

[श्री शिवचन्द्र झा]

बम्बई में जाकर मैंने देखा है कि यह बहुत जटिल है। कलकत्ता में तो और भी यह समस्या गम्भीर रूप धारण किए हुए है क्योंकि वहाँ सरकार ने कुछ कदम नहीं उठाया है। इस कारण से भी डाक वर्कर्स की अवस्था बदतर हो गई है। इसके मुतालिक सरकार को एक खास नीति अख्तयार करनी चाहिये।

जो आर्गेंस करेगा, उसको सजा देंगे, यह चीज भ्रान दी होल टालरेबल है। अफसरों को हटा दिया जाए, यह ठीक है। एशोसिएशन आफ इंडिविजुअल्स के लिए थोड़ा सा परिवर्तन कर दिया जाए और इसके मुतालिक मेरा संशोधन भी है, तो अच्छा होगा। सैकिड स्टेज जब आएगी, तब मैं इस पर बोलूंगा।

जो भी आप पास करते हैं उसको कम्प्लेमेंट करने के लिए आप मशीनरी भी तो ठीक करें। हर विधेयक के साथ यही बात होती है। ऐसी मशीनरी होनी चाहिये जो ईमानदारी के साथ इम्प्लेमेंट कर सके। ऐसी मशीनरी आपके पास नहीं है। इस हाउस में दूसरे हाउस से इस बिल को आने में तीन साल लगे हैं और पता नहीं इसको यहां पास होने के बाद डाक में जाने के लिए कितने साल लग जाएंगे और इसको कार्यान्वित भी किया जाएगा या नहीं। यह इतना दर्ज की बीमारी है। इसमें प्रशासन की बात आ जाती है, मशीनरी की बात आ जाती है। जो आपकी मशीनरी है वह जर्जर हो चुकी है। कोई काम करना नहीं चाहता है, ईमानदारी से आगे बढ़ना नहीं चाहता है। सारी मशीनरी पॅरेलाइज हो चुकी है। आपको देखना चाहिये जो सुविधा आप देना चाहते हैं वह ठीक से वर्कर्स को मिले, इसका इम्प्लेमेंटेशन ठीक से हो और आपके पास रिपोर्ट भी आए। आप समय निर्धारित कर दें इम्प्लेमेंटेशन के लिए। मंत्री महोदय खुद जा कर सरप्राइज विजिट्स करें, इंस्पेक्शंस करें और देखें कि हकीकत में क्या हो रहा है। हेरी ब्रिजिंग का नाम आपने सुना होगा...

समापति महोदय : दूसरी डिस्कशन लेने का समय हो गया है। आप खत्म करे।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ। मेरे संशोधनों पर मंत्री महोदय गौर करें और उनको मान लें तो विधेयक अच्छा हो जाएगा। यदि इम्प्लेमेंट करने के लिए अच्छी मशीनरी होगी, यदि आप स्वयं विजिलेंट रहेंगे, प्रशासन विजिलेंट होगी तब कुछ फायदा होगा वरना यह विधेयक भी और विधेयकों की तरह से कागज पर ही रह जाएगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ इसको मैं अपनी कंडिशनल स्पॉट देता हूँ।

17 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE. LATHI CHARGE BY C. R. P. IN JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY AND CLOSURE OF THE UNIVERSITY

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai) : Sir, I am bringing to the notice of the House the most heart-rending and poignant events that took place in the Jadavpur University on the 24th July, 1970. Even according to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a paper owned and edited by the Secretary of the Congress Party (R) in West Bengal, Shri Tarun Kanti Ghosh—even according to that paper the headline given in the news is "CRP run berserk at Jadavpur". This is the headline given there. Now, we are told that the Central Government is very serious of maintaining law and order in West Bengal, and here is an example of how they are going to keep law and order in West Bengal.

I will just read out some extracts from the report given in that newspaper itself. Nobody can accuse this paper of having sympathies with the Communist Party (Marxist) or with any Communist party. As I said earlier, this is a paper owned and run by the General Secretary of the West Bengal

Congress Committee (R) - the ruling party—
Shri Tarun Kanti Ghosh. What does it say ?

“About 150 students, teachers and employees of Jadavpur University were injured, some of them seriously, when police made a series of lathi charges inside the University campus on Friday afternoon.”

Were they called in by the Vice-Chancellor ? They were not called in by the Vice-Chancellor of the university. Were they called in by any officer of the university ? They were not called in by any officer of the university. On their own, the police broke into the university.

Here we have a statement made by the Deputy Registrar who was at that time present in the Jadavpur university. I do not know how it happened that the Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar did not happen to be present in the university premises; their residences are near. I do not know how it happened. But that is a different story. Now, the Deputy Registrar, My Kundu, who was an eye-witness to the incident, said that the Additional Superintendent of Police, 24-Parganas, Officer-in-charge of Jadavpur Thana, came in afterwards. Mr. Kundu, narrating the incident, said the students were holding their meeting peacefully. They were holding a meeting in order to find out methods of holding their examinations which had been postponed for sometime : how to get the examinations held. They were peaceful students holding a meeting inside the university campus. Immediately after the explosion of crackers outside the university premises—some crackers were burst by the so-called Naxalites outside the university premises and that had nothing to do with the inside—the police stormed into the administrative building and “started beating out employees, students and teachers mercilessly in which 100 students and 60 office staff were injured... The police action was absolutely unprovoked.” This is the statement made by the Deputy Registrar of the university.

