

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

'That the Bill be passed'.

The motion was adopted.

16.50 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTIONS RE : WEST
BENGAL (PREVENTION OF VIOLENT
ACTIVITIES) ACT, 1970 AND WEST
BENGAL MAINTENANCE OF
PUBLIC ORDER ACT, 1970

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

"This House resolves that in pursuance of sub-section (4) of section 3 of the West Bengal State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Act, 1970, the West Bengal (Prevention of Violent Activities) Act, 1970, laid on the Table on the 23rd November, 1970, be repealed by the President by enacting a repealing Act.

This House recommends to Rajya Sabha that Rajya Sabha do concur in this resolution."

16.50½ hrs.

[Shri Vasudevan Nair *in the Chair*]

I seriously thought that after the massive and complete bandh on the 5th, that is, the day before yesterday, that was organised by the combined Left forces, the Central Government would come to senses. I expected that after seeing the mass wrath and disapproval in West Bengal, they would withdraw those block Acts. But that is not in their character. So, they want to pursue these two black Acts and talk about democracy and socialistic rights in the same breath.

But are these laws really meant for law and order? Is you read the Acts, you will find that they quote frequently from existing penal laws. So, I do not understand where the dearth of powers is there for them maintenance of law and order. Still, they want blanket powers. We cannot lose sight of the fact that these Acts have not been passed by the West Bengal Assembly, because the Central Government have dissolved the Assembly. This is an issue

which means the deepest encroachment on human rights. But have they ever bothered to ascertain the wishes of the people of West Bengal? Or are they anxious as usual to hoodwink the people there as they have done in the past? They are out to dishonour, disregard and contemptuously treat the expression of the people of West Bengal. They should have taken a lesson from all that they had done and the outcome in the polling booths of 1967 and 1969. But, unfortunately, they have not done so. They will have to pay very heavily for it.

I would appeal to this Parliament through your good office that it has to be very cautious. Let us not make ourselves the tools for the Government for their undemocratic acts and misdeeds.

The President's rule, as I understand it, is only meant to do care-taking and run the administration as far as its day-to-day minimum working is concerned. The whole nation and this House had rejected the Preventive Detention Act, or the proposal for the Preventive Detention Act when it came to its expiry on the 31st December, 1969. But this reactionary Government wanted to enact it through back-door, and while Parliament was in session, sitting here, they have through this institution called the West Bengal Consultative Committee, which neither enjoys any power nor reflects the ratio of the people's verdict that we had in West Bengal—therefore, we had to refrain, and we did not want to join that circus—enacted it; there, the wishes of the people of West Bengal cannot be reflected. It was a convenient tool for the Central Government for perpetuation of undemocratic rule.....

DR. MAITREYEE BASU (Darjeeling) :
I object to the derogatory remarks ...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : The
Chairman is there...

DR MAITREYEE BASU : I object to the derogatory remarks. He is calling this august body, the consultative committee for West Bengal as a circus. He must withdraw it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I do not.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak) :
That is also a miniature Parliament.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : It is a
powerless body. I do not wish to offend
anybody, nor am I here to discredit
anybody.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY
(Kendrapara) : It is a statutory body.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : But I
must explain that it is a body through which
they are trying to get things done which
constitute the deepest encroachment on the
democratic rights of the people of West
Bengal. There is no motivation in what I
am saying.

MR. CHAIRMAN : But do not use
such words.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : Either he
must withdraw it or it should be expunged.
It is most derogatory.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : It is
neither fish nor flesh.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : You cannot
call Parliament a 'circus'.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU ; I have not
done so.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He did not say
it ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I did
not.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU : He did say
that it is a circus.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : He must
behave or be made to behave.

MR. CHAIRMAN : When he says that
he did not say that, what does it mean ?

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay
Central) : If it has gone on record, it should
be expunged. He says that he did not mean
it or did not say that. But if it has gone on
record, he must withdraw it because one
person does not make that Committee a
circus.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let us not waste
time. The hon. Member himself has said
he did not say it.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : That is
perfectly right. But if it has gone on record
it may be expunged.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Have I
said anything unparliamentary ?

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili) :
Whatever he has said about the Committee
is a reflection on Parliament.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU : He also said
it is a 'tool'. No member is a tool of any-
body.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I want a
ruling from the Chair.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I thought the
chapter was closed when the hon. himself
denied it. If he persists, I want to know
that.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : If it is on
record, it must be expunged.

