Bhupesh Gupta was referring to the Commissioner of Police's statement and what was published in the Police Gazette. I thought personally, subject to what his reactions are that it was a good thing for the Police Commissioner to say in explicit terms that he expects all policemen to be restrained.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But by implication he admits . . .

SHRI K. C. PANT: You can twist it into anything. I think it is a welcome thing that the Police Commissioner is doing this. That I think you should welcome. (Interruption) After all it has to be appreciated that a number of policemen had been killed and they are operating under very difficult circumstances, extremely trying circumstances, and they are performing a difficult task. (Interruption) What is the use of Mr. Chatterjee interrupting me in every sentence when his Mayor is under attack in

Calcutta and he comes running to us for police protection? What is the use of shouting here? Why does he not go to Calcutta . . . (Interruption)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No interruptions, please.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Therefore, Sir, even my hon. friend Shri Chatterjee should be careful in condemning the police wholesale. He may need them one day.

Sir, the CRP is a pet target of many Members of this House. In 28 instances specific complaints were given to us. We enquired into all of them. In at least 26 of them the allegations turned out to be baseless. In fact in 7 or 8 cases it was found that the CRP was not at all deployed in the area. Therefore, Sir, I would only submit that . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: What are those cases?

SHRI K. C. PANT: I have a complete list. It will take half an hour.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You need not mention all those cases.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I would like to say that this kind of attack on the CRP is partly politically motivated because it is a Central force . . . (Interruption) partly because it is a police force and partly because it is a Central force; on both counts. Sir, I can assure my hon. friends that even in respect of the CRP there is absolutely no attempt on our part either to shield anyone or, when someone has erred to protect him. I can give one instance. In one case, I think several hon. friends brought it to our notice earlier, in Manikotla area houses were searched, houses of some respectable citizens. We enquired into it and we came to the conclusion that the necessary restraint had not been exercised even though the police had been attacked by bombs; but that is no justification for them to go beyond the pale of law. Having come to this conclusion the Company concerned was immediately transferred from these

area and appropriate action is being initiated against the specific individuals involved in this incident.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: You said a respectable citizen's house was searched?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Several houses were searched ...

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: If it was an ordinary peasant or worker, this Minister will never use of the word 'respectable'.

SHRI K. C. PANT: The trouble with him is he divides people into classes. I think the workers are also respectable. Sir, Shri Chatterjee referred to certain instances in Malda. I can go into the details but I think the House wants to proceed today with its next business. I can only say that in all the two or three specific instances, inquiries were made by the SDM. The persons who were supposed to be the sufferers, they have denied these incidents completely.

Now, Sir, about the recent incident of attack of Shri Farimal Ghosh's wife and son, I would not like to say anything. I think all the facts are by now known. I would express the sentiments of the House, I think, in wishing rapid recovery to his son and in conveying our sympathies to the wife and son and the servant who had been attacked. His son is improving, I am glad to say.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद मायुर : कितने लोग गिरफ्तार हुए हैं ?

श्री क० सी० रत्न : तीन गिरफ्तार हुए हैं ।

Sir, one point which was made earlier was that police firings and deaths have taken place. But I am glad to say that in recent weeks, after the promulgation of this measure, these deaths have decreased considerably. In fact, there are very few instances that have come to notice. And I should like to hope, at any rate, that this is an indication of the increased

confidence of the police that they will be able to deal with the situation without having to resort to firing very often. And I would like to believe that the House would wish that this should continue so that the atmosphere in of violence there decreases, because this is one of the measures—if you can take preventive measures successfully, it does prevent violence from breaking out also.

Reference has been made to a political approach to this problem. I am entirely in agreement that a political approach should be made. But as far as brutal murders go, as far as deliberate violence goes Sir, it has to be handled as a law and order problem, and handled firmly and immediately. There is no escape for any administration so far as that is concerned. But so far as approaching the erring youths is concerned, so far as trying to reach their minds, trying to convert them to a different approach, to a different way of life, to a different way of thinking and making them adopt those policies which the founders of this country have given us are concerned—on this there can be no two opinions—we should certainly try to adopt that approach.

Sir, there was some reference in a lighthearted manner to the fact that not sufficient is being done by the people of West Bengal to resist violence. I think, if one follows very closely what is happening in West Bengal, one is heartened by the fact that in recent weeks there has been increasing resistance to violence from the people of West Bengal. One heroic instance—I think many may have read about it—is that of an 18-year old girl who jumped and snatched away a kerosene bottle from the hands of a man who was about to set fire to a bus and saved the life of the bus-driver. It is really a heroic instance. There is the instance of a carpenter who gave his life to save the life of a policeman who was under attack by some Naxalities. Now, there are peace marches which are being undertaken by the Chatra

[K. C. Pant.]

