

[Dr. Bhai Mahavir]

Madam, let nobody presume that he has got a leasehold from God and that he will remain in power all the time. If the Congress, with all its record of sacrifices, could be overthrown by the people, let the United Front people also understand that if they misuse their authority, if they do not exercise proper discretion in the use of that authority, they are also likely to be overthrown and if they set a bad convention, the tradition which they set now of the demoralisation of the police force and the judiciary, will they not have to pay for all that with compound interest? I would like to ask them this question. I would like them to ponder over this before they only condemn what the policemen did. Of course, I will never appreciate what the policemen did. I cannot appreciate indiscipline in any form, in the form of unconstitutional behaviour, in the form of referring against the provisions of democratic behaviour. This is what they did. But when they find the consequences of it recoiling against them, they have alerted the army. They have requested the Central Government and the Central Government, dutifully, has offered the help which they have asked for. But the question is when the army has been asked for like this and action has been taken against police officers, is it not incumbent upon the Central Government to ask the police officers for their explanation? They should have asked what they would like to say.

After the procession had gone, Mr. Jyoti Basu had been requested to address it and the brave man that he is he refused to come out and oblige them. I remember, when Mr. Jyoti Basu had come here after the Rabindra Sarovar incident, a procession of women of Delhi went to express their feelings of resentment against what had happened at Rabindra Sarovar. And the gentleman did not find it possible to come out and speak to those women. If this is the moral courage that he has, if this is the fibre that he is made of, I do not know if he had any face to come out before the policemen to explain the conduct of the workers of the party which is a party of his backing. In this situation, Madam, the lesson that is to be learnt from this is that if they are going to give this licence to their party workers and the workers of the different parties which constitute the United Front—and those workers are sought to be armed also; there were reports that they are going to arm young volunteers; this is something

very much on the lines of China; if they have Red Guards, something of that kind is envisaged here—if that is so, my only warning is that it is easy to create a Bhasmasur, it is easy to create a giant, but then it is difficult to save yourself from that Bhasmasur once you have created it.

Therefore, Madam, we should not look at only the superficial things of it. We must go deep into it and all those who need to learn lessons should be asked to learn a lesson from this incident—the Central Government, the State Government and the leaders of the political parties.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

THE BANKING COMPANIES ((ACQUISITION AND TRANSFER OF UNDERTAKINGS) BILL, '969

SECRETARY : Madam, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha :—

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Bill, 1969, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 4th August, 1969.

Madam, I lay the Bill on the Table.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : We happily receive this information.

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SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : Out of order.

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176 RE FORCIBLE ENTRY BY POLICEMEN INTO THE WEST BENGAL ASSEMBLY ON JULY 31, 1969—contd.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Madam Deputy Chairman, at the outset I strongly condemn the most undemocratic, in-disciplined and mutinous behaviour of the policemen in Bengal who marched into.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.]

the Assembly. At the same time, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would also like to condemn the trends that ultimately lead to such sort of happenings in the country. There are parties who do not have faith in the Indian Constitution; there are people who are yet of the opinion that they want power to break the Constitution, not to amend the Constitution suitably according to the needs and requirements of the people. I am a person who believes in amending the Constitution. But those who believe in breaking the Constitution, those who started the movement of "gherao", those who have asked their workers not to have any loyalty to this Constitution and democratic methods, are equally responsible for this trend and I am here to condemn that trend in this country. I feel, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that this unconstitutional and undemocratic trend in the country is not only dangerous to our democracy but is also disastrous to our integrity and independence. It is in this context, while condemning the action of those policemen, I would like to request the House to consider why they committed such acts. Several opinions have been stated here to-day. What is happening in Bengal ? I am not averse to the word "Communism". The whole world is changing. Even the Communist philosophy is changing because of modern science and technology and because of so many other reasons. So I am not averse to that word "Communism". But at the same time, I would like to bring to the notice of the House that those who are not prepared to have their loyalty to the Constitution, those who want to break the Constitution, those who want to have their allegiance somewhere outside with foreigners, they are not people who can have any sympathy and I shall urge upon this Government that due notice shall have to be taken of those people who are anti-national. These parties should be asked as to what is going to be their behaviour. If their behaviour is in any way going against the interests of the country, that behaviour cannot be tolerated in this country.

I know when I am making this remark, there will be some friends of mine who will come forward and say "Mr. Dharia has gone reactionary." May I make it quite clear that if in opposing attempts to break the democracy and independence of this country, I am to be branded as a reactionary, I am prepared to get myself branded as a reactionary by such type of people who are anti-national. But I hope this House will not misunderstand me. I feel that the time has 6—22 R. S./69

come when everybody, including the Congress Party, should examine the way in which we are going, and the trends that have been created. Are we going to create a Bhasmasur, as was pointed out by Dr. Mahavir ? If the democracy, integrity and unity of this country is to be in danger, should we not think about it seriously ? I am not opposed to trade unions. I can understand even a trade union for policemen. But when we look at the Government services we find that no sooner a party gets political power than it tries to exploit the trade unions or the Government machinery for the purposes of that party and not for the interests of the people at large, not for the interests of the State or the country. Then naturally all these developments follow. I fail to understand why, when the policemen were marching towards the Secretariat and when the Government was aware of it, due care was not taken of the Assembly Hall itself. They cannot possibly say that it was never expected. I feel that either the Government has failed in its duties or there must be some ulterior motive behind this mischief. I do not know what is that mischief. Perhaps they wanted the police to be condemned so that the goondas or the Mao's Sena or the Joti Basu Sena could be benefited. I am not aware of this and I do not want to make any charges or allegations. It is for us to search our hearts. Should we protect our democracy in this way ? Should we protect our independence in this way ? I can understand the urge of the people for greater economic and social transformation in this country with greater speed and for economic and social justice. I do realise that and if there is a mobilisation of people from that point of view, nobody can say that they are anti-national. In fact, such mobilisation of the people becomes absolutely necessary in this country in view of the strength of the monopolists here. And if for taking care of that strength, for destroying that strength, some mobilisation is made, there is nothing wrong in it. But while doing it, should we forget that the Government is an effective instrument for social and economic transformation in this country ? It is not an instrument to wreck the democracy of the country. Is it to be used to break the mechanism of parliamentary democracy in this country ? It is in this context that I would like to request my Communist friends to ponder over this point. I do not want to condemn anybody because by condemning anybody we are not going to gain anything. If they want that the progressive

[Shv. M. M. Dharia] forces of this country should rally round—we see the danger of the reactionary forces coming together—then let not my Communist friends forget that the progressive forces can rally round provided they are prepared to have their loyalties to our Constitution and to this country. But if they want to exploit the situation for their extra-territorial loyalties, it will not be tolerated. The Constitution of this country and the democracy of this country shall be protected at any cost. It is in this context that I would request my Communist friends who are defending Mr. Basu and others to think about it. If these incidents had taken place where a Congress Government had been in power, there would have been a demand for the dismissal of that Government; this would have been a demand for the dismissal of the Home Minister. But here my Communist friends are absolutely quiet.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : People will be rallying to-day in the Calcutta Maidan to extend their support and solidarity to the U.F. Government.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, when there were riots in Delhi itself, was it not our friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, who made such a demand ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My friend Mr. Dharia is in some difficulty. It is for the first time that I find an Young Turk has become a Young Chavan.

3 P-M-

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta did make that demand for the resignation of Mr. Chavan, our Home Minister. Why did he do so ? I cannot understand and I fail to realise that... (Interruptions) I would like to tell you and I would call on the Central Government that the reply that was given by the Minister of State the other day was not at all satisfying to us. It is true that they rely on the report received from the State Government which has been legally constituted in the State, but I would like to know from the Minister of State as to what his own department has been doing. If they are not going to be vigilant to the extent that they are in a position to curb the anti-national activities that are taking place and if the Minister is going to sit quiet on this point, I feel that they are all failing in their own duty. In the context we have to examine ourselves

J and see if there are not some friends who are going to support this kind of gharaos and other activities, these Naxalite activities. Let them mend themselves and if they do not mend themselves we should see that they are properly mended.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Before I call the next Member I would request hon. Members to cooperate with the Chair by limiting their remark to ten minutes.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान्, मैं आप के द्वारा यह निवेदन करूँगा कि यदि हमारा बात किसी को कुछ खले तो उस का बुरा न माने। सोचें, मैं किसी का दुश्मन नहीं हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सब से हमारी मित्रता रहे और वह मित्रता इस देश को बनाने में काम आये। इसलिए मैं पहले ही निवेदन कर देता हूँ :

"Mr. Jyoti Basu who holds the Home portfolio said there was no doubt of an administrative failure; otherwise; the incident could not have taken place."

यह 'पैट्रियट' है आज का। यह ज्योति बसु साहब का कल का बयान है। आप हम सब को छोड़ दें, अगर इतना ही बयान ले लें तो क्या यह बयान काफी नहीं है इस बात को साबित करने के लिए कि श्री ज्योति बसु घर विभाग को सम्हालने की योग्यता नहीं रखते ? यह दूसरे की बात नहीं है, यह श्री ज्योति बसु की बात है। उन्होंने कहा है, फिर सुन लीजिए :

"Mr. Jyoti Basu who holds the Home portfolio said there was no doubt of an administrative failure; otherwise, the incidents could not have taken place."

तो जो घर मंत्री प्रशासनिक नाकामयाबी को स्वयं कबूल करता है अगर उस की बुद्धि जनतंत्री है, उस का व्यवहार जनतांत्रिक है तो उस को प्रथम ही इस्तीफा दे देना चाहिए था। मैं आज भी कहना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री से कि अगर पश्चिमी बंगाल को वह सम्हालना चाहते हैं तो ज्योति बसु को कोई दूसरा पोर्टफोलियो दें और घर विभाग अपने पास या किसी ऐसे व्यक्ति के हाथ में

दें जो कि इस किस्म की गलती न करे कि एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव फेल्योर को स्वीकार करे और श्रीमान्, चूंकि कल हम ने सदन को वचन दिया था कि हम आज बहस चाहते हैं ताकि हम कुछ और जानकारी करा पायें उस के अनुसार मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि श्री रामानन्द तिवारी, जो बिहार के घर मंत्री थे, श्री रामानन्द तिवारी, जिन्होंने 1946 में बिहार के पुलिस विद्रोह का नेतृत्व किया था और 1947 के मार्च में कुशल हड़ताल कराया था, जिस में गांधी जी तक को पड़ना पड़ा था, उन रामानन्द तिवारी जो का टेलीफोनिक मैसेज आया है कलकत्ता से, जिस को अभी जार्ज फरनेन्डीज साहब ने लिख कर भेजा है, मैं उस को पढ़ देता हूं। वह इस प्रकार है :—

‘बंगाल में एक पुलिस यूनियन थी पर उस के विरोध में एक और यूनियन श्री ज्योति बसु बना रहे हैं। घटना के दिवस जो जलूस निकला वह राइटर बिल्डिंग जा रहा था जब सी० पी० आई० एम० वालों की यूनियन के लोगों ने उन्हें कौंसिल हाल की तरफ जाने को प्रोत्साहन दिया। कौंसिल हाल पर हमला करने के लिए सी० पी० आई० एम० यूनियन वालों का ही हाथ रहा लेकिन उन के किसी भी आदमी पर कोई कानूनी कार्यवाही नहीं की गयी है। जो पुरानी एसोशियेशन है उस के प्रमुख प्रमुख लोगों को अब काम से निकालने का प्रयास हो रहा है। यही लोग निकाले गये हैं और जो घुसे थे सदन में उन के विरुद्ध कार्यवाही नहीं हुई है।’

मैं इस को छोड़ देता हूं और सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों से कहता हूं कि श्री रामानन्द तिवारी एक जिम्मेदार व्यक्ति हैं। बंगाल के बहुत से पुलिस के जवानों से उन का साक्षात् है, उनका परिचय है और वह जा कर फोन किये हैं श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त के घर से। उनका कलकत्ते में घर है। श्रीमान्, टेलीफोन की जो और बातें मुझे बतायी गयीं उन में यह भी है कि ज्योति बसु ने माना है कि उन को जानकारी थी कि प्रोसेशन आ रहा है। ज्योति बसु और

मुख्य मंत्री माला ले कर रखे थे और वह चाहते थे कि प्रोसेशन आये और उन को माला पहनाये। उन्होंने कहा है कि जिस ढंग से पुलिस को हत्या हुई उस की वह भत्सर्ना करते हैं और किस ढंग से उन्होंने बताया कि जब उस को गोली पैर में लगी और वह गिर गया तो सी० पी० आई० एम० के लोग, 16 आदमी माला ले कर उस को गोदे हैं, उसका कान काटा है, नाक काटी है, उसकी शकल को विकृत किया है और वे उसे प्रोसेशन में ले कर आ रहे थे। तो ज्योति बसु चाहते थे कि वह प्रदर्शन आये। इस से इस बात को हम सिद्ध करते हैं कि ज्योति बसु की जानकारी में यह बात थी कि प्रदर्शन आ रहा है। उस का स्वागत करने के लिए ज्योति बसु तैयार थे। मगर उन्होंने जो यूनियन बनायी उस में मुश्किल से 25, 30 आदमी हैं। पुरानी पुलिस को जो यूनियन है वह झुकी नहीं, उस में से लोग गये नहीं। तो यह 25, 30 आदमी उन के प्रदर्शन में घुस गये और क्रान्तिकारिता दिखाने के लिये उन्होंने कहा कि चलो, पकड़ो ज्योति बसु को, और ‘ज्योति बसु को पकड़ो’ यह नारा दे कर सी० पी० आई० एम० के जवानों ने उन को प्रोत्साहित किया और वही जवान ज्योति बसु के सामने जा कर हाथ जोड़े हैं। कारण क्या है? जो प्रदर्शनकारी ज्योति बसु को पकड़ो की आवाज बुलन्द करे और यह धारण बना कर जाय वह ज्योति बसु के सामने जा कर हाथ जोड़ दे। इस का कारण यह है कि वे सी० पी० आई० एम० के लोग थे जिन्होंने श्री ज्योति बसु को मारने का हल्ला किया और सामने जाकर झुक गये।

वास्तव में यह ला एण्ड आर्डर का सवाल नहीं है। यह सवाल राजनीतिक है। आप लोग मुगलते में न रहियेगा कि यह बंगाल के ला एंड आर्डर का सवाल है। यह पूरा राजनीति का प्रश्न है और मैं अपने मित्र श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी को, जो कि अभी राजनीति में कुछ ही वर्ष हुए आये हैं और अपने मित्र भूपेश जी से भी कहना चाहता हूं कि वे याद करें 1948 को 19, 20 और 21 मार्च। यह

[श्री राजनारायण]

वें दिन हैं कि जब सोशलिस्ट पार्टी कांग्रेस को छोड़ कर जा रही थी और इन दिनों में हम ने एक प्रस्ताव पास किया था। आप देख कि वह क्या है :

"The liberty of the citizen is a cardinal feature of a democratic State. This liberty can only be claimed by those who have no extra-territorial loyalties. Any abuse of that liberty to defeat the democratic basis, or destroy it, can never be permitted nor can the claim to enjoy the privileges of democracy ever be conceded to those who employ terrorist, fascist or totalitarian methods."

