

Shri Indrajit Gupta ]

We want to know what those two officers were doing at that particular place; what were the duties that they were performing and whether it was their normal duty or not etc.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have already spoken to Mr Jyotirmoy Basu. Since he had given the calling attention notice to the Speaker, I will convey his feelings to the Speaker. Now after the Minister's statement if questions are allowed, there will be a departure from the procedure and there will be no end to the cross-examination.

श्री जयन्नाथ राव जोशी (राजापुर) :  
सभापति महोदय, हमने ध्यान आकर्षण दिया है। मंत्री महोदय ने जो यह वक्तव्य दिया है उसी के आधार पर अगर वह ज़िम्मेदार नहीं किया गया तो ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : You may discuss it with the Speaker.

DR. KARAN SINGH : I can give any clarification they may want.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : He knows what is in our minds. Let him clarify.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Is it a fact that the two engineers were over-worked round the clock and they were suffering from exhaustion due to which they could not read the meters and the tyre was over-inflated resulting in the accident ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not a clarification. This is an accusation.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : There are too many skeletons in the cupboard.

That is why *suo motu* statements are coming.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now Private Member's business.

15.37 hrs.

[Shri K. N. Tiwari *In the Chair*]

RESOLUTION RE : WITHDRAWAL  
OF CENTRAL FORCES FROM  
WEST BENGAL

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour) : I beg to move :

"This House, keeping in view the fact that in West Bengal the CRP and other Central Forces have been unlawfully acting beyond their jurisdiction causing serious resentment amongst the people there, demands immediate withdrawal of such forces from West Bengal."

Mr. Chairman, this is a very important issue involving 5 crores of people of West Bengal groaning under severe oppression and torture. You personally have been very much interested in the affairs of West Bengal after spending a good part of your life there. I shall expect you to do justice to the people of West Bengal.

This Mrs. Indira Gandhi Government is making a desperate bid to re-establish the Congress in West Bengal and then serve the jotedars and industrialists and as an outcome of this, law and order crisis and misery have been created. I will read out an extract from the *Times of India's* yesterday's issue. It is ~~no paper~~ of the CPM. On the contrary, it is in the farthest corner from CPM. It says :

"It makes for an ungainly sight to watch teeny-weeny parties and men, rejected by the voters, struck back on the centre of the stage just because the Congress is desperately anxious to restore itself to power in West Bengal."

That is the reason and the outcome is there. Since President's rule, West Bengal has been treated as an occupied territory. I will quote from another paper, run by people more close to the Congress,

viz., the *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta, in which our friend, Mr. Ranjit Roy, an eminent journalist, has said :

"Never before the country has seen such mobilisation of troops and paramilitary forces to maintain law and order during election. The rural areas of the State will also see lots of them. It is during elections that the policies of a democratic country like ours find expression in the most impressive form. Troops employed in West Bengal will surely learn a lesson in politics from this election."

This President's Rule, imposed under the pretext of maintenance of law and order and suppression of Naxalites, is nothing but untruth. They assumed enormous powers, summary powers, they hoodwinked this House and through the back door assumed powers like Prevention of Violent Activities Act and so many other powers.

They refuse an enquiry on police firings which even the foreign rulers thought was a justifiable one. When I asked the Prime Minister to tell me categorically whether it was done with the consent of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister she did not hesitate to write me something which is an untruth, I am sorry to say. She had stated something which had no relation to the truth.

The Commissioner in Calcutta have been repeatedly bettering and saying "PD Act or no PD Act, we shall shoot at sight. Police is still continuing is that, at sight. It is unparalleled repression on political opponents like CPM on the pretext of suppression of Naxalites.

The situation has much worsened after the imposition of President's Rule and the ultimate object, the main aim, is to suppress the peasants and workers' movement and led by the CPM. As a result, my party, the CPM, has lost over 220 members of its cadre who have been

murdered mostly by plainclothed policemen. This is part of Operation Hooghly which is a part of the conspiracy which was hatched by Shri Ajoy Mukerjee and Shri Y. B. Chavan in 1967 after the first UF regime fell. After election they have arrested no less than 1,000 people. In spite of all that, we have gone through the workers' and peasants' struggles, waged the jute strike successfully and forced the owners to part with a part of the huge profits they make out of the sweat and tears of the workers. In spite of the fact that CRP was sent there to help the jotedars, the land could not be taken back from the burgedars because we have become quite conscious of our rights.

The forces of law are turning blind eyes on criminals when they are attacking us. But when we do fight back in self-defence, they appear on the scene to shoot us. Even the right of self-defence has been denied to us. The expenditure on Central Reserve Police of your Socialist Government has increased by Rs. 9.3 crores making a total of Rs. 76.5 crores, about fifteen times more than what it was 15 years ago. This is the growth of socialism you are bestowing on us. Now you have enough money in the Budget to raise three more CRP battalions and another Rs. 1.45 crores for the Industrial Security Force and Rs. 58 crores more for defence services. On top of all this, there are 64,000 West Bengal policemen, a part of which is struggling for your benefit.

I will now give a few examples of the atrocities committed by the CRP. In Malda a fourteen years old girl was raped. In Chanditala the same thing was repeated. Then, in Basanti six women were raped in a launch.

SHRI C.M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): Does he know that Shri A. K. Gopalan is always carrying a policeman with him ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : In a Basanti six girls who were under arrest were raped by the CRP men. In Durgapur during the last strike some women

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

were molested, and insulted. In Calcutta a nine year old girl was raped by nine persons belonging to the CRP.

This is what you are doing. You are artificially creating a law and order situation for re-entry into West Bengal politics. What is happening in other States? In Madhya Pradesh in three years there have been 1,300 dacoities and 6,200 murders and it is on the increase every day. Let us see what the Governor, Mr. Dhavan, sent from the Centre says...

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch Bihar). On a point of order, Sir. The resolution speaks about the C.R.P. in West Bengal and their withdrawal. Is he entitled to speak about what happened in Kerala, Madhya Pradesh and all that? Is it relevant or irrelevant?

MR. CHAIRMAN. There is no point of order.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: What does Mr. Dhavan say about Calcutta? He says that the city of Calcutta is safer than Delhi. Then, of course under pressure, Mr. Dhavan was made to make amends. He is, after all, a paid servant of the Centre and he is supposed to please them.

In West Bengal, in many places, the local police refused and the C.R.P. had to be used. In Bihala, 1400 houses were ransacked under the guise of searching the houses. What a pity and what a shame! And they talk of democracy. The C.P.M. workers were shot dead while putting posters on the wall in Bihala.

The police had shot them because the ultimate object was to stop the C.P.M. from coming to power.

In Naktala, in Tollygunj, the C.R.P. ransacked the whole locality. A retired judge, an old man, was given a slap on the face. This is what the C.R.P. is doing.

In Jadhavpur University, in August, 1970, what did they do? This is from the *Amrita bazar Patrika*. I quote:

"About 150 students, teachers and employees of Jadhavpur University were injured, some of them seriously, when police made a series of lathi charges inside the University campus....."

".....started beating out employees, students and teachers mercilessly in which 100 students and 60 office staff were injured..... The police action was absolutely unprovoked"

And the Home Secretary said that they had given no instructions to the police for taking such action or firing a single shot. The C.R.P. acted on its own. This is not a Central Reserve Police. This is a Criminal Reserve Police. It is a congregation of outlaws, if you ask me. You will understand better because one day you will realise what the character of this Government is.

In Jadavpur University, again on 1st March, what did they do? I quote:

"About 30 students of Jadavpur were injured eight of whom were admitted to the Police Case Hospital when police made a lathi-charge on borders in two hostels of the University during a search of the two hostels in the Jadavpur thana area..."

".....boarders of the hostel in the university premises had held atleast on Saturday evening. They had gone to sleep at about 10.30 p.m. At about 3 a.m. about 500 Central Reserve Police, he alleged in his statement, entered the hostel after breaking open the gate."

".....the police broke into students' rooms threatened them with revolvers and bayonets and forced the inmates, who had been sleeping to come out of their rooms. They also beat up students.....the police had taken away

the students' engineering instruments and personal belongings. He said that about 70 inmates of the hostel had been detained in the thana."

This is what you are doing. This is what you are sanctioning money for, for the C.R.P., and in the name of civilisation and democracy.

In Krishnagar, in Durgapur, in Siliguri, in Alipore Duar and other places, they have given beatings to Government employees. Mr. Nanda had given a categorical assurance that against those who had gone on strike no action will be taken. The railway officials and the police have completely thrown that piece of assurance into the waste paper basket. I feel sorry for Mr. Nanda. He is not in this House. Now, these gangsters went and chased out every employee in their houses at midnight. The Sub-Divisional Police Officer came to the colony in a drunken state at 2 A.M. molested the women, kicked the children, trespassed into the house and did what know civilised person could ever do. This is what you are doing with the CRP and near Diamond Harbour in Basuldanga they had arrested in one stroke, to help a Jotedar, 22 of them. They were given such a merciless beating that each and everybody of that group had to be admitted into the hospital. This is one side of the story. Now, they have gone into something much deeper.

There are planned murders by Police, *agent provocateurs* and procured and hired criminals. We have seen how the Vice-Chancellor of the Jadavpur University, Mr. Gopal Sen had been murdered and in Garden Reach how the eminent trade-union leader, Mr. Niresh Thakur was murdered under their very nose and in the main road and how Prof. Chakravary was murdered in Belur Mutt College in his class room.

In Barasat, eleven young boys were shot and killed by the Police. The Prime Minister here gave an assurance that a CBI inquiry will be instituted and I have

written for a copy of the post-mortem report. That even, she was not willing to give. They appointed a Judge to inquire into the matter but he was stabbed by the Police agents and persuaded not to hold the inquiry. So, the whole thing has been dropped.

There have been numerous murders and hundreds and thousands have been murdered by the Police, by plain-clothed police men and the Government is sitting tight. I want to know what has happened to the Beliaghata CPI murder where Mr. Krishna Menon and other nine members of Parliament belonging to most of the Opposition Parties had gone and seen and heard themselves the atrocities of the police. The Deputy Commissioner of Police was shot dead with his own rifle. Four young boys were shot dead at 4 O'clock in the morning and one of the boys was a National Talent Scholarshipholder, Ashok Bose, who was getting a scholarship of Rs. 100 per month and he was shot and killed.

Only the other day, in *Ananda Bazar*—you have not to go very far.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : Is there any inquiry being made ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : No inquiry.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Is it *sub judic* ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Not at all.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : How can we know whether there is any inquiry or not ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : In this Beliaghata murder of 17th February, four young boys were shot in broad daylight under the very nose of hundreds of people and those who were nearby were told to shut their doors and windows on the knif of revolver. But some people saw

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

and the next day there was a big demonstration which went to the Writers Building which included many ladies among them. And among the signatories you will find two are even Congress MLAs. There is Mr. Arjendu Naskar a leader of the Congress and sitting MLA of the ruling Congress Smt. Ila Mitra of CPI and many other eminent people. Four young men shot dead in Calcutta and in broad daylight under the very nose of the people by the Police, under instructions of whom? Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Because that is the way she has chosen to rehabilitate herself and her Party in West Bengal. But nothing will happen and she will not be able to get in there.

