

[श्री शिवचन्द्र भ्वा]

किया, वह भ्राविष्कार यह है कि ऐमारेटाइजेशन के नाम पर एक नई चीज टैक्स की दुनिया में चलाई जा रही है। देखने में तो यह माझूम होता है कि हम लूपहोल्स बन्द कर रहे हैं, लेकिन सव्टल रूप से, होशियारी और चालाकी से कम्पनियों की मदद के लिए हम रास्ता साफ कर रहे हैं। इस विधेयक से यह चीज घाती है।

दूसरे लोगों को फायदा देने की बात घाती है, मान लीजिए जो ब्लाइन्ड हैं उनको कर में छूट देने की बात है या उनको छूट देने की बात घाती है जो परमनेन्टली क्रिपल्ड या इन्वैलिड हैं, तब हम देखते हैं कि उसमें भी यह उदारता नहीं दिखलाते हैं। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि पहले जो विधेयक था उसमें 2,000 रु० की छूट थी और अब 4,000 रु० की छूट देने जा रहे हैं। लेकिन यदि मानवता की दृष्टि से देखें तो वह थोड़ी है। आज जो रुपये की वैल्यू है अगर उसके सन्दर्भ में हम देखें तो यह छूट बहुत कम है, जहाँ आप को उदारता दिखलानी चाहिये वहाँ आप नहीं दिखलाते हैं, और जहाँ आपको सख्ती करनी चाहिये, जिस तरीके से यहाँ कम्पनियों को फायदा होने जा रहा है और वह फिर टैक्स इवेजन करेगी, वहाँ आप भ्राविष्कार कर रहे हैं ऐमारेटाइजेशन के जरिये से टैक्स की दुनिया में। श्री साल्वे ने भी कहा कि यह भ्राविष्कार किया जा रहा है। मुल्क बुनियादी चीज है। इस विधेयक का जो मोटा रूप हमारे सामने आया है वह यह कि जो छोटे फायदे हैं वह ऐन्सेलरी या सन्तोडिअरी फायदे हैं, मुख्य फायदा इससे यह होने जा रहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो पूंजीवाद की गाड़ी चल रही है, इवेजन के जरिए, उनकी दुनिया आबाद की जा रही है।

अब सवाल घाता है कि टैक्स की नीति हो कैसी ?

सभापति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य अब प्रपना भाषण कल जारी रखें।

16.29 hrs.

MOTION RE: FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT TO PROTECT THE LIFE OF MRS. PARUL BOSE IN CALCUTTA

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai) : Sir
I beg to move the following :

"This House deplores the failure of the Government to provide protection to Mrs. Parul Bose who was stabbed in Calcutta on the 4th November, 1970, while working in her school, despite prior intimation having been given to the Commissioner of Police three days before the incident."

Just because of the Rules of Procedure, I could bring only this particular incident to the notice of this House. I will just give the facts as they are first. It may be said "you are a Marxist Communist Party member, and the person who was stabbed also belongs to that party and, therefore, you are giving a tendentious version". Therefore, I am giving a summary of the incident as it has appeared in the *Jugantar*, a paper owned by the Secretary of the Bengal Congress Party (R), Shri Tarun Kanti Ghosh. According to that paper, Parul Bose, who was an important worker of the Mahila Samaj and a member of the Communist Party (Marxist), who was the wife of Shri K. G. Bose, a member of the now dissolved Legislative Assembly of West Bengal, an important leader of the West Bengal Government employees Organisation as well as a number of trade unions, she went to school at 9.30 a.m. because she was a teacher in a girls' school in Baliaghat. At about 9.40 a.m. about 20 goondas entered the school and they began to search for her. Immediately, the other teachers of the school asked the girl students of the class of Shrimati Parul Bose to surround her and give her protection.

Many of the students immediately stood up and even before they could give complete protection to her one of them made a beeline to Shrimati Parul Bose and immediately stabbed her on the left side of the breast.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU : He does not give the name of the lady properly.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Parul is the name. Otherwise, also it does not make any difference. Unfortunately, I am not very familiar with Bengali and I may make mistakes. What am I to do about it ?