The entire staff of the university has, passed a resolution condemning the incident. The West Bengal College and University Teachers' Association unanimously in a

meeting passed a resolution condemning the action of the CRP there, which was a totally unprovoked attack upon innocent boys and students and teachers and staff. Here is what Mr Kundu himself says further on. Mr. Kundu also alleged that the CRP personnel had also forced open the collapsible gate in between the first and the second floors of the administrative building and attacked the students, teachers and employees with lathis without any provocation. “When I came out of my room and tried to contact the Officer-in-Charge of the CRP, one CRP man in an attacking mood used filthy language in spite of knowing my identity. I appealed to them to stop lathi-charge on the students and employees but it continued.” This is the way the officer of the university is being treated by the CRP men. Naturally the whole student community of West Bengal is aflame. The very next day students of the colleges under Jadavpur University went on strike. The next day the entire Calcutta students went on strike. The following day the entire Bengal students went on a one-day protest strike.

We are told that the CRP has been sent for maintaining law and order and this is their behaviour ! We know they behaved in Indraprastha Bhavan. The CRP attacked everyone whom they could lay their hands upon and even threw out some of them. They were not even on strike, but they were working. Firing was resorted to in Jadavpur University; I can quote instance after instance where the CRP has behaved in this way. The question is, are they keeping law and order ? Is there any law for the CRP ? To call it Central Reserve Police is a misnomer. It is a Criminal Reserve Police. It is a police of criminals who have been trained for nothing but beating up people and lathi-charging people, without understanding what it is. Have they got any brains ? Under the guise of CRP, Government has created a gang of goondas and criminals. What else is this but a criminal act ? If, for example, I attack somebody else without any provocation, will I not come under the IPC and be hauled up before a court of law for having committed an offence ? But the CRP may attack anybody. They have no law. The IPC does not apply to them. What is the action Government has been taking against them

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all these days? This is not the only instance.

In Kerala the other day, the CRP entered the mosque in Tirur and attacked all and sundry. The Muslim League was in power there and the Home Minister belonged to the Muslim League. The paper *Chandrika* had to come out with a statement against that.

I have got with me cuttings from newspapers run not by my party, but by the Ruling Congress. I shall quote from them.

"Dr. Sen Sorry for Jadavpur University trouble.

The Home Secretary, Mr B. R. Gupta told newsmen here today that the CRP had no order to fire or to make lathi charge. He said, a detailed report of the incident has already been sent to the Governor, Mr. S. S. Dhawan, who is in Delhi. It was for him to take a decision about an enquiry into the incidents.....In any case, Mr Gupta said, the responsibility does not devolve on State Government for what had happened yesterday. The action of the CRP Men was their own responsibility."

Here is a police force and the Home Secretary of Government under whom it is supposed to function says, "We are not responsible for its actions." To whom do they owe responsibility? Here are people who have acted want only in an unprovoked manner and beat up hundreds of people. Are they not guilty of an offence under the Indian Penal Code? Is there no law for them? You are going to enforce law and order by creating an unlawful force, which is going to break the law of the land and beat up the people?

It was stated that after the return of Mr. Dhawan, an enquiry was going to be held. It was said by a spokesman of the West Bengal Government later on that Shrimati Indira Gandhi will make an announcement in Parliament on what kind of enquiry they are going to make. That is the statement made by the spokesman of the West Bengal Government. I am not responsible for it. Nine days, why nine

days? Nearly ten days—have elapsed since then and we are yet to see any statement. Since West Bengal is now under President's Rule and the CRP has been sent there by the Central Government, I had expected that the Government on their own volition, without my having to come forward with a demand for a discussion on this question would have come forward on the floor of the House with a detailed account and at least expressing their regret, expressing their apology to the people of West Bengal for the wanton action of the CRP. They did not have even that elementary courtesy to the people of West Bengal. You are saying what you are now attempting to do is in the name of fighting the Naxalites. Are you going to fight the Naxalites in this way? On the other hand, what you are doing today is that you are treating the entire people of the West Bengal are your enemies. you think the entire people of West Bengal are your enemies.

Only day before yesterday the CRP went and captured posts in the Durgapur plant from the plant security force. Previously it was manned by the plant security force appointed by the plant. When the Central Security Force Act was passed here, these, people went to the High Court challenging the validity of that Act and a stay was given. On the 3rd of this month, somehow or other the High Court vacated the stay. The moment the stay was vacated, even without telling these people "your services are no longer required to man the force" the CRP went into the picture and now nearly 20 people are in the hospital.

The is the way in which today this CRP is let on the people. What I want to point out here is that the CRP is acting like Hitler's storm troopers who went and beat up whomever they could find. This force has been trained on the lines of Hitler's storm troopers and it is being let loose on the people. I am sure that you are not going to fight the Naxalites. On the other hand, you are going to make the entire people of West Bengal your enemies. As a result of your action, far from fighting the Naxalites, the Naxalites will grow in strength more and more. That would be the result of your action.

As far as we are concerned, with the ideological propaganda and the other kind of ways in which we are trying to meet the Naxalites, we will be able to contain them. But, as far as you are concerned, as far as the Government are concerned, they are only pretending to meet the Naxalites. Under the pretext of facing and fighting the Naxalites, you are waging a war on the entire working of West Bengal and I am sure the people of West Bengal will take up the challenge; the students of West Bengal, the working class and the peasantry will take up the challenge, whatever might be the force that you use against them, and I am sure that ultimately it is the people that will triumph and not these storm troopers of the other forces that the Indira Government or the Hitlers might let loose. In the history, ultimately it is the people who have won and the Hitlers had to go and that is what is going to happen here.