Panishad and others. There is the very brave campaign launched by Shri Ajoy Mukherjee in different parts of the State. And recently I have seen that during the examinations which were threatened by the Naxalites—they threatened to disturb and disrupt them—police and the guardians took upon themselves to guard outside the examination halls to resist the attempts of the Naxalites. And reports are that even the wife of Charu Mazumdar shouldered this responsibility without hesitation when it came to the examination of her own son.

So, Sir, as I have said earlier, we should not allow our determination to be weakened by any sense of defeatism. At the same time, there has to be a very unequivocal condemnation of that Shri Bhupesh Gupta has very aptly described as the politics of violence and the politics of pipe-guns. I think this is the term which he used.

Shri Nawal Kishore referred to the fact that there should be some kind of a Committee or Citizens' Committee in which different parties could collaborate against the violence in West Bengal. I will draw his attention to the fact that such a Committee does exist. There is the Citizens Protection Committee in Calcutta. This Committee has issued a call that all those who want to shun violence and join this Committee and help it are most welcome. Its only condition is that they must believe in the basic tenets of democracy and human values and be opposed to violence, intimidation and terrorism as means of solving any social or political problem. So this is a forum that is already there. But if more initiatives are taken, they are most welcome from whatever source they come because this is absolutely essential. This is to supplement any efforts that the Administration there might be making to control the situation.

Sir, this is the basic aspect of the problem today in West Bengal. Either we accept the relevance of freedom

of speech and freedom of dissent through Constitutional means or we succumb to the forces of evil which often loudly invoke freedom to destroy democracy. I would like to repeat that there cannot be any kind of political solution for brutal murders and innumerable acts of violence which some groups seek to justify in political terms. These are breaches of law and will simply have to be treated as such. But the Government has never overlooked the broader political implications of these violent symptoms, and it is in an attempt to cure these deeper maladies that political education will have to play a big role.

I would not like to dwell at length on the socioeconomic measures that are being taken because on other occasions which I have had I have had the opportunity to place before the House as to what is being done. The C.M.D.A. (Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority) has been constituted to help in tackling the problems of Calcutta. The Fourth Plan allocation of West Bengal and for Calcutta has been increased. And for this year also the allocation has been increased. An outright grant of Rs. 8 crores has been made for bustee improvement. This bustee improvement is a crucial programme. It covers a number of bustees, drinking water, sanitation, lighting, roads, etc. There are about 3,000 bustees in Calcutta with a population of about 11 lakhs, and if one can bring relief to a large number of them, one will be helping the weakest section of society in Calcutta.

Then Sir, on land reforms we have taken certain steps. The House knows that in the Consultative Committee meetings we had earlier passed a law which would help the *bargadars* . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I hope you will not raise the ceiling of 20 acres.

SHRI K. C. PANT: That is the other law. The *bargadars* law is the earlier law which was passed and I would like to say that this law goes

even beyond what the U.F. Government contemplated; it is more progressive . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : It would remain on paper.

SHRI K. C. PANT: If you create lawlessness you will make it remain on paper.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: We distributed the lands already among the peasants...

SHRI K. C. PANT: You are getting nervous that if we implement these measures you will be no where...

(Interruption by Shri A. P. Chatterjee)

SHRI K. C. PANT: Unfortunately, you have also been on the scene for some months.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: And in nine months we distributed ten lakh bighas of land which you could not dream of in 23 years.

SHRI K. C. PANT: The other Bill was to impose a ceiling on land holdings. So we are taking measures to distribute lands which have been vested in the Government. Thousands of acres have already been distributed among the peasants.

May I say in the end that I am confident that the House will reject these Resolutions, because while rejecting these Resolutions the House will give a mandate, as the other House has given, that the Government has the support of all sections of Parliament for taking the firmest measures against those who indulge in murders and murderous violence? Thank you.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Sir, on a question of personal safety . . .

SOME HON'BLE MEMBER: No, no.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: It is a very serious question. Mr. Pant, while replying . . .

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SHRI SHRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI:.. Mr. Pant said that I might need police help. I am getting apprehensive of the police of Mr. Pant. Mr. Pant will be manufacturing an incident in my house and in that way he will try to justify police atrocities in West Bengal. I am apprehensive when Mr. Pant says that I will need police help.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I am now getting apprehensive.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He said perhaps you may need it.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I am, therefore, asking the House to note it.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. There is difference between "you may need" and "you would need".

