

[Shri Shyam Sunder Mohapatra]

State Government agreeing to such a proposal? In certain outlying Oriya tracts in West Bengal—I am not raising the question of outlying Oriya tracts as such—there are three lakhs of Oriya speaking people who want that there should be safeguards for their mother tongue. Now there is no provision for their sons and daughters to learn through the medium of their mother tongue. If only the government insists and persists on the stand that there should be provision for learning through their mother tongue for all the people, all this problem could be solved. In India there is no harm if we learn even ten languages. But facility for learning through the mother tongue should be there.

I am approaching this subject from the psychological standpoint. We cannot become nationalists and socialists unless we solve this problem. In Russia they solved the national and chauvinistic problems in the Balkan Province. Why could we not do that in India when we claim ourselves to be socialists?

When I am in Delhi I speak in Hindi. Similarly, Oriyas living in Bengal must learn Bengali. At the same time, there must be provision for their children to learn Oriya in the schools and colleges. There is the same problem in Andhra Pradesh also.

When the linguistic redistribution commission was there I took it for granted that there will definitely be many areas, outlying areas where this problem will arise, where the people have not got the facility to learn through their own mother tongue. The best course will be to allow the mother tongue to be used in the schools and colleges. Then there will be no difficulty.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER. He may continue his speech the next day. Now we will take up the discussion on Bengal.

15.00 hrs.

#### MOTION RE LAW AND ORDER SITUATION IN WEST BENGAL

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now we shall take up the motion standing in the

name of Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu and Shri Samar Mukherjee.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond-Harbour): Sir, it is marked for three hours. Since you were very gracious yesterday for a motion which stood on the same footing, I shall be grateful if you will apply the same principle today that you did yesterday.

I move:—

“That this House expresses its serious concern at the deteriorating law and order situation in West Bengal and role therein of a section of the police, C.R.P., official machinery and anti-social elements.”

It is a very bad day for us that we have to bring these things before this august House. The day before yesterday a headmaster in Durgapur was burnt alive within his own school. Sir, you come from the teaching profession, so, you will realise the seriousness of the whole thing. Who could do it but the protected gangsters of the ruling party? I shall quote it later during my speech.

In Garia in South 24-Parganas, on the head of a senior political worker named Narayan Roy Chowdhury, the police have inscribed the words “CPM” with a sharp weapon. The inscription on his head with the sharp weapon was done within the police station where the key persons of law and order are supposed to exist. I quote from what the magistrate says in his order—

“Seen prayer of Investigating Officer to show arrest of accused Narayan Roy Chowdhury who has been forwarded to court 13-day in connection with Sonarpur Police Station Case No. . .”

Then, it goes on to say:—

“Sonarpur Police Station went to the brutal length of inscribing the letters “CPM” on the back of his head by means of a sharp weapon. I personally found this wound on the back of the head of this accused when he was produced before me. I also saw a good number of other bleeding injuries all over the person of this accused.”

stically enough, there is no whisper of any injury on the person of this accused in the forwarding Report, or for that matter, any prayer for his medical treatment."

I go further and quote :—

"The Officer-in-charge is hereby directed to report forthwith as to how this accused came to receive the aforesaid injuries."

I quote again :—

"I am constrained to remark that brutality cannot go further and the safety and security of citizens is at stake in the hands of the police who are perpetrator of grisly violence and atrocious and macabre acts and that we are living in a police State "

Mark that a serving magistrate sitting in the court of law says that we are living in a police state. He goes on to say :—

"I hope, considering the gravity of the allegation, the S.P 24 Parganas will please look into this matter and take appropriate steps."

Then it says :—

"Prayer for police custody is rejected. Accused is remanded to judicial, custody....."

This is a very dark day. The ruling party through the Government machinery is intensifying in a semi-fascist manner a region of error and gangsterism. They are making desperate attempts to crush people's democratic movement in West Bengal. It is a pressure from the vested interests whom they serve.

I now quote from *Kalantar*, a paper run by the CPI, an ally of the Congress. This is dated 9th November, 1971.

"Right C.P. On Congress Terror" it says :—

"Under the heading,

"Police have taken the law in their hands and killed five in eight days in Kasba area, the report in the daily's November 7 issue says :

It was yesterday (November 5), one P.M. in the afternoon, almost all the inhabitants of Shahidnagar Colony were in their houses. Near Ward No 2, two young men were reading *Kalantar* posted (on a wall) in a public thoroughfare. Suddenly there was the crack of many bullets being fired. One of the young men fell prostrate on the ground, the other ran away. Followed another burst of gun fire. Two bullets hit Uma, a five-year-old girl sleeping beside her mother, in the stomach and the leg.

"...In another house, an eight-year old boy was playing in a room: he also was injured."

I do not want to go into details because that will take more time. What I would say is that unless these semifascist methods are checked in time, it will certainly take a turn for full fascism and that will be practised all over the country.

The people's support in West Bengal became so over-whelming that the leftist forces which include my Party, had organised and led such a movement against the right reaction and vested interests which this ruling party subserve. It was reflected through different elections. In the Assembly in 1967 we had 44 seats, in 1969 it came to 83 and in 1971 it became 113 For the Parliament, in Lok Sabha, with all the fan fare and the '*Garibi Hatao*' in 1967 we got 5 and this time we got 20 in spite of all this. The slogan of '*Garibi Hatao*' did not work in West Bengal and in the State of West Bengal where Mrs. Indira Gandhi had a defeat, we became the first Party and we became the first Party of that State in the Lok Sabha also. To day people are faced with the problems of high cost of living, unemployment, Police repression, rising cost of living and everything. In spite of that they are fighting this repression with such vigour as one possibly could.

Before 1971 elections, the entire Government machinery' was mobilised. A section

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

of the West Bengal Police, CRP, Army and anti-socialist forces and Naxalites combined together and a special operation was directed by the Home Minister and the Prime Minister and a research was undertaken and a programme was chalked out by the Cabinet Secretariat. They drew up a programme of 'Crush Democracy' and a reign of terror was let loose and in fact many areas were could not enter before the election. Along with that there was a campaign of vilification by the All India Radio and the controlled Press of the Ruling Congress. Then followed the murder of Hemant Kumar Bosu and also Ajit Biswas and it has now become crystal-clear to the people as to who were the persons who were really behind...these murders. Sir, you must have read a few days ago that a man had been arrested who belonged to the Forward Bloc. It has been alleged that he had murdered the second leader of the Forward Bloc, namely, Ajit Biswas....Now people have understood that the Prime Minister provided liberal funds and the Home Minister supplies weapons and explosives. It all came from the Central Government. Even what the Britishers had done for this subjected race in those days, viz., that every Police firing should be enquired into immediately, was done away with and when I asked for the information from the Prime Minister, I got incorrect information. I do not want to go further into that.

In spite of all this pre-Election repression we got overwhelming support and we increased our strength as I said before. She made a desperate attempt and now the whole State machinery has been geared under an Indian Civil Service man who was British-trained in the matter of repression and terror-striking. Everything is directed from Delhi and by the Home Ministry and the Prime Minister is the head of that Ministry also. Money flows liberally. There is a big recruitment in the Police and in the secret police, and retired Police Officers have been recalled and a reign of terror and semi fascist terror has been let loose combined with gangster attack on us. This is all being done under the Field Director, the Minister of West Bengal Affairs and his lieutenants in Chatra Parishad and Youth Congress. Even the sober Congressmen who form a very small group in Bengal have decried this. Then, they tried to isolate us, the CPM from other

Parties on the plea of stopping of murders and to stop the united mass struggle. Then came the intensified Congress-gangsterism and we can see that in the Alladipur and other attacks. They are doing this way. In moving trucks followed by Policemen, CRP, etc., they are attacking their opponents all of a sudden and in a very dashing manner. Even in this we have lost 500 precious lives of our comrades at the hands of policemen and the Rs. 105 goonda elements recruited as police guerillas and resistance forces and home guards. It is a national plan that is engineered from Delhi. Otherwise we could not have seen similar incidents happening in Punjab for instance. Why is all this being done when there is a national crisis on the border, when the entire people need to be mobilised on the Bangla Desh issue? Otherwise, the Bangla Desh issue will be weakened. Out of sheer fear the ruling congress has taken recourse to these methods; they fear they will get defeated in the election. Also, the police in West Bengal, those who are helping them in their misdeeds, will get demoralised. That is why they are trying to defer election.

Sir, what is the position today? A minority party is ruling over the majority party, in West Bengal. They are using the PDA, Maintenance of Internal Security Act, Section 144, curfew. Thousands and thousands of cases are instituted against political opponents by them; combing has become a daily affair. It is being done every day and everywhere. I will give one example and this relates to the police station at Sonarpur. Within a very short span of time about 4000 persons have been accused in cases. 1,000 were arrested; 100 houses were ransacked; 500 were looted; 200 have been rendered homeless. Sir, look at the liberal supply of equipments for the police. They cannot find money for jobs which means good things for the common man, working man, which can solve the unemployment problem. They are spending money like this in Bengal. There is something in Bengali. I will translate it. It says: The short-term scheme for the police which has been administered by Delhi involves Rs. 6 crores and for this they will be increasing the number of policemen, vehicles, wireless sets and other equipments, teleprinter sets and other requirements, and an immediate sanction of Rs. 1 crore has been made, to gear up the

police to take this dirty task. The Prime Minister is not fully relying on the West Bengal State machinery. She has made a cell of her own. In Bengali it says like this. I have quoted one from *Anand Bazar Patrika*. This is also from *Anand Bazar Patrika*. This is dated 24-7-71. It says :

"In Calcutta a special cell of the Home Ministry is being created and they will have direct control over the cell and the cell will be the watchdog body for the West Bengal administration."

Sir, what have they done ? They have gone to the extent of mobilising the civil and military intelligence in cooking up stories against my party. Mr. Pant, I hope you will be kind enough to keep note of the number if you like. I am quoting.

"Top Secret Memo No. C4/C71 (18) dated 3.4.71 from Dy. Director, SIB (MHA) Government of India, 9/1 Gariahat Road, Calcutta 19 to DIG IB Calcutta reveals a diabolical plan to implicate the CPI (M) in cases of murders of individuals which are taking place daily."

I will quote another report. Here it involves military intelligence.

"Secret No. 1858/2/71/G/121 NCC Group HQ/B-10/216 Kalyani, Nadia, To all Battalions.

Preparation of explosives by the CPM.

It has been reported by the Intelligence Bureau that the Communist Party (Marxist) which has already acquired considerable expertise in making hand bombs, crackers and the like is now engaged in the preparation of land mines. Since the party has been thinking in terms of using land mines to harm CRP, police and army vehicles during its agitational programmes, necessary precautionary measures may please be taken.

Authority : HO Calcutta Sub Area letter No. 0101/54/GS(I) dated 20 Sep. 1971.

Signed : Bakshi Chand, Col. Commander."

Shri Jyoti Basu had written a letter to Shri Jagjivan Ram in this connection, but he has not got any reply to it so far, and so we do not know what the position is.

Now, I come to another issue, namely the programme to crush trade unions. I would refer to a circular by the Railway Board in this connection, Shri Hanumanthaiya had been addressed by Shri Jyoti Basu in this connection, but the hon. Minister has not even replied to that letter. The letter says :

"I am in possession of a copy of Secret d.o letter No ENG-I-71-CN-4/13 dated 5.7.71 from Shri K.N.R. Pillai, Joint Director (Establishment) Railway Board, New Delhi, to Shri A. K. Chakravarti, Chief Personnel Officer, SE Railway, Calcutta 45 on the subject of verification of character and antecedents."

That is all that we are worried about. It says :

"It has been brought to Board's notice that in some cases the police have sent the initial character verification report after a lapse of many years and have given an adverse report adding that the person concerned is a Member of the Communist Party (Marxist)..."

So, although my hon. friends opposite talk about there being no discrimination in the field of trade unions, yet, secretly, through their bureaucratic structure with whom they are hand in glove, they are doing all these things.

Again, to crush the trade union movement in West Bengal, they have taken recourse to summary dismissal of 13 State Government employees and 32 Central Government employees. I had written a letter to Shri Jagjivan Ram in this connection, and he had written to me and said that they could not go on strike. But what did the Government do ? With their CRP and other armed personnel with fixed bayonets—I do not know whether my hon. friend has experience of that kind of thing in his lifetime—that is, with one bayonet in front and one at the rear, all the dismissed persons were crushed, and they were not even

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

allowed to move. That is how they are tackling the people.

All the Naxal friends of the Congress Party...

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Friends ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Yes, they are all friends. All the Naxal friends of the Congress Party and the dichards or the hard core of them have either been jailed or killed or are being killed. Previously, they were protected with great care and a lot of support and help was given. Let me give one quotation now from a paper which has nothing to do with us.

AN HON. MEMBER : *Hindustan Standard* ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : It is not *Hindustan Standard*. It is a Bengali paper and therefore there is nothing to gige about it. It says that there has been a sensational revelation by a Naxal leader's wife. She says that the Naxals have been working in close collaboration with police. She is the wife of a Naxal leader ; her husband is no longer alive. He gave his life in the hands of the police. She says that in the District 24-Paraganas the police officer in charge of Noapara police station, Shri Koushik Negi (?) used to take the help of Naxals and give them all possible help for attacking the P.M. She also talked about another assistant commissioner of police, Shri Santosh Mukerjee, and of how he used to work in close collaboration with the Naxals and give them all possible help.

I would also like to mention a quotation from the *Jugantar* dated the 28th July, 1971. It says that a very notorious Naxal leader, by name Shri Nagora Kurmi was arrested from the house of a deputy magistrate from Howrah. This is how they have been using the Naxals, and this is how they have been treating them, because they have been making use of them to keep a thorn in the flesh of the CPM. Very recently, I would like to tell Shrimati Indira Gandhi, a Deputy Minister of her Government,—he is a Minister today,—

had visited the Meerut jail, and met a Naxal leader of UP, by name Shri Shiv Kumar, and he had seen to it that his name was not entered in the visitors, book of the jail. I do not like to mention the name of the Minister. but she may kindly inquire into it and see whether there is any truth in that.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN (Madras North) : He must mention the name.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: The friendship is very close with the Naxals, because they had been doing their job.

Again, what have they done about the periphery Naxals and the anti-socials ? They have joined hands with the Chhaatra Parishad. I am quoting from the *Hindustan Standard* now :

“Different educational institutions which until recently were strongly held by the Naxalites have now come under the influence of the Chhaatra Parishad. In fact, a large number of students who were known as supporters of the CPI (ML) have now come into the fold of the Chhaatra Parishad. This is particularly noticeable in the students' unions of the Medical College in Calcutta. Many students who had hitherto been swearing loyalty to CPI (MI) now pass as Chhaatra Parishad supporters and they have been able to get into the union committee run by the Chhaatra Parishad.

“The Nil Ratan Sarkar Hospital which was a Naxalite den, has now become a haven for the Chhaatra Parishad. Chhaatra Parishad members recently organised a special fuction in a hall of the hospital to celebrate its growing influence there. The R.G. Kar Hospital and Medical College Hospital where the Naxalites also had considerable influence, have now become areas of Chhaatra Parishad activity.

“Observers put forward several reasons for this massive shift in allegiance from the CPI (ML) to the Chhaatra Parishad. These are lack of security for the Naxalites and the fear of police harassment.

"In recent times, several waves of anti-Naxalite agitation rocked Calcutta and its suburbs. These spasmodic happenings had made the Naxalities feel 'insecure. In addition to this, constant police action had also unnerved them."

This shows that the gangsters who have been working previously against us as a separate identity have now joined the Congress organisation.

Now I quote from the *Political and Economic Weekly* (July 1971) which should be an eye-opener:

"...Inquiries are all the more pertinent in the light of reports that some Naxalities activists have been admitted to Congress(R) youth organisation and that 'political intervention' has been instrumental in effecting the release of those Naxalites. More light is needed on the subject of how many Naxalite detainees have been released and on what grounds.

"The belief, apparently held in some Congress(R) quarters that so-called repentant Naxalites can be exploited to further Congress(R) ends is both infantile and pernicious. The probability is that those whose 'alliance' has been transferred to the Congress(R) and professional roughnecks now regrettably familiar in the State as hangers on of most parties. To describe these elements as people who have renounced violence is to indulge in a particularly despicable brand of hypocrisy. They are possibly useful to the Congress(R) which may win over their allegiance for what it is worth, but they will remain a menace to society and orderly governments."

This is what these people are doing. The police are hand in glove with these people. Here is a quotation from *Jugantar* which says that rifles and ammunition are missing from the hands of the police everyday and when there is some *Garbar* these are being freely used. Yet the police cannot catch them. This is what has happened in *Jugantar* of October 27, 1971 in Bengali which translated means: "These

ammunitions and arms may be seen freely. You cannot get hold of them".

The police have adopted certain tactics. The use of ammunition by Calcutta police has gone up abnormally. From 1947 to 1967 for training in revolver firing, that is practice, they used 10,000-12,000 rounds per year. From 1967 till date they have spent more than one lakh rounds of cartridges. Everybody knows where it is finding its way to.

Then I come to the *modus operandi* of the police, forcible entry and ransacking, beating up people, unwarranted arrests, beating up men, women and children, maiming them, killing them in the police car or van or outside and implicating them in false cases. They have joined with the Congress, Yuva Congress, Chhaatra Parishad gangsters and criminals. In this combined operation, they are killing people, kidnapping them, suppressing democratic trade union and kisan movements and protecting the Congress, Yuva Congress, Chhaatra Parishad and anti-social elements from our defensive retaliation. The police hand over our workers into the hands of the criminals. They have adopted a strategy of encouraging and supporting and supplying the requirements of the Congress, Yuva Congress and Chhaatra Parishad and their goonda elements. At the same time, they are making quick money. The purpose is clear. The purpose is to crush the opposition and that is done in the name of law and order. But they do create a reign of terror and particularly in areas where the CPM has got a majority in the last elections. Today, in West Bengal, it is happening and it is bound to come all over the country.

Sir, in the Calcutta Law College, in the students' union election, on the point of a gun they were forced to submit and those who had contested were forced to withdraw their names. Out of 124 seats, they get 121 seats. It was in the Chhaatra Parishad.

AN HOH MEMBER : 123.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Yes, 123. You are more successful there. One young person belonging to the Chhaatra Parishad —Devadutt—had one hand blown off while

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

making bombs or something like that. He was arrested by the Police in April, 1971, and was re-arrested with pipe-guns, but funnily enough, in his possession they found the identity card with the police but he was arrested, under P.V.A. and immediately released under pressure of the Congress M.P. I would not mention his name here.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI (Calcutta South) : Let it go on record. I will not interrupt you.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : The misdeeds are more in certain places, where we have done better than others in the last elections, in Burdwan district—Durgapur, Asansol, Kalna, Memari, etc; and in Birbhum district, and in 24 Parganas, Sanarpur and Habra; in greater Calcutta, Beliaghata, Jadavpur, Tollygunj, Baranagar and Cossipore and outside the district, Nadia. The pattern of attack starts by encircling the locality; the C.R.P. and the police take the role of house-raiding, and even old women and children are not spared. Beating and arrests and falsification and shooting, as I said, go on. In Burdwan town, the recent cases are : total murder, 15. An advocate who was pleading for our case, Shri Bibhutoosh Roy, was murdered. One Shiv Shankar Chaudhury, a person who had fought in the free-Jom struggle, was also murdered. In Durgapur, on 8.10.1971, they attacked Shri Ajit Mukerjee, the Joint Secretary of the Hindustan Steel Workers, Employees' Union. Sushil Banerjee and Sunil Acharya were murdered and they did not die instantly. The police refused to take them to the hospital; had they been taken to the hospital, perhaps their lives could have been saved. In the Durgapur-Asansol belt, 63 persons have been arrested under P.V.A. and 17 under the security Act. You know most of them are trade union workers or trade union leaders.

Even advocates are not spared. In Asansol, an advocate, Giridhari Mukerjee, was beaten by the police, tied with a rope and detained in the lock-up for 37 hours, because he has been pleading for us. In Kalna town, four were murdered on 3-11-1971. There were six murders at Chowk Balrampur. There was arson in respect of 80 houses and 18 guns were found,

At Alladipur, the whole village, with 100 houses, was burnt. The local M.P. Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, had written in advance and warned them, but the district authorities did not do anything.

Another thing I want to mention is that when the Alladipur incident took place, the Secretary General or the Joint Secretary of the Indian National Congress, Mr Chandrajeet Yadav, happened to be present in Burdwan town. We would like to ask him how much does he know about it. In Birbhum, in Cossipore, they looted and burnt many houses. The tribals are effected very much and in one village five guns were recovered. This is the punishment they have given. But in the neighbouring villages, where 10 guns were found, because those people joined the Congress, they were spared. That village was not touched. The name of the village was Thalia.