Therefore, I want to ask you this. Where is the judicial inquiry? Where is the criminal action that has been taken against them? Why don't you haul them up before a court of law under the Indian Penal Code for committing an offence? Why don't you do that? So long as you do not do that, the people of West Bengal and the people of the entire country will understand that this force has been created only for the purpose of fighting the people not for fighting lawlessness but for creating more lawlessness in the country, because this is the biggest lawless force in the country.

सभापति महोदय : एक जानकारी आप लोगों को देनी है कि 6 बजे सीकर साहब की अध्यक्षता में त्रैलोक्यनाथ महाराज का स्वागत कर रहे हैं, तो आप लोगों से निवेदन है कि सब लोग मेहरबानी करके बहुत थोड़ा समय लें।

श्री इंद्रजीत गुप्त (अलीपुर) : अगर बाकी रह जाय तो इस को कल चलाया जाय।

सभापति महोदय : कल नहीं हो सकता। आज ही मेहरबानी कर के इसे समाप्त करें।

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : This should continue. Beating of 150 people and the Government keeping quiet over it is not an ordinary thing.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH (Calcutta-south). What about Siliguri and Adra ?

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM (Visakhapatnam). We would like to know what the Government has to say on some of the points raised so that the further discussion may go on intelligently; otherwise it will be a blind discussion.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South-Delhi): It will be helpful to the House if the Government makes it clear as to what has happened to the judicial inquiry, because if there is no inquiry and nothing is going to be done, the debate will take one shape but if the Government has done something and the House knows it, it will take another shape.

सभापति महोदय : डिस्कशन का तो अभी तक यही नियम रहा है कि पहले सब लोग बोल लेते हैं तब सरकार की तरफ से जवाब दिया जाता है।

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM: It is true, but then a new convention can be built up for a more intelligent discussion.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Mr. Chairman, Sir, my hon. friend has called the Central Government the enemy of the West Bengal people. I have no love for the Central Government but I consider that the enemy of the people of West Bengal are those who have subverted democracy and the constitutional parliamentary system in West Bengal taking advantage of democracy, who have initiated gangsterism, murder, loot, killing and all sorts of anti-national activities there, who have led the forces of vandalism and bombing in West Bengal, who have demoralised and struck at the morale of the people, who have completely marred the democratic future of West Bengal, who have become the slave of foreigners, either the Pekingites or of other foreign elements—those insurrectionist, antidemocratic, terrorist, anti-Constitutionalist, anti-parliamentary forces, who

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have created this situation in West Bengal today, are the real enemies not only of West Bengal but of the whole of India. What is happening today in West Bengal is a challenge not only for West Bengal but for the whole of India.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: You dare not stand before the people for an election.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Let the election come this year. Our Communist friends characterize those people as the forces of gangsterism. These gangster people of West Bengal are not going to save those gangsters.

As a teacher of the Jadavpur University I know the sentiments of students, the teachers and the authorities. If anybody has an iota of sense or dignity, he will not tolerate the presence of the CRP in any educational institution even for moment or a second. But the dilemma before the University authorities is what they will do if a handful of students get into the class with bombs and other weapons and smash the laboratory. Do you know what barbarous and inhuman treatment was meted to the teachers? What they will do is the dilemma before the University authorities.

Have these political parties, who are now championing the cause of the students, come forward to help the University authorities? University examinations—engineering examinations, post graduate examinations, all examinations—have stopped. Brilliant students go into the university. What is their future?

What did the University do? The University authorities have sent letters to the guardians of each and every student in which they have said, "With the consent of your ward, let us know whether under the protection of either the police or the CRP, examinations can be held in the University." 90 per cent of the guardians with the consent of their wards have said, "Yes". Instead of wasting and completely finishing the career of our students, even if need be with the help of the Police, examinations should be held.

At least 75 per cent of the students met the Vice-Chancellor and other authorities and said, "We do not care for your CRP, Police or anything; we want to have examinations; we do not want to waste and spoil our career." What will the University authorities do?

There is no alternative. There is no protection to the University, no protection to the laboratories, no protection to the classes, no protection to the honour of the students and teachers, no protection to the honour of the Vice-Chancellor, no protection of any kind. What will they do?

I ask these friends one thing. They had organised 1,10,000 storm troopers when they were in Government. I ask them. Why didn't they send a battalion of them? Why didn't they say, "We will give protection to them, hold examinations there and see that there is no disturbance of peace, no bomb-throwing and all that and that we will not allow to spoil the career of the students" Would they come forward to do that? No. There is no alternative. They only want to make capital out of the terrible misery of hundreds and thousands of students who are looking forward to their future career.

As I have already said, there are a lot of difficulties. No doubt about it. Just a few days ago, I had a long talk with the acting Vice-Chancellor and he said that the University authorities did not give the C.R.P. any permission. I accuse the West Bengal Government that they have made the worst arrangements. They have placed one West Bengal Police officer at the command of the C.R.P. and that officer is of a lower grade. He has no command and he cannot give orders to the C.R.P. If the C.R.P. is under the command of the West Bengal Police, then a superior officer should be there to give orders. The students are very sensitive about their sense of dignity. Therefore, this C. R. P. should not be kept inside the campus but somewhere outside. Only when the situation demands, it will be called. If Dr. Sen had been there, the situation would have been different. Unfortunately, the teachers today do not maintain contact with the students. They have not shown the courage to meet

the situation. If a hundred students had shown the spirit of resistance, they could have faced the ordeal, they could have faced those goondas; a handful of them, and those gangsters, a handful of them, and saved the dignity of the University.

