

तो इस प्रकार से कोई भी फायदा नहीं हो सकता है। छात्रवृत्तियों की संख्या को बढ़ाया जाना चाहिये लेकिन भारत सरकार और प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं कि बजट एलाऊ नहीं करता है। अभी केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों और अधिकारियों के लिये भत्ता बढ़ाया गया है तो उसको बजट ने कैसे एलाऊ किया ? यह बात कुछ समय में नहीं आती है। आखिर यह विरोधाभास क्यों है ? जितने पेंशन पाने वाले हैं उनकी पेंशन की रकम को बढ़ाया जा रहा है फिर केन्द्रीय सरकार का बजट अनुसूचित और आदिम जातियों के छात्रों की छात्रवृत्ति बढ़ाने के लिये एलाऊ क्यों नहीं करता है ? इसलिये इस सरकार की मंशा क्या है, अनुसूचित जातियों के सम्बन्ध में यह सरकार कोई भी कानून बनायेगी तो उस पर अमल भी करेगी, इस बात का विश्वास नहीं होता। छुआछूत सम्बन्धी जो विधेयक है वह पिछले सत्र में ही पास होने वाला था लेकिन उसको जानबूझ कर लटकाया जा रहा है और यह कोशिश की जा रही है कि वह न आ सके। मुझे तो ऐसा अनुमान हो रहा है कि इस सेशन में भी विधि मंत्री उसको नहीं लायेंगे।

सभापति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य अपना भाषण अगले दिन जारी रखेंगे। अब इस समय गैर-सरकारी सदस्यों का कार्य लिया जायेगा।

15.30 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS'
BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

SIXTY-EIGHT REPORT

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak) : I
beg to move :

"That this House do agree with the Sixty-eighth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 18th November, 1970."

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is :

"That this House do agree with the Sixty-Eighth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on 18th November, 1970."

The motion was adopted.

15.31 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: LAW AND ORDER
SITUATION IN WEST BENGAL-Contd.

सभापति महोदय : इस प्रस्ताव के लिए साढ़े पांच घण्टे का समय नियत किया गया था जिसमें से तीन घंटे 12 मिनट का समय हो चुका है और अब दो घंटे 18 मिनट शेष रहते हैं। आज पहला भाषण श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी का होगा।

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (भोपाल) : सभापति महोदय, माननीय सदस्य श्री नाथ पाई जी ने जो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने रखा है उसी विषय पर कुछ दिन पहले चर्चा हुई है। वास्तव में यह कोई नयी समस्या नहीं है। पश्चिम बंगाल में 1967 के चुनाव के उपरान्त सन् 1969 में फिर चुनाव हुआ। उसके बाद वहां पर एक नयी सरकार बनी परन्तु वह भी टिक नहीं सकी। आज फिर राष्ट्रपति महोदय का शासन वहां पर जारी है। वहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन चालू होने के उपरान्त, वहां की जो स्थिति थी उसमें कुछ परिवर्तन आयेगा, ऐसी जो कल्पना थी उस कल्पना पर भी पानी फिर गया है। पिछले तीन चार दिनों के अखबारों में ही जिस प्रकार की खबरें वहां से आ रही हैं उनको अगर पढ़ा जाए तो पता चलेगा कि वहां की स्थिति कितनी गम्भीर रूप धारण करती चली जा रही है। वहां पर लेजिस्लेटिव विभाग के जो सेक्रेटरी थे उनकी भी हत्या कर दी गई है। इस प्रकार

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

से खुलेआम आये दिन बंगाल के अन्दर जो घटनाएं होती चली जा रही हैं उनपर गम्भीरता से विचार करने के बाद जो कदम उठाए जाने चाहिए थे वह नहीं उठाए गए हैं। इस सरकार पर मेरा यह आरोप है।

वास्तव में यह जो कम्युनिज्म है इसकी जैसी एक विचारधारा होती है वैसे ही इसकी एक कार्य-प्रणाली भी होती है यानी मेयाडालाजी जैसे कि अंग्रेजी में कहा जाता है : One should hate sin but not the sinner. वास्तव में कोई आर्थिक प्रणाली से यदि हम किसी का भला करना चाहें तो राय में अन्तर हो सकता है परन्तु जहां तक भला करने का सवाल है वह किस रूप में हम करें, कैसे करें यह जो एक मेयाडालाजी है वह उनकी निश्चित होने के नाते उसी दृष्टि से ही इस देश के अन्दर भी हमको कुछ तथ्य सामने मिल रहे हैं। वास्तव में 1957 में पहली बार केरल के अन्दर कुछ इन्डिपेन्डेंट सदस्यों के समर्थन से कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी अधिकार में आई। उन दिनों में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी एरु थी। किन्तु दो ढाई साल के अन्दर केरल में विमोचन समर प्रारम्भ हुआ। सवाल है कि क्यों हुआ ? यह कोई नई बात नहीं है। मैं उनको भी दोष नहीं देता हूं।

It is inherent in their very philosophy. The role that has been assigned to the communist parties all over the world, not only in this country is not to deliver the goods to the people but only to act according to the wishes of their masters. Whether they are here or there is immaterial to us.

इस लिये जहां-जहां वे जाएंगे वहां समस्या हल करने के बजाय कैसे अराजकता पैदा हो और समस्या कैसे उलझेगी यही देखा जाता है। सन 57 में केरल के अन्दर कम्युनिस्टों के हाथ में जो पहली बार शासन आया उसके दो ढाई साल के अन्दर उसका अनुभव हमको

हुआ। उसके बाद सन 67 में फिर केरल और बंगाल के अन्दर, जहां पर कम्युनिस्ट ज्यादा मात्रा में चुन करके आये और बड़े दल के नाते संयुक्त सरकार में सम्मिलित हुए उसका नतीजा क्या निकलेगा उसको समझना कोई कठिन बात नहीं थी। वास्तव में एक प्रदेश के अन्दर जो सरकार होती है, कृषि उसके हाथ में होने के नाते जो भी किसान का भला वह करना चाहे वह कर सकती थी। किन्तु किसान का भला करने के बजाय उन लोगों ने नए नए नारे दिये। सबसे पहला नारा था "नक्सलवादी" और आज यह वहीं तक सीमित नहीं रहा, वह समग्र भारतवर्ष में फैल गया है। जहां तक अखबार में खबर आती है कि जम्मू और काश्मीर तक में भी माओ के पोस्टर लग गए और नक्सलवादियों की गतिविधियां दिखाई दे रही हैं। वास्तव में किसान का भला करने का मामला तो अलग चीज है यहां भला करने का सवाल ही नहीं है, यहां तो देश में अराजकता पैदा करके आगे चल कर देश को अपने कब्जे में रखने की दृष्टि से इस तरह की स्थिति वह पैदा करना चाहते हैं और चाहते हैं कि उसके अनुकूल वातावरण बन जाए। अपने हाथ में अधिकार आने के बाद यदि औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में शान्ति पैदा करने की दृष्टि से, जो एक न्याय-सम्मत चीज है ऐसा किया जाता, और अगर मालिक ऐसा न करता तो उसपर न्यायिक दबाव डाल कर उसको करवाया जाता तो दूसरी बात थी लेकिन ऐसा करवाने के बजाय वहां एक नया नारा दिया गया। वह नारा था "घेराव" का। यह नया नारा औद्योगिक क्षेत्र तक ही सीमित नहीं रहा, वह सभी क्षेत्रों में फैल गया। विद्यार्थी प्रिंसिपल का घेराव करते हैं, वाइस चांसलर का घेराव करते हैं। एक वाइस चांसलर को तो यहां तक कहना पड़ा कि :

"After all it should be a super human power that can control the present day student community."

इसका मतलब यह है कि एक नारा देकर औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में शान्ति पैदा करने की बात तो दूर रही, अन्य क्षेत्रों में भी उससे गड़बड़ी हो गयी। जब कहीं पर कोई सरकार बनती है तब जिसको हम मैक्सिमम प्रोडक्शन कहते हैं वह उसको नहीं कराएगी तो फिर डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन आयेगा कहां से ? तो ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैदा करने को प्रोत्साहन देने के बजाय एक और नारा दिया गया "बन्द" का यानी अगर स्वयं नारा देकर सरकार सारी चीजें बन्द करवाए तो उसका नतीजा क्या निकलेगा ? यह आपने स्वयं इस सदन में रक्खा कि कितना घाटा आया, कितना क्या हुआ, कितने मैनडेज हमारे फुजूल चले गए हैं। अगर पैदा करें तो सबको बांटने में जो सुविधा होती है, और जो समानता लानी चाहिये वह ठीक चीज है वह होनी चाहिये, किन्तु वह बात तो दूर रही जो पैदा करने की बात होती है उसमें बाधाएं आईं, उसमें टांग अड़ाई गई। वास्तव में इससे यह पता चलता है कि जहां भी यह कम्युनिस्ट अपने हाथ में शासन लेंगे वहां समस्या हल करने के बजाए समस्या को उलझाने की दृष्टि से काम करेंगे।

आज जो हमारी शिकायत है वह जिनके हाथ में अधिकार है उनके बारे में है। समय रहते हम चेतते नहीं क्योंकि देश के अन्दर इस देश का विभाजन हो इस बात को लेकर एक षड़यन्त्र चला था। जानकारों ने सूचना दे रखी थी, किन्तु यह चेतते नहीं। अन्ततोगत्वा जिसको फेट अकाम्प्ली कहते हैं वह हो गया। कहने लगे कि हो गया तो हम क्या करें। किन्तु उसको बदलने की दृष्टि से हम ने क्या कदम उठाया ? कुछ नहीं। वही हाल यहां भी है। 1962 में चीन अपना मित्र था, समाजवाद में विश्वास करता था, पंचशील को मानता था। लेकिन इतना होने के बाद भी जो चीन वामडीला तक पहुंच गया तो इट बाज नाट फार नॉथिंग। वह आया क्यों और गया क्यों ? उसके उपरान्त ही कम्युनिस्ट

पार्टी में फूट पड़ गई। तब तक कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी एक थी, यूनाइटेड थी। किसकी तरफ देखें यह समझ में नहीं आता था। तेलंगाना का जो रिवोल्ट 1950 का था वह दब गया क्योंकि बाहर से जो मदद मिलनी चाहिए थी उसके मिलने की स्थिति नहीं थी। देश की जनता के बल बूते पर कहीं भी कम्युनिज्म सफल नहीं बनता है। वह हमेशा बाहर की मदद से बढ़ता रहा है, जनता के विरुद्ध सारी बातें होती रही हैं। इस कारण सीधा सम्पर्क स्थापित हो इस दृष्टि से चीन 1962 में इधर आया सम्पर्क स्थापित कर लिया, जिसको लाइन आफ कम्यूनिकेशन कहा जाता है, और उसकी वजह से आज पश्चिम बंगाल के अन्दर असम के अन्दर, कूच बिहार के अन्दर हथियार मिलते हैं, शस्त्र साहित्य मिलता है। आखिर यह आया कहां से ? हमारे गृह मंत्री सब बातें स्वीकार करते हैं। यह हथियार वहां से आते हैं, बाहर से लोग शिक्षा प्राप्त करके आते हैं, साहित्य आता है। यहां हत्याएं होती हैं। होती हैं ? तो कहते हैं कि होती हैं। किन्तु इसके पीछे कोई निश्चित उद्देश्य होगा, इसको नहीं मानते। इसका मतलब क्या है ? जैसे वियट नाम के अन्दर हुआ, कम्बोडिया के अन्दर हुआ, उसी तरह से भारत के अन्दर अराजकता पैदा करके भारत की स्वाधीनता, प्रभुसत्ता, और स्वतंत्रता को चुनौती देने की दृष्टि से तैयारी करने का लक्ष्य सामने रख कर हर चीज होती चली जा रही है। यदि इसको आप आंखों से ओझल करें तो उचित न होगा।

यहां एक संशोधन भी आया है जिसमें कहा गया है कि यहां पर जो गरीबी और बेकारी है उसको दूर करना चाहिए। बेकारी और गरीबी के साथ इसको कैसे जोड़ा जा सकता है ? वास्तव में बेकारी और गरीबी का यहां पर लाभ उठाया जा रहा है। They are exploiting the situation. वास्तव में बंगाल में जो कुछ हुआ है उसका बेकारी से क्या सम्बन्ध है, क्या मतलब है

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

विवेकानन्द स्वामी महाराज की जो प्रतिमा है उसको तोड़ना, गांधीजी का जो साहित्य है उसको जलाना, गांधीजी की प्रतिमा को तोड़ना, स्कूलों में जाना, वहां लाल झंडा लगाना, इसका सम्बन्ध बेकारी से कहां आता है। इसमें बेकारी का सवाल कहां से आता है। वास्तव में जो चीज है उसको ठीक ढंग से देखने के बजाय हम उसे दूसरे रास्ते ले जा रहे हैं। हम भूल नहीं सकते कि इसी बंगाल में मैं मेड फेमिन हुआ। कितने लोग अंग्रेजों के जमाने में मरे, अगर केवल बेकारी की बात होती तो वहां इस तरह नहीं मरते ऐसी बातों के पीछे जब कोई विचार देने वाला होता है तब ऐसी बातें होती हैं। ऐसी बातें किसी ध्येय को लेकर चलती हैं। मैं आपको एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। पुलपल्ली नगर में केरल के नवम्बर 1968 में कुन्नीगल नारायण, अजिता और मन्दाकिनी को पकड़ा गया। आपको ताज्जुब होगा कि अभी तक उनके खिलाफ मुकदमा हो रहा है। हम नवम्बर, 1970 में हैं। They are facing trial now. It is a criminal case. I can understand a civil suit being prolonged. किन्तु जिनके ऊपर यह चार्ज है कि पुलिस स्टेशन पर उन्होंने हमले किये हैं, खुल कर सब कुछ किया है, नवम्बर, 1968 से लेकर नवम्बर 1970 तक हम पहुंच गये हैं, लेकिन आज तक उनको सजा नहीं मिली है। Even today they are facing trial. इसका मतलब क्या होता है? यह जो कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी है, They are prepared to strike the Naxalites but they are afraid of wounding them. यह जो हमारी सरकार बैठी है यह खुद घर में झगड़ा करा कर कम्युनिस्टों के बल बूते पर यहां खड़ी है। इस लिए यह भी कुछ नहीं करना चाहती।

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्ता : मजिस्ट्रेट जो केस

कर रहे हैं उनके बारे में आपका क्या कहना है ?

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी : हमें उनके बारे में पता है।

आज बंगाल में भी राष्ट्रपति शासन है, और राष्ट्रपति शासन के प्रतिनिधि बनकर जो साहब वहां पर उनके विषय में कई बार कहा गया, अभी चितरंजन दास जयन्ती मनाई गई। उस समय भी इन सज्जन ने लोगों के सामने देशभक्ति का आदर्श सामने रख कर यहां की जो नई पीढ़ी है उसके मन में देश भक्ति के भाव भरने के बजाय लेनिन और रूस की सारी बातें रक्खीं। इस आदमी के बल बूते पर वहां जो शान्ति और कानून की स्थिति पैदा करनी है वह पैदा नहीं होगी। इस लिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार कदम उठाए एक साल पहले वहां की स्थिति को रोकने की दृष्टि से कोई कदम उठाने की बात गृह मंत्रालय की तरफ से हो गई थी, लेकिन केवल नक्सलाइट्स को छोड़कर दूसरों को उससे रगड़ने की कोशिश की गई। पश्चिमी बंगाल के भूतपूर्व मुख्य मंत्री, श्री अजय मुकर्जी जैसे व्यक्ति ने बतलाया कि वहां कई राजनीतिक हत्याओं का प्रयत्न किया गया किन्तु मैं इस सरकार के बारे में बतलाऊंगा कि भारतीय जन संघ के नेता पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय जैसे राष्ट्रीय नेता की हत्या होने के बाद भी सरकारी जांच ब्यूरो उसको चोरी का मामला बनाने की कोशिश करता है। शास्त्री जी की मृत्यु के बारे में जांच की मांग होने पर भी चुप्पी साधी जाती है। देश की राजनीति ऐसे नहीं चलेगी। देश में प्रगति लानी होगी। But we do want orderly and peaceful progress. ऐसी नहीं कि केवल हिंसा के बल बूते पर, हत्या, डराने-धमकाने के बल बूते पर ऐसा किया जाए। इस तरह से देश की उन्नति नहीं होती है।

अन्त में मैं यह कह खत्म करूंगा कि सरकार सिसिअरली सामने आये, इसके लिये कदम उठाये और उनको रोके तथा देश में एक हवा या वातावरण पैदा करे कि भारत की हज़ारों मालों की परम्परा को लेकर जो भारत स्वर्ण भूमि बनकर खड़ा है वह आगे चलकर किसी का गुलाम नहीं बनेगा। फिर नई पीढ़ी खड़ी होगी। प्रजातन्त्र, लोक तंत्र, स्वाधीनता, प्रभुसत्ता के बल बूते पर फिर एक बार हम नया भारत खड़ा करेंगे। अगर इसके लिये सरकार आगे कदम बढ़ाए तो भारतीय जन संघ पूरी ताकत के साथ उन कदमों का समर्थन करने के लिए तैयार है।

श्री विभूति मिश्र (मोतीहारी) : सभापति महोदय श्री नाथ पाई के प्रस्ताव पर मेरा एक अमेंडमेंट था।

सभापति महोदय : मैं उसका पता लगा लूंगा, तब तक आप श्री के० एन० तिवारी को बोलने दीजिए। आप तो अपना संशोधन प्रस्तुत कर चुके हैं। आप भाषण करना चाहते हैं अब। आपका नाम है।

श्री नाथ पाई (राजापुर) : उस दिन सरकार की तरफ से संशोधन रखा गया था कि इसके लिये जो समय निर्धारित है इसको तीन घण्टे और बढ़ा दिया जाये जाएं। इसके पीछे उद्देश्य क्या था यह मैं नहीं जानता हूँ। लेकिन समय बढ़ा दिया गया था। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि अब कितना समय बाकी है।