श्रीमन्, सोशलिस्ट पार्टी इस प्रस्ताव को पास कर के कांग्रेस से हटी थी। मगर मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ, अपने कांग्रेसी बंधुओं से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या कांग्रेसी कूड़े पर कम्युनिस्टों कीड़ा नहीं पला। कांग्रेसी कूड़े पर कम्युनिस्टों कीड़ा पला है, इसलिये कांग्रेस के लोग सावधान हो जायें। आज कांग्रेस की पश्चिमी बंगाल में हिम्मत नहीं है कि कांग्रेस कोई षडयंत्र कर सके। जो लोग कांग्रेस के षडयंत्र करने की बात करते हैं वे भुगालते में हैं। वहाँ की कांग्रेस मर गई है। उनके अन्दर हिम्मत नहीं है। उनके अन्दर शक्ति नहीं है, उनके अन्दर क्षमता नहीं है कि वह कोई षडयंत्र कर सकें।

श्री आर० एस० दुग्गः : ऐसा नहीं है।

श्री राजनारायण : अगर आप चाहते हैं कि इस प्रकार की राजनीति से इस देश का उद्धार हो तो मैं आज न्याता देता हूँ, ए प्रगतिशील कांग्रेस के लोग, कांग्रेस में रह कर कांग्रेस की पीठ में छुरा न भोंको, कांग्रेस से अलग हो जाओ, पार्टी तुम्हारे लिये बनी हुई है संसोपा संसोपा में जाओ, शामिल हों। और मैं अपने मित्र भूपेश गुप्त से कहना चाहता हूँ...

श्री चन्द्रशेखर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मेंटल असाइलम बना हुआ है।

श्री शीलमद्र याजी (बिहार) : मेंटल असाइलम में चले जायें।

श्री राजनारायण : . . . श्रीमन्, मैं भूपेश गुप्ता से कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक बार हमने डेफिनिशन की थी, एक बार हमने परिभाषा की थी, तो मैं श्री भूपेश गुप्ता से अदब के साथ पूछना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि मैं इनसे दिल मिला कर और दिमाग मिला कर रहना चाहता हूँ कि हम उसी परिभाषा पर क्या फिर आयें। हमें उस परिभाषा पर नहीं आना चाहिये, हम उसमें परिमार्जन करना चाहते हैं, उसमें परिवर्धन करना चाहते हैं। हमने समाजवाद की अवस्था की उस वक्त परिभाषा की, समाजवाद बराबर है : साम्यवाद ऋण स्वतंत्रता ऋण जनतन्त्र घन गृहयुद्ध घन अधिनायकशाही।

Socialism is equal to Communism minus freedom, minus democracy plus civil war plus dictatorship.

इसलिये क्या इसी परिभाषा पर हमको फिर आना पड़ेगा। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि तेलंगाना, तुमके ज्यादा फायदा नहीं दे सका, तेलंगाना फायदा नहीं दे सका और पश्चिमी बंगाल को जो आज स्थिति की जा रही है, राजनैतिक उद्देश्यों को लेकर जो आज वहाँ के तमाम वर्गों में षडयंत्र रचा जा रहा है उसका एक नतीजा भुगतना होगा। आज भारतवर्ष की जनतन्त्रीय पद्धति और जनतन्त्रीय प्रणाली मैं कहना चाहूंगा, इतनी कुंठित नहीं है कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की इस टेररिस्ट मेथड के सामने अपनी गर्दन झुका दे। हम मरना जानते हैं, हमने अंग्रेजों से लोहा लिया, हमने कम्युनिस्टों से भी लोहा लिया है उस समय जब कि श्री पी० सी० जोशी ने बापू के नाम वह खत लिखा था कि बापू, आपके इकलौते पुत्र तो हमही हैं, 1942 में हमने साथ दिया, सोशलिस्टों ने नहीं दिया, इन्होंने तोड़फोड़ की और इन्होंने सारी खुराफात की, इसलिये मुझ को कांग्रेस से निकालने की कोशिशें नहीं होनी चाहिये। पुराने इतिहास को याद करो। History should not repeat itself; it should march on.

इतिहास को पुनरावृत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये, इतिहास में प्रगति होनी चाहिये, विकास होना चाहिये। इसलिये, श्रीमन्, मैं भूपेश गुप्ता जी से कहना चाहूंगा कि इनको क्यों एतराज है कि एक पार्लियामेंटरी डेलिगेशन चले, भूपेश जी चले और अगर बाकायदा डेलिगेशन चले तो मैं इनको न्योता देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इनके साथ चलने के लिये तैयार हूँ, लोक सभा से लोग चले, क्योंकि सच बात जो है वह खल कर रहेगो, वह इधर उधर छिपा नहीं सकते हैं। इसलिये सच्चाई पर पर्दा न डाला जाय, जो स्थिति है उसका सामना किया जाय। और यह स्थिति है। क्योंकि बंगाल की जो पुलिस फोर्स है उसको ज्योति बसु ने बहुत मेहनत कर के, कोशिश कर के, उस विभाग को अपने हाथ में लिया, इसलिये कि उस पुलिस फोर्स को रिप्लेस करें और उसमें जो कम्युनिस्ट दिमाग के लोग हैं उनका बोलबाला करायें। एक बड़ी चीज हो रही है। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारे संविधान के अनुसार संसद है, असेम्बलियां हैं, संविधान के अनुसार हर राज्य में एक विधान सभा है, तो उस विधान सभा को चलने में क्या इस पड़यंत्र से हम बाधा उत्पन्न होने दें, क्या यह हमारी जनतंत्रों बुद्धि है। मैं बिना हिचक के जिस ढंग से पुलिस का प्रवेश सदन में हुआ उसकी भर्त्सना करता हूँ, कड़े शब्दों में भर्त्सना करता हूँ। वहां उनको हाजिर नहीं जाना चाहिये था चाहे वामपंथी कम्युनिस्टों ने उनको कितना ही उकसाया हो और कितना ही उनको प्रेरित किया हो। उनको समझना चाहिये था कि वह किस पवित्र मंदिर में जा रहे हैं, किस पवित्र मंदिर में जा कर उसको दूषित करने का प्रयास हो रहा है। उन्होंने नहीं समझा, उनकी बुद्धि दूषित हुई इसलिये उनकी जितनी भी भर्त्सना को जाय सदन में प्रवेश करने के लिये वह थोड़ी है। (समय को घंटी) मगर जिस शक्ति ने उनको प्रभावित किया, उनको प्रेरित किया उसकी भी बड़ी से बड़ी निन्दा होनी चाहिये और उस शक्ति को कुचलने के लिये, उसका दमन करने के लिये आज देश की जनतंत्रों बुद्धि,

प्रजातंत्रीय शक्ति, जनतंत्रीय शक्ति जागेंगे यह हमारा विश्वास है। इसलिये श्रीमन्, मैं चाहता हूँ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : श्रीमन्, आपका समय हो गया।

श्री राजनारायण : हमारा समय हो गया क्यों आप कहते हैं। श्रीमन्, मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि इस सदन के हमारे सभी लोग दुनिया में चाहे वह इंडोनेशिया रहा हो, चाहे वह मलेशिया रहा हो, चाहे वह बर्मा रहा हो जितने भी मुल्क हैं उसके कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के इतिहास को पढ़ें कि किस तरह से उन्होंने वहां गृहयुद्ध को उभाड़ा। मैं आपके द्वार इनसे हाथ जोड़ कर विनती करता हूँ कि हे भाई, भारतवर्ष को अपना मानों, इसको गृहयुद्ध की अग्नि की ज्वाला में जोंको मत। मेरा इतना ही निवेदन है। धन्यवाद।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : श्रुतिया।

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, July 31st was the darkest day for pailimentary democracy in India. One could hardly find a parallel excepting when one goes through the British Parliamentary history when Cromwell rode at the head of his troops into the Parliament and evicted those people inside out of it. Are we heading towards that ? What the Police did in the West Bengel Assemy is really the most condemnablc thing that in any parliamentary democracy a citizen of that country can witness. What we have achieved in parliamertary democracy, in getting this institution is the culmination of the struggle of the people for centuries and if this parliamentary democracy cannot function, that will be a very dark day. So I can hardly find words to condemn those policemen, those persons who organised this, those people who got madness in their minds to go to the Assemy, wreck the Chamber, attacked the Ministers and the Members there. I feel it is a day which if not propeily looked at, if not properly gone into, may be repeated everywhere else. It has two sides and that should be looked into very carefullly, very calmly and not with anger or any

[Shri Krishan Kant] other thing. So the main thing is, while condemning all that, we have to see why all that happened. I do not want to say anything on my part, whether the U.F. Government was behaving in a good way or bad way. I would like to say nothing that may in any way estrange our relations with them but I would quote the words of the constituents of the U.F. Government themselves. Mr. Jyoti Basu, while speaking on the demands of the Police, in the Assembly, said :

"Internal dissensions among the U.F. constituents are reflected in outward events and these make things difficult for the Police."

I am not saying this. It is Mr. Jyoti Basu, the Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal who fought in the U.F. to get the Home portfolio—and you know for so many days the Ministry could not be formed because he wanted the Home portfolio—who himself admitted this in the Assembly while speaking on the Budget 'demands of the Department of Police. What happened after that ? For example, I may recollect that it was 15 years back that Dr. B. C. Roy dismissed about 200 police-men for taking illegal action and going on hunger strike. What did Mr. Basu do ? He took out that dusty file from the desk, reviewed to the cases and reinstated those policemen. The idea was to create a section or organisation among the policemen who could be more loyal to this Party than to the other parties. Not only that, Mr. Prabodh Purkayastha, one of the Members of the Socialist Unity Centre admitted publicly that the C.P. (M) is dividing the Police politically for their ends. I am not saying this ; it is the Socialist Unity Centre representative, Mr. Prabodh Purkait, who is saying all these things. So what is happening is that sometimes the police remains divided ; those constables, those police officers, to whom Mr. Jyoti Basu gives protection, they try to side with the workers of the C.P.(M) in their clashes in the different villages, in the cities and towns. This sort of a new situation is being created and all these things are being done. Then, Mr. Promodh Das Gupta, in order to divert attention, said that if the Central Government began interfering with the affairs of the State, they would have an indefinite strike in West Bengal. And what has the Central Government been doing ? The Central Government has not done anything. As a matter of fact.

they are more cautious than necessary. as far as West Bengal under the United Front Government is concerned.

Here is another thing. Mr. Sushil Dhara when he was asked what did he say ? He said, "If this situation of *gherao* continue this Government of the United Front cannot last more than seven to eight months. I am not saying this. No member of the Congress Party is saying this. It is Mr. Sushil Dhara who is saying this.

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So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the question here is this. What is being done is that they want to foist a conspiracy on the Centre and on others, Congressmen. But it is their internal conspiracy which has worked against themselves and created this situation. There is no desire on our part to do anything to the contrary because we want the Communist party to function as democratic party and work the Constitution properly. We do not want as some people have suggested—that President's rule should be imposed there, that the Government there should be dismissed. On the other hand, we want them to function because, by functioning in the Government, they will know what are the compulsions of the situation, what are the compulsions of democratic functioning, and after functioning in a democratic Government they will understand things and they will come round to working the Constitution, or changing the Constitution in a proper way so that the people in the country as a whole can reach the ends which we want to achieve. This is what I thought, Mr. Vice-Chairman. But what has happened there is this situation, and it is one which has been created by the conflicting thoughts of the people there. Because the CP(M) thought of wrecking the Constitution, they thought of creating a division among the people, and with a view to wrecking the Constitution they were creating a division among the police. Now, when the police is confused, when the police is divided, the confusion will be greater. With such a division they thought that they might have the chance for creating a civil war. All these things, I think, the conscience of India will not allow. The people in West Bengal, the people in Punjab, the people in U.P. will rise against such a move.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why not the people in Haryana?