Naturally, the University authorities are going to have the opinion poll of the students, the teachers and the employees of the University as to whether the C. R. P. should be completely removed. I am sure, all of them are agreed that from inside the campus the C. R. P. should be removed. As to whether no help of the C. R. P. should be taken, they are going to take the opinion poll of the students, the teachers and the employees of the University. A democratic view, they say, will prevail.

I will again accuse these friends. They are calling the C. R. P. as criminals; they are calling them goondas and they are calling them storm troopers. But I want to ask: Who have initiated the student community, the youth of Bengal, to this murderous line of politics; to these terrorist activities, to this vandalism, to these violent forces? Shri Hari Krishan Koonar, while addressing a Maidan meeting on Vietnam Day recently in Calcutta said: Be prepared for Dien Bein Phew in Calcutta: be prepared for the civil war of Vietnam type in West Bengal and be prepared for insurrection in West Bengal. This is on record. (*Interruptions*)

I want to ask these friends who are the real criminals and the real goondas. It is they who have initiated the student community to this line of violence, terrorism, intimidation and all sorts of anti-national, anti-democratic activities. Now they are trying to make capital out of it.

Sir, the Jadavpur University was founded by Shri Aurbindo, the Father of the Indian Revolution and most of the great men of West Bengal, Tagore, Acharya Prafula Chandra, Jagdish Chandra, Deshbandhu and others were associated with the University in this way or that way. I am sorry to say this citadel of

learning, of culture, of national aspirations, of West Bengal is now in great peril. I would urge upon the Government to be very careful to see that the C. R. P. is not misused, not used in a way that will rupture the sentiments of either the students or the people of West Bengal. The only way is to develop an alternative point of confidence and resist the forces of violence, of vandalism and the forces of anti-nationals and the stooges of foreign countries. (*Interruptions*) It pinches them. They have mortgaged their conscience some where else.

SHRI S. S. KOTHARI (Mandsaur): Sir, I would urge: let us not take an emotional view of the whole matter but an objective view. As regards the Jadavpur University episode, the Government should make proper inquiries and find out facts and take action according to rules and law. If C. R. P. men went berserk and they have transgressed the law, they should be naturally dealt with according to law. But one thing will have to be recognised that even in West Bengal if you want that it should progress, law and order will have to be maintained. That is the stand my party has taken from the very beginning and I am afraid whatever my friends may say, we are going to stick to that line. If West Bengal is to make progress, you will have to solve the problems of unemployment and various other problems, because of which such incidents occur. Some misguided young men who are Naxalites... you may call them by whatever name you like... indulge in such things because of frustration and unemployment and various other problem the have. Unemployment and other evils will have to be cured. Otherwise, you cannot find a permanent remedy to the ills of West Bengal.

One thing I would like to say. After all the educational system of the State there should not collapse. What is happening to-day is that educational system is under great pressure. Various disturbances take place. I am of the view that the vast majority of the students would like to pursue their education. There cannot be two opinions about that. If all the students wanted that they would not like

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to study and their parents gave them licence not to attend colleges, then it was a different matter. Sir, please don't keep your hand on the bell. I will take my five minutes only. In my opinion educational institutions have to be run in the interests of society and for that purpose necessary action has to be taken. Let the students themselves have a brigade which would ensure that law and order is maintained in the university campus. That will be the first and the best thing. If that cannot be done, let there be some home guards who can maintain law and order. If that also is not possible, the next alternative is the local police. If the local police cannot maintain order and the people want that peace should be maintained, I am afraid, we come to the logical conclusion that the CRP should be there.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Ernakulam) : What about Indraprastha ?

SHRI S. S. KOTHARI. I was the first to condemn it.

Sir, I wish to say that the rule of law must prevail. If the CRP has done anything wrong, they may be dealt with according to law. There are no two opinions about it. But I would like the Government to clear up this point, whether there was any provocation. If so, what was that provocation? Is it a fact that a number of CRP personnel have been injured or killed in various parts of the city and in the university campus? All these factors have to be examined. I am taking an objective view of things.

I find some of these students from Jadavpur university, technical students who have got first class degrees, come and say, kindly get us admitted in the IIT Kanpur or Roorkee or some where else. Some of them came to me. It is because they think they cannot pursue their studies in the existing colleges. But these students from West Bengal cannot get admission in other parts of the country, because, the technical colleges are over-full everywhere

and these colleges say, they have no place for migrating students from West Bengal. Therefore, it is my opinion that the educational structure itself West Bengal is under serious pressure and this would not be in the interest of the future generations of West Bengal. That is my opinion.

Sir, Government makes all sorts of tall talk that the law and order situation has improved. I still feel that things are not in a satisfactory state and firm action is necessary. Whenever there are legitimate grievances of the students they can be removed. There is something wrong with those who are in charge of these affairs in the universities. Probably they do not have the requisite machinery or *rapport* with the students to be able to solve their problems, and their grievances. If they were able to have that machinery or that approach, I think there would be much less of complaints and such occasions as we have seen would not arise.

Regarding the unemployment problem I wish to say something. Why does not the West Bengal Government give permission for plying of ten thousand new taxis? That will help resolve the unemployment problem to some extent.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is not a matter for discussion. Your time is up.