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have had an intervention by the hon. Minister on behalf of the Government. I am not surprised because the entire case has been made out by the officials. In fact, I know it for a fact that the whole scheme of these two Bills had been contrived in the official quarters in Delhi and Calcutta and after the officials had come to their conclusions they have successfully lobbied the political leaders here in order to get their support. And the support is being given by some quarters. Sir, Mr. Pant ended his speech by seeking the mandate of the House. The mandate will no doubt come from my friends on this side, a new triple alliance for the time being, in fact it is a quadruple alliance. (Interruption). The debate has done one good thing. It has underscored one interesting and yet an important reality of our political life, that whenever a wrong thing has to be done, an anti-democratic step has to be taken, the alliances change; the Congress relies on the support of the Congress-O, that is to say the Syndicate Congress, the Jan

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

Sangh and the Swatantra Party, and these triple alliance parties also support the Congress. Now this is one of the outstanding realities which should not be missed. Therefore, I think it is a good thing in a way that it has been shown that my friends of the Syndicate, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party are opposed to the Congress only when the Congress takes progressive measures like the abolition of privy purses, and they are supporters of the Congress when the Congress passes such measures as the one we are discussing to-day.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद सायूर : प्राक्का
 नाता उनसे टूट गया प्राक्क से ।

श्री नवल किशोर : टूट गया,
 टूट गया, डाईवोर्त हो गया ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do not disturb me. When it comes to the Bill on abolition of privy purses, Bhupesh Gupta, the SSP and the CPI (M) are spoken of with great generosity, with flowing affection, because their support is needed to pass it. And in fact, we wanted to pass it. Now, this is a case of utter opportunism on the part of the Congress. They must decide as to what principle they stand for and with whom they would like to work in the country—the Rightists whenever it suits them and the Leftists whenever it suits them, or they would like to work in the interest of the masses irrespective of who takes which position and why. Now, my friends accuse me of always supporting the Indira Government. Here I am opposing the Indira Government, and my friends are supporting the Indira Government. I know this is how Reaction advances. The tragedy of the situation is that in West Bengal when the fight was developing against Right Reaction, a fight in which not only the followers, supporters and members of the traditional Left but also the supporters of the Congress have a part to play, just at that moment, this kind of pro-

vocative measure had been brought in Bengal in order to frustrate the growing unity of the Left and progressive forces, including those progressive elements in the Congress, with a view to helping Reaction. Therefore, a political analysis of this whole situation has to be taken into view. Mr. Dharia, in his eloquence and others may think that in any mid-term poll in West Bengal, they will have a happy sailing. It is not like that. Are you going to fight elections with their support in West Bengal? I should like to know. If you take that towards the electorate of West Bengal, are you going to fight it with the support of the Jan Sangh, the Swatantra and the Syndicate Congress? Or, will you look for support somewhere else? I say so far as the Privy purse is concerned, the enemies of democracy and the friends of reaction and Princes shall be fought with the combined forces of the nation, P.D. Act, or no P.D. Act. This is what I say. I am not going into this question. But I am grateful because the nation knows who stands where. By rightist friends are friends of the Congress whenever rightist forces have to be served my rightist friends are opponents of the Congress whenever the people's cause is at issue.

Now, about the mandate. Mr. Pant has spoken about the mandate. Brave he is. It is about the mandate. What is the mandate of the people of West Bengal? We too have a mandate and that mandate has been given to us in the general strike and hartāl of December 8 when West Bengal came to a standstill; silent and peaceful demonstrations of the people of West Bengal were there on that day. Where were you, the heroes, on that day? Why did you not go and ask for the mandate of the people in the streets of Calcutta, in the factories and fields, saying that we have come here to get your mandate in order to pass this measure? You did not have the courage even to stir out of your houses. Yet you talk of the mandate. Mandate we have, and it

is that of the people. We are proving loyal to the mandate of the people.

Now, he said excesses will not be done. For the benefit of my friend smiling Mr. Dharia, and some others not so smiling although, some of them, may be in a state of half sleep, here is a case of one Paritosh Mukherji, 28 years old young man, a government employee in the Central Post Office Calcutta, Secretary of the National Council of Workers' Union, affiliated to what they call the New Congress. He was shot dead while asleep by the police on 2nd November. This I get from a signed letter from his elder brother, Asith Ranjan Mukerji. I shall read out a few lines from his letter and you will see how Paritosh Mukerji was being sought for as a Naxalite although he was a Congressman. His brother, who has written a letter to me, went to the police station and did something—it is here and let me quote—

“On the very day..”

that is, on the day on which Paritosh Mukerji was sought for by the police—

“..I went and saw the respected officer in charge of the Bhavanipur Police Station ”—

you can understand how servile he is; he says he saw the respected police officer in charge of the Bhavanipur Police Station—

“..and explained to him that my brother was never a Naxalite, that he worked in the General Post Office, Calcutta, that he was the Secretary of the National Council of the Workers' Union under the New Congress, and that therefore, the allegation made against him was not correct. After a long discussion I assured the officer in charge that, if necessary, I myself as the guardian of my brother as well as my brother himself, we are willing to give a written undertaking that my brother was on no occasion a Naxalite and that he would never be one

in future. In reply the respected officer in charge told me that if my brother leads the life of a good citizen, then no harm will be done to him.”