In the village Muktipur, one day some extremists came to a house to snatch the gun. The house-owner said that the guns had been deposited with the police station. They went back. We do not want to say they went back to the police station. But they went back. After sometime, they came back and said that "We enquired and found out that you have not surrendered the guns to the police." "The police have given the information. Then they ransacked the house and took the guns away."

There are numerous cases where the police are hand in glove with them. In Sonarpur town, for the cases which occurred, I have given the figures. There is a lot of murders, repression and there is a reign of terror. The Sonarpur police station has been geared particularly to tackle this issue.

Between 11.00 p.m. and 11.30. p.m. in the night of the 27th September last the police arrested a young man of about 30 named Khoko Chakraborty near the bus stop of Route No. 5 at Jadavpur.

There are many eye witnesses who confirm that the police took Khoko Chakraborty into custody. It is reported that from the Jadavpur Bus stand he was taken to the Jadavpur police station. Shortly thereafter, at about 12.30 midnight he was removed.

from the police station, taken to Layalkar-Math where he was shot dead by the police. In the morning press on the following day the police gave out the story, obviously false and concocted, that as their vehicle came under attack they had opened fire and Khoko Chakraborty was killed.

I shall give you another instance. The father of Salil Das of Dhakuria writes as follows :—

“My son, Sriman Salil Dass (18 years) was arrested on October 1, 1971, at 7 00 p.m. by the police, Kasba P.S. After getting the news, along with my wife and daughter, I went to the police station. The O. C. of the said police station promised to release him on 2nd October, 1971 at 10.00 a.m.

But on 2nd October, when my son was not released throughout the day, again I went to the Police Station. The police beat my son mercilessly in my presence. With great resentment and agony I came back. The local people naturally got aggrieved.

Today, 3rd October, the people of our locality went to the police station but they were not allowed to meet the O.C. On the other side, Sri Rabindra Nath Ghosh, the local Congress (O) leader, rang up the P.S. when he was informed that Sriman Salil had been sent to the Bangur Hospital.

“On enquiry, from the Hospital we came to know that Sriman Salil was sent to the Hospital as dead in the night of 2nd October at 1.00 a.m.”

Mrs. Gandhi is a mother.

Then there is the case of Hemanta Purkayasth who was a trade Union Leader. ... (Interruptions) I am really surprised, Mr. Pant, if you consider that your colleagues in the House could be treated so lightly, I do not think I have any interest in the House.

Hemant Purkayasth was taken away from the bed by the police in the presence of his wife and she asked the police : where are you going with him, where are

you taking him? They said: We shall return him tomorrow morning after interrogation and he was taken away. After sometime, say two or three minutes, she heard the shot of a gun and the next day she was told that he had been dead. There are such cases.

About three hundred goondas protected by the CRP suddenly began their unprovoked attack on the residents of Dakshindari. They beat up the residents of Dakshindari, 24 Parganas drove them out of their huts, looted all their properties and then burnt the huts. 101 homesteads containing 200 rooms were burnt to ashes—what could not be burnt has been reduced to rubble.

Shri Subhas Sarkar, son of Basant Kumar Sarkar, an employee of Sadhana Aushadhalaya, testified that, after his homestead was sprinkled with petrol, it was a CRP man who applied the burning matchstick.

Two old women and a baby have been burnt to death. Ashalata, Pramanik, Gopal Ain, Adhar Bera wanted to rescue one of the old ladies, but they were prevented by Sitaram Singh, Madhab Sahu, Kele Bablu and Dilip Dhali. The old lady was burnt to cinders.

Then there was a case of a girl who was aged only 13. I am giving you an account from somebody who has seen it with his own eyes. She was kicked down by the police and when she tumbled down, they took a gun and fired at her. A girl aged 13—she was a great opponent of Mrs. Gandhi. She was a murdered.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : All these cases you can circulate to the hon. Members. If you quote case after case it takes a long time. You have already taken 35 minutes.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : I shall conclude in five minutes. There is another case. Ashim Poddar was arrested. She was taken to the police station. The officer-in-charge then got a drunken sweeper woman who had beaten her with broomsticks, but failed to get any confession because she had nothing to say. Then a constable was asked to deal with her. He removed all

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

the clothes from her body inside the police lock-up and she was made to sit on his lap. That case is there.

The Chhaatra Parishad people went before the Sealdah Court where the case is tried and raised slogans that the magistrate should not be allowed to proceed with the case. The magistrate has issued summons against the police constable to explain his conduct.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It will be more effective if all these cases are printed and circulated.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : In Nadia district, there are cases in Payradanga and many other places. In Tollygunge, one Subodh goonda was found with CRP uniform. Later on, some local girls asked how Subodh is with the CRP and then he ran away.

In Cossipore, not less than 70 to 100 persons have been murdered. The police did not appear for 17 hours. Mrs. Gandhi promised a judicial enquiry headed by a High Court Judge. We want to know what has happened to that enquiry and the report she had wanted from non-Congress party leaders. What has happened to the enquiries against the Barasat murders where 11 persons were murdered by the police? We have been hearing in tall language that enquiries shall be held. How much more time do you require? In Diamond Harbour, six persons were murdered. Because the murderer is an Indira Congressman—Suraj Kumar Ghose—he is allowed to move about freely and has not been arrested.

We can give hundreds and hundreds of specific cases. We have given many, but the Government is reluctant to take any steps and the criminals are moving about freely, mostly seen in the police company and in their vans. What steps will Government take to safeguard the lives of those who want protection from Government? What will they do to defend themselves if the Government fail to defend their lives?

Then, what about election? Why do you want to leave out West Bengal from the list of States going to the polls in February? Is it because you are frightened that you will

lose very heavily? We want elections in West Bengal in February. There must be an assurance about it on the floor of the House today. If you talk about democracy and socialism, you cannot take summary decisions and deprive the people of their democratic rights.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : Sir, Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu was reading from many paper cuttings. I have also got some documents. But I am not concerned whether those who are getting killed by CPM people or Congress people. It is a matter of regret that people are being killed in West Bengal. It is most unfortunate and it must be stopped. I did not interrupt Mr. Bosu because he is a heart patient.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : I am not a heart patient.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : He is one of my dear friends and his wife will not excuse me if I interrupt him, I hope he will not interrupt me. CPM is now becoming a party which is playing the role of complete isolation in West Bengal. For the last one month when Parliament was not in session the entire members of Parliament belonging to that party were in the coaching class of Shri Promoda Das Gupta. They have exhibited that they are really isolated in West Bengal. I am glad that on the 15th I have seen their faces. They have behaved as they were directed by the leaders.

I will submit for your consideration certain facts. Before I come to the details I submit to you one thing. The other day in the Rajya Sabha one of the senior members, Shri Niren Ghose, belonging to CPM, and today Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, quoted my name and said that I am indulging in all these things like releasing criminals from the court or police custody. I give this challenge to the CPM through you, Sir. If any impartial body, a parliamentary committee or any non-political group, or high police officials could prove that either any member or leader of the Chhaatra Parishad or the Youth Congress indulged in any criminal or such activity, not only will I seek fresh nomination but I will not continue as a member of the party. But let them prove it first.

Now let me come to the situation in West Bengal. I do not agree with the view that there is still law and order problem in West Bengal. I am not saying this merely because Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray is the Minister in charge of West Bengal. I am simply stating what is taking place in West Bengal.

I think most of the members of this House have visited Calcutta recently. Now it is a city full of peace. Very recently we enjoyed and celebrated Durga Puja and Kali Puja. Within the history of Calcutta after a long spell this is the first time that the Durga Puja was celebrated with such gaiety, whether the people belonged to CPM, Naxalites or the Congress. The situation was so good that even the families of the members belonging to CPM went out till midnight and were in the streets of Calcutta because they were so happy. It is not to the credit of the CPM, or the Congress or even Shri Sidhartha Shankar Ray, but it is to the credit of the people that they have brought about such a situation.

Why are the people now co-operating? They are co-operating for two reasons. Firstly, people have got confidence that there is a stable government which will protect them if anything untoward happens. Secondly, the people are seeing some success for the democratic movements. Only a little while earlier Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu said that there is no hope for democratic movement in West Bengal. I say it is wrong. Very recently the CPM organised the Bangla bandh with their own initiative. We did not oppose it because it is not our habit; we did not interfere with it because we are not fascists. But they did not join or participate in it and so it became a flop. CPM got angry but could do nothing.

Then we organised a movement against the hoarders and the rising prices. We were successful. We requested Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha to arrest some of the hoarders so that it will have some effect on other hoarders. But the CPM thought that we were doing it only for cheap popularity and did not participate in it. When the people knew that it is a progressive movement they supported it. We were successful in our movement and within 24 hours more than 30 blackmarket-ers were arrested. It is not a fact? Yet,

they say that there is no democracy in West Bengal. If this is not democracy, what is democracy according to them? By that do they mean people's court and only CPM flag and no other flag and all meetings presided over only by Shri Hare Krishna Konar or Shri Jyoti Basu? I do not believe in that.

Even during my student days and university life at the election time I have successfully organised public meetings there in Uttarpara. My hon. friend, Shri Dinen Bhattacharya sent a telegram to Shri K. C. Pant or met the Governor and submitted that I am not going there to address any meeting and that Cossipore incident would be repeated there. I went there from Gauhati and addressed the meeting. I said that during my travel from Assam or even while speaking from the dais, if any police official could recover from me even a safety razor blade I could be hanged in public. They cannot. What did they do? Their councillor, Shri Lakhi Dey, is for the service of the people in Calcutta City. He was arrested in broad daylight with a loaded unlicensed revolver. Was it not a fact? Shri Bosu concealed it. He says, "It was conspiracy; somebody put the revolver in his bag." Who did it? Either his son or his wife or the person nearest to him or his party comrades, not I.

He has said that we are indulging in violence. What did the leader of their co-ordination committee, Shri Arvind Ghose, a great man, do? I am sorry, he has been sacked from service. It is the duty of the children to study their books in the morning. On the roof of the room, his son was practising shooting with a rifle snatched from the police. He was arrested. The rifle was snatched. Has he submitted the fact to you? He has concealed it.....

...(Interruption)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : These are all *subjudice*.....(Interruption)

SHRI A.K.M. ISHAQUB (Basirhat) : Sir, at least please note that this is *sub judice*.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : He has quoted many other occasions of violence, arson and looting. If you per-

[Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsii]

mit me, I can place documents. Any Member of Parliament or any committee can probe into it.

In my constituency there is a place Netaji Nagar which is the den of the gangsters of CPM. I could not enter my election booths there. You can enquire from the Election Commissioner. There was no Congress agents in the election booths. I could not reach 40,000 voters. In that place very recently the police seized one arms factory organised by the CPM and one hospital underground for the treatment of their comrades if they are injured by police bullets. These are the documents. LMG, rifles and all these things were seized from the CPM party office in Netaji Nagar. Can he deny it? Can challenge and say that it is wrong?

I say, not only these things but there are many things under the ground which must be seized by the police, the CRP, the army and the people. There will be no excuse for it.

The police should not suppress the democratic rights of the common people. I agree with Shri Bosu there. I do not deny that in some cases the police lose their temper. Sometimes they do excesses I do not deny that. But I believe that if people cooperate with all political parties jointly, all the problems can be solved.

Shri Bosu has nicely expressed the problems of our own party saying that we are with Naxalites etc. Nobody knows the history of Naxalites, and how they were born. I was a student of the University of Calcutta then. Ashim Chatterjee who was arrested recently in Deoghar was then the leader of the CPM Students' Union in the Presidency College. There was a demonstration of students going on in Presidency College in 1966. Shri Promode Das Gupta ordered these comrades to withdraw their movement because they wanted to go to the polls. They believe in parliamentary democracy. For this reason I greet them. Their comrades said, "No, we cannot withdraw it; it is students' movement." Shri Promode Das Gupta, said, "If you do not do that, I will kick you out of the party." Ashim Chatterjee said, "If you do it, I am ready to face it; but I will do it." From that joint of time the CPML students' force was

originating in Calcutta. Soon after the problem of Naxalbari and Sampat Roy happened. They joined with Kanu Sanyal and Charu Majumdar. We have no relation with the Naxalites. We have no touch with the Naxalites. I tell you frankly. But now there is a conspiracy by the Naxalites and the CPM jointly at this stage, when the Chhaatra Parishad is getting tremendous good will among the people and they have captured the Youth for democracy. But the criminals try to go to a place, purchase a flag of the Congress from any shop, shout "Congress Zindabad" and loot somebody. I have seen it in many places. I have sent them to police custody. I take the responsibility for that. I issued public statements in the paper saying that whoever police officer gets any criminal who identifies himself as a Congressman, he should tell me and I will inquire into it. I have inquired successfully. Some of them are CPM people and some of them are Naxalites. In Dum Dum, Burra Bazar and Tollygunge I have seen it. The CPM is a scientific party—I have no doubt about it. It is regimented party. Its members have a card. The Congress Party is a liberal party. Anybody can purchase the Congress flag and shout. But we have no relation with the Naxalites.

Then, he was quoting the example of R.G. Kar Medical College, Calcutta Medical College, Calcutta University Law College, Union etc. Not at the point of a dagger or a spear, but we simply captured the union because for the last two years we launched our demonstration against violence and lost our lives; ultimately the people got sympathy for us and cooperated because the Government was behind us. So, they supported us. We got victory in the College Union elections. In RG Kar Medical College the Naxalites have left the campus. Some of them were killed by the police. In Calcutta Medical College the same thing happened. Shri Bosu was distorting the facts. He has concealed the genuine truth. He was mentioning the atmosphere in West Bengal. He said that Shrimati Indira Gandhi's party was defeated in West Bengal, Sir, I don't count the heads of MPs I count actually the skill for the purpose that we stand for democracy and we stand for putting down the continuous reign of terror and oppression and arson. Since that purpose is right, whether it is 13 or 35 does not make any difference. Sir, if

the election comes, I don't give the guarantee that these 25 will be able to defend their own seats, if they do not make any hobnobbing with the other parties because they are completely isolated. Now I will give you a very interesting piece of information. During the recent Burdwan Municipal election, we fielded four young people and they could not put up any candidate against any of them. We simply got the vicory. What is the harm if they do not contest? The reason is that they are isolated in politics. They are searching some points by which they can stay safe. How can they go? The only reason is that Shrimati Indira Gandhi or Shri K.C Pant or Shri Sidhartha Shankar Ray have made some arrangements for putting them into jail custody. We cannot arrest Mr. Promod Das Gupta or Mr. Jyoti Bosu because they are gentlemen. They have started a game to speak against the Constitution—to secede etc, I would request the Prime Minister, 'Don't put him in jail custody. Leave them alone among the people. Let them face the people and let them know the pangs of isolation.' That is what they want.

I come to another thing, that is exactly what I want to tell you. The Police searched many Party offices. It did not even care to say that any Congress office was searched and incriminating materials found. The Police raided the CPM Headquarters in Siliguri and they found guns, machine guns and sten guns. In Durgapur the CPM office was raided and explosives were found. Can they deny this? In Dum Dum the same thing happened. I am not distorting the facts. I am in fact telling you the facts.

What happened in the Second United Front Regime? During their regime, the total number of criminal offences shot up to 71,136 in which 1283 were complete murders. This is not my figure. This was the figure given by Mr. Jyoti Bosu himself in the Assembly. During 1971 the CPM workers clashed with the Police in all for 95 times, in which 40 Policemen were injured and 2 were killed. I can invite any Member of Parliament who comes to Calcutta by air—there is a railway bridge near Belghata through which they have to pass. There, the CMP people are waiting on one side and CRP is on the other

side. Very recently the C.P.M. people killed one guard there and as a result the Police had to retaliate and consequently three C.P.M. men were killed. I am sorry for that. They cannot deny this.

With regard to the development of West Bengal, I don't agree with what he said. During the Second United Front regime when Mr. Jyoti Bosu was the glorious socialist leader of the semi-fascist party, there were 531 industrial units closed. But within this time we have been able to open approximately 300 units of these closed units. Is this not development? In the C.P.M. regime and after that regime when their Party was in full squad, action, the cinema houses were closed for the matinee and night shows and the State Exchequer was highly suffering as there was a steep fall in the collection of amusement tax. But now the collection of amusement tax has gone up. Is this not development? In the C.P.M. regime the tourists were avoiding Darjeeling, but this time the tourists came in a large number. These are the exact facts happening in West Bengal. Now, the other parties are not making any ties with the C.P.M. They are shouting continuously. Yesterday Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu quoted something and I was listening attentively when Mr. Chavan was in the House. Only capitalists used to say about this. They used to say about law and order problem in West Bengal. Capitalists used to say about labour unrest in West Bengal. Capitalists used to say about the problem of the peasants in West Bengal. Mr. Jotirmoy Bosu is telling us now that acute problem of law and order is going on in West Bengal. I do not know whether he has any link or not. Might be, because of one reason. He speaks for democratic movement. In their own Government the C.P.I. launched a movement against Birlas. They went in a procession against the Birla House. Shri Jyoti Bosu sent the police and beat them from Birla House and completely sabotaged movement. Is it not a fact? It is a fact, I know it. I was there.

Very recently what do we find? The C.P.M. is in trouble with their inter-party clashes, with Hari Krishna Konar and all that. Do we not know? We all know that. Their leader is not attending Burdwan. One

[Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi]

of their leaders says, 'We shall finish the people of the Congress in Burdwan' whereas some other people say 'Don't waste the energy now. They have got shelter from the people; wait for some time.' That is their problem now. And in that problem, they continuously try to confuse and disturb the whole atmosphere in West Bengal.

Before I conclude, I will give certain facts. Very recently there have been some inter-party clashes from 1-1-71 to 31-7-71. The total clashes were 1183. C.P.M. were involved in 1060 cases. The proportion tally is like this: C.P.M. Vs. Naxalites 484; C.P.M. and Congress 399; C.P.M. and C.P.I. 94; C.P.M. and Forward Bloc 65; C.P.M. and others 98. Everywhere it is there. This is what is happening.

Very recently they are in touch with Shri P. C. Sen, leader of Cong. (O) in West Bengal. They assured Shri P. C. Sen don't vote for youth congress, we shall protect you, your property and everything. They believe that the Syndicate has got some pockets and they think if they make some alliance with them, they will get votes. Their leader cannot move without taking shelter under police protection and the Syndicate also stands in the same way.

The recent facts amply prove that their party in West Bengal has launched a reign of terror from 1967. Now we are curbing that. The hon. Member accused Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray for the CRP trouble. I think hon. Members from the other side will answer it. I believe in democracy. If there is police oppression, that is wrong in democracy. On the CRP matter people accused Shri Ajoy Mukerjee when he was Chief Minister of the past United front, when his sweet colleague, Shri Jyoti Bosu was the Finance Minister. During the second time when Shri Jyoti Bosu became Home Minister these people started slogans that Naxalites have become the greatest danger to society. Naxalites did not start murder at that time. He did one good thing. He said: "They don't know how to shoot. Why should I call CRP? Police don't know what is the atmosphere of West Bengal." So he sent EFR, the para military force to Debra in Midnapore. It is not a fact?

16 hrs.

I come to the conclusion and I want to

state certain instances relating to Vikramgarh, in my constituency. Some of the persons lost their buildings, and members of their families under CPM terror left their buildings. Now, since the imposition of President's rule they have started coming back & occupying their homes and buildings. When they come back, the people welcome them. But the CPM people are not welcoming them. There are CPM criminals who are being guarded and kept and protected with the money of Jay Engineering Works management, with the money of the Birlas in the Birla factory and of Hind Motors, and with the money of Goenka? Birlas in Kosaram Mill and other places. In Vikramgarh there are four criminals, four notorious criminals. I can even mention the names of three of them. They are a danger to me and to all the democratically-minded people. They are Nathu Sen, Pintu Sen and Robo Khan. They are the great pilots of Shri Jyoti Bosu, and they pilot him with their motor vehicles. These three persons were not arrested. I would say that it is the failure of Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray also. Why are these criminals still being allowed to move freely? They do not allow the young people to come out on the streets in many places even to meet their mothers. So, the young people and the local people oppose them in Bikramgarh.

Recently, some members of Parliament from the opposite side issued one pamphlet to all Members of Parliament, containing an open letter to Shrimati Indira Gandhi sent by all Members of Parliament, saying that such and such persons are injured or killed or have been assaulted. I can tell you that the names which they have mentioned in their pamphlets are those of the supporters and members of the CPM associated directly or indirectly with the Marxist trade unions. Keeping in view all this, I would make only one challenge and that is this. Let any parliamentary committee or any committee headed by a high official probe into the matter with the evidence of the local people of that area within a period of three days or seven days and inquire into the matter. If my party is proven to be guilty or my wing is proven to be guilty, then I would submit that we are ready to suffer the punishment that may be awarded. But we cannot accept this propaganda and this publicity made by the CPM only.