DR. MAITREYEE BASU (Darjeeling) : If he does not know about Bengal, let him not speak about Bengal. He admits he does not know about Bengal.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : This has nothing to do with the subject matter.

Even according to this paper, 20 goondas entered the school on the 4th of this month at 9.40 a.m. and immediately stabbed her. Then they prevented any information being given to the police immediately for about half an hour. After making sure of that they went away. After about 45 minutes Shri K. G. Bose was informed about the whole matter and the police were also informed. Even though an ambulance was asked to take her to the hospital the ambulance was not available. This incident has taken place in an area which is supposed to be a disturbed area. A lot of police is posted there. Yet, no mobile van was available. Immediately afterwards she was taken to the hospital. She was in a precarious condition. After an operation, anyhow, she is now fortunately recovering and she is out of danger. That is the latest report I have got.

The question is : what is the complicity of the government in this particular matter ? If some lady teacher is stabbed in a school, how do we bring in the government ? When so many such incidents have taken place, how is the government specially responsible in this particular case ? I am presently coming to that point.

16.33 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the chair]

When the school was closed for the vacation we had this intimation about danger to her life that in case she attended the school after reopening she would be attacked and she would not be alive. This kind of threat had been given by the anti-social elements in that area. Therefore, the police was informed. No less a person than Shri Jyoti Basu himself had gone and talked to the Police Commissioner along with Shri K. G. Bose. They were informed that they need not fear, the police are taking ample precautionary measures to see that no such incident takes place. A day prior to the incident, on the 3rd, the local police officer came to Bose's house and they had a discussion. He assured them that they need not have any fears on that score because they are taking ample precautionary measures and that she could go to the school without any let or hindrance. Earlier, she was reluctant to go to the school because she felt that she need not necessarily have this kind of trouble. But on the assurance of the local police official she went to the school and then the whole thing happened.

These are the facts of the case. This only brings to light the complicity of the police. It is not a case of mere negligence on the part of the police. Consistently during the last few months the police in West Bengal is acting in connivance with the anti-social elements. There are reports—actually, the Police Commissioner has admitted it in a number of statements in Calcutta—that now that the Naxalite movement has been taken over by the anti-social and goonda elements there is a directive—I charge the Government that there is a directive—that before we go to the elections see to it that as many of the middle cadre of the Communist Party (Marxist) are done away with, because the strength of the Communist Party (Marxist) comes from its middle cadres, and use any methods to see that they are done away with. It is on that basis that goondas are moving about along with the police people.

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

In a number of cases the goondas are pointing out that there are Marxists at such and such a place and immediately the police pounce upon them.

I had pointed out when I talked about Durgapur how the police behaved there and how one of our comrades was beaten to death in the presence of the police. Immediately the police gave out a version to the papers which are anxious immediately to gulp whatever the police say and take the police version as true. The papers out the version given by the police that the boy was taking a bomb in his pocket, the bomb burst and that as a result of the bursting of the bomb the boy died. When the body was sent for a post-mortem examination, fortunately the doctor was not amenable to the pressure of the police and the post-mortem examination report showed that the boy was beaten to death and that there was no question of a bomb bursting and injuries by burning. I had pointed out specifically to the Home Minister, Shri Pant, that the police was hand in glove with the culprits. Why should the police give a false story when the man was beaten to death in the presence of the police? This is the kind of thing that is going on in West Bengal all along.

This is not the only thing. On 15th June, Shri Chinmoy Hazra, a member of the Communist Party (Marxist), was mercilessly beaten when he was being taken to the police station and inside the police lock-up with revolver butt-ends and was given electric shock. His feet were sizzled with burning by electric heaters. This is the kind of torture that is going on day by day. On 8th August, 9th, 13 and 14th October and 2nd November, anti-social elements in combination with the police raided localities in the kasba area. The police took along with them anti-social elements and goondas. They are now in the pay of the police. The Deputy Commissioner of Calcutta Police, Shri Chakravarty, is the person who is organising all kinds of goonda attacks on us.