सभापति महोदय : पहले इसके लिये ढाई घण्टे रखे गए थे। उसके बाद तीन घण्टे और बढ़ा दिए गए। 2 घण्टे 18 मिनट जब यह बहस शुरू हुई तब बाकी थे।

श्री के० ना० तिवारी (बेतिया) : श्री नाथ पाई के बिल का मैं स्वागत करता हूँ।

बहुत से भाइयों ने जो मुझे कहना था, कह दिया है। जोशी जी ने भी कह दिया है। मैं सरकार को कहना चाहता हूँ कि बंगाल की नक्सलाइट मूवमेंट को वह एक साधारण मूवमेंट न समझे और अगर साधारण मूवमेंट समझा तो सरकार बड़ी भारी गलती करेगी। इससे देश को बड़ा भारी नुकसान होगा। अगर इन लोगों ने मार्क्सिस्ट लिटरेचर पढ़ा है और माओत्से तुंग के विचारों को पढ़ा है, उनकी गतिविधियों का अध्ययन किया है तो इनको साफ हो जाएगा कि गुरीला वार की पूरी तैयारी भारत में नक्सलाइट्स की तरफ से की जा रही है। इसमें दूसरों का कितना हाथ है, उसमें मैं नहीं जाना चाहता। लेकिन उस रोज पंत जी जब बोल रहे थे तो कह रहे थे कि वे लोग हिंसा छोड़ दें। जब उन्होंने यह कहा तो मुझे ऐसे लगा जैसे वह बिल्ली से कह रहे हों कि वह दूध पीना छोड़ दे या चूहे खाना छोड़ दो। मुझे ऐसा मालूम हो रहा था जैसे यह गवर्नमेंट बिल्कुल नाबालिग की तरह बोल रही हो। यह उनका सिद्धांत है, हिंसा उनकी रग रग में है और इनको जिन्होंने नक्सलाइट्स की विचारधारा को पढ़ा होगा थोड़ा बहुत भी, उनको मालूम हो गया होगा उनकी यह फिलौसफी है देश के अन्दर क्रांति लाने के लिये उसमें हिंसा भी वजित नहीं है। माओत्से तुंग कहते हैं कि रेवोल्यूशन जब आएगा, आजादी जब आएगी तो बन्दूक की नाली से आएगी, उसके जरिए आएगी। ऐसी हालत में उनमें यह कहना कि वे हिंसा छोड़ दें अपने को भुलावे में डालना है। इन बातों को छोड़कर उनके साथ मुकाबला कैसे किया जाए, इसके ऊपर सरकार को विचार करना चाहिये।

नक्सलाइट्स इस बात को खुले रूप में कहते हैं कि माओत्से तुंग ने जब क्रांति का आन्दोलन शुरू किया तो उनके पास बहुत कम बन्दूकें थीं और इनके पास उनसे ज्यादा बन्दूकें हैं और घर-घर में बम तैयार हो रहे हैं। बन्दूकें और राइफलें पुलिस से भी छीनी जा रही हैं। अभी

[श्री क० ना० तिवारी]

पूर्णिया में ये लोग पुलिस से सात राइफलें छीन कर ले गये। हर तरह से ये लोग हथियार एकत्र कर रहे हैं। इससे साफ जाहिर होता है कि वे गुरीला वार की तैयारी कर रहे हैं। वे गवर्नमेंट की अपील पर कोई ध्यान दे रहे हैं। जब देश में ऐसी हालत पैदा हो जाये तो सरकार का कर्त्तव्य और धर्म हो जाता है कि इस प्रकार की गतिविधियों को दबाने के लिये जिस तरह से भी हो हर सार्थक कदम उठाया जाए।

जोशी जी ने ठीक ही कहा है कि इसके साथ बेरोजगारी का सवाल जुड़ा हुआ नहीं है। बेरोजगारी का सवाल तो सब जगह है, सारे भारत में है, गांव-गांव में है, घर-घर में है। अगर यह सवाल होता तो यह मूवमेंट सब जगह चलती। उन्होंने उदाहरण दिये हैं। अगर बेरोजगारी को लेकर यह मूवमेंट चली होती तो आज इस देश में सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की मूर्ति, गांधीजी की मूर्ति, विद्या सागर जी की मूर्ति, रवीन्द्र नाथ ठाकुर की मूर्ति को न तोड़ा जाता। इस देश के जितने पुराने नेता हुए हैं, इस देश को बनाने वाले नेता हुए हैं, चाहे वे किसी भी पार्टी के हों, किसी भी वाक आफ लाइफ से ताल्लुक रखते हों, उन सबकी मूर्तियां तोड़ी जा रही हैं, उनके सिर काटे जा रहे हैं। इसका कारण क्या हो सकता है? इसका मतलब क्या हो सकता है? इसका मतलब यह है कि इन नेताओं को ये लांग रिएक्शनरी समझते हैं और एक मात्र रेवोल्युशनरी अगर कोई है तो नक्सलाइट्स हैं। मुझे यह कहने के लिए हमारे सी० पी० एम० के लोग माफ करें और अगर मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ तो मैं अपने कर्त्तव्य से च्युत होऊंगा कि इन लोगों का भी इसके पीछे बहुत बड़ा हाथ है और इनकी वजह से भी यह मूवमेंट इस हालत में पहुंचा है। उस दिन श्री रनेन सेन ने इसको बड़ी खूबी के साथ हाउस में रखा था। मैं उसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता। अगर आज भी ये ताकत में आ जाएं

तो जितने भी जेलों में नक्सलाइट्स बन्द हैं उन सबको छोड़कर ये लोग उनके साथ भाई चारा करेंगे चाहे उसके नतीजे कुछ भी हों।

जहां तक बंगाल में चुनाव कराने का सम्बन्ध है, तब तक वहां चुनाव नहीं होने चाहिए जब तक वहां ऐसी स्थिति पैदा न हो जाए कि हर आदमी आजादों के साथ, निर्भीक भाव से वोट दे सके। उसी अवस्था में वहां एक डेमोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट बन सकेगी।

गवर्नमेंट को एक और बात सोचनी चाहिये। यह चीज बंगाल तक ही सीमित नहीं है। बिहार इसके पड़ोस में है। बंगाल हमारा घर है। दोनों में कोई फर्क नहीं हम मानते हैं। हमारा रहना-सहना, पढ़ना लिखना, खाना पीना सब एक समान है। बिहार के चीफ मिनिस्टर का बयान है और और हम बिहार वालों को भी मालूम है कि नक्सलाइट एक्टिविटीज बिहार में भी काफी पैमाने पर बढ़ रही है। संज काश्मीर से लेकर बंगाल तक सब जगह कायम करने की तैयारी हो रही है और कायम कर दिए गए हैं। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार की० सी० आई० डो०, सरकार का इंटेलेजेंस विभाग क्या करता है? अखबारों में यह निकलता है कि कलकत्ता में चारू मजुमदार किसी स्थान पर मोटिंग करेंगे, पार्टी की मीटिंग करेंगे और वह अखबार भी कलकत्ता से निकलता है लेकिन आज तक न तो अखबार वाले पकड़े गए हैं और न प्रेस पकड़ा गया है और चारू मजुमदार सारे हिन्दुस्तान में घूम रहा है उसको पकड़ा नहीं जा सका है। इसके दो ही मतलब हो सकते हैं। या तो सरकार का अस्तित्व नहीं है और उसको सारी ताकत खत्म हो चुकी है और वह किसी भी आफैंडर को पकड़ नहीं सकती है या यह हो सकता है कि चारू मजुमदार आम जनता में इतना घुलमिल गया है, इतना घुस गया है और उसको आम जनता से इतनी मदद मिलती

है कि पुलिस उसको पकड़ने में कामयाब नहीं हो सकती है। अखबारों में छपा है कि चारु मजुमदार और कानु सान्याल में तफरक्का पैदा हो गया है और पार्टी में डिविजन हो गया है। अगर पुलिस को इतनी खबर है कि उनके अन्दर डिफेंसिस पैदा हो गये हैं और चारु मजुमदार सारे भारत में घूमता है और इसको पकड़ने की ताकत इनके पास नहीं है और उसकी खबर उनके पास नहीं है, तो इसको माना नहीं जा सकता है, यह बात मेरे जैसे साधारण बुद्धि वाले आदमी की समझ में नहीं आ सकती है। यह सही है कि बेरोजगारी को दूर करने और इकानोमिक कन्डीशन्ज में सुधार करने के लिये पूरा प्रयत्न किया जाना चाहिए और उसके लिये बंगाल या हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भी राज्य को जितनी मदद की आवश्यकता है वह देनी चाहिये। मैं उसके विरुद्ध नहीं हूँ लेकिन सरकार नपुंसक जैसी बन जाए और इन हिंसात्मक कार्यवाहियों को दबाने के लिये पूरी ताकत न लगाए, यह ठीक नहीं है। मेरा खयाल है कि इस बारे में सरकार को जितनी ताकत लगानी चाहिए, वह नहीं लगा रही है।

मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार को काफी बदनामी हो रही है। इस समय बंगाल में कोई राज्य सरकार नहीं है, जिसके बारे में सरकार कहे कि यह उसकी रेसपांसीबिलिटी है। अब यह सेंटर की रेसपांसीबिलिटी है कि इस स्थिति को जल्द से जल्द मुधारा जाए और इन प्रवृत्तियों को दबाया जाए।

SHRI MUTHU GOUNDER (Tirupattur): Sir, when we were receiving reports about disturbances and Naxalite activities in West Bengal a year ago, we were not so much frightened. But now after seeing such disturbances and murders continuing for months together, we are really perturbed and we find it difficult to see how we can achieve our socialist aims. The DMK has all its policies founded

only on non-violent methods and we have also succeeded to some extent. We want to achieve socialism only through democratic means. But what is happening in Calcutta and in West Bengal as a whole is really disheartening and we want to have a second thought over our policy to attain socialism.

Our learned friend, Mr. Hiren Mukerjee, the other day was giving reasons for the trouble in West Bengal. He is more competent than all of us because he comes from that area and he is a learned man. He says that the youth are very much discontented and frustrated on account of unemployment and that is the cause of all these disturbances. But he has not given any solution or direction to solve it. We in this country want to attain socialism by solving the unemployment problem by developing our industries and agriculture. We are in that process. During this transformation stage, there, ought to be some satisfaction with what we have been able to do. We cannot give jobs to everyone who is in need of it. Taking this opportunity, some political parties or some mischievous elements might have started this trouble there. It is not there only in West Bengal. When we read the reports of some incidents in Kerala in the newspapers of yesterday and day before yesterday, we were very much frightened. They are so horrible—a father killed in the presence of his wife, sons and daughters. When we imagine the scene for a moment, we think the Government is worthless.

We are not able to give a family man, a man living in the rural area, a safe Government and a safe living. We may be here and may be safe; we should not wish that, but that day may come for us also.

16 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair]

In the rural area people read in our language papers these horrible stories and they say, when I meet them, in plain words, "We do not want you, politicians, to administer this country for one day more. Whatever be the political party you belong to, when you people, learned people, are at the helm of affairs and are not able to give a good life and protection to the life of a farmer to live on his farmhouse and to

[Sbri Muthu Gounder]

open his store in the night when he is called upon to do so, where is security?" That is the question that is asked.

Everybody now is very much dissatisfied. They are very much frustrated and people have lost the very faith in democracy and democratic institutions. Many want to give our parliamentary institutions, from the panchayat to the Assembly and the Parliament, a holiday for some years. At times they even go to the extent of saying, "Administrators, good people, should rule the country for some years giving a holiday to you and you, politicians, should learn how to take this country on a progressive path to a socialistic or a welfare state; till then, we do not want you at the head of government." That is what more or less people in the villages desire.

So, what happens in Calcutta or Bengal is directly affecting even other States where law and order is maintained well. Unless some drastic action to bring law and order there is taken, the same disease will spread as an epidemic to other States also.

To put down all such things we can depend only upon the police. To call in the army is a thing which we do not like. With the present law, I think, the police can very well control the position if they are given good arms and good directives from above. The intelligence department which is in charge of the thing is not quite tactful. At times they are not able to find out who is the right man or who is the wrong man. On account of this flaw at times even good people are shot or are said to be shot in Calcutta streets. After trimming and perfecting the intelligence branch of the police department by giving more powers to the police, the situation can be brought under control in Calcutta and West Bengal.

This situation has not only now spread to Kerala but there is every likelihood of its spreading to Andhra or even to other States. So, every responsible gentleman, whichever political party he belong to—Communist, DMK, Congress or any other party—should forget for a moment his political party and political ideology and should see that West Bengal is restored to its normal condition and that normal life is

there. Then only we can have our future progress; or else, as we see that industrial production has fallen, other things will also fall.

Only one thing has improved now. Till the past five or six years we were importing food-grains from other countries. On account of good hard work by farmers we are able to produce enough food. We are producing enough still.

On account of some political trouble at Durgapur and other steel factories, they are not producing up to their capacity. This has done a very big damage to other parts of the country. In my part of the country, where electricity is spreading, for want of poles and other materials, we are not able to supply it to tens of thousands of farmers. Steel production is now at a standstill and it is already affecting the country. By spreading the leftist policies of creating disorder and other things, we will be spreading unemployment and loss of production. Now, in the last few years, we have done something in the matter of giving more employment. We have achieved some progress. Let us see that all this progress is not very much adversely affected. Let us see how we can put down all the disturbances with the help of the police and maintain law and order.

SHRI A. C. GEORGE (Mukundapuram): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have very carefully gone through the Resolution moved by my learned friend Mr. Nath Pai. Though, of course, I was not given the good fortune to listen to the speech of Mr. Nath Pai on his Resolution because I was not here, I was very carefully listening to the speech of my learned friend Mr. Jagannath Rao Joshi, I was rather pained to hear the speech.

Mr. Nath Pai's Resolution is very skilfully and innocently worded. On the face of it, it looks all right. But there is an under-tone of a very strong accusation against the Central Government. For a moment, my thoughts went back to Trivandrum in Kerala, and I was thinking about the chagrin and embarrassment that Mr. Nath Pai would have felt if some Member in the Kerala Assembly had brought

in an atrocious incident that happened in Kerala which went by the name of Naxalites and which was in comparison to what is happening in West Bengal. If some Member in the Kerala Assembly had stood up and accused with strong fingers the C.P.I.—P.S.P. Government that they had not made an improvement on the situation there, I think, Mr. Nath Pai would have felt the same pain that I am feeling now.

SHRI NATH PAI : If you had brought it, I would have supported it.

SHRI A. C. GEORGE : What I feel is that the very tone of all the speeches is coloured by sadistic or callous pleasure. It looks almost like a younger brother pointing his finger against the elder brother in whose presence their sister is molested but the elder brother's hands are tied back to a tree. The younger brother moves his fingers to accuse him but does not move his fingers to untie the hands of his elder brother.

When we are talking about Naxalite movement, many of my friends here do not think of untying the hands and giving the police strong measures to meet the situation. They feel that if their hands are untied, they may turn against them. That is a very grave misunderstanding, if I may say so.

Now, where is the origin of the Naxalite movement? I would humbly submit that the good name of the people of Naxalbari must be spared once and for all. The term "Naxalite" is a misnomer. I am one who believes that a very sizeable majority of the people of Naxalbari are good people. Unfortunately, during the regime of Shri Jyoti Basu, in 1967, somehow it happened that a violent movement spread from Naxalbari. So, it got the name of "Naxalites". But if you trace the origin very carefully, we must spare the Naxalbari people. Instead of calling them "Naxalites", I may humbly submit, in all fairness to the people of Naxalbari, that you call them as "Marxalites".

Let us see where it is all happening. We can easily trace the parenthood of the movement. It is happening in West Bengal, in Andhra, in Kerala and, invariably, in areas where C.P.M. has comparatively more strength. Of course,

in Kerala, I must admit that they have only remnants of the Marxist Party after the recent elections. But still they are there. Now, the Marxist Party is the father of this movement. During that short period or long period—I do not know exactly how it was—of flirtation and courting and honey-moon with Mao, the Marxist Party has become the father of this movement and Mao is only the mother of this movement. Now, the father is disowning the child just like the old story of Vishwamitra. It all happened during the courting and flirtation. Now, the Marxist Party says, 'We do not have anything to do with it'. May be the mother Mao will have to carry on with it. (*Interruptions*) I think so. I was hearing you, my dear comrade, when you were speaking the other day. I was feeling very much amused because you, like the old Puranic Siva, gave the boon to Padmasura and Padmasura wanted to try it on your own head. So you ran back to the Vishnu here saying that this great giant is coming to kill you. You gave the boon to them to kill the poor people. You gave the boon to Padmasura. Now you speak in terms of the poor lady, Mrs. Parul Bose. I am really very sorry that you gave the power. You are the real origin of the entire thing.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : You are surrounded by hardened criminals.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is his maiden speech. Please don't disturb him.

SHRI A. C. GEORGE : I don't expect that courtesy from him.

Now, Sir, at one time I do remember—that was in November 1968—our great comrade, Mr. E. M. Sankaran Namboodiripad, when there was an attack on the Pulpally police station in Kerala he said, 'It is a political thing. It has to be met at political level.' Clean two years afterwards in November 1970, here is our great comrade E. M. Sankaran Namboodiripad saying that it is not a political problem, it is the problem of anti-co anti-social elements. Within two years, the only difference was that Comrade great E. M. Sankaran Namboodiripad at that time was the Chief Minister, but now, by the verdict of the great people of Kerala, he is no more there. I don't think he will ever be there.

[Shri A. C. George]

Now, the problem is : what is happening in other States. What is happening in Bengal ? What is happening in Andhra ? For the benefit of my great comrades, I may submit that I have also learnt a bit about revolution. It is never a revolution. If it is anything, it is just a counter revolution to defeat the social progress and revolution that has happened in India. It is just a counter revolution. They wanted to see the revolution that is going on in India. So this is a counter revolution and that too...

AN HON. MEMBER : Counter movement.