Another method—this is a negative method of murder—in Dum Dum they derived the election benefit by murdering our candidate. Lastly, about our revered Leader, Mr. Hemanta Kumar Basu—May his soul rest in peace—I will quote the *ECONOMIC TIMES*. What does it say about Mr. Basu's murder? It says:

"The CPM, however, has long demanded fresh elections to the Assembly and it is strange that it should now want to endanger the holding of the poll so close to the event. The murder of so respected a person as Hemantada, as he was popularly known in the State, cannot but have a traumatic effect on the electorate. The chances that voters would recoil in horror and disgust from a crime of this magnitude are too real not to be taken into the calculations of a political party seriously aiming to capture power in the State, unless of course there has been some CPM rethinking..."

This is a clear analysis that Shri Hemanta Kumar Basu was murdered to malign the CPM, to create a sense of hatred amongst the minds of people, so that people who oppose the CPM get a few more votes and re-established themselves. You are only counting the chickens before they hatch; you are building only castles in the air. Never will you be

able to come back to West Bengal and form a Government and stay there. You have seen Dr. Profulla Ghosh taking lessons from what had happened.

Six Muslim boys were murdered and their dead bodies were found near Diamond Harbour. I rushed to the spot. Later on I found this. I was informed by very knowledgeable people about this. Then a police officer told me that the murderer is absconding, a man called Surya Ghosh. He has not been apprehended. And, I further learnt, he was brought to Delhi so that he is not apprehended. This Surya Ghosh happens to be a ruling Congress worker of Joy nagar. I am saying it on the floor of the House on my own responsibility. There have been attempts of murder on the Mayor of Calcutta and another councillor, Rothin Dev, and Jyoti Basu. There have been three attempts starting from Patna station, twice near Calcutta. What has happened to the Police? Why is it that they are not finding out the culprits? Because they feel, if they go into it, something might come out. That is why they cannot have an enquiry.

Regarding the repression that the CRP is conducting, I will quote from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's speech to show what the CRP had done, because Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is a friend of the Congress; we have seen him functioning before the election. So his utterance will perhaps be more acceptable to you and more acceptable to all of us. This is what happened in South Jambad colliery. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said in *Rajya Sabha* and I quote:

"These workers, about 250 of them, were demonstrating against the notice of lay-off by the employers. There was absolute peace prevailing there. The CRP appeared on the scene and started firing as a result of which two workers were killed and several others were injured. Later on Sec. 144 was imposed. I should like to

know from the Government whether it is the policy of the Government to go and intervene on the side of the employers..."

16 hrs.

If you ask me, I will say, 'Yes, that is so.'

Then he says :

"...and use the CRP to suppress the workers in this manner as has been done in the case of the workers of the Jambad collieries."

And then he says :

"In the name of suppressing or dealing with the Naxalites, the whole State today has been given over to the CRP for CRP rule, the like of which was scarcely known even in the days of the British. I would ask the Government to remember that the people of West Bengal, young men and women, peasants and workers, cannot be silenced in this manner by violence and brutality."

So many things he has said. He has utterly condemned the CRP. How is this grand alliance of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the agent provocateurs and promoters, functioning? The most corrupt force in this country is the Indian Police Force. Can we forget Mr. Mulla's judgement? Mr. Anand Narain Mulla said it is nothing else but organised gangsterism. A man who had been drawing Rs. 400 salary gets another 3,000 at the end of the month. There were misuses of powers which were indulged in and, sadistic pleasure in fulfilment of that. Now, the United Front Government of Jyoti Basu applied the brake. Jyoti Basu said, we must put the police on the right lines. This Central Government after the fall of the UF Government there, and before that also, told those policemen: If the CPM again comes to power, there would be trouble for you. Temptations of rewards were quoted. Liberal cash awards were given.

The police today are making extractions from the parents of boys who are taken to police stations on the pretext of their alleged involvement in Naxalite activities. I know of a case personally where the sub-inspector had demanded a sum of one thousand rupees from a mother, saying 'if you give Rs. 1000, your son will be spared from being beaten up.' And what sort of beating was it? Shri K. C. Pant knows it. I have already referred to it once in this House. Samir Bhattacharyya, a boy of 17, was taken to Shyampukur police station without any charge, without any warrant and without any reason, and he was given a beating-up by two jamadars in the presence of a sub-inspector and he died. There was haemorrhage from his mouth and through his rectum. The body was sent for *post-mortem*, and on *post-mortem* it was found that all his internal organs had ruptured, his spleen, lungs, liver and everything else had ruptured. This was what happened to a boy of 17. That is the socialism that my hon. friend opposite are trying to sell to this country and they want to hoodwink all of us. I hope they would not do this.

A section of the bureaucrats and the police are completely involved in this. Criminals are given the option 'Serve or get punished', and they were given the respectable garb of Naxalites. Shri B. M. Birla, who is not a friend of ours, but who is a great subscriber to the Congress election fund said on the 24th December, and he has said that repeatedly, that in Calcutta today, if you can spend Rs. 200 you can get a street urchin to come and throw a bomb. Hardend criminals are getting salary of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 per month for this purpose. He said that if Government wanted to restore peace, they could do it in three days. It was all the doing of Shrimati Indira Gandhi; she was creating all this havoc in West Bengal, and the people of Bengal and the people of India will judge it one day and will pay it back in her own coins.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

Again, 60 constables were murdered. Why? Just to confuse the people that Naxalites were killing constables, this was done. But we know that these constable had been involved in union activities during our regime, because we allowed them to practice trade union rights. So, they were sorted out and were murdered and are being murdered today one by one.

Only the other day, at the Barasat police station, a sub-inspector told one criminal 'if you go and kill the CPM candidate for this election, I shall let you go and set you free'. We have also information regarding the flow of arms and ammunitions and explosives and protective equipment. I warn the Prime Minister that these policemen and officials will not go unpunished as soon as the people can instal their own elected representatives to power; these criminals of police and civil servants who have been involved in these misdeeds and murders and tortures will be taught a lesson for life. We have carefully noted down their names and particulars. But how nice stories they cook up. They said that Sushital Ray Chaudhary died in a nursing home, and his wife came to see him the other day. But the police did not know. We knew that the police had brought him to the nursing home and kept him there. This is what they are doing in regard to many others also, because unless they can maintain this Naxalite bogey...

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: I would request you to give me five more minutes. After all, it is one ballot in a lifetime that we get, and, therefore, there should be some reward for this.

Then, again, take the case of guns being snatched away. Who believes that guns could be snatched away without the consent of the person? Nine guns were snatched away from the watchmen at the

Bahala airport, but not a round was fired. My hon. friend Shri Shah Nawaz Khan is sitting there and he has been a soldier, and he would confirm me when I say that nothing could happen unless there is mutual consent. But then often the plea was 'What about the size of the ammunition?' Again, I would refer this to Shri Shah Nawaz Khan, that a weapon of a bigger bore can always take an ammunition of a slightly smaller bore provided there is an adapter. This is what the police are doing. They are just telling stories and murdering the people. There are many methods. There are *agent provocateurs*, plainclothesmen who go and create trouble. Then our people come out, and then the CRP comes out and shoots and kills the people.

In regard to the Army, what is happening? Gen. Manekshaw had said repeatedly that the use of the army for political purposes should not be encouraged. But what is happening today? There are two divisions of the Army deployed in West Bengal. Under curfew all this killing takes place, so that others cannot come in and get the correct information.

Shri Samar Guha and his party had been crying hoarse for an election with the military. Well, he has had it, what is the outcome? I shall tell you the outcome in just a minute.

In remote, peaceful, villages, there were thousands of army men...

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Since he has mentioned my name, I would like to say that those areas were under the physical control of the CPI (M) and even the voters could not go to vote. If anybody can take any credit for some kind of election with a semblance of fairness and freedom in West Bengal, it is Samar Guha. He had the courage to speak out on this as a result of which there was at least the semblance of a free election.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: The army was there all over the place with camouflaged costumes, with nets ready for

jungle warfare, with automatic weapons on the ready, pointed at the starving, perplexed villagers. This is a real 'Gandhivad', but there is a slight modification, this is 'Indira Gandhivad'.

What have the army done in Calcutta ? They have insulted women ; they have snatched handbags from ladies in Shyam bazar and other places.

Under what law is the army functioning there and who is going to pay for it ? Combing and harassment continue unabated. Daily about 200 columns of troops with about 100 per column are combing CPI (M)-dominated areas. In March, 1971 alone, in ten days, 4000 persons were tortured and harassed. But the criminals have remained untouched. Life has been made unbearable. Young men are running away from their homes. Jyoti Basu has written a letter to the Prime Minister to call a halt to this. But what is coming ? Under the PD Act, 2,035 arrests have been made after the elections. What is the outcome of the election ? What is the alignment ? In 1967, we were 4<sup>th</sup> in the Assembly and 5 in Parliament. Today, under the same alignment and under most difficult conditions, we are 111 plus 12 in the Assembly and 20 in Parliament. In Baranagar, you tried all possible methods. You shut out 16 polling booths ; you engaged goondas to stifle the expression of the will of the voters. In spite of that, Jyoti Basu is Jyoti Basu and he has been elected with a comfortable margin over that stooge of yours of 11,000 votes. So do not talk about this.

I would request hon. members to kindly read the analysis given by the *Times of India* which said that with all the misuse of government machinery and other malpractices they lost the votes. They should take a lesson from what is happening in elsewhere. In East Pakistan, the writings on the wall are there for every one to see. The people of West Bengal have chosen us. We are strong, we are fit enough, to form a Government. Withdraw all central forces from the State,

give up all trickery and horse-trading, resort to democracy. The situation will then normalise and then let us decide the issue on the floor of the house. I say that the presence of the central forces in West Bengal is illegal and without jurisdiction. They should be withdrawn at once and the majority party should be called upon to form the government. If they fail on the floor of the House, you shall have the right to say so. The verdict of the people given in the election should be respected.

I move.

MR. CHAIRMAN            Resolution  
moved :

"This House, keeping in view the fact that in West Bengal the CRP and other Central Forces have been unlawfully acting beyond their jurisdiction causing serious resentment amongst the people there, demands immediate withdrawal of such Force from West Bengal."

There is an amendment by Dr. Ranen Sen.

DR. RANEN SEN (Barasat) : I move :

That is in resolution, for :

"In West Bengal the CRP and other Central Forces have been unlawfully acting beyond their jurisdiction causing serious resentment amongst the people there, demands immediate withdrawal of such Forces from West Bengal."

substitute "though in West Bengal the C.R.P. and other Central Forces have been deployed, they have failed to bring peace and tranquility in West Bengal, on the contrary have sometimes caused harassment to innocent common man, considers that deployment of these forces must be made judiciously so as to bring back peace and tranquility in the State and bring to

[Dr. Ranen Sen]

the real culprits disturbing the State without harassing and repressing the common innocent men."