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Yes, the people in Haryana as well.

SHRI ABID ALI : The people in West Bengal itself will rise and will not allow this Government to remain there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Order please.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : As I said" the conscience of the people will rise to save the situation of a civil war, which some parties and people want to create. The democratic conscience of the people is stronger and will assert itself, and no such thing will be allowed to take hold of this country.

So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the main question here is that the Government of India and the various administrations in the country and the various people in the country have to consider how the administration, how the Police Department and other Departments have to be administered. Have they to be made tools and pawns of the political parties, or has the administration to be a tool for the social transformation of the people, for the social transformation of the society? It is in this context, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that the whole question has to be looked into. It may be that today, through this manifestation, truth has dawned in Bengal, though it has been a very reprehensible manifestation. I wish it had not happened. But, as -owed the wind, they are reaping the 'hirlwiud. So the whole situation ha, to be looked into. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta . :nd Mr. Jyoti Basu and Mr. Chatterjee have to think why the situation has arisen. Mr. Jyoti Basu has said that a section of the the police had gone out of control. Is it not failure of the Administration? It means be could not create confidence among the p>lice in West Bengal. A Minister, who cannot creat econfidence in his subordinates, in the administration as a whole, is ho worth remaining a Minuter? He says, "I will throw them off." And what he says? He, Mr. Jyoti Basu, threatened to build up a people's force from thousands of politically conscious youths. But is he sure that he will be able to control them when they come into the police ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Krishan Kant, I am unable to control the clock also.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, this situation which has aiset, it has to be looked into from the broader perspective of the functioning of democracy in this country, and I hope our friends on this side and that side will think

over the matter calmly and take to proper methods For the working of the Constitution and administration of this country which will lead us to a smooth working of our democratic system in which problems can be solved and the objective of social transformation, which is common to all of us, achieved.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, last Thursday the dead body of a policeman was carried in a procession to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on the ostensible ground of mourning the death of one of their fellow policemen. But ihe purpose was to carry on an attack on ihe Legislative Assembly including the Chamber which we are discussing here now. In the same way, some hon. Members have condemned or pretended to have condemned the action of the policemen, at the same time utilising the occasion for debate to run down and denounce and defame the popular United Front Ministry in West Bengal.

SHRI N, SRI RAMA REDDY(Mysore): Rightly so.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The technique is the same.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta should not forget that he does the same when he criticises other Congress (co e*nments.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : So tha mourning became the funeral procession became, a cover, a calculated cover for cowardly, shameless and cruel attack on that parliamentary institution. And now here, in the name of condemning and criticising vo y generously the action of the police, this has been made an occasion for again attacking in most uncharitable, and malicious terms—if I may say so—the United Front Government of West Bengal. Mr. Vice- Chairman, let the dogs of reaction bark, but the caravan shall go on and pass.

(Interruptions)

Now let me come to the incident which is the subject matter of the discussion. My friend, Mr. Rajnarain, has come. I must confess that I cannot catch up with his knowledge of socialism. I am poor in quality and in knowledge in such matters. Therefore, I shall not enter into a debate with my friend. In anyevent, I never enter into con-tro versy or debate with the parties of the Left and democratic Opposition. This has

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

become a part of my life. I consider it to be very unhappy moment in my parliamentary career when I find myself in a controversy with my comrades and allies of the United Front, both potential and actual. But surely others will have to bear with me if I return a few things to them.

I heard Mr. Dharia. Mr. Dharia, I thought, was a Young Turk. I was hearing the voice of the Cinderella Chavan, our young Chavan, as I said. It is a good thing sometimes to be a young Chavan because it seems that in some quarters it pays to be a young Chavan rather than be a Young Turk.

Now, as far as my friends of the Swatantra Party and Jana Sangh are concerned, I need not say much. They will attack; it is quite clear and we take it as a tribute. When the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party attack the United Front Government we feel that we are on the right track, that we are serving the people, that we are giving blows at the vested interests and we are standing by the working class; and the toiling masses of the country. Therefore, I am grateful to them for their denouncing them because that is the most wholesome tribute to the Government of West Bengal. So why should I quarrel with them? That is the hallmark of our *bona fides* and credentials, that we are on the right path, that we are serving the people, that we have caused annoyance to the vested interests and right reactionaries in the country, is a matter of satisfaction for us and not of anger. That is what I would say. That is how I would dispose of them.

Now, I do not want to say anything about Mr. Doogar. He is in agony; he is in distress because after all the Congress has faded out of West Bengal. I do not know if there is any possibility of retrieving it. You cannot send Mr. Nijalingappa, nor can you send Mr. Chavan there to retrieve it. If all of them go nothing will happen; in fact they will be finished also.

LHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : They will be finished if they go there ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : They will be finished by your own party; finished politically. Where is Mr. Atulya Ghosh now? Mr. Atulya Ghosh has become a refugee in Jantar Mantar Road. We never hear of Mr. Atulya Ghosh in Bengal. In fact we accuse you of stealing away a child of West Bengal in this manner.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, this incident is serious. I would now ask hon. Members to consider it a little dispassionately. I know that many of you have grievances against us; it is bound to be there. We are in the United Front; some of you are opposed to that Government. It is understandable that you have opposition to the United Front Government and that you will bear grievances against us. It is also understandable you will attack us whenever you get a chance. I also do the same thing; I attack the Government here. I can understand that but the issue is something entirely different here.

Since the commencement of the Constitution the country has passed through many a turmoil, many incidents, many disturbances, many outbursts, and many actions of all kinds, some of which some people have condemned but never have we had any incident of this kind where Mime rowdy policemen forcibly entered the Assembly Chamber, beat up the Members there, attacked the Speaker and went after the Ministers to assault them, broke up the microphone, threw things away and then shouted anti-Government slogans. Such an unprecedented incident taken place in the country it deserves not only to be condemned but also at the same time seriously gone into. Members must ponder, what is the cause of all this. Members must ponder what will happen if we do not stop this. Suppose the military had some grievances against some party—some discontent. The military is much more powerful; and suppose the military decides to march up to the Parliament gates and enter the Chamber of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha and beat up the hon. Members, where do we go? I should like to know; what happens to the Constitution? What happens to democracy?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : What about the people?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You don't talk about the people. I ask, what happens in such a case? Here I hope they have not got the taste of blood. I say this is how parliamentary institutions have been subverted and ruined, and I never saw one Member describing it as an act of wrecking the Constitution. They talk about Mr. Gopalan's so-called statement, about some of the things that have been attributed to him but contradicted by Mr. Gopalan himself, and of wrecking the Constitution. But here was

ghastly, diabolic demonstration aided by some conspirators of physically wrecking the Constitution and committing rape in the very temple of the Constitution, namely, the legislature and I find my friends opposite attack the West Bengal Government and demand Mr. Jyoti Basu's resignation. Wonderful way of showing respect to parliamentary institutions ! Wonderful way of upholding the Constitution! Wonderful way of expressing regret over aa incident! Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will be surprised to hear . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Your *gheraos* have been responsible for this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We say, we do maintain that there is a conspiracy belund it. Forty thousand policemen are there in Calcutta; why should I blame all of them? Only a TOO or *so* entered the Assembly; a few thousands were outs'dc in the procession. AH of them did not enter. These people were the storm troopers, people who had fallen into the hands of the conspirators. Mr. Vice-Chairman it is a well-known fact that Mr. Upa-nand Mukherjee when he was Inspector-General of Police was conspiring along with Mr. Dharma Vira against the United Front Government. He is now ret'ed today. And we have reason to believe that he and his *men* have got their finger on some sections of the policemen. Mr. Vice-Chairman, who can deny—it is also known now to all—that when the procession was in Alipore the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA (Uttar Pradesh): Wiat was the police doing there then?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let me talk about the Congress. The West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee and the West Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party laid wreaths on the dead body of the policeman. (Interruptions) I am not objecting to it; but never in the past twenty years of Congress rule did the Congress Parliamentary Party or the Pradesh Congress Committee go out to lay wreath on the dead body of a policeman. Policemen were killed before also.

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you know Mr. Jyoti Basu himself was to go to the cremation ground.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am coming to that. He said he was waiting himself but it was interesting to find the Congress Opposition for the first time in their life laying wreath . . .

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR : This is also the first time that a policeman has been killed like this.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, am I allowed to unveil the conspiracy or not? If they want to ask anything I would welcome it. I know why they do this. The trouble is for twenty years they had never done such a thing. And as the procession came to the Assembly, Miss Abha Maity M.L.A. and Mr. Nepal Roy M.L.A., the lieutenant of Mr. Atulya Ghosh addressed the policemen and it is quite clear. . .

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You may say no; but Miss Abha Maity even went to Mr. Jyoti Basu in order to negotiate on behalf of the demonstrating policemen. According to the newspaper reports she made a statement that the policemen had justifiable grievances. Piece them together and you get the nucleus of a cold-blooded, calculated conspiracy. Doff! think that the address was an isolated event; don't think that some policemen suddenly went berserk in that manner. Policemen had not done it in the past and they would not have done it in the present case also but for the fact that they have been goaded into such an action by some people from behind the scenes, and I have no doubt that their names and numbers shall be revealed through the investigation which the Government have instituted into the whole affairs.

(Interruptions)

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR : Miss Maity has denied the allegation. She has issued a statement.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Order please.

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR : I hope a Judge of the Supreme Court will be selected to conduct the investigation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You can make that suggestion. *(Interruptions)* But I think a very fine retired official has been appointed to conduct the investigation. That is our view.

(Interruptions)

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR : Why not a Supreme Court Judge? Why are you afraid of it ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : May I appeal to the hon. Members to be quiet? Let us hear him. You will have your chance to speak.

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR : There should be a judicial enquiry.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : This is double talk and double standard ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Chavan's disciple speaking ...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Let him appoint a Supreme Court Judge.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My friends who have not succeeded in getting the Birla Enquiry Commission appointed should wait a little.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : You have not signed it. *(Interruptions)* He has not signed the paper brought by Mr. Madhu Limaye. He is talking here. He has not signed it...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now, he is shouting.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI :... and he is giving us advice on the Birlas.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : At least I should hear what he says. He can have his own opinion about the enquiry. Certainly he can make any suggestion, but I think the decision of the West Bengal Government in the situation is the correct one.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, it is time to wind up.

SHRI A. P. JAIN (Uttar Pradesh) : May I ask you a question ? You have always been pleading for enquiry by Supreme Court Judge. In this particular case what objection have you and why are you not suggesting that there should be a judicial enquiry?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : As far as I gather from the Press, it is a preliminary enquiry. It is not an enquiry under the Commissions of Inquiry Act. It is not that type of enquiry.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Why not ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : As far as I gather...

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR : Nobody will be satisfied with that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : First of all the person who has been appointed, according to the newspaper report, is Mr. R. Gupta, a retired ICS official...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : It will expose you better. That is the logical thing.

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR : Is it not a fact that Mr. Gupta is the Adviser to the United Front Government, yes, adviser to the Deputy Chief Minister, after he had retired ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : All right, he is. I am very glad that you are very sensitive about investigations now. You will have it. Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the investigation has been ordered with a view to finding out the departmental and other things. As far as the Assembly thing is concerned, mind you, it took place in the Assembly Chamber and the Speaker was there and the Speaker was still there in the seat when he adjourned the House. Surely an enquiry into what happened inside the Assembly is not a legal issue at all. Surely, if something happens here, a Committee of the House shall enquire into it. Are you ready for a Committee of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly to enquire into the matter? Are you ready?

(Interruptions)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : We want a judicial enquiry.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Double talk. This is called double talk. Suppose something happens here. Would you ask a Supreme Court Judge to come and enquire into the incident here, or would you ask a Committee of the House to look into it ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : You have double standard. . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You have I not only double standard, but you have multiple standards . . .

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : You have not signed the Birla paper. Sign the Birla paper and bring it here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I can tell my Maharashtrian co-operator friend, he had better co-operate with me in proceeding with this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, may I appeal to you to co-operate with me? You have taken more than seventeen minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes, I have, but count how much time has been taken away by interruptions. Nothing is left for me. In fact, I have been asked only to answer questions. (*Interruption*) I am very glad that a feminine voice is being heard here again. Mr. Vice-Chairman, manly voice has completely upset me and feminine voice will certainly overwhelm me. Now, let me proceed. You are right and I] must finish. I do not wish to take much time.

My friend, Mr. Rajnarain, is here. He has even demanded Mr. Jyoti Basu's removal.

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Please continue and finish.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He demanded Mr. Jyoti Basu's removal as Minister.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : He has himself said it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Surely Mr. Rajnarain is right in the sense that something happened and it is surprising that the procession could come from that place to the Assembly in a period of a few hours, two or three hours, and the Calcutta police did not know it. We should like to know it. I am also interested in that.

AN HON. MEMBER : Good.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are right. You have very few quotations and when you give a quotation generally the quotation is right. I am not questioning that. Between 12 and 4 the thing was going on. The procession was coming and the Calcutta police or others seemed not to know it. Surely this has to be gone into.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : It is time, please wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am finishing. But I was a little shocked when my friend suggested that Mr. Jyoti Basu should give up the portfolio of Home Ministry. He also in that connection brought in various names of persons for whom I have got very high regard. He mentioned Mr. Ramanand Tiwari. May I tell him with all respect that when the Ranchi riots took place in 1967, Mr. Ramanand Tiwari was the Police Minister? Neither he nor I demanded the resignation of Mr. Ramanand Tiwari.