He goes on to say.

“On the 2nd November when my brother was sleeping by the side of a footpath in the locality, he was mercilessly shot and killed while asleep...”

SHRI P. C. MITRA: Why was he sleeping on the footpath in the locality?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not know why he was sleeping on the footpath. Now it is immaterial. But, Sir, see his reaction about a Congressman not a Naxalite nor a Communist nor a Jan Sanghi nor of any other party. Your own party man, instead of asking me why that man was killed, is asking me why he was sleeping on the footpath. I say it is disgraceful, inhuman, cruel, brutal, and it shows that something is lacking in the human soul. It is degradation of the soul. I know my friend is a good man. But you see that he has been brought to such a position that when one of his own party members has been killed he is interested in knowing how he happened to be on the foot-bath; he does not to other about the life that has been taken away by the cold-blooded murder by the policemen. Shame on you and shame on those people. I would ask Shri Dharia and Shri Pant what they are going to do when we are stabbed because everybody is being attacked. Naxalites, CPM, CPI, SSP, PSP and all others are being attacked. Shri Debi Prasad Chatterjee has told you how students have been tortured in the lock-up. In West Bengal they make no distinction, when they after hunt go about shooting people because when you pull the trigger you do not now whom you are shooting. You very often get people killed who have nothing to do with politics. Therefore, this matter should be considered in that light.

It is surprising that my friend Shri K. C. Pant spoke in a manner as if nothing is happening. He has cited only a few instances. Hundreds of instances have been sent to them. What about them? Are we liars here—Are we all political chicks? Are we thugs? Have we come here without the mandate and support of the people so that you disbelieve us and when a petty official tells you something you believe him? This is the way of political scoundrels. I do not say that government is not the government of scoundrels. That is what I say today. We represent political parties in West Bengal and we will show you our mandate again. The West Bengal election shall be fought on many issues and one will be: No Preventive Detention Act and no Maintenance of Public Order Act. After that we shall come here—if you do not shoot us in the meanwhile—and tell you something about our mandate. Do not talk about this kind of mandate. The situation in West Bengal should be handled politically. In the consultative committee votes have been taken and things have been passed. Yes, you have a majority in the consultative committee because your policemen and other officials have successfully lobbied many people in order to get that majority; not that they corrupted, but they have convinced you. But what about the people of Bengal? What about the majority in the West Bengal Assembly? Could you not have contemplated how they would have reacted to these measures, had the Assembly been in existence today? How many would have voted for these measures? I regret that our dear friends of the PSP are supporting these measures. But the PSP of West Bengal does not support these measures. I spoke at a public meeting when some PSP leader dissociated with the support which has been given here to these two measures. Our PSP friends have their own ideas. I respect Shri Goray. I do always consider the advice he gives. Now I will only say: Do not

philosophise? Do not talk about violence. We know who does violence. The Communist Party will never sign a bond in order to get a Bill withdrawn. They know it very well. We would rather die on our feet rather than bend on our knees. This talk of violence and non-violence is utterly preposterous. We want to get things done in a democratic, peaceful manner. Violence will depend on how those in authority and power behave in collusion with monopolists, jotedars and big landlords. In West Bengal villages jotedars are being attacked. Agriculturists are 6 P.M. being shot dead. Poor peasants are being shot dead. Sir, the poor peasants should carry lathis in their hands. We are very sorry, Sir, because they should have in fact been armed today to meet the menace of the jotedars. Sir, the same applies to the industrial areas also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I want to tell Mr. Pant—I shall tell the Prime Minister also—that you are relying too much on your officers and public opinion you are flouting. West Bengal has heard many lectures delivered by you. Now, you must talk about many other things. Who are the representatives of West Bengal? Who are those people who can speak for them? For once, on one matter we all agree that police terror must stop, that repression must not be indulged in and that this kind of laws should not be there. Well, Sir, in answer, what have they got to say? Why no inquiry into that? Even after one month of discovery of the bodies at Barasat, they are saying that an inquiry will be there. Why no inquiry? Why the inquiry is not successful? Explain it. Why the inquiry is not successful?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We have given the names of some officials. I am not divulging the names of these