SHRI A. C. GEORGE : It is a counter revolution. By whatever name you may call, it is never a revolution in that good sense. What is the fate of the poor people ? I may remind my friend there on the opposite side that I have looked into the statistics of most of the culprits. I may submit it is never directed against the *bourgeois* class. You can invariably see that it is against the proletariat. Their arms are aimed at the proletariat. It is a tyrannical revolution of the upper class against the poor class people. In my State they do not direct the arms against the rich class because the rich class has got the power to bribe the Naxalites or the Marxalites by whatever name you may call them. They are directed against the poor proletariat.

Now, what is happening ? I have received letters yesterday and to-day from my State saying that nowadays if there is some emergency, some maternity case, if some body taps at the door of the doctor, the doctor will not come. If a taxi driver is called for some urgent purpose, the taxi driver will not go because the people there know that it is not a movement against the *bourgeoisie*. It is a movement against anybody who does not bribe them. That is where it is. The taxi driver, the doctor, the people who may have to come to our rescue at difficult times now they do not come because nobody is sure when he is going to be attacked because the basic nature of all these attacks is against the proletariat, against the middle class. I may submit, Sir, the statistics of all that has happened in my State. (*Interruptions*) I am not an authority. Our friend there may be in a better position to tell us as to who are

the people killed. But, in our State of Kerala, invariably the attack was directed against the proletariat, poor people or the middle class. I will imagine for a second the Pulpally Police Station there. The man who was killed there is a petty employee getting a basic salary of Rs. 83. Do you call him a *bourgeoisie* ? A poor man, a poor constable, who took to this job, just because he had to feed his poor children and his wife, was killed, just because he went as a policeman. It is all just a question of option of career ; we are all people coming from the same social background. That poor man getting Rs. 83—a proletariat, according to me, was killed in the name of the so-called proletariat revolution, and proletariat paradise. I have never learnt that a proletarian paradise will be created by killing proletarians—that is a new knowledge to me.

Now, Sir, I may submit that instead of pointing the fingers against the Central Government and taking the sadistic pleasure of always accusing, let us think for a moment as to how the Central Government is to tackle it. I do admit that there are certain social problems behind it. Shri Nambudripad only two years back stated that it is purely a political problem. Now he says, it is purely a social problem. We will have to take a sober view about this.

As far as West Bengal is concerned, I am of the view that the Central Government,—as long as the President's rule is there,—must be given all the powers and here is the House to watch how this is being done. We are Members of Parliament sitting here who can always raise our finger against the Central Government if this is misused. But such movements will have to be dealt with, with a strong hand. Otherwise what I feel is this, father who is now disowning the child will one day try to thrive on it. Let there be no ambiguity about it.

I only sympathise with Mrs. Parul Bose. I can imagine the pains that Mr. Ramamurthi and Mr. Basu had when one of them was attacked. One can imagine what pains it would give when a person is attacked the blood and the flesh and the body is the same for all of us. Let us not think in political terms. You are pained when Mrs. Parul Bose is attacked ;

but you are not pained when some other people are attacked. That is the one discriminatory factor against you.

Now, what I submit is this. This House must definitely give a mandate to the Central Government to deal with this problem in West Bengal with a firm and strong hand and this we must give with an unambiguous voice. We have got the power to check if it is misused. Thank you.

AN. HON. MEMBER : A very good speech.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) : Mr. Chairman, this Resolution which was moved by Mr. Nath Pai in the last session—the way it is worded, I think—is a little out-dated now, because, subsequent to that last discussion on this Resolution, there have been several other discussions in various places, and already the Government of India—as everybody knows—has come forward with certain draconian legislations, which some Members here are advocating. It is not necessary for them to advocate this now, because already they have brought forward two Bills which have been discussed in the Consultative Committee only two days ago and this House—some Members of which are very eager to give power to Government—is not going to be given that opportunity. It is our demand that Bills should be brought in this House. Let the House decide it. (Interruption) Automatically they do not have to be brought here ; they are Presidential Acts, under the delegation of powers.

I welcome the suggestion and let them be brought before this House. Let them be discussed here. The Members who are not Members of the Select Committee may have opportunity to express their views thereon. But I doubt very much from what I saw in the Consultative Committee whether the Government is agreeable to do that.

Anyway, what I mean to say is this. If the purpose of Mr. Nath Pai's Resolution is only that we should condemn the Naxalites, then, I don't think there is much need of discussion here. There is no controversy about it. We are all unanimous on this.

AN HON. MEMBER : We, means whom ? (Interruption).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Everybody ; even they are now saying that it is you and the Naxalites who are killing them. (Interruption).

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) : CPI and us and the Police. Don't give all credit to us. (Interruption).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You can take it as you like. The point is this : If this is the purpose of the Resolution, to decry, deplore and condemn what the Naxalites are doing today, their philosophy, their activities, etc. there is no controversy here ; there cannot be.

But I find during the last three months or so, a more fashionable idea being put forward. I shall describe presently why I call it fashionable. That is now becoming the pet theory of the Government which they are spreading all around, and that is, that they are going to tackle the Bengal problem with what they call a package deal. Package deal means Don't look at the Preventive Detention Bill, don't look at the Suppression of Violent Activities Bill, because along with it, we are also administering doses of measures for economic relief, that is to say, reducing the land ceiling, or taking some powers by which some *bastis* or some slums can be cleared or introducing some octroi tax or something like that. Repeatedly, we are being told that the Government do not believe in the strong arm method. But then they say, 'Look, we are giving you a package deal ; there has to be a strong arm also, and there is also to be a patient and sympathetic consideration and dealing of the problems, economic, social and political which are afflicting the people of West Bengal, and without tackling which this problem cannot be settled in the ultimate analysis.'

The main purport of what I want to say today is that this theory is a monstrous fraud. It is a big humbug. Whatever their intentions may be, what we could see over the last few months is that though the package deal theory is being put forward, in actual practice, only one part is being implemented, and nothing is done about the other part, because only that part is implemented which it is easy to imple-

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

ment, and that is to invest the police with some sweeping powers, to give them powers to shoot, to give them powers to detain people and do anything they like. Other things will, of course, go along at a slow and leisurely pace and take a little longer time perhaps to make themselves felt.

I have here with me a recent issue of the journal known as *The States* which is edited by a veteran journalist, Mr. Durga Das. I do not think that anybody suspects him to be a Naxalite or a communist. This is what he has written. The heading of this article is: "Too little, too late, may be costly". I shall just quote a few sentences from it. He says:

"If only hardened criminals and anti-social elements were responsible, how does one explain the apparent apathy of the people to these acts of violence? Why don't they resist or come out clearly to help police operations against these criminals."

Then, he goes on to say:

"Law and order problems cannot be considered in isolation, without relation to the people's sentiments. To understand the people's inexplicable apathy, if not anti-pathology, one must take into account the increasing number of deaths in the police lock-ups, of arrested persons, nor can one fail to see the marked disbelief with which police versions of alleged encounters and deaths of Naxalites are received by the common folk. Naxalites or no Naxalites, any improvement of the law and order situation demands restoration of direct association of the people with the administration. That means the restoration of popular government in the State."

This is what he is saying after observing the situation.

I would like to read a few more sentences from his article because they are very interesting. He goes on to say:

"With 40,000 class I listed criminals in the North Calcutta police district alone..."

—listed criminals; that means, they are known to the police—

"...with 30,000 more women and children rice smugglers operating in the four districts around Calcutta, with a million night-dwellers on the pavements..."

Here, I may point out that many of these unfortunate night-dwellers on the pavements come from Bihar and U. P. It amused me the other day that when there was a discussion going on here about the need to introduce more development schemes for U.P., which is certainly a backward region—I have every sympathy with their demand—nobody raised this point, although here we are told that every State must rush to Bengal's rescue to save Bengal, that the eastern districts of U.P. and the northern districts of Bihar which are utterly poverty-stricken and where landlessness and distress is so acute that lakhs of people every year have to go to Calcutta to seek some sort of miserable pittance are responsible for these people living on the pavements of Calcutta. If Government really bother themselves to do something for UP and Bihar, then that would also help to check this flow of unemployed people who are crowding the streets of Calcutta and also becoming a victim and a prey to many undesirable things.

"With a million night dwellers on pavements and with 5½ million poor job-seekers pouring into Calcutta from the other States of India and above all, with the rapid increase in able-bodied unemployed passing or dropping out of schools, colleges and universities, the Naxalite ideology based on suffering gets a free grazing ground from where it contaminates other parts of the country".

This idea is now accepted by everybody; I think nobody here quarrels with it, though Shri Tiwari, the Chairman now, only a little while ago while speaking said that after all, these problems are there everywhere, in every other State. Nevertheless, people who live outside Bengal, who are not Bengalis, who are trying to understand the problem not only superficially do come to these conclusions.

What I wish to say is that nothing is being done except talking about this side of the problem. Action is being taken only as respects the police *danda* and the right to shoot and this

side is being totally neglected. Shri Pant may later on say that they have sanctioned so many schemes and so many crores. We are reading in the papers every day also about these. But what they are doing to create new employment opportunities, I do not know. But they talk about improvement of the *bustees*, taking certain other measures and so on. As far as I can see, nothing is happening. Anybody who lives in Calcutta knows it.

So far as employment opportunities are concerned, I want to make a very modest demand. I say, you do not bother about creating new employment opportunities, but at last see to it that those who are already in employment are not chucked out. Can you do that much? Do not bother about creating new employment opportunities.

Here is your friend, Shri Birla, who owns half a dozen factories round about Calcutta. You will find that in the last two months, the Keshoram Cotton Mills, the Keshoram Rayon Mills (one of the most profitable concerns), the Jayshree Textiles, Texmaco Engineering Works, Bengal Fine Spinning Mills, all Birla concerns, have been closed down by him, either because he would not agree to some bonus demand of the workers or he says that the price of cotton has gone up and so he cannot run his mills. Some excuse or the other is trotted out. These mills have been lying absolutely closed and the workers are unemployed for weeks together. When we approach the authorities there, the Labour Commissioner, the Government, the Governor and so on, they all agree with us and say that the Birlas have done some thing which is absolutely unjustified. But no steps are taken; nothing is done.

Here is a newspaper, one of the oldest in Calcutta, the *Basumati*, with which is very intimately connected a former Minister of this Government. Yesterday they closed down their doors and 500 middle class employees, journalists, reporters, press workers—very good material for Naxalites recruitment—are on the streets. Did you do anything to prevent it? (*Interruption*). We know what is going on in *Basumati*? (*Interruptions*). There is a CBI case. We know it; week can spell that out. It is for corruption against the manage-

ment, the owners of *Basumati*. They tried to victimise Shri Vivekanand Mukerjee, one of the seasoned journalists, who was its editor; only a little while ago. Now they have closed down the paper. These 500 people are thrown out. You are not killing these 500 by bullet, either police or Naxalite; you are killing them by allowing them to be chucked out on the streets without any opportunity of getting any other jobs. What about that?

Therefore, notwithstanding all this talk about sanctioning so many crores for this scheme or that scheme, nothing is materialising. The only thing materialising is more powers for the police. If you think you are going to solve this problem this way, nothing is going to happen.

As far as the two Bills, which are going to be promulgated under the power delegated to the President, are concerned, I demand that these should be brought before both Houses. Let the Houses be given the full opportunity of a discussion. Government have got the majority. They are supported now in this matter at least by many friends here to my right. The opponents of the Bill are in a miserable minority. They should have the courage to bring these Bills before both Houses. Let more people at least understand what is in them. My hon. friend from Kerala, who made his maiden speech just before me, said that if Government do something by way of misusing the powers, we could at least point out finger at them. But you will be able to do so only after the man has already been put in jail. Under the provisions of that Act I can be put under preventive detention for a period of ten weeks before it is proved that I have been wrongly detained. This is the process, that you will give me the grounds of a detention, they will be sent to the Advisory Board, In reply, the police give their version, then the Advisory Board will go into it and then say that this man has been illegally detained. A period of ten weeks will have passed by then. After that you set me free. I as a citizen of this country will be deprived of my freedom for ten weeks and I cannot seek any redress for it, I cannot get any compensation or anything. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI (Krishnagar): Under what law can people be murdered?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: This ** lady should be very happy because they are killing as they want them to kill. I think that at least Mr. Pant will agree with me that it is a painful matter. In today's paper you have read about five boys killed yesterday in police firing. It is occurring daily. It is said that they are anti-socialist Naxalites. They may or they may not be. There is nothing to prevent the police from saying that so-and-so is suspected to be a Naxalite. They can shoot him. There is nothing to be proved. These five boys, Ashutosh Bose, 25, Ashok Bose, 20, Govind Dutt, 21, . . . (*Interruptions*).

No Naxalite has ever come within hundred miles of you. What are you talking about? You have never seen a Naxalite in your life. Many of the sons and daughters of my friends are Naxalites and I know what madness they are indulging in. We are facing them everyday there. We are holding meetings. A large part of my Constituency is a hot-bed of Naxalites.

The Commissioner of Police of Calcutta, Shri Ranjit Gupta has said, and it has appeared in today's papers, that P. D. Act or no P. D. Act, the police will shoot. He is not waiting for your P. D. Act. You need not be so worried, he is not waiting for your help. He says that he is going to shoot.

What I am bothered about is the way in which the police are being invested with sweeping powers by these two Bills. You are allowing the police to do anything they like without any hope of checking it. This is the problem which is facing us and that is why we oppose these powers which are being given. Plain clothes police guerillas are now roaming the streets of Calcutta and so many instances have been reported. There is briefing of the press by the police. When they come upon boys writing slogans on the walls, immediately they open fire on them. Under what law I want to know. After arresting people, to put them in the police van and on the way to lock up, to

shoot them in the van—under what law is this permitted? I have no time to recount all these names and places of these incidents. Everybody knows that it is happening.

Therefore, I am saying: fight the Naxalites, fight them by all possible means, but I have not the slightest confidence that by only talking about economic and political measures and doing nothing about them, and on the other hand investing the police with these sweeping powers, this can be achieved. There is a clause in the Bill which says that in order to stop looting, when a policeman apprehends looting, he can take any action including the causing of death. These are the words in that Bill.

Now the harvesting season is beginning in West Bengal. Any Jotedar or Zamindar can go to the local Thanedar and say that these people are coming to loot my crop. The Police will be able to shoot indiscriminately. Is this fighting Naxalites?

There is a clause in the Bill which says that any police officer can enter a premises, which I say may be a trade union office, a trade union of railway employees or of port and dock employees. It gives him power to say that in these premises he found certain activities going on which might affect the maintenance of public services meaning railways or port and dock. The offices in which the trade unions are located, the whole property of the trade union, can be requisitioned. That is put in the Bill. Is this the way to fight Naxalites? What has it to do with Naxalites? Therefore, these sweeping powers will be used by the police to attack anybody and everybody right and left. Everything will be done in the name of fighting suspected Naxalites. Therefore, this is not the way to solve the problem and these bills must be brought before the Houses and the Houses must be allowed to debate them.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI (Howrah): I have to oppose the motion of Shri Nath Pai because it has been drafted in such a way that all the blame is laid at the doors of the Central Government for all that we have seen happening in West Bengal. There has been such a noise in both the Houses of

** Expunged as ordered by the Speaker, *vide* col. 343.

Parliament that people outside would think that West Bengal was on fire. I cannot persuade myself to accept that. The heart of West Bengal is sound and I can assure this House that West Bengal will not belie the expectation of the country; it will contribute effectively to the social, political and moral uplift of the country. This is a passing phase and therefore we need not be pessimistic about it.

It is essential that we trace the history of the development of Naxalite philosophy in West Bengal. How were the Naxalites born? Who allowed them to be born? My friend Jyotirmoy Basu will shout at me if I say that all this was done by the U. F. Government whose presiding deity—only in name the Chief Minister was Mr. Ajoy Kumar Mukerjee—at the Writers' Building was the Deputy Chief Minister in charge of the home portfolio. It was he who allowed them, under the protection of police, to commit violence. The whole cult of violence was preached in such a way, openly, by not only the CPM but by their partners also. I am sorry to say that I cannot absolve any of the political parties who took part in the U. F. Government; they were all guilty of the same offence. Murders were committed brutally even in day-light; arson, loot and rape—everything went on. Processions were found to be going throughout West Bengal with lethal weapons and fire-arms. This was done under the protection of the Home Ministry. Therefore, can you say that law and order situation in West Bengal has deteriorated now, as Mr. Nath Pai has said. What steps should be taken to prevent such a situation? Is it not a fact that a situation like that has arisen much before? I shall read out a few sentences from the hand-out given to Members of Parliament in the Parliamentary consultative committee:

“The first three months following the imposition of President's Rule witnessed distinct improvement in the law and order situation except in the matter of Naxalite activities. The number of incidents under various heads—interparty clashes, political murders, agrarian lawlessness, lawlessness in industrial sector, etc.—came down during this period.”

Does the report say that the Central Govern-

ment failed to control the situation? It has been said that in the first three months the administration was able to create conditions in which improvement could definitely be seen. Extra-ordinary powers were needed to deal with the situation. Unfortunately six months back when it came up before the consultative committee all the political parties including my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta's party opposed giving such powers to the administration. I am not in favour of giving draconian powers to the police nor am I in favour of giving blanket power to the Government. (Interruption) I do not agree that the present laws are draconian because they have a limited purpose for which they are going to be enacted. An Ordinance will have to be issued. Just now Shri Indrajit Gupta quoted from the statement in this morning's *Statesman*. He asked why Naxalite youths were killed by the police. Do you want to say that the police should be allowed to kill people like this and to bring about a bad law and order situation in West Bengal? Is that your proposition? What is the administration wanting to do now? During the three months, they wanted that some power should be given to them so that preventive measures can be taken and they can thus deal with the situation. Therefore, two Bills have been proposed. What is the purpose of those Bills? To maintain public security; that is the purpose of one Bill; because life and property were in danger, and public security was essentially called for. Therefore, one Bill is meant for public security. The other Bill is to authorise the Government to detain people who indulge in violent activities.