MR. CHAIRMAN : When he said that
he did not say that, then I take it that if
he has said it, he withdraws that. That is
the meaning of what he said. You have to
take it in that way. Do not insist on having
any argument on this.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I have not
used any unparliamentary language.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is no question of
parliamentary or unparliamentary. It does
not help him also, using such words about
Parliament.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : The whole
point is that the Consultative Committee
does not represent the verdict of the people
of West Bengal. Therefore, it serves no
purpose at all. The Bills that are being
brought or have been brought are not meant
for Naxalites ; they are meant for silencing
the expression of the resentment of the
people there. This has arisen out of utter
failure and chaos everywhere, failure in the
field of economy, employment, rising costs
of living and deficits. Even members of the

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Congress (R) in the Rajya Sabha had to express their resentment against the rising cost of living.

Government cannot solve these problems because the money bags are their patrons. They cannot serve two masters. They cannot serve the people as well as the money bags. They have chosen to serve the money bags. Therefore, the people are neglected.

These measures are intended to crush the agitation of the workers, peasants, the common man. The West Bengal harvests are coming. They want to please the Jotedars by depriving the Burgadars of their due with police help. Government have put half the State under 144. What a shameful situation?

They want to crush the people's movement. My party, the CPI (M) is their formidable political opponent. So they have taken up a programme of annihilation of our workers.

And we have lost no less than 120 comrades during the last few months. The country has not forgotten how you had used your power against us around 1964. It was not done by Mr. Morarji Desai, but it was done by socialist Nandaji. Where is he? Is he not joining hands with the socialists today; that is the act of socialism that you did, that you summarily put your political opponents under arrest, for having an easy walk-over in the elections

17 hrs.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU : You always put your opponents behind the bars.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I can protect myself, but it may be unpleasant.

What did they do with the Muslims under the Defence of India Rules? Eight thousand Muslims were put behind the bars with one stroke of the pen, no charge, no basis, that is how you have misused this machinery before. This is your character. Why do you want so much power for the police? Because you are getting more and more isolated from the people. The successful bandh is a full-fledged verdict of West Bengal. They have disapproved of all your actions since the imposition of President's Rule this time.

The people are fed up with you. They

are not going to put up with your police terror and torture any more. They will rise and give you a lesson that you will never forget in life. They all wanted the bandh. That is why it was successful, and even the worst reactionary will not be able to say that it was not wholly successful. If you continue to ignore the people, I warn you again that you will be ultimately destroyed. I appeal to this House not to take the responsibility of passing this Bill.

I want to ask the Government why they are not having a mid-term poll when they talk so much about the sacred parliamentary democracy. You sought the support of like-minded people in the West Bengal Consultative Committee, namely the Jana Sangh, the Swatantra Party, the Congress (O) and their variety. May I tell you that if you make a bed, you have to lie on it too and cannot ignore it afterwards? May I ask my CPI friends to know, better late than never, the class character of this Mrs. Gandhi's Government.

The basic demand and aspirations of the people have to be met. That can be done only by the people's elected representative and your helping them to solve their problems. You cannot solve their problems through gun shots and police terror. I tell you that no amount of police, no palace intrigue, defection or money bag patronage will save you from the wrath of the people. Your jute press does not reflect the feelings of the people. Look at Pakistan. The mighty military rule of course did not help. The people's verdict was supreme. Look at Ceylon. There the US lobby worked, but it did not help. The people's verdict was again supreme.

You have scuttled land reforms and the peasants, workers and the common man are oppressed and groaning. Exploitation is unhindered everywhere. You are sending more weapons, wireless sets and vehicles to West Bengal, more CRP, more recruitment and more brutal force. You are sending other State armed police forces to West Bengal and creating bad blood between the people of different States. I know that the Haryana Chief Minister has written to the Central Government to withdraw the Haryana State police force from West Bengal because he has appreciated this.

You cannot give any employment, any roof, any food, but you can give police and bullets. It is a shame on you that you want to run a Government. In West Bengal, in the name of fighting Naxalities, anti-social elements are being used with the help of the police to commit murders. They are carrying on this mass murder and terror and are bent on the annihilation of people who are standing in their way. Government gave blanket powers to the police. I should recall Mr. Anand Narain Mulla's judgment which said that the Indian police was nothing but organised gansterism. I think that what was expunged by an order on appeal should be restored because that is a fact today. I shall now quote from a very important book :

"Lawless laws : We know that large amount of money is expended from year to year in maintaining a 'glorious' band of informers. If the rate payer's money is so freely circulated among the police underlinks and police spies, if their evidence is not to be tested in public trial, is it any wonder that there should not be any discrimination between proof and suspicion, between evolutionary and revolutionary parties and that many innocent persons should suffer for affording justification for the existence and maintenance of the secret service."