MR. CHAIRMAN : Both the Resolution and the amendment are before the House. How much time shall we devote to this ?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Let us have 2 hours 20 minutes, leaving 10 minutes for the next Resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There are many speakers wanting to speak.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI (Bihar) : The hon. Mover who waxed eloquent on the torture which Bengal is facing now sees nothing in its proper perspective. He has a jaundiced and biased eye - I do not mean it in the physical sense ; I mean only the political eye. With that he is not able to do justice to the issue. For him, there is a skeleton in every cupboard. I would tell him what he has described so vividly is really his soul speaking, if there is a soul in the CPI (M) at all today.

What has happened today has been happening for the last one year. Bengal has been bleeding and bleeding profusely. The same horrors have been perpetrated there, the same atrocities, the same torture, the same humiliation, and we find that it did not hurt them then, it did not insult and humiliate them then, but now it hurts them since the Centre has come into the picture. These are two yardsticks for measuring the same justice.

There is a question that I would like to ask the hon. Member sitting opposite. He says that he expects justice from the Chair, especially from you because of your old association with the State. I would like to know how he and his party

who have never shown any justice to any individual in their State ask for justice.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Chair has to give justice to all.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : She does not understand that.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I would not ask for justice from the Chair because I expect the Chair to have an equal eye for all without discrimination, I would expect the same amount of justice for every individual in the House. But how can his party expect justice for itself, for its individuals, when it has destroyed justice, destroyed equanimity, destroyed everything which is vital and read to human nature and humanity in general for the last three or four years ?

He says that Bengal has been treated as an occupied territory. It is better that it is treated as an occupied territory than as a no-man's land, I would like to say that there has been a reign of terror let loose ; loot, arson, rape and everything which the tongue cannot pronounce have been perpetrated there. He is feeling sorry for the women whose honour has been sullied, and we share that, but I would like to ask him what happened when the House rose as one man when the same thing happened at the Rabindra Sarovar tragedy.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : On a point of order. May I inform the House through you that the Rabindra Sarovar affairs was enquired into by a High Court Judge and he has said that there was not an iota of truth in that. Don't tell all untruths. You are a lady and we want to be respectful, but do not try to tell things which are not true.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : Your threats will not carry any weight in the House. If what he has said is correct, I would be the first person to welcome that report if it is stated in it

that nobody's honour was sullied. We do not know the facts.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN (Paigbat) : There was an enquiry and there is a report. What you have said today is against the enquiry and you have to correct it at least afterwards.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He has said a lot of things of which I am not aware.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : It was not an enquiry at all. It was a farce of an enquiry. Even the witnesses were not allowed to appear.

THE MINISTERS OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE, DEPTT. OF ELECTRONICS, DEPTT. OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND DEPTT. OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRI K.C. PANT) : I appreciate the sentiments that have been expressed by Mr. Gopalan, but may I point out that in the past I have contradicted on the floor of the House certain things which Shri Jyotirmoy Basu referred to today. He said the Prime Minister told an untruth. I have contradicted this times without number in the last Parliament.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I have got documents in black and white. I have written documents to show that the Prime Minister had told an unmixed untruth:

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. member must be careful in what he says. To bring a charge against the Prime Minister like this is not fair.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : If I do not succeed in establishing what I have said, you send me to the Privileges Committee. I am prepared to face it and let Mr. Pant do the same thing.

SHRI K. C. PANT : One can only contradict what one knows to be wrong,

but I was standing in appreciation of the sentiment of Shri Gopalan and hoping that it would influence Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu is now a leader of his party and should not behave like this.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : May I remind Shri Gopalan of his own words which he used five minutes before. How are the hon. Members to know if there is any enquiry? I would like to know if there has been an enquiry, and if so what are the details of the enquiry which went about the Rabindra Sarovar incidents?

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : If it was that the finding in the enquiry report was against the police, will you express your regret about it.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I shall be the first person to be happy if it was established that the women's honour had been sullied... (*Interruptions.*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record if hon. Members get up whenever they like and begin to make speeches.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : On a point of order, I want to submit that there has been no proper enquiry at all into those happenings in Rabindrasarovar.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no point of order in this.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu lamented the loss of 200 cadres of the CP(M). I appreciate what he says; I sympathise with him. But may I ask him what has happened to thousands of people who had been butchered? They may belong to no party or different parties; but all the same they were the sons of some mothers and fathers. Why does he make this discrimination between the CPM cadres and other people?

[Shrimati Sushila Rohatgi]

He referred to the jute strike as being very successful. Personally I think that no strike can be a successful strike as what the country needs is production and development. Jute strike is something closely associated with foreign exchange earnings and as such it was a loss to the exchequer. Any loss to the exchequer can be replenished only by taxation of the poor. How can it be a successful strike then ?

He has been saying that no civilised man would say this or would do that. I wish he remembered that Bengal was at one time the home of fine civilisation, the land of soulful bliss, music, drama and theatre; it consisted of people who could rise about certain things and give us a lead in so many matters. What has happened in Bengal during the last four years when there was organised violence does not reflect that civilisation; it was a different civilisation then and we as Indians are not proud of that civilisation which has been seen in West Bengal during the last four years.

What surprises me most is this Shri Jyotirmoy Basu said that the police are frightened to do something since if something is found out the people are taken to task. I should like to ask him why this particular incident happened. Is it not because the police were thoroughly demoralised under the CP(M) rule during the last four years; they were not only threatened but they had laid down their lives also. They had been threatened, intimidated and were made to act under tension and pressure. I have seen people there; in Bengal the police had also under gone torture. What has happened in the police and other services? The entire responsibility for that goes to the CP(M). They cannot be absolved of it or exonerated from that.

Above all he has stated that it was not Gandhivad, but Gandhivad and with a slight modification and said that it was Indira Gandhivaad. I say it is the dreams of Gandhi which Indira Gandhi is trying to

translate into action and which the people have approved. (*Interruptions.*)

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : There is no connection whatever between the two—either family or otherwise.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : Yes, the Swatantra Party is thinking only in terms of families and family connections whereas the Congress (R) thinks of this family of 50 crores of people. Gandhi vaad is slightly different from what Indira-Gandhi has in mind - that is what he says.

Now, I come to the basic resolution. There are three things which I would like to highlight. First, he says that they were unlawfully acting beyond their jurisdiction. I would like to know precisely what is the periphery, what is the jurisdiction of the CRP. The CRP is not deployed in normal times. It has a jurisdiction to maintain law and order. It is only when we find that the civil forces are not sufficient that the armed forces are called for, and it is the duty incumbent upon the Union of India under article 355 of the Constitution to guarantee that the State is run according to the Constitutional Provisions. (*Interruption*)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : The case is pending before the high court.

It is *sub-judice*. Let us not analyse it.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : If it is *sub judice*, why is it brought in this resolution? If that is so, why are these words used in the resolution itself?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I did not go into the legal side of it.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I think the resolution goes into that aspect. You have been concerned too much with the skeleton and the illegal side of the picture. (*Interruption*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : No interruption please.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I would not be very long. I shall not provoke you any further.

Now, the second part of it is this. It is the serious resentment among the people there. What is the serious resentment due to? The serious resentment of the people is due to a few factors. If I may point out, it is due simply to the fact that the normal life of the people has been disrupted. People find that their families have been disunited. Business and trade have been dislocated, and normal life as a whole has been paralysed. The sanctity of the universities has been violated. People have been taken out from their schools and colleges and butchered and murdered. We find that there is nothing sacred there. The statues of all those whom we have learned to worship and honour are being broken and truncated, and the names that are living in our history and in our minds have been violated and they have been washed out of the earth for nothing. People are resenting because bombs are sold for a song in Bengal. That was the condition when violence became the creed of the day. People have been resenting and so all these things have happened in the last four years; nothing stood sacred; nothing was inviolable, and the very Constitution by which he and his party swears—(Interruption) Mr. Basu will you give me kindly the courtesy of listening to me? (Interruption) I was listening to him; and so I expect him to give me the courtesy of listening back.

MR. CHAIRMAN : She is particular that you should listen to her.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I give special attention especially to leaders of parties. Now there is a particular reference to threat; even in his speech on the floor of the House, he has uttered a tone of threat. I would like to

quote from the *Times of India* of the 15th February which says: "Threat of revenge by Jyoti Basu; attack on CPM would be met by counter-attacks; death by death." It said that the CPM was preparing a list of those policemen who had been conspiring against the party and others would be treated accordingly.

Now, if this is the justice that his party contemplated, God forbid, this is no justice which we under our Constitution contemplated.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Do not misquote. Your sins are full.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No running commentary please.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Those policemen and officials who had done mischief, we have made note of their names and particulars. They will be punished.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : We hate the sin and not the sinner. That is all that we can say in this context. (Interruption) Even at the time when they were in power, what did they do? They believed in violence; they believed in secessionist tendencies and in extra-territorial loyalties, being loyal to Mao. The red colour which is extremely good for married women especially in Bengal has become an allergy to West Bengal now. We associate red colour with Mao's posters, stencilled slogans, banners and with blood. It is not only that they see jaundice; it is jaundiced eyes everywhere.

I would like to say that such conditions still prevail in Bengal now. If Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu had really wanted the removal of the CRP, he as the leader of a very important party, should have seen that the normal life was restored, that the popular regime was restored and that the people could choose whom they liked and the conditions were such that the normal rule of law was fostered.

[*Shrimati Sushila Rohatgi*]

Then only we would have been in a position to ask for the removal of the CRP. In the absence of that, are we to forfeit our security and honour guaranteed to us by the Constitution into the hands of people who are not in a position to protect them? The crux of the matter is that the Union Government cannot allow the CMP to dictate to it without abdicating its responsibility. With these words, I very strongly and stoutly oppose the resolution brought forward by Mr. Basu.

DR. RANEN SEN (*Barasat*) : Sir, my amendment reads :

That in the resolution--

"for in West Bengal the C.R.P. and other Central Forces have been unlawfully acting beyond their jurisdiction causing serious resentment amongst the people there, demands immediate withdrawal of such Forces from West Bengal"

*substitute* "though in West Bengal the C. R. P. and other Central Forces have been deployed they have failed to bring peace and tranquillity in West Bengal, on the contrary have some-times caused harrassment to innocent common man, considers that deployment of these forces must be made judiciously so as to bring back peace and tranquillity in the State and bring to book the real culprits disturbing the State without harrassing and repressing the common innocent men."

Mr. Basu's resolution speaks about CRP and other central forces, but in the course of his speech, he drew in all the police forces including the State police force also. It means he wants to withdraw not only the CRP but also the State police from West Bengal. One must be logical in his arguments. I will go into some details because Mr. Basu has gone into very many details. Deployment of

paramilitary organisations like CRP is no doubt undesirable and unnatural but in our State, this is not the first time they are used against the people. It was in 1959 the then Home Minister of West Bengal in the UF Government posted the Eastern Frontier Rifles a paramilitary organisation and equipped it with hand-grenades and light machine guns against the so-called Naxalites in Debra and Goppillabpur, in Midhnapore, etc. A storm was then raised in the West Bengal Assembly and it was withdrawn. The same CRP was first introduced by the then Home Minister of West Bengal in 1969 in Durgapur, Farakka and some other places. These are all historical facts proved on the floor of the West Bengal Assembly and this House. It is known to everybody. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MANORANJAN HAZRA (*Arambagh*) Sir, on a point of order. I was a member of the West Bengal legislature at that time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is an explanation ; not a point of Order.