Therefore I want to warn the other political parties also. What is happening to us today is going to happen to all the

other parties who are opposing the Congress (R). They are going to use all kinds of methods in order to liquidate their political opponents. This is the kind of thing that is being done. Therefore it is not an ordinary matter.

When intimation had been given to the police three or four days before that, when the Thanedar came to the house of Shri and Shrimati K.G. Bose and told them that they need not worry, when the lady was reluctant to go to school they persuaded her to go to school and told her that they had taken ample precautions, the very next day when she went to school this kind of a dastardly attack on her, a lady worker, happened. What else does it show except active connivance and organisation of the attack by the Government and the administration? This the thing that has happened. What is the use of the saying? What is the action you took? What is the action you took against the Commissioner of Police? What is the action you took against the Deputy Commissioner of Police? What is the action that has been taken against the Thanedar? What is the action you took even after these things have been given? Even after information has been given, they failed to lift their little finger and did not give protection whatsoever, Sir. Therefore, my point is quite clear that this is being done in the name of Naxalites who to-day have faded out—I know what the answer of Mr. Pant will be, 'Our Policemen are also being attacked'. Very true, Sir. I know that. But when there are a few Naxalites but along with the Naxalites, just because the Government is interested in wiping out people and for that they are trying to utilise the goonda elements. Therefore, some real Naxalites will certainly take advantage of it and attack the Police also. Your policy is boomeranging on yourself. You cannot give protection to your own people as a result of that. For that I am not responsible. What am I to do about that? But the whole thing is: to-day you are interested in seeing that the middle cadre of the Marxist Communist Party is wiped out. In Beliaghata you have been doing that. In 24 Parganas you have been doing that. In

Alipurduar you are doing that. Everywhere the goonda elements are let loose on the people. People are being mercilessly beaten day in and day out. People are beaten. Women are being raped by people and if things are brought to the notice of the Government authorities, they say, 'We will look into it' and nod their heads. This is the thing that is going on there.

Therefore, when I brought this particular motion, my intention was to point out that it is not an ordinary failure of the Police administration. If the Police administration has not been warned before, then you could have said 'A stray incident has happened. What can the local administration do about it?' Here is a case when information was given to them and police protection was sought for the woman to go to the school and on the next day such a thing happens and what else does it show except the active connivance of the Police officials concerned with this dastardly attack on one of our comrades?

I am not going into whole gamut of the policies that are being pursued by the Government in West Bengal. It is outside the scope of this resolution. I am pin-pointing this particular fact that an organized attempt is being made by the Government to use the Police. I know as a matter of fact that * * Mr. L.P. Singh, the Home Secretary * * has gone to West Bengal.

MR. SPEAKER : Please don't criticise persons who are not here in the House to defend themselves. This will not go into the record.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : All right, Sir. I do not want to say that.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : (Kendrapara) : The word * * should not be there.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I am not saying * * It is a well-known fact and I charge the Government that the Home Secretary here was deputed to West Bengal. He went and discussed with the Police officials and

officers there how to organize this continuous murderous attack on the middle cadre of the Communist Party (Marxists). This is the specific purpose on which he was sent there. He has organized the whole thing. Therefore, this kind of continuous things are there.

I want to point out that it is not a very difficult matter for us to retaliate. The Marxist Communist Party is powerful enough.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, AND MINISTER OF STATE, DEPARTMENTS OF ELECTRONICS, AND SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH (SHRI K.C. PANT) : Sir, even after you have warned, he continues to name the officer. He can attack the Government but it is not fair to attack a man who is not here to defend himself. (Intreptions)

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I am not attacking the officer. I am attacking the officer since he went there and who did your bidding, the bidding of the Government of India. I am not saying that he has organized it on his own. I am saying that on instructions from the Government of India (Interruptions) He had been used.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : For my hon. friend, Shri Ramamurti, to make such an attack on an officer will only demoralise the officers. It is this Government which should be condemned.