The person who said so in 1918 was a gentleman, the late Hakim Chandra Datta in the Bengal provincial conference. I have seen the P. D. Act chargesheet or whatever they call it against a very dear friend and colleague and comrade, Ganesh Ghosh. They say that after Independence he had to be behind the bars under the P.D. Act because he was involved in the Chittagong Armoury Raid case. Because they fought for the liberation of the country in the national freedom struggle, this was the case against him for sending the man behind the bars under the P. D. Act. I know another case—Niranjan Sen Gupta was put behind the bars on the charge that he was involved in Munchia Bazar Bomb Case. Therefore, he was sent behind the bars. What the Government is doing today in West Bengal is as bad as Mai La mass annihilation in Viet-Nam the terrorism that they perpetrated among the youth mainly in West Bengal may be compared to the Tiger Cage operation of the Yankees in Viet-Nam ; I think it is a little worse than those. Wolves have been

let loose to devour the young flowers in West Bengal. The teeth of fascism is there. Every one is aware today that the minimum enquiry requirements that the Britishers thought were the birthright of an individual after every police firing had been done away with for over three months from 28 October. After that there was shoot-at-sight. Trigger happy police had been let loose and they ran amuck. I wrote to the Prime Minister and asked her how she agreed to such a preposterous thing. She said : I do not know anything about it. The next day comes the contradiction *Jugantar* that it was decided at a meeting of the advisers presided over by the Governor and the Central Government was fully posted and they had given their full consent. We live in a country where the Prime Minister tells untruth, whole untruth. Shame on all of us and the nation. The Commissioner of Police immediately reacted P. D. Act or no P. D. Act, shoot. He created a guerilla police force of plain clothesmen. People go to a house and knock at the door. Here comes a young man. The fellow takes the revolver and sends a shot ; the boy drops dead. There have been numerous such cases, not one or two or three, but in dozens and scores ; there are hundreds of cases like that. I know this. The D.I.G. was sitting in a police station. There was a magistrate. The D.I.G. asked the police sub-inspector who that person was and he was told that it was the magistrate. He said : what this bloody Government-pardon my language-is doing ; get these boys and shoot them ; that is the only answer ; why are they wasting time over this. We were on an M.P.s team which visited Calcutta recently. We have seen how 1200 policemen raided the C.I.T. barracks at 3 or 4 O'clock in the morning and surrounded the whole place, and snatched boys from the laps of their mothers, from the beds and isolated four of them out of 49 and had taken them to a distance of fifty yards and under the very nose of persons who are most dependable I have got the tape recording. I cannot play it back because it is a different type of cassette—our boys were shot in the presence of others. One of the boys, Ashok Bose, was holding a national talent scholarship. This is what you are doing. You have done the same to the Chakravarti brothers : Samir Ranjan Chakravarti and his brother, on the Shampur street were shot, by the Deputy

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Commissioner of Police and the Inspector of Police, Shiv Mangal Singh and Sergeant Thakore under the very nose of their mother. The mother broke down when she was deposing before us. We could not check our tears. And do you know that the Deputy Commissioner of Police is still moving about ?

You have not got the legal machinery to bring a murder charge against this man, because he is delivering the goods for you. He is also helping you to stick on to power. Similar is the case of one Samir Bhattacharyya, a boy of 17, who was beaten to death in Shampore police station in the very presence of the sub-inspector, Bala, and two head constables. When the post-mortem was done, it was found that his spine, his lung, kidneys, everything had been punctured and even the dead body was not returned.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : You know it is a very difficult subject.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is another Mover.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I would not take much time. I promise I will finish in two minutes. We met the Governor. He kept on saying, "Where is the FIR ?" I asked him, "If you find a bullet-ridden body, in front of your gate, of an orphan boy, what do you do ? Do you expect somebody to come and lodge an FIR, when a man is murdered ?" Unfortunately, we are so disappointed. All of us found that they are so much on the defensive and they look so guilty that we were all sure that they were on a mass murder campaign deputed from Delhi.

The Prime Minister constantly says that the police are being abducted. Am I to understand that the police, if they are retorted, will keep on shooting people ? Then give a vacation to the judiciary. The police cannot be allowed to take the law in their own hands. The police has been given the power to shoot at sight. There is the law of the jungle to day for shooting and killing. The policemen are given rewards from the discretionary fund at the rate of Rs. 500. If a boy is taken to the police station and the mother come to rescue him, she is asked

to pay a bribe of Rs. 50, to save the boy from having a beating. If it is a sub-inspector, it is Rs. 50. If it is a constable, it is Rs. 25. So, they are making pay while the sun shines.

I have got a photo here of the great Lenin, great Comrade Lenin. You have celebrated Lenin's centenary this year. The Government of India spend money. But look at the bayonet marks that are there on this great man. The photo was pulled down, insulted... (In eruption)

श्री रणधीर सिंह : बक्वास करता है।
सब तुम्हारा किया हुआ है।

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Shut up.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order please. (Interruption)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : This was one on the 19th September, 1970, at 56 Strand Road. It was done with a bayonet. I shall present it to you. (Interruption)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Order, please. You have to conclude now.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I want to know how much more blood Lady Macbeth wants out of West Bengal. I want to know that. I shall close with what Nazul said :

"Bhoy dekhiye krocho sasan, joy dekhiye noy ; Amsa bhoyer tuti dhorbo tipe karbo tar loy."