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Violent Activities)Maintenance of Public
Order Act 1970

officials who have committed it. They are those who helped them in the Barasat murder. Does he not know that those names are being talked about in West Bengal circles? Does he not know that certain police officials were deputed for the job, for the extermination campaign, who went too far and which made it necessary for the Police Commissioner to come out with a citation from a book in which they say how the guerillas should be fought and how the police should meet them? All these things are known. Sir, Shamir Bhattacharjee's case he has referred to.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI BHUPESHI GUPTA: But why does he not reveal the other things? When Shamir Bhattacharjee's case was brought to the notice of this House, many Members supported it. He was done to death. But they tried to deny that. But after that, even the Police Commissioner said, "Yes, he has been killed in the police custody". Then, the guilty person is not to be found. Who killed him? Who are the officers who were on duty at that time? Who were they? There must be some log books, there must be some records. Why nobody has been arrested? Now the Police Commissioner says, "We cannot detect the person". You can understand, a murderer in the police station, a policeman, cannot be detected. This is incompetent police. No, it is not incompetent police; it is an attempt to hide the crime by the policemen. Sir, Beliaghata has been referred to. Many MPs belonging to many parties have told about it. On the 19th November morning, four youngmen were shot dead and put up against the wall. Beliaghata people said it; all Calcutta knows it. But there is no word of sympathy.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please finish now.

SHRI BHUPESHI GUPTA: I will sit

down, Sir. Therefore, I say that I have been thoroughly disappointed, not by the Government, but I have been disappointed by some of the speeches of my Congress friends opposite. Yes, for your principle you lock up men. Therefore, I do not say that you lack courage. You parted with many people when it came to principles. You did not say that it is for the Deputy Chief Ministership or for the coherence of the Congress Party; the heterogenous combination, the cocktail of politics. You have not told that. You broke the Congress Party. If you say, "All right", then go on. But why this hesitation now? I am not asking you to split the party I am asking you to compel your Government to behave like a decent Government. As far as West Bengal is concerned, go to conduct the inquiries we have suggested, pay more attention to the allegations that the people have made. We are not making allegations which are politically motivated and we know very well that we are accused everyday by friends opposite that we are your supporters, we are assisting you, although it is not a fact. But you cannot rely on the support of many people including them as you are doing it now.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now, you do not pay any heed to what we say. Finally, before I sit down, Sir only a few words about ourselves. Yes, I criticise the Government, because of police terrorism which is the beginning of something much worse. It paves the way for fascism, dictatorship, complete subversion of law in the name of the authority of law, complete subversion of Constitution in the name of the Constitution, complete subversion of the normal public life by the so-called custodians of public life. Hence, the criticism. Therefore, the criticism. Do not compare it with other things.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

About ourselves, I should say, Sir, that I appreciate what has been said by Shri Goray. Shri Goray is motivated by the noblest sentiments towards the people of Bengal. I never accused him. I feel, Sir, that these acts of terrorism, these private matters between one party and another, between one individual and another or private individuals and officials will become a thing of the past. There is no doubt about it. They can only spell run for our people, for the people of Bengal, and above all, the superior terrorism of the powers that be—the police that we know, and the rest of all. The CIA is closely connected with the police. The CIA and the Americans too have got their contacts in the high Police and Executive administration, and tomorrow if I have a chance I shall bring certain facts to light about that, they are not interested in the situation in Bengal. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down now. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, I would appeal to all the political parties, whoever they are—I do not want to speak of acrimony now—that let us come together, discuss the matter, stop inter-party. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down now. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know Charu Mazumdar; he was my colleague in the United Party. Kanu Sanyal was an excellent party worker at that time. Soshil Roy Chowdhary was also with me; and many others. May I make a fervent appeal to them to ponder over the political consequences of their action? I would appeal to them to return to the path of mass revolutionary movement and give up this individual terrorism, whether against a police officer, or an individual or against an institution and so on. Sir, we want these young people who are experienced in politics, to return to the fore. I hope they will

heed my appeal, because whenever they are in difficulty in the hands of the police, I shall stand by them, no matter what happens to me. Whenever they are oppressed, Bhupesh Gupta and his party will stand by them—if necessary, at the cost of persecution in the hands of the police. I have already appealed to. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have already appealed to them to stop this acrimony. Bengal should return to the normal moorings. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. You have already taken an hour. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You must understand. We speak through our hearts. I can speak for 10 hours at a stretch. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That's not the question. I know you have got the capacity.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have stabbed our heart. You have stabbed our heart. We have been ignored. The people of West Bengal have been ignored. West Bengal has been ignored. I feel as if someone has put a knife into my heart. That's why I speak. I speak from an anguished heart. I say this because I do not think we can afford this present political situation. There should not be differences. There is need for greater and better unity.

I hope, Sir, the Prime Minister and the Congress Party will understand a simple thing. Well, do not play with West Bengal! You are playing with fire.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Earlier I had no intention of speaking but the way the Minister has treated this has provoked me to speak and I must get a chance to put forward my point of view. I am not going to give up my right.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You told us in the beginning that you were not going to reply.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I expected another kind of reply from the Minister.