SHRI MANORAJAN AAZRA : Let me complete it. Shri Jyoti Basu never did any such things. I know it for a fact. Because of pressure from opposition groups, he deployed State police, but not the CRP.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is not a point of order. If he says anything more it will not go on record.

DR. RANEN SEN : When Shri Jyotirmoy Basu was speaking no body from our side interrupted him. We expect this much of decency from the hon. Members sitting on our right also. Also, Shri Jyotirmoy Basu will have a chance to reply when he can rebut all the arguments that I am making. So, he will have that opportunity. Therefore, why be so intolerant and impatient ?

When he was waxing eloquent on the omissions and commissions made

by the police, CRP and other forces, I was reminded of one thing. For the last one and a half years, even today, the leader of that party, Shri Jyoti Basu, keeps himself surrounded by the police who are denounced here by Shri Jyotirmoy Basu. There should be one yardstick.

AN HON. MEMBER : He did not say anything about the police.

DR. RANEN SEN : He has spoken about the police also. There should be some decency in public life. If their leader was so much brave as to be protected, it should be by their own volunteers. It should not be by police force for which the West Bengal Government have to spend Rs. 82,000 per year.

As I have said earlier, it is very undesirable, very unwarranted and very unnatural to post and deploy Central forces in a State. Nobody wants it. Everybody wants the withdrawal of such forces. But who paved the way for these forces to come and stay in West Bengal ? That is a point which we cannot ignore.

Here I would like to give a few instances, I will refer to some newspapers, the very papers which he quoted, *Hindustan Standard*, *Jugantar* and *Ananda Bazar Patrika*. In Cossipore a particular union office run by the CPM was searched by police along with CRP and other personnel. Plastic bombs of a high explosive nature were found there, pictures of which appeared in all the newspapers in Calcutta. In Noapara of Barrakpore subdivision of 24 Parganas district a search was made in CPM house by the police and military and sack-loads of bombs were found. Again, there is a report that during the election in Katwa constituency the CPM houses were surrounded by the police and in one instance three sack-loads of high explosive bombs were found. For the benefit of the hon. Members here, I will just mention one newspaper report published only yesterday in the *Hindustan Standard*. They cannot say that every newspaper has written

against them. The only newspaper in favour of that party is *Economic Times* run by big business. Only that paper writes in favour of that party ; all other papers are writing against them. They are hand in glove with Mr. Birla. I make this open statement.

There is a newspaper report with photographs which I would like to refer to.

It says :

"A primary school teacher from whose house two ballot boxes and one seal for marking ballot papers were recovered by police at Hatgobindpur about five kilometres..."

Let them say if Hatgobindpur is not their strong-hold

This is what is stated below the photograph :

"Combing operation at Hatgobindpur village, 12 km. from Burdwan town. Four guns, 200 cartridges, other arms, two ballot boxes and a seal were seized."

While saying this, I never underestimate and never minimise certain things that had been done by the police or the C.R.P. or the military or is being done today by them in West Bengal.

What was the situation ? A section of the police remained as silent spectator. It was the C.P.M. who brought the politics of individual terrorism and murders in West Bengal. Such action paved the way for the introduction of the C.R.P., the military and other forces in West Bengal. It is because a section of the police either as opportunists or in sympathy with the C.P.M. party remained inactive.

The various dens were searched by the C.R.P. and the military. Cossipore trade

[Dr. Ranen Sen]

union office run by the C.P.M., Noapara C.P.M. office and Katwa C.P.M. office were searched and sack-loads of bombs and other weapons were unearthed

In the name of fighting Naxalism, the C.P.M. were helping the police, Mr. Jyotirmoy was speaking about police attacks against Naxalites. It is known to everybody in West Bengal that it was the C.P.M. which helped the police in capturing the Naxalites and illegally procured arms could not be unearthed because a section of the police was inactive for some reason or other. The C.P.M. was responsible for that. Therefore when the C.R.P. and other forces operated, they went beyond all bounds. That is also a fact. He will agree with me that when the curfew was imposed not only in areas where the C.P.M. had strong-hold but everywhere that the area was surrounded by the police and the military and house to-house searches were made. There were curfew orders for 24 hours. Innocent boys and girls were arrested, beaten up in the police lock-ups and in the streets. If anybody stands on facts, I will support him. But I am not going to believe in cock-and-bull stories.

It is a most unnatural situation that exists today in West Bengal. In my constituency, I have seen the things happening during the President's Rule and at the end of the United Front rule, when the United Front was breaking up—thanks to the C.P.M. leadership in those days—in late 1969 and early 1970, the same things happened and today also these things are happening in West Bengal. Therefore, the only thing to do is to stop this police, the CRP and all that, and to install a representative Government in West Bengal. That is the only way.

Today, unfortunately, in West Bengal, bureaucracy rules the State with the help of police and military. In a State like West Bengal it is an impossible situation. Bureaucracy cannot rule the country for long. Unfortunately, in these elections, no single party or a group of parties

has come out in an absolute majority. But it should be the attempt of honest citizens, of the people who have been elected by the people, those MLAs, to form a Government so that the rule of bureaucracy, the rule of police, the C.R.P. and all that is stopped. It is time that the military should be sent to the borders of West Bengal.

Our State has a common border with Bangla Desh—East Bengal. That is also Bangla Desh and ours is also Bangla Desh. Therefore, our military should be present not in the streets of Calcutta or in the Bengal villages, but on the borders. A government is needed, a Government that can run the State properly. The first task of that Government would be to bring peace and tranquility in the State. I do not say law and order. There is a difference between law and order and peace and tranquility. It is the citizens of West Bengal who want peace and tranquility and progressive measures to eradicate poverty and to take West Bengal forward. Therefore, I would ask Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu to ponder over things and not to go at tangent at things which have not happened and try to conceal their own role and their own contribution for the situation created by their Party.

With these words, I move my amendment.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayink):  
Sir, I feel, after hearing Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu's speech, that more CRP forces should be sent to West Bengal because he himself was giving a picture of a cult of violence prevailing in the air of Calcutta and West Bengal.

Sir, Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu who belongs to CPM and his leader, Mr. Jyoti Basu are under Police protection all the time...  
(*Interruption*)...

I can challenge Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu. I can tell you, sir, that in his own house in Calcutta Mr. Jyoti Basu is staying under Police protection and CRP is guarding his

house. I can prove it. While in Kerala, I read report in the Press that in the last Parliament information was given on the floor of the House that Government of India is spending Rs. 2 lakhs every year for his protection. Such a thing is happening in West Bengal because of the Naxalites who are the illegitimate children of the CPM... (Interruptions)...

Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu said that the Police is doing all kinds of violent acts on the people. He is complaining only about the C.R.P. and the Military. He is not complaining about the State Police. Does it mean that the State Police can commit all atrocities on the people? If he was really and genuinely against the atrocities of the Police, he should condemn all violent acts committed either by the Police or by the CRP or the military.

During the regime of Mr. Jyoti Basu as Home Minister, CPM sympathisers have infiltrated into the Police force and he wanted to take advantage of that position and use that force against the people of West Bengal. Now he thinks that the presence of the CRP comes in the way of their activities. Shall I ask Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu who killed Mr. Hemanta Kumar Basu? Can he deny the rumour and the people's belief that it was the CPM which is behind his murder? Another Mr. N. Ganguli, RCP leader who killed him?

Sir, in my own State of Kerala, Mr. A. K. Gopalan—he is an old veteran of my State—he is himself having police protection. His comrade, Mr. Sankaran Nambudipad, is also moving under Police protection. Why do you people who claim to be the leaders of the masses want this police protection? If you are leaders of people, why do the people of West Bengal force you to accept Police protection? Now, the Government of India is worried about the life of Mr. Jyoti Basu. So, I feel that the present action of the Government of India to send CRP and other forces to West Bengal to restore peace and to restore law and order is correct and should be continued.

May I ask you one question? In the city of Calcutta can you say as to what is the collection of the cinema houses in the second show? I can tell you, sir, it is hardly Rs. 10.

People are afraid to go to cinemas that is an example to show how much of violence is there in the streets of Calcutta. There are free zones of different parties dominating themselves. The CPM wanted certain areas to be their own zones, and oust out other people. Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu and his boss Mr. Jyoti Basu want to have pockets of their own to dominate themselves, and kill the people who are against them.

Sir, we must stop this kind of a cult of violence. We must put an end to violence prevailing in West Bengal. More troops should be sent; more CRP battalions should be sent there to ensure peaceful life of the people. Let them compare their position with what obtained in 1967. They aligned themselves with Ajoy Mukerjee in 1967 and fought the election. Now they have got 65 seats because there were three cornered fights and four-cornered fight. In this House also they have got 12 seats more because of this kind of three-cornered and four-cornered fights. If there had been straight fight they would have got 6 or 7 seats only.

Congress has emerged as the biggest group in this House. We have not aligned ourselves with anybody but fought on our own. That shows that the people of West Bengal want that Mrs. Gandhi must be their leader and that only Mrs. Gandhi can provide security of their lives and property, only she can stop the cult of violence created by the CPM and their leader Mr. Jyoti Basu. Sir, I strongly oppose this resolution.

श्री राम रत्न शर्मा (बांदा) : भादरणीय सनापति महोदय, मैं जनसंघ की तरफ से श्री ज्योतिमय बासु के इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। सबसे बड़ा

[श्री राम रतन शर्मा]

आश्चर्य यह है कि इस प्रस्ताव पर इतनी देर के चर्चा हो रही है, ला एण्ड ग्रांडर के मेन्टेनेंस की बात को लेकर इस तरह से छीना-झपटी हो आश्चर्य इसमें अधिक है। कौन ऐसा आदमी है जो अपने देश में शान्ति और व्यवस्था नहीं चाहता। हम सब लोग शान्ति और सुव्यवस्था बनाये रखने के लिये, अपने देश के भविष्य के बेटरमेंट के लिये यहां पर बैठे हुये हैं और उस पर यह बात कही जाय। प्राय देखिये - पिछले तीन चार सालों में बंगाल की क्या हालत रही है कितने कत्ल हुए हैं, कितने पुलिसजन मारे गये, कितने प्रिन्सिपल मारे गये, कितनी बकेलियां खुले घाम हुई, कितनी बसों जलाई गई, कितनी कारे जलाई गई और कितने स्कूलों के मन्हे मुन्ने बच्चों पर बम फेंके गये? क्या प्रस्तावक महोदय इस बात पर विचार करेंगे कि आखिर यह कौन से भविष्य के लिये, देश के किस भविष्य के लिये ये सब बातें की गई थी, आखर वह कौन सी प्रकृष्टाई थी, जो मन्हे मुन्ने बच्चों को मारा गया, माताओं बहनों की दउव्रत लूटी गई? कौन इस का जिम्मेदार है, क्या कारण है जिमकी वजह से ये सब काम किये गये और किये जा रहे हैं? आज बड़ी परेशानी हुई जब ला एण्ड ग्रांडर के कन्ट्रोन का प्रश्न सामने आया, हमारी सी०पी०-एम० पार्टी को आज इससे बड़ी परेशानी अनुभव हो रही है। इसके पहले जब वहां पर बारदातें होती थीं, तब कोई प्रश्न नहीं उठाया गया।