This means, you are ruling us by terror, not by winning us over. We shall catch the terror (by its neck) and destroy it.

Sir, this terror is not going to pay in West Bengal. Terror has not paid the Britishers in 200 years. It has not paid in 23 years of our freedom. But you have not taken the lesson. You want to terrorise, shoot, steal, and bring blanket laws to put them behind the bars. I can tell you that you are digging your own graves. So, withdraw this Bill. This Bill is a disgrace for any civilised, democratic country.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, AND
MINISTER OF STATE, DEPARTMENTS
OF ELECTRONICS AND SCIENTIFIC
AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH (SHRI
K. C. PANT) : Sir, before you proceed to

call this next speaker, I would like to say this. I did not want to interrupt my friend. At one stage, he said that the Prime Minister is speaking an untruth. I only wanted to correct that because it is on record. At that moment, that is the information she had with her; that is perfectly true. I just wanted to put it on record.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU *rose*—

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have said something, and he has corrected it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : He cannot go unchallenged like that.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You cannot go on arguing like that. There are other speakers. There is Shri Ganesh Ghosh.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : She has a great many untrue statements.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Should I allow Mr. Pant again to make a statement ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : He has to, of course.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I cannot go on doing that in the House.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : You must hear me, Sir. The Prime Minister was fully in the picture. The State Government official had given a statement to the press that the Central Government was fully aware of it. I have written to the Prime Minister seven days ago for a clarification. She has not bothered to reply. I say that she had written to me knowingly untruth. *(Interruptions.)*

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI (Krishnagar) : That should be expunged. *(Interruptions.)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is another resolution by Mr. Ganesh Ghosh. He may move his resolution.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH (Calcutta South) : I beg to move :

"This House resolves that in pursuance of sub-section (4) of section 3 of the West Bengal State Legislature

(Delegation of Powers) Act, 1970, the West Bengal Maintenance of Public Order, Act, 1970, laid on the Table on the 3rd December, 1970, be repealed by the President by enacting a repealing Act.

This House recommends to Rajya Sabha that Rajya Sabha do concur in this resolution."

In two recent successive general elections, the people of West Bengal have rejected the Congress. They have thrown it out lock, stock and barrel. Yet, West Bengal is ruled today by this Congress. This is the misfortune and mockery of the West Bengal situation today. *(Interruptions)* These Congress leaders like to hug to the fanciful dream that they only have a monopoly right to administer and rule everywhere in India. So, when in a general election they get defeated, they cannot accept it with grace as the unanimous or majority verdict of the common man, though they call themselves to be democratic. *(Interruptions.)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon members will get their chance when the debate is on. They need not interrupt now.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : Accordingly, to teach the recalcitrant people of West Bengal a lesson and to beat them back within the Congress fold, again, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the Congress leaders have sent hordes of Central Police to West Bengal with complete freedom to do what they like. Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the Congress leaders pretend and say that they want to fight and contain the Naxalite menace. But what are the Central Reserve Police numbering about one lakh this year doing in West Bengal? Have they really been sent there to fight the Naxalites?

Here I will give you only one or two instances. About a couple of months back under the police station of Basanti in South 24 Parganas some Naxalites of a few anti social elements killed or probably injured a jotdar. Soon came hundreds of CRP into the small village. All the menfolk flew away, escaping into the jungles for extreme fear. The CRP went there and arrested about two dozen peasant ladies. What did they do? They took away their sarces, bound their hands with their sarces

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and while taking these unfortunate two dozen ladies in a motor launch to the Basanti police station—I do not know how to describe it ; I have no control over the language—the members of the CRP tried to violate two dozen unfortunate hand-bound ladies and in fact actually openly raped about six ladies. Were these ladies Naxalites ? Will the hon. Congress Minister please tell us : were these ladies Naxalites ? Is it because of that Shrimati Indira Gandhi had sent the CRP to teach them a lesson by violating their chastity ? Did these unfortunate ladies throw bombs on the police ? Nothing of that sort. Unless the CRP people were given special instructions by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, our Home Minister, and the Congress leaders to do as they like even with the ladies, could these CRP personnel dare rape these women ?

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : How could such instructions be given by the Central Government ?

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : I am sure they could not be given.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : You are a woman and you are also a mother. They are also ladies and mothers.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : When they are our sisters and mothers, how could such instructions be given ?