In conclusion, I would say that I have

nothing to say against my hon. friends opposite, in this hour of their crisis. For, I know that some of their good friends are thinking of changing the leadership of their party. Some of their good friends are thinking of switching over to democratic parties. So, I do not want to create any bitterness at this time. I would only utter this warning that if they believe that they could send their agents to say 'Congress Zindabad' and then create disturbance in the name of the Congress, then we shall not be prepared to allow it, because our party, though when it was under the Syndicate was unscientific in its approach, has now become a socialist party under Shri D Sanjivayya with a scientific approach, and know how to run the party and how to rule the people. We have learnt one lesson from the CPM, namely what the attitude of a party should be when it is ruling and what its attitude should be when it is in the Opposition. We have learnt this lesson, and so we shall not repeat the history of the CPM in West Bengal in our own party.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) :** I do not know really whether this debate will serve any useful public purpose, if it is going to become a sort of competition between the CPM and the Ruling Congress to cite instances or alleged instances against each other. This can be done, of course, and it can go on indefinitely. Most of the Members who do not come from West Bengal will be none the wiser because they have no firsthand knowledge of these incidents either one way or the other.

As far as our party is concerned, we want to judge the situation by one touchstone or by one yardstick, namely whether this method which had been introduced into West Bengal politics originally by the CPM some years back, namely that political differences and political disputes between parties and political rivalries should be settled by physical violence and by the cult of the bomb, the dagger, the knife and the revolver has succeeded.

16.04 hrs

[SHRI N.K.P. SALVE *in the chair*]

The resolution speaks of the deteriorating law and order situation. That is the

question that I would like to raise, namely whether it is correct to describe the present law and order situation as a deteriorating one. The World 'deteriorating' has a particular meaning, of course, a relative meaning. The question is whether it is deteriorating or not as compared with what prevailed some time back. If somebody asks an ordinary citizen in Calcutta or in West Bengal whether he considers the law and order situation today to be deteriorating as compared to what it was a year ago or two years ago, I think in all shall fairness, he will have to say that he cannot say that it is deteriorating compared with what it was earlier. But if the conclusion to be drawn from that is that now the law and order situation is very satisfactory and everybody is happy about it, I would be the last man to agree with that. I would also give this warning that there are certain elements in the present situation which, if not checked in time, may lead very soon against a deterioration of the law and order situation. There are certain things which are pregnant with very serious possibilities.

So we are in a kind of transitory phase, if you like to call it. These inter-party clashes, vendetta and terror are not the only factor in the situation. I can understand Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu trying to arrange all his facts or the incidents within that framework.

**SHRI R. S. PANDEY (Rajanandgaon) :** Concoted also.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** He is trying to present it as if the whole thing is nothing but an attack against his party. For him, everything fits into that particular framework. But for one thing, I cannot fully appreciate this coming from him because when the boot was on the other leg, when other parties were being subjected at other times to CPM terror aided by the police and goondas, they were not worried at all. Now I appreciate their worry, I fully understand their great agitation because now it is a fact that CPM terror is to the some extent, being sought to be replaced by anti-CPM terror. I do not hold a brief for either. I do not think this will solve the problem at all—this I want to make quite clear.

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

There was a time when the CPM was in a dominating position both in the then Ministry—as well as outside when the police administration was, by and large, siding with them, because that is the way the police in our country has been taught always to behave. Nothing has changed in the basic character of our police administration. They go with the times. In the old days they were with the then regime, and they used to tell us when they used to arrest us or take us to jail, 'Do not blame us; after all, we are only servants of the Government. Today we are serving them. Tomorrow, if you people come to power, we will serve you'. Police officers always talk like that. I am sure members on that side also have got experience of this from the days of the freedom movement. In recent months, when the Congress (R) strengthened its position on an all-India scale, most of the police officers decided to desert what they considered to be the sinking ship and sided with the powers that be at the moment.

Not only the police. A most extraordinary and peculiar thing is taking place I do not know if the Prime Minister knows about it, whether these reports have at all reached her, that in so many localities in Bengal, what we in Bengal call *Para* particularly in Calcutta and round about, large numbers of people who are described as anti-social elements—I do not want to brand them as anti-social elements, because many of them are nothing but frustrated unemployed young men who have taken to these ways; they may not be congenital criminals but they have been indulging in criminal activities because of a certain social and economic background—who till yesterday were carrying pipe guns, bombs and daggers either for the CPM action squads or even for the Naxalites have in many localities to day appeared as Congress (R) volunteers and supporters. My hon. friend, Shri Munshi, knows it. I know he knows it, but I do not expect him to admit it, because his own party is not a highly organised centralised and disciplined party like the CPM. That also I know. Many things may go on in his party which is not like organised, centralised disciplined parties. In my own constituency, I have received so many complaints from ordinary people who say, 'What is this going on?' They name them; the boys who are well-known in their locality; they know them by name.

They say, "yesterday, these people were calling themselves CPM or Naxalites and were extorting money from various households saying that you should pay so much *chanda* for the party—Rs. 25, Rs. 50 or Rs. 100. "If you do not pay, you will have to leave this locality." This used to go on. But now the people complain that the same thing is being done by the same people; only, now they are shouting *Vande Mataram* slogans. I do not know what kind of Marxists they were; nor do I know what kind of votaries of non-violence they are now, and what type of people they are. But these elements have been playing a much more active and dominating role because of the kind of politics that has been followed in West Bengal for the last three or four years. They have been given a handle to come up. Many of their political patrons cannot control them, after a time they become forces in themselves.

We passed through a period, and Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray knows it, there is no use of glossing over these facts,—the mass murders which took place in Cossipore-Baranagar last Aug. 5; the mass murders which took place in Howrah subsequently, and in some other cases where the victims or the targets were Naxalites or alleged Naxalites or suspected Naxalites. Of course, if anybody here holds the view that whoever is a Naxalite should be killed, he is welcome to have his view but I will never support it. Our enemies can go on saying that "you are in league with the Naxalites." But till my dying breath, I will fight against repression against anybody; on young boys—whether they are Naxalites or CPM or my party or any party who are shot in cold blood or who are massacred in cold blood, who are killed inside the jails when they are prisoners, by beating up by wardens and the police. I will never support it. I do not care who they are; which party they belong to. They are boys of 12, 14, 16 or 17 years of age. But in these incidents in Baranagar, Cossipore and Howrah and all that, is it not a fact that the CPM people and the Congress (R) people are both involved, acting together against the Naxalites, of course, with the police colluding? Is it not a fact—I ask Mr. Muni—that his friend, Mr. Subrato Mukerjee, of the Chhatra Parishad, is on record in a statement published in all the Calcutta press at the time of the Baranagar massacre, in which he tried to explain it by saying that this was the instantaneous

reaction of the public, that the wrath of the public burst out against the people who have been committing all sorts of crimes? Well—it may be and I do not know—there is no doubt about fact the Naxalites in that area have committed some very heinous crimes before that. But if this argument has to be used, that therefore we are entitled to take the law into our own hands and go about in a wide area, for 17 hours, continuously dragging boys out from house to house and killing them in cold blood, then, this was the same argument which was used by Hari Krishna Konar and the other CPM leaders at the time of that incident in Burdwan town, when the Sain family household was attacked and their men were killed. The same argument was used, that this was a spontaneous out break of popular wrath against these people, because they had been acting as police agents or attacked the CPM processions or something like that. What is the basic difference in the mentality? There is no difference. The outwar form may be different. In this case, even the outward form was the same.

Therefore, what I wish to say is—I am speaking particularly now to the friends opposite—that you are so vehement in your condemnation of certain aspects of CPM tactics and practices in the past; not that they have given up, that is also going on there still, with whatever capacity they have. I can also come out with the lists of incidents. I have got them. But if you want to condemn then so vehemently, you must make sure that your own hands are clean. Why are you allowing all these anti-social elements to come and join your party now? I know that some of them have said so, they have surrendered to the Congress because they no longer enjoy the protection of the police. This kind of elements can only flourish under the patronage of the police or with the collusion of the police. Otherwise they cannot flourish. As soon as they realise that now it is no longer wise to flirt with the CPM or the Naxalites, they are now throwing in their fortunes with the Congress (R), and if the Congress (R) people want to use them, then ultimately you will also start going the same way.

Therefore I must say that as far as this motion referred to the action of a section of the police, administration and so on, I quite agree that this has a very serious aspect. But

many things have been mixed up by Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu in his motion and in his speech. He wants to put everything in the context of an attack, against his particular party. That is not the only thing. As a communist a marxist, and as revolutionary he should understand that the law and order situation as it is called, does not revolve on inter party disputes. There is such a thing as inter class disputes also. He has forgotten that. There it is not a question of parties at all.

The most disturbing thing in the law and order situation in West Bengal today is, I regret to say, the fact that a calculated offensive is being planned throughout the country side by the big landlords and jotedars who want to recover all the surplus and benami lands, lands which were occupied by the peasant, the moral right to which was accepted by this Government which during the president's rule has even introduced legislation fixing the ceiling per family instead of per capita, increasing the rights of the share croppers, a legislation atleast on paper, I do not wish to make bones about it which the United Front Ministry could never do.

They did it. But when it come to practise what happens. Those jotedars today in Jalpaiguri, Birbhum, Midnapore, 24 Parganas, now that the harvesting season is about to begin, have launched a ferocious attack to evict those share croppers, who hoped to get those lands permanently as their rightful share. In this the police is acting as the storm troopers of the Jotedars. They are going about saying that they are Congress (R). Whether they are or they are not I do not know, it is for you to decide in North Bengal, Midnapore, Jalpaiguri, 24 Parganas and also in Hastinabad and Basirhat which are on the borders of Pakiatan, there are these jotedars, some of them are big muslim jotedars and some are Hindu jotedars but that is not the point here. They will take this opportunity now to drive out and evict those poor peasants and share croppers from those lands. They are using police terror for that purpose.

That is why I said in the beginning that the situation is pregnant with dangerous possibilities, because the peasants are no longer those peasants of five or ten years ago. They will resist and there will be

clashes over the harvesting of the paddy, who has the right to take how much paddy? If there is a forcible attempt by the jotedars to cut paddy and take it away forcibly there may be a whole series of clashes. Some people will come here and say that the law and order situation is deteriorating because of the lawlessness created by some party. Therefore, I am giving a warning ahead. Everything is not a question of CPM and the Congress or the CPI or somebody else. That is something which Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu should remember as capitalists and landlords in this society they do not care which party is on which side; they out for certain interests of their own.....

(*Interruptions*)

There are a few jotedars who are Patronised by the CPM but majority of the jotedars are certainly claiming today that they are the congress (R) people.....(*Interruptions*). I can give you the names of jotedars who are supported by you. Anyway I do not care whether he is a congress jotedar or a CPM jotedar. After all if they provoke the Peasant and try to do injustice to them I have told you what would happen.

Promises had been given by the Government publicly to the peasant of West Bengal and they have tried to embody these intentions in those good laws which was passed recently. It will remain on paper, unimplemented. If this thing is allowed to continue there will be clashes and conflicts, Government should see the position.

I am surprised to hear about the reopening of the closed factories. I do not know where Mr. Muni got those figures.

**SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASS MUNSI:**  
It was the from the Second United Front up to this date.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** I agree that about 500 factories were lying closed. But I was surprised by your statement, that not less than 300 factories have reopened. There are a large number of factories of varying size from the point of view of employment potential which are closed and I would be very happy if they are reopened. But unfortunately, our knowledge and experience does not tally with this. All

the organisations which have been set up specially to look into this matter have failed. Particularly, the industrial Reconstruction Corporation with a capital of Rs. 10 crores at its disposal has been a miserable failure. Except for two or three factories—they are also not the most important ones—that corporation has not been able to get any factory opened at all. The seeds of discontent remain there unemployment, etc. etc., which are the basic causes.

As far as prices are concerned, the situation is terrible. I am very glad that some of our young friends on the other side are taking some initiative to organise demonstrations against high prices, profiteers and hoarders. I do not know whether that kind of demonstration will actually bring about any result, because it is not going to change any body's heart. We discussed it yesterday. Government should take some bold steps against profiteers and hoarders, which they are not doing. The situation is growing daily from bad to worse. Anybody who lives in Calcutta knows it. Even the prices of ordinary vegetables and food-stuffs are shooting up day by day. This is being done by profiteers, hoarder and market operators. If nothing is done, one day this peaceful *satyagrah* type of demonstrations of the Yuva Congress and Chara Parishad may be transformed into a little more violent demonstration and there will again be the question of law and order.

Another thing which was done probably in the name of law and order but which may lead to the opposite result is this dismissal of Central Government and State Government employees which took place in September and October, because the Government has not stated anything as to why they have taken action against these particular people. The same article 311 (2) was used—I am anticipating this argument from the other side—by Mr. Joyti Bosu also against some policemen at the time of the UF Government. But at the least the UF Government had this to say in its favour that the policemen raided the Assembly premises, ransacked it and threatened MLAs and Ministers. *Prima facie* it was quite obvious that these people had done something which was very serious. But in this particular case of 32 ordinance factory employees

and 13 State Government employees. Government has not given any reason. No show-cause notice, no charge-sheet, no enquiry to be held and no chance to defend themselves against any charges. No communication was issued as to why this extraordinary step is being taken. If it is argued that the ordinance factory employees were in any way holding up defence production, I am really surprised, because in this very House, year after year, whenever we discuss anything about defence production during the budget or at any other time, this is the only sector in which I find the ministers concern-ly, full-throatedly congratulating the employees of the defence factories for the wonderful and patriotic job they are doing. Every year it happens. But now they suddenly say that the employees are holding up production and damaging defence installations, so we have to turn them out by the extraordinary procedure. If you have a charge against them, give them a show-cause notice, allow them an opportunity to defend themselves during the enquiry and dismiss them if found guilty. That is the normal procedure. This is an extraordinary procedure which we cannot accept. If these things go on there will be more discontent and more unrest among the employees.

Do you know that after this action was taken against the Central and State Government employees, Shri S.N. Hada of Birla Brothers suddenly came forward and served dismissal orders on eight workers of Kesaram Rayon Mills. When the Labour Commissioner approached him and told him that he has not complied with the labour law by giving a proper charge-sheet and following the regular procedure, he retorted that if Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray could dismiss his employees like that, he could also dismiss his employees.

**SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY :** We sent for him and called for an explanation. He has apologized

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** He might have apologized. But what about these poor workers? That factory which had been closed down was opened on the basis of an agreement between the management and the CPM Union.

**THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND MINISTER OF DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE (SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY) :** He came and told us that he has got the support of the Marxist union and so why should I worry.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** Whatever the agreement or understanding, the fact remains that these employees have been dismissed.

I am glad that Shri Munsri and his boys are doing some good things. But I would request him to advise his young friends not to strat, what is called, the chair occupying movement. Now if any employees or workers go on strike for any demand, these people enter these factories or offices and occupy these chairs. I do not know what is this supposed to be. It will only create conflict and lead to clashes. Certainly, I do not think it is the ideology of the young people in the Congress that workers and employees should never go on strike for any legitimate demand. It is a strike breaking practice which I do not think anybody will approve. I hope they will not approve of it.

Finally, one word more about the law and order situation. Of course, I admit on the surface in Calcutta things are much better than what they were a year or a year and a half ago. But these are some outward superficial things. Surely, the situation cannot be determined by the fact as to which side the police and the antisocial elements are going to favour from time to time. If they favour the CPM, then some other people are the sufferers from the law and order situation. If they suddenly switch their loyalties and become supporters of Congress (R), my friends over here will be killed and massacred. Naturally, this is what is happening, and this is not at all the way to solve the problem.

At far as clashes between jotdars and peasants, between jotdars and share-croppers and between jotdars and agricultural employees or workers are concerned, which is not a party matter, the police is always solidly on the side of the vested interests and trying to suppress the toiling people. These are the things which will lead to a much

worse law and order situation in future unless it is checked. I would therefore appeal once again, before I sit down, both the CPM friends as well as the Congress (R) friends, for goodness sake, give up this particular tactic of using means of physical violence and terror against each other and employing anti-social elements and taking police collusion for that purpose, because this is not going to solve the problem.

**SHRI B K. DASCHOWDHURY** (Cooch-Bihar) : Sir, I have listened to the speech delivered by my hon. friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta. It is a good attempt to turn the entire debate into a lively one by just switching over not only to the problem of law and order but the root cause of law and order as analysed by Shri Gupta in the light of social, economic and political considerations.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE** (Rajapur) : Sir, this debate on the law and order situation in Bengal tends to become an internal debate between MPs coming from Bengal only. Those who outside Bengal are equally concerned.

**MR CHAIRMAN** : I have got your note. I will call you.

Other also will be called in due course of time.

**SHRI B K DASCHOWDHURY** : Sir, I was submitting that I have deep appreciation for the style and the manner in which my hon. friend, Shri Gupta, turned the debate later to consider the law and order problem in the light of social, economic and political considerations as existed in West Bengal. But I am not in agreement with all the points that he has referred to though I certainly agree with some of them.

He said that it is not only the question of law and order today; it is a question of other things. I would like to give you certain background about this matter. Before 1967 we had not the occasion to see in the fields of West Bengal that the peasants were murdering, killing and taking the crop of the others peasant; we had not seen in West Bengal that some of the localities are to be termed as the free zones and the free area, so-called Mukhtanchal; we had not the occasion to see

before 1967 that the murders, whose numbers are coming up in the course of a year or two to thousands or even more; and we had not the occasion to see that there were so much inter-party clashes.

We all firmly believe in the democratic principles and we believe that certainly people of our country must be given a chance to live just like a man as it is possible, for which all sorts of measures must be taken and it must be taken through cause of discussions and persuasion. With Parliament, being the citadel of democracy, and the Legislatures in their State spheres, it is possible to do it. But we have noticed a completely different picture since the sudden rise of United Front governments both in 1967 and in 1969.

To be brief on the point, in 1967 the United Front organisations, if we can term it had a certain in-built balance of power. There were two fronts before this election and the two fronts fought against each other, against the leftist fronts. But after election they joined hands together, and formed the U.F. Govt. There were latter inside U.F. Govt. there were attempt to over-power others but it had a certain inbuilt balance of power. That front ministry was not dissolved because of these interparts clashes but that front ministry was practically dislodged by then Governor for certain reasons of his own. I would not go into that matter.

But in the second United Front, all these leftist front people joined hand together and there was only one front and the Congress. Immediately after the election the United Front not only reached that figure but the power was given, so much overwhelming power, the front power and the leftist power and even inside the leftist front or so-called united front, which had drawn up a 32-point programme instead of the 18 in their first regime, the CPM party was a gigantic one. Immediately after the election results were published, it was being openly said by the CPM leaders, "Ours is the only party that the people have voted and rested confidence in; so, we must have a lion's share in everything." Unfortunately, there are divisions among the Communist Parties also.

To show how things worked up from time to time I am giving this background.

The CPM held the most important portfolios even in the Cabinet, the Home Minister's portfolio, the Labour Minister's portfolio and many others. But on their organisational front it was not so much built up as it was desired. So, they wanted to take help of the Government. The then second United Front leaders were saying openly, "Government is nothing but the weapon of our party; we must have to use it the way in which we like it." That was their slogan.

What happened? The first attempt was the Police Department. I remember, the then Inspector of Police, if I am correct, one Upananda Mukherjee, was compulsorily retired or was asked to retire even before his age of retirement and nobody was inducted in this high office of police administration, with the result what happened. Traditionally we find these police forces or civil forces or the civilians, the Government employees, are supposed to work for the Government whoever come to power. Under the Civil Servants' Rules and the tradition that has been built up in our country for years and years together—thereby I do not mean that this tradition should be maintained; I quite agree to a certain extent there should be a reform but the tradition is or the tradition was that whoever may come to power as the controlling governor of the whole administration, the office employees, be in the civil or in the police force or in the auxiliary police force, they must have to work according to the policies of the Government. But it was quite difficult on the part of the CPI (M) people to agree on this tradition. In spite of a big victory in 1969 it was quite difficult to extend their party organisation because out of 16 districts of West Bengal they had the major influence only in five districts but in the rest they had not. Those were 24 Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly, Nadia and Burdwan. But in the rest of the districts they must have their own influence. So, they tried to poke their nose in every sphere in all this.