Here, in the hand-out, there is another line, and to remind those friends—and Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu who did not serve in that committee—let me read out what it says:

“The other disquieting aspect of the law and order situation in West Bengal has been the continued occurrence of violent clashes between members of certain political parties. Between 1st April, 1970 and 31st October, 1970, 515 such clashes are reported to have taken place.”

A large number of these incidents took place. 172 political murders took place. This is the position there. Certain political parties have

[Shri Krishna Kumar Chatterji]

recruited to their fold anti-social elements. goondas, people who have no conscience, who will murder people to create a kind of terror, and perpetrate any kind of atrocity on women and children.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI : Two minutes more, Sir. They have been given certain dignity of being affiliated to certain political parties. These political parties even now are clashing with each other with fire-arms, ammunition, explosives, etc., which are illegally possessed. In such a situation, is it not fair to give to the administration this much of authority so that they can take some preventive measures to create a peaceful atmosphere there ?

I know the main problem there is that of unemployment which is so colossal, and along with that, there is the refugee problem which together create such a situation. There are the slum-dwellers and the pavement-dwellers who have also created a painful situation in such a manner that the breeding-ground is there for violence. Therefore, it is essential that we must create conditions of peace so that tranquillity can be maintained and development work could be taken up quickly.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI : One minute, Sir. Shri Indrajit Gupta said that nothing has been done under the President's regime. He has ridiculed the land movement, and has mentioned about the land grab movement. During this short period, does he know how much land has been taken over and distributed under the Governor's regime ; which is being accused that it has done nothing ? The Governor has taken about 50,000 acres or more of land from those people, and in fact he has distributed about 60,000 acres of land to the landless. That has created a spirit of confidence in the minds of the industrialists. There was economic stagnation and the industries were flying away, and several factories were closed down. Why ?

Because of gheraos which were staged frequently, and many crimes were perpetrated on the officers ; some officers were brutally murdered even under the present government and the Home Ministry there. Therefore, here is the history of what has been done during the past few months. What is the position ? 113 applications for new industrial licences have been made as against only 63 during the period of the UF regime.

Not only this. 198 small scale industrial units have been registered around the Calcutta area. The object mainly is to see that the problem of unemployment is tackled well. I am surprised that even Shri Indrajit Gupta should speak in such terms as he did. I cannot support the resolution only because Shri Nath Pai has a political motivation about it and pointed out that this Government has failed to perform its duty in West Bengal.

I say that progress has been made in the past three months. As I said yesterday, the heart of West Bengal is sound. They will give you all the service in their sense of intense nationalism, and would save the country from this kind of violence and this brutal way of life. I can assure you that.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour) : Sir, I would like to speak on the law and order situation in West Bengal. As Mr. Indrajit Gupta quoted, Mr. Ranjit Gupta, the Commissioner of Police, has said, P. D. Act or No P. D. Act, the police will shoot. No law, only orders to shoot and kill. They want to give extensive powers to the police including shoot-at-sight powers. They are seeking legal sanction for the West Bengal Maintenance of Public Order Bill. No executive enquiry or judicial enquiry into the police firings. I mentioned it day before yesterday. Mrs. Gandhi wrote a letter to me saying that she had no knowledge about it. But the next day the contradiction came out in the papers saying that everything was done with the full knowledge and consent of the Central Government. I am sorry Mrs. Gandhi had said things to me which are not true. I want a clarification from the Home Minister as to how this could happen. When the Central Government was fully consulted with regard to

keeping in abeyance for three months a particular provision introduced by the Britishers that every police firing should be enquired into by the executive or the judiciary how can she say, "I do not know about it"? It is a very serious matter and I want you, Sir, to help me in getting a clear and categorical answer.

Not satisfied with all this, they are now bringing through the backdoor an enactment—the West Bengal Maintenance of Public Order Bill and the West Bengal Prevention of Violent Activities Bill. You will recollect, Sir, that at the end of 1969, the nation had idea of imposing a P. D. Act. This Government could not take the risk of bringing it before the House. How undemocratic it is that when the Parliament is in session taking advantage of the delegation of power of the House on the President, they want to bring this black Act to curtail the human rights through the backdoor! The whole object is to curb the political opponents of the Congress and get a longer time to stick to power. Sir, I demand of the Government to bring the Bill before the House. Let the House consider whether it is fit for enactment.

On 18th November, I described how with the connivance of the police with the criminals and big business, thousands of kilos of high explosive materials have been brought from Maharashtra and other places, the police being silent watchers. On an analysis made, it was found that out of 391 cases, 349 cases had no political background whatsoever. They are professional criminals who have been recruited into this job. I have said how close the police is to the criminals and how clever they are when they are facing local resistance, in doing their misdeeds.

Today I will place before the House the details of police atrocities that took place in this period. I am quoting from *Jugantar* of 11th November. The headline is "Who is going to pay for this mistake?" It says :

"One Anil Karmarkar, an employee of the Government of West Bengal, Irrigation Department, was arrested on wrong identification. After he was arrested, a Deputy Secretary of the Finance Department of the Government of West Bengal gave a certifi-

cate to the police saying, 'I know this boy fully well; he is not involved in any politics and he is not a criminal.' In spite of that, that boy was beaten to death within the police station in the Bali police station lock-up."

I want the Home Minister to give a clear and categorical reply.

I quote from the *Jugantar* again of the 3rd September. It says that Shri Aboni Chakravarti, aged 34, again another respectable employee, who had nothing to do with politics, was arrested and given such a beating in the lock-up that as soon as he was released he died. This is about Naktola in Jadavpur police station. The happening took place in Jadavpur.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Very little time is there at your disposal to go into the details. Please read the Resolution and in that spirit, without giving these details, speak on it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Very important people are living in perpetual terror.

In Lilua, railway officers sitting and talking in a verandah, were dragged in a police bus, given a beating within the police bus, bayoneted in the police bus, brought to Howrah police station and kept there in the lock-up for two days and after two days were asked to go. There were no charges. They were both gazetted officers, one of the railways and the other of the Calcutta tramways.

Then, here is a case of a police sergeant being prosecuted, Sergeant Bikas Sur, on charges of assaulting and beating one Dr. Chaudhuri mercilessly in the police station. I will not give the details. I would like to know what is happening in this case.

Then in Naktola the CRP got into the house of a retired district judge and some gazetted officers were given kicks and boots, were insulted, twisted by the cars and thrown out of their house. We would like to know what is happening to that.

Then, in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* of 16th November, 1970, it says that a policeman has killed another policeman. The name of the

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

man is Samir Chakravarty and the other man is Ranjit Chakravarty. We would like to know the details about this.

In the *Jugantar* of 2nd September—it is a Congress paper—it has been clearly stated that in Krishnagar, they entered and ransacked houses, gave a beating to men, even insulted women and old men, and spared nobody. That is what is happening in West Bengal today.

On the 20th September a young man in Krishnagar was murdered in the police lock-up. The father filed a suit but nothing is going to happen.

16.53 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

I have already mentioned Samir Bhattacharya's case who was beaten to death in Shyampukur police station in the presence of sub-inspector Bala. The murder was actually committed by two head constables... (*Interruption*). We want a clear and categorical answer from the Government as to what they have done about this.

Just over a week, when this special power was given, they have shot dead 25 persons in Calcutta alone.

About the talk of my party, there were numerous cases. One Chinmoy Hajra, a member of my party, was beaten mercilessly, hot iron was pressed on the feet and—there are ladies here and I should not say that—rulers were pushed into his body. He was groaning with severe pain and when we went to see him the poor fellow could not even get up.

On the 16th September one young boy, Buro Haldar, was beaten and taken away. He was not produced in court and has not been heard of since. It is apprehended that the boy has been killed and his body has been disposed of secretly.

On 23rd September, 1970, Nani Saha of Democratic Youth Federation was shot dead at point blank range when he was alighting from a bus within Dum Dum. The shot was fired with a view to kill him.

On 25th September, in early morning, at Bhawani Dutta lane, in the University area, the police shot dead two University students, namely, Sanku Dutta and Krishna Sanyal when they were sticking posters. Shri Anup Bose, an Engineering student, was brought to the place and also shot dead in cold blood at point blank range with the intent to commit murder.

One Krishnopada Biswas, a University student, was going to the University Library with his hands up but the Police, thirsty for blood, fired at him at point-blank range and killed him on the spot.

I can give the House hundreds and hundreds of cases where the police has been let loose and they have run amuck shooting people at sight without any reason... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul) : Is it a case that police is worse than Naxalites ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I will give another list of murders. On 29.10.70, Swapan Parbat of Shyampukur in Calcutta was murdered, Sambhu Patra of Beliaghata in Calcutta was murdered, Kanu Sarkar of Gobindapur in 24-Parganas was murdered, Sanjay Chowdhury of Chitpur in Calcutta was murdered and Sunil De of Belgachia in Calcutta was murdered.

On 30.10.70, Sukumar Bhattacharyya of Muchiapara in Calcutta was killed and Sunirmal Patitundi of Baranagar in Calcutta was also killed.

After the fall of the United Front Government, the Jotdars brought in the C.R.P. and Police and three police camps have been set up in Dhapa area of 24-Parganas and the goondas of the jotdars with the help of the police are creating terror and looting, beating and raping. A girl of 12 was raped in broad day light by 11 goondas within 15 yards of the C.R.P. camp.

Then, the attack on the Mayor of Calcutta is very well known. According to the Ruling Party, he is a bitter pill for them to swallow. According to them, he has been standing in the way and, therefore, he must be demoralised

and terrorised. Right near the C.R.P. camp in Tollygunj, a serious attempt was made to murder him.

What about the attempt that was made on Mr. Jyoti Basu at Patna station? We want to know whether any body has been really arrested and punished.... (Interruptions).

Then, in Durgapur, Mr. Ajit Mukerjee, Vice-President of the CITU-led Hindustan Steel Employees Union in a telegram to the Prime Minister has complained that the "CRP fired nine rounds of tear-gas on August 19" and also fired on women. He also referred that "CRP was severely beating up children, women and old people, and trespassing into residential quarters indiscriminately." .. (Interruption).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: On a point of order, Sir. The Resolution, *inter alia* says :

"...and expresses grave concern at the wide-spread unchecked violent activities throughout the State thus endangering life, property, security and democracy in the country."

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: That is what I am mentioning.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Unless it is a case that police is responsible for endangering the life of the people, all that he has said is irrelevant and he is continuing with it. Therefore, all that should be expunged.

MR. SPEAKER: There is no point of order.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Unfortunately, what I have been telling could never be pleasant to the people who are in power and who are sitting on the Government Benches. What I am saying is that this is not going to work for long. You come and face the people. Let us see what the people decide about you and decide about us. Come to the mid-term poll. If you want a solution to the law and order problem in West Bengal, come to mid-term poll, face the people, don't take shelter in bullets and lathis from the people. This is my caution to you.

17.00 hrs.

श्री विभूति बिश्व (मोतीहारी) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने श्री नाथ पाई के प्रस्ताव में एक संशोधन पेश किया है। अगर सरकार मुनासिब समझे, तो वह इसके अलावा अपनी तरफ से कोई प्रस्ताव रखे, जो सबको मान्य हो और वह प्रस्ताव मन्जूर किया जाये।

सब तरफ से इस बात को स्वीकार किया जा रहा है कि बंगाल में अशान्ति है। सवाल यह है कि यह अशान्ति आर्थिक कारणों से है या उसके पीछे कोई बाहरी शक्ति है। यदि बंगाल में अशान्ति आर्थिक परिस्थिति के कारण है, तब तो जैसा कि श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने कहा है, जो इकानोमिक मेजर्र लेने चाहिए, उनको सरकार ले। इसके अलावा वहाँ जो कारखाने बन्द हो गये हैं, सरकार उनको खुलवाने का प्रयत्न करे। वह बेरोजगारी की समस्या को हल करने की भी कोशिश करे। मैंने सुना है कि बंगाल में दो लाख पढ़े लिखे आदमी बेकार हैं। सरकार को इस समस्या को हल करना चाहिए।

अगर इस आन्दोलन के पीछे किसी बाहरी शक्ति का हाथ है, तो सरकार इस समस्या को किसी दूसरे तरीके से हल करे। हिन्दुस्तान के नौजवान इस देश के भावी नागरिक और मालिक हैं। अगर ये नौजवान किसी विदेशी शक्ति से प्रभावित होकर देश में इस तरह से अशान्ति पैदा करते हैं, तो फिर प्रधान मंत्री को चाहिए कि वह पन्द्रह रोज कलकत्ता में जाकर बैठें, वहाँ पर एक एक-आदमी से बात करें और उन लोगों को अपनी तरफ खींचें। आजादी से पहले हमने 1920-1930 और 1942 में भूवमेंट चलाये। हमने देखा कि सरकार रिप्रेशन से उनको नहीं दबा सकी। रिप्रेशन से भूवमेंट कुछ दिनों के लिए बन्द हो गया, लेकिन उसके बाद फिर उसमें ताकत आ गई।

यह जरूर है कि उन नौजवानों में कोई भावना है; वे पढ़े-लिखे हैं। जो कोई भी

[श्री विभूति मिश्र]

मूवमेंट होता है, आगे चल कर क्रिमिनल्ज उसमें प्रवेश कर जाते हैं। दादा ने 1942 का मूवमेंट देखा। वह जनता के द्वारा आजादी के लिये चलाया गया मूवमेंट था, लेकिन बाद में उसमें क्रिमिनल्ज भी आ गये और ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के लिए उसको दबाना मुश्किल हो गया।

यह मामला केवल बंगाल का नहीं है। यह आन्दोलन बिहार में—विशेषकर उत्तरी बिहार और दक्षिणी बिहार के मुंगेर जिले में—फैल गया है। लोगों को दिन-दहाड़े मार दिया जाता है। इन भटके हुए नौजवानों को हम क्रिमिनल कहें या कुछ और, लेकिन आखिर वे हमारे ही अपने आदमी हैं। इसलिए उनके सुधार के लिए कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए। पुलिस या मिलिटरी के द्वारा इस समस्या को हल नहीं किया जा सकता है। पुलिस और मिलिटरी से कुछ दिनों के लिए कामयाबी हो सकती है, हमेशा के लिये नहीं। सरकार को गांधी जी के रचनात्मक काम और सेवा का मार्ग अपनाना चाहिए। आखिर वे हमारे ही लड़के, भाई और बन्धु हैं। हमें पता लगाना चाहिए कि वे क्यों ये हिंसात्मक कार्यवाहियाँ कर रहे हैं, क्यों बम और पिस्तौल चला रहे हैं। उन लोगों को समझाने-बुझाने का प्रयत्न किया जाना चाहिए।

सब लोगों ने यह कुबूल किया है कि बंगाल में अशान्ति है, चाहे वह किसी वजह से हो। तो फिर आगे बहस करने की क्या जरूरत है कि किसी ने किसी को मारा है और इसमें किसका दोष है। हमें इसकी दवा सोचनी चाहिए। डाक्टर पहले डायग्नोज करता है और फिर दवा देता है। इसलिए सरकार को पहले इस समस्या का निदान करना चाहिए। प्रधान मंत्री सब काम छोड़कर पांच दस रोज कलकत्ता में रहें। वह चारू माजुमदार से, जेल

में कनु सान्याल और इस मूवमेंट के अन्य प्रामिनेंट आदमियों से भेंट करें। उनको बतावें कि क्या बात है। अगर सरकार के पास यह आंकड़ा हो कि विदेशी शक्ति इसके पीछे है तो यह और भयंकर परिस्थिति होती है। इस भयंकर परिस्थिति का सामना करने के लिये सरकार को कदम उठाना चाहिए। आज यह जो ऐक्ट बन रहा है यह सरकार बनावे और उसके द्वारा कार्य करे, इसमें कोई एतराज नहीं है। लेकिन सरकार को इसके लिए रचनात्मक कदम उठाना चाहिए और रचनात्मक कदम उठा करके इसको हल करना चाहिए। आज 20 वर्षों की स्वाधीनता के बाद हिन्दुस्तान के नवजवान जो हैं, उन नवजवानों के अन्दर फस्ट्रेशन है और उनके अन्दर जो फस्ट्रेशन है उस फस्ट्रेशन के कारण वे यह सारी कार्यवाही करते हैं। इसमें चाहे हमारी सरकार हो या चाहे बंगाल विरोधी लोगों की भी सरकार थी, उन्होंने भी उनके मसले को हल नहीं किया, इसलिये आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि सबको मिल करके काम करना चाहिए और इसका हल निकालना चाहिए। हम आप पर दोष लगाएं, आप हम पर दोष लगाएं इससे मसला हल होने वाला नहीं है। '*(श्ववधान)*' दादा बैठे हुए हैं। दादा बैठे के बैठे रह गये और हिन्दुस्तान का बंटवारा हो गया। यह बीच-बीच में जो बालते हैं, यह भीष्म पितामह का काम कर रहे हैं। मरने मारने की दवा क्यों बता रहे हो दादा, कोई रचनात्मक दवा बताओ कि कैसे इस देश का मसला हल होगा। मेरा यह निवेदन है कि जितना एकोनामिक सुधार की जरूरत हो वह बंगाल में किया जाय। बंगाल का सम्बन्ध सारे देश से है। लेकिन विशेषकर बंगाल, बिहार, उड़ीसा, आसाम और उत्तर प्रदेश, पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश का वह लाइफ लाइन है, इसलिये वहां शांति रहना बहुत जरूरी है।

*SHRI J. H. PATEL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the SSP Party fully supports the Resolution on the Law and Order situation in West Bengal moved by Shri Nath Pai. The situation, at present, is so grave that unless immediate and effective measures are taken to curb the lawlessness, it would spread everywhere thus endangering the security of the country.

These measures can be classified into two, short-term and long term. Measures like Preventive Detention and other enactments aimed at economic and social development fall within the ambit of the former. In the second category, the Government will have to formulate suitable concrete measures which would ensure lasting stability. When advanced countries like U. K. and U. S. A. endeavour to put into practice the high ideals of Gandhiji, it should not be difficult for us to follow those principles provided we are earnest about them.