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : What action has been taken against the CRP personnel ? This fact was reported to the District Magistrate. They have sent petitions and deputations on their behalf, have seen the Governor of West Bengal and the Chief Adviser in a body. Yet, what action has been taken ? Has one CRP personnel been suspended ? Has one been sent back ? Has one been put into jail ? Let the Congress Minister give a reply to this.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : This matter must be enquired into.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : No enquiry has been held so far. Even when they have killed some people and surreptitiously thrown their bodies on the road side at

night, there would have been no enquiry at all had there not been pressure from all groups in Parliament the other day. I am sure the hon. lady Member knows this better than I do.

SHRI K. N. TIWARY (Bettiah) : Excuse me for interrupting you. It is true we all condemn what you say.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : Will Shrimati Indira Gandhi condemn that ?

SHRI K. N. TIWARY : If it is true, we all condemn it. But you will agree that there are political murders and Naxalite activities. You yourself say that they are murdering members of your party, members of CPI and other parties. What is the remedy ? Should the government not take some steps ?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Is the remedy to kill them ?

SHRI K. N. TIWARY : I am asking Shri Ghosh : please give a solution to the problem.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : What the hon. Member has mentioned is a very serious charge. The Minister should look into it.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : It is a very serious charge.

I will give you one more instance. On the eastern outskirts of Calcutta there is a small place called Dspa. Some poor people, mostly landless, occupied a few acres, say, five to seven acres of waste surplus land there. Pat comes the CRP there and arrests a large number of people including three ladies.

What did they do ? These three ladies were raped. The youngest of them was Shrimati Nayantara, aged only 12 years. She was raped, I am sorry to say. I want Dr. Basu to hear ; I want sister Pal to hear. The youngest of the ladies, only 12 years old, was raped by 11 persons of the CRP.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Shame, shame !

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE (Ratnagiri) : Please do not go into that. I beg of you not to go into that.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : I beg of you to let me speak. You are a lady and a mother yourself.

Will the Minister please say if these three poor peasant ladies were Naxalites? Did they attack the police? Did they kill any traffic constable? Why were they raped? What charges were there against them? Will the Congress Minister please say?

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : Do you understand what it means to a woman to have her name mentioned? Please do not give the names.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : This is something very serious. He must give the date, the names and the place.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : Why give the names?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Why not? Which is the forum?

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : Mother, these are not all brain waves not only propaganda of the Communist Party (Marxist). These are true facts, believe it or not. Being in Maharashtra you do not know what is happening in West Bengal. There are the names here of all these three ladies. They have come before a body of lawyers and deposed before them as to what had happened to them and what your CRP had done to them.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : Not mine CRP.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : Only the other day it was yours.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi) : It was yours too for some time.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : Without special instructions from Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Home Minister and these Congress leaders could the CRP do any such thing over Calcutta? What action has been taken

against them? Have they been brought back? Have they been suspended? Have they been hauled up before a court? Has there been an inquiry by the Governor himself? Has there been any inquiry instituted by Shrimati Indira Gandhi who is herself a lady and who is the dispenser of the fate of 50 crores Indians? Nothing. Three poor ladies lose their honour and everything goes on as it is! This is democracy! This is socialism! This is your *samsad* democracy!

All talk of these Congress leaders and of Shrimati Indira Gandhi about fighting the Naxalites is absolutely bogus and without any reality. What Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister, and these Congress leaders want is to crush the democratic movements in West Bengal and annihilate the Marxist Communist Party, particularly the leaders and followers, physically.

Who are patronising, organising and helping the Naxalites and the anti-social elements in West Bengal? The Congress leaders. Very important Naxalite leaders have been arrested in the houses of eminent Congress leaders and very prominent Congress leaders were seen to be running about busily to get these Naxalite leaders out on bail. Can they deny this? Have not these facts come out in Congress newspapers in West Bengal? Deny this if you can. About 150 members of my party, the Marxist Communist Party, and our sympathisers have been killed by the Naxalites and anti-social elements under the direction and conspiracy hatched by the Congress leaders in West Bengal. How many Congress persons have been killed by the Naxalites? Can you give us an idea of that?

The Naxalite idea cannot be killed and destroyed and defeated by guns alone nor by raping women. Do Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the Congress leaders hope to get more votes from the Basanti police station area and from the eastern outskirts of Calcutta by raping women? Do they feel that their followers and candidates will sweep the poll against us and other democratic parties of West Bengal? They should be old enough to understand that the Naxalite idea cannot be vanquished by rifle alone? They can be defeated only on a political plane and on an ideological basis.

Has Shrimati Indira Gandhi ever gone

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over to Calcutta to talk to one or two Naxalite leaders? Shri Kanu Sanyal is in jail. Has any Congress leader gone there and tried to ascertain from him as to what they want? Why do they kill traffic police?