SHRI K. C. PANT: If he had in advance told me what kind of reply he wanted I could have obliged him.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): Mr. Basu may be allowed to say a few words but at the same time let the House take into consideration the other important measure that we have to pass to-day.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We will pass that measure. Himachal Pradesh is the victory of the people. We shall sit here if necessary overnight. You could have done it earlier by repealing this thing in the beginning.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Basu, very few remarks.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I would like to express my resentment at the manner in which the Minister has replied to the several points raised by us. Even when I was rising he was telling that he would have replied in a way had I given him prior notice as to how he is to reply. This is not the way to treat a Member who made on the floor of the House certain charges and allegations against the Government regarding the atrocities committed on the people of Bengal. Then I referred to about 25 instances to the Prime Minister, the head of the Government of this country, who is also in charge of the Home Ministry. He has not mentioned about any of them when the Prime Minister had assured us at the Consultative Committee and also here that each and every case will be examined and the result made known to us. He has chosen not to touch even the important cases that I mentioned. In a cavalier manner he said that the matter will be examined. He said: 'I have got them examined and I have been satisfied.' Mr. Gupta rightly

pointed out that we want to have copies of the report. Who has conducted the examination. Are we to be fed merely by the statement of the bureaucrats? Are we to be satisfied merely by what has been said by the I.G. or the Commissioner of Police or an ordinary Sub-Inspector of Police of a Police Station? No. We are not going to be satisfied. Therefore if he is really to honour the sentiments of the House, if he is to honour the sentiments of the entire people of Bengal I would demand that the result of the enquiry should be laid on the Table of the House so that we can also get it examined or tell the people: 'This is the way how the Police behaved with the people of Bengal or it is the way how the P.M. or the Minister in charge of the Home Ministry behaves with the Members'. I have also one grave apprehension, about Members sitting on the other side. It was made clear by friends of the Swatantra Party and they demanded at the meeting of the Consultative Committee why the administration of Bengal has not been handed over to the military and why emergency has not been declared in Bengal. This is the portent or harbinger of how those who are opposing will be satisfied. I think this is the conspiracy that is being hatched. Mr. Pant wants to fight this danger politically. What is the political aspect he has got? He wants to organise some Pada Yatra. Has he the boldness to fight the reaction? Has he political programmes to fight these forces who are willing to hand over the entire people of Bengal to the military or who are willing to declare an emergency in the State of Bengal? I think he has no political programmes. He claims that the danger which is being posed by individual terrorism is to be fought at the political level. It is all bunkum. It is all hypocrisy. They are not at all capable of meeting the challenge of the danger politically. I wanted to know what was the greater justification for bringing about this new Act. And the Minister says that it is because the ordinary law of the

(Shri Chitta Basu)

land cannot prevent them from taking to attacks. I wrote to the Prime Minister on the 18th of November last and asked for the number of those persons who were granted bail and again rearrested. Is it not pertinent to ask for it? Because the Minister says that these laws—these draconian laws—have been found necessary only to prevent persons from getting bail and to prevent them from committing further offences. I wrote a letter to the Home Ministry to supply me with the information as to the number who were arrested, then granted bail and then again rearrested. I wrote it on the 18th of November and today is the 17th of December. All this one month's time was there. Yet, I was not supplied with that very important and very necessary information, which can really help us to determine our attitude towards this measure. Therefore it is not a question of combating the challenge of individual terrorism at the political level. It is just a conspiracy to quell the people of West Bengal under the terror of police violence, to which the people of West Bengal refuse to yield, and they shall fight it. And I will show that the people of West Bengal are not going to be cowed down in this manner. We have got the strength. We may have weakness but we shall make up our weakness and we shall build our strength and try to face the challenges in whatever manner they come.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"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."

The House divided:

Ayes	16
Noes	81

AYES—16

Basu, Shri Chitta
 Bhadram, Shri M. V.
 Chandrasekharan, Shri K.
 Chatterjee, Shri A. P.
 Ganguly, Shri Salil Kumar
 Gupta, Shri Bhupesh
 Kumaran, Shri S.
 Mathew Kurian, Dr. K.
 Menon, Shri Balachandra
 Menon, Shri K P. Subramania
 Nair, Shri G. Gopinathan
 Sanyal, Shri Sasankasekhar
 Shahi, Shri Nageshwar Prasad
 Singh, Shri Sitaram
 Suraj Prasad, Shri
 Venkataraman, Shri M. R.

NOES—81

Alva, Shri Joachim.
 Anandan, Shri T. V.
 Ansari, Shri Hayatullah.
 Arora, Shri Arjun.
 Bachchan, Dr. H. R.
 Baharul Islam, Shri.
 Bobdey, Shri S. B.
 Chandra Shekhar, Shri.
 Chattopadhyaya, Dr. Debi Prasad.
 Chaudhari, Shri N. P.