It is strange that in the land of Gandhiji, on one side we follow the principle of non-violence and on the other we resort to violence which goes unchecked. During the last twenty-three years, Government had resorted to firings on the people on 4,000 occasions as a result of which as many as 15,000 to 20,000 people died. While talking of wide-spread violent Naxalite activities which have spread from West Bengal to Andhra, Kerala and other States, one realises very little that the Government also had indulged in indiscriminate firings on a number of occasions under some pretext or other which had resulted in deaths by thousands. This high-handed action of the Government is quite illegal and improper. It is only to counteract this that Naxalites have raised their ugly heads everywhere. In this connection, it is worth recalling the words of Dr. Lohia who said that people resort to violence when they do not get proper justice.

What we see in West Bengal is only a symptom of a deep malady. This would spread as an epidemic in about four or five years in all parts of the country, unless timely and effective measures are taken.

The solution to this deep discontentment and turmoil lies in the land reform movement.

Unfortunately the Government have given a distorted version to this movement by calling it a "Land Grab Movement." When people agitate and resort to Satyagraha in a peaceful manner, they are arrested, beaten up and imprisoned.

The conditions in West Bengal are very bad which call for radical reforms in the economic and social spheres. In the first instance President's Rule should immediately be withdrawn and there should be popular Government. To say that things have considerably improved after the President's Rule is utterly false.

It is essential to go deep into the Naxalite movement, how it originated and why it raised its ugly head in the country. By way of illustration I might say in this connection that in the case of Malaria, the doctor gives prescription to cure the disease. But this is only a temporary measure. For a permanent cure, it is essential to eradicate the very germs by means of effective insecticides. Likewise the Naxalite activities in the country are the consequences of Congress misrule during the last 23 years. This can be prevented once for all only by improving the economic conditions of the people.

Sir, you might be aware that the Prime Minister, in one of her recent speeches on the Fourth Plan mentioned that the various schemes and projects outlined in the Plan would ultimately improve the economic conditions of the common man and would remove the economic imbalance and social disparity. She became conscious of the common man after 23 years. In other words, wisdom dawned in only recently to improve the lot of the common man. All these years her party was patronising Tatas, Birlas, Singhanias and others. In doing so, it reaped immense benefits.

Violence as such is not confined to India alone. Secondly, the outbreak of violence need not necessarily be motivated by the despairing economic conditions. Advanced countries like U. S. A. and Europe are also in the grip of violence by students and other elements. Reasons for this vary from country to country. In order to counteract this non-violence is the only solution.

*The original speech was delivered in Kannada.

[Shri J. H. Patel]

In our country, the existing economic inequality and the social disparity can be redeemed not by resorting to violence but by non-violent means. For this purpose, we have to educate the people to launch a country-wide agitation pressing for land reforms. Like Mazumdar, there are many land-lords in the States who have resorted to violent activities. Many landless people and petty holders of land are at the mercy of big land-lords whose scant respect and utter disregard for the poor are well-known, and I need not narrate. We should therefore organise the land reform movement in a proper way so that the transformation takes place in the society in a peaceful manner.

In West Bengal after President's Rule, there has been no improvement in the economic conditions. On the contrary things have worsened. The manner in which the Calcutta Corporation functions is a glaring example of mismanagement and misappropriation of public fund. The amount that has been sanctioned for running the corporation is not utilised for genuine purposes. It is diverted to wasteful and infructuous expenditure, which has encouraged the firings that have taken place in West Bengal.

In conclusion, I would like to repeat that I oppose the President's Rule in West Bengal, oppose the Preventive Detention measures which the Government propose to introduce in Parliament and support Shri Nath Pai's Resolution. I urge upon the Government to withdraw President's Rule in West Bengal immediately and set up popular Government.

*SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA (Elura) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this question of lawlessness in West Bengal has been discussed here more than once. But the situation has not shown any signs of improvement. This may be due to the ineffectiveness of the measures that were taken by either the Central Government or by the State Government. The conditions have deteriorated to such an extent that peoples confidence in the measures has been shaken and they are much agitated. When we think of the role of the great freedom fighters from Bengal and compare their role now to the situation prevailing there, I am doubtful whether the

steps taken by the Government so far to bring peace to the people have been effective. I have some taste of the situation. Recently for getting release of steel for a cooperative sugar factory in my State, I had occasion to visit Calcutta. I had met all the concerned officials but even the senior officers have expressed their inability for expediting the release of steel because the Governmental machinery has come to a standstill. The subordinates do not obey the seniors and seniors are helpless. There is so much indiscipline in that way. If we have to catch a plane we have to leave our houses at least 6 hours before the scheduled departure of the aeroplane. Similarly for taking a train one has to leave his place at least 10 hours in advance.

I am reminded of a parable in this connection. There was an old woman who did not admonish her son when he stole vegetables etc. from other People's houses but on the other hand she was happy at his ability to do such things. Subsequently, he started stealing from his own house. Then the woman started feeling the pinch of such thefts. In the same way Communists were encouraged and when they had a foot-hold they exploited poverty, helplessness of the people to suit their own convenience. Their activities were not counteracted in the beginning itself. Now the conditions have deteriorated to such an extent that, like the mother in the parable I have just now narrated, we are feeling frustrated any angry with the Naxalites. They never expected the Naxalites to turn against their own creators. But who are Naxalites? During the short period the United Front Government was in power they had encouraged all kinds of anti-social elements and these very same people have been given political recognition. That is the feeling people have about these Naxalites. But nobody seems to grapple with the reality and formulate worthwhile solutions for these problems.

There is no dedication to service in the minds of the officers. As soon as some press reports appear about the possible retirement or shifting of Governors people come to Delhi to canvass support for their candidature on the

*The Original speech was delivered in Telugu.

basis of their seniority etc. After having created such a situation in the State now it is difficult to find a solution to the problem. There is a persistent demand for the recall of the Governor because some parties doubt his bonafides. When the Police act in defence of law and order they are blamed. On the motion of Shri Ramamurti last week I had no chance to speak but his argument was that because the police were not there the attack took place on the person. This is because they want to bring in politics into every situation and create conditions of utter chaos and lawlessness only to discredit the Government.

No solution to these problems can ever be found without the cooperation of the people in the State. The basic need of the hour is to infuse confidence in the people. When the Government has been reduced to a state of utter helplessness and where the police, who are deployed to maintain law and order, are themselves murdered day in and day out with impunity, how can any confidence be created in the minds of the people? Many of us have plunged into the freedom struggle having been inspired by the heroic deeds of the people of Bengal and Punjab under the dynamic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. When we visited Andaman and Nicobar Islands recently we saw the Central Jail there. The legend enshrined there presented to us a magnificent panorama of the part played by the nationalist leaders of Bengal and Punjab. It is an irony of fate that such a State is now in the throes of turmoil, chaos and lawlessness. It is not only because of the poverty of the people but there is politics behind this situation. In my State also there is some Communist propaganda, they have got slogans like distribution of land to the landless, economic improvement of the town trodden etc. But we sitting here do not even sacrifice a day's daily allowance or a month's salary to help the poor people. Sir, as the proverb goes, charity begins at home. We have to sacrifice first before we ask others to do similarly. People are sufficiently educated now and we will be deluding ourselves if we think that we can get their votes for us by flou- rishing slogans before them. Instead of such personal sacrifice by way of example if you pass some Act for taking away their land or property it is not proper. The world today is

in such a sorry state of affairs because we do not heed the words of Gandhiji. Certain political parties are solely interested in frustrating the implementation of progressive policies of the Government. Let the Communists get elected to Parliament. We have no objection, but if we behave in a narrow-minded bigoted way for our own interests this will not be of any benefit to the people.

You may remove the Governor or reshuffle the administrative machinery there. As a last resort you may bring in even the army for establishing law and order in the State, but whatever you do my submission is, that first and foremost you should create confidence in the public about the security of their life and property. For this purpose whatever stringent measures you adopt will be welcomed.

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI (Basirhat) : I do not feel much honoured in taking part in a debate in which affairs of my State have come in for Scatting condemnation in this august House.

SHRI NATH PAI : Not the State, some bad elements.

SHRI SADAR AMJAD ALI : I was attentively listening to the reports of instances which were being mentioned by my friend Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu. I would not have taken part but I was inspired when I found Shri Bibhuti Mishra's amendment which speaks of growing lawlessness in the State of West Bengal resulting from unemployment, disparity, etc. This inspired me to say something. When I made up my mind to say something, I remembered a wise saying of Shakespeare in Macbeth, one of the most illuminating lines : "Infectious minds to their deaf pillows will discharge their secrets". Here is a moment when at least one Member of the Congress (R) says that the growing lawlessness is resulting from unemployment, disparities in life and other social evils. It is a fact that the growing lawlessness in West Bengal is causing concern all over the country. Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu keeping a good almanac of the police atrocities now committed over the citizens of the State. I do not keep such an account. He depicted only one side of the picture. I only want to remind him of the ghastly deed they committed at Burdwan.

[Shri Sardar Amjad Ali]

I do not know if that fretful day will ever be forgotten by the people of our country when at the sight of a mother three of her darlings were butchered in cold blood by people belonging to the party to which he belongs. I do not know: when Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu shed many tears over the atrocities committed on some individual citizens by the police will also shed some tears over the atrocities they committed at Burdwan.

Sir, the Communist Party (Marxist), in the Burdwan district, in a village called Ethora did another gruesome thing, when a very old teacher was dragged in on to the scene and after that, ruthlessly butchered. I do not know whether the coffin of Marx at that time got a shivered on this atrocity committed by his loyal disciples in the name of common good and thus causing alarm to the common people.

In Malda, just inside the court, a police official was Stabbed. Every day we are witnessing several atrocities committed upon the police people. We in the same breath do condemn the atrocities committed by the police upon the free citizens of our country as we condemn the atrocities committed by any single individual on any other citizen of the country. After all, violence is violence, and we do not make any discrimination between violence committed by an officer and violence committed by any private individual.

What is the state of affairs now prevailing in West Bengal? We find on the one side, growing unemployment. That is gnawing into the hearts of the youngsters of that part of the country. Despite my feelings for the youngsters of that part of the country we must deplore the activities of devastation committed by the young generation to whom I also belong. But, at the same time, it must be considered and it must be judged as to why this sort of devastating activities are being infused upon them. The growing unemployment problem, the agrarian problem, the problem of just development of that part of the country, are in such a high pitch that the young people on that side of the country do not find any future

before them. Naturally, in their youthful exuberance, they go on doing such things which are not congenial for democracy and the democratic norm that is now prevailing in our country. Be it known to all that we do not want to give our assent or consent or tolerance to that sort of activities.

We say—and practically we are doing it—in that part of the country as we feel the necessity for popular conscience to be mobilised against all those sorts of vandalism and hooliganism. We are very often spoken to hear by my communist friends as well that not only stringent legislation would solve the problem but something more has got to be done. What is that something? The prescription of that something is that there should be a political solution. What is that political solution? The scope political solution as they say came on that day when my leader, the ex-Chief Minister, Ajoy Mukherjee, resigned from the United Front Ministry. One political solution was there. My party, the Bengla Congress, got out from the United Front Ministry—only with 33 MLA, and the people who now say that the matter has got to be given a new approach, a new line, at that time, could give a political solution. And that political solution was, to form an alternate Ministry. But they failed there, and thereafter, now, they are prescribing that West Bengal requires a political solution, and the political solution is an immediate poll.

There could be another political solution. That is, the mobilisation of public or popular conscience to resist evil. Every day we find one diagnosis, in the Consultative Committee also, the Communist Party of India and also some other friends—Shri Tridib Kumar Choudhuri belonging to the RSP and some Members from the Forward Bloc,—were saying that only stringent legislation will not do; that giving massive powers to the police activities would not do. All these parties are also clamouring in this House time and again that CRP should be withdrawn. But, Mr. Speaker, when Mr. Jyoti Basu was occupying the chair of the Home Ministry, all these parties in consort said that police has gone to the camp of CPM and for maintaining law and order, they wanted some

arrangement, some force. That force could be either an administrative force or the force of the popular conscience. Popular conscience is always quite clear. People being terror stricken are not coming forward to resist these activities. So, some administrative measure should be there. Therefore, the CRP had to be called in. It became their affairs to look after law and order in some parts of the State. But with their fall the same parties which were very much anxious to restore law and order are now condemning the activities of CRP even.

So, we want another political solution. That is what my party is doing. We believe that it is not enough to have only stringent legislation or give ample powers in the hands of the administration, but simultaneously the people should be mobilised to act. My leader, Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee in such mission, is touring each part of the State, trying to mobilise the popular force to rise, to resist the vandalism now being let loose. It is a matter of regret that not a single other party has joined in our search for this political solution. They are only after criticising the Government of India about the restoration of the P. D. Act. We know and believe in our heart of hearts that P. D. Act is never a democratic method. But in some parts of the country when circumstances arise where the administration cannot work; the police cannot work according to law and even the legal set-up is going to be broken. In that event, some sort of stringent action has to be taken. That circumstance has arisen in West Bengal and that why we find the justification for restoration of the P. D. Act. We believe this would give a strong hand to the administration to curb lawlessness, activities of the Naxalites and evil elements.

Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu of C. P. M. was very critical in saying that police is committing atrocities on the free citizens. We deplore it in clear terms, but is Mr. Basu aware that the police men are not foreign elements in our country. They are also our brothers, of the same flesh and blood as we have. They also have to feed their children. To maintain their families, they have to take up a particular avocation in which they have to do some acts which may not be liked by the party of Mr. Basu. So Shri Jyotirmoy Basu could also have said that by now about 700 police officers and

constables have been attacked, assaulted, manhandled and 37 of them have in the mean time been stabbed to death. This is also another side of the picture.

Mr. Speaker, we had an expectation, when my leader, Ajoy Mukherjee left the United Front, that at least some sort of administration would come up in the State of West Bengal to restore law and order. President's rule was there but we observe that even during the President's rule atrocities are being frequently committed by the goonda elements. Those who do not believe in socialism and democracy, those who do not believe in the democratic norms are gaining upper hand. There is no gainsaying of the fact that it is due to the causes which have been culminated over there for 23 years. I, therefore, Mr. Speaker, appeal to the Government of India, whenever you are going to take some stringent measures and give a very long rope to the administration, you also think of some welfare measures for the country; then and then only you can solve the problem of that part of our country.

श्री कमलनयन बजाज (वर्धा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जो प्रस्ताव श्री नाथ पाई ने रक्खा है उस पर चर्चा करके इस सदन ने देश की वास्तविक स्थिति की ओर ध्यान खींचा है। इसके लिये मैं उन्हें बधाई देता हूँ।

यह बड़ी दुःखद बात है कि इस तरह के प्रस्ताव पर देश के सामने हमको चर्चा करनी पड़ती है। आज पश्चिम बंगाल में जान-माल की और हमारी मां बहनों की इज्जत की कोई सुरक्षा नहीं है। राष्ट्रपति शासन के बाद कुछ आत्म विश्वास बढ़ा या, लोगों को ऐसा भरोसा हुआ था कि शायद अब अराजकता खत्म होगी, शांति स्थापित हो जायेगी। लेकिन दिनों-दिन वहां पर अराजकता बढ़ती जा रही है।

पश्चिमी बंगाल की समस्या वहीं तक सीमित नहीं है। दूसरी जगहों में भी आग लग गई है। आज विदर्भ के चांदा नामक स्थान पर भी बम बनाये जा रहे हैं और हजारों की तादाद में रुपये दो रुपये में वहां मिल

[श्री कमल नयन बजाज]

सकते हैं। बिहार में मिनते हैं, उड़ीसा में मिलते हैं। आज अगर बंगाल में चार-पांच हजार रसगुल्ले लेने पड़ें तो शायद न मिलें, लेकिन अगर हम बम लेना चाहें तो जमा कर सकते हैं। इस तरह की परिस्थिति हो गई है। वहां पर कानून का राज्य रहा नहीं है। पुलिस को भी वहां पर सुरक्षा देनी पड़ती है। वे भी इतनी आजादी से नहीं रह सकते कि अपने कर्तव्य को पूरी तरह निभा सकें। आज ट्रैफिक पुलिस का आदमी भी अकेला खड़ा नहीं रह पाता। उसको अपने इर्द गिर्द पांच-सात दूसरे पुलिस वालों को बचाव के लिए रखना पड़ता है।

आज वहां कई पक्षों ने गवर्नर साहब को हटाने के बारे में कहा है। वे कहते हैं कि गवर्नर कम्युनिस्ट हैं और उन्हें हटा देना चाहिए। गवर्नर खुद कहते हैं कि वे कम्युनिस्ट नहीं हैं। चाहे जो कुछ हो लेकिन यह बात स्पष्ट है कि जो अराजकता वहां फैल रही है उसको वह काबू में नहीं ला सके। इसके पहले भी वहां पर एक दफे राष्ट्रपति शासन हो चुका था जब वहां अशान्ति फैल चुकी थी, और उस समय वहां के गवर्नर श्री घमवीर ने जितनी जल्दी और जिस तरह से कोशिश की उससे वहां पर जो अराजकता का वातावरण था उस पर उन्होंने काबू पा लिया था वह हम सबके ख्याल में है। उससे वहां पर एक दम शांति स्थापित हो गई थी। आज वहां पर गांधी जी, जवाहरलाल नेहरू, टैगोर, सुभाषचन्द्र बोस और जो दूसरे हमारे महान नेता हैं उनके चित्रों को जलाया जाता है, उनको फाड़ दिया जाता है। उनकी मूर्तियों को तोड़ा जाता है और वहां पर माओ के और चीनी नेताओं के, जो हमारे शत्रु हैं, फोटो लगाये जाते हैं, रास्तों पर, पाकों पर खुले आम लगा दिये जाते हैं। यह सब कार्रवाई होती है और वहां की जनता बेचारी इतना आक्रमणकारी वातावरण होने की वजह से कुछ कर नहीं पाती।

कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों ने कहा है कि पुलिस अत्याचार कर रही है। हो सकता है कहीं पर पुलिस ने अत्याचार किया हो। वहां पहले जो गृह मंत्री थे उन्होंने कम्युनिस्टों तथा दूसरे लोगों को पुलिस में भर्ती किया था। पुलिस के अत्याचार होते होंगे, मैं इन्कार नहीं करता। लेकिन सारी परिस्थिति को यदि काबू में लाना है तो उसकी जिम्मेदारी राष्ट्रपति और गवर्नर पर है। वे यदि काबू में नहीं ला सकते हैं तो हमको वहां मार्शल ला लागू करना चाहिये, मिलिट्री रूल भी करना पड़े तो वह भी करना चाहिए। जो कुछ भी करने की आवश्यकता है, हमको करना चाहिए। इस पर गम्भीरता से सोचने की जरूरत है। हमको हर हालत में जनता के माल की, उसकी जान की, मां बहनों की इज्जत की रक्षा करनी होगी, उनका सुरक्षा प्रदान करना होगा। हम कानून बनाने वाले हैं, जनता के ऊपर कानून लगाने वाले हैं। अगर हम इसकी व्यवस्था नहीं कर सकते हैं तो हमको कर लगाने का जनता से पैसा वसूल करने का कोई नैतिक अधिकार नहीं रह जायेगा। हमको जनता को भरोसा दिलाना होगा, उसकी जिन्दगी को सुरक्षित करना होगा, मां बहनों की इज्जत को सुरक्षित करना होगा। लेकिन जब वहां हम अराजकता और अव्यवस्था की स्थिति देखते हैं तो हमको दुख होता है। ऐसी स्थिति जब वहां है, तभी हमको यह प्रस्ताव यहां लाना पड़ा है और इसका समर्थन करना पड़ा है।

यह जो अराजकता और अशांति भी आग है यह आगे ही बढ़ती जा रही है। यह कहा गया है कि बिड़ला को सब फैक्ट्रियां बन्द है। हमें दुःख है कि हजारों लाखों मजदूर इस कारण से वहां बेकार हो चुके हैं। लेकिन इसका कारण क्या है? कारण वहां फैली हुई अव्यवस्था है। जो मैंने जमेट है, जो कारखानों को चलाने वाले मैनजर हैं, उनके मालिक हैं, उनका घेराव किया जाय, उनको कंट्रोल कर

दिया जाए, हिंसा की जाए, तो अपनी जान को जोखिम में डाल कर वे कारखानों को किस तरह से चालू रख सकते हैं। कारखाने चालू रखने के लिये शान्ति का वातावरण होना चाहिए, लोगों को भरोसा होना चाहिये कि उनकी जान और माल सुरक्षित है।

इसी तरह का एक किस्सा बम्बई में भी हुआ है। कारोना शु फ़ैक्ट्री में जो मजदूरों की यूनियन है, उसके कम्युनिस्ट नेताओं ने वहां जाकर कर्मचारियों और मैनेजर को घेरा, उनको इतना मारा कि मैनेजर तो बेचारा मर गया, और बाकी के सब लोग अस्पताल में हैं और उस पर भी यह जबर्दस्ती की जा रही है कि वे अपने कारखाने को चलाएं। कारखाना अभी तक बन्द है। वातावरण शान्ति का वहां पर अभी भी नहीं हो पा रहा है। जब इस तरह का अशान्त वातावरण हो, हिंसा का वातावरण हो और यह फीलता ही चला जाय तो जिम्मेदारी किस पर है? सरकार पर ही तो है, इमको कैसे भूला जा सकता है। अगर हम शान्ति स्थापित नहीं करेंगे तो इसका परिणाम घातक होगा और देश को और ज्यादा खतरों का सामना करना पड़ेगा। दूसरी जगहों पर भी धीरे-धीरे नक्सलाइट बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। मैं मानता हूं कि नक्सलाइट तो दस बीस फीसदी ही हैं। लेकिन उनके साथ मिल कर गुंडे और बदमाश भी आक्रमण और अत्याचार करना शुरू कर देते हैं। वे भी उस स्थिति का नाजायज फायदा उठाते हैं। यह जो खेल है यह रोज़ाना पश्चिम बंगाल में खेला जा रहा है। वहां पर बदमाश और गुंडे लोग रोज़ पैसा वसूल करते हैं। वे जाकर कहते हैं कि आप इतना पैसा दो, रुपया या दो रुपया देने की हर दरवाजे से मांग करते हैं और वसूल करते हैं और जो नहीं देता है उनको नुकसान पहुंचाया जाता है। इस सबको देखते हुए जरूरत इस बात की है कि सस्ती से काम लिया जाये और शान्ति स्थापित की जाये और उसके वास्ते यदि पी० डी० एक्ट की जरूरत भी हो तो वह भी

बनाया जाये। हम उसके खिलाफ हैं लेकिन फिर भी यदि सरकार को उस अधिकार की आवश्यकता हो तो चाहे हमें इस अधिकार को उसे देते हुए दुख ही क्यों न होना हो, हम उसको यह अधिकार देने के लिये तैयार हैं। लेकिन उसका ये लोग मिसयूज न करें। हम नहीं चाहते हैं कि सरकार को यह कहने का मौका मिले कि हमें यह अधिकार नहीं दिया गया इस वास्ते हम शान्ति स्थापित नहीं कर पाये। यह अधिकार लेकर कम से कम ये शान्ति स्थापित तो करें। सरकार आश्वासन दे सदन को तथा जनता को कि यदि हमको पी० डी० एक्ट दिया गया तो हम अशान्ति को शान्ति में परिवर्तित न कर सके तो हम सरकार छोड़ देंगे। यदि सरकार इस तरह का आश्वासन दे सकती हो और इस प्रयत्न में सफल होकर बता सकती हो तो मैं मानूंगा कि हमने अपने कर्तव्य का निर्वाह किया है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, सरकार के ऊपर हमारी तरफ से ही नहीं बल्कि अपनी तरफ से भी आप दबाव डालिये कि वह एक समय निर्धारित करके और बता दे कि इतने समय के अन्दर वह शान्ति स्थापित कर देगी। आज होता क्या है। सड़कों के अन्दर लोगों की गर्दन काट कर लटका दी जाती है। केरल में एक ऐसा किस्सा हुआ। दूसरी जगह भी यह किस्से हो रहे हैं। इस तरह के दृश्यों को देख कर या सुन कर रोंगटे खड़े हो जाते हैं। लेकिन हम कुछ कर नहीं सकते हैं। यह सारी स्थिति देश के लिये लज्जाजनक है। दुनिया में हम जाते हैं, तो हमें वहां पर जो कुछ सुनने को मिलता है और विदेशी लोग जब वहां आते हैं और आकर हम से बात करते हैं और इस तरह को चीजों का जिक्र करते हैं तो हमारा सिर शर्म से जमीन में गढ़ जाता है। मैं चाहता हूं कि सरकार जल्दी से शान्ति स्थापित करे। उसके लिये सरकार को जो अधिकार चाहिये उन अधिकारों को वह ले लेकिन यह घोषणा भी साथ-साथ करे कि इस निर्धारित अवधि में वह शान्ति

[श्री कमलनयन बजाज]

स्थापित नहीं कर सकी तो सरकार में नहीं रहेगी।

MR. SPEAKER: The decision was to finish the debate at 5.30 and it is already going to be 5.55. I think all the lists are exhausted except that out of the long list of the Congress Party, so many have already spoken. They have taken their time. Even the Minister's time is very short. I wish it is concluded to-day. Will the hon. Minister be able to reply now?

श्री रघुबीर सिंह शास्त्री (बागपत) : हम लोगों को समय नहीं मिला। सब पार्टीज को मिला हमारी पार्टी को नहीं दिया गया। और लोग पंद्रह पंद्रह मिनट ले गये। हमको चार पांच मिनट भी नहीं मिल सकते हैं ?

SHRI NATH PAI: Mr. Speaker, the debate will be concluded to-day and we can sit a little longer. We sat yesterday till 8.15. My submission is that the debate should not be spread over months. Let us sit a little longer and finish it to-day. Then, there is my right to reply to the debate.

श्री कमल नयन बजाज : कम से कम मंत्री महोदय को पूरा समय दिया जाए। ऐसा न हो कि वह कहें कि मुझे पूरा समय नहीं मिला इसलिये मैं पूरा उत्तर नहीं दे सका हूँ।

MR. SPEAKER: Order, Order. I think none is satisfied with anything. More time was given. Again more time was given and Mr. Nath Pai knows it. Now they are demanding to go on and on. The Swatantra Party has five minutes left. If they want, they can exhaust that time.

SHRI NATH PAI: May I make a submission, Sir? You were not present then. The time was not extended at our request. The Government brought a motion to extend the time. There was reason for it. I submit to you that we may conclude the debate to-day. Then there is my right to reply.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: Sir, my Party has 22 minutes.

MR. SPEAKER: If my eyes do not fail me, your Party has only five minutes more. But before that, I am going to call this side.

I will accommodate one or two members from each side for about 5 minutes.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA (Kaliabor): Where is the urgency, Sir? I suggest this debate may be postponed till the next day.

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : आज ही इसको खत्म किया जाये। और प्राइवेट मेंबरज रेजोल्यूशंस के लिये दरवाजा बन्द हो गया है। हम थोड़ा और समय बैठ सकते हैं। इस पर आज चर्चा समाप्त होनी चाहिए।

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: You may give five minutes each to the remaining speakers.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीबाई (मिडक) : छः बजे के बाद जब आप हमें छुट्टा देते हैं तो हमें बस, टैक्सी आदि कुछ नहीं मिलता है। हमें पैदल चलना पड़ता है। मेहरबानी करके छः बजे हमें छोड़ दिया करें।

MR. SPEAKER: My transport is at your disposal.

SHRI NATH PAI: Here is our gallant Speaker.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I want to make a submission. I can understand the anxiety of the House. I can understand the anxiety of those whose Resolutions are to come up. I can understand the anxiety of those who want this Resolution to be concluded today. But I want to say this; Only earlier this week, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri's Resolution was also discussed. And, it covered the same area. If the House desires to have additional information then it will be better to postpone it. If they want the same reply to be repeated then we can have it today.

MR. SPEAKER: There has been enough discussion on this. There are so many other matters pending.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak) : In deference to your wishes, I withdraw.

MR. SPEAKER : It is so good of you. Shri Raghbir Singh Shastri.

श्री रघुवीर सिंह शास्त्री : अध्यक्ष महोदय बंगाल में वर्षों से सुसंगठित और सुनियोजित मारकाट, लूट मार और आगजनी चल रही है, लेकिन यह बड़े खेद की बात है कि आज तक हम यह भी नहीं पता लगा पाए कि कहां से ये लाखों गोले-गोलियां और अन्य घातक समान लाया जाता है, उसके लिये पैसा कहां से आता है, ये संगठन कहां बैठ कर अपनी योजनायें बनाते हैं और कहां अपनी गतिविधियों के लिये प्रशिक्षण पाते हैं।

कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है कि बंगाल की अराजकता बिहार में भी फैल रही है। मैं इससे आगे जाकर कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर बिहार का यह हाल हो रहा है और यू० पी० में भी यही स्थिति पैदा होने वाली है, तो फिर बंगाल के आस-पास मणिपुर, त्रिपुरा, मेघालय, नागालैंड और आसाम जैसे छोटे-छोटे जो पांच राज्य हैं, उनका क्या होगा।

कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि इन घटनाओं के पीछे आर्थिक कारण हैं। मैं यह बात समझ सकता हूँ। लेकिन मेरे विचार में आर्थिक से अधिक इसके राजनैतिक कारण हैं। बंगाल में जो आर्थिक स्थिति है, वह कमी-वेश देश के दूसरे राज्यों में भी है। अगर आर्थिक स्थिति, बेरोजगारी, भूमि समस्या और कारखानों के मालिकों के व्यवहार आदि के कारण यह मारकाट होती हो, तो और जगह भी तो ये परिस्थितियाँ हैं। इसलिये इन घटनाओं का मुख्य कारण राजनैतिक है। जो लोग वर्तमान अराजकता के पीछे आर्थिक कारण बताते हैं, मैं उनसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि महात्मा गांधी, रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर, ईश्वरचन्द्र विद्यासागर और चित्तरंजन दास किस बुरी आर्थिक नीति के प्रतीक हैं, जो उनके चित्र फाड़े जा रहे हैं

और मूर्तियाँ खंडित की जा रही हैं। और उनके स्थान पर जिन लोगों के चित्र लगाये जा रहे हैं, वे कौन सी अच्छी आर्थिक नीति के प्रतीक हैं? वे लोग जनता के सामने जरा खुल कर यह बात बतायें।

मुझे तो प्रतीत होता है—और शंका हो रही है—कि इस प्रकार सारे पूर्वी उत्तर भारत में वियतनाम जैसे हालात पैदा करने का यत्न किया जा रहा है। क्या यहां पर हम लोग, हमारी सरकार और हमारी जनता इस प्रतीक्षा में बैठे हैं कि किस दिन उस क्षेत्र में वियतनाम की तरह एक पैरलल सरकार, एक पैरलल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और एक पैरलल मिलिटरी बनेगी, जो खड़े होकर कहेगी कि हम बंगाल के मालिक हैं, बंगाल में हमारा शासन होना चाहिये और हम यहां के लोगों की शोषण से मुक्ति कराने आये हैं? क्या वे इस प्रतीक्षा में बैठे हैं कि वियतनाम जैसे हालात वहां पैदा हो जायें?

आज कहा गया कि वहां की स्थिति से निपटने के लिये कुछ कानून लाये जा रहे हैं। पहली दफा यह बात सुन कर मुझे बड़ी खुशो हुई। लेकिन कानून बना कर ही समस्या का हल नहीं किया जा सकता है। कानून बनाने के साथ कानून को लागू करने के लिये संकल्प और साहस की भी जरूरत है। जब तक प्रशासकों में वह संकल्प और साहस नहीं होगा, तब तक कानून से काम नहीं चल सकता है।

18 hrs.

बंगाल में आज जो गवर्नर बैठे हैं, जिस दिन से उनकी जन्म-पत्नी खुली है, जब से उनका एपायंटमेंट हुआ है, उस दिन से वहां के लोग उनको वापिस बुलाने को मांग कर रहे हैं। पोलिटिकल पार्टियां भी कह रही हैं कि क्यों नहीं उनको बदला जा रहा है। हो सकता है कि इसमें सरकार का कुछ मजबूरियाँ हैं। लेकिन सरकार को मजबूरियों को जनता और

[श्री रघुवीर सिंह शास्त्री]

पोलीटिकल पार्टियां उसकी कमजोरी समझती हैं। समाचार-पत्रों में यहां तक आया है कि गवर्नर के साथ जो सलाहकार काम कर रहे हैं, उन्होंने भी भारत सरकार को लिखा है कि इस गवर्नर के साथ हम काम नहीं कर सकते। जनता पोलीटिकल पार्टियां और उनके सलाहकार तक उनको बदलने की बात कहते हैं, लेकिन फिर भी सरकार कहती है कि ऐसे ही चलेगा। अगर ऐसे ही चलेगा, तो फिर ऐसे ही चलता रहेगा। देखिये कि आगे आगे क्या हांता है।

बार बार कहा जाता है कि बंगाल में चुनाव कराये जायें और वहां की सरकार बनाई जायें। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब वहां सरकार थी इतनी पार्टियों की सरकार थी, क्या तब आगजनों, लूटमार आदि सब कुछ नहीं होता था। तब भी होता था, बल्कि कहना चाहिये कि उस समय जो सरकार बनी हुई थी, वह उस स्थिति के लिये जिम्मेदार थी, वह उसका कारण थी, उसने उन गतिविधियों को बढ़ावा दिया। इसलिये मैं नहीं समझता कि बंगाल में चुनाव करके स्थिति में सुधार किया जा सकता है। पहले बंगाल में शान्ति और व्यवस्था स्थापित हो जाये और तब सरकार बंगाल में चुनाव कराये। अगर इस वींगा-मुश्ती, लूटमार में चुनाव होगा, तो जनता के प्रतिनिधियों के नाम पर ऐसे लोग आयेंगे, जो छातो तान कर कहेंगे कि हम जनता के प्रतिनिधि हैं, आप हमको टोकने वाले कौन हैं। इसलिये सरकार बंगाल में चुनाव तब कराये, जब पहले वहां शान्ति और व्यवस्था कायम हो जाये और उन लोगों को सुरक्षा का आश्वासन मिल सके।

कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि अगर बंगाल के लिये ये कानून बनाये जायेंगे, तो पुलिस लोगों को शूट करेगी। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि लोगों को शूट करने के लिये कानून नहीं बनाये जायेंगे, बल्कि जिनको शूट किया जा

रहा है, छर्रे और गोलियां मारी जा रही हैं, उनकी रक्षा के लिये कानून बनाये जा रहे हैं। जो लोग इस प्रकार की बातें कहते हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि आज जो हत्याएँ हो रही हैं, गोलियां चल रही हैं, छुरेबाजी हो रही है, उसके पीछे जो व्यक्ति या संगठन हैं, वे उनको अभयदान और वरदान देना चाहते हैं।

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO (Dhenkanal): I thank my hon. friend Shri Nath Pai for moving this resolution. I hope it would have created additional awareness on the part of Government, which has been lacking from it so far, of the burning problems which are there in West Bengal.

Since the last four general elections, we have seen the spectacle of two UF Governments after prolonged Congress misrule for twenty years. Now, we are seeing President's rule, that is, the Congress Party back in Bengal through the back-door and ruling there through its bureaucrats and the Governor.

So, let us ponder over the developments which have taken place so far and which have led to the sordid things that are happening in Bengal at the moment. Though the Congress had been in power for a long time, the Congress Party had failed to solve any of the problems like industrialisation, employment, agriculture, rehabilitation, the development of Calcutta, land reforms and distribution of land to the landless, which gave rise to the so-called peasant uprising in Naxalbari in that strategic area, which has now taken an international form. Subversive elements who had extra-territorial loyalties, who were anti-national and who had foreign inspired ideas and ideals, and who were given a pat in the back here in this very House by the leaders of the CPI and the CPM and told that they were doing a great job, those very elements have now started singing certain slogans in Calcutta in Bengali which run thus:

*"Jadio Bhoole Baapor Naam Bhoolbo
Nako Viet Nam"*

which means Although I may forget my own

father's name, I can never forget Viet Nam and the Mao ideals that go along with it.