It was the same thing in the trade union movement also. What were the things done? What they did by their own paramilitary forces? In some cases when the local officials did not heed to them because of having no reasonableness of their argument, they threatened these local officers and pressurised them. In many of the cases, at the initial stage, they threatened the police stations also in order to pressurise these

police forces and the police people. That happened in all districts. The police people had to work under the big hand of their Home Minister, one of the CPM leaders, Shri Jyoti Basu, who had the home portfolio. The police people could simply disoblige those CPM cadre's orders at their peril. Normally, it was not. But whenever things happened like that, those police officers were immediately transferred. Everyone knows by that time what happened to the police officers of the Gajole Thana in the Malda District. There was a big dispute between the Home Minister and the Chief Minister, Shri Jyoti Basu and Shri Ajoy Mukherjee. This is what happened.

What I was pointing out was that these were the attempts that led to the deterioration of the law and order in the hands of the second United Front regime. The facts were given by my hon. friend, the mover of this Motion, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, and some of the facts have been contradicted by my young friend, Shri Das Munsai. I would not like to go into all the details but I tell you some of the telling facts that not only these incidents but a large number incidents are a part of history. I quote from the book—here is the book—*The Disinherited State*, not written by a political leader, written by one very noted journalist, a very well-known journalist who used to see all these things as an impartial man. The book is: *The Disinherited State, A Study of West Bengal 1967-70*. It is said that while the CPM noted that their influence had not been foreseen at all places, at all corners of West Bengal—I quote—

"the CPI (M) needed police help. The party was not uniformly strong all over the State; there are districts where it was weaker than some pockets they did not practically exist. But it tried hard to extend its influence every where which brought it into clash with parties whose strongholds it wanted to storm. In this task CPI (M) supporters expected the police to stand by them. The police could refuse only at their peril. There were several instances of gherao of police stations by CPI(M) Supporters and protest demonstrations against police action: in some cases this resulted in summary transfer of police officials and some kind of disciplinary action or other.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude, Mr. Das Chowdhury.

SHRI B.K. DASCHOWDHURY : Please give me some more time. I will require only 5 minutes more, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You cannot have 5 minutes because there is a formidable list of speakers. The time is very short. Mr. Roy will need at least half an hour. I am afraid you have to conclude quickly.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : Then Sir, what happened ? When these measures were being strongly resisted by all the United Front parties both in the Assemblies and the outside. Even Jyoti Bosa said : I could not help this police administration very much because the party leader Shri Pramod Das Gupta had brought para-military forces and auxiliaries to the extent of 50,000. Instead of police force the people will go and save the people of West Bengal. How it had happened ? CPM people started intimidating and forcing the local people in their respective areas. They were compelled to give donations to the party. At West Dinajpur district stage of the party comrades imposed a fine of Rs 500 to one man for committing certain crimes alleged to have been committed in the past years and he refused to pay. For the failure of paying a fine of Rs 5000 11 persons were killed. That is the situation at Cooch-Bihar 5 persons were beheaded by the people's court of CPI (M).

MR. CHAIRMAN Please conclude Mr. Daschowdhury. You have very much exceeded the time.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : Here is the book from which I have quoted all these incidents. The CPM peoples' court beheaded 5 persons. Then what happened, Sir ? There was peace rally or demonstration in the village areas to restore normalcy but ultimately what happened ? The CPM people attacked this entire procession and 5 persons were kept in custody and after that there was a trial in the people's court. That was in Cooch-Bihar. Even local police officials could not enter this area. The people's court ordered that 5 persons should be beheaded.

This particular situation with regard to law and order was aggravated by the United Front Administration simply on the ground that their party, the CPM party, must be at the helm of affairs in all spheres. It happened in Sirpur colliery. It happened in Kishanganj. Everywhere there were inter-party clashes. After the fall of the Ministry what happened ? In the 1971 election the CPM Party and its alliance could not come to form the Government, that is known to us. But, after the Presidential rule what happened ? The position of West Bengal has greatly improved in all spheres. My friend Mr Das Munsi said that arms and ammunitions were in the possession of those people. If my hon. friends want to establish a clean life in West Bengal, I would only appeal to them that let them kindly tell their comrades to surrender all those arms and ammunition. Let us all set our heads together and let us develop the economic social and cultural life of West Bengal, because it is only when law and order can settle down in West Bengal and the fate of West Bengal can improve.

सभापति महोदय. मेरे चाट के हिसाब से जन संघ के लिये सात मिनट हैं। मेरा श्री जोशी से निवेदन है कि वह मुझ से सहयोग करें ताकि ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोग इस पर बोल सकें।

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र (बेगुलराय) : ऐसा किया जायेगा तो अनर्थ हो जायेगा।

सभापति महोदय : कोई अनर्थ नहीं होगा।

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : May I submit that yesterday when the Janter Manter affair was being discussed, although it was scheduled to be discussed only for two hours, yet we found that it actually went on till about 8.30 p.m. ? This is also an important issue, and therefore I would submit that Members should not be shut out.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Three hours have been provided for this discussion, and by 6 p.m. we are going to close this debate. So, I am willing to give whatever time is available. After all, there is a list and the chart has been prepared. Let us try to accommodate every body in the list.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISARA: Only one Member from each party in the Opposition will speak.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): Try to accommodate everybody.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जीशी (शाजापुर) : सभापति महोदय, चौथी लोक सभा में भी बंगाल की परिस्थिति पर हम ने चर्चा की थी, और प्राज पांचवीं लोक सभा में भी हम फिर बंगाल की बिगड़ती हुई परिस्थिति पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। मुझे ऐसा नहीं लगता कि कोई भी व्यक्ति, जिस को मैं भारतीय कह सकूँ, इस हत्या की राजनीति या धमकी तथा गुंडागर्दी की राजनीति को पसन्द करेगा, किन्तु दुर्भाग्य यह है कि एक योजनाबद्ध तरीके से वह राजनीति देश के अन्दर चल रही है। यह सब कुछ इस बात पर निर्भर करता है कि जिन लोगों पर इस को रोकने का दायित्व है वह इस को रोकने में कितनी दिलचस्पी लेते हैं।

मुझे याद है कि नवम्बर १९७० में इसी सदन में बोलते हुए मैं ने कहा था कि केरल में पुलपल्ली और तेलुचेरी पुलिस स्टेशन पर जिन्होंने हमला किया था, और जिसके आरोप में कुन्लीकन नारायणन को पकड़ा गया था और दो साल बाद भी उन को सजा नहीं हुई थी, उस समय मैंने कहा था उन को आप सजा नहीं देंगे। यह बात रेकार्ड पर मौजूद है। कुछ दिन पहले मैंने अखबारों में पढ़ा कि उन्हें रिहा कर दिया गया। जंगल सन्यास, कनु सान्यास को, जो नकमलवादियों के नेता हैं, रिहा कर दिया गया, फार वान्ट ग्राफ एविडेंस, और इन को भी रिहा कर दिया गया फार वान्ट ग्राफ एविडेंस। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि सवाल यहाँ यह है कि आखिर हम किस को रोकना चाहते हैं।

जिन मंत्री महोदय पर बंगाल में शांति और सुव्यवस्था लाने का दायित्व है मैं कल उन का

आवण सुन रहा था। मैं सोच रहा था कि आखिर इस देश में हम कौन सी राजनीति चला रहे हैं—पार्लिटिक्स ग्राफ फोर्स आर पार्लिटिक्स ग्राफ रीजनिंग। कल जब श्री सिद्धार्थ शंकर राय जन्तार मन्तर के भवन पर कब्जा करने के बारे में बतला रहे थे तब मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा था कि वह कैसे उस का समर्थन कर रहे हैं। इसीलिये मैं ने बड़े हो कर पूछा था कि स्वयम् प्रधान मंत्री ने जिसके बारे में खेद प्रकट किया था। that unhappiness was due to what? Was it over the forcible occupation of Jantar Mantar or over the fact that it was not a case of voluntary abdication of the rights by Shri Morarji Desai and his party.

यह बात नहीं है कि ऐसा कोई नहीं करता। जब लोग उत्साह में होते हैं तब ऐसा कर भी लेते हैं। कभी कभी यहाँ भी होता कि उत्साह में यहाँ के सदस्य ऐसा कर जाते हैं। (व्यवधान) लेकिन सवाल यह है कि जो प्रवृत्ति हम देश में लाना चाहते हैं उस का परिचय हम चाहते हैं। कोई ऐसा नहीं करता, ऐसी बात नहीं है, लेकिन जिन के उपर प्राज दायित्व है उस प्रवृत्ति को लाने का उन को इस तरह की बातों का समर्थन नहीं करना चाहिये। उन को इस के पक्ष में नहीं बोलना चाहिये। जो कुछ बंगाल में हो रहा है उस का वर्णन मेरे मित्र श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने किया, लेकिन मैंने इस सदन में देखा है कि जब इन्द्रजीत गुप्त और श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु दोनों साथ साथ रहते थे वे एक दूसरे का समर्थन करते थे।

नक्सलवादियों का दौरा जब शुरू हुआ तब वह हत्या से नहीं शुरू हुआ। पहले वह प्रतिमा भंजन के कार्यक्रम से शुरू हुआ। गांधी जी की प्रतिमा को तोड़ा गया, अफुतोब मकुर्जी की प्रतिमा को तोड़ा गया, बिबेकानन्द की प्रतिमा को तोड़ा गया, उस पर बामर लगाया गया, साहित्य को जलाया गया। यानी जो किसी के केन्द्र थे उन में गुंडागर्दी करना, गड़बड़ी करना

शुरू किया गया। यह सब पहले से चालू था, लेकिन किसी ने यहाँ उठ कर नहीं कहा कि वह गलत है। इतना ही नहीं, आज हमारे माननीय नेता कहते हैं कि यह सोवो-एकानमिक प्राग्भेद है, लेकिन यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। यदि किसी पढ़े-लिखे आदमी को काम नहीं मिलता है, तो क्या इस का मतलब यह है कि वह स्वामी विवेकानन्द के मुख पर डामर लगाये ? देश ने एक इतना बड़ा श्रेष्ठ व्यक्तित्व पैदा किया, जिम ने कहा कि जब तक भारत में एक कुत्ता भी भूखा है, तब तक मुझ को मोक्ष नहीं चाहिए। मुझे नहीं लगता कि इस से उपादा सोगनिस्ट कोई मिलेगा। उन्होंने भारतवासियों को बताया कि कुछ समय के लिए ये देव वगैरह सब बन्द कर दो, ये गरीब, पददलिन, पीड़ित, मूर्ख तुम्हारे देव है, इन की तूजा करो। मुझे नहीं लगता है कि इस में बड़ा कोई आदर्श हो सकता है। किन्तु भारतमाना के ऐसे श्रेष्ठ मुपुत्र के दुःखपर डामर लगाने कि प्रक्रिया जो बंगाल में हुई, क्या हम उस का वर्णन एक सोवो-इकानो-मिक प्राकलम के नाते करेगे ? क्या अपने देश पर आक्रमण करने वालों के पोर्ट्रेट हाथों में ले कर "जिदाबाद" के नारे लगाने हुए हमारा युवा-वर्ग सड़को पर घूमे ? जब यह सब हो रहा था, तो उस की जो निन्दा होनी चाहिए थी, वास्तव में वह नहीं हुई। उस समय यह नहीं कहा गया कि इन इन सब ममम्याओं का हल एक प्रजातंत्र के फे मवर्क में, शान्ति के माध, होना चाहिए। हम अपने विचारों को, अपने मतभेद और विरोध को किम ढग में प्रकट करें, यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है।

बंगाल में जो कुछ हो रहा है, यदि हम उस उस की बन्द करना चाहते हैं, तो हम को इस समस्या के मूल में जान चाहिए। श्री इ ब्रजीत गुप्त ने बताया है कि उन में श्री सी० पी० (एम०) में क्या डिफरेंस है। उन्होंने बताया है कि श्री सी० पी० (एम०) वाले फिजिकल

डेट्रूवशन से बिलीव करते हैं। मैं उन से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सी० पी० आई० और सी० पी० (एम०) में जो भेद हुआ है, क्या वह इस आघार पर हुआ है कि सी० पी० आई० तो वैंलट में बिलीव करती है और सी० पी० (एम०) बुलेट में बिलीव करती है। अभी कोचीन की कांग्रेस में कहा गया है कि सी० पी० आई० बुड लाइक टु काम्बाइन वैंलट विद बुलेट। इक का मतलब क्या है, यह समझ में नहीं आता है। सी० पी० आई०, से सी० पी० (एस०) निकला, सी० पी० (एम०) से सी० पी० (एम०एल०) निकला, सी० पी० (एम०एल०) में नक्सलाइट्स निकले और अब उन में से भी चार मजुमदार अलग हो गया है और दूसरे अलग हो गये हैं। जैसे प्याज के छिलके निकलते हैं, वैसे ही ये दल बन रहे हैं। वास्तव में अगर पापुलेशन पर रोक लगानी है, तो यह जो अनवान्टेड पापुलेशन बढ़ने लगी है—सी० पी० आई०, सी० पी० (एम०), सी० पी० (एम०एल०) आदि, इस पर रोक लगाना बहुत आवश्यक है।

यह मान लिया कि गरीब का उदार होना चाहिए, देश का भला होना चाहिए, सामान्य आदमी का कल्याण होना चाहिए, लेकिन क्या उस का कोई तरीका है या नहीं ? आज नहीं, बहुत पहले वह कहा गया है, "दि रोड अफ कम्पुनिज्म फ्राम पीकिंग टु पेरिस इज वाया कैलकटा" एक योजना बढ़ तरीके से यह सब हो रहा है। जब 1962 के दिनों में चीन हमारी सीमा पर आया, उन्होंने लाइन आफ कम्पुनिकेयान्ज एस्टाब्लिश किया, उस के बाद इन को महायता मिलनी शुरू हुई, भगड़ा और मतभेद हुआ—ममम आ गई कि आगे चल कर हम को सहायता मिलेगी, तो चीन से मिलेगी—तो वे लोग दो-टुक हो गये। तब से ले कर क्या क्या नहीं हुआ ? यहाँ तक कि केरल के मुक्कामूर मन्दिर की छतों में भी उनके

करेन्सी नोट आए हैं। ये कहाँ से आये हैं ? यह एव योजना बद्ध तरीके से किया जा रहा है।

भाज भी चीन के नेता, चाऊ-एन-लाई, कुछ कर कहते हैं, “बी आर आउट टु लिबरेट दि इंडियन सबकान्टिनेंट एण्ड दि इण्डियन प्रोशन।” हम लोग बड़े खुश हो गये कि अब चीन भारत से प्यार करने के लिए तैयार हो गया है। जब हम लोगों ने रूस के साथ ट्रीटी की, तो क्या आप को लगता है कि हिन्दुस्तान जैसे बड़े देश को चीन मुफ्त में रूस के लिए छोड़ देगा ? एशिया और अफ्रीका में उन की स्पर्धा चल रही है। कौन इंडियन सबकान्टिनेंट और इंडियन प्रोशन पर अपना प्रभुत्व जमायेगा—इंडियन प्रोशन पर किस का प्रभुत्व रहेगा, अमेरिका का या इंग्लैंड का, या रूस या चीन का ? बी आर नोव्हेयर इन दि पिक्चर। हम को इस सारे मामले के मूल में जाना होगा। सी० पी० आई. हो, या सी० पी० (एम०) या सी०पी० (एम०एल०) उन के द्वारा इसी लक्ष्य को सामने रख कर जान-बूझ कर वायलेंस की राजनीति, वैंस्ट को बुलेट से कम्बाइन करने की राजनीति इस देश में लाने की कोशिश की जा रही है। अगर कॉलिंग पार्टी इस की इम्प्लीकेशन को नहीं समझती है, तो मुझे खेद है। यहां कई लोगों ने कहा, हमारे एक मंत्री महोदय ने कहा कि माओ-त्से-तुंग से इन्स्पिरेशन लेने में कोई गलती नहीं है, कोई ले सकता है। चीन द्वारा हमारे देश पर आक्रमण किये जाने बाद भी क्या ये लोग सोचते हैं कि इन्स्पिरेशन लेने के लिए हमारे देश में कोई आदर्श नहीं है ? क्या हमारे देश में आदर्श कम है ? जो देश खुल कर हम पर आक्रमण करता है, जो पंचशील के सिद्धान्त को मान कर भी उस को ठोकर मार कर भारत की सीमा में घुसता है, क्या उस देश के नेता से इन्स्पिरेशन लेने की बात करना उचित है ?

मैंने श्री त्रिवरंजन दास मुंशी के बारे में बहुत सुना है। उन्होंने बड़ी बहादुरी, हिम्मत और माहल के साथ कलकत्ता में गुंडागर्दी को

समाप्त करने के लिए काफी प्रयत्न किया है। मैं यही चाहता हूँ कि इसी शान्ति के तरीके के साथ गुंडागर्दी को मिटाने के लिए कोई प्रयत्न करे मैं जरूर उस की सराहना करूँगा। लेकिन कांग्रेस के पुराने बड़े नेताओं के साथ भगड़ा करने की बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है। जन्तर मन्तर रोड वाले मकान पर सील लगा दी गई है, क्योंकि उस मकान के बारे में डिसप्यूट था। जब शान्ति-भंग की आशंका हुई, तो सील लगा दी गई। इसका मतलब यह है कि कोई भी किसी के घर में जायेगा, शान्ति-भंग की आशंका पैदा होगी और सील लगा दी जायेगी।

सवाल यह है कि आखिर सरकार क्या करती है। यहां पर शान्ति नाम की कोई चीज है या नहीं ? अगर यहां पर शान्ति के साथ रहना है, तो क्या आदमी के कोई अधिकार हैं या नहीं ? चौथी लोक सभा में ही नक्सलाइट्स पर रोक लगाने की बात की गई थी, लेकिन कुछ नहीं हुआ। क्यों नहीं हुआ ? हम सब मिल कर प्रयत्न क्यों नहीं करते ? विरोध रहे। प्रजातंत्र में विरोध जरूर रह सकता है, लेकिन विरोध का मतलब यह नहीं है कि आदमी को ही समाप्त कर दिया जाये।

मुझे क्षमा किजिए, जब हमारे देश में डा० श्याम प्रसाद मुखर्जी जैसे मान्यवर नेता कि मृत्यु संशयात्मक स्थिति में हुई, तो उस की जांच क्यों नहीं हुई ? जब हमारे नेता, पंडित दीनदयाल उपाध्याय, की गाड़ी में हत्या हो गई, तो क्या उस की जांच करने, हत्यारों का पता लगाने और उन को सजा देने का काम शासन का नहीं है ? यह काम कौन करेगा ? आखिर इस देश में बिश्वास कैसे पैदा होगा, जब कोई ईमानदारी और प्रामाणिकता से काब करे और उस की हत्या कर दी जाये ? ऐसी हत्या एक नहीं हुई है। गांधीजी की हत्या का बहाना बना कर सब से पहले देश में सा एण्ड आदर अपने हाथ में लेने को छूट भी गई।

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

जब नक्सलवादी ताड़व कर रहे थे, तो हमारे थे मित्र उन का समर्थन करते थे। आज जब बाजी इन क खिलाफ है तो इन्होंने अपना स्वर बदल दिया है।

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE Why was that opportunity given by murdering Gandhi?