श्री राजनारायण : श्री रामानंद तिवारी ने खद अपने को झोंका था ।
Mr. Ramanand Tiwari went there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I may tell you that I am not scoring a debating point but he was right in not demanding his resignation and I was also right because Mr. Ramanand Tiwari was not at fault at all. It was a conspiracy against the UF Government and Mr. Ramanand Tiwari himself was a target of that conspiracy. Why should he resign? Mr. Jyoti Basu deserves the congratulations of the whole country for the manner in which he and the UF Government have stood the attack or the assault on the Legislative Assembly.

I should like now to finish by saying only one word, finally. Well, friends on the other side may seek to secure one or two debating points in assaulting and attacking the West Bengal Government which has become a pastime with many of them, but the issue is much graver. Even if you condemn the West Bengal Government for doing all kinds of things or for not doing certain things, we think that the West Bengal Government is absolutely in the right. Now, as far as the grievance of the police is concerned, you will be surprised to hear that the West Bengal Government is attending to the grievance of the police. Can you think of the Home Minister of a Congress Government in the country in a comparable situation, who will not order force to be used against the invading policemen? Can you imagine, in a comparable situation, when the Home Minister took the policemen by hand to show in the Assembly House as to what they had done? Many of the policemen expressed regret and apologised. That is how the UF Government behaved, a politically superior behaviour, even when faced with a conspiratorial invasion. The policemen

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

are the unfortunate tools in the hands of some diabolical conspirators who will not rest till they unseat the UF Government.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : That will do.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Therefore, we look upon it not merely as a conspiracy against the United Front Government of West Bengal. It should be looked upon as a far deeper conspiracy of the top reactionary forces against parliamentary institutions to enter the House of Parliament to launch an attack on the legislators. It was a barbaric attack. It was an act of barbarism. It brings to the notice of the nation certain forebodings for the future. There are the people being organised and instigated to subvert the Constitution at the very temple of democracy. They are to be dealt with sternly.

I do hope the West Bengal Government relying on the support and sympathy of the entire people and their affection which the Government is receiving in an abundant measure will get hold of the instigators and inspirers of the policemen who have behaved in that manner.... (*Interruption*) Those who are sitting in high places, in the Government, must be exposed before the nation. , Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is not a small thing. My Congress friends have a queer idea, a frivolous idea of parliamentary democracy. I think if any party is to be held responsible for inspiring and organising the conspiracy in West Bengal, it is the Congress Party and no other party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Will you resume your seat?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I express my horror and shame, I express my indignation, I express my abhorrence at the behaviour of the policemen. Open mutiny, open rebellion—almost they attempted it. Fortunately enough it has been quelled. Today as we are discussing here, in the Calcutta Maidan hundreds and thousands of people will be meeting to express the popular feeling about the diabolic action, and I do hope that the Congress Members do realise the danger

which is lurking in front of us instigated and inspired by certain vested interests and reactionaries; otherwise it will not be long before we are overwhelmed in the very seat of our authority and power, in the parliamentary institution itself, by those forces.

One final word. I do hope the House will...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : How many final words?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The voice of the House must go to the side of the West Bengal United Front Ministry. Glory to the United Front Ministry for the manner in which they have faced the challenge and dealt with it.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I want to ask you

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : What is this? Please sit down. May I appeal to the hon. Members not to be led away by sentiments but conduct our proceedings in a graceful manner? I would again appeal to the Members to co-operate with the Chair and limit their remarks to ten minutes. Dr. Chatterjee.

DR. DEBIPROSAD CHATTOPADHAYAYA (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chair-man, the oratory of Mr. Bhupesh was inversely related to its reasoning. I was most impressed by what he said not because it was unreasoned but because it was inversely related to his oratory. I have heard much of him, but I am sorry that I have to say that his oratory was inversely related to his reasoning. The first thing should be said first while the second thing should not go unsaid. The first thing is what happened in the West Bengal Assembly is a matter of shame for all concerned, concerned with the fortunes, character and future of democracy. In this respect there is no difference of opinion, I hope there should not be at least any difference of opinion, between the different parties. I condemn, and I do it unequivocally, the forcible entry of the police force within the precincts of that symbol of democracy in West Bengal. There should not be any half-heartedness in this condemnation, because the Assembly is the symbol of democracy. It is the sanctity and th*

dignity of the House that should be upheld by all concerned. Since those policemen, even though small in number, have done a dastardly bad thing, we should be very firm in our condemnation of the same. This is the first thing. So it should be said first and it should be said with careful emphasis but not without going into the second thing. We should not conveniently separate the issues which are historically and factually inseparable. So, it is no use condemning the police without seeing the thing in its proper perspective and against the appropriate background.

When I was listening to some of the good things, I repeat some of the good things, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta was alluding to, I was surprised at his very careful omission of some other things, I mean the things which led to the unfortunate incidents, and I was shocked that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and his friends, who were so concerned with the character and future of democracy, could conveniently forget and overlook all those background but very grave issues, I mean the circumstances which led to these very unfortunate and condemnable incidents. We know that we are talking of a very serious issue, rather a very delicate issue, because it falls under the sphere of the State Government. It is an issue of law and order. But we are also very much aware that what happened in West Bengal is in a way concerned with the very character of democracy of the nation as a whole. That is why we are discussing it here in this House. So, it is why we believe that a particular Government, as for example the United Front Government in West Bengal, has every right—and we do not question it—to give special instructions to the police force to pursue a particular policy of its own—I mean the acquisition of benami land, and in the distribution of that land the United Front Government has a particular policy. We have no quarrel on the face of it with the policy. But we should go not only into the face of it but deep into it because we have found that in implementing the policy of land distribution the constituents of the United Front are not in agreement. It is not a propaganda made here, it is a matter of record and perusal. Anybody who has taken note of the newspaper reports coming from West Bengal knows—and I came rather late, just last Saturday, and I know—there is a controversy between the constituents of the United Front. There were incidents in

Canning, Pather Pratima, Kultoli and Madhusudanpur. In the last three cases there was quarrel between the SUG and the GPI(M). GPI(M) including Mr. Basu, for whom I have some respect, condemned these things. But again I have to fall back upon that much talked of double standard. In the case of Madhusudanpur because of the fact that his party men were involved he did not condemn the violent mob behaviour. We understand that we may not go that far as Mr. Gupta can easily, go, revolution. But revolution should not be confused with populism, because if you raise a Frankenstein, it may do harm to you if not today at least tomorrow. Yes, we agree with him and many of the Opposition friends that Mr. Chavan did the right thing with the policemen and we also think that the Congress Government did the right thing some decades ago in punishing the unruly policemen in West Bengal. We appreciate when Mr. Jyoti Basu decides to punish the law-breakers who are supposed to uphold the rule of law. It is not the issue. Rather we take the cue from that issue. Why did it happen? That is the issue, and we say that it is due to a very partisan approach. If it was the approach of the United Front as a whole, we would not have thought of it so seriously; at least personally I would not have criticised it so seriously because a particular Government elected by the people has its right, its accepted policy. But what is happening in West Bengal is not the uniform policy of a particular Government. But it is a push and pull theory of motion put into political practice. Some constituents are pushing this way; some political parties are pulling that way. And the United Front, strictly speaking is a disunited front. So, what is happening is not a criticism of the United Front because I do not know whom to criticise. I say, in some respects, Mr. Jyoti Basu was showing courage in reprimanding them, those policemen. Mr. Jyoti Basu has done the right thing. But he himself did the wrong thing when he approved of the hooligans' attacks and the mobs' attacks on the police. Police is a part of the State agency. It is entrusted with the very difficult task of maintaining law and order. But if the Government, the ruling Government, frequently, conveniently, at the behest of the party leaders and bosses, disown the police force, to whom will the police force look for support? For, over the decades, you have said that the police

[Dr. Debiprosad Chattopadhyaya] are the running dogs of the imperialists—Even after freedom, you have taught the people that this police is very nasty, dirty and it is the bribe-taker from the people. You have created an image of the police. And now what happened? You say that you concede the democratic trade union rights to all sections of the people, to the poor section of the people. In West Bengal, the poor section of the police formed a trade union and you had welcomed it initially. Later on, when you find that the policemen were not obeying all the party mandates, you are angry with them. So, the United Front Government—I should not say it, I should rather say, a dominant partner of the United Front Government, the GPI(M)—is trying now or inspiring, strictly speaking conspiring, to split the police union. Now, you know that in West Bengal many of the constituent parties have themselves split up. The PSP, the SSP, the Bolsheviks, the RGPI, all these parties have split up. And I do not want to refer to that old story of splitting in the GPI movement itself because that will be out of context. I am talking of the United Front Government. So, what is happening is that even the police trade union is now split. At least the CPI(M) is trying to split it. The GPI(M) has sponsored—very small and unimportant of cause—the Howrah Police Union and it is a known fact that there was a split.

Now, we hear a lot of loose talk of conspiracy hatched by the Congress people. But as you know, the Congress Party leaders and the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party have unequivocally condemned this police vandalism right on the day when it happened. Some names have been mentioned in this House; those persons are not present here. They are not here to defend their good name. I do not like to condemn any party of the United Front Government but I must record my protest against the CPI(M) particularly—I cannot say of the United Front Government as a whole—because the CPI(M) is dominating and foisting its will on the other partners; willy-nilly, the other parties are abetting it or conniving with it. And what has happened in West Bengal particularly in this instance is the cumulative effects—not a sporadic event or uncaused or unrelated event—of the misdeeds of the CPI(M). So, instead of loosely talking about conspiracy, if we really mean

business, if we are really interested in the good fortune of democracy, if we want not to be threatened by the armed forces, either military or constabulary, we should go deep into it. They have invited the elder brother of a famous Communist MP to enquire into the incident. Let us be serious about it. We do not like to encroach upon the State Government's powers because it is a State matter but we at least profess that we are concerned with the future of democracy. We do not want this House or any other House to be invaded by the armed forces either police or military. When a concrete suggestion is given by an august body, I think the lovers of democracy—I believe some of the partners of the United Front Government are lovers of democracy—will take the suggestion and it is, let them institute a Commission of Inquiry, not Committee, consisting of one or two or three people, Judges of the Supreme Court or of the High Court and give them wide terms of reference. I do not know whether you have gone into the terms of reference within which Mr. Ranjit Gupta has been asked to inquire. They are very limited. Instead of indulging in loose and unfounded talk of conspiracy, you should go deep into the issue. What has happened is not the result of conspiracy, but the result of double standard of politics, that is preaching democracy but practising wrecking of the Constitution from within.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. A. P. Chatterjee.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Oh! God!

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Mr. Kulkarni must be in a very bad state. He is calling god at the very beginning.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: After all, he is the *chhatrapati* here.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: You can call Mr. Chavan, the modern Shivaji. He can come to your help than God.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Chatterjee, you are wasting your time.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the way in which the debate has been conducted by some Members of the other side is deplorable to say the least. The entire question is one of desecrating the precincts of the Assembly

House and that was because of a band 'of hoodlums who call themselves police- I men. Now, this has been presented to the House by certain Congress Members I as if that was a kind of demonstration for some alleged grievances which they had. This has been presented to the House by certain Congress Members as a question of law and order. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have never heard any more fantastic proposition than has been uttered in this 'House that the desecration of the inside ' of the Assembly must be considered along with the question of the law and order situation in the State of West Bengal. As a matter of fact, this was an attack on parliamentary democracy itself; it was not a question of attack upon the Constitution. It was not a question also of attack on the law and order situation prevailing in that State. It is a question of attack on parliamentary democracy itself because it is the essence of parliamentary democracy; whether we may wreck the present Constitution or not, whether we may amend the present Constitution or not, whether we may overhaul the present Constitution or not, the essence of parliamentary democracy that remains is this. The essence of parliamentary democracy is this that the Members of Parliament or the Members of the Assembly must be allowed to do their deliberations free from any attack by any force outside, free from intrusion of any foreign elements so that their deliberations cannot be interfered with. That is the essence of parliamentary democracy. It was an attack on the essence of parliamentary democracy. But I was amazed and aghast to see that even the 'Young Turks' who have called themselves so long 'Young Turks, who have called themselves so long revolutionaries—of course, yesterday's revolutionaries may often turn into reactionaries—have also linked it up with the question of law and order. This is not a question of law and order. This is a question of attack on the essence of parliamentary democracy. Are we or are we not to tolerate this kind of attack on the precincts of a legislature on the precincts of democracy itself where the elected representatives of the people carry on their deliberations whatever be the position of law

and order outside, however big may be the attack on the police outside, however frustrated the police may be by a particular line of policy? I do not want to enter into such questions as that. Has any band of hoodlums, or a band of hooligans calling themselves policemen as such

or army men calling themselves as such any jurisdiction to intrude into the Assembly and interfere with the work of democracy itself? They have said that it has to be looked in this background. Every one who has spoken from the other side said that this police disturbance has to be looked at in the background of the alleged deteriorating law and order. But as soon as they say that this has to be looked at in the background of deteriorating law and order, immediately they make it a question of law and order. Mr. Vice-Chairman, therefore, as soon as any Congressman or any man in this House makes it a question of law and order, he minimises the situation. He encourages the situation. He abates the situation. It is not a question of law and order. It is a question of the very life and death of parliamentary democracy.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Please examine the policies of your own partymen. Are they not dangerous to the country?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, what I am saying is this. I know better than anybody else what Marxism teaches. I know better than anybody else how far parliamentary democracy can go and what can parliamentary democracy give us. I am not going into that question. What I say is this. We swear by parliamentary democracy. Mr. Dharia swears by parliamentary democracy and yet he tries to justify what he says by bringing in the question of background.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I have condemned the action of the policemen...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : By drawing in the question of law and order you have minimised the entire thing. It is not a question of background analysis.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Chatterjee, you have been emphasising this point too much, that this is not a question of law and order, that this is a question of attack on parliamentary democracy. Will you agree if the Central Government appoints a Commission to go into it, whether it is a question of attack on the fundamentals of parliamentary democracy? Will your party support such a move from the Central Government?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I cannot allow a person to put the cart before the horse. The question of a

[Shri A. P. Chatterjee]

parliamentary Commission can come only when they have sincerely and thoroughly condemned this attack on parliamentary democracy. But if you bring in the question of law and order you speak in two voices and that only shows. . .