Unemployment, particularly amongst the educated youth in West Bengal is terrific and highest. About 8000 qualified engineers are without any job there. The frustration amongst the youth of West Bengal is terrific. Waste and surplus lands given by the United Front Government to the landless and poor peasants are being taken away on the instructions of the Central Government leaders by the C. R. P. for the jotedars. Do they know that the C. R. P. is being utilised under the direction of the Congress leaders to harvest crop from the land that had been sown by the poor and landless peasants who received land from the United Front Government? This is why the C. R. P. has been sent to West Bengal, not to fight the Naxalites. The people of West Bengal have known it through their experience during these months.

The prices of all the daily necessities of life are shooting up almost daily, making it almost impossible for the common man to survive even at the lowest subsistence level. These Congress leaders will not and they cannot control inflation or control the profit of big and monopoly houses. Hence there is mass movement and mass struggle of hungry people for mere survival. And it is this mass struggle and mass movement of the workers, the peasants and the middle-class people in West Bengal that Shrimati Indira Gandhi and these Congress leaders want to crush on the false pretext of fighting the Naxalites. Otherwise why do they send their police to rape women and to indiscriminately kill men, women and children. Is there any answer? What a shame and disgrace for these Congress leaders who call themselves to be democrats that they have enacted and imposed these extraordinary and draconian legislative measures in West Bengal before obtaining the sanction and approval of this Parliament? They call themselves democrats. What a shame? Is there any limit to their shamelessness?

Some assurances are being heard nowadays that these draconian measures will not

be applied against the workers of different political parties. Of what value these assurances are? We have bitter experience of 1962 when hundreds of our workers and leaders were sent to jail without trial on the false pretext of being Chinese agents.

What did we say? We simply said, 'Not by war, but by negotiations only can good relations be re-established between China and India'.

This is what we said and we were sent dubbed as Chinese Agents and we were sent to jails and detained there without trial for months together. Is not Mrs. Indira Gandhi nowadays saying the same thing? Do not these Congress leader say the same thing to-day? Do we not see that negotiations are being held by our Ambassadors in different countries with the Chinese representatives? ::

This misuse of the CRP and the so-called war—why so called? It is an open war declared against the people of West Bengal—against the people of West Bengal will not carry Shrimati Indira Gandhi or these Congress leaders one step ahead in West Bengal. All these repressions, rapes and killings will not in the least isolate us, the Marxist-Communist Party who are at the head of every popular movement in West Bengal. The entire people of West Bengal have taken this war in the same spirit with which it was declared by these Congress leaders and they have given their unanimous answer. What was the answer that they have given on the 8th of December last? This Bandh was in protest against all the shootings and rapes and against these lawless measures. What has been the answer? These Congress leaders were against the Bengal Bandh of the 8th December last. Could they run one train? Could they fly one aeroplane? Could they bring out one tram? Could they bring out one Bus of the State transport Service? Could you open one small factory in West Bengal? Could you control your own followers in West Bengal (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): The Government is a party to it. Anybody can call a bandh and it will be a success.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: We know your affiliation.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Will Mr. Ganesh Ghosh please resume his seat ? Order, please.

SHRI DEVEN SEN (Asansol) : Sir, I beg to move :

"That in the resolution—

after "be repealed" insert—
'with retrospective effect' '(1)

I take very strong exception to the behaviour of Prof. Samar Guha.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : He is always doing that.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There should be a limit. I can understand an interruption. But there is a limit to everything. I am sorry that you are demonstrating too much

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, both the Resolutions will be discussed together. Shrimati Ita Palchodhuri. (Interruptions). I request hon. Members to cooperate with the Chair. (Interruptions).

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Mr. Chairman, Sir, you got a little angry with me. I want to know one thing from you. Is it not a fact that when the United Front Government was there, the Government gave a call of *Bangla Bandh* ? It was also very successful. This time also, it is the Government which cooperated with them.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am not here to answer these questions.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : The people of West Bengal have given one answer only, a unanimous answer on the 8th December last, against this draconian measure, against the activities of the CRP and against the whims of the Congress leaders and particularly, Mrs. Indira Gandhi who is also the Home Minister. The shamelessness and the affront for the common man of these Congress leaders certainly knows no bounds. Otherwise, they should have paused for a moment before coming to this Parliament with these two draconian laws to take the approval and sanction of this Parliament after they knew the verdict of the people of West Bengal on 8th December. Where will they be applied ? To the people of West Bengal. The people of West Bengal only were concerned with these. The people of West Bengal have said that they do not want these. Are you, as democrats, prepared to accept the verdict ? Then take away these measures, bring your CRP out of West Bengal to Delhi and hold elections there and hand over West Bengal government to the representatives of the people of West Bengal and see if Naxalite violence is curbed or not. Not by bullets. The people of West Bengal will rather lay down their lives, but they will not submit themselves to the whims of these Congress leaders, serving the interests at the Indian and foreign monopolists. Down with them.