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli): What Mr. Kothari says is correct. In Howrah station, I had to wait for a taxi for 2 hours.

SHRI S. S. KOTHARI : There are various other aspects like housing and small-scale industries where, if only timely action is taken by the Government, we will be able to provide more jobs.

I would like to conclude by saying this : There are no two opinions that law and order must be maintained and if, for that purpose, CRP is necessary, it must be kept in West Bengal and within the university campus also if necessary. But let them act as responsible men. The CRP should be properly manned, properly officered, and commanded.

It is necessary that CRP should act in a proper manner, and action should be taken according to law against anybody who is found guilty, whether it is the police or the students.

श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद (बलिया) : सभापति जी, यह तो ठीक है कि शिक्षा संस्थाओं में पुलिस का जाना अच्छी बात नहीं है। हमारे साथी श्री राममूर्ति के साथ जो व्यवहार हुआ है, मैं उसकी निन्दा करता हूँ। लेकिन यह बात सही है कि विद्यार्थी अधिक संख्या में पढ़ना चाहते हैं केवल कुछ लड़के पढ़ना नहीं चाहते हैं जिनकी सोसायटी खराब होती है। इसके अतिरिक्त आज जो बेकारी की समस्या है उसके कारण उनका फ्यूचर अंधकारमय है। विद्यार्थी कहते हैं कि डिप्लोमा डिग्री की जगह पर उनको काम दिया जाए। उनको जो परेशानी है उसके लिए वे अपना विरोध प्रदर्शन करते हैं और हमको उसका कोई इलाज ढूँढना चाहिए। इसका जवाब सी आर पी या पुलिस का डंडा नहीं है। हम देश के अन्दर अग्रजों के खिलाफ भी दबी हुई जनता को उभाड़ सकते थे और इस प्रकार अग्रजों के खिलाफ लड़कर हमने देश को आजाद कराया। लेकिन आज हमारे नेता जनता को अशांतिमय तरीके से उभाड़ रहे हैं। आज बंगाल में, कलकत्ते में माँ बहनों की इज्जत ली जा रही है, गुरुओं पर बम चलाए जा रहे हैं और स्कूल कालेजों को नष्ट किया जा रहा है। इस बात को वहाँ पर गवर्नमेंट आंख मूंद कर अनदेखा नहीं कर सकती है। उससे इस देश का और इस देश की गीब जनता का नुस्सान हो रहा है। इस प्रकार से नेतागण इस देश में अशांति पैदा कर रहे हैं, देश को गुलाम बनने की प्रवृत्ति की तरफ लिए जा रहे हैं। मैं मानता हूँ कि इसमें हमारी सरकार की गलती रही है। पिछले बीस वर्षों में देश के नौजवानों को जैसा बनाना चाहिए था, जिस प्रकार से शिक्षा को जाब-ओरिएण्टेड और लेबर्-ओरिएण्टेड बनाना

चाहिए था वह नहीं किया गया और उसके लिए मैं सरकार को निन्दा करता हूँ। लेकिन इसका जवाब यह नहीं है कि देश में अशांति पैदा की जाए, औरतों और गुरुओं की बेइज्जती की जाए। मैं इन बातों की निन्दा करता हूँ क्योंकि ये चीजें हमारे देश के लिए बड़ी खतरनाक हैं।

श्री मृत्युंजय प्रसाद (महाराजगंज) : सभापति जी, मैं श्री राममूर्ति जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने यह प्रश्न इस सदन के सामने उठाया। आज इसको बहुत ही सीमित रूप में रखा जा रहा है बाकी इसका असौम्य क्षेत्र कल आयेगा और तभी उस पर ठिकाने से बातें होंगी। मेरे मित्र प्रो० समर गुहा जो इस पर कह गए हैं उसके बाद इस पर कहने के लिए बहुत कम रह जाता है। फिर भी मैं दो तीन बातों की ओर सदन का ध्यान दिलाऊंगा, इस थोड़े से समय में।

पहली बात तो यह है कि ऐसी स्थिति हो क्यों रही है? हो इसलिए रही है कि सरकार ने शुरू से गठबंधन रखा था उन लोगों के साथ जोकि इसको बरा रहे हैं। जब उनसे भगड़ा हो गया तो फिर आप कड़ाई करना चाहते हैं। जब तक दोस्ती थी तब तक आपने किसी को रोका नहीं। बार-बार यह सवाल इस सदन में उठा कि बंगाल में बहुत गड़बड़ है मगर कभी भी चव्हाण साहब ने यह कबूल नहीं किया कि ला एण्ड आर्डर प्रॉब्लम से बढ़कर कुछ और भी है। ला एण्ड आर्डर स्टेट की चीज है इसलिए उनको कुछ लेना देना नहीं है। उनका बराबर यही रख रहा लेकिन अब अंतर आ गया है तो प्राइम मिनिस्टर भी आ कर कहती हैं कि बहुत कड़ाई से इसका दमन किया जायेगा और बहुत कड़ाई से इसका इन्तजाम किया जायेगा। लेकिन अब आपकी स्थिति यह है कि कड़ाई से दमन कर सकें? मैं विद्यार्थियों की ही बात करता हूँ, दूसरों की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ।

[श्री मृत्युंजय प्रसाद]