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr-Chatterjee, I have never spoken in two voices. But I want to know from you whether you are speaking in two voices. If it is an attack on parliamentary democracy and you sincerely believe it to be so, and you believe that it is not a law and order problem, why should you not agree to a parliamentary commission to go into the whole thing ?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am asked a question...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I know that your brief does not allow all these things.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Sir, I am asked a question which relates to the Centre State relations. Once again these friends of mine are raising a question without bringing in ancillary questions. They want to cloud the entire issue, the Central fact. I am here speaking against clouding the entire issue.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what happened inside the Assembly that day ? I was partly a witness to the incidents there on that very day, the 31st of July 1969, when those hoodlums who call themselves policemen, intruded into the sacred precincts of the Assembly. I was in a chamber just in front of the Assembly. After hearing their shouts I went inside. And, Mr. Vice-Chairman, do you know what slogans they were shouting ? They were not shouting anything about the dead body or the grievances of the policemen, or the humiliation or frustration of which my learned friends are so much eloquent. They were shouting these slogans—"Down with the United Front", "We want the Congress back".

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, no-SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Yes, I have heard it with my own ears. They were shouting, "We want the Congress back", "Down with the United Front Government", "United Front Murdabad". These were the slogans that they were shouting. Mr. Vice-Chairman, this was not a demonstration for supposed grievances. This was a politically-motivated

demonstration and some of us saw that* Congressmen were shaking hands with some of the rowdy policemen who had gone inside.

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR : Story! story?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Not story. I was a witness to all that happened

SHRI DEVI SINGH (Rajasthan): Can you name those Congressmen?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Shrimati Abha Maiti, the lady Congress Member of the Assembly. After addressing these policemen she had the hardihood to come inside the room of Mr. Jyoti Basu, the Deputy Chief Minister and said in an agitated voice, "Come out".

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR : The lady is not present here. He is saying things which are not true. Let him see the statement that she has given.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : She went inside the chamber of Mr. Jyoti Basu and in an agitated voice asked him to come out saying that he must face the angry policemen. Who does not know that Shrimati Abha Maiti, Mr. Nepal Roy and Mr. Nahar were inciting these policemen. They had been behind this demonstration. Some of the Congressmen here have tried to offer apologies on behalf of these hon'ble Members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. An enquiry will bring out all these things. That enquiry is being conducted by the West Bengal Government. The Government of West Bengal knows how and in what manner to conduct the enquiry. They are not to be stampeded into a particular type of enquiry...

SHRI R. S. DOOGAR : No, No. I deny all allegations against my Congress friends.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is the double standard of Mr. Chatterjee. Why does he not agree to a judicial enquiry?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Mr. Dharia is casting a reflection upon the sanctity of parliamentary democracy. {Interruptions} Judiciary is only a limb of the State, as the legislature is, and if he had said that there should be a Commission of the West Bengal Legislature, I can appreciate his

point. But when he says that the judiciary should go and find out what happened in the State Assembly then I will say that it is lack of faith and confidence betrayed by these Young Turks in the legislature itself . . .

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : May I request hon. Members not to speak three at a time but one by one?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I only wanted that what happened in the chamber, what were the reasons for it, everything should be enquired into,

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : The enquiry will be done by the West Bengal legislature. I have faith in parliamentary democracy, I have faith in what the legislatures do.

Mr. Rajnarain talked about Ramanand Tiwary.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : It is time to wind up.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I will ! finish. He referred to Ramanand Tiwary. Now this Ramanand Tiwary, If I am not mistaken, I am told, was Police Minister in Bihar some time back and he is such a person that before his eyes, while he was in Ranchi some time ago there was butchery of the minorities committed, and he did not see that the police forces were properly mobilised to stop that. Now we are not to learn a lesson' from such a person as Ramanand Tiwary.

श्री राजनारायण : श्री रामानन्द तिवारी से क्यों मुकाबला करते हैं। रामानन्द तिवारी तो अकेले चले गये थे पुलिस को भाड़ को चारते हुए जब कि एक हाल में बंद करके वहाँ के लोग उनको कत्ल करने जा रहे थे। तो रामानन्द तिवारी अकेले गया, पुलिस को पोछे घक्का दे कर गया। यह बच्चा है, छोकरा है जो रामानन्द तिवारी को आलोचना कर रहा है।

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is quite unfair on the part of Mr. Chatterjee to condemn Ramanand Tiwary. In the whole United Front Government in Bihar at that time if there was any exemplary Minister who did exemplary work in Ranchi, it was Ramanand Tiwary. (Interruptions) Mr. Chatterjee should learn lessons from a man like Ramanand Tiwary for 50 years.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Jyoti Basu is no comparison to Ramand Tiwary; he is a coward.

श्री राजनारायण : ज्योति बसु तो चुपचाप अपने कमरे में जाकर बैठ गये लेकिन रामानन्द तिवारी तो अकेले वहाँ घटनास्थल पर गये।

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Rajnarain, will you take your seat?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman, my friends were talking of the background. What is really the background? The background is not law and order. The background is this that the United Front Government of West Bengal is a Government of a new type. This Government has been trying to give land to the landless, taking away the land from those landlords who have been grabbing *benami* lands for the last so many years.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, अगर यह ऐसा कहते हैं तो यह बतायें कि किन को ज़मीन छीनी गई और बड़ों की ज़मीन छीन कर कितने छोटों को बांटो गई और वेस्ट बंगाल गवर्नमेंट की हाइवेस्ट यानी मैक्सिमम ज़मीन की सोमा क्या है। अगर वेस्ट बंगाल गवर्नमेंट ने कोई सोमा रखी हो तो बतायें। जब मैक्सिमम सोमा रखी जायेगी तभी तो छीनी जायेगी, जब मैक्सिमम सोमा ही नहीं है तो ज़मीन किसकी छीनी जायेगी।

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Please take your seat, Ms. Rajnarain.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the United Front Government is a Government which has been trying to look to the interests of the toilers and the workers.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Lip sympathy.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : It is a Government which has for the first time given a directive to the police that they must not come out in persecution of the democratic movements of the people, of the peasants and the workers. If the police is frustrated for this reason that they cannot break their lathis upon the heads of the toiling people, well they remain frustrated. We cannot help it. But Mr. Vice-Chairman, because the United Front Government is committed to the interests of the toilers, because the United Front Government is committed to give land to the landless . . .

SHRI BALKRISHNA GUPTA (Bihar) : Why don't you pass a law?

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Gupta, will you please take your seat?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : ... that is why there is a conspiracy ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Please wind you, Mr. Chatterjee.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, यह ऐसा कानून क्यों नहीं बनाते कि 10 एकड़ या 15 एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन किसी के पास नहीं रह जायेगी, बाकी छोन ली जायेगी।

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is a conspiracy to topple the United Front Government and the conspiracy has got instrument"; in the hands of the Abha Maity and others,

SHRI ABID ALI : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the situation in the country to-day is such that every genuine Indian will feel that Mother India is weeping. We are taking some of the remarks here jocularly and the representatives of the Communist Party try just to make out this incident as an attack by some people on the Assembly and so democracy is in danger, from their point of view. But what is

democracy? Democracy has got its pillars. The Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature are the pillars of democracy. The Administration should function, the judiciary should be strong and all the pillars have to be safeguarded. Now, Shri Bhu-esh Gupta, although he claims to be a graduate of Law, to-day completely failed, can understand Mr. Chatterjee, He was trying to be a good lawyer...

AN HON. MEMBER : He is a barrister.

SHRI ABID ALI : I know he is a barrister. He was trying to argue his case but he completely failed. But Mr. Bhupesh Gupta did not even try to argue. He only went on abusing. And Mr. Bhupesh Gupta knows very well that abuse does not argue a case. He put a question to us: Had there been any occasion during the last 20 years when as Congressman had gone and placed flowers on the dead body of a policeman? Yes, I have done it, as an individual, as an office-bearer of the Congress, not once but several times. But can Mr. Bhupesh Gupta or anybody on behalf of the Communist Party tell us whether there had been any occasion when the eyes of a policeman, had been taken out by the people here in independent India, leave aside the British period? The policeman's nose was cut, his ears were cut . . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY : What about iri Chuuru?

SHRI ABID ALI : It is because of that that Mahatma Gandhi suspended the entire movement in the Country.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : C. R. Das condemned it and called it a Himalayan blunder.

SHRI ABID ALI : There is a saying : "Kamsin k:in, abhi aapne dekha kya". (Interruption) You have grown in body, not in mind or intelligence.

I have been very silent here when all these were speaking. I would request you kindly to make them keep quiet and hear me.

What I have been saying is that all this happened in Bengal and now these people want something to be done. Then, let us be content with the inquiry being conducted by the Members of the State Legislature there. But I would ask: What reply have they with regard to what has been happening in Faridpur about

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which our friend, Mr. Doogar, was mentioning? What about the policemen who was murdered there? His dead body was thrown out in a paddy field. What about the RSP people? They organised a big mob and arrested the policemen, kept them under their won custody the whole night, beat them up, murdered them. What about all this happening? Some friends have suggested that it is very good to have a parliamentary committee. But what I would say is that it should be the last thing, not the first. The first thing should be something else. Some people have suggested the dismissal of Mr. Jyoti Basu, but that is not enough. If one Jyoti Basu goes, another Chatterjee will come and that does not satisfy us. That does not meet the requirements of the situation. That is something else. I would be mentioning it presently. Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are three kinds of people the first who learn without losing anything; the second who lose something and learn; and the third who lose and still do not learn anything. Now, in what category is our Government? That is what I wanted to know from them. Now, something has happened in West Bengal which should shock them also. Have you not seen the Socialist Party, the S.S.P.? For Swatantra friends will say that they are reactionary and capitalist people... (*Interruptions*) Our friend, Mr. Chatterjee, says that it was only a point for enquiry—that parliamentary democracy was attacked. He is a barrister. He will accept this. He has argued in courts for some murderers saying that killing is not murdering. So, there are situations sometimes that a person who has killed somebody, is not declared a murderer by the court. There are some situations. There is the situation in West Bengal. Of course, everybody unreservedly, sincerely, earnestly, without any reservation, has condemned his particular incident and has also appealed to the Central Government to take appropriate action. But for all these two-penny half-penny incidents they have been agitating for the appointment of a High Court Judge or a Supreme Court Judge for enquiry and if all these demands for the appointment of High Court Judges and Supreme Court Judges that are coming from the Communist Party were accepted, by this time more than a hundred Supreme Court Judges would have been functioning as enquiry officers. So, my feeling is that there is no question of any enquiry. The time has come for action. He is also against the enquiry.

I am also against the enquiry... (*Interruptions*) There is a division amongst the constituents of the United Front. It is true, but the difference of opinion is not on the ground that what the Bengal Government is doing is right or not, but they feel that the time is not ripe for what they are doing at present. That is all. That is the only difference. So far as anti-national activities are concerned, so far as attempts to organise mobs using democracy to kill democracy are concerned there is no difference of opinion amongst them. Now they have come out openly to say that we will organise the students, we will organise the youth, we will organise the refugees, and we will demoralise the police further, we will attack the police. How many times has it not happened that organised mobs go, arrest the police, attack them and kill them? Now they want that they should go on a much wider scale so that the police should behave in every respect as they have been ordered to, so that they exist for the furtherance of the Communist Party, and not for protecting the people. That has not been even attempted to be denied. That has been sufficiently clear. There was one incident. A Communist leader went inside a police station and asked the police officer to do a particular thing. The officer was sitting and he did not stand up. And he was just slapped within the police station itself, and the police officer could not do anything because up till this time there is not one occasion when the United Front Government...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Name him.

SHRI ABID ALI : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta knows that I do not speak when he is speaking. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, sit down and listen. Your time was over and you spoke. Do not interrupt me. You know that I never give you the floor. You do not deserve it. You are not a democrat. You use this country and this Government which are giving you these constitutional duties, to destroy... (*Interruptions*) Please keep quiet.

What I was mentioning was when these people go and slap the police officers and if the police officers write to the Government, no action is taken against those criminals (*Time bell rings*) I think I should wind up now. I will do so by making a request to you. First I have a suggestion to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. He was very happy sometimes. I reminded him that he should not depend on these small dissensions or

[Shri Abid Ali]

some two or three voices. Do not go hoping that they are with you. Do not hope like that. The Young Turks, by putting their hands on your shoulders and talking to you nicely will never become your friends * *. Do not consider them as your fireinds. I always tell you whenever an occasion may come it would be proved that they are patriots...