सबसे पहला प्रश्न यह उठता है कि इतने हथियार और बन्दूकों, बंब, हैण्ड-ग्रेनेटस कहां से आते हैं, इसके पीछे किसका हाथ है? इस का जबाब कौन देगा, क्या प्रस्तावक महोदय बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि आखिर यह कहां से आते हैं, कौन हथियार सप्लाई करता है, इस के पीछे कौन है? इसके पीछे बड़ी दल है जो आज वर्ग-संघर्ष की भूमिका पर बड़ा हुमा है, इस के

अच्छे प्रस्ताव की उससे हम कभी सम्भावना कर सकते थे और न कभी अचछी बात की हम उन से कल्पना कर सकते हैं जो दल चाहता है कि देश में वर्ग-संघर्ष बना रहे, शोष भाषस में लड़ते रहे और हमारा काम निकलता रहे, यह प्रस्ताव उसी की एक भूमिका है, जो एंटेगन को उस तरफ ले जाना चाहते हैं।

मैं अपने घासक दल से भी कहूंगा कि उनकी भी इसमें अभी तक बराबर भूमिका रही है। अभी तक श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का दल उनके सामने झुकता चला जा रहा था। मैं कहूंगा कि उनको अब झुकने की जरूरत नहीं है ला एण्ड-ग्रांडर की मेन्टेनेंस के लिये हर तरह का सम्भव प्रयत्न किया जाना चाहिये ताकि वहां पर भविष्य में हर आदमी की रक्षा हो सके।

बंगाल की उपेक्षा हुई है, इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं हो सकती। बंगाल के विकास के लिए विशेष योजनायें बना करके प्रागे बढ़ना होगा। यदि बंगाल की उपेक्षा नहीं हुई होती तो एक बात यह आवश्यक है कि वहां पर इतनी परेशानी नहीं होती। इस लिए उस ओर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। वहां के शिक्षित बेकारों के लिए रोजगार का प्रबन्ध होना आवश्यक है। किन्तु जो "माओ जिन्दावाद" के नारे लगाते हैं उन्हें दुबता के साथ दबाना होगा या की संविधान की कसम लेकर संविधान की तोहीन करते हैं उनके साथ किसी तरह का कोई सम्झौता नहीं हो सकता है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का दुबता के साथ विरोध करता हूं।

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHARY  
(Cooch-Behar) : My hon. friend Shri Jyotirmoy Basu has moved this resolution and in the course of his opening speech, he has dished out figures about how many

murders had been committed. He had the good fortune to refer to only some of the cases and say that these were the murders committed by the CRP, but in most of the cases he could not make such a statement. The reason behind this was that most of the murders had been committed by the CPM people and their partymen. That was why he could not deal with them so very bravely.

He also referred in the course of his speech to the unfortunate and untimely death of the respected leader Shri Hemant Kumar Basu and he said that had been committed in order to malign the CPM and to create hatred among the people for the CPM. But he had forgotten one thing, namely that at the Shaheed Minar, almost all the people of Calcutta, and all the political parties, except the CPM had assembled to pass a resolution condemning the activities of the CPM and indirectly and directly putting the responsibility on the shoulders of the CPM for that atrocious murder of the respected leader Shri Hemant Kumar Basu. That is a fact, and the world knows it by this time. So, what was the force behind his argument in this regard, which he read out from his script? He has pleaded in his resolution that the CRP force should be withdrawn. If we are to analyse this resolution and speak for or against it, then I think we must go into the very depth of the law and order problem or situation of West Bengal.

I shall give you some brief figures in this regard. During the four years from 1967, from the first day of the installation of the UF Government upto the 31st December, 1970, according to official reports, there were 1237 political murders in the State of West Bengal. May I have a clarification from the hon. mover of the Resolution about who the persons responsible for these 1237 political murders committed by them during this four-year period were?

16.54 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the chair*]

Is it not a fact that it was the CPM had started all this game and all this process

of terror tactics and the tactics terrorism and creating some areas at least as some "Free Zones" where they could have a sort of people's court of their own? Innumerable such instances are there. I had cited several instances in this House during the last session in this regard.

In several places in West Bengal, they had these people's courts known as '*Jana adalat*' as if there was no law and order, as if there was no administration, and as if the police authorities had failed to control the situation in those particular zones. They had their own people as judges and they had their own prosecutors or prosecuting agents. What about this? My hon. friend Shri Jyotirmoy Basu had failed to say anything about this.

In order to have a proper picture about the state of affairs in West Bengal about which we should all have known by this time, I would like to mention some of the instances. I would quote from *The Indian Express* of 5 March, 1971 in which a veteran journalist, V. B. Kulkarni, wrote in an article, 'Why Blame the Police Today' as follows:—

"Many of these public utterances of Mr. Jyoti Basu as Deputy Chief Minister in the UF Government of West Bengal were little short of an incitement to violence and disorder".

So it is quite clear who preached violence and incited disorder. This is what has brought about the situation in West Bengal today posing a danger to law and order.

Then speaking on December 3, 1969, the Chief Minister of the State minced no words in accusing his deputy of being instrumental in creating lawlessness conditions in West Bengal. He accused him of shouldering the Home portfolio, with which he was entrusted, with utter incompetence and failure. The then Chief Minister observed that—

[Shri B. K. Daschowdhary]

"Today the administration has failed and has proved to be a failure. Today it should be asked whether there is any civilised Government in West Bengal".

All of us know who are responsible for creating this lawlessness, who are the persons to be blamed for creating this state of affairs.

Very rightly, my colleague, Dr. Ranen Sen, said that it was the UP Government which in 1969 invited the police from the Centre. He referred only to the Eastern Frontier Rifles. I can cite other examples. The UP Armed Constabulary was also invited by the then Home Minister of West Bengal, Shri Jyoti Basu, a CPI (M) leader.

What about the CRP? The then Home Minister at the Centre, Shri Y.B. Chavan said that 'it was the IG, of West Bengal who sought the help of the CRP from the Centre. Then the CRP was deployed. This was specifically stated on the floor of this House on 26th March 1969 in these terms .

"The position is that the CRP battalions or companies were sent to West Bengal after the IG of West Bengal requisitioned certain forces from us".

Thus the CRP forces were sent as also the UP Armed Constabulary companies.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : What a discovery !

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : "Immediately after that, the Deputy Chief Minister suggested that the CRP be withdrawn. That amounted to saying that the State Government did not want the CRP for their work, But initially they wanted it from us. Immediately, we ordered the CRP to withdraw and to give assistance only when the State Government needed",

That was the position as clarified in answer to a call attention motion tabled by my colleague, Shri S. M. Banerjee, in regard to the Durgapur incidents. I hope the Mover knows quite well that it was the Home Minister of West Bengal belonging to his party who wanted the CRP and other police forces in the first instance.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Now they do not want ; withdraw them.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : What is the state of affairs now ? Everywhere you find lawlessness rampant. As soon as you open the morning paper, you read : '7 killed in West Bengal', '12 killed in West Bengal', 8 'killed in West Bengal' and so on. There is no respect for life and liberty in the State. The whole State seems to have been passing since the last four years through a state of emergency.

What is the legal position ? Shri Jyotirmoy Basu did not have the courage to explain it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : I have no courage to be a turncoat.

17 hrs.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : Let him at least see Article 355 of the Constitution of India,

I must say that under Article 355 of the Constitution the Centre has got the responsibility and the duty too to send the CRP and other forces at least to keep control and give relief to the local people in case of internal disturbances. In the State of West Bengal lawlessness is there. If not an emergency, at least an undeclared emergency is there. Even during the election time, just before and even after the elections, there were so many murders. Who were the persons responsible for the attack on the Deputy Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation ? Who was responsible for creating a serious of incidents in Burdwan ? The CPM was very proud of it. How can it now cry that girls are

raped and women are assaulted? They were the persons who started these things and wanted this state of affairs in West Bengal.

In Cooch Behar alone on the 11th March, the day after the elections were over in West Bengal, two persons were assaulted and one was murdered. His name was Anil Bhattacharya. His only fault was that he did not comply with the wishes of the CPM workers and he worked for the Congress. On the 17th March I got a report from my District that another person named Sashadhar Modak, an old man of 62 years, a medical man by profession was killed, and it was done by the CPM.

During the days of the Home Ministership of Mr. Jyoti Basu of the CPM, he not only reorganised the whole police administration, but also changed it in such a way that the entire police force would serve only their party. CPM workers threatened local police officers that unless their orders were carried out, they would be transferred and penalised. They said, "You do this or we have got our man at the top to teach you a good lesson." This is what they said, and this is how the entire police administration had been changed.

As a matter of fact what happened in Cooch Behar District is that when the murder of Anil Bhattacharya was reported at the local police station, the officer there, I think his name is Ajit Chatterjee, did not care to arrest the culprit because he was a CPM man. The police officer was probably thinking that the CPM would come to power.

On the 11th I telephoned Shri Dhavan, the Governor of West Bengal from Cooch Behar and gave him this information, but so far nobody has been arrested. In the matter of the murder of Shri Sashadhar Modak also the local police are not taking any action against the CPM people.

The people of West Bengal are feeling absolutely helpless and in their heart of

hearts and everyone in West Bengal except the CPM people, feels that there should be some force at least to give protection in case of disturbances, and disturbance is there everywhere. They are not free to move, to go to the market. Even the boys and girls are not free to attend schools. Everywhere they have started miniature bomb manufacturing factories and even in Cooch Behar, a small mofussil town. Only the other day I saw in the newspapers that in the CPM office itself there were bomb bursts because there were some bombs stored there.

It was published in the papers. You should enquire. We should like to know about it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU . Bombers are bombbursts ?

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : Whatever you like to have. Take it as you like ; the choice is yours. I shall give you some more figures. These are all facts established beyond doubt' I do not want to say more because they are undecriminal prisoners. In Cooch Behar district one C.R.P. Commandant was murdered. Unfortunately one of the district leaders of the CPM group Shiben Choudaury and another leader or deputy leader Gopal Saha, both of whom were candidates in the Assembly elections are under-trial prisoners. I do not want to comment on that now. The case will be committed to the session very soon. Who is killing whom? It will be proved very soon further.

So, as I said earlier, it is necessary to have some of the C.R.P. forces from the Centre atleast to give some relief to the people of West Bengal who were not free to move to do their daily work.

Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu said that it had been proved in the recent elections, particularly Assembly elections, that the CPM people have come in large numbers. My short reply is that it was only because they have started the game of terrorising people either to vote in their favour or not to vote at all, it is only by this process

[ Shri B.K. Daschowdury ]

that they have come in larger numbers. When peace is restored and normalcy is allowed to prevail, when the effect of the terrorisation settles down, definitely the people of West Bengal will see that the CPM has no place in West Bengal, as they have no place in Kerala. It is going to be very soon, perhaps in the course of another twelve months you will see that if not earlier.