मार्च में सार्ई परिवार के दो लड़के मारे गए, तीसरे की आंख फोड़ी गई लेकिन आपकी आंखों से एक बूंद आंसू भी नहीं गिरा। आपने एक बार भी उसका जिक्र नहीं किया। उसके बाद बहुत शोर गुल हुआ तो कमीशन आफ एंबवायरी बिठाया। उसमें जो लड़का गवाही देने गया वह दिन दहाड़े अदालत में मारा गया, उसका खून ही गया लेकिन कोई रोक नहीं सका। उसके बाद हालत यह हुई कि कमीशन आफ एंबवायरी को बर्दवान से भग कर कलकत्ता जाना पड़ा। सरकार की स्थिति तब तक यही रहेगी जब तक कि उसमें बुलमुलयकीनी है और इन चीजों के सहारे अपनी गद्दी बनाये रखना है। उनको चाहिए कि सत्य और न्याय को देखें। जब तक बुलमुलयकीनी बनी रहेगी तब तक यही हालत होती रहेगी। दूसरी तरफ इसमें जिनका हाथ है उनकी गवर्नमेंट ने राष्ट्रपति शासन के पहले बंगाल में खूनियों, डकैतों, आग लगाने वालों पर चलते हुए मुकदमों को उठवा लिया—एक दो नहीं, सैकड़ों मुकदमे उठवा लिए थे। अभी राज्य सभा में कहा गया है

“Over 1200 cases involving violence, arson and serious things were withdrawn by the U. F. Government in West Bengal.”

अब आप कहिये कि 1200 नहीं होंगे, तो 1100 होंगे, 1000 होंगे, 950 होंगे, लेकिन ये तो। लेकिन ज्योति बसु ने मुकदमे उठाये। ज्योति बसु का नाम लेना गलत होगा, मैं कहूंगा कि यूनाइटेड फ्रंट के होम मिनिस्टर ने मुकदमे उठाये। तब शायद रुदन की शोभा के अनुकूल होगा। इस तरह के लोगों पर से मुकदमे उठाये तो हुआ क्या? कानून ताक पर चला गया। किसी को इसका ख्याल नहीं रहा कि अब क्या होगा, कैसे होगा? साथ ही साथ पुलिस आफिसर्स के दिल में यह दहशत घुस गई कि जो कड़ाई करेगा, जो किसी को पकड़ेगा उसको सजा मिलेगी। इस डर के मारे बंगाल की

पुलिस नपुंसक बना दी गई, लाचार कर दी गई। इसमें बंगाल पुलिस का दोष कम है, दोष है उस गवर्नमेंट का जिसने ऐसा बर्ताव किया। अब इसके पश्चात् भारत सरकार किस पर भरोसा करे? आज बंगाल पुलिस के मन में यह डर घुसा हुआ है कि कौन ठिकाना कल बही आ जायें फिर से। तब अगर हम आज कड़ाई करेंगे तो हमारा क्या होगा? इस हालत में बंगाल की पुलिस पर भारत सरकार को भरोसा नहीं होता।

मैं नहीं चाहता कि सी० आर० पी० स्थानीय पुलिस का स्थान ले। सब कुछ ढंग से चले, लेकिन जब परिस्थिति ऐसी पैदा हो गई है तो लाचारी है। उपाय क्या है? इसके लिये मैं दोष अकेले आपको नहीं देता। मैं उनको दोष देता हूँ जो अपनी गद्दी बचाने के लिये आपके साथ हाथ मिला कर बैठे रहे, जिन्होंने यह परिस्थिति पैदा होने दी।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ तक एकान्तिक या दूसरी बातों का सम्बन्ध है उनके बारे में अगर मौका मिलेगा तो कल कहूंगा, आज तो केवल विद्यार्थियों की बात है। विद्यार्थियों की बात कहूँ तो इसका क्या अर्थ है कि कितना जला दी जायें, फोटो फाड़ दी जाये और साथ-साथ माओ का लाल झंडा लगा दिया जाये? हैं हिन्दुस्तान का, खाते हैं हिन्दुस्तान का, बाप दादे हिन्दुस्तान के थे और गुरु हो गये चीन के? इसलिये लाल सलाम करते रहो और जिन पर कहे गोली चलाओ। आखिर कितने विद्यार्थी मारे गये? कालेज स्वचायर में कितने मारे गये, कलकत्ता शहर में कितने मारे गये? ऐसी स्थिति में जो कुछ थोड़ा बहुत यह निकम्मी सरकार कर पाये उन्ही के ऊपर तब हमका भरोसा करना होगा। और उपाय क्या है? इसलिये मैं केवल एक चीज का चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ। कल वैसे बात कहूंगा,

आज तो इतना ही कह कर खत्म करूंगा, एकान-
मिक बात कल उठाऊंगा...

एक माननीय सदस्य : कल तो यह बात
नहीं आयेगी ।

श्री मृत्युंजय प्रसाद : नहीं आयेगी तो भी
क्या होगा । लेकिन इस मामले में अकेला मैं
नहीं हूँ, सारा सदन है । आपके दस बीस लोगों
के सिवा सारा सदन एक ही बात सोचता है ।
इसलिए मैं आपकी आज सिर्फ एक ही चीज की
याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि शुरू से यह पद्धति
रही है कि जिसको पाओ कि वह हमें सलाम न
करे, हमारा साथ न दे उसको मार डालो, उस
को सजा दो, उसकी दुर्गति करो, किसी लायक
न रखो ।

SHRI NAMBIAR : It is none of our
case. He is talking of something else.

SHRI MRITYUNJAY PRASAD : I
have not said you. I said 'those people
who do like this'.