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी यह बहुत बेगिक सवाल है। लोगों के मन में यह विचार है कि दिल्ली जैम शहर में, सब शक्ति अपने हाथ में होने के बावजूद, यह मालूम होने के बाद भी कि एक बार उन की हत्या का प्रयत्न हो चुका है, शासन द्वारा समुचित कार्यवाही क्यों नहीं की गई। उस के बाद अनुचित लाभ उठाने का प्रयत्न भी किया जाता है।

कार्य में मित्रों को के कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब कांग्रेस में स्प्लिट हुआ—उस में कोई बात नहीं है—तो इसी दिल्ली में भूतपूर्व मंत्रियों, डा० राम सुभग सिंह और श्री मोरारजी देसाई, के घरों के सामने मिक्योरिटी पुलिस गयी गई। यह टेन्शन किमन क्रीपट किया और क्यों? आखिर यह भगडा अहिंसा में विश्वास करने वाली कांग्रेस का था न? यदि अहिंसा में विश्वास करने वाली कांग्रेस में दो टुकड़े हाने हं, तो एक टुकड़े में जो लोग मंत्री थे, उन को डर किंगम पैदा हुआ, किस ने वह डर पैदा किया? कांग्रेस में भूतपूर्व अध्यक्ष, श्री निर्जलिगंगा, का बोट किमन फाटा, उन को अन्दर क्यों नहीं जान दिया? जल्द मन्तर रोड पर ऐसी घटना पहनी बार नहीं हुई है, इस से पहले भी हुई है। हम इस को अच्छा नहीं समझते है।

विरोध और मतभेद समझ में आता है। लेकिन यदि हम न देश में शांति के साथ प्रगति करना है, तो देश में उस के लिए उचित प्रवृत्ति और वायु-मंडल पैदा करना चाहिए। अभी

ओतदारों की समस्या का उल्लेख किया क्या है। हमारे देश में कृष्णा-गोदावरी के पानी की समस्या है, नर्मदा और कावेरी की समस्या है, चंडीगढ़ और बेलगाव की समस्या है। क्या हम इन समस्याओं को कोई सिद्धान्त और परम्परा सामने रख कर हल करते है? नहीं करते है। हम टेन्शन पैदा करते है। इसी प्रकार तेलगाना और बिबरम आदि की समस्याये है। उन को कुछ सिद्धान्त और परम्परा सामने रख कर हल करना चाहिए। प्रजातंत्र में सब को आश्वस्त मिलनी चाहिए कि यहा न्याय मिलेगा और सबके अधिकारों सुरक्षा होगी। यह विश्वास पैदा करना होगा। तब जा कर हम शांति के साथ समस्याओं को हल करने का प्रयत्न कर सकते है। हम बंगाल की घटनाओं के मूल में जाये, उन के बारे में गम्भीरता से विचार और चिन्तन करें और अनुकूल वायु-मंडल पैदा करें। तब हम सब लगन, सहयोग और सामर्थ्य के साथ इन समस्याओं को हल कर पायेंगे। प्रजातंत्र में ही प्रगति, विकास और सर्वांगीण उन्नति होती है।

श्री राम सहाय पांडे (राजर्नदगाव) : सभापति महोदय, बंगाल का स्मरण होते ही हमें उस भूखंड का स्मरण हो आता है, जिसे हम पश्चिमी बंगाल कहते हैं। एक पूर्वी बंगाल भी है, जिसे हम बंगला देश के नाम से सम्बोधित करते है, जहा मुक्ति वाहिनी अपने रक्त में स्वतंत्रता की आहुति को सींच रही है।

हम अपने पश्चिमी बंगाल की ओर जब ध्यान देते है और जब हम ज्योतिर्मय बसु के इस प्रस्ताव को देखते है तो चिंता होती है। एक प्रश्न मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ ज्योतिर्मय बसु से कि पश्चिमी बंगाल में क्या वह शांति चाहते है, समाजवाद चाहते है, इक्वलिटी चाहते है? अगर वह यह सब चाहते हैं और यह चाहते है कि सारा सर्वहारा समाज एक बार लच्छकर खाडा ही अपने अधिकारों की प्राप्ति और

लोकतन्त्र की छाया के बिना बड़े शांति के साथ और उन्नति करने समानता के साथ समाजवाद आए तो वह आए हमारे साथ। सी०पी०एम०, सी० पी० आई०, नक्सलाइट, कांग्रेस (भार), कांग्रेस (ओ), फारवर्ड ब्लाक.....

एक माननीय सदस्य . कांग्रेस (ओ) नहीं है उसमें।

17. hrs.

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डे : नहीं है तो नहीं हो। लेकिन यह सब लोग आए मिल कर के बैठे और मैं एक प्रार्थना करता हूँ आज की इस नाजुक परिस्थिति में मुक्ति बाहिनी सेना को प्रेरणा देने के लिए पूर्वी बंगाल की स्वतन्त्रता के लिए पश्चिमी बंगाल की अभिवृद्धि के लिए आए, बैठे और 6 महीने का अवसर मिले, एक टूस पीस एक समझौता हमारा हो जाय सारे दलों का और 6 महीने में आप देखिए कि ससका परिणाम किनना सुन्दर निकलता है। आखिर यही वह बंगाल है जहाँ भारत सरकार की बन्दना का स्वर गूँजा था— बन्दे मातरमा यही वही बंगाल है जहाँ जनगणमन अधिनायक के रूप में सारे प्रदेशों और भारत मा के एक समय चित्र की बन्दना और कल्पना की गई थी। यही वह बंगाल है जहाँ एक नर-शार्ङ्गल सुभाष पैदा हुआ था जिस ने सुदूर पूर्व में जाकर भारत की स्वतन्त्रता के लिए क्रांती की थी एक बड़ी भारी सेना का सयठन किया था। यही वह बंगाल जिसे बिभान चन्द्र राय ने अपनी दूरदर्शिता और राजनैतिक पांडित्य से भागे बढ़ाया था। चित्तरन्जब दास, सुभाष, शारत और सहित्यकार बकिम और टीगौर इसी बंगाल में हुए थे जिन का नाम लेते हुए बस्तक अपने नाम झुक जाता है। उसकी बागडोर 1967 में ज्योति बसु के पास आई। उसका इतिहास पहली रिज्मीम में 9 महीने का और दूसरी रिज्मीम में 13 महीने का खेच कर के लोकतन्त्र के नाते, समाजवाद के नाते, हमारा बस्तक अपने आप नीचा होसा है। क्या किन्दा वहाँ पर ? किसान को किन्दा,

के खिलाफ हाथ उठाने की प्रेरणा आप ने दी। मजदूर मजदूर को मारता है, किसान किसान को मारता है, विद्यार्थी विद्यार्थी को मारता है, टीचर टीचर को मारता है। मैं समझ सकता था अगर कोई ऐसा इन्कलाब आप ने किया होता जिस में सारे बड़ा बाजार के सेटों को आप घेर लेते। किन्तु उनसे पैसा लेकर, किसानों को उकसा कर, मजदूरों को मजदूरों के खिलाफ उकसा कर, विद्यार्थियों को विद्यार्थियों के खिलाफ उकसा कर हत्याएं और सरेआम हत्याएं हो रही हैं। लूट, डर और भय से सार बंगाल के वातावरण को आपने सत्यानाश और सर्वनाश की ओर उन्मुख कर दिया है। और वह ज्योति बसु के रिज्मीम में हुआ। तमसोमा ज्योतिर्गमय, वह वेदो ने आता है। अन्धेरा जाय, उजाला आए, प्रकाश आए, लेकिन यह ज्योति बसु अन्धेरा लेकर आए लोकतन्त्र में। यह ज्योतिर्गमय है और वह ज्योतिर है। कंसी भाषा, कंसी भावना और कंसा व्यवहार ? हम कल्पना करते थे इसी लोकतन्त्र की छाया में समाजवाद आए। हमने कहा कि इन को भी मौका द बलेट के द्वारा, बुलेट के द्वारा नहीं। हमने कहा कि सी.पी.एम. हो, सी पी.आई हो, नेनिनिस्ट हो, मार्क्सिस्ट हो, माओइस्ट हा, चाउइस्ट हो, जो भी हो, लोकतन्त्र की तुला पर आकर अपनी परीक्षा दे। जनता जिमको वोट दे, वह शासन संचालन करे। ऐसा कही और भी हुआ है ? नहीं हुआ है। हम चाहते हैं कि इस परीक्षा की तुला में विवेक और शांति के नाम पर लोकतन्त्र के नाम पर आप आएँ और पनवें। लेकिन कन्डीशन एक है कि जो मूलभूत अक्षय है हमारा समाजवाद का, गरीबों को उठाने का सर्वहारा वर्ग को ऊपर लाने का उस से हक आप से सहयोग चाहते हैं। वम से, प्राइमरिज से मोला बाबद से, क्लेस्टिंग करके, ज्वालापुत्री पैदा करने आप बहा की स्थिति को अक्षयना चाहते हैं। आप कहते हैं कि आज हम पर बंसी-

[श्री राम सहाय पाण्डे]

डेन्ट्स क्ल है हम पर चार्ज है, कि हम इन्वाल्सिड हैं मर्डर मे। लेकिन विधान चन्द्र राय और सेन के बाद जब ज्योति वसु के पास शासन आया तब से यह हत्याएं क्यों शुरू हुईं? यह चित्र है समाज के सामने। आप चाहते क्या है? आप जो चाहते हैं वही हम चाहते हैं। लेकिन अन्तर यह है कि आप का माध्यम बुलेट के जरिए है, कहीं से इन्स्पेक्शन आप को मिला है, कहीं आप ने पक लिया होगा कि जितनी ज्यादा से ज्यादा मिजरी, गरीबी और गुर्वत बढ़ेगी उतनी जल्दी क्रांति होगी इसलिए सर्वनाश करदो पहले। उस के बाद हम आकर बैठेंगे और निर्माण करेंगे। यह गलत बात है। आज सनसार रेशनल हो चुका है। कुछ विवेक और शांति के नाम पर एक व्यवस्था चाहता है, कानून चाहता है, नियम चाहता है, आर्डर चाहता है, लोकतन्त्र चाहता है, उसके नीचे आप आकर बढे।

सभापति जी, आप को सुन कर दुख होगा कि नौ महीने की इनकी पहली रिजिम मे और 13 महीने की दूसरी रिजिम मे 2174 हत्याएं हुईं। इस को जब हम देखते हैं दिनों के हिसाब से तो साढ़े तीन मर्डर ज्योति वसु के शासन म प्रति दिन हुई जब वह होम मिनिस्टर थे। बताइए किस अदालत मे उनका ट्रायल हो? इसका किसी अदालत मे ट्रायल नहीं हो सकता है क्योंकि ग्लेडिव टर्म मे यह मर्डर है। हम एक आदमी को मरवा दे, 302 मे लटक जाएंगे। मोटर से मार दे, कुछ नहीं होगा। भ्राग्नाइड गैस्टरिज्म पैदा करे और मार दें उस का कानून दूसरा है। इसका ट्रायल, यह जो हत्याएं हुईं साढ़े तीन मर्डर पर डे हुए, इसका ट्रायल कहा होगा? होगा इसका ट्रायल। साढ़े तीन मर्डर यानी तीन आदमी और एक लडका, तीन पूरे आदमी और एक लडका मिला कर साढ़े तीन हो गए...

सभापती म्होवय . दो दिन मे सात आदमी।

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डे . तो साढ़े तीन हत्याएं प्रति दिन का ट्रायल कौन सी अदालत मे होगा? अगर लोकतन्त्र असंज्ण है इस घर्ती पर तो जनता की अदालत मे इसका ट्रायल होगा। यह जो बैठे हुए हैं सामने, कल जो शौर मचा रहे थे और श्री गोपालन जस्तर मन्तर के नाम पर बिल्डिंग के नाम पर शांति का सन्देश दे रहे थे कि ला एन्ड आर्डर नहीं लेना चाहिये अपने हाथ मे, अरे भाई, हम तो ला एन्ड आर्डर कभी लेते ही नहीं हैं हाथ मे, कभी लिया ही नहीं। क्रिटिश हुकूमत थी तब भी नहीं लिया। एक चोरीचोरा कांड हुआ था तो गांधीजी ने सत्याग्रह को स्थागित कर दिया था। इस की गरिमा और प्रतिष्ठा की बड़ी भारी कीमत देनी पडेंगी और समय और शांति से देनी पडेंगी। गरिमा और शांति से देने से लोकतन्त्र पनपेगा। हमारा लक्ष्य जो है उस की तरफ हम ज्यादा तेजी से बढ़ेंगे और अन्त मे, अन्ततोगत्वा हमारे सिद्धांत, हमारे नियम, कानून और व्यवस्था सब केवल इसलिए है कि लोकतन्त्र पनपे, गरीबी जाय हम इन को भो हटाने के इच्छुक नहीं है। आइये, शांति से बैठें, सोचे विचारें, सारे विचारो का पन्चगव्य हो, उस मे मतभेद भी हो, मतभेद का आदर भी हो, लोकतन्त्र मे आए, शांति के माध्यम से आए और आगे बढ़ें समाजवाद मे, यह हम चाहते हैं। लेकिन इस तरह से विद्यार्थियो को, किसानो को, मजदूरो को उकसाना और अशांति पैदा करना उससे कुछ भी होने वाला नहीं है। हमने क्या किया है? आप प्रेसीडेन्ट्स की क्ल की निन्दा करते हैं और कहते हैं कि ला एन्ड आर्डर बडे सतरे मे हो गया है। किसानो में आप ने एक बड़ा विद्रोह पैदा कर दिया। लेकिन 75 बीघा एक व्यक्ति के पीछे आप के टाइम मे था, प्रेसीडेन्ट्स क्ल आते ही हम ने 45 बीघा प्रति परिधार के हिसाब से सीलिंग कर दी। यह किसान के लिए हुआ। मजदूरो के लिए क्विंटल का

पास किया बंगाल के लिए टीचर्स का जो एरीयर है वह दिसम्बर तक हम वे कर देंगे इसी तरह बिछाबियों को हम ने २५ प्रतिशत कंसेशन बस और ट्राम में दिया। हम चाहते हैं कि ऐसी व्यवस्था वहां हो जिस में समाज में सब लोग ऐसा अनुभव करें कि हम कुछ कर रहे हैं। हमें कोई प्रसन्नता इस बात से नहीं है जाहिर है प्रेसीडेंट्स रुल हम क्यों करते हैं ? एक व्यवस्था हम देख रहे हैं कि टूट रही है तो हमें कोई ब कोई विकल्प ढूंढना पड़ता है। हम उससे प्रसन्न नहीं है। लेकिन जिस दूर-दर्शिता के साथ, जिस दक्षता के साथ, जिस शौर्य के साथ, जिस प्रेम के साथ हमारे वहां के गवर्नर श्री डायस ने वहां पर शासन किया है सदन की ओर से मैं बधाई देता हूं और अपनी ओर से भी, अपने मंत्रालय की ओर से भी मैं उन को उस के लिए बधाई देता हूं क्योंकि जब से वह गए परिणाम अच्छा हुआ, शांति स्थापित हुई। जैसा अभी हमारे साथी मुन्शी ने कहा आज जब कोई भी आदमी सड़क पर घूमता है तो सुरक्षित अनुभव करता है आज दंगे कम हुए हैं, सामाजिक प्रोपर्टी का नुकसान कम हो रहा है। इसलिए मैं फिर रिपीट करता हूं कि हम चाहते हैं कि पश्चिमी बंगाल के जितने भी राजनीतिक दल हैं, सब एक होकर, एक मत, बिचार, आस्था, धारणा और भावना के साथ लोक तन्त्र की रक्षा के लिये, मुक्तावाहिनी के समर्थन के लिये, एक हो जाय और 6 महीने का ट्रायल दें। फिर देखिये, हम समाजवाद की ओर बढ़ते हैं, शांति की ओर बढ़ते हैं, बंगाल के विकास के लिए आगे बढ़ते हैं या नहीं।

अन्त में, मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि बंगाल की उन्नति के लिये, इसके विकास के लिये आपको बड़ा उदारता से काम करना चाहिये। क्या बजह है कि पन्जाब आज फल-फूल रहा है। सुरज पूर्व से उदय होता है, सब से पहले हम बंगाल के दर्शन करते हैं, इधर पन्जाब है और उधर बंगाल है, एक भी भ्रम कमजोर न रह जाय। इस लिये

इस के विकास के लिये आप प्लानिंग में अधिक के अधिक दीजिये, बेकारी दूर करने की कोशिश कीजिये, बिछाबियों के पढ़ने की व्यवस्था कीजिये, विकास के लिये अधिक से अधिक ध्यान दीजिये और ध्यान देने के बाद देखिये कि बंगाल की सोशियो-इकानामिक प्राबलम को हल कर सकते हैं या नहीं। फिर आप कह सकते हैं कि कुछ तुम हम को दो और कुछ हम तुम को दें, ताकि दोनों लोकतन्त्र की जय कर सकें और देश की प्रेरणा के लिये बंगाल से जो बन्दे-मातरम का स्वर गुंजा था, उस का स्मरण कर के बंगाल की जय बोल सकें।

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA :** Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have given a word of cheer and comfort by the hon. leader of CPI, Shri Indrajit Gupta, that the law and order situation in West Bengal has improved and there is no question of its deterioration. I wish it were so. If it were so, I would have said in Hindi—आपके मुँह में घी शकर। If I could use Ben Johnson's language, I would say "I would tip your tongue with gold." I do not know how the hon. leader of the CPI managed to forget that only the other day the Dum Dum office of the District Congress Committee of our organisation was raided with bombs and captured by the Members of the Ruling Party I do not know how this escaped the notice of the very considerate and, I must say, very sympathetic and kind-hearted leader of the CPI, Shri Indrajit Gupta.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** Manufacture of bombs is an every-day affair in Bengal.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA :** I have no doubt that the way in which the ruling party is behaving, many would not be disinclined to believe by what has been said either by the hon. Member of the CPM, or even by the hon. leader of the CPI, about the situation in West Bengal. May be these friends are tasting a dose of their own medicine, which goes under the name of collective violence, and which they have taken as their philosophy we have always considered it as poison whether it is in the individual or collective form Mr. Chairman, one

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

has not to travel very far to have these examples of the neo-Nazism that is rearing its head in this country (*Interruptions*) Only four days back we witnessed the de luxe edition of the neo-Nazism in the heart of the city of Delhi, not very far from you at 7, Jantar Mantar Road, the headquarters of the All India Congress Committee. And naturally, there was bound to be the de luxe edition here because it is the de luxe city of Delhi and we have got a deluxe government, too. If you don't take it, as a word of derision, but only as an appreciation of the grace and dignity of the Prime Minister then we have got a deluxe Prime Minister also. So naturally we had got a deluxe edition of neo-Nazism in the city of Delhi only the other day...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY : He uses of *de luxe* language.

SHRI SHYAMANANDAN MISHRA : If it pleases my hon friend, Mr Siddharatha Shankar Ray, I would say that he is the de luxe edition of a Minister in charge of West Bengal Affairs.

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY : Thank you.

SHRI SHYAMANANDAN MISHRA : Now, Mr Chairman, if Gangotri, therefore, is itself poisoned and impure, what would one say of its rivulets in their floods (*Interruptions*) in other parts of the country? They are bound to be of the same hue or even worse.

The basic proposition that I want to make is that the Indian politics seems to be undergoing a phase of cultural revolution.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Very good.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA : In terms of this revolution, we, as a party,—I am glad to say—are the least cultured. And I am prepared to concede that—although the ruling Party is not the most-cultured, yet but they are on way to becoming the most-cultured in these terms—Therefore, what you find to-day is a new product of this cultural revolution which goes by the name of *Cons-naxalism*. I am trying to make it intelligible to the Chirman,

In this cultural revolution, violence is progress. Disorder is progress. Indiscipline is progress, Economic stagnation is progress rising prices are progress and growing unemployment is progress. May I say that in this climate of progress and revolution we are the reactionaries and stick-in-the-mud conservatives !

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : Is there any doubt ?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA : No doubt, this is the revolution that you represent. You are welcome to this kind of revolution. Ours is a backward party and I would like to have your sympathy for it. Our backward and reactionary Party is being attacked by the revolutionaries and to give you one example—shall I ask your permission to travel a little far in the past ? Only two or three months back...(*Interruptions*) Please make him understand geography. Only two months back the Midnapore District Congress Committee office was invaded and the treatment that was meted out to Shrimati Abha Maiti is known to everybody. Now people ask us, What are you? Yes, we are the Pandavas with Draupadi like Abha Maiti being meted out that sort of treatment.....(*Interruptions*) You will never find us perpetrating the kind of acts that they are perpetrating.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : This would be expunged because Miss Abha Maiti may object to this. Miss Abha Maiti cannot become Draupadi.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Banerjee, you need not be worried about Miss Abha Maiti. Carry on Mr. Mishra.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA : Therefore, our leader, Shri Profulla Chandra Sen is talking of a backward and reactionary message of non-violence, truth and peace and nobody on this side of the House can say that he is not the only person of a stature and standing who has been trying to keep alive the flame of non-violence and peace as a votary of Mahatma Gandhi.

Now, Bengal has indeed been in a bad way.....

**SHRI R. S. PANDEY:** Under his stewardship.....

**SHRI SHYAMNA ND MISHRA :** Did I interrupt you ?.....(Interruptions) Please have some patience.

Bengal has indeed been in a bad way for a pretty long time and there does not seem to be any end of its troubles and travails. But the point I would like to emphasize is that the days ahead seem to promise to be even grimmer and there are definite factors for this kind of pessimism. In the first place, you have got eight million refugees, out of nine million, concentrated in that most sensitive area in our country. Secondly, in the name of helping the Bangla Desh people many of the political parties are having their private armies. Is the nation fully aware of this ? And they are gathering all kinds of arms and ammunitions too in the name of helping the Bangla Desh people. And here is the ruling party competing with the other parties in perfecting the techniques and methods of violence. What is perhaps more important than anything else is—it does not require any evidence because we had the taste of it only the other day..... that the State machine is being used for aggressive partisan purposes. So the basic question is whether we are living in an India where there is a state which can be spelt out as State or Estate. It appears that this has become or, is rapidly becoming an Estate with a big 'E' in the beginning.