In connection with the question posed in this resolution by Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu and others about the posting of the CRP in Bengal, I would earnestly appeal to the Government of India to see that the CRP is retained there as long as normalcy is not restored in that part of the country and also to see that it is not made subservient to the local police administration. Some of the local police officials are still working under guidance and mandate and behest of the CPM leaders. If the CRP are simply to assist local police administration it will not do. In some places they are not arresting the CPM people. Certain special measures and special powers should be given to them. At the same time the CRP should be told not to indulge in any unjust activities so that the people of West Bengal may not form an adverse opinion about them. With these words I strongly oppose this resolution and I request this House to oppose it with all its might for the sake of the people of West Bengal.

डा० कलश (बम्बई दक्षिण) अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने जब श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु के प्रस्ताव को पढ़ा तो मैं ऐसा जानता था कि श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु उस प्रस्ताव को रखने के बाद वह कहानी सब्न् की बलभावेगे जिसके कारण सी० आर० पी० को पश्चिम बंगाल में रखा गया मैं वह भी कहानी जानना चाहता था कि सी० आर० पी० का जन्म बंगाल में क्यों हुआ ?

मैं यह इतिहास भी जानना चाहता था कि बार सप्त पूर्व जब वहाँ पर ज्योति बसु राज्य

नहीं कर रहे थे तब सी आर. पी. का नाम लेने वाला कोई व्यक्ति था भी या नहीं था। लेकिन जब से वहाँ पर उस पार्टी का राज्य चला जा पार्टी वायोलेंस में विश्वास करती है, जो पार्टी कलकत्ता में ही नहीं बल्कि सारे पश्चिम बंगाल इस प्रकार के हालात पैदा कर रही हो जिससे वहाँ पर लोगों को रहने में असुविधा हो, लोगों को जान और लोगों का माल सुरक्षित न हो, तब से इसके निवारण उपाय ही क्या था कि लोगों को सुरक्षा प्रदान करने के लिए समुचित उपाय किये जायें। श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु जैसे मानवीय मदस्य ने इस सदन में इस प्रस्ताव द्वारा राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने की कोशिश की है। जिन बातों को उन्होंने बयान किया है जिनको हम असत्य कह सकते हैं, जिनका कोई नामो-निशान इस समय नहीं है। या उन्होंने जो बातें कही हैं बहुत कुछ बढ़ा चढ़ा कर कही हैं। मैं उन्हीं से पूछना हूँ कि ये काण्ड वहाँ पर क्यों होने लगे हैं ? भारत में जो सबसे बड़ी समस्या हमारे सामने है और सासकर बंगाल के सामने है वह गरीबी और बेरोजगारी की है, उसको हल करने की है। इन समस्याओं को अगर हमें हल करना है तो यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि वहाँ हम सम्पन्नता लाएं व कि हम इस प्रकार के राजनीतिक दाँव पेंच खेलें जिससे वहाँ और भी अव्यवस्था पैदा ही जाए। हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि हमारे मौजवान उस रास्ते को छोड़ें जिस रास्ते पर चलने से मुश्किल के सामने खतरे पैदा हो सकते हैं।

मैं चाहता था कि श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु इस बात को यहाँ पर रखने का प्रयत्न करेंगे कि बंगाल में इस तरह के हालात इलेक्शन के बाद पैदा हो कि हम उस राज्य में राष्ट्रपति शासन को हटा कर लोकप्रिय सरकार की स्थापना कर, अर्थात् जनता का राज्य लागू हो। पर उसकी

मांग न करने हुए उन्होंने इस प्रकार की कहानियाँ इस सदन में बयान करनी शुरू की जिससे इस सदन का वातावरण भी कुछ ऐसा होता चला गया कि जिसको सुन कर कोई भी भ्रान्त-दित्त नहीं होंगे। उन्होंने ऐसी-ऐसी कहानियाँ यहाँ पर बयान की हैं जिन पर विश्वास करना किसी भी राजनीतिक नेता के लिए सम्भव नहीं है। उन कहानियों पर जनता भी विश्वास नहीं कर सकती।

माननीय सदस्य ने जो सवाल यहाँ पर उठाया है वह शायद इस कारण उठाया है कि वहाँ पर अव्यवस्था बनी रहे। ऐसा भी माजूम होता है कि माननीय सदस्य इन्दिरा जी को वह एक हौआ ममकते हैं, जिसको अंग्रेजी में "एलजी" कहते हैं या उनके नाम से उनको एलजी से ही गई है। हर चार वाक्यों के बाद वह यही दोहराते रहे कि इन्दिरा जी ने इस प्रकार के बरां हालात पैदा कर दिये हैं, अव्यवस्था पैदा कर दी है। रात्य तो यह है कि अगर इन्दिरा जी ने समय पर ये कदम न उठाये होते तो ये मध्याह्निक चुनाब भी वहाँ न हो पाते या वे ठीक प्रकार न हो पाते। जिस प्रकार के हालात वहाँ पैदा थे अगर उनको न रोका जाता या लोगों के जान और माल की रक्षा की व्यवस्था न की गई होती तो देश के माथे पर एक कलंक लग जाता पर उस कलंक को लगाने के प्रयत्न को सी. पी. एम. करते जा रहे थे। उसी कलंक को लगने से रोकने का प्रयत्न केन्द्रीय सरकार सी. आर. पी. इत्यादि के द्वारा कर रही है।

जो कुछ भी दोष इन्होंने सी. आर. पी. पर लगाने का प्रयत्न किया है, वह सत्य लागू होता है सी. पी. एम. पर। श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने अक्सर से जो कुछ बयान कहे, ठीक उसके विरुद्ध दूसरे भारतीय सदस्यों ने इस सदन में पढ़ कर

सुनाया जो उत्तर काफ़ी है। इस सदन में श्री वाई. बी. चट्टाण ने जो कुछ कहा था और जो कुछ अखबारों में प्रकाशित हुआ था और तो कुछ दूसरे माननीय सदस्यों ने यहाँ पर पढ़ कर बताया है उससे यह साफ़ बाहिर होता है कि जो भी मर्डर हो रहे है, जितने भी अत्याचार हो रहे हैं वह सब पुलिस को उलट-सुलट कर गलत रास्ते पर ले जाने की कोशिश का नतीजा है और उसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी सी. पी. एम. पर है।

मैं समझता था कि श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु यह कहेंगे कि हमने अब रक्त शान्ति का जो रास्ता अपनाया है, उसे हम छोड़ने के लिए तैयार हैं, हमने जो मारने और बमकाने और मर्डर करने का रास्ता अपनाया है, उस तरीके को हम वापिस लेते हैं और आशा करते हैं कि अब सी. आर. पी. को वहाँ स्थापित कर रखा है, उसको अब वापिस बुला लिया जाय। मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस प्रकार के हालात आज पश्चिमी बंगाल में विद्यमान है और जिनको सी. पी. एम. ने पैदा कर रखा है, तब तक सी. आर. पी. बनी रहेगी अर्थात् सी. आर. पी. को किसी भी अवस्था में वहाँ से हटाया न जाय। अगर सी. आर. पी. को हटाया जाता है तो जो हालात आज बंगाल में कुछ शान्ति के हम देख रहे हैं, वे समाप्त हो जायेंगे और वहाँ फिर से अशांति पैदा हो जाएगी।

मैं चाहता था कि श्री बसु हमें यह बतायें कि बंगाल में 1947 में कितनी इन्डस्ट्री थी और 1967 में कितनी थी और वहाँ से इन्डस्ट्रीज क्यों हटती चली जा रही है और इसका कारण क्या है? मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर वहाँ से इन्डस्ट्री हटी है तो इसका एक मात्र कारण बर्हूँ अशांति है। अगर इस तरह से ही काम चलता रहा और ऐसे ही हालात बने रहे तो जो पार्सि मशीनों और मध्यम वर्ग के हितों का रक्षक होने

[डा. कैलाश]

का दावा करती है, उसके बिल्कुल खिलाफ काम करती हुई वह समझी जाएगी। अगर यही हालात बना रहें और टगो प्रकार से इन्डस्ट्री वहाँ से बाहर जाती रही और इसी प्रकार ये कारखाने और मिलें बन्द होती रही तो इसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी श्री ज्योतिर्मय बासु और उनकी पार्टी पर होगी। जब इस प्रकार से बेकारी वहाँ पर बढ़ती है, वहाँ का वातावरण गंदा होता है, वहाँ लोगों की जान और माल को धोखा होता है, उसके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार वहाँ पर सी. आर. पी. को बनाए रखे और इसलिए बनाए रखे ताकि सी. पी. एम. और उसके साथियों से लोगों की रक्षा हो सके और सी. आर. पी. वहाँ की पुलिस की मदद कर सके और कानून और व्यवस्था का राज्य वहाँ लागू हो सके। ऐसे तत्व जो वहाँ पर बदाम्नी फैलाना चाहते हैं, वे अपने इस लक्ष्य में कामयाब न हो सकें, इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि वहाँ सी. आर. पी. पुलिस की मदद के लिए तैनात रहे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं माननीय सदस्य से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह अपने प्रस्ताव को वापिस ले लें। जिस प्रकार का इस सदन में वातावरण बना है, जिस प्रकार के यज्ञ भाषण हुए हैं, उस सब को देखते हुए बेहतर तो यही है कि वह अपना प्रस्ताव वापिस ले लें लेकिन अगर वह ऐसा नहीं करते हैं तो मेरे पास इसके सिवा कोई रास्ता नहीं है कि मैं इसका विरोध करूँ।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : Sir, I think everybody in this House having any faith in democracy will agree that calling of a paramilitary body like the CRP in defence of the democratic rights of the people or for the protection of the civil rights of the people or for restoration of

law and order in any part of the country is a matter of disgrace. I hope soon after the installation of the new Government in West Bengal the CRP would not be continued there more than it is required. I know that whenever any paramilitary body like CRP is employed, such a body is bound to create excesses. I know many instances where CRP really indulged in serious excesses. Many innocent people were beaten up whenever there was curfew and unnecessary harassment was caused, particularly in Jadavpur University, where a hell of terror was created by the CRP inside the campus and many students and teachers were manhandled. Such excesses occurred as a result of lack of coordination between the control of CRP by the central agency and the West Bengal Government. In many cases, there was no coordination and that resulted in lack of discipline and lack of control. Therefore, the CRP could not be employed in the way it should have been employed, i.e., as a disciplined force. It was employed where there was the least necessity for their interference.

But, and this is a very big "but", I want to ask one question of Shri Jyotirmoy Basu. What is the political compulsion that created the situation which forced the Hand of the West Bengal Government for bringing the CRP for the restoration of an atmosphere of normality in the State of West Bengal? What is the compulsion, I want to know from Shri Jyotirmoy Basu, the leader of his party, Shri Jyotirmoy Basu, other leaders, members of Parliament and members of the legislature are now taking protection, not only of the CRP but of other security forces also in the circumstances which have been created by whom?

AN HON. MEMBER : American Lobby.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : It has been created by whom? Shri Jyotirmoy Basu should answer that question. The situation that they have created, the psychosis of horror and violence that they have engendered in the minds of their cadets,

that is now recoiling as a boomerang on them and, as a result, they themselves have to ask for protection by CRP for the withdrawal of whom they are now advocating in this House ... (*Interruption*). You are here because of the left-handed complement or co-operation of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Otherwise, your number might have been reduced to 3, 4 or 5. You are elected by getting a minority of votes.