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, how are you allowing him to call us * * ?

SHRI ABID ALI : You sit down. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, * *

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, you are allowing him to say all this. * *

SHRI ABID ALI : I did not say he is * *. I only said that Mr. Dharia will never support the...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, * * *

SHRI ABID ALI : I only said that they are all united.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : ...*(Interruptions)*...the dignity of the House...*(Interruptions)* We never called anybody* *

SHRI ABID ALI : I was telling you ..*(Interruptions)* You sit down, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. Will you not sit down? This is not China. This is not the land of China. This is India. Sit down. I am not going to say...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You control him, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Will you please take your seats ?

SHRI ABID ALI : Sit down, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. You have exposed yourself completely.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Abid Ali, please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : * * *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : This is all unparliamentary.

SHRI ABID ALI : I was not calling him *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Please take your seat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Will you please take your seat?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are getting accustomed to his calling us names. I never accused anybody like that nor have I ever called anybody * *

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Order please. May I request Members to conduct themselves gracefully...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You ask him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : and not use unparliamentary words ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is not unparliamentary. Ask him first.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : It is unparliamentary.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Then, why did you not stop him when he was calling * *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Abid Ali, you wind up now.

SHRI ABID ALI : I did not call anybody * * What I said was that Mr. Dharia and his colleagues . . .

श्री राजनारायण : प्वाइन्ट आफ़ आर्डर । हमारा एक प्वाइन्ट आफ़ आर्डर है और वह यह है कि यह सही है कि श्री आबिद अली साहब * * इस्तेमाल किसी माननीय सदस्य के लिये न करें, लेकिन मुझे अप्सोस के साथ कहना पड़ रहा है कि * * अनपार्लियामेंटरी नहीं है । यह एक जगह नहीं हजारों जगहों पर इस्तेमाल किया जाता है और उसे अनपार्लियामेंटरी नहीं कहा जाता है, लेकिन श्री भूपेश गुप्त को * * नहीं कहना चाहिये था ।

Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You cannot call anybody by that name.

SHRI A. P. JAIN : The words used by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta should be expunged.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Not at all. Not at all. He calls us so and I will repeat everything... *(Interruptions)* * * *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Unparliamentary words will not go on record.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We have not come here for your pleasure. We are not sitting here at the mercy * * *

SHRI A. P. JAIN : What is your ruling about the expunction ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Unparliamentary words will not be there.

SHRI ABID ALI : I agree. I am not worried about the abuses * * *

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : * * *

SHRI ABID ALI : That is not unparliamentary and if it is so, I do not mind our expunging it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : * * *
That is a fact. * *

SHRI ABID ALI : * *

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : All the words should be there. He called me* * and all that I have called him should be there. The country will see* *

SHRI ABID ALI : When one man is wrong and when he is floored, he is completely floored, the only thing left for him is to abuse which he is doing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Leader of the House, * * and your are sitting quietly.

(Interruptions)

SHRI ABID ALI : * * he is behaving. I sympathise with him. In the end I may mention that the time has come for the Government to act.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, जो इन्होंने *
परिभाषा की है वह ठीक है।

SHRI ABID ALI : What Mr. Dooga suggested was all right but that has to be followed. The first thing that the Government has to do is to dismiss the Government of West Bengal and protect this country. This is what was experimented in Vietnam and other places. It is now being tried to be imported here. Kindly save this country if you have a grain of India-nism in you.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa) : I am one with all my friends who have condemned unequivocally all those incidents that took place in the Bengal Assembly. It is absolutely reprehensible, whether a policeman does it or a public worker does it and it cannot be condoned in any circumstances. I ask : 'Can you preserve the sanctity of this House or the Legislature of West Bengal if the sanctity of public life outside is being trampled every now and then? Can you advise the policemen and others to behave properly and decently in a democratic set-up if we inside this House cannot even order 'traitors' and 'swines'? I am astonished to know that all those who never uphold the democratic traditions of this country, who never try to swear by the Constitution of the country will be talking more of parliamentary democracy and its sanctity. All the Communists every now and then, whenever they decry something, also go to the root cause of that thing. True, that is the logic of dialectics. Is it not proper for the U.F. Government to go into the very root cause of this so-called revolt of the policemen however condemnable it might be? It is an irony to note that while one can say that the caravans can move on, let the dogs of reaction bark; but the caravans have the cheek to go to the representatives of the dogs of reaction and ask them for the help of the army to suppress the policemen in Bengal. I am really sorry about these matters because when all of us are very serious about the sanctity of parliamentary institutions, from whatever quarters the attack may come, we must be very firm and fight every inch to protect the democratic values of this country but all of us have a share in gradually desecrating those values which we want to uphold here. Is it a decadent public life that is going on there? If the U.F. were really representatives of the toiling masses of Bengal, I would have been happy

* * Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri Banka Behary Das]

if some of the heads of jotedars could have rolled in the streets of Bengal. I would have been very happy if the heads of Birlas and Tatas, whom they hate so much, could have rolled in Calcutta though I would not have liked it but whose heads have rolled in these streets of Calcutta and in the lanes of the villages? It is the head of political workers of the constituent parties, whether they are of the CP(M) or SUC or any other party. Not a single Congressman has been murdered. There might be rhencos, but what is happening daily in Bengal? It is not the houses of Congressmen that are being raided every now and then. It is not the heads of Congressmen that are rolling in Bengal. It is the heads of political parties, the constituent parties of the UF that have joined together to form the UF Government. What is happening there? In the name of the toiling masses every party is trying to organise. They are organising the toiling masses under their banner and trying to capture the land of the jotedars. There is a fight between the toiling masses of the SUC, the CP(M) and the Forward Bloc. This is not the way to represent the toiling masses. I would have been really happy and if the Government had the courage, it should have changed the Police Manual and asked them to follow it but it has not been done although the power of the Bengal Assembly is there to change the Cr. P. C. and the IPC because it is a concurrent subject. They were in power before and after the elections and they have not the courage to amend the manual and advise their Police: 'When there is a murder you are to behave in this particular manner'. The Government does not know its own mind. That is the position. The Police does not know the mind of the Government because of a particular party is involved, then it is to act according to the dictate of the Minister who belongs to that particular party and how to behave if any other party is involved, because the leader of that party should dictate. So the Government does not know its own mind. The policemen never knows the mind of the Government. Every now and then whenever there is a peculiar situation, neither the Ministers have any positive direction to give the Police also whether it is the IG or the SP, has no direct because when two brothers are fighting, the policeman who stands there is just an onlooker and has to bear all the brunt. So it is not a question of whether the Police is under the influence of jotedars or the conspirators in the

Congress Benches. It is a question of lack of policy of UF as a result of which the Police administration has become absolutely ineffective; can anybody justify that when political murders are taking place and political clashes between the constituent parties are taking place they do not know what step the police is going to take? So it is inevitable that the Police Force which is to function as an arm of the Government has failed to understand its job, has failed absolutely to know the mind of the Government and has become an ineffective Police Force in that State and to curb that Police you are going to ask the Government of India to send the army. I would have been happy if the toiling masses had come up and said: 'We do not want the help of the Army. The reaction will be curbed by the progressive forces working under the leadership of the UF Government's but that is not happening. How many jotedars have been killed within the six months the UF has been in power? Can they give a list of those? I know jotedars have shot at the workers there, have shot at the toiling masses there. But can you tell me how many political leaders have been murdered in West Bengal and how many jotedars have been murdered in West Bengal? Can you give me statistics? I think Mr. Jyoti Basu will fail to give these statistics. I do not say, that Mr. Jyoti Basu has a hand in it, but unfortunately it has taken place in the State of West Bengal, where political murders are taking place, directed not against the Congressmen, but against the constituent parties. So, if absolutely law and order is to be maintained, if the law and order according to the wishes of the United Front is to be maintained—I do not say what is the definition of law and order according to the reactionary forces of the Congress Benches, but if the law and order is to be maintained according to the wishes of the United Front, can you tell me whether you have changed the Police Manual so to say that this is the law and order and we want every policeman to behave according to this? The Police Manual has not been changed up till now. You have not up till now changed the Police Manual nor said under what circumstances the police is to fire. But you want the police not to fire if there are two constituent parties of the United Front fighting in the streets and lanes of Bengal. So this is a serious matter and I would request my friends to consider it. I have all sympathy for all non-Congress Governments, but I want the non-Congress Governments also to behave in an exemplary

manner and set an example to others show that they cannot only best govern a State but they also best govern it in the interests of the toiling masses. You should not divide the toiling masses— and create a condition in which they will beat each other, suppress each other and work for the interests of the *Jotedars* in West Bengal. For two years now you have been in power in West Bengal. Could you change the land law? Could you enact the land ceiling law? Could you give all the proprietary rights to the peasants and Scheduled Castes in the State? Why did you allow such a situation to develop in Naxalbari where the Adivasis and others had to take the law into their own hands to protect their interests? Is it not the job of the United Front Government, of any progressive Government, to see that the law is changed and the law is implemented with the help of the police. I know it has been done to a certain extent in Kerala (*Interruptions*) and that is why, in spite of these dialogues that are taking place among the constituent parties of the Kerala United Front Government, they are not falling out on important issues and on the issue of law and order. I want Mr. Jyoti Basu's Government also to adopt the line of Kerala and to see that all the non-Congress constituent parties constituting the Unit Front Government in West Bengal, in spite of the differences that may be between them because they belong to different parties, behave properly so that all, together, can take the law of the masses in West Bengal and not just give all the advantages to others, what they really want, to suppress because they are exploiting the masses. If they can do this because, in the name of law and order they have made the police force an ineffective force. And if Mr. Jyoti Basu is to learn anything, he should not go to the army to take its help to suppress the police force. The police personnel have grievances; it is not the grievance of money only because the grievance of money is everywhere in India. It is the grievance that you have made them absolutely ineffective. You have no positive direction to give to them. Whether it is a direction in favour of the toiling masses or not is immaterial to me. If at all you have given any direction it is this that when two batches of *Khans* under the leadership of two constituent parties are fighting with each other, the policeman is to be a witness there, to be an onlooker there and not to behave in the proper manner they should, because two constituent parties are involved in the fight.

So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is not an occasion merely to have an introspection; I shall also request my non-Congress opposition parties, who are so very sincere in not wanting to give any advantage to the Congress or to the Swatantra Party or to the Jan Sangh that, instead of criticising them, instead of condemning them, they should behave in such an exemplary manner that those forces which are against them will not have the opportunity to attack them in these matters.

Thank you.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, little remains to be said after the two speeches by hon. Members from West Bengal on this side of the House. I agree for once with Mr. Aran Prakash Chatterjee, red light Chatterjee, because Aran Prakash means red light—not the Chatterjee on our side—that it is not a law and order problem that we are discussing. It is an invasion of the majesty of democracy by forces of law and order, by forces which are expected to maintain the rule of law, to maintain law and order in the State, and therefore this incident merits our severe condemnation. But Mr. Vice-Chairman, as rightly pointed out by my hon. friend, what is the result? It is just now...

SHRI NIRANJAN VARMA (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, how long we are going to sit?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Up to 6 O'clock.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: ...the majesty of Parliament and the Legislatures is what we make of them. The dignity and power of the House does not depend so much on the written word of the Constitution as on the behaviour of the hon. Members who sit inside these Houses. And if we by our actions and our speeches erode the respect, the dignity and the majesty of these august bodies, it is too much to expect that the unsophisticated people will have respect for the majesty and dignity of these august bodies.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are leaders, there are political parties, there are responsible Ministers who, while paying lip service to our Constitution, proclaim that "This Constitution serves only the interests

[Shri B. K. P. Sinha]

of the exploiting classes and, therefore, though we sit in the Legislatures, though we sit in seats of power, we shall break and subvert this Constitution." But these Legislatures are the apex of that Constitution. These Legislatures are in the minds and eyes of the people, the emblem and embodiment of that Constitution, and when they proclaim that the Constitution was not worth the paper on which it was written they create situations in which unsophisticated minds will give scant respect to these august bodies.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, so many Members have already drawn the attention of this House and particularly of the hon. Members representing two or three parties as to what happened in Delhi two years back; when the house of the Home Minister of the Government of India was sought to be invaded, then the house had to be protected by armed forces of the Union. They encouraged that situation and they supported those who took part in that show of indiscipline. Again I repeat; for an unsophisticated mind—and the police people are not very sophisticated people—for an unsophisticated mind it is difficult to realise that while the majesty of the Home Minister does not prevent them from invading his house, the majesty of Parliament should prevent them from invading the precincts of Parliament or the Assembly.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, this incident has a past and this incident has a future. We cannot ignore either the past or the future. For once I agree with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Chatterjee that behind this incident is a conspiracy. I would not talk of the general situation of lawlessness that has been created in West Bengal during the last few months; but then red light Chatterjee, I mean Mr. Arun Prakash Chatterjee, has talked of a conspiracy, and so has Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. Yes, conspiracy is there. This incident reminds me of a letter, a forgery, which was published and propagated in Great Britain after the First War, Zinoviev's letter, a letter which brought about the downfall of the Labour Party. This incident reminds me of another incident from West European history, the recent history of which we are all aware, the burning of the Reichstag. When the Reichstag was burnt, Marshal Goering proclaimed that the communists were responsible for that burning. They took advantage of that and then proscribed and prohibited the

Communist Party. But the murder was out and the whole world knew thereafter, within a short while, that the burning of the Reichstag was not the work of the communists, it was the work of the Nazi Party led by Adolf Hitler and Ma-5 P.M. Marshal Goering. What is the conspiracy? What do the circumstances indicate in this case? Who were the conspirators? Who were the wire pullers who made a cat's paw of those innocent policemen? Facts speak more eloquently than words.