Das, Shri Balram.
 Deshmukh, Shri T. G.
 Dharia, Shri M. M.
 Dilkshit, Shri Umashankar.
 Goswami, Shri Sriman Prafulla.
 Gowda, Shri U. K. Lakshmana.
 Gujral, Shri I. K.
 Gurupadaswamy, Shri M. S.
 Hasan, Prof. Salyid Nurul.
 Hussain, Shri Syed.
 Jain, Shri A. P.
 Kalyan Chand, Shri.
 Khaitan, Shri A. P.
 Khan, Shri Akbar Ali.
 Kollur, Shri M. L.
 Krishan Kant, Shri.
 Kulkarni, Shri A. G.
 Madani, Shri M. Asad.
 Mallikarjunudu Shri K. P.
 Mangladevi Tawar, Dr. (Mrs.)
 Mehta, Shri Om.
 Mishra, Shri L. N.
 Mishra, Shri S. N.
 Mitra, Shri P. C.
 Mohamod Usman, Shri.
 Mukherjee, Shri Pranab Kumar.
 Musafir, Shri Curumukh Singh.
 Nandini Satpaty, Shrimati.
 Narayan, Shri M. D.
 Narayani Devi Manaklal, Shrimati.
 Nawal Kishore, Shri.
 Neki Ram, Shri.
 Panjhazari, Sardar Raghubir Singh
 Parthasarathy, Shri R. T.
 Patil, Shri P. S.
 Punnaiah, Shri Kota.
 Purabi Mukhopadhyay, Shrimati.
 Purakayastha, Shri Mahitosh.
 Puri, Shri Dev Datt.
 Raju, Shri V. B.
 Ramaswamy, Shri K. S.
 Reddy, Shri K. V. Raghunatha.
 Reddy, Shri M. Srinivasa.

Reddy, Shri Mulka Govinda.
 Roshan Lal, Shri.
 Sahai, Shri Ram.
 Samuel, Shri M. H.
 Sangma, Shri E. M.
 Sarojini Krishnarao Babar, Dr.
 (Kumari)
 Satyavati Dang, Shrimati.
 Savnekar, Shri B. S.
 Sen, Dr. Triguna.
 Shah, Shri K. K.
 Sherkhan, Shri.
 Shukla, Shri Chakrapani.
 Shukla, Shri M. P.
 Shyamkumari Devi, Shrimati.
 Singh, Shri Bhupinder.
 Singh, Shri Dalpat.
 Singh, Shri Jogendra.
 Singh, Shri Sultan.
 Sinha, Shri Awadheshwar Prasad.
 Sinha, Shri Rajendra Pratap.
 Sisodia, Shri Swaisingh.
 Untoo, Shri Gulam Nabi.
 Usha Barthakur, Shrimati.
 Varma, Shri Nirranjan.
 Venigalla Satyanarayana, Shri.
 Yadav, Shri Shyam Lal.
 Yajee, Shri Sheel Bhadra.
 Yashoda Reddy, Shrimati.

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is—

“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

[Mr. Deputy Chairman].

December, 1970, be repealed by the President by an enactment.

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

The House divided

Ayes	16
Noes	81

AYES—16

Basu, Shri Chitta
 Bhadram, Shri M. V.
 Chandrasekharan, Shri K
 Chatterjee, Shri A. P.
 Ganguly, Shri Salil Kumar
 Gupta, Shri Bhupesh
 Kumaran, Shri S.
 Mathew Kurian, Dr. K.
 Menon, Shri Balachandra
 Menon, Shri K. P. Subramaia
 Mair, Shri G. Gopinathan
 Sanyal, Shri Sasankasekhar
 Shahi, Shri Nageshwar Prasad
 Singh, Shri Sitram
 Suraj Prasad, Shri
 Venkataraman, Shri M. R.

NOES—81

Alva, Shri Joachim
 Anandan, Shri T. V.
 Ansari, Shri Hayatullah
 Arora, Shri Arjun
 Bachchan, Dr. H. R.
 Baharul Islam Shri
 Bobdey, Shri S. B.
 Chandra Shekhar, Shri