I would like to quote a few words, from what, not a paper of this country, but the *London Times* said on the 15th of September. That must make all of us a little sad, may be a little wiser. This is what the *London Times* in its issue of the 15th September says :

" .... In another part of city a mob of vigilantes, led by members of Mrs. Gandhi's Congress Party move into the suburb of Ichapore, a Maoist stronghold.

They are carrying home-made guns, swords and knives. A terrified police party gives way to them and soon all exit points from the district are blocked by vigilantes and enraged residents who have been terrified by the Maoists for nearly two years.

Slowly and systematically the mob moves through the district. A resident identifies a Maoist's house. The mob roars and the occupants are hauled out into the street and hacked to death on the spot.

Calcutta is gripped by terror and lawlessness to-day as never before. Mahatma Gandhi's cult of non-violence has been discarded by all political groups, including his heirs in the Congress Party. Political differences are sorted out by the knife, the gun and the bomb.—\* \*

Enraged the Maoists' prolonged campaign of terror and a demoralised police force's incapacity to deal with them, impatient residents led by Congress Party volunteers have taken the law into their own hands and decided to 'liquidate' the extremists...

In most cases professional killers and hoodlums from other districts, together with a militant section of Congress Party's student wing, have moved into affected suburbs to lead the mobs."

And, it runs like that.

I request that a serious attention of the House must be paid to this aspect of the situation. We feel very much disturbed because there seem to be some indications of the emergence of a Fascist State in this country. That day somehow does not seem to be very far, for we have got a desperate Government, acting in a desperate manner; because they have created a desperate situation in all fields—economic, political and international.

**SHRIMATI MUKUL BANERJEE :** Can any hon. Member insult a lady in the House who is not married ? As Draupadi was the wife of the Pandavas, can 5 people claim her, after the passing of the Hindu Marriage Act ?

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** The intentions of the hon. Member were far from insulting any one. (Interruption) That is my ruling. That is the end of the matter.

Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray.

**THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND MINISTER**

OF DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE (SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have come prepared with a number of facts and figures. But, having listened to the accusations made by Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu who moved the motion, I feel that I should not waste the time of the House in placing all the facts and figures that I had brought with me.

I would seek the indulgence of the House to place the case of West Bengal in a dispassionate manner without fear or favour, in the hope that this House will be kind enough to not only listen to me but to support the Govt. in its attempts to bring back West Bengal to sanity. I do not claim that law and order situation is perfect. I do not claim that law and order problem has been solved. It has improved, as the leader of the Communist party had said, but certainly not to the extent as to justify any of us getting into any mood of complacency, to justify any of us to think that everything is perfect. Therefore, we cannot be complacent; we have to be cautious. When I was asked to coordinate the work of West Bengal, with that of the Central Government, when I took charge of my assignment then, I found the condition of West Bengal to be completely chaotic. Anarchy prevailed in practically every part of the State. There was insecurity. There was fear; there was terror. People in certain areas were afraid to come out of their houses after the sun had set. This was never the condition of West Bengal at any time before. So, naturally, a quick analysis had to be made with regard to the situation. If I was wrong, the House will correct me, but I felt that obviously the law and order situation could not be dealt with in isolation. To deal with the law and order situation, one had also to deal with the question of economic development. The problem of law and order was inextricably connected with the problem of economic development in West Bengal.

Therefore, from the very start, I felt that while dealing with the law and order problem, the Government should always bear in mind that what was more important was to see to it that there was economic regeneration in West Bengal. Apart from that, there were other factors which had to be taken into account. Everybody had not become violent, without any reason, and I have no

hesitation in admitting here, as I had done so publicly before the elections, that the genesis of the trouble or the root of the trouble started from the old Congress Government of 1966.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore): When he was a Minister.

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY: No, I was in the Opposition then.

In 1966, the situation had become very difficult, as a result of which the people rightly rejected the undivided Congress as it was and chose an alternative government.

The first UF Ministry came into power with the blessings of the people. Again, the people of West Bengal rejected us, the undivided Congress in 1969 and chose the second UF Ministry, again rightly, because our image was black and tarnished, and the people thought their future lay only in the hands of the Opposition parties led by the CPI—M. In the House in West Bengal, in 1969, the Congress had only 55 Members, and the combined strength of the other parties was 218. But unfortunately at the time of the distribution of portfolios, all the important portfolios had to be given to the marxist Communist Party.

My friend, Shri Jyoti Basu, my dear friend Shri Jyoti Basu, became the Home Minister and the Minister in charge of general administration. Mr. Krishnapada Ghosh became the Labour Minister. The Education Ministry went to Shri Satyapriya Ray and the refugee and rehabilitation department went first to Mr. Niranjan Sen Gupta and after his sad death to another Marxist Member. Land and land revenue went to Mr. Hare Krishna Konar, as a result of which in spite of the CPI being there, in spite of the Forward Bloc being there, in spite of the SSP being there, in spite of all these 13 other parties being there, all power really went to the CPI-M. I am not blaming them for that.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What about Finance and what about the Chief Ministership and what about Industries?

**SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY :** They got all these portfolios, and as a result of it what happened was this. Shri Jyoti Basu, my dear friend Shri Jyoti Basu, as I said, had complete charge of the police and also of the Government employees.

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA :**  
But who was the Chief Minister ?

**SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY :** The Education Minister Mr Satya-priya Ray had complete charge of the teachers and the students, and Mr. Hare Krishna Konar had full charge of the peasants and agriculturists, and Mr. Krishna-pada Ghosh had full charge of all the workmen. Shri Jyoti Basu was additionally also the Transport Minister and he had full charge of all the transport services. They had taken complete power in their hands, but unfortunately, and I was very sorry, because we all wanted the UF to succeed; at that time, I was the Leader of the Opposition, and we said so what had happened in three months' time was this. My hon. friend Shri Tridib Kumar Choudhary is here, my hon friend Shri Indrajit Gupta is here, my friend Shri S.C. Samanta is here, and I am willing to be corrected if I am wrong, and they can all correct me. Is it not a fact that within three months the CPIM started to oust Everybody else from every department, from every factory ?

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA :**  
Absolutely wrong, absolute slander.

**SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY :** My Marxist brothers I am not saying my Marx brother—will certainly dispute what I say. But I want to know what my hon friends, Shri Tridib Chaudhury, Shri Satish Samanta and Shri Indrajit Gupta say. Would you believe it that the Education Minister, instead of solving the problems of teachers, with which we are now faced—they are in a desperate condition and we have to do something about them—instead of improving the standard of schools, the first thing that he did was to dissolve the managing committee of every school and substitute it with a managing committee of their choice.

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA :**

They were never elected; they were all your stooges.

**MR CHAIRMAN :** He does not expect the Minister to say what he wishes him to say. It is the right of every member to say what he wishes to say.

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA :**  
He must talk sense.

**SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY :** I know where the shoe pinches. But the fact was that all those managing committees were dissolved and were substituted not by people belonging to the CPI, nor the RSP, nor the Bangla Congress, nor the Forward Bloc, nor any of the people belonging to the other 13 parties in the coalition but by people belonging to the CPI(M). I am prepared to sit down if I am contradicted in this by the non-CPI(M) members. This was how education was dealt with (*Interruptions*).

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** This kind of interruptions are not allowed Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu should listen to what he says.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** I did not interrupt. I dismiss his observation with the contempt it deserves.

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** He can express his contempt in silence.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** Since you have addressed me, I would say that a member of Government when speaking is expected to come out with reasonable truth.

**SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY :** If I may say so with respect to my hon. friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, truth is not only his monopoly. Shri Tridib Chaudhuri is as truthful as, he to me Shri Indrajit Gupta is as truthful as he, unless Shri Indrajit Gupta contests that proposition.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** What is truth ?

**SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY :** What I am saying everybody in Bengal knows.

[Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray]

Coming to the trade union field, what happened. Will anybody, except of course my Marxist friends contradict me, when I say that the only manner in which Shri Krishna Ghosh, the Labour Minister, started expression working was to muzzle out—I use the deliberately—every other trade union in the factories concerned. There were clashes everyday……(Interruptions).

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJ BAHADUR): Truth is bitter.

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY: No doubt the House has noticed how isolated my Marxist friends are.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: We are not isolated by the people.

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY: Take the CPI un on I leave aside the INTUC; we were their enemies. But take their friends (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order. It is his right to express his views. Kindly, do not interrupt him. Please sit down. There is no point of order.

SHRI MANORANJAN HAZRA: (Arambagh): Sir, a point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is the point of order?

SHRI MANORANJAN HAZRA: My point of order is that at that time I was a member of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly and I know from experience that that gentleman is not speaking the truth.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order. Please sit down.

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY: I had anticipated that I would be interrupted by the Marxist friends. I do not bother with regard to that. But I shall place before this house the facts. In so far as the trade unions were concerned, the CPM was trying to capture each and every union in each and every factory. In so far

as the rural areas were concerned, they have been wanting their friend and leader, Mr. Hari Krishna Konar; he went and agitated the agriculturist and tried to take them under their banner, so much so that soon West Bengal witnessed something which no other State had ever witnessed ever since we achieved Independence. (Interruption) Such were the incidents in the districts that the Chief Minister of the Government, Shri Ajoy Mukerjee, had to go on satyagraha in protest against what was being done by his own coalition members in the Government in the rural areas. I have got all the facts, but I am not going into all that. But I only mention these facts before the House for the purpose of showing that when I went to Bengal in charge of my new assignment, I found that we were in a chaotic condition.

The first difficulty that I noticed was the during the regime of the United Front, 1,353 cases were withdrawn by an executive order, by a general order, not an individual order but by general order. 1,353 cases were withdrawn in which the charges were under section 302, section 304, section 317, section 326 and section 336,—all serious sections of the Indian Penal Code. The result was that 13,373 criminals were allowed to go and mix with society. No wonder that these were the people—(Interruption)—these 13,373 people were accused of so many heinous offences and they were allowed to move about freely in society. They had to be found out.

Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu has made many allegations against the police. I am not going to deal with that. Many of them, practically all of them, are before the courts of law, but in every case there is a specific charge against the accused concerned. If he is not guilty, the court will say so. There is a specific charge against the accused. My young friend Mr. Priya Ranjan Das, Munsif had already pointed out that from the CPM offices we have gone and recovered lethal weapons, arms—I do not want to increase the list, for, it will embarrass my hon. friends more, and some of the cases are *sub judice*. But I have, in point of fact, to say this in great sorrow—certainly not in anger—that one of the characteristics of the CPM is certainly not an unshakable belief in the truth. And as such, I shall not deal with that point. I had expected Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu to help us and to make some points on principle, but

he has not made any point on principle. For example, I have here a letter from SHRI JYOTIRMOY Bosu addressed to the Governor to which the Governor had to reply. They had a public meeting on the 7th November at the maidan.

Long before that we decided that ticketless travel must stop in West Bengal and that no one should be allowed to travel in trains without buying tickets. They had a meeting on the 7th and hordes and hordes of people were put on the trains for the purpose of being brought to Calcutta. None of them have purchased a ticket.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA : How can you say so ? Let him prove it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order, order. Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu will have the opportunity of replying and at that time he can refer to this.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA : He is making a specific charge and I want to deny it.

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY : Shri Jyoti Basu had complained to the Governor and on the 14th November Mr. Dias wrote back to him :

“please refer to your letter dated the 11th November, 1971 alleging harassment of people travelling by lorries and trains to attend your meeting on the 7th November, 1971. I checked up and I find that there has been for sometime a drive against ticketless travellers as well as against the lorries licenced to carry goods being used illegally to transport passengers. Certainly there could be no discrimination by the Government in the enforcement of the relevant rules.”

I was trying to show how truthful the CPM is.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Is only West Bengal to be denied the privilege of ticketless travel ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : That is a question which you better ask the Railway Minister.

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY : The hon. leader of the CPI could undoubtedly take up the matter with the Railway Minister and so I will not waste my time with regard to it any more.

Keeping in view the position in West Bengal and the fact that economic development had to take place a sixteen point programme has been announced and that programme is being implemented. The Gratuity Act has now become law in so far as Bengal is concerned, as also the Closure Act. In so far as the teachers are concerned, the Government is looking after their interests and industrial improvement is one of the main things which the Government is after.

My hon. friend Mr. Indrajit Gupta made certain important points. He said that there were some people who previously were known to be CPM supporters and who were really goondas and who today have appeared as supporters of the Congress. We have taken note of this fact. In point of fact I have no hesitation in saying...we do not hide anything, I have already publicly said so in Calcutta there is infiltration into our party. I am not accusing in this House any particular party of trying to infiltrate. But there is infiltration and steps are being taken to check this. Identity cards and photographs are coming in and we shall see to it that such infiltrators are stopped. Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu is getting a little nervous about it and I can assure him that the comrades of his party would not be taken in and certainly the goonda comrades will not be taken in.

Mr. Gupta referred to a point about the dishonest jotedars. I fully agree with him. We have to be very careful during the harvesting season and see to it that dishonest jotedars do not take advantage and the police do not support the jotedars at the time of harvesting. In fact, I am glad he has mentioned it. We had a conference on this matter and I have also from here, after receiving some other reports from elsewhere, sent a message to the Governor saying :

“I have received reports of likely disturbances during harvesting in various

[Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray]

districts. Emphasising the point made during our last meeting that no jotedar should be allowed to take any wrongful advantage and police must protect the landless, the bargadars and the small landlords. Those who till the soil must be allowed to harvest the produce according to their share. I shall be grateful if you can take the matter into consideration and pass such orders as you think fit and proper."

So, this matter has been already taken in hand. Not only the CPI, but some members of the Congress Party and one or two other parties also saw me in Calcutta last time and raised that question. We shall see that the bargadars and the landless are not put into trouble.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Why is it that hundreds of false cases are being instituted against them ?

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY : That has been brought to my notice. If you ask your people in Calcutta, you will know that action has been taken.

With regard to closed factories, the figures given by Mr. Das Munshi were figures from the beginning of the UF Government till today. But there are a number of closed factories and they have to be opened. We were waiting for the enactment enabling us to take over without taking over the liabilities. That enactment has now been passed. A high level conference took place about this matter and every attempt will be made to reopen the viable units of the closed factories. But there is one thing. About 500 factories were closed during the UF regime, of which Shri Jyoti Basu was Home Minister and Mr. Krishnapada Bose, Labour Minister. They had a huge majority in the Assembly. Why did they not think of passing the legislation which we have passed today that there should not be any closure without giving two months' notice ? If they had done it, these units would not have closed. People say that at that time they allowed the closure deliberately because they were not interested in solving the problems but only in the establishment of chaos and anarchy.

About the Cossipore and Baranagore incidents, they were certainly ugly inci-

dents and no one can support them. It was most unfortunate. In fact, immediately after the incidents, I went to practically every house in that area. I went to Baranagore, which was Mr. Jyoti Basu's constituency. Hundreds of people turned up. I had expected that Mr. Jyoti Basu also would come there, but he did not. I had repeated this at the meeting of the 28 political parties which took place immediately after the incidents, i. e. on 15th August morning on independence day. When I went to Baranagore, the people told me, "Have you come here to enquire ? Mr. Jyoti Basu has issued a statement that the Congress have done this". If that is true, if Mr. Jyoti Basu issued that statement, we are all Congressmen. Then they said Mr. Bejoy Singh Nahar had issued that statement saying that the CPM had done it. Very well. If CPM had done this, then we are all CPM. I talked to teachers, professors and many other people. I talked to the bustee-dwellers. They were all agitated and was totally surprised at the attitude taken by them and the manner in which they behaved. Then they turned round and asked : "do you live in this area ? Do you know what we had to face ?" Then took me to eight or ten houses which were vacant because the owners have left. They said : "look at these schools which have been burnt; now we cannot send our children to schools; look at the milk booths or *gullis* which have been burnt; so, we are not able to get milk to give to our children; our husbands have to walk because buses and bus-stands have been burnt." They complained that nobody is allowed to live a civilized life in that locality. They said "you can go and enquire from anybody; if you think one of us is guilty; then all of us are guilty; if you have to punish one, you will have to punish everyone of us." I repeated this before the 28 party conference. Then they said that there must be an enquiry. I said that all the 28 parties cannot hold an enquiry. I suggested that it should be by five parties Shri Jyoti Basu, Shri B.N. Nahar from the Congress, Shri Jatin Chakravarty from the RSP, Professor Nirmal Banerjee from Forward Block and Bishwanath Mukerjee from the CPI. All these came out in the papers. I said that these people should go and hold the enquiry because it would be absurd and impossible for 28 parties to hold an enquiry. Bu-

the parties did not agree. Some parties said: if Shri Jyoti Basu is there we shall not be there. Some other parties said: if Shri B.N. Nahar is there, we shall not be there. Allegations were made against each other and they refused to agree on the basis of composition of the committee to enquire into the incidents.

Then there was the question whether the police had failed to do their duty. They wanted immediate action against the DIG and some other senior officials.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about the OC ?

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY : I had been there in the morning. I felt that subject to further enquiry action should be taken against them. They wanted them to be suspended immediately. I said that if suspension is necessary, certainly they will be suspended. I said that I shall look into the matter and if suspension is called for, I will do that. Thereafter, on the 15th night further facts starting coming in, very serious facts, from which I gathered what had happened. Now if I or any government officer were to suspend these two officers immediately, they would get only half salary or something of that kind, which would be doing injustice to these officers, because at that time it was not possible to apportion blame or responsibility. So, the thing which I did was the next best, which really amounted to suspension. I suggested to the government that these two officers should be transferred; let them go on long leave but no new assignment should be given to them. They were really in fact suspended but under the rules they were able to draw full salary. I did not want the officers to lose half or three-fourth salary by mere suspension until all the facts were before us.

The very next day there was another meeting of the 28 political parties and I told them this is what has happened. I said that since you have not agreed on this, we shall have the enquiry by a High Court Judge. We tried our best to get a High Court Judge. In fact, the ex-Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, Shri V. N. Mullik, agreed to it and a letter to that effect was received. Then he fell ill

and he said that he could not take up the assignment. I have talked to many other Judges. I do not know whether Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu will be happy if I told you what some of them told me. They were not prepared to take up this inquiry. If I may say so, one of the principal reasons.....(Interruption.)

18 hrs.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : By Shri P.P. Mukerjee whom you got managed to be stabbed. Burasat murder case. I am saying so on my own responsibility.

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY : Shri Bosu is very helpful. He has just now admitted that a Judge was stabbed

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : By police agent provocateurs under your orders.

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY : A Judge who was appointed to hold an inquiry, was stabbed. Another Judge, a sitting Judge of the Calcutta High Court, was murdered, as a result of which no Judge that we had approached was willing to take up the inquiry. This is the situation with regard to Baranagore and Cossipore.

Apart from saying that, in so far as we are concerned we are not against anybody or any party. We are against violence; we are against dishonesty; we are against lawlessness not only of the type demonstrated by Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu's party but as demonstrated by the dishonest traders and blackmarketers. We have detained—how many did they?—blackmarketers, boarders and those people who were hoarding baby food. We have taken action against those who were stealing railway wires. Things have improved certainly in so far as that aspect of the matter is concerned.

In conclusion, I must say that Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu and his friends know very well that they cannot disrupt order in west Bengal now. People will turn them out.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is your tuja now.

**SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY :** So, day before yesterday they thought, "Since we cannot disrupt order in West Bengal any more, let us disrupt order in this House."

Therefore, they behave in that particular manner. In so far as the CPM is concerned they are living in complete isolation.

18.02 hrs

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** Go in for elections.

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA :** I only say that a good slap has been given on the face of Shri Siddhartha Ray on 7th when ten lakhs of people gathered in the Brigade Parade Ground. I challenge you, you have such a meeting and then say that we are isolated. Why are you afraid of declaring elections ?

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) :** Sir, while I participate in his debate, I do it more in anguish than in anger. during our freedom struggle we had acquired certain values, particularly under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Aandit Nehru, because in our nationalism we had inherited the characteristics of Indian culture as well as some of the basic values of liberalism of the West. We always accepted the dignity of human life, both in our political as well as public life. I must say that those values are being challenged on the land of Bengal.

It is a fact that Gandhiji always told us that even for achieving a noble objective what path we pure is a very significant factor and if we pursued an anti democratic path, even the west of our objectives were likely to be defeated. I think, this is the lesson of Gandhiji's ideas that we have to learn while tackling the problem of law and order in Bengal.