MR. SPEAKER : I would request the hon. Member to Address me. When he starts addressing them, they reply. That is the difficulty.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Now, what is the picture in West Bengal ? Bombs are being showered like rains, fire-atoms are being manufactured everywhere, pistols can be had of in any part of Calcutta or even the whole of West Bengal. Sten guns and high guns and explosives can be found in the dens of many political parties. Could one imagine that during the thirteen months' regime of UF Government, not one or two or hundred but more than 5,000 lives were lost ? They included political cadres, political leaders, teachers, students, women, children, parents and government employees who have nothing to do with politics. Even during President's Rule, of which one year is now completed, according to my calculation nearly 3,000 additional lives have become the victims of horror and violence in West Bengal. Today there is a press report that yesterday was a comparatively quiet but day four people were killed. When four innocent lives are taken by force of violence that is considered as something more or less normal. Before the installation of the U.F. Government in West Bengal, could one imagine, such a thing can happen ? Lives have become so cheap that during road day-light murder, arson, loot and killing are going on unchecked; bombs are still thrown at people, buses burnt and trains stopped. Could anyone imagine elected representatives of the people, Members of Parliament and members of the legislature being given protection ? All elected Members of Parliament and members of the State

legislature have been told by Police "We cannot assure the security of your lives; therefore, you are requested to take police security for the protection of your life". Democratic freedom of our country has degenerated to such a level, to such a level to such a dimension of degradation that even the elected representatives of the people have not the freedom to move about freely.

Mr. Hemant Kumar Bose, one of the greatest patriots of Bengal, a close associate of Netaji, who devoted more than 60 years of his life to the service of the country continuously, was murdered in broad day-light. In what manner ? We could not believe that he had any enemy. It was known that he was an *ajai-shatru*. In political life, he was known as *ajai-shatru*. He never used any word of anger at any moment. When some 7 or 8 young men pounced upon him with an open sword, he raised his hand and said, "Why are you killing me ? What will you benefit by killing me ? When he said that, fingers of his two hands were chopped off. Then, his neck was half disconnected and he fell down. Then, one of them cut his throat and another person pierced a pipe gun and shot him dead.

I have a friend who came to me with tears rolling down his eyes. He had the only son, a student of Class X. His fault was that sometimes he used to mix up with C.P.M. friends. When he decided not to mix up with any political party, suddenly, in broad day-light, some people entered the school and held the boy in the presence of his teacher and cut his throat. Then, a pipe gun was pierced into it and he was shot.

I can cite innumerable instances of brutality, savagery, which cannot be compared even with the savagery of the beasts living in jungle.

There is one pertinent question. We are committing these ghastly sins ? Are they habitual offenders ? Are they known

[ Shri Samar Guha ]

criminals? Are they hooligans? Are they goondas? These hundreds of people are being killed in a brutal manner, in a savage manner, which surpass, the imagination of any human comprehension. Those people who are indulging in this killing, murders, etc., in this brutality, are doing it with political purpose, as a matter of political tactics.

I want to impress upon you that this psychosis that has developed in West Bengal, the politics of violence, has degenerated the finest delicate mind of the youngmen in West Bengal to such a level that this savagery, this brutality, is being equated with political tactics. Therefore the problem is not only of killing, murders, loot or arson. But this is a problem of indoctrination of the politics of violence, into the mind of the youngmen of West Bengal. Here lies the problem and also, if that politics can be tackled adequately and properly, there lies the solution of the present ills of West Bengal today.

I do not want to indulge into the instances of brutality committed during the U.F. regime as also during the President's Rule in West Bengal. I would only ask Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu whether it is not a fact that his party introduced the politics of violence, insurrection, into the democratic political atmosphere of West Bengal? Was there any single instance of calculated political murder of the ghastly type that are now being committed every day in West Bengal at any time before the U.F. Government came into power?

Sir, I will support the resolution of Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu if he agrees to the principle of democratic politics, if he agrees to the principle of democratic mass movement, if he agrees that they will not pursue the path of horror and violence as they are committing to-day. Sir, I have laid down a few conditions. If he agrees to that, I will support him. Sir, I have said that it is repugnant to me to invite or to ask the CRP or the military

to take hold of the civil administration for bringing about the restoration of normal life in a State. But, Sir, again I ask the question, 'What is the alternative?' The Only alternative is that the response of the people, their faith in democratic principles, their faith in the civil administration to be restored. Can any Police, can any CRP, can any military really bring about normalcy in any State? It is only the political Parties that can really restore the rule of law. It is only the people, the united will of the people, united initiative, united response of the people, united faith of the people in determination and democratic rights of the people that can restore the democratic, atmosphere in West Bengal.

I will wholeheartedly support Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu's resolution provided he and his Party denounce forthwith in the open and broad daylight that his Party does not subscribe to the politics of violence, horror and intimidation. Let his party give up the politics of terrorisation in the field of labour and trade union movement. It is his party that tries to capture rival unions with the help of bombs, with the help of swords, with the help of pistols, with the help of pipeguns by destroying all the rival unions. It is his party which has introduced the politics of killing and murder in the rural areas by introducing the politics of forcible seizure of land and forcible seizure of harvest with arms and ammunition. It is his Party that creates an atmosphere of horror there.

I would again say, let them adjure, let them denounce the politics of violence let them agree that in the trade union field democratic principles would be followed. Let them say that in the mass movement for land reforms and for securing the legitimate rights of the share-croppers only peaceful and democratic means should be adopted and let them stop the present violent methods. It is his Party that tries to infiltrate into the Police force and from party cells in the Police. Sir, in a democracy the position of the

Government employees and Police is non-partisan in character.

They do not belong to any political Party.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Friends of Congress

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : may remind you that I made the Ruling Congress candidate forfeit his deposit... (*Interruptions*). I was suggesting that it was their Party which has set up a Paschim Bengal Police Karmachari Sangh in the regime of the United Front Government. Sir, the forty-years old West Bengal Police Association was disbanded. Party Talukdar was elected as a CPM MLA. He formed the Paschim Bengal Police Karmachari Sangh and that Sangh was given recognition after disbanding the forty-year old Police Association. Sir, it is they who tried to infiltrate into Police administration. Do they believe in democracy? Who believes in constitutional forms of Government? Do they try to infiltrate into the Police force? Do they try to make the Police a partisan? Do they try to bring the Police into the fold of a political party?

The Police and the Government employees are the instruments for the implementation of the measures of the Government, whatever Government may be in power with the will of the people.

Now, what they are trying to do is to create a partisan cell amongst the Government employees, amongst the Police, amongst, I should say, in all Security Services, even in the Intelligence Services. They have introduced their elements so that they can sabotage from within.

I request them this. If they believe in the principles of democracy, if they believe in the principles of the ballot, not in the bullet, they should adjure this policy of violence, this policy of infiltration, this policy of indoctrinating the Police and the Government employees and make them comparatively neutral, non-partisan as servants of the people, not of any party.

Is it not a fact that Hare Krishan Konar announced during the regime of the United Front Government that they have formed a people's militia of a strength of 1,10,000?

Is it not a fact that these people's militia was armed?

It is not a fact that Hare Kishan Konar and other leaders publicly stated that there will be a time, a time is coming when this people's militia will have to play the role of a Liberation Army, as is the case in South Viet-Nam? Sir, if any party believes in democracy, if any party believes in Constitutional forms of Government, can they form such types of people's militia? Can they ask them to play the role of a liberation army as we are witnessing today in some of these South-East Asian countries?

Sir, this shows what type of politics of violence they are believing in. This also shows how they have indoctrinated the minds of younger cadres in West Bengal today. If they agree to disband the mobile squad of terror they have let loose in West Bengal, then really peace will come in West Bengal.

I am astonished at the strange observation made by Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu. He shed tears for Sushital Roy Chowdhary; he shed tears for the Naxalites; is it not a fact that hundreds of young Naxalities were brutally killed by them? They were taking revenge against them. Is it not a fact that Sushital Roy Chowdhary and others were hauled up with the help of the Police? Is it not a fact that the CPM acted as the advance guards of the CRP for hauling up the Naxalite friends? Is it not a fact, Sir? If it is so, how it is that today they are shedding tears for the Naxalites and for Sushital Roy Chowdhary?

Lastly I would say this. Will they agree to surrender all arms, ammunition, explosives, pipe-guns, pistols etc?

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** We have none.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA :** We have having it in huge quantities in their party-field. If they agree to give up the cult of violence and surrender arms, ammunitions, explosive etc., which are in their possession; and publicly declare that they donounce the policies of insurrection, of violence and horror, I will support them. I subscribe to the politics of democracy and democratic national life. If they agree to do so, we will join hands with them here and now with other parties. I subscribe to democracy, to peaceful means, to rule of law, and to democratic methods. Will they agree to restoration of peace and normally in West Bengal, to ensure civil rights to the people, restoration of the rule of law and form peace squads, to develop the people's initiative for resistance against the manifestations of horror, violence and intimidation?

Sir, only then, and then only can the alternative of removal of the Central Reserve Police from West Bengal be not only accepted, but worked out really and effectively, giving confidence and assurance in the minds of the people and regenerating faith in democracy in West Bengal today.

**MR. SPEAKER :** Now, Shri Bhattacharys.

**AN HON. MEMBER :** How much time has been allotted for this resolution?

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE :** We have taken about 2 hours 20 minutes already. The other resolution is also equally important.

**MR. SPEAKER :** There are more hon. Members who still want to speak on this resolution itself.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE :** I fully realise your position,

**SHRI C. E. BHATTACHARYA (Giridih) :** Normally, I would not have liked at this stage to intervene in the debate on the resolution moved by Jyotirmoy Basu, but for a certain evasive statement made by him as well as certain threats held out.

I know from my own experience of not so long ago, just about a year and a half ago, during the regime of the UF days, how I found the body of a murdered person hanging from a tree on the road between Nawadwip and Krishnagar, a distance of eight miles. I was told that the body had been hanging there from the previous night. Processions of men were going there to have a look at that body. I was on my way to the Krishnagar court at 10 a.m., and when I returned at about 4 p.m. I found that the body was still there hanging from the tree and processions of men were still going to see that body. At the Ganges front, there was one sub-inspector of police, and I asked him 'what is the matter with the police administration here? A dead body has been hanging from a tree I am told that the person had been murdered more than about 12 hours ago. Why is it that the body had not been brought down?'. The sub-inspector of police said, 'Yes' I also heard there was a dead body hanging somewhere.

Even he asked me my name and cross-examined about my antecedents, and learning that I was going to Nabadwip, he said, 'Since you are going to Nabadwip, you can make a report to the police officer in charge of the police station there'. The officer in charge was asleep, and it was just 4.30 p.m. When I got him out, rather than taking down my statements, he took a long time in getting particulars about my name, my parentage, the place I had come from and so on, and then casually, he said, 'Well' we would be on wireless communication with Krishnagar and we shall report'. That was the state of law and order which I saw for myself in a particular incident. I do not go there often. But this has been so sharp in my memory, and that spoke a volume by itself,

The other story which I was told was a pathetic one related by an old priest owning 5½ acres of paddy land. He asked : 'Would you people kill us?' I asked: What is the matter ? Why do you make this strange request?' He said : 'I have 5½ acres of paddy land just bordering Nabadwip. That paddy has been looted. My subsistence is Rs. 20 which I get from Sanskrit teaching. I get just a little extra income by doing some poojas'.