Now, we see the spectacle every day, and we read and hear from the newspapers and the radio about bomb attacks on the police, policemen and police officers being dragged out of their houses and hacked to pieces, bombs thrown at military vans, murders, rape, arson, robbery, loot and then firings by the police in retaliation sometimes. All these things could have been nipped in the bud if in 1967 when the Naxalite movement first started, the suggestion made by our party which had advocated a very strong and stringent measure to ban these extremist elements had been put into effect. But this Government fell into the trap and started treating them in a respectable manner and treated them as political elements. To make matters worse, Government added fuel to fire by sending a Governor who was a fellow-traveller, who had no knowledge of administration and who was partisan in his own attitude towards some of the elements which comprised the UF there. Then they had the committed bureaucracy which had no co-ordination, no communication between themselves. Now the administration is at a standstill in Bengal, in Calcutta or any where else in the State, wherever you go.

Then comes the police which is the main target of attack from various elements. Any one in uniform is a very tempting target for a bomb, a cracker, a knife, hatchet or any thing handy.

Who is responsible for this state of affairs? It is the ruling party which during the freedom struggle taught people how to kill British policemen. This has boomeranged. Now Indian are killing Indian policemen. Violence breeds violence. We have always said that the means should justify the end and not *vice versa*. But that principle has been discarded.

Now we come to the sorry spectacle of policemen who are supposed to be the guardians of law and order themselves being the target of attacks. You can well imagine what sort of confidence they can inspire in the people of Bengal, what sort of protection they can give them when such extremist elements start going on the rampage.

Intolerance of group behaviour has become the most unwholesome feature of political life in the State at the moment. Again, who is responsible? This very Congress Party. When it was in power, it considered it its monopoly to break up Opposition party meetings beating up Opposition leaders. In my State also, they had one very respectable leader from Sambhalpur murdered in a train. Now it is boomeranging.

When the UF Government was in power a reign of terror was let loose. Now it is boomeranging back on them. We see the strange spectacle of CPM (M) pleading here that their leaders and workers are subjected to the same third degree method and annihilation as they were doing to their political opponents. If it was the object of these elements to terrorise and demoralise the people of Bengal; they have succeeded to a large extent in this. But what is the Government doing except to indulge in wishful thinking and pious hopes that everything will be all right. Where these unlawful elements should have been banned, they have been given under credence and respectability by treating them as political opponents. Rowdies who were nurtured by the Congress in West Bengal to keep themselves in power have now switched their loyalty. Here is a statement by the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, Shri Ranjit Gupta. He says that a recent survey has shown that there has been a shift in the allegiance of anti-social elements which today form a strong part of the CPI(M-L). We see these elements ransacking educational institutions libraries, desecrating statues of national and State leaders while Government sit tight doing nothing. All they want to do is to promulgate legislative measures which will never face the glare of parliamentary criticism.

Going back to 1967 when the UF Government came to power, after the great disillusionment with the Congress rule, there was a faint ray of hope they would be able to do something good to the people. But when extremist elements of the UF perpetrated a reign of terror and started their gheraos, terrorisation and intimidation, the people of Bengal got disillusioned with them also.

Now with growing tension and lawlessness

[Shri K. P. Singh Deo]

industry having started moving out of the State, which has become the order of the day in Bengal, 160 industrial units have closed down ; 23,000 people have been thrown out.

In a recent article in *The Statesman*, it has come out that although there are 550,000 job-seekers, only 26,000 have been absorbed in three years, that is, only 4 per cent have got jobs. All this has added up to frustration and instability. Wherever there is economic instability, political and social instability are bound to follow. It is a vicious circle. It is high time when we have President's rule that instead of letting things in the State go haywire, from bad to worse, Government had a rethinking in their attitude, not took everything in its political aspect only but also thought about the economic aspect, the employment aspect and so on, so that this vicious circle is got over and the cancerous growth of violence and extremist influence, which is fast spreading to the neighbouring States, is nipped in the bud. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. I fully and wholeheartedly on behalf of my party support Mr. Nath Pai.

MR. SPEAKER : Shrimati Ila Palchoudhury has written to me.

The word used by Mr. Indrajit Gupta with reference to her, during his speech earlier today, is not parliamentary. I have expunged it.

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) : We have discussed this matter of law and order particularly in relation to West Bengal on a number of occasions and, as I submitted earlier, only a few days ago we discussed the same matter on a motion by Shri Prakash Vir Shastri. The ground that has been covered in this debate is almost the same and there is not very much new that I also can add to what I have said earlier except for one development which I will mention later. But it is my duty to meet some of the points which have been raised in the House

and to try to give a connected picture of the situation in West Bengal.

My objection to Shri Nath Pai's resolution is not in its intention. I recognise that the intention is to focus attention on a problem of national importance, but I feel that he overstates the case. He talks of no improvement in the situation. I will show later on that there has been improvement in the situation, though the situation continues to cause all of us concern and with good reason. Then his resolution says "widespread unchecked violent activities throughout the State". I think it is not correct to say that they are unchecked, and in fact if one had listened to the debate, one would have found a few hon. Members objecting strenuously to the steps being taken by Government to check these. Therefore, some people say that the Government is taking no action, some people say that the Government is over-active. At any rate Government is taking steps and I shall indicate what steps Government is taking. Shri Nath Pai is a fair-minded person and I have every reason to believe that he will be fair-minded on this occasion. He will see that we are trying to take many steps to check violent activities in West Bengal.

It is not a simple situation, it is not a simple problem, it is a complex problem. My hon. friend Shri Indrajit Gupta is not here. He took objection to the fact that Government is adopting a multi-pronged approach to the problems of West Bengal, the law and order approach as well as the developmental approach. I do not know why he objects to this that it is a package approach. There has to be a law and order approach and due consideration has also to be given to the long-range fundamental problems of West Bengal. It is inevitable that there should be a multi-pronged approach to this problem.

My hon. friend Shri Bajaj wanted a time-limit to be set. When we are dealing with such complex situations, I do not think that merely setting a time-limit will solve the problem has to be solved on the ground.

MR. SPEAKER : If Members are tired, they can go into the the Lobby and relax. All the talk is coming to me through the mike.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : Why are you people sitting in the front, those who do not even deserve that Government? Take your own seat....(Interruptions) Your own Ministers are speaking, and you do not even feel ashamed? In this House we have got to behave properly.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF STEEL AND HEAVY ENGINEERING (SHRI MOHD. SHAFI QURESHI) : It is a very cheap jibe.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : Can he reprimand these persons across the Table like this when you are presiding? Are you a helpless spectator? For lack of one decorum we cannot tolerate lack of another decorum....(Interruptions) He should also behave.

MR. SPEAKER : There was no need for him to intervene after I had made my observations.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : On a point of order. Is it open to him to rebuke them or reprimand him or is it open to the Chair to reprimand or to allow that reprimand? I want your ruling.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह जो बातचीत हो रही थी, उसकी वजह से माइक पर आवाज आती थी और जिन्होंने हेड-फोन लगा रखा था, उनको कुछ भी सुनाई नहीं देता था, जिन्होंने नहीं लगा रखा था, उनको भी नहीं सुनाई दे रहा होगा। इसी लिये मैंने कहा कि अगर आप थोड़ा सा थक गये हैं, तो लीबी में चले जाइये और बात कर आइये। प्रोफेसर रंगा साहब को थोड़ा सा ज्यादा गुस्सा आ गया। जब मैंने कह दिया था, तो उनको कहने की क्या जरूरत थी। मुबह से बैठे हुए हैं, मैंने सोचा कि आप लोगों की शक्ति कम हो गई होगी, इसी लिये ऐसा कहा था।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : रंगा जी का गुस्सा बड़ा सात्विक है।

SHRI K. C. PANT : As I was saying, the main point is whether the Government has determination to meet the situation. That is the central point of this debate. But if the Government is taking steps to meet the situation, then I think the House should support the Government in the steps it takes. That the Government is determined to meet the situation should be obvious by now and the very criticism that the Government has to face today is partly on account of the steps it has taken to meet the situation. It has become obvious during the debate also that in the last few months many steps were taken. As Naxalite activities changed their character, in accordance with that the police also try to change their tactics to meet the new situation that arises in terms of training to their personnel, strengthening and streamlining of the intelligence machinery and so on. Various steps have been taken to meet the new situation as they arose.

Just now, the most striking features of the violent activities of the Naxalites and other similar groups in the recent weeks have been the concentration of their fury on a selected target. These targets they call "class enemies," and they include among this, policemen, other Government servants, political rivals and selected landlords and businessmen.

This is one feature that has emerged in the recent weeks. (Interruption)

श्री कमलनयन बजाज : उनकी नामावली की लिस्ट भी प्रकाशित हुई है और आपके पास पहुंच गई है, जिनको वे एनिहिलेट करना चाहते हैं।

श्री शशि भूषण : (खारगोन) : ये शिव सेना को फाइनेन्स करते हैं और यहाँ ऐसी बात करते हैं।

डा० सुशीला नैयर (झांसी) : ये नक्स-लाइट को सपोर्ट करते हैं—यह इस बात का जबाब है।

SHRI K. C. PANT : Now, the second noteworthy feature is that a large number of anti-social elements who have their own axe to grind in this situation of lawlessness, have

[Shri K. C. Pant]

joined the Naxalite bandwagon. That is the second feature of the situation. The third aspect of the situation is that the violent clashes between the Naxalites and other political groups are continuing. Who is suffering the most depends on who are their closest rivals. I shall leave it to the house to judge who is complaining most about Naxalite attack on them.

The fourth aspect is—which the House should note the manner in which the Naxalites carry out these attacks. The attacks are very cowardly. They are invariably cowardly. They do not face men individually in single combat. They try to surprise their victims and they choose their victims in such a manner that resistance to their attack is minimum. For example, a policeman returns from his bath and he is attacked and stabbed. Sometimes, he goes to a bazar for buying some medicine for his family, and is coming home ; he is attacked. Attacks of this kind, as I said, are very, very cowardly. We have taken various steps to strengthen the police morale and to see that they can meet this kind of changed pattern of attack which has emerged in the last few weeks.

This is the contemporary situation there, but I agree with many hon. friends who spoke, that many of the tensions are longstanding tensions, and the background to this problem is certainly not the simple background of law and order. But the situation, however complex it may be, show us the immediate need to tackle what is happening and they are which I have just outlined.

But in this respect, it is also necessary to give a sense of security to the police there and that also we are trying to do, and if the house extends its support to the forces of law and order there, that would itself strengthen the very morale, and I hope the House will do that.

I need not dwell on the history of this particular movement how it emerged and how it gained strength after the UF Government came into power in West Bengal. This has come up a number of times in the House, and today, in his maiden speech, Shri George made the point very tellingly as to how the

Naxalite movement was an offshoot of the Marxist party at a certain point of time. But it is worth repeating that during the UF regime, certainly a situation was created in West Bengal in which many persons who were convicted of violent activities were let free. A large number of cases, over a thousand, I think, including cases under the Indian Explosive Act, were withdrawn, and the police was made almost ineffective. The administrative machinery was almost systematically and deliberately eroded. These were the things that happened and the House is aware of these things.

Against this background, the impact of all these things on the Naxalite movement was that the leaders of that movement who have been arrested were in jail, which fact had practically brought the whole movement to a dead stop in 1968. After they were released, and they were released under these conditions in West Bengal, they were reorganised, regrouped, reformed, and collected arms and ammunition, and in a way this was responsible for the organised manner in which they were able to function over since. This is a basic fact, which I am afraid one has to recognise. The matter was made worse because during the UF Government, there was an attempt on the part of some parties, not all—I need not name them—to assert their superiority through force and intimidation. They had no compunction in resorting to extra legal methods, even where legal methods would have served the purpose. For instance, instead of distributing land through the normal process, some party-men were asked to go and grab the land. There is one party in West Bengal which is more responsible for these things. I will not name it because all of us know it. The situation in West Bengal was such that the Chief Minister himself had to describe it as barbarous and uncivilised. Let us not talk of votes, Mr. Bajaj; do not forget Kerala.

श्री कमल नयन बजाज : वहाँ पर हमको
वोट्स कम नहीं मिले हैं ।

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र पन्त : आपको उसके
बावजूद...

श्री कमल नयन बजाज : आपको सीट्स मिली लेकिन हमको वोट्स कम नहीं मिले हैं ।

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र पन्त : आपको उसके बावजूद कम मिले हैं ।

He should read the writing on the wall. He will get the votes and we will get the seats.

I had mentioned earlier to Mr. Nath Pai that it is not correct to say that there has been no improvement in the situation. In the three months after President's Rule, the situation has improved all round. Thereafter; the situation started deteriorating. In July, various incidents reached a certain peak. After that, they declined to a certain extent. Several steps have been taken to reactivate the administration which had stepped functioning normally at that particular point of time. You must remember the adverse conditions under which President's Rule came into being there to appreciate the problems the administration had to face. The state of terror which prevailed had to be brought under control. Cinema-houses, restaurants and shops were deserted after dusk. Today it is not so. People are in a position to pursue their normal avocations. People move about freely at night. That sense of fear and terror which was there previously is no longer there. Is this not a definite improvement? There is violence, of course and I have already mentioned the areas of violence. But to the common man walking in the street, that terror has gone or is much less. This is a fact of life.

Secondly, there were two important festivals during this period—Diwali and Durga Puja,—which passed off peacefully. Knowing the fervour with which these festivals are celebrated, in West Bengal, an attempt could have been made—in fact, it was said earlier that an attempt would be made—to create trouble but it was not created. Refugees are streaming into West Bengal from East Pakistan for the last many months and yet the administration there has been able to maintain communal harmony and there were no communal disturbances. We should take note of this fact which goes to their credit. When land grabbing was launched, it was handled with

tact as well as firmness. Over 4500 Naxalites have been arrested, including some top leaders. Kanu Sanyal and others have been arrested. I have given the names and I need not go into all that.

In the agrarian and industrial sectors lawlessness is declining. Illicitly held arms and ammunitions have been captured in large quantities.

Unfortunately, clashes between political parties do continue but, I am glad to say, not in the old fashion. During the UF regime clashes took place between two large groups armed with lethal weapons of all kinds. Now they do continue but not in the form of two big *jathas* and so on. Now the police intervenes whenever a clash is brought to their notice of when they see something happening. This is another part of the situation.

Now, how do we deal with it? Here I should say quite clearly that whereas there is the long-term aspect and the short-term aspect, as a matter of priority the Government has to be quite clear that the first priority is restoration of normalcy. Without restoration of normalcy even the steps of development cannot be taken. So, normalcy has to be restored and these violent activities have to be put down effectively. There is no escape from that.

But this does not mean that the other aspect should be ignored. I entirely agree that those are important aspects. The problem of development of Calcutta, of land reforms, of unemployment—all these are today engaging Government's attention. I have explained to the House, I think, more than once what steps Government is taking in this connection. I will refer briefly to some of the steps later.

If you ask me specifically what steps the Government has taken, I need refer only to a few because on the previous occasion, in reply to the debate on Shri Prakash Vir Shastri's motion, I have outlined the steps at great length. The House knows, only the other day in the West Bengal Consultative Committee two Bills were discussed and these Bills were approved by the majority of Mem

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bers who participated there. Even Shri Indrajit Gupta, who objects to these Bills, has conceded that the majority of the House supports them. In the debate also today almost all the parties, almost all the spokesmen, have supported these measures. Some have even asked the Government to take more powers in its hands to deal with the situation.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : They are your friends on this occasion.

SHRI K. C. PANT : The situation there is so extraordinary that extraordinary steps need to be taken. It is not that I ignore his objections. As Shri Indrajit Gupta has said, every life is very precious, no matter to which party that person belongs, no matter whether he is a Naxalite or even an anti-social person. In this situation, where there is so much violence, people are killing other people, inter-party clashes are going on and the whole atmosphere is being brutalised, is it not much more humane and sensible to have preventive measures to deal with the situation rather than rely entirely on punitive measures; or, is it anyone's case that preventive measures are not necessary?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : If preventive measures are taken, will it stop? Do you assure that?

SHRI K. C. PANT : If preventive measures are there, punitive measures will not be necessary. Would you support rather punitive measures?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Only boys of the age of 10 or 12 are being picked up. It will not finish the Naxalites.

SHRI K. C. PANT : It will not finish the Naxalites but not having preventive measures will have more bloodshed, more violence, more police shooting, more repression in your terms. Would you support that? I plead with you to consider this aspect because you cannot wash away the fact of violence in West Bengal, that young boys are being killed and are killing, that all this is happening because people will not go and give evidence and

these elements are again being released on bail and, therefore, are again circulating and the circle of violence goes on. In this situation would you prefer that the whole thing be a battle between the police and these elements in the streets or would you prefer that the Government is armed at least with some preventive measures so that this orgy of violence can be controlled, if not ended? This is the basic question.

I may assure Shri Indrajit Gupta that the Government would not have brought forward this measure if the situation had not demanded it and the situation had not made it inescapable. 40 policemen have lost their lives and 400 of them have been injured. While we were sitting in the meeting the other day, we got the news that the Secretary of the Legislative Department of West Bengal was brutally stabbed. All these things are going on and we cannot ignore these happenings. That is why I plead with him to consider this aspect in a wider perspective.

Having said that, I assure him that law-abiding parties need have no fear from these measures and that it is our intention that the preventive detention provisions should be invoked only in respect of those who take to arms and who take to heinous violence.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You are not going to administer it unfortunately.

SHRI K. C. PANT : We will advise the West Bengal Government to keep the strictest scrutiny and use preventive detention provisions with restraint. It is not that we are unmindful of this aspect. We have deliberately sought to restrict the scope of the Preventive Detention Act so that it would not be possible to use preventive detention provisions for ordinary law and order situation. Even those powers, extraordinary as they may be, have to be used only when the pattern of violence becomes shockingly gruesome.