I might be permitted to draw a parallel here. While we have chaos in Bengal and many men's hands have been soaked in the blood of innocent men there' I would like to strike a parallel with what happened in

Noakhali. There were riots. There were communalists in the country who said that violence had to be met with violence ; communalism had to be met with communalism. They bravely talked only from their palatial mansions but there was only one Gandhi in this country who said that violence could not be met with violence. He took the pilgrimage of peace. He carried on his tour and every hour of his in Noakhali brought peace to that land. even the rulers of Noakhali had warned Mahatma Gandhi at that time, "You are imperilling your life," I know, at that time Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru had such a tremendous popularity, that if they were just to provoke thousands of young men to go with bombs to Noakhali and meet violence with violence. there would have been anarchy and chaos. But there was a stout heart and a bold man who went with the message of peace and Noakhali was brought to calmness, that is the lesson we have to remember in Bengal.

Let us not forget that the law and order situation is definitely a bad one. Let us not quote statistical data to find out under the old regime how many women were molested and how many daughters were murdered and under the new Presidential rule how many were molested and how many were murdered. A mother whose daughter was molested or murdered is not worried about the political identity of her daughter or of the murderer. She is worried about the fact that her daughter was the victim of atrocity and these atrocities are there Who are responsible for them ? They have to be brought to book. For that, an investigation has to be gone into. Sir, many hands are soaked in this violence but we have to find out whose hands are soaked.

Here I will just quote one significant event. When there were riots in India, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan once said that when there are communal riots, Hindus are disturbed because Hindus are killed and the Muslims are perturbed because Muslims are killed; but, nobody in the country is disturbed because human being are killed. In the land of Bengal also when we find that the Marxists are killed, CPM is disturbed. When socialists are killed—let me tell you that my comrades in the trade union have been kill-

ed in broad day light in Bengal—we, the socialists are disturbed. If CPI men are killed, they are disturbed, if Congress (R) men are killed, Congress (R) feels disturbed and if Congress (O) men are killed, they feel disturbed. But I would like in the Indian Parliament, this sovereign Parliament, to feel disturbed because human beings in Bengal are being killed and they are being massacred and molested. I would like that attitude to be taken and I hope for assessing the correct picture of law and order a certain *modus operandi* will be evolved.

I would like to tell you that in the land of Bengal a certain type of politics has been encouraged for years. Internal party differences are settled on the streets with violence. There are intertrade-union rivalries. There are constitutional methods by which inter-trade-union rivalries can be resolved. But, my trade union comrades belonging to the Hindu Mazdoor Sabha, similarly the comrades belonging to AITUC, and also the comrades belonging to the Marxist organisation and the INTUC, have been murdered in broad day light. To me it is immaterial to which organisation they belong. I shall never quote the statistical data that previously so many were killed and now so many are killed. To me the fact remains that in the land of Bengal, still this tragedy continues and it is probable, that if we investigate the matter and if the Parliament appoints a Committee, it may be that the people who are making allegations about violence, they may themselves be proved to be guilty of the same. So, in this House, no Party should feel shy to accept the verdict of a Parliament's Committee which goes into the problem of the law and order and investigates what is happening in that land and tries to find out how actually the situation has to be met.

Only one more word about the law and order situation in the context of socio-economic problems. If our Home Ministry is under the impression that merely our trigger-happy police will be able to deal with the problem of law and order whether created by Naxalites, CPI, CPM or presuming even by members of our Party, or Congress (R) I am sorry they are thoroughly mistaken. (In modern times the problem of law and order cannot be tackled merely on the basis of trigger-happy police action. I would like the socio-economic problems in Bengal

to be solved. Those who have a vested interest in chaos, anarchy and violence, while they talk of socio-economic justice at the heart of their heart, they like the socio-economic injustice to be perpetuated because only in this climate of injustice they can flourish and continue their nefarious game of provoking people to indulge in acts of violence.

I do not understand why the Congress (R) is frightened of appointing a committee to go into the matter? If a Committee is appointed, you will be able to find out whether what Mr Jyotirmoy Bose is saying is correct or whether what Mr Das Munshi is saying is correct. We, the Members of Parliament, would like to take a judicious view and we would like a committee to go into the law and order situation there. Particularly in the land of Bengal and generally throughout the country the slogan is that power grows out of the barrel of the gun. Some people say that 'We prefer bullet to ballot'. Some say, 'We combine bullet with ballot' and some combine ballot with the bull. Whatever may be the option that is available, let us try to take an impartial view. In Bengal, there is chaos. Trade unions are being attacked; rival political party officials are being attacked. It is better that in this debate we forget who the Mover of the Motion is.

I should not like my attitude to be clouded by the fact that a Marxist Communist has moved the Motion. We have to see whether we are concerned with the law and order situation in Bengal. We have to see whether the situation respects the dignity of human life, whether it respects the dignity of the values which we cherish in our freedom struggle in this land of Gandhi—I am referring to Mahatma Gandhi. If you are worried about the preservation and the dignity of human values, let us not have an acrimonious debate as to who is responsible and whose hands are soaked with violence, but let us take a unanimous decision; let there be a Parliamentary Committee or sub-Committee appointed to investigate the matter. I appeal to the Treasury Benches. If your conscience is clear why should you be afraid to accept the suggestion which is perfectly fair? By that we will be able to know where the guilt lies. Whoever may be guilty, whatever may be

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

their complexion, whether they are reactionaries, revolutionaries, pseudo-revolutionaries or super-revolutionaries, then necessary decision can be taken and they can be dealt with. That is all that I can say. Thank you.

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI (Berhampore): At the fag end of the day, I don't want to take the time of the House but I would start by drawing serious attention of all concerned to the point that was made last by Shri S.S. Ray. It is a sorry day not only for Bengal but for whole of India that a situation has developed when judges of the highest judiciary are afraid of their lives and they have said so to Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray that they are not willing to undertake any enquiry. Sir, I have with me a letter from the Prime Minister about a year ago. Then Bengal was not under the United Front Government. Bengal was under the administration of President's rule and under the rule of this Parliament. And, the whole country was horrified to find 11 young men murdered and their dead bodies were left on the road side and immediately the whole country was agitated and this Parliament was agitated and before this Parliament the Prime Minister made a solemn promise that there would be a judicial enquiry.

Soon after that you find the Barasat incident and the Beliaghata incident in the CIT building. There have been open accusations that one man arrested as Naxalite was killed before the eyes of the population in the university campus by the police. I wrote a letter to the Prime Minister and she replied. This is dated 21st November, 1970. It says:

"I have your letter of 21st November. We have already ordered a judicial enquiry into the Barasat killings and no purpose would be served by pre-judging the issue. I am distressed beyond measure at the heavy toll which political murders are taking in West Bengal in which the killing of policeman and Govt. officials is not less horrifying than that of others. It is certainly not our intention to counter Naxalite terrorism with police terrorism. This is precisely the purpose of the Prevention of Violent Activities Act. As I have stated several times, all cases of police

excesses will be looked into and those found guilty punished."

That was one year ago. And then these incidents happened afterwards which Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray also found horrible. But I find in his argument an attempt at a sort of lefthanded justification. Yes, the people suffered by violence. But at the same time as regards the killings that took place, nobody knows how many were killed; some say, 70 were killed, some say one hundred people were killed, and some say that two hundred people were killed, and the dead bodies were thrown on the roads or in the river. An inquiry into that aspect of the matter was also promised. But such is the law and order situation, the wonderful law and order situation, that we cannot assure our judges of their safety. We cannot assure them 'You hold the inquiry without fear and favour, and we the Government with this massive majority behind us will be behind you, and the whole country is behind you, and we want that an inquiry should be held'. But that has not been possible.

If not anything else, this fact alone is the justification for the motion that Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu and Shri Samar Mukherjee have moved, wherein they say that this House expresses its serious concern, if this House fails to express its serious concern in this situation—I do not know what will happen. Our young friend Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi is here, and I would recall his first or maiden speech in this House on the president's Address. He referred to the murder of our revered leader Shri Hemantakumar Basu. Is it not known to the police who committed that dastardly crime? If so, why has nobody been brought to book? In fact, not only one person was murdered, but several people were murdered. Shri Hemantakumar Basu's name comes to our mind because he was the leader of us all. Even the President of the Republic himself had referred to his killing, but nothing has been done. That is why it behaves this House that it must express its most serious concern at the situation that has developed in West Bengal, and I warn you that the mute footsteps of Fascism, the jack boots of Fascism are being

heard, and a situation is coming; we have the experience in the other countries in neighbouring countries like Pakistan and others, of how the military jack boot ultimately overtakes democracy. Fascism is coming. If we do not do our duty by the country at this hour, and we do not all sit together engage in serious self introspection by all the political parties then God help us!

SHRI S.M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : I shall confine myself only to one point because the other points have been covered by other hon. Members. I was surprised to see that recently in West Bengal, 13 leaders of the State Government employees were dismissed under article 311 (2) (c), that is, under the President's special powers without assigning any reason or giving an opportunity to those employees who were permanent employees of the West Bengal Government. This has happened only after President's rule was established in West Bengal. We protested against this action and when we protested, the net result was that instead of the matter being remedied, 32 ordnance factory employees belonging to the Rifle Factory at Ishapore, the Arms and Ammunition Factory at Ishapore, the Gun and Shell Factory at Cossipore and the Dum Dum Factory and inspectorate, were dismissed under article 310 of the Constitution. They were also permanent employees. As the President of the all India Defence Employees Federation, I can say with all confidence that during this time, the production had increased in these ordnance factories. It is on record that my hon. friend, Shri V.C. Shukla, who presided over the Industrial council meeting held in September said that production has increased. Naturally he pleaded with employees, representatives, which included these representatives also, for more production. It has never happened in defence establishments that people have been dismissed without assigning reasons. When there are rules and regulations under which an employee can defend himself, how is it that these services of these people have been terminated and they have been removed from service or dismissed without assigning any reason.

I know the hon. Home Minister may not be able to answer this question straight-

way. We are negotiating on this House. 32 MPs have sent a letter yesterday to the Prime Minister and I am sure something will be done. The CPM, CPI, Jan Sangh DMA, Shri Tridib Chaudhuri, Shri Samanaha and others are signatory to this. It is not sponsored by a single party. We have said in this letter :

"We have observed with a sense of shock and dismay the arbitrary dismissal of 13 top leaders of West Bengal State Employees movement of 13 September by the Governor exercising extraordinary provision under article 311(2) of the Constitution and subsequent dismissal of 32 civilian defence employees' leaders of West Bengal in the same manner under article 310(1) of the Constitution of India".

"In both cases the employees concerned have neither been provided with any scope of self defence nor any reason whatsoever has been adduced for the dismissal. Strangely the authorities have exercised the articles of the Constitution in not giving an opportunity of self defence to the employees but to deprive them of all constitutional safeguards".

we have requested the Prime Minister to scind these dismissals and give them an opportunity before taking any action against them.

When Shri S. S. Ray has said that the situation in West Bengal has improved why was this necessary specially at a time when the defence employees have assured the Defence Minister under the banner of the All India Defence Employees' Federation to produce more. I would like to know from the Defence Minister whether he is prepared to fully consider all these cases. I am ready to prove that all the charges are concocted and fabricated by the intelligence military or other intelligence, without any common intelligence at all. I do not want the Home Minister to give an immediate answer, but I want that there should be a discussion and the Prime Minister should invite the leaders for a full discussion of the matter.

10.25 hrs

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE  
FIFTH REPORT

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJ BAHADUR): I present the Fifth report of the Business Advisory Committee.

MOTION RE: LAW AND ORDER SITUATION  
IN WEST BENGAL

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K.C. PANT): We have in the past had many stimulating discussions on West Bengal, but today I had a feeling that the debate was not at the same level. I think it was partly because it had a bad start.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Bitter.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu can also sometimes be stimulating, but today he confined himself to recounting a number of individual cases. He hardly dealt with the wider aspects of the situation in west Bengal. Perhaps there was good reason for that, because he found himself in an unenviable position in the broader spectrum. Nevertheless, it has put me in some difficulty as to how deal with the points he has raised.

I am grateful to my hon. friends on my side like Shri Munshi, Shri R. S. Pande and others who have made my task very much easier. Of course, my hon. colleague, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, who spoke before me, covered a very wide field and traced the present situation in Bengal, particularly the law and order situation, the politics of violence to its roots, and in its wider correlation to socio economic factors. Therefore, very little really remains for me to say, and I am heartened by the fact that all sections of the house, except one, are agreed that there has been some improvement in the law and order situation. I think it has been established that the motion is not tenable.

Sir, the situation in west Bengal has been a difficult one for some years, and in

the economic field, in the social field, in the political field, there have been difficulties I need not go into them and it will take a long time of the House and I know Members are tired now. But we must keep in mind the fact that of late the difficulties have been multiplied by certain extraordinary factors—the situation on the border, the influx of evacuees, and the extraordinary floods that took place in west Bengal. All these things have added to the burden of the administration there, and it has only compounded the difficulties that already existed. In this situation, particularly keeping this in view, I think the administration there has shown a commendable job.

There was some who questioned the wisdom of my colleague, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, devoting special attention to west Bengal. But I think the results have shown that it was a wise decision and his personal interests not only helped to expedite the matters but more than that, has helped to awaken in the minds of other political parties in west Bengal and the need to do some basic thinking on the problem of Bengal and the need to cooperate to combat tendencies which were harmful for the well-being and future of West Bengal. That has been his special contribution, and I think that today all parties in West Bengal do realise the gravity of the situation and their special responsibility in this regard. I think that by and large this realisation permeates the thinking of Political parties today in West Bengal, and there is a certain amount of heart-searching and a certain amount of questioning and that by itself is a good thing because this heart-searching was long overdue.

In this context, one has to appreciate the fact that whatever the administration might have done, the administration by itself could not have improved the law and order situation to the extent that it has been able to, were it not for the people of West Bengal to whom the real credit goes for the improvement in the situation.

But having said that, I would also like to say that on its part, the administration of west Bengal under the Governor has been doing its utmost, has been putting in great efforts and with a measure of success to deal with the law and order situation and the other difficulties that west Bengal has been facing.

I would briefly refer to the situation during the last few months to emphasise to what extent there has been an improvement in the law and order situation. My hon. friend Shri Dandavate does not like figures, statistics. But I am afraid that there is no other way of studying the trend of violence. I would like to quote some figures. During the last four months, the number of inter-party clashes and political murders has been reduced almost by half.

Inter-party clashes have progressively declined from 97 in July to 83 in the next month and then to 54 and have risen slightly to 57. The number of political murders has also come down from 133 in July. It went up a little to 142 and then came down sharply to 86 and then to 72 in October. Incidents of violence by extremists have come down even more sharply. In July there were as many as 317 incidents followed by 226 in August. These have come down to 152 in September and then 58. Attacks on the police had also come down from 97 in July to 81 and then to 46. In the following two months the number has gone up...(*Interruptions*). The number has gone up to 57. I have a feeling that if can secure the cooperation of the mover of this motion then the figure can again go down.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :** Even with these statistics do you feel that the law and order situation in West Bengal is quiet sound ?

**SHRI K.C. PANT :** No, certainly not, I would straight away disabuse you of any such feeling. I certainly am not complacent. I share the concern expressed by your Members but I think it would be good for the House to know precisely to what extent there has been an improvement. Since the motion deals specifically with the deteriorating situation, I can only say that depends upon the view point of the mover. The law and order situation has improved but the situation for him has deteriorated. That is quite possible.

There were as many as 12 attacks on the police in the month of October. The number of strikes, ghernas, etc. in industrial undertakings also came down from 37 to 30 and then to 15 in October. The agrarian situation has been peaceful.

It would thus be a fair estimate to say that the law and order situation far from deteriorating has started responding to the efforts made by the State Government. Now as I said in the beginning the real credit for this must go to the people. There has been public response. The fact is that people are more fearlessly facing up to the challenge of violence. They have basically to face up to all that the politics of violence, represents to which reference was made by my hon. friend Shri Dandavate. We had expected the people of Bengal to respond even earlier but a sense of fear seems to have gripped Bengal and now it is getting out of the valley of fear and that is the greatest encouraging feature in the present situation.

There is qualitative difference in the situation now obtaining in West Bengal as compared to the situation that obtained there before. I know that Shri Indrajit Gupta had referred to certain other basic causes. I am not going into that. But given those causes the remedy will take a certain amount of time. But the fact that popular response was not visible earlier had created a certain diffidence even in this House which I noticed when this particular subject was discussed here, because it is quite true that the administrative machinery which is not backed up by popular support cannot succeed in tackling a law and order problem of this magnitude. Therefore, the present situation in respect of popular support also needs the particular attention of this House.

It is a matter of gratification that a number of resistance groups have been formed by the people. It is our information that over 22,000 such groups consisting of about 5 lakhs persons are active in the State.....(*Interruptions*).

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA :** They are getting Rs. 105 per month. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI K.C. PANT :** This is not against you. Why do you let the cap fit you ? These vigilance groups have now made it difficult for the Naxalites and other elements indulging in violence to find shelter in urban and even rural areas and keep their movements secret. People are coming forward to inform the police about their movements, the places where they have stored arms and ammunition and giving information which

[Shri K. C. Pant]

helps the people to apprehend them. The people of West Bengal are no longer apathetic and indifferent and this positive role of the people has brought about a qualitative difference in the situation. I hope that this vigilance on the part of the people of West Bengal will continue and so long as it continues, the law and order situation is bound to improve progressively.

I need not refer to the details with regard to the arrest of various Naxalite leaders in Bengal and outside. The troubles brewing within their party and all those other things, I do not think we need dwell much on that. We have to dwell more on the positive aspects of what has been achieved there. But I repeat, we do not have any sense of complacency. We realise that this task has to be continued with the cooperation of all peace-loving people there. People who believe in the basic democratic values have to cooperate to fight this politics of violence which has cost the fair land of Bengal so many young lives which would have been so productive and fruitful. As some hon. member said, it is not a question as to which party is responsible and who dies. When a young boy or girl dies, very often he or she is full of promise. We should look at it from that aspect and root out the causes that may have led to this. Here the socio-economic aspect is important. The regeneration of the economic of Bengal is important. The opening of closed industrial units is important. Stepping up of investment there is important. The completion of projects like Haldia is important. The Farakka bridge has been recently completed. We are doing our best to see that these projects are expedited. In the field of agrarian reforms, Mr. Ray has referred to it. We have taken some steps there. In the labour field also, we have taken some steps with regard to gratuity, etc. About closure of factories, we have provided a certain compulsory period of notice. In so many other fields, we have taken positive steps which I think will win the approval even of the critics opposite. These are long overdue and are necessary to create that confidence among the people about which Shri Das Munsi spoke, the confidence that the whole country is aware of the difficulties of Bengal and is anxious to help in resolving them, that Bengal is not alone, that the whole country feels today that with a little

bit of help, Bengal will come out of the valley of depression. This is the moment where the Centre and other States can and should help West Bengal. We are doing our best to this end.

Some sweeping allegations have been made about the police. It is the habit of my friend, Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, to be carried away by this enthusiasm in such matters. But I thought his references to CRP today were much less frequent than in the past. I was wondering whether he had slipped up somewhere, because he usually repeats CRP at least forty times. Today I noticed it only twice. It is not necessary for me to go into all the individual cases, particularly because the State police is there and the state administration is there, and I have no doubt that they are also in contact with them.

I would only say what I have said before in the House that in case excesses are there, when such instances are brought to our notice, we will take suitable action. I have never held that there can never be excesses. There can be excesses, particularly in an atmosphere in which the police as well as others are indulging in violence. They get a little coarse and they lose their sensitiveness. Because of the coarsening of the atmosphere by a long period of sustained violence, these excesses may be there. All I can say is that they will be looked into when they are brought to our notice. Beyond that I would not take the time of the House by referring to individual cases, although I have notes here on individual cases also.

One word with regard to what Shri Indrajit Gupta mentioned about Naxalites and other young men who have perhaps gone wrong and who should be given a chance. I agree with him.

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA :**  
You agree because the police.....

**SHRI K. C. PANT :** I do not take a vindictive attitude like my hon. friend, Shri Dinen Bhattacharyya. It is entirely contrary to nature that the parent should be so vindictive towards his offspring. In this case, his vindictiveness has gone to the extent of *post mortem* .....*(Interruptions)* I hope that my hon. friend has not

forgotten the genesis of the Naxalite movement. Shri Das Munsai has described the birth of the Naxalite movement, the way it has grown from out of the parent trunk, which is the CPM. Therefore, all I am saying is that it is contrary to nature that a parent should be so vindictive against his offspring.