MR. SPEAKER : I have told him that he cannot bring in their names.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Under instructions from the the Home Ministry, this is what has been organized. Therefore, it is not an ordinary thing when such things continue to happen. But I want to warn Government that it is not a very difficult thing for us to retaliate. The Communist Party of Marxists in Bengal is powerful enough. We have got sufficient support of the common masses in West Bengal;

[Shri P. Rama Murti]

And, if we decide to retaliate, then, things are going to be far worse for you. Therefore, I warn them about this : Things cannot continue like this. Withdraw this step. Withdraw these measures. Unless you do that we will not rest content. We have seen enough ; we are not afraid of facing the situation ; we have seen worse things.

I would appeal to all sections of the House to see what is happening today. What is happening to us today is bound to happen to any one of them. Therefore, I say, do not allow this kind of thing to go on, this kind of thing to continue in West Bengal.

I commend this Resolution to the acceptance of the House. It is high time Government retraced its step in the manner in which it is functioning in West Bengal. Thank you.

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"This House deplores the failure of the Government to provide protection to Mrs. Parul Bose who was stabbed in Calcutta on the 4th November, 1970, while working in her school, despite prior intimation having been given to the Commissioner of Police three days before the incident."

There are two amendments by Shri Samar Guha and Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri. They have been circulated already.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : I beg to move my amendment in a slightly modified form. It will read as follows :

"That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely, —

"and is of opinion that the background of such barbarous act has been created by the politics of violence and terrorism." (1)

I have struck off the last two lines in the previous version which has been circulated.

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHURI (Birhampore) : Sir, I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely,—

"and also to provide normal security to numerous other citizens who have been planfully murdered by anti-social gangsters and hooligans or killed by indiscriminate firing by the State police and the C. R. P. in Calcutta and in other places of West Bengal." (2)

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I wish to submit, Sir, that Shri Samar Guha's amendment is out of order. I am talking of the failure of the Government to give protection in regard to such attacks. We are talking only about that. The main thing is about giving protection and the failure of the Government to give protection in respect of such dastardly attacks. His amendment says that such attacks are due to politics of violence and terrorism. I am now concerned with the failure of the Government. Therefore, his amendment is out of order. It cannot fit in with the main Motion which I have moved. I want your ruling on that.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA (Jalore) : It is not out of order. Because, even if it is due to failure of the Government, it arises on account of certain conditions created by violence and insurrectionist activities etc. Therefore, it is not at all out of order. This is the very truth of the matter ; it is very relevant and this has to be admitted.

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHURI : Since objection has been raised that it is out of the scope of the Motion, you will have to take a decision. I am only making a submission to you with regard to my amendment.

MR. SPEAKER : Both are in order. Everything is in order today. If the main Motion is in order, then others are in order.

SHRI HIMATSINGKA (Godda) : I am

glad that Shri P. Ramamurti has thought fit to condemn this incident and has wanted to draw the attention of the House...

MR. SPEAKER : As I have declared already, this motion is for 2 hours ; at 5.30 p. m. we have the half-an-hour discussion to be taken up, but I think we shall have to postpone that half-an-hour discussion.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA : That will have to be postponed.

MR. SPEAKER : We shall have to postpone the half-an-hour discussion to some other day. This discussion is for 2 hours and it will conclude at 6.30 p.m.

SHRI HIMATSINGKA : Shri P. Ramamurti wants to condemn the Government for their failure to take steps to protect the citizens, and the name of one particular lady who was stabbed in spite of previous information having been given to the police has been mentioned. It is true that Government have failed to protect the citizens. Murder is taking place every day. Four or five murders are taking place every day, and this kind of thing has been going on for months. Only on the 5th of November I find from the newspapers that Government had agreed to revive the Preventive Detention Act in Bengal. Government of Bengal had been asking for it for quite some time, but it was only so late as the 5th November that Government here thought it fit to revive that law in Bengal.