SHRI NAMBIAR : He said 'except 20
all of you'.

SHRI MRITYUNJAY PRASAD : I
said 'minus those people and minus you'.
If the cap fits him, I cannot help it. He
knows best.

मुझे यही कहना था कि सबसे बड़ी बात है
कि कानून से सरकार चले, कानून से काम हो,
मगर जो कानून को तोड़ते रहें, जो अपनी गैर-
कानूनी, अलग से सरकार बनाते रहे हैं, अपनी
कचहरी खोलते रहे हैं, लोगों को अपनी कचहरी
से फाँसी देते रहे हैं बिना किसी वकील के,
अखबारों में रोज निकलता है कि इतनों को
ऐनीहिलेट किया गया, इतनों का सफाया किया
गया और यह सरकार बँठी तमाशा देखती है,
उनका क्या किया जाये । अखबार में जो
निकलता है कि इतनों का कहां सफाया किया
उसके लिये आपने क्या किया ? अगर सरकार

को मालूम है कि किस का सफाया किया तो क्या
उसको बचाने की कोशिश की गई थी ? यह
विद्यार्थियों से दूर की बात हो जाती है, पड़ोस
की बात हो जाती है, अभी हाल में बिहार में
एक गरीब मारा गया । उसका नाम राम गरीब
दास था । हरिजन था जिसके नाम पर अःप
चिल्लाते हैं । उसके पास केवल डेढ़ बीघा जमीन
थी यानी 30 कट्ठा । 32 कट्ठा का एक एकड़
होता है यानी एक एकड़ से कम का मालिक
था । वह मारा गया क्योंकि वह लाल भंडो
वालों के पंथ में चलने को तैयार नहीं था । 11
बजे रात को चार आदमियों ने जा कर उसे
गोली मारी । यह खबर पुलिस को पहले से
थी कि उस पर चोट होगी । कोई उसको नहीं
सका बिहार में, और वह भी उस स्थान पर
जहाँ-जय प्रकाश जा कर जान की बाजी लगाये
हुए हैं कि मैं अपने तरीके से, सर्वोदयी अहिंसक
पद्धति से उनको सम्भालने की कोशिश करूंगा ।
उनकी जीप पर भी घातक चोट हुई है ।

मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कौनसा विद्यापीठ
बाकी है, कौनसी जगह बाकी है, किसको मैं
पवित्र कहूँ जो आज अपवित्र होने से बच गई
है ? मैं किसका नाम दूँ । ऐसी स्थिति में
भगवान ही मालिक है । आप लोग तो समझियेगा
नहीं । आप चाहे जितने बड़े देश भक्त हों,
मगर इस वक्त गद्दी-भक्ति देश भक्ति से भी
आगे बढ़ी हुई है । और मैं क्या कहूँ ?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) :
I am afraid it is no use closing one's eyes
to the unfortunate fact that what the CRP
has been enabled to do at Jadavpur by beat-
ing up hundreds of innocent people is
due to the fact that for many weeks now,
many months now, the Jadavpur University
has been made the victim of clashes bet-
ween students owing allegiance to those who
are called Nexalites and those owing allegian-
ce to the Communist party (Marxists). It is
this which has given the GRP an opportunity
there to be have in the way in which it
has done. The University was closed down
because of the fighting between the two

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

groups of students. The CRP was permanently posted inside the campus, occupying student hostels. Now we see some flimsy excuse reported in the press and given out as the official version, that some body threw some cracker or bumb near the gate of the University, where I believe some students were holding a meeting demanding that their examination should be held. Actually I think the crackers were thrown at them. There were some CRP men also posted at the gate. On that flimsy excuse they ran completely amuck inside the campus. Everybody knows the details, I do not want to repeat what Mr. Ramamurti and others have said. Therefore, the Government should tell us plainly now why they are silent on the demand for a judicial enquiry into this incident which is being universally condemned, condemned by all, the University authorities, college authorities, students and citizens of all walks of life.

So, I believe that this Jadavpur incident is not an isolated incident. We know that the CRP has been posted in many places in West Bengal. There is no Ministry there at present, there is Governor's Rule, Advisers' Rule is going on. And this CRP is posted in various places which have nothing to do with Naxalites also. They have been beating up Railway employees at Adra recently which led to the stoppage of work on the South Eastern Railway. They have been posted in the coal field area of Asansol and Raniganj, where their sole occupation seems to be to intervene and beat up coal mine workers who happen to be agitating or demonstrating for their demands against the coal mine owners. I do not know whether it is the function of the CRP to protect dishonest mine owners who want to flout the mining laws and the wage board awards and refuse to give the workers their due wages, whether it is their duty to intervene and beat up these workers. This has happened in Jambad Colliery and other places. This is going on. Two people have been shot dead at Jambad Colliery. The same thing has happened recently during the North Frontier Railway strike in Siliguri. The CRP was let loose. Who were the people who were their targets? Were they Naxalites, because everything is being done

in the name of those unfortunate people dubbed as Naxalites? The CRP was used to beat up the North Frontier Railway workers in Siliguri. They went from house to house in the Railway quarters dragging people out and beating them up. Therefore this thing should not be viewed as an isolated incident of Jadavpur alone.