AN HON. MEMBER : Even to the extent of disowning it.

SHRI K. C. PANT : We have seen children disowning parents but it is seldom that parents disown children.

The other factor of the genesis of violence was referred to by my hon. friend, Shri Sidhartha Shankar Ray—the release of a large number of persons charged with heinous crimes, or even convicted of heinous crimes during the UF regime. These are facts which cannot be forgotten, because they provide the backdrop to the situation that prevails there today, the situation that we have been grappling with for the last so many months. As I was saying, I accept the fact that it is the Government's responsibility to deal firmly with violence and we are determined to deal firmly with violence. But we do recognise that among the ranks of those who are called Naxalites there may be young men who may not have committed any violence but may be afraid to get out of their company, who may want to come back to normal life, who may not be guilty of anything else except association with the Naxalites. Well, in those cases, would my hon. friend say that the door should be closed to them? Should we not try to win them over by weaning them away? This is the basic question. I have no doubt in my mind that they should be given an opportunity to rehabilitate themselves if they want to break away from the path of violence and want to take the path of reason. Speaking for myself, I have not given up the hope that even my hon. friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, is amenable to argument and can be brought to the path of reason.

So, why should I despair of others?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : You do not listen to reason. You are a bigot. I am not a bigot.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I do accept and I do realise that my hon. friends of the CPI (M) today find themselves in a dilemma because they are isolated in West Bengal. They do not like the word 'isolated', but the debate in the House has shown them and the rest of the country how isolated they are.

I would like to quote briefly from an editorial of a Calcutta paper.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Which is the paper? Tushar Kanti Ghosh?

SHRI K. C. PANT : At the end I will tell you so that you can get some kick out of it. I quote :—

"Latterly the CPI(M) has been unable to shake off an oppressive sense of its own isolation and its efforts to solicit the cooperation of the non-Marxist trade unions have been singularly unproductive. "Causes" which could have been expected to bring about a semblance of leftist unity or to enable the CPI(M) alone to paralyse the State no longer claim the following they had at one time. Bandhs have begun to lose their novelty as a dramatic expression of protest and are now beginning to be seen by the average citizen as an unmitigated nuisance. There is here evidence of a serious loss of momentum in the extreme left movement, and of the CPI(M) having to suffer the penalty of now being accepted as throughly "conventional".

By whom? The offsprings, of course, as everywhere in the world. It continues:—

"The CPI(M) indeed appears to have lost something of its copcity for novelty and the dramatic gesture, a condition in which the debate within it on the question of violence versus the parliamentary method can be expected to intensify. Thus the condition are now rather more appropriate than they have been for demonstrating clearly that violence is politically unrewarding".

Now comes the time for them to say, "Ah" The paper is *The Statesman*.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Oh! Your godfathers! The capitalists, the potrosaints of theirs!

SHRI K.C. PANT : They have found themselves today in this situation of isolation.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : According to the *Statesman*.

SHRI K.C. PANT : For that whom do they blame ? My colleague, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, challenged you here and pointed out not to one instance, not to two instances, but to instance after instance where the CPI(M), when it was in the UF Government, saw to it that, as he put it, the others are muscled out. The overbearing attitude of the CPI(M) is a matter of the political history of West Bengal. So, now if you feel isolated, we have sympathy for you but we cannot help it.... (*Interruption*)

DR. SARADISH ROY (Bolpur) : Hold the elections in February 1972..... (*Interruption*)

AN HON. MEMBER : Accept our challenge... ..(*Interruption*)

SHRI B.N. REDDY (Niryalguda) : When we are isolated, why are you not prepared to hold elections ? Why are you not prepared to face the people there ?

SHRI K.C. PANT : It will not help you to interrupt in this manner. It is a very simple proposition. Elections can be held under normal circumstances. You know, how many evacuees have come into Bengal.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : They are in the camps.

SHRI K.C. PANT : Do you think as rational men that this is the time when elections can be held there ? (*Interruption*)

AN HON. MEMBER : Why not ?

SHRI K.C. PANT : As rational men or as irrational men ?

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Aurangabad) : Are you holding elections in Assam ?

SHRI K.C. PANT : In Assam the influx is much less than in West Bengal.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Meghalaya?

SHRI K.C. PANT : Even in Meghalaya it is much less. I can give you the figures.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA : I do not know what you are arguing. The issue is the police excess. The police is killing people. Because the CPM people have been isolated, as you think, will you tolerate this and encourage the killing by the police ? You reply to that point. Why are you beating about the bush ? Which is the majority party is not the issue. That will be decided at the polls.

SHRI K.C. PANT : I hope, he will permit me to speak in my own way. Now, he refers to the question of isolation in relation to violence. I would like to quote again something.

Let me see. Kindly listen to these figures. All the other political parties in West Bengal have suffered at the hands of the CPM—attacks, murderous attacks... (*Interruptions*) My information is that the CPM was involved in about 220 cases with other Parties in the State including the CPI, Forward Bloc and others during the last four months and there were 1100 cases since the beginning of this year. Is it an wonder that none of the other Parties is prepared to accept the tender protection of the CPM ?.. (*Interruptions*) Why are you trying to evade the issue of CPM's violence? ...(*Interruptions*)...I am prepared. I would not like to do it, but if you want me, I can quote instances of the arms and ammunitions recovered from the various places which are connected with the CPM. If you want, I can certainly give you a long list. I have got the list here. Would you like me ? ...(*Interruptions*) I will only quote a few instances.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : They say they will give the list also.

SHRI K.C. PANT : Yes, they will give.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : The same list.

SHRI K.C. PANT : In the month of March, in the course of a raid on their office in Durgapur, the Police recovered 17 fireguns and live bombs. Again in this month from their office at Siliguri, the

Police recovered one pipegun, 10 cartridges, 10 bombs and two daggers, one dagger bloodstained. On 27th March from their office in the 24-Parganas District, the Police recovered 4 bombs and one dagger—rather modest. On April 19, at Barasat the police recovered 20 live bombs, 13 molotov cooktails and 4 kg of explosives. On 20th July....

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA :** What do you want to deduce from all this ? ...*(Interruptions)*.

**SHRI K. C. PANT :** It gives me no pleasure to bring this information to the notice of the House. I am prepared to skip the list. I have a long list. But I think that while I skip over the items in this list, even my friends of the CPM will be interested in one item. On 26th August a motor vehicle which was later found to belong to a certain gentleman—I won't mention his name now, I will mention it later—was seized after its occupants had earlier assaulted with a dagger a Police party. Three persons were arrested in this case. Who is the owner of this vehicle ? None other than Shri Promod Das Gupta.

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA :** You don't rely on the Police people.

**SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASS MUNSI** (Calcutta South) : Should we rely on Mr. Promod Das Gupta?

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA :** I ask him to come to West Bengal and visit the places and take evidence.

**SHRI R.S. PANDEY :** He is not going to take the risk to come to you.

**SHRI K.C. PANT :** Today the situation is different. I can take the risk. But which of them will take the risk ?

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA :** I will take the risk. You kindly come to Beliaghata with me.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :** Either of the two will disappear. It is bad.

**SHRI K. C. PANT:** Sir, Bengal is facing a difficult situation and in that difficult situation, one expects that all sections in Bengal, all political parties would combine

to see that we get over the present difficulty and on the top of that the situation in Bangla Desh—and my hon. friends may not tire of mentioning the situation in Bangla Desh—and if they want to strengthen the hands of the Government to tackle that situation, then the method is not go-slow, stoppage of work and bandhs, though the bandh of the 13th October was a big flop. People there had given the answer.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** That is the jute Press of yours.

**SHRI K. C. PANT :** All the patriotic people of West Bengal, the patriotic labour of West Bengal, the patriotic Government servants of West Bengal, they are not prepared at this juncture which is a very critical juncture in the country's history, with dangers looming at the borders, they are not prepared to indulge in bandhs and other cheap gimmicks of this kind. I would only request my hon. friends to see the writing on the wall and not to indulge in these things at this stage.

It is for all of us to help West Bengal in this situation and I hope that even at this late stage the Mover of the Motion will see the sentiment of the House, the sentiment of West Bengal and the sentiment of the country and withdraw this Motion, which will serve no purpose, except to themselves. Thank you.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** What about the dismissal of those employees ? You did not say anything. That is, Government employees who were dismissed.

**SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY :** I did not deliberately do so because you know, under the Constitution, when dismissal of that type takes place, it is the Governor who decides. It is entirely within his discretion.

**AN HON. MEMBER :** You are guiding him.

**SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY :** Supreme Court has made it clear. It is the Governor and the Governor alone who uses his discretion. And, since it is a matter relating to the Governor's personal power, I don't think we could say anything.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** Sir, you will appreciate that my task is rather difficult because many things have been said which have no basis at all. I will start in a reverse order. I hope Mr. K.C. Pant will listen to me; I know him well because I have confronted him in this House more than anybody else perhaps and I know his task and his ways; he is very good at mincing words, I don't envy him. It has been said that people's support to Mr. Pant's party could be reflected through an immediate election. Then why is he afraid of that? our isolation would be proved or disproved, as the case may be, by the people but not by you here. You are protecting those antisocial elements only because they are serving the cause of the congress. protect them, let them prosper in your hands. You have talked about terrorism of the Naxalites. I have quoted from that well-circulated and well-edited paper, *Economic and Political Weekly* of Bombay Kindly read that article. You will get your answer.

And you talked about *statesman*. You quoted from *Statesman*. We know *Statesman's* character, its ownership and its composition. We are not surprised that you use that editorial against us.

You talked about election and one friend from there talked about evacuees. Are not most of the evacuees confined in the camps? Don't your Government say most evacuees have been put in camps? How is it that they are going to disturb your polling? I do not understand that. Mr. Pant's leader, the honourable Prime Minister took the pretext of law and order. Quite a different story. You better make up your mind which one you want to say.

**SHRI K.C. PANT :** Both.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** I will give you a chance to consult each other. Because, if that is your point, then how are you holding election in Meghalaya and Tripura? The ratio of evacuees with the local population is very disproportionate. Mr. K.C. pant has given a series' of fictitious stories. I would like to tell him: I am quite sure in your heart of heart you don't believe what you have said. About the strike on the 13th, may I tell this? It is the jute press which is living

on your newsprint and the advertisement money and they are being fed by your PIB. It is they who said so.

19.00 hrs.

I now come back to Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray. He talked things which had no relation with truth. He talked about the UF Ministry composition in 1969. In spite of the fact that we were the largest party with 83 MLA's in the House, we gave the Chief Ministership to somebody who had a following of only 33, namely Shri Ajoy Mukerjee who is joining the Congress now, and the portfolios of Finance, Industries and Health were given to others. The managing committees of schools were dissolved because many of them were not elected and there were charges of corruption against many, who belonged to Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray's party. Shri Krishna-pada Ghosh was the Labour Minister at that time. There was a joint struggle and as a result Rs. 50 crores were taken or squeezed out of the big money bags, their patrons, in favour of the workers from five major industries, namely, jute, tea, engineering, coal and textiles. When we are in the first UF Ministry, we invited the Congress to join many committees like the RTA, but when President's rule was imposed, Mr Dhavan had disbanded all the committees and filled them with anti-socials and Congress hoodlums.

About the rally on the 7th November, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray had very boldy and openly said that there would not be more than 15,000 people. His expectation was that the number would not exceed 15,000 in that rally, but we had gathered lakhs of people who had travelled from all districts, and what did Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray do?

**SHRI R. S. PANDEY :** They came without purchasing tickets?

**SARI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** They took a clue from my hon. friend.

**SHRI K.C. PANT :** If they had purchased tickets, then it shows that law and order is perfect.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** They came in vehicles, but they were dragged out of the vehicles, and the drivers and the people who were travelling were given a merciless beating by the police, and we had to inter-

were in many places to get the release of some of them. Our workers and kisans and our friends are poor, and they do not have money, but they are not dishonest and they did not take to ticketless travelling as many others do. I am saying so because our chaps bought tickets when they had travelled to join this rally. But I am not surprised at what Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray has said, because that sort of thinking is quite likely to come into his mind, because basically he is a spokesman of the big business, and I have read his interesting arguments before the Car Price Commission where he had been arguing for the Birlas motors.

**SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY :** Just as Shri Sushanka Sekhar Sanyal argued for Shri Haridas Mundhra in the sessions court.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** Out of 25 years of Independent India, only 22 months involved us in the Government with practically no powers, because the State Governments do not have any real powers.

**SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY :** Question.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU :** Rulnation and chaos have been brought to West Bengal by the Congress which had all the material and financial resources of the country at its disposal. They were in power for 25 years minus 22 months.

At Baranagar and Cossipore, what was the outcome of Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray's very great efforts to put things together? In this mass murder, the police did not come for 17 hours. Since when does he think that transfer has become a punishment for police officers? We know he wanted them to be shielded and removed from the eyes of others, and a long holiday was given to some.

Again, at Barasat, we know who did it. The police organised the murder of Shri T.P. Mukerjee through *agent-provocateurs*. Again, how on earth could we believe that a judge who had been given such a serious and risky assignment could take a smorsing walk and the police did not provide him with bodyguards? Who will believe it? I at least do not believe it.

About the murder of the judge Mr. Roy, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray here knows it better than I do, that the followers of a deceased Congress MLA were at the root of his killing. So, let us not go into those matters which involve dead persons here.

Now, I shall come to Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munshi's speech. He has talked things mostly—I would not like to use strong language and say 'a string of lies' baseless. The *Hindustan Standard* was the paper from which I had quoted. The Congress Party is now full of Cong-shalls, criminals, anti-socials and Naxals. The *Hindustan Standard* is owned by a Congressman and not by us. So, let him better have a quarrel with them and sort it out.

About the Burdwan municipal election, at the point of the revolver, the Burdwan contestants were forced to withdraw. I am quoting from the papers as to what actually happened.

"On November in the morning, a large number of Congress (R) gangsters were collected from different areas and armed with 70-80 guns raided Uplati, Bara, Noapara, Sultanpur, Dangapar-Matiswar Bazar and burnt down many shops and houses. Then being reinforced by more gangsters and ably flanked by a big contingent of CRP concentrated their attack on Chakbalarampur, a strong Kisan Sabha village. Before retreat at 3-30 P. M. they killed 6 persons and burnt down about 80 houses. 4 persons are still missing. The gangsters snatched away about 18 guns from different licence holders of this village and adjoining villages. The CRP marched through the village within 10 minutes of the retreat of the gangsters. This proves conclusively that this attack was planned and organised at a high government and Congress level"

I am giving another, for Shri Munshi's information. This is issued by eminent politicians belonging to us and others. Mr. Jatin Chakraberty is not a CPIM man. they say :

"We visited the Katjunagar, Colony. Rajendra Prasad Colony and the Jaya Engineering Workers' Quarters, Usha Nagar, in Jadavpur area in the District

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

of 24 Parganas on 16 October 1971".

"A long 'jheel' separates what is called Vikramgarh Colonies and No. 2 Poddarnagar colony from the aforesaid colonies. The distance over the 'jheel' between Katjunagar, Rajendra prasad and Jaya Workers' Quarters on the one side and the No 2 Poddarnagar and Vikramgarh colonies on the other side varies from 75 yards to 150 yards approx. And the goondas regularly snipe at the inhabitants and tentaments in the former colonies from across the 'jheel' from positions in the No. 2 Poddarnagar and Vikramgarh colonies. We were shown the chairs where the goondas sit and the tables where they rest their guns and rifles with which they fire."

There are a lot of complaints that the Jadavpur police station refuses to entertain complaints against the goondas. Sm. Maya Das complained that the CRP accompanied by the goondas raided her house on 14 October 1971 and she recognised Ratan as one of the goondas who accompanied the CRP. Sm. Bamprabha Bhowmick complained that due to constant sniping her tenants had left. I have got dozens of such complaints here.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY : We are tired of listening to these concocted stories.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Let him go away.

Shri Munshi talked of resigning. May I ask him who is this Kamal of Baranagore. Who got this ill-famed goonda released and what is his position in the Congress organisation today ?

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSHI : I very strongly deny it and I will resign my seat if he can prove it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : He went to the extent of castigating us for our Resolution regarding secession. The jute press had misquoted us deliberately to misrepresent our point of view. We want a united India. There is no second word about it. As for law and order in West Bengal as a member of the committee on employment, I have been looking into these things. The *Economic Times* run by *The Times of India Group*—

it is not a CPIM publication—has brought out a publication 'Government of Bengal—Labour 1970' which says that closures are responsible for 25 per cent....

SHRI R. S. PANDEY : Is he replying ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : I am replying.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY : Who is looking after goondas ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Shri Jyoti Basu never sent the police to the Birla House. It is a fabrication. The Naxais today are Cong-shells; they are no longer Naxais.

Now, Mr. Das Munsi, this is the outcome of your practising in gangsterism. What is happening about Soto Ghos's people coming up and beating up Subrato Mukerjee's State Committee offices and people in Chowringhee ? (*Interruption*)

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : The intruders came and we drove them out.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : We have known Rothu Talukdar doing *hamla* in another meeting in South Calcutta when they tried to have *ad hoc* committee. I am talking about Subrato Mukerjee. All that I am saying is, "doctor, heal thyself. Do not try to poke your dirty nose in our clean affair." (*Interruption*) I am asking Mr. Das Munsi : Who is this Moti Mandal of Chhatra Parishad ? Mr. Pant can help me. Is it a fact that he was arrested for stealing Rs. 25,000 from the Burdwan zila parishad and also charged for some murder case which is pending there ? (*Interruption*) What all you said about the Vikramnagar colony is baseless; and West Bengal has the highest unemployment, the lowest plan spending so far from the beginning till today, and that has one of lowest fourth Plan allocation,

Mr. Munsi has forgotten that the closure was due to the Centre's policy of not supplying raw material for industries; steel which has not come tomorrow than 17 per cent of the total requirement although West Bengal produces enough steel; the shortage of supply of working capital; our banks are all controlled here by the Centre. There has been the shifting of the purchasing departments of the Central Government from West Bengal. The railway station

headquarters which used to make purchases to the tune of Rs. 2 crores of products of the small scale industry in Howrah has been shifted, ...causing a loss to the railways to the tune of Rs. 28 crores: this was done just to teach the West Bengal small scale industry a lesson.

SHRI K.C. PANT : Is it a new debate?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : No; I have been making a very careful note of what has been said. I am meeting each and every point. I have added nothing at all. Let the debate be examined.

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY: The quality of a good speaker is to stand up, speak up and shut up. Please do so,

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : You had better heal thyself, doctor. We know your performance—every brilliant! Do not provoke me, and do not think too much of yourself.

Now, Shri Indrajit Gupta, our comrade here, has said that the unemployed and frustrated youth have created this problem mainly. May I ask him, who has created this unemployment and frustration among the youth! Who had held the economic and fiscal powers during the last 25 years? He has said that the CPM is a highly organised party, but, at the same time, people here have said that our comrades are switching over, which one is true?

May I tell comrade Gupta—he knows it better than I do because he came to the party long before I did—that these are not inter-party clashes. He has forgotten to mention that my party has been in the forefront of the struggle against jotedars and industrialists. That is exactly why this Government which is of the monopolists, by the monopolists and for the monopolists, is showing up its fascist character to resist it.

Yesterday, Mr. Gupta said that if we seriously took the price resistance movement outside, to Mr. Chavan, the police will come and beat us up. He is very right there. Shri Indrajit Gupta has failed to appreciate

that the Congress usually acts as a strike-breaker. Did you see how the Congress-controlled press behaved on the 13th October when you went for a strike? Now, they are saying to the workers, "If you do not join the Congress union, we shall finish you." There are numerous examples of murders, molestations and beatings in Durgapur, Barrackpore and such other dozens of places.

Now, my learned friend Shri R.S. Pandey looks very scholarly to me. Let me tell him that the Baranagar, -Cossipore all-party meeting decided to form an all-party enquiry team....

SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY: No; definitely not.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: That is your way of looking at things. But the Government did not implement it. But you Mr. Pandey—I wish I had said, 'Dr Pandey'—said that you trust in the ballot. But still you are refusing the election to the people of West Bengal on flimsy grounds. (*Interruption*) All I wish to say is, let us go to the people and ask for a verdict. They are the best people to give you the last figures, on the balance-sheet. Let us not try to verify each other here.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That this house expresses its serious concern at the deteriorating law and order situation in west Bengal and role therein of a section of the police, C.R.P., official machinery and anti-social elements."

*The Motion was negatived.*

19.15 hours.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, November 18, 1971/Kartika 27, 1893 (Saka).*