श्री शिव चंद्र झा (मधुवनी) : प्वाइन्ट ऑफ आर्डर। यह रेजोल्यूशन एक इम्पॉटेंट रेजोल्यूशन है। वैसे तो आम तौर पर ऐसा होता है कि रेजोल्यूशन के ऊपर जिसका पहले नाम होता है वही मूव करता है और दूसरे मेम्बर पार्टीवाइज समय मिलने पर बोलते हैं। लेकिन ऐसा भी हुआ है कि रेजोल्यूशन पर जिनके नाम हैं उनको भी मौका दिया गया है बोलने के लिए। इसलिए यह चूक एक इम्पॉटेंट रेजोल्यूशन है इसलिए इस पर जो मूवर्स हैं उनको पहले बोलने का मौका दें। ऐसा हुआ है पहले, द्विवेदी जी बोले हैं और दूसरे भी बोले हैं। आप रिकॉर्ड देख लें। यह चूक इम्पॉटेंट रेजोल्यूशन है इसलिए आप पहले जितने मूवर्स हैं उनको बोलने का मौका दें फिर पार्टीवाइज मौका दें।

MR. CHAIRMAN : You know the procedure followed in this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Deven Sen, are you moving your Amendment ? You can move it formally. Your turn will come when your party's time comes.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA : What I say has been followed earlier. The Mover has been allowed. You can check from the record.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If time permits, the Mover has been allowed. It happens whenever there is time left or something like that. But usually the practice is, after it is moved, we go by parties.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA : The Movers were allowed. It was the practice. This being an important matter, let the Mover have a few minutes to speak first.

MR. CHAIRMAN : They cannot speak first anyway. Resolutions are moved. There is no speech needed for that. Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, first and foremost, I would like to say that I have listened to the two speeches just now made with great interest. I will be coming to this point later on.

But here, you see one common factor. It is this. Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu, Mr. Ganesh Ghosh and Mr. S. M. Banerjee have put their names for one Resolution. Again, they have put their names in the other Resolution—Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu, Mr. Ganesh Ghosh and Mr. S. M. Banerjee.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Sir, I move that her name should also be included in the list.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURY : I am reminded of a story. The three co-wives of a person used to quarrel amongst themselves. But when it comes to a question of fighting one enemy, they all join together. Here also we find the same thing. All the three of them have joined together.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : We want to include another one. I suggest that her name also should be included in it.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : I have no wish to be included. While moving his resolution, Shri Jyotirmoy Basu said something which I would like to bring to the notice of the House. He was rhetorical. He spoke of the ratio of the people's verdict. What is the ratio of the people's verdict in regard to the CPM ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : 83 seats out of 280 in the Assembly.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : In a population of 4½ crores, how much did the Naxalites poll and how many Members did they have ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I thought that she was a little more intelligent.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : I think o too.

Shri Jyotirmoy Basu was also very poetic and rhetorical and quoted various things. He talked of the "deepest disregard for human rights". Who has had the deepest disregard for human rights, the Congress Party or the extremist parties ? He has said that so many people have been killed. But up to date, how many policemen have been attacked ? The number is 526. How many of these policemen have also been killed up to date ? About 36 to 40 policemen have been killed. I do not condone any excess done by anybody, either any excess done by the policemen or any excess done by the CPM. Let them look at their own faces in the mirror when they talk about insult to women.

Shri Ganesh Ghosh mentioned some cases. I would submit that they have all been inquired into, and they have not been proved. You cannot take action against anyone unless it is proved...

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : Let her not say so. She is not correct. I can contradict her here itself. No inquiry has been made. So, how can she say that the charge has not been proved ?

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : Who was the author of the Rabindra Sarovar incident ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : That was inquired into by a High Court judge and he has given the lie to that. Now, she is starting all this again.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : If the policemen have been found to be in any way worthy of blame, I am sure action has been taken and action will be taken. That is the policy of the Congress, and it must be its policy.

But let me bring to the notice of the House and to that of Shri Jyotirmoy Basu, and

Shri Ganesh Ghosh who have been speaking about dishonour to women, another incident. What about the lady who was taken away from her husband, while they were going to the cinema ..

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : It is an absolutely unfounded thing ; it is an unmixd lie. We know that story.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : May I know from you, Sir, whether Shri Jyotirmoy Basu would be allowed to hold the House to ransom in this manner ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will not allow it.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : He thinks that whatever they say is the truth, and whatever she says is a lie. What is this ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : That is unfortunately so.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : That lady was returned after three days in such a condition that she expired after that.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : It is the biggest lie.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : Has their party hauled up the people who did all this or who had given sanction to all this ? They have not done so.