Mr. Jyoti Basu, I credit him with a great amount of intelligence, a great amount of administrative ability. He has not only the machinery of the police at his command; he has the machinery of his widespread party at his command. He has the machinery of that section of his party which is now almost operating as a parallel police force in the whole of West Bengal, particularly Calcutta. If a police mob collects it takes time to collect. It marches in trucks; it takes them four hours to reach the place of the occurrence. Their original programme was to go to the Secretariat. At a certain point they are diverted towards the Assembly. And Mr. Jyoti Basu is not a babe in the wood. He is a very intelligent person. He is not a nincompoop. Is it not expected then that he would have had information of this gathering of the policemen and their march for four hours through the streets of Calcutta? And he is not ignorant of this because he himself said that he was waiting with the wreaths and garlands to put them on the dead body of the policeman. That means he had prior information of this and even then no steps were taken to check them at the outskirts of the Assembly precincts. And what was the crowd shouting? They were not shouting as my hon. friend says 'Let Congress come back; let United Front go'. They were shouting for the blood of Mr. Jyoti Basu; they wanted his head on a charger. After these incidents within a few minutes they bow before Mr. Jyoti Basu and Mr. Jyoti Basu says they cringed like cowards before him. Mr. Vice-Chairman, they were not cringing like cowards; they were his men. All this was a grand show; all this was an arranged show. It is on record that Mr. Bijoy Singh Nahar who was a Minister for a considerable period in West Bengal and who had charge of the Police Department and the police machinery recognised at least half a dozen of them. Mr. Jyoti Basu has been trying to establish a rival union of policeman; a union which could not flourish, a union which was a

still born child was being sought to be revived and given life. Mr. Nahar has recognised at least half a dozen of them. And who are they? They are the leaders of the union which Mr. Jyoti Basu projects to establish in West Bengal to divide the police force. What more proof is needed? Circumstantial evidence conclusively indicates that there was a conspiracy but that conspiracy was hatched by those who sit in the seats of power in West Bengal. And what has transpired after this incident confirms this conclusion. About 50 policemen—I do not remember the exact number—have been dismissed and there is a proposal to dismiss 300 or 400 more and thus create conditions in which the handful of people who are operating for the CPM in the police force will have their sway over the whole police organisation in that State. What happened in the past and what happened immediately after the incident clearly indicate; that there was a conspiracy, a conspiracy which in history will be classified and put in the same class as the burning of the Reichstag by the Nazis. If this were not so why is it my hon. friends fight shy of a Commission of Inquiry of eminent Judges? If Miss Abha Maithy or Mr. Nepal Roy were the conspirators and if an impartial tribunal holds that they were the conspirators we on this side would be the first people to come forward with a statement that they should be tried and severely punished. But no; they know the truth and they want to hide that truth and therefore they are trying to avoid a Commission of Inquiry of a body of eminent Judges. They say it is West Bengal's affair As rightly pointed out by Mr. Chandra Shekhar, if you do not consider it a law and order problem but an invasion of the majesty and dignity of Parliament and an attack against the whole parliamentary system, the Union of India, being the custodian of the Constitution, has every right to appoint a Commission of Inquiry.

It is for those who sit in the seats of power here at the Centre to realise the true nature and character of communism. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am reminded of the history of the East European countries. In no East European country have the communists ever obtained a majority through elections. In every country they insisted on taking charge of the home portfolio, on taking charge of the police affairs of the State and after they got charge of the police machinery of the State they used that as a lever to capture the entire

machinery of the State and destroy the democratic system and impose a dictatorial order from which there is no emancipation for the East European countries.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : It is time to wind up.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA : This is what is happening in West Bengal today. This is what is happening in other States where the Communists particularly the CPM are in power. It is for those in power here to take note of these developments. I am finishing, Mr. Vice-Chairman. Their philosophy is that the police, the magistracy, the courts, the legislative system, all the pattern in the image of the old order. They want to change that old order. They emphasize that if that old order has to change, has to receive a revolutionary transformation, then the whole apparatus has to be destroyed. Let those who are sitting in seats of power in Delhi realise the true nature of their philosophy, realise the true character of their movement, realise the true character of those gentlemen who sit in seats of power in of the States; because unless that realisation dawns on them, in my opinion, no remedy is possible. The sands of time are running out.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : That is correct.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA : . . . and if they do not realise it now, they will not be left in a position to realise it afterwards. Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman—SHRI CHITTA BASU : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have listened carefully to the speeches made by our friends sitting opposite. They have endeavoured, during the course of their speeches, to bring in certain extraneous matters in the debate. I am shocked to note that the Members opposite betrayed an absolute lack of appreciation of the immensity and the graveness of the particular in-it that had taken place in the West Bengal Assembly, which poses a threat to democracy itself. What is at stake today is not the future of this Government or that Government. What is at stake today is not the office of this man or that man. What is at stake today is not whether Mr. Jyoti Basu will be in power or not. What is at stake today is the future of democracy. Instead of having a long range view of the matter, I am shocked to note that hon. Members opposite have made a frantic effort to discredit the West

[Shri China Basu] Bengal United Front Government. You have lost sight of the danger which lies ahead. Instead of taking resort to a very criminal, narrow, partisan, sectarian outlook, we have to defend democracy. It is a matter of pride that the UF Government has defended democracy. Some of their counterparts there out to destroy democracy provoked a section of the policemen to enter and desecrate the sacred precincts of the Assembly, the temple of democracy. Certain MLAs' names have been mentioned. I do not like to mention it. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you are the custodian of the House for the time being. What was the reason for these policemen to run after the Speaker of the House, Mr. Bijoy Kumar Banerjee ? He was not a Minister. He was not the man to maintain law and order. He was not the man to dismiss a particular officer. He was not the man responsible for any act of the West Bengal Government. What was behind this? The Speaker of the House, the custodian of the dignity and rights of the House, had been pounced upon and he had to take shelter. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will naturally agree with me that there is a deep-laid conspiracy. Had it not been so, what made the infuriated police personnel to pounce upon the Speaker of the House? There was hardly any reason to pounce upon the Speaker of the House. Therefore, there might have been something which escapes our eyes. Again, I want to point out that attempts have been made to show as if the entire police personnel of West Bengal had risen in revolt. It is not a fact. The fact is that a group of police personnel, I think not more than 500, had been to the Assembly in a procession, but this hooliganism and dastardly action was resorted to by a handful of police personnel. It has been provoked and it has been proved. When some of them had been to the Chamber of the Deputy Chief Minister, and when they asked them what had made them to resort to such mutinous action, they had no answer to give. What does it indicate? It indicates that there was nobody like Mr. Kulkarni to prompt the answer to them. There was no person there.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Your Mr. Chatterjee was there to answer.

SHRI GHITTA BASU : I know, but unfortunately the police personnel had no one as Mr. Kulkarni to prompt the answer as to why there was some kind of mutinous activity. Unfortunately you were not there. There I am

fortunate. Therefore, there were some persons, there were some elements who did not work very conspicuously but who worked in a planned manner to provoke a section of the police personnel to rise in revolt. It is not a question whether they were forty persons, twenty persons or ten persons. It means that the persons who are supposed to maintain law and order, who are supposed to be the custodians of law, have violated law. They have not only violated law, but they have also desecrated the Assembly. If it is not condemned, if it is not properly punished, if it is not properly gone into, one day it may happen that a group of army men could invade this august House itself. You will find a group of army men marching in and getting something done despite the wishes of the democratic people of our country. Therefore, the issue is not whether a particular group of police personnel were infuriated for the reason or that reason. The issue is that this kind of mutiny has to be seen in its proper perspective. The question is not whether there should be a parliamentary committee to probe into the matters. The place of occurrence was the Assembly House of West Bengal. I think the Members of the Assembly of West Bengal are sufficiently capable of defending their honour. They are sufficiently strong and capable of defending the dignity of the House. The hon. Speaker of the House is sufficiently strong and capable of defending the dignity of the elected House. Therefore, if any enquiry is to be held, it can be held only at the behest of the august Assembly of West Bengal. There may be an all-party committee consisting of Congressmen also, consisting of the Leader of the Congress Opposition to go into the circumstances which led to such incidents and the dastardly action resorted to by a section of the policemen.

In this connection I would also like to mention and emphasise that it would be wrong if you think that the entire police force had risen in revolt. It is merely an insignificant fraction of it. On the other hand, it is gratifying to note that the bulk of the police personnel have expressed their loyalty and the organised association, an union of the police personnel have also decried this kind of dastardly act. It is not a question of annihilating the legal and healthy trade union movement of the police personnel. I still stand by the right of the police personnel to organise themselves into a union and agitate for their legitimate rights and redressal of grievances. But it is not in any way related with the

democratic and legitimate grievance of the police personnel of West Bengal. The Other association of the police personnel of West Bengal, the other union of the police personnel of West Bengal have already condemned this dastardly act, this criminal act on the part of a few individual policemen. They have the right to agitate peacefully and legitimately and the West Bengal Government, as it is the Government of the people, will certainly look into the grievances of the police personnel unlike the Government of India. Again, the question of Setting up parliamentary committee does not arise, because the West Bengal Government itself has set up a committee. I want to assure our friend, Mr. Doogar, that the West Bengal Government has declared in the Assembly that within a few days the report of the enquiry committee will be made public and it will then be made clear as to who did it, who played which part, who were the persons invoked in this and this country and the world will know the dark forces who conspire against democracy.

Some Members have also discussed the background. Yes, we should also know the background of the whole matter.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The background of the clock also.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : The background of the whole thing you know. Right from the day the United Front has been installed in power, a very powerful section of the capitalists and monopolist a very powerful section of the vested interests and a section of the bureaucrats have not reconciled themselves and could not reconcile themselves to the changed circumstances. Mr. Vice-Chairman, the hon. Minister of state of Home Affairs cannot absolve himself of the responsibility. Right yesterday he said that they have got an independent agency working in West Bengal to collect information as to what is happening within the State of West Bengal. Therefore, they are also aiding, they are also helping those dark horses who are out to topple the United Front Government which has been voted to power by the people of the State. And this is the background....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Please wind up.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : As a matter of fact you know in the earlier stage the procession was accompanied by certain

highly-placed officials. It is a section of the top-brass of the police administration who do not like that the West Bengal Government should have a pro-people attitude. It is known that the Government of West Bengal have pro-people predilections. It is this background which might have infuriated...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : It is the minutes which count now.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I am concluding. It is this background which might have infuriated these dark horses with whom many here and many outside may be colluding. I assure the House that we are second to none to defend democracy. We shall defend democracy here. We shall go to the streets even to defend democracy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Away from the list I want to call an hon. Lady Member, Kumari Maniben Patel.

कुमारी मनिबेन वल्लभभाई पटेल (गुजरात) : मैं माननीय सदस्यों की स्वीचें ध्यान से सुन रही थी। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि हमारे सामने जो विपक्ष के लोग हैं उनके बारे में कुछ कहा जाता है तब वह इतने गुस्से में क्यों आ जाते हैं और इतना शोर क्यों मचाते हैं। जो वाक्या बंगाल असेम्बली में हुआ उसके लिये सब को दुःख है और कोई इसकी ताईद नहीं करता है। मुझको लगता है कि बहुत ही बुरी चीज हुई है और ऐसा कभी करना नहीं चाहिये पुलिस वालों को। परन्तु इसके पीछे का इतिहास हमको सोचना ही चाहिये, उसको हम भूल जाने को कहें या उसको सोचें नहीं यह बिल्कुल गलत चीज है। शुरू से हो यह आरम्भ हुआ है जब वहां पर रवींद्र सरोवर के वाक्यात हुए और उस प्रसंग में वहां को महिलाओं की जो हालत थी उसके बारे में वहां भी इतनी सब कुछ चर्चा हुई और मेरे पास कुछ बहिनें आईं और भी पार्लियामेंट की सदस्याएं, वगैरह आईं कि हम जा कर अपने प्राइम मिनिस्टर को कहें। मैंने कहा, और हम लोग देखते थे, कि वह कुछ करने वाली नहीं हैं और कुछ कर सकेंगी नहीं। और हुआ

[कुमारी मनिबेन बल्लभभाई पटेल]