It is interesting to recall something which I did not know myself until recently. The CRP is not an original creation of this Congress Government after independence. This CRP originally in the form of one Battalion existed in 1939 while the British were still here. CRP then did not stand for Central Reserve Police, it stood for Crown Representative's Police. It is on record. It was a force which was employed solely in order to maintain law and order in the former Princely States. That is, it was used by the British Government to suppress the movement of the people of the former princely States who were fighting for their democratic rights and freedom. It was after Independence that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel decided that this force should be maintained; the name should be changed from "Crown Representative's Police" to Central Reserve Police—a very convenient name, the initials remaining the same—and that force has subsequently been further developed, expanded, and so on, and it is now being used in the way in which we see it. I am sure that the history of the force, the traditions of that force, from the time when they were serving the British Government to suppress the movement of the people of the States are probably what are still being instilled into these people; that is probably the kind of mentality and psychology they are still working with.

This has now become a very critical problem, a crucial problem also, of the relations between the Centre and the States. Last year, it was discussed when the Act was brought here. But at that time we did not have the benefit of this experience that we have been through over a year or a year and a half. At that time, you will remember that several State Government including the Government of West Bengal, the Government of Punjab and so on had sent in their opinion strongly opposing the post-

ing of the CRP in their States, because it would become a parallel force. Whereas under the Constitution, the obligation rests upon the State Governments to preserve law and order, here, there is a newly constituted force, a semi-military or para military force which is exclusively at the disposal of the Centre. It is so to speak, the arm of the Centre intruding and intervening in any State wherever it wants to.

Under the CRP Act some rules have subsequently been framed, and if you study those rules you will find that in rule No. 25, extraordinary powers have been given; nothing is defined as to what are the specific purposes for which the CRP is to be used. Blanket powers are given, so that the Central Government can utilise this force in any State for any purpose if it so desires. From this, a question has arisen that if that is so then what becomes of the constitutional obligation of the State Governments. Are they absolved from their obligations? If such blanket powers are to be given to the Centre, to employ this force in any State at any time for any purpose it wants, then the State Governments are also justified, I think, in posing the question whether they should be absolved of their constitutional obligations. This kind of problem is growing.

It is not only the CRP. Similar other military or semi-military forces have been introduced, I regret to say. For example there is the Eastern Frontier Rifles. They are also operating in West Bengal now. The Eastern Frontier Rifles were introduced at the time when Mr. Jyoti Basu was the Police Minister. The Eastern Frontier Rifles is no better or no worse than the CRP. The Eastern Frontier Rifles is still there, employed in various parts of my State.

I agree with Shri Mrityunjay Prasad when he said. I do not know whether he meant it—that such external forces should not be brought in at all to the States. The States should fulfil their own constitutional obligations on the basis of their own regular police force, the armed police and other forces. Therefore, the Eastern Frontier

Rifles, the C.R.P. etc., are really posing complications more than anything else, and they are incapable of solving the problems for which ostensibly they have been sent there.

Therefore, at least I would say that the Government should answer this question, here, was to what they propose to do about Jadavpur incident. Are they going to institute a judicial enquiry? Are they going to take any action against those officers or men who have committed these gross excesses? Also, are they going to hold an enquiry into the allegations of similar atrocities committed, whether they be against the railwaymen at Adra or the coalminers in the Asansol belt or the Northeast Frontier railwaymen at Siliguri? What is going to happen to all this? Therefore, I would say that the Central Reserve Police is a force which, instead of solving any problem, is adding to the complications, because, first of all, they know nothing about the local conditions. I do not blame those men because they have been sent from outside. They are deployed in Calcutta; they do not know anything about the topography of Calcutta. They know nothing about the lay-out of the city. They do not know anything. When the slightest incident takes place, they just run amuck like wild animals, hitting out blindly right and left. Anybody who comes in their way will have to be at the receiving end of their bullets. Is this the way in which they are going to solve any problem? I would say, for this so-called, if really those elements who are anti-social elements are to be having in a way just like individual terrorism, if they are to be curbed, it will never be done by the C.R.P. It will never be done by the Eastern Frontier Rifles. It can only be done by awakening sufficient public consciousness among the people where the people may organise resistance groups and do about it. Such incidents also have taken place in one or two cases, where people themselves have taken courage in their hands, formed themselves into groups and acted against the people who commit terroristic actions. If you think the C.R.P. will do it, it will only aggravate the situation and lead to further incidents of this type. Therefore, withdraw this C.R.P.

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

from the Jadavpur University, which is becoming a standing blot, and hold a judicial enquiry. Don't let then feel that they are above the law, that they are answerable only to Delhi and nobody else and therefore they can do what they like. This situation must be brought to an end immediately

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Sir, my name has been mentioned. I have not said a single word against judicial enquiry.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO (Dhenkanal) : Sir, it is with the greatest sorrow that I am taking part in this debate initiated by Mr. Ramamurti regarding the beating up of more than 200 students, among whom were lady students members of the staff and workers of the Jadvapur University, by the C. R. P. I want to know why the C. R. P. was posted there at all. What were they doing inside the campus? Is this the state of affairs in this country that our educational institutions will

be run with the helps of C.R.P. ? This is my sorrow, because Jadavpur University happens to be my *alma matter*.

Who is responsible for this sordid state of affairs ? Is it not due to the student unrest, which was responsible for closing down the university sometime in April ? Is it not due to the unrest and frustration due to the faulty planning of our educational system whereby degrees are given but there are young men and women with high sophisticated degress without adequate jobs and without a future ? This frustration should not be taken in an isolated form as my friend, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, said. This unrest among student has not come up in a day. It has been developing gradually for the last so many years.

17.56 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Elven of the clock on Friday, August 7, 1970/Sravana 16, 1892 (Saka).