In this connection, I would like to invite the attention of the House to the background of these troubles. As you know, during the regime of the two UF Governments in Bengal, people were encouraged to create trouble and violent methods were encouraged, and the police was not allowed to take action against the persons who were violating the law. The result was that violence had increased, and people did not get the protection that they were entitled to. As a result, this thing has been going on.

The extremist parties began first with gheraos, and then they used other methods,

and then came inter-party rivalry; sometimes it was the CPI(M) people who were murdered, sometimes the CPI people, sometimes the Forward Bloc people and sometimes the Congress members. Important workers like Shri Aditya Ghosal and Shri Ajoy Ghosal were attacked in their home in the morning. Shri Aditya Ghosal died instantaneously while his brother Shri Ajoy Ghosal is lying in the hospital in a precarious condition. There are also other members who have been killed. Therefore, the position is that Government have failed to take steps to protect the lives of various workers, with the result that various important workers have been murdered and stabbed in broad daylight and in the presence of a large number of persons. The present position in Calcutta especially and in other places in Bengal is that even when a person is stabbed in the presence of a large number of persons who are standing there, no one has the courage to go and stop it or take any steps to prevent the attacker from using the knife or the bomb or whatever it may be; the people who are standing there get scared, and as a matter of fact, the police has been the biggest target of attack by the extremist political parties with the result that they have become demoralised especially because of the ineffectiveness of the Government of West Bengal under the present Governor. They have not taken steps as they should have taken. That is the reason why this has gone on in Bengal. A number of Congress workers have been killed in Malda and other places, and not a word of protest was coming forward from any of the political parties when such murders had taken place. Still I feel Government has failed in its duty as it should have taken adequate steps in time to protect citizens, whoever may have been attacked, whether he belonged to a political party, CPI(M), CPI or anybody or any innocent ordinary citizen.

We all know that the statues of renowned leaders have been desecrated. But not a word of protest from anywhere has come. These things have gone on and these have encouraged rowdy and anti-social elements and extremists in the parties

[Shri Himatsingka]

and various other persons to take the law into their hands. The result is that Government finds itself absolutely in a hopeless and helpless position without being in a position to give any protection. A man tries to get into a car; soffit persons come and stab him and he dies instantaneously. Recently one such incident happened. One Shri Harish Chandra Kenjriwal or B. K. Paul Avenue was trying to get into his car in front of his house. He was stabbed and killed. Luckily his son was able to save himself. But nothing has been done to apprehend the culprits. The police had not been able to arrest anybody that day. People have not the courage to give out the names of the attackers lest they be done away with. This is the position in Calcutta and other places.

When the UF Government was in power, Sain brothers were killed in Burdwan. The blood of one of them was taken and put on the forehead of the mother of the deceased. Yet no action was taken; no condemnation came from any political party. The result is that this thing has recoiled on the various parties and they are killing the members of each other's party. Government has utterly failed to give any protection. Now the State Government has been asking for special powers. But the Central Government because of the fear that some parties on whose support they rely here will oppose it are not coming forward to pass the necessary legislation. This is the unfortunate position in the country, as a result of which these things are going on.

Therefore, the Government deserves condemnation for its failure to protect citizens from attack. At the same time, I say that some political parties started this and now things have gone beyond control. Calcutta has practically become a city of bomb factories. One can get any number of bombs from houses making them. This is the situation and the Government deserves to be condemned for this state of affairs.

MR. SPEAKER : The time distribution as between the parties is as follows : Cong-

ress (0) 12 minutes ; Swatantra 8 ; Jana Sangh 7, DMK 6, CPI 6, CPI (M) 15, SSP 4, PSP 4, UIG 6, BKD 2. Unattached 6 and Congress 44.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA : It is interesting that the CPI (M) has today come forward to criticise the West Bengal police whom they protected a few months back and whom they prevented from acting a few months back when Shri Jyoti Basu was in charge of the Home portfolio there. While we are equally indignant about the attack on Shrimati