भी वही। मैंने आज ही एक बड़े आफिसर से जो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का है और कुछ काम के लिये आया है, उससे मैंने पूछा। तो वह बोले वहाँ पर कोई आदमी खुले दिल से बात नहीं कर सकता और वहाँ की जो महिलाएँ हैं वे अगर उनको बाहर कहीं समाज में बड़े मजमू में जाना होता है तो जाने से डरती हैं। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि अच्छी तरह से, पुरुष के साथ सुरक्षित हों तब ही जाती हैं। यह हालत है और आज यह कहते हैं कुछ गड़बड़ नहीं है। अगर कुछ गड़बड़ नहीं है तो ऐसा डर क्यों है। हमारे राजनारायण भाई ने जो कहा वह बात अगर सही है तो बहुत चिंता की बात है। जो उन्होंने कहा, टेलीफोन पर उन्होंने बात मुनी उसमें कोई भी तथ्य हो, कि जो लोग वहाँ की विधान सभा में घुस गये वह पुलिसमैन पकड़े नहीं गये, दूसरे हाँ पुलिसमैन पकड़े गये और वह पुलिसमैन आज को गवर्नमेंट के थे या ज्योति बसु के थे, यदि ऐसी गड़बड़ चलती है तो यह बहुत खतरनाक चीज है और मैं तो अपनी सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को सोचने को कहती हूँ कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट बाकायदा से बनी है, उसके काम में हम दखल नहीं कर सकते भइ बात सही है परन्तु आप कहां तक दखल नहीं करोगे और कहां तक देखते रहोगे। जब हाथ से बात निकल जायेगी और वहाँ पर बिल्कुल अराजकता की स्थिति नहीं आ जायेगी तब तक क्या आप देखते रहेंगे? आप क्या करना चाहते हैं इसे आपको समझाना चाहिये। आपने हमको सफ सफ बात कहनी चाहिये कि आपका वहाँ के बारे में क्या खयाल है क्योंकि आपके पास तो मैं जानती हूँ कि राज्य से जो लॉ एंड ऑर्डर के बारे में बातें आती हैं उसके अलावा आपकी अलग इन्फार्मेशन सी० आई० डी० की है। उससे आपको और बुरी हालत के बारे में खबर मिलती होगी। मगर उसके बाद भी आप सोना चाहते हैं, कुछ करना नहीं चाहते हैं, तो आखिर में हमारे हाथ से बंगाल भी चला जायेगा, बिहार भी चला जायेगा, नागालैन्ड में गड़बड़ है और

आसाम तो पाकिस्तान के पास ही पड़ा है। इसलिये मैं कहती हूँ कि इसके बारे में इस तरह बिन सोचे रहना यह ठीक नहीं है और हमारे बंगाल के इधर जो साम्यवादो लोग हैं उनका इतना बचाव करते हैं, उनकी तारीफ करते हैं, तो वह भी कहते हैं हमारी गवर्नमेंट तो अच्छी तरह से चल रहा है। यहाँ कोई भी चीज होती है तो वह कहते हैं सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जज हमको चाहिये तो इस बारे में आप क्यों सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज के हाथ से इन्क्वायरी कराने के लिये कमीशन बैठाने के लिये राजी नहीं होते। आप कन्डैम किया करते थे कि इसमें भ्यूरोक्रेटिक मशीनरी है, इसमें एक रिटायर्ड आदमी आपको सलाह करेंगे, हम तो उस व्यक्ति को जानते नहीं हैं मगर जो आपका सलाहकार है गवर्नमेंट में वही अगर उसके बारे में पूछताछ करने वाला है, घटना के बारे में इन्क्वायरी करेगा तो बताइये कि जब वह आपका सलाहकार है तो वह क्या आपके बरखिलाफ करेगा क्योंकि आपने तो अपने ही जैसे विचार वाले आदमी को एडवाइजर रखा होगा। तो इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि उस आदमी से जो कहेंगे वहाँ इन्क्वायरी से परिणाम निकलेगा। इसलिये मैं कहती हूँ सचमुच में, जैसा आखरी के सदस्य ने कहा, डेमोक्रेसी का यहाँ भी बचाव करोगे और बाहर भी बचाव करोगे तो सही तौर पर अगर आप बचाव करने वाले हैं तो पार्लियामेंट को तरफ से जांच कराने के लिये आप तैयार नहीं हैं तो आपकी गवर्नमेंट को तरफ से फौरन एक सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जज क्यों नहीं रखते हो जो घटना के मूल में जाये कि पुलिस के इस तरह से आने का कारण क्या हुआ और आज सारी परिस्थिती का मूल कारण क्या है। इस तरह से पुलिसमैन को मारा गया, जिसका प्रोसेशन आया, और 4 मील तक दो चार घंटे से कलकत्ता शहर में सड़कों पर चिल्लाते आए और उसको आपने देखा नहीं ऐसा आपका कहना है कि आपके होम मिनिस्टर को कुछ मालूम नहीं इसके बारे में, तो इसे भी आप इन्कार कर ही नहीं सकते हैं क्योंकि उन्होंने ही कहा है कि

मैं तो फूल की माला लिये तयार था स्वागत करने के लिये। तो इस तरह से जो हुआ क्या अंधेरे में हुआ ? तो इसमें बंगाल की सरकार के लोगों का भी हाथ है इसमें कोई शक नहीं। इसलिये हमारा कहना है कि हमारे गृह मंत्री को इसके बारे में सोते नहीं रहना चाहिये और मैं तो बराबर मानती हूँ, हमारे पास जितनी हकीकत आती है, हमको जो खबर मिलती है उससे अलग उनके पास पूरा खबर होगी। और आप कहां तक सोते रहेंगे, कैसे उन खबरों को दबायेंगे और कहां तक बंगाल के लोग भयभीत होकर रहेंगे, बोल नहीं सकेंगे। आज बंगाल में जूट मजदूरों की स्ट्राइक चल रही है, उस स्ट्राइक में और गड़बड़ हुई तो फिर आपके हाथ में क्या रहेगा। इसलिये मैं कहती हूँ कि वह जो बंगाल का असेम्बली में घटना हुई है यह हमारे लिये चिन्तामन की तरह है, ऐसा मैं मानती हूँ और जरूरी इसके बारे में सोचना चाहिये और एक कमिशन बैठकर इसका निर्णय करना चाहिये कि उसके पीछे कौन था, किस की कॉम्प्लेसिटी थी। इस तरह की बातें करना और कांग्रेसमैन के ऊपर डालना कि कांग्रेसमैन की कॉम्प्लेसिटी थी यह तो चोर कोतवाल को डांटे जैसी बात है। खुद करते हैं और कांग्रेस पर आरोप लगाने हैं कि आपने किया। ऐसे आदमियों को आप अंदर लाये तो फिर उन लोगों को क्यों नहीं पकड़ते हैं। अगर उन्होंने इतना खराब काम किया और उसके लिये डरे होते तो फिर क्यों आपके पास आते, तो फिर ज्योति बसु के कमरे में आते बैठते, बात करते। वह लोग बताते हैं कि कॉम्प्लेसिटी है। तो कॉम्प्लेसिटी आप लोगों की है, आपके ही आदमियों की है और नहीं है तो इस बात से डरते क्यों हैं पार्लियामेंट का कमिशन बैठाने में, नहीं तो फिर सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जज बैठायें और पूरे टर्म ऑफ रेफरेन्स रखें जो कि सारी घटना के मूल में जाये और जिस की शलती हो, जिस का दोष हो, वह साफ साफ बता दें।

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : I join my hon. friends who have spoken on this motion condemning in unreserved and in no uncertain terms the humiliating behaviour of the policemen who invaded the West Bengal Assembly premises. This invasion is an attack on democracy, is a disgrace to all of us, because the policemen are our countrymen. And it is a disgrace particularly to the West Bengal Government which has not been able to maintain law and order and which has also been stimulating lawlessness in West Bengal. We will have to analyse the causes which led to this unruly and disorderly behaviour of the policemen which nobody is going to defend.

I would like to mention that in Bur-dwan, the police of the 24-Parganas were reduced to a condition of incoherent fury by mob attack.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Bur-dwan is not in the 24-Parganas.

SHRI A. D. MANI : That is all right. I am prepared to be corrected.

In Durgapur they had only been beaten up, in Basanti a naik was beaten to death and the rest of the party came back in deplorable condition. A judge who went into the Durgapur business remarked as follows—"Heaven knows, the police had provocation" Judges of the High Court do not ever invoke heaven when they write judgement. That means that the crime has been so great that the judge himself says 'heaven knows' the police had provocation. Thereafter they seemed to have lost all resemblance to a disciplined force. What is happening in West Bengal is that the members belonging to the Communist Party (Marxist) have been trying to dominate the United Front Government in West Bengal. There is internal strike in the West Bengal Government. There is disorderliness even in the conduct of Cabinet business. And there is a talk also of using the Government machinery of West Bengal for party purposes. These are all undisputed facts. How can policemen have respect for a Government ? I am not justifying what happened in West Bengal. But how can policemen have respect for a Government which seeks to utilise the police administration for party purposes ?

Sir, in West Bengal they have also been trying to make out that the policemen are the enemies of the public. My

[Shri A. D. Mani]

hon. friends, the Members of the Congress party, did it during the days of the British. But after they came to power, they have proper respect for the police force. The policeman have been made the public hangmen in the eyes of the public by the United Front Government of West Bengal and how can any policemen willingly obey the orders of a Government which regards them as their enemies? What they should understand is that the policemen are a part of the administration and without police, without a properly disciplined police force, it will not be possible for any Government to maintain law and order.

I would like to mention here that we expected much from the United Front Government in West Bengal. My hon. friend, Mr. Ghitta Basu said that they were returned with an overwhelming majority. It is a fact that they were returned with an overwhelming majority. You will also be returned with an overwhelming majority because you have a cultural revolution of a mouse type in West Bengal as a dress rehearsal for what is going to happen in the rest of India. This is what you are trying to do in West Bengal. (*Interruptions*). Yes, yes. A majority does not mean that you have got wisdom.

Now, I would like to mention that the Central Government also has not set a very good example in maintaining discipline in the police force. It allowed a party to organise a union among the policemen right under the nose of the Home Minister of the Government of India. And it was only when there was a strike in Delhi that they realised that the police force should be treated on a footing different from a trade union organisation. Now why did they allow political parties to infiltrate into the police force? I charge the hon. Minister of

and the Home Ministry that have allowed a political party in Delhi to dominate the Police force. I do not want to mention the name of the political party because there will be a howl of opposition from them.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Do you still believe that our Home Minister at the Centre has still a sense of smell in his nose?

SHRI A. D. MANI : Delhi has become a place for demonstrations. Take the demonstration of the kind that happened on the 7th November, 1966. Every time you have to maintain law and order here. But you have allowed the Delhi Police Force to come more or less under the influence of a political party. (*Interruptions*) It was before the Commission of Inquiry by a High Court Judge. I do not want to name the party. (*Interruptions*)

Please, please. I did not interrupt you. This is the way in which they are running the West Bengal Government.

I would like to mention here that immediately they came forward with legislation to amend the Delhi Police Act.

Sir, one of the difficulties in the administration of the police is that under the Police Act of 1861, section 7. . . (*Interruptions*) This is the Act which Governed your police in West Bengal. If a policeman is guilty of misbehaviour, the officer may award any one of the following punishments to any police officer of subordinate rank—

- (i) Fine to any amount not exceeding one month's pay;
- (i i) Confinement to quarters for a term not exceeding 15 days with or without punishment—drill, extra guard, fatigue or other duty;
- (iii) Deprivation of good conduct pay;
- (iv) Removal from any office of distinction or special emoluments.

Hon. Members would know that the British Government of the day was far more considerate towards the police than the West Bengal Government under Mr. Jyoti Basu who wants to dismiss them summarily.

This is what the British Government wanted.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Madam, in my opinion, in view of what is happening in West Bengal and in view of what is likely to happen—God

forbid—in other parts of India including Delhi one day, anybody may come into our Chamber, and I may have to request Mr. Rajnarain and my hon. friend Mr. Murhari, to protect us from the policemen of Delhi. Anything may happen here. Unless we take steps to amend the Police Act and bring it in line with the Army Act, we will not be able to maintain discipline in the Police force. In the Army Act, death penalty is there. We do not want it in case of the police. In the Gandhi Centenary Year I do not want to plead for it. But a deterrent punishment, seven years or ten years or transportation for life for mutiny, these should be provided for. My hon. friend, Mr. Shukla, should give attention to this matter.

A suggestion has been made that there should be a Commission of Inquiry. Now, I realise that the West Bengal Government is sensitive to many things concerning their rights, but not sensitive to the rights of the public and the right of the public to be spared from humiliation such as the Rabindra Sarover incident. It is very sensitive. They might object to any Commission of Inquiry being instituted. My hon. friend, Mr. Bhar-gava, moved some months ago a Resolution asking for a Police Commission to be appointed to go into the entire organisation of the police force. We do not want to confine it to West Bengal as we want to go into this question of the discipline in the administration of the police force. [Interruptions] And I would like to suggest that in view of what has happened in West Bengal, the hon. Minister of State should consider appointing a general Commission of Inquiry to go into the administration of the police force which will naturally take evidence in West Bengal about the manner in which my hon. friend Mr. Chatterjee's party is behaving there and is running it.

ANNOUNCEMENT RE ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Before I call the Minister, I have an announcement to make. I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held on August

5, 1969 has recommended allocation of time for Government business as follows:

Business	Time allotted
1. The Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Bill 1969, as passed by the Lok Sabha and Statutory Resolution by Shri Pitamber Das and others regarding disapproval of the Ordinance.	12 hrs. (from 2 P.M. on Wednesday, August 6, 1969).

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : We have not got the Bill.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :

Business	Time allotted
2. The Gold Control (Amendment) Bill, 1969, as passed by the Lok Sabha, and the Statutory Resolution regarding disapproval of the Ordinance.	2 hrs.
3. The Indian Soldiers Litigation (Amendment) Bill, 1968.	30 mts.
4. Discussion on the Report of the Committee on Defections on a motion to be moved by the Minister of Home Affairs.	3 hrs.

The Committee further recommended that :

- (i) Friday August 8, 1969, allotted for Private Members' Business be converted for transacting Government business and the Private Members' Business set down for that day be taken up on Thursday, August 14, 1969.
- (ii) On August 6 and 7, 1969, the House should sit up to 6 P.M. and on August 8, 1969, until the House passes the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Bill, 1969.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I must protest against this.