Again, what happened in the Rabindra Sarovar incident, where people were intimidated and the witnesses were not allowed to give evidence, and the commission of inquiry headed by the High Court judge was not allowed really to function, because the witnesses were intimidated and the lawyers were intimidated . (Interruptions)

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : That was not an inquiry. That was the farce of an inquiry. The Rabindra Sarovar inquiry was an absolute farce of an inquiry. There was nothing of an inquiry there. They had suppressed the truth in the name of inquiry ; in the name of inquiry, they had suppressed everything... (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will request my dear friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Basu, and also Shri Samar Guha to desist from interrupting.

Shri Samar Guha should realise that he is not well.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : I only submit that I will not mince matters. You remember when Shrimati Parul Bose was attacked, I condemned it categorically. I spared no words to do so. But not a word came from them when hundreds of ladies were attacked and assaulted. This is the difference between those people and we. I will show you when I speak how I condemn police excesses. At the same time, I will not spare the others who are guilty of such crimes.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Wholly untrue. A sitting High Court Judge has inquired into it and he has said that there was nothing in it.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : Let me have my say.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. lady Member's time should not be taken away by this kind of interruptions.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : I would like to bring to the notice of the House that that Commission was a farce. My own counsel whom I had put up was threatened. His junior was threatened. Lady lawyers were threatened and assaulted. There are witnesses who came and told me what had happened to them. Certainly it is a heart-rending story. I will not go into the details. But I know those women came to me crying ; they showed their clothes that had been torn. They were intimidated in these terms : 'If you give any evidence, nobody in your family will be left alive'. Who has said it ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Concocion and lies How can you allow her to say this and malign my party ?

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : It is the CPI(M), his party, and other extremist parties who have killed democracy in West Bengal or have attempted to kill it when no regular judicial inquiry could proceed.

I would like to quote a few figures. I think that will open the eyes of everybody. Upto 8th December, the number of polic-

{Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri}

men who have been attacked was 526, out of which 36 or more have already been killed, others injured, and some are in a precarious condition.

Just now Shri Ganesh Ghosh asked : has any Congressman been killed ? Upto 17 November, in inter-party clashes, 9 Congressmen were killed, there was one RCPI man killed and of the Marxist Communists, there were 7 killed.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : 1:0.

SHAIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : Whoever is killed, the claim that he belonged to the Marxist Communist Party, a party so small that it has a strength of only 1½ lakhs in a population of 4½ crores. (*Interruptions.*) Let us look at these facts.

They—particularly Sh. Ganesh Ghosh—have been waxing eloquent about what was done in a village where somebody caught hold of some woman. That is a very sorry tale. No woman, in Parliament or outside in India, can condone such things. But I do not think much of this happened ; I hope it did not happen. But let us look at what did happen in a village that was surrounded where, as Shri Ganesh Ghosh described, the people fled from fright. What happened ? What was done by the 'friends' of the peasants who want to befriend the poor people ? A poor peasant Adivasi woman was spread to death. She was an expectant mother. She was kicked and her child was kicked. Later the body was found. I think even Shri Jyotirmoy Basu will not stand up and say that this was a good thing to do.

I doubt if his party has ever censured any of those people, who committed these heinous crimes even in its party forum.

What did she say ? Her last words before she died were, "I have not seen the face of my child". I hope it will haunt the minds of CPM that they have killed an expectant mother.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : That is a lie.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : It is true. Whatever you say is gospel truth ?

By this Act, at least we can apprehend those people who are supposed to be engaged in anti-social, anti-democratic activities. Particularly, if there is any excess of any kind anywhere, which is always regretted, that will completely stop by the passing of this Act once you apprehend such persons.

You will be surprised that in West Bengal the Police have been able to get hold of materials capable of producing 7,00,000 bombs

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : President's Rule. Police connivance. We know these things.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : It is the Chinese lobby. Did he not flourish the picture of Lenin having bullet marks on it. Is he not a Bengali and does he not feel ashamed that the pictures and statues of Subhas Chandra Bose have been desecrated ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : That has been done by agents provocateurs employed by the Government.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : We do not approve of what has been done to Lenin. We do not owe allegiance to Lenin though we may respect him, but we do owe allegiance and respect and love to Subhas Babu and Gandhiji. Even the statue of Subhas Chandra Bose was not spared. The bust of Ashutosh Mukerjee was brought down. The statues of Chittaranjan Das and Vidya Sagar were disfigured.

He has been quoting some instances and so I must be allowed to quote one instance.

MR. CHAIRMAN : If you want, you can continue tomorrow. The House has to take up the next item, the Motion regarding the Report of the Study Team on Prohibition.