This happened in Nabadwip during the UF regime. This is a breakdown of all values that I know of. The question is : Is what is happening in Calcutta, in West Bengal, a fore-runner of a general breakdown ? Must we wait sit silent and watch and hear double-talk ? We know it is part of revolutionary activity to combine parliamentary activity with extra-parliamentary operations. There is one set of discussions and statements on the floor of the Lok Sabha and another sort of activity in the field. These have to be combined. This is, we are told, part of the process of double-think. The result is that this boomerangs, recoils. This is precisely what has happened. We have seen in history that 'Danton gets killed by Mirabeau and Mirabeau always gets killed by Robespierre in turn'. This is what is happening in this so-called revolutionary movement. The more extremist section is trying to seize control. I hope the less extremist and more reasonable ones would give some food for thought to our friends, the CPI (M). After all from CPI to CPI (M) and from CPI (M) to CPI (M-L) is just a step. In the process of the leap from pink to red, we will be seeing the ruination of a tract of land whose contribution in language, literature, art and in the struggle of India's liberation has not been less than any other's.

Must this area be the starting point of India's disintegration ? Very recently, the electorate has given a thundering answer to the point of view posed by Shri Jyotirmoy Bose. That answer is clear. The struggle will be on. But for once could we not subordinate our political aims to the major aim of the economic development

and succour to the under-privilege sections of the people ? I suppose on this point, in the changed context, there is room for adjustment.

श्री सुधाकर पांडे (चंदौली) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं श्री ज्योतिर्मयबसु द्वारा प्रस्तुत प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हूँ और वह इस लिए करता हूँ कि जो कुछ भी इन्होंने चर्चा की है, यद्यपि उस में कल्पना और नाटक के भाव के पीछे संजीदगी थी, लेकिन इसका सारा उत्तरदायित्व उन के दल के ऊपर है जिसने बंगाल की उज्ज्वल परम्पराओं के ऊपर न केवल कलंक का टीका लगाया, अपितु देश के प्रभुदय और जनवादी परम्पराओं की गर्ति के रथ को रोका। जनता का जो निर्णय हुआ, जिस के बारे में उन्हें बड़ा अभिमान है कि बंगाल में उन्हें सबसे अधिक स्थान मिले, मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि बंगाल की खाड़ी में अगले चुनाव तक उन के दल को स्थान मिलेगा, परन्तु देश में उनका स्थान नहीं रह जायगा। क्योंकि बहुत से राज्य ऐसे हैं, जहाँ पर उनका पना ठिकाना भी मिट गया है और बहुत से स्थानों पर उनके लिए रोनेवाला भी कोई नहीं रह गया है। बंगाल में जो कुछ हुआ है, उस का सारा उत्तरदायित्व श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु के दल के ऊपर है... (अवधान)... हिन्दी में एक कहावत है—उन्टा चौर कोतवाल को डांटे। लगता है कि उन का जो नाटक चल रहा था, इनके जो ध्वंसात्मक कृत्य चल रहे थे, उनके लिये अब कोई स्थान नहीं रह गया है। इस लिये वे चाहते हैं कि सी० प्रार० पी० को वहाँ से हटा लिया जाय ताकि उन को खुल कर खेलने का अवसर मिले। यह प्रतिष्ठा की बात नहीं है, बल्कि लज्जा की बात है चार छः दिन के बाद वहाँ पर जनता की सरकार बनेगी और वह शान्ति व्यवस्था तथा प्रशासन चलाने की स्थिति में होगी, इस लिये अब श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु देख रहे हैं कि उन के लिये बंगाल में कोई स्थान नहीं रह गया है। इस लिये अब वे इस प्रस्ताव

[श्री सुभाषकर पाण्डेय]

के माध्यम से चाहते हैं कि वहाँ पर उनकी आतंकवादी कार्यवाहियाँ जारी रहे, विध्वंस तोड़-फोड़ और अन्धेरे मचा रहे। इसी दृष्टि से इस प्रस्ताव के माध्यम से उन्होंने यह रास्ता अपनाया है। मेरा कहना है कि बंगाल में या किसी भी भू-भाग में यदि आवश्यकता हो तो वहाँ फौज भी भेजी जाय। जो लोग अहिंसा में विश्वास नहीं रखते, बल्कि तोड़-फोड़ में विश्वास रखते हैं और जो इस देश की हज़ारों वर्षों की परम्पराओं में विश्वास नहीं रखते हैं, क्योंकि इस देश की परम्परा अहिंसा की रही है, उन के कुर्रों को इस देश में बढ़ने न दिया जाय, अन्यथा जो गरीबों और पिछड़े हुए लोगों और बेकारों को काम देकर हम प्राण बढाना चाहते हैं, उस की गति में अक्षरोध डालेंगे और फिर उम का उत्तरदायित्व भी हमारे ऊपर पड़ेगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हूँ और जैसा कि प्रो० समर गुह ने कहा है यदि वे अहिंसा में विश्वास करें, जनतन्त्र की परम्पराओं में विश्वास करें तो निश्चय ही वहाँ पर सी० आर० पी० की ज़रूरत नहीं पड़ेगी, बल्कि देश में पुनित्व की भी ज़रूरत नहीं रह जाएगी।

श्री ए० पी० शर्मा (बक्सर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बहुत गौर से दो माननीय सभ्यों के विचार जो उन्होंने इस प्रस्ताव के ऊपर व्यक्त किये, सुन रहा था। एक तो प्रस्तावक महोदय—श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु और दूसरे हमारे मित्र—डा० रानेन सेन। दोनों ही पश्चिमी बंगाल से आते हैं और किसी समय दोनों एक साथ थे। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वे दोनों अब क्यों अलग हो गये। अगर हमारे मित्र ज्योतिर्मय बसु सिर्फ इसी बात का ख्याल रखते कि इन दोनों में क्यों कड़वाहट हुआ, क्यों अलग अलग हुए, तो मेरा खयाल है कि उन को यह प्रस्ताव इस सदन में प्रस्तुत करने की आवश्यकता नहीं होती। मैं यह

इस लिये कह रहा था कि अपने देश के किसी भी हिस्से में हमें पुलिस भेजनी पड़े, दूसरी जगह से सेन्ट्रल रिजर्व पुलिस भेजनी पड़े और इस के प्राण चल कर जैसा कि हमारे भाई पाण्डे जी ने कहा, फौज भी भेजनी पड़े तो इस का कारण क्या है? इसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है? क्या कांग्रेस पार्टी जिम्मेदार है वह जिम्मेदार है उस सूत्र के अन्दर जो राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ खास तौर से सी० पी० एम० जो पुराना कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का एक हिस्सा है, जिस ने इस नीति से अपना विश्वास हटा लिया और अहिंसा के रास्ते से नहीं बल्कि अमानि के रास्ते से ही अपना काम चलाया—क्या वह जिम्मेदार नहीं है? मैं क्या पूछ सकता हूँ—श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु यहाँ पर नहीं हैं? लेकिन उनके दोगत लोग यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं, तथा वे बतना सकते हैं कि अप्रैल, 1970 से लेकर आज मार्च की इस तारीख तक इस तरह के एक्सट्रीमिस्ट एलीमेन्ट्स जो हिंसा में विश्वास करने हैं जो लोगों के जन जीवन को वहाँ पर बिचकल बर्बाद कर देना चाहते हैं, जो हिंसा के गस्ते में लोगों पर काबू करना चाहते हैं, जहाँ लोगों का जीवन बिलकुल दुखमय हो गया है, उन को मालूम है, कभी कभी वे कहते हैं कि बंगाल में इन्डस्ट्रीयलिस्ट्स भागे चले जा रहे हैं, वे क्यों चले जा रहे हैं—क्या इस प्रश्न का वे उत्तर दे सकते हैं? जिस वक्त बंगाल में आपकी हुकूमत थी, आपके डिप्टी चीफ मिनिस्टर होम मिनिस्टर थे आप के अम मंत्री थे और आप की सरकार थी, उस समय भी आपकी यही हालत थी और नतीजा यह हुआ... (स्ववचान)... मेरा सारा जीवन ट्रेड यूनियन में ही बीता है, और मैं आप की हरकतों को खूब अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ इस लिये मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि बजाय इसके कि आप इस सदन में यह प्रस्ताव लाते कि बंगाल से सी० आर० पी० हटा दी जाय, अगर यह प्रस्ताव आप लाते और उसका सर्टीफिकेट

की इस हाजत और इस देश की देते कि आप ने प्रशासित का राज्य बंगाल में कायम कर दिया है तो मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि मैं और हमारी पार्टी के लोग ही सब से पहले होते जो कहते कि सी० आर० पी० वापस ले ली जाय। लेकिन बंगाल में सी० आर० पी० भेजने के लिये जिम्मेदार आप हैं क्योंकि आप ने वहाँ पर जन जीवन को दूषित बना दिया है, प्रशासित का राज्य कायम कर दिया है, जिसमें कोई भी सभ्य नागरिक अपना जीवन निर्वाह नहीं कर सकता है।

18.00 hrs.

मैं एक दूसरा प्रश्न भी करना चाहता हूँ। क्या आप यह बतला सकते हैं कि उसी पीरियड यानि अप्रैल, 1970 सेले कर इस मार्च के महीने तक कितने लोगों के घर से कितने हजार बम बरामद हुए हैं? इस तरह की हिंसात्मक चीजें वे क्यों अपने घरों में रखते हैं, क्यों वे वहाँ पर प्रशासित फैलाना चाहते हैं। इतना ही नहीं मैं एक और बात कहना चाहता हूँ—अगर सी० आर० पी० के किसी अफसर या सिपाही को लाठी चार्ज करना पड़ता है, गोली चलानी पड़ती है या कोई और सख्त कदम उठाना पड़ता है तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ—क्या वह उस काम की अपने

आप सूझो-भोटो करता है या उस का कोई कारण होता है? आप बहुत सच्ची चौकी बातें करते हैं, मजदूर संघर्षों की बातें करते हैं छात्रों की बात करते हैं, लेकिन मैं पूछता हूँ दुनिया के किसी भी देश में ऐसी बातें हो सकती हैं? चीन में ऐसा होता होगा, जहाँ से ये लोग प्रेरणा लेते हैं, लेकिन दुनिया के किसी और देश में इस तरह से अहिंसा के रास्ते से लोगों को दबा कर के अपनी पार्टी की हुकूमत करने का रास्ता किसी ने नहीं अपनाया है... (व्यवधान)... मैं यह कह रहा था कि जब दोनों व्यक्तियों की बातों को मैंने सुना तो मैं नहीं समझता था कि हम लोगों को इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना पड़ेगा, लेकिन... मैं एक मिनट में समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।..."

Do you want me to continue the next day ?

MR. SPEAKER : Yes. He may continue his speech on the next day.

18.01 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday March 27, 1971|Chaitra 6, 1893 (Saka),*