Chattopadhyaya, Dr. Debiprasad
 Chaudhari, Shri N. P.
 Das, Shri Balram
 Deshmukh, Shri T. G.
 Dharia, Shri M. M.
 Dikshit, Shri Umashankar
 Goswami, Shri Sriman Prafulla
 Gowda, Shri U. K. Lakshmana
 Gujral, Shri I. K.
 Gurupadaswamy, Shri M. S.
 Hasan, Prof. Saiyid Nurul
 Hussain, Shri Syed
 Jain, Shri A. P.
 Kalyan Chand, Shri
 Khaitan, Shri R. P.
 Khan, Shri Akbar Ali
 Kollur, Shri M. L.
 Krishan Kant, Shri
 Kulkarni, Shri A. G.
 Madani, Shri M. Asad
 Mallikarjunudu, Shri K. P.
 Mangladevi Talwar, Dr. (Mrs.)
 Mehta, Shri Om
 Mishra, Shri L. N.
 Mishra, Shri S. N.
 Mitra, Shri P. C.
 Mohamod Usman, Shri
 Mukherjee, Shri Pranab Kumar
 Musafir, Shri Gurumukh Singh
 Nandini Satpathy, Shrimati
 Narayan, Shri M. D.
 Narayani Devi Manaklal, Shrimati
 Nawal Kishore, Shri
 Neki Ram, Shri
 Panj hazari, Sardar Raghbir Singh
 Parthasarathy, Shri R. T.
 Patil, Shri P. S.
 Punnaiah, Shri Kota
 Purabi Mukhopadhyay, Shrimati
 Purakayastha, Shri Mahitosh
 Puri, Shri Dev Datt
 Raju, Shri V. B.
 Ramaswamy, Shri K. S.
 Reddy, Shri K. V. Raghunatha
 Reddy, Shri M. Srinivasa
 Reddy, Shri Mulka Govinda
 Roshan Lal, Shri
 Sahai, Shri Ram
 Samuel, Shri M. H.
 Sangma, Shri E. M.
 Sarojini Krishnarao Babar, Dr.
 (Kumari)
 Satyavati Dang, Shrimati
 Savnekar, Shri B. S.
 Sen, Dr. Triguna

Shah, Shri K. K.
 Sherkhan, Shri
 Shukla, Shri Chakrapani
 Shukla, Shri M. P.
 Shyamkumari Devi, Shrimati
 Singh, Shri Bhupender
 Singh, Shri Dalpat
 Singh, Shri Jogendra
 Singh, Shri Sultan
 Sinha, Shri Awadheshwar Prasad
 Sinha, Shri Rajendra Pratap
 Sisodia, Shri Swaisingh
 Untoo, Shri Gulam Nabi
 Usha Barthakur, Shrimati
 Varma, Shri Niranjana
 Venigalla Sanyanarayana, Shri
 Yadav, Shri Shyam Lal
 Yajee, Shri Wheel Bhadra
 Yashoda Reddy, Shrimati

The motion was negatived.

THE STATE OF HIMACHAL PRADESH BILL, 1970

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, we are passing on to the next item of business. It is a non-controversial Bill and it means to fulfil the long-cherished desires and aspirations of the people of Himachal Pradesh to have full Statehood. It is already 6.30 and I hope hon. Members will not take a long time to pass this Bill. I would appeal to hon. Members to pass this Bill as early as possible and, if possible, within half an hour.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. C. PANT): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to provide for the establishment of the State of Himachal Pradesh and for matters connected therewith, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

I am happy to bring forward this motion for consideration of this Bill. In the last session, we assured the House that this Bill would be brought forward in the House in its present session. We introduced this in the other House on the 11th and the mea-

sure was welcomed by all sections of that House. It was passed on the 15th of this month with a few changes of drafting nature.

Before I go into the details of the Bill, I would briefly narrate the various stages of constitutional development of Himachal Pradesh. Himachal Pradesh as an administrative entity came into existence on the 15th April, 1948. At that time, it had an area of 10,600 sq. miles with a population of 9.35 lakhs and a revenue of Rs. 85 lakhs. It was then placed under a Chief Commissioner. Under the Constitution, it became a Part C State. In April 1952 it was given a Council of Ministers and Legislative Assembly. The States Reorganisation Commission (in its majority report) recommended the merger of Himachal Pradesh with the adjoining State of Punjab. However, considering the need for maintaining the pace of development, Government of India decided to continue it as a Centrally administered unit. With the passing of the States Reorganisation Bill in 1956, the Legislature and Council of Ministers were abolished and Himachal Pradesh became a Union territory. In August 1957 a Territorial Council was given to this Union territory. When Goa, Daman and Diu and Pondicherry also became part of the Indian Union, the question of administrative set-up of the larger Union territories was considered. Finally, after amending the Constitution, a law was enacted in 1963 to give Council of Ministers and Legislative Assemblies to Himachal Pradesh and four other Union territories. This change which was introduced in Himachal Pradesh from 1st July, 1963 continues to be in force.

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

The reorganisation of Punjab added large areas to Himachal from 1st November, 1966. The present area of Himachal Pradesh is 21,629 square miles and its population according to 1961 census is 28.12 lakhs. Its domestic revenue is now over Rs. 20 crores.