Then, there was a reference to the need for public education and there was a reference to the need for a dialogue. I agree all these things are important. But let us not confuse the issues. The forces that are in charge of main

taining public order are not the people who are going to carry on political dialogue. In a democracy, it is the function of political parties, of leaders and of all the public opinion to carry on a dialogue with all the elements. In fact, in a democracy society such a dialogue cannot be stopped. This very debate in the House is a part of the dialogue. The various questions and answers are a part of the dialogue. This dialogue must continue side by side along with these measures because, ultimately, the victory of democracy lies in winning over these young people to the side of democracy. We cannot accept the defeatist attitude that they are outside the pale of reasons.

There are various elements mixed up in the situation. I would welcome all of us joining together in the educational task of trying to convert those who are capable of being converted. There is absolutely no objection to that. But, I think, violence has to be dealt with as violence.

श्री विभूति मिश्र : आप कनु सान्याल और मजुमदार से क्यों नहीं मिलते ? एक अनीश्वरवादी को गांधी जी ने अपने आश्रम में बुलाया । वह ईश्वरवादी हो गया । आपको बुलाना चाहिये ।

श्री रणधीर सिंह : अगर वह चीन से बात करते हैं तो बिल्कुल नहीं बुलाना चाहिये । अगर वाकई अनएम्प्लायमेंट की बात करते हैं तो दूसरी बात है ।

SHRI K. C. PANT : I must confess that I do not wield the moral authority which perhaps can convert Kanu Sanyal or Charu Mazumdar. But if Shri Bibhuti Mishra wants to go and meet them, to the extent it is possible for me to facilitate his meeting them, I shall do so.

श्री विभूति मिश्र : अमरीकन बार में कार्नवालिस ने अमरीकियों से बात नहीं की, वह उनसे नहीं मिला और अमरीकी लड़ाई जीत गये ।

SHRI K. C. PANT : It is the Gandhian approach, and I respect that Gandhian approach. But there must be a Gandhi to implement it. The problem is that we do not have now such people in the country with the moral stature to bring about a change of heart by mere discussion. This is the real problem and that is why we see many of our ills today. The Gandhian approach believes in the conversion of hearts and does not believe that anybody is beyond that. Anyway, I think, this is going a little beyond the point.

One thing is very important and that the process of political education must continue and it must also involve those who are opposing police action. After all, the police is only acting because the Parliament wants it to act and the Government wants it to act. Therefore, the police is discharging its function. And the Police deserve to be supported for that—that is important—because the Police must not be made to feel as if they are carrying on some kind of a criminal activity. If the Police are doing something and if the Government is directing them to do something wrong, the Government is to blame. If the Police are discharging their function, they must not be held responsible for the wrong directions of the Government if they are wrong. At any rate, public servants discharging their duty must be supported in any civilised society. This is the sort of political education that all of us must carry out.

Reference has been made by various speakers to the Governor of West Bengal. In a complex situation....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAJEE : Call him back.

SHRI K. C. PANT : ..When one finds that the situation is not yielding as readily to the measure that one is taking, there is a temptation to make someone as scape goat. But this is a complex situation and when the whole administration is trying to tackle the situation, it is not fair to single out one single individual for it. The fair thing is : if you have to blame someone and if you have to attach blame to somebody for this situation, that responsibility, I think, falls on those who created this situation in West Bengal and the

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situation which was inherited by President's rule. This should not be forgotten. I have mentioned it earlier also.

Therefore, the question of the Governor's action there should not be isolated from the action of the Government and he alone should not be held responsible. This is all I would say in this connection.

My hon. friends, Shri Indrajit Gupta and Shri Jyotirmoy Basu, referred to Police excesses. I am not here to hold any brief for any Policemen who has committed excesses. I am here to say that if an individual Policeman has erred, the whole Police force is not to be condemned. This is important. We are here to sustain the authority of the Police force and not to sustain the authority of any erring individuals in that force.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You know in the Consultative Committee several members of your own Party said that along with these Bills some measure should be taken to see that Police excesses are not committed and those who have committed excesses are brought to book. You kept quiet then.

SHRI K. C. PANT : If you will remember—I am just refreshing his memory—The Prime Minister, in her concluding speech, made a specific and pointed reference to that matter and made a categorical statement that those found guilty will not be spared. I request you to refresh your memory.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Why not hold an inquiry ?

SHRI K. C. PANT : Previously also Shri Banerjee raised this point of inquiry. I have told him to come to me and I would clarify this point. But these days he is shying away from me. *(Interruptions)* Have some patience. One sentence, he will understand it. The only point there is that previously inquiries were automatic after every firing. Now it will not be automatic but where excesses are committed, an inquiry will be held. I think this is reasonable, considering the situation that prevails in West Bengal.

Now, very briefly, I will refer to the deve-

lopmental aspects again because I have dealt with it at length in this House earlier also and covered all these points.

I will now mention that the problems of Calcutta will be tackled by CMDA which has been constituted.

Eight crores of rupees have been sanctioned as a grant for the bastee development scheme.

In respect of land reforms, one Bill has been adopted and another is going to be discussed very soon.

In this situation, what is really needed now is for all the Parties to get together so that we can tackle the problems of West Bengal in a purposeful manner and for this purpose, we have to have the co-operation of all the political Parties and all the leaders of public opinion within West Bengal and in the whole country. If this debate helps to create that kind of support in the country and within West Bengal, then, I think, it will have served a very useful purpose....*(Interruptions)* Having said this, I have....*(Interruptions)* I have to say something. Is it not ?

The operative part is left. The operative part is this. Having said all this, I know that Mr. Nath Pai will not press his Resolution and that there would be no need for him to press his Resolution, because, if he does press it, very reluctantly we shall have to oppose it. Thank you.

SHRI NATH PAI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am aware the hour is very late and the House is very tired, and I will not, Sir, exploit the indulgence which has always been shown to me by this House. I will therefore be very brief.

Mr. Speaker, I must none-the-less point out to this House that if 45 million Bengalees can fight the reign of terror so long, certainly this House can afford to fight tardiness and sleepiness for 10 minutes more. *(Interruption)*

MR. SPEAKER : I think we should have some procedure whereby the Members can record their votes in advance and go away....

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : In advance for the entire session.

SHRI NATH PAI : Mr. Speaker, I think, the Rules Committee will take due notice of your suggestion in this regard when we meet on Monday.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, a very heartening feature of today's debate has been that there has been unanimity in supporting the substance of my resolution. Even Mr. George who deserves our congratulations on his maiden speech said that he agrees but he suspects something since it comes from Nath Pai and since it is from the Opposition Member, he thinks that it is axiomatic for him to oppose it. I think, we should rise above these things.

The unanimity has been on two points. One is the substance of it. In the meanwhile I had a delightful surprise that even the CPM has come forward to condemn violence. I remember, Sir, the way the Member was attempting to heckle me and stop me when on the 7th August, I moved this Motion. This is, I think, a welcome conversion that those who stood apparently according to their own standards to gain by violence, saw how dangerous it is to advocate violence. I remember the CPM Member trying to run at my throat for condemning violence. Fate is such, circumstances are such that the spokesmen of CPM were required to condemn violence unequivocally. It was no less a person than Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu and his senior colleague Mr. P. Rama Murti who condemned violence. When they condemned violence, we were accused as bourgeois. I don't deny we are bourgeois. But even the most militant of the militants has been compelled by sheer force of logic to condemn violence. This is a very welcome thing.

Mr. Speaker, I would like your guidance on one small thing before I deal with certain points. There is tremendous disadvantage to this House and to the subject of my Motion, if it gets stretched for 3 or 4 separate debates. I moved my Motion on the 7th of August. We debated it on the 21st of August. Now we are trying to conclude the Debate on the 20th of November. A debate which gets so much long-stretched like this loses its very content and importance and seriousness.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAGHU RAMAIAH) : It has helped the conversion.

SHRI NATH PAI : It has some advantages. I do see your point. But, rather, I would like to have such a debate seriously raised in this House and decided and resolved immediately on the same day. You, perhaps, Mr. Speaker, will have to find a way for the House.

MR. SPEAKER : I am all for this only if the House agrees.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : We can have one full day for business as in the Rajya Sabha.

SHRI NATH PAI : Mr. Pant started by saying that he does not want to say anything new. It has taken only 45 minutes for the Minister not to say anything new. It is a new thing which I have now discovered. He began by saying that he does not have to add anything, when it has actually taken him 45 minutes to say nothing. But, Mr. Speaker, since I have to say something, I will have to take 5 to 10 minutes.

I want to remind the House that there was a lot of mis-impression about my Motion. I do not know if hon. Members have their papers with them. After they have heard my submission, I feel confident that they will be inclined and persuaded to disregard the advice which the hon. Minister has given to reject the resolution and they will be perhaps persuaded to accept my resolution. What exactly does the resolution say ? It says :

"This House regrets that there has been no improvement in the law and order situation in West Bengal even after promulgation of President's rule and expresses grave concern at the wide-spread unchecked violent activities throughout the State thus endangering life, property, security and democracy in the country."

I have only said :

"This House regrets that there has been no improvement."

[Shri Nath Pai]

This House does not condemn, but only regrets. Therefore, there is no danger of the Government being toppled.

AN HON. MEMBER : Why is the hon. Member referring to that ?

SHRI NATH PAI : Because that is the constant anxiety all the time. I have only said that this House regrets that there has been no improvement in the law and order situation in West Bengal. . . .

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central) : And, therefore, the failure of the Government.

SHRI NATH PAI : I had expected a categorical reply to some of the vital issues that I had raised. Is it a fact that at Jaduguda, the arms that were seized were arms from the ordnance factories in India ? Is it a fact that at Jaduguda, a top secret document of the 13th Junior Commander's School of Signals at M how was discovered ? Is it a fact that a whole plan of military operation was found ? No reply has been given to these questions. Is it a fact that not only a list of all would-be victims has been given but they have also given their aims, objectives and their tactics and their *modus operandi* ? The House needed to be satisfied on these issues. They have told us what their targets and their aims and their objectives are. There was one document from which I had quoted wherein these men have gone to the extent of saying that it was India which had committed aggression in 1962 ; it was a document which said that it was China which was the victim of Indian aggression, and India should vacate the territory in NEFA and hand it over to China. Did not these points deserve some reply ?

I am sorry that the hon. Minister gave a long catalogue of the so-called steps being taken by the Government of West Bengal under his guidance, but nothing was said about the vital issues that I had raised.

I had put it in one single sentence and said that the present Naxalites are determined to achieve their five aims. They want to demoralise the administration. They want to discredit democratic values. They want to

disrupt the economic life of the country. They want to dislocate education and ultimately they want to destroy the faith of our people in our country.

What is happening in Bengal is not the concern of Bengal alone. I think, in spite of all the assurances being given, that Bengal seems to be marching towards chaos and anarchy, and far more stern steps and greater determination is called for. For, it is not only the problem of Bengal. If Bengal burns, India cannot be saved. I had said at that time that Bengal's economic, and social problems and the political challenge in Bengal cannot be left only to the Bengalis. We all must regard it as a challenge to us. Gokhale used to say, what Bengal suffers today, the rest of India suffers tomorrow. His exact words were 'What Bengal sees today, the rest of India sees tomorrow'.

Today, there was a contradiction in the speech of the hon. Minister. In order to score a debating point, he has said that there has been an improvement in the situation in Bengal; and then, he added that cinema-houses which were deserted are today crowded. Well, the people of Bengal have now learnt to live with the abnormality of life. It is not that there has been an improvement in the situation. They know that there will not be protection. So, they think 'Why not make the best of a bad situation ? Let us go to pictures ; there may be a chance that we shall not be attacked ; there is no guarantee that we can return home safely from the Durga Puja, but perhaps we may.' This is the fatalist which we have in our people. The Bengalis have revived this fatalism, and say 'We may go to the Puja, and we may come back safely.'

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : During the Durga Puja, there was a cease-fire.

SHRI NATH PAI : Perhaps, there was a cease-fire. I do not know.

The hon. Minister first said that there had been an improvement in the situation. If there is an improvement, then do you not see the contradiction in his speech ? For, in order to reply to Shri Indrajit Gupta, he said that there was deterioration, and, therefore the Preventive

Detention Act was needed. In order to reply to Shri Nath Pai, however, he has said that there is an improvement. If there is an improvement, then why have draconian measures? Do you not see that he is weakening his case in order to score a point over me in this debate? His weakens, his whole case on the one hand, and then but on the other, he comes and says that the situation is grime, dangerous and calls for draconian measures, and, therefore, he asks for the co-operation of the entire House in passing those measures; but in the same breath he says that there is an improvement. If there is an improvement, then he must accept this position, or else he should accept my position. He cannot have my position and his position in the same breath.

SHRI K. C. PANT: It is a very simple answer. There is a qualitative change in the character of the violence. What was widespread and what affected every single citizen of Bengal is now concentrated on certain specific targets. That is the change.

SHRI NATH PAI: Is it not a fact that since the imposition of President's rule there has been a heavy toll of life in Bengal? I submit very humbly there is no President's rule in Bengal. I say this in great agony, there is today rule in Bengal not of the President of India, not of Parliament, but of terror, arson, loot and rapine. This is the rule that is reigning in Bengal today and this cannot be white-washed.

Where do we start? I said Bengal suffers from economic ills. But perhaps the greatest ill from which the State suffers is the present Governor of Bengal. I will substantiate this not from what a member has said, but from what he himself had said. I will read only a sentence to refresh members' memory. This is what he said on his nomination. This appeared in a daily here on the 7th September.

"Speaking in London, the West Bengal Governor-designate, Mr. S. S. Dhawan, has predicted that India is about to enter upon a political phase which would probably usher in an Indian variant of communism".

This is his inaugural speech! He goes further.

When there was the ceremony of installing the New Chief Justice, he indulged in something which is never done in any governmental set-up. I do not want to go into the details. I will only quote from a resolution of the Bar Association of West Bengal. What did they say?

"This Association further is of opinion that the Governor, by abusing his privileged position to denigrate the Bar and the Bench by an uncalled for, mean, and undignified political speech from the dais of the Judges has demonstrated his own bad taste, colossal ignorance, lack of constitutional propriety and the grossest affront to the judiciary of the country".

This, I would remind Shri K. C. Pant, is not political vendetta from any member in this House this is a resolution passed by the Bar Association of West Bengal. Finally, what did they say—He said 'Do not single out the Governor'. I don't. I will conclude by quoting this part of the resolution:

"This Association also requests the President of India to recall Mr. S. S. Dhawan who has proved so unfit and undesirable to hold the office of Governor of West Bengal".

Who said it? Not Nath Pai, not a member of the Opposition, but the Bar Association of West Bengal.

If the Government of India is serious about establishing the rule of law, safety of life, liberty and security to the average Bengali—which are his heritage like the rest of his countrymen—it must show its earnestness by recalling Shri Dhawan. You can give him any job you like if he has rendered such services to the country; I have no quarrel about it. But the office of Governor of West Bengal is the last with which he can be trusted.

To conclude, let us not deceive ourselves by saying that all that can be done is being done in Bengal. It is far from it. The grand design is clear for all to see. They cannot just be condemned as anti-social elements. We have indulged in this game for too long. In their own pamphlet, we see the design: 'Mao's

path is our path. Mao is our Chairman and if Mao comes, we shall not resist, we will welcome him'. Here is the strategy laid bare.

As for what Mishraji said, I am never against any negotiations. I am prepared to accept his amendment to my Resolution. I gladly welcome it and I hope that now he will support the main Resolution because an amendment can be to a Resolution only; it cannot be in a vacuum. Since I am prepared to accept it, it presupposes that he has to accept my Resolution. I hope he will not renege from this position by withdrawing his amendment.

Let us consider the situation seriously. Let us make this pledge to the people of Bengal. It needs economic help. Bengal's problems have to be studied. Let us not grudge the funds for Bengal. We have already welcomed the Resolution of Shri Indrajit Gupta. The House has accepted it. We have to implement it. But when nothing is being implemented, it provide a combustible material for those who want to exploit.

When houses are set on fire, in, when the statue of Rabindranath Tagore, of Netaji, of Gandhiji of Asutosh Mukerjee is pulled down, let us remember that they are not the victims; the ultimate victim is the edifice of democracy in India. When pulling down the statues of venerable national leaders, what is pulled down is something grander than the statues of Asutosh Mukerji or Netaji or any other national leader. They want to pull down the fabric of democracy. And what shall we do? That determination I did not see in the long speech of the hon. Minister. Bengal must be assured all the economic help she needs. Whether it be the Calcutta Corporation, whether it be the water supply of the city or better transport of the city, give liberal help, all the help, but when it comes to it that the liberty which is enshrined in the Constitutional is endangered, act firmly, act decisively. If you are prepared to do that, we shall support you.

I think I have made out a case that my resolution proves that during President's rule there have been more murders, more attacks, more denigrations and devaluation of the

values which we cherish. In the light of this, since the responsibility under President's rule is of this Government, I commend my resolution for the acceptance of the House, and plead with the ruling party to completely forget the immediate benefit to the party, think of Bengal and adopt my resolution.

MR. SPEAKER : Amendment No. 1 by Shri Bibhuti Mishra.

SHRI NATH PAI : I accept it.

SHRI BIBHUTI MISHRA : I wish to withdraw it.

MR. SPEAKER : Has he the leave of the House to withdraw his amendment.

HON. MEMBER : Yes.

Amendment No. 1 was, by leave, withdrawn

MR. SPEAKER : I put amendment No. 2 by Shri Lobo Prabhu to the House.

Amendment No. 2 was put and negatived

MR. SPEAKER : I put amendment No. 3 by Shri Tridib Chaudhury to the House.

Amendment No. 3 was put and negatived

MR. SPEAKER : I put amendment No. 4 by Shri B. P. Mandal to the House.

Amendment No. 4 was put and negatived

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"This House regrets that there has been no improvement in the law and order situation in West Bengal even after promulgation of President's rule and expresses grave concern at the wide-spread unchecked violent activities throughout the State thus endangering life, property, security and democracy in the country."

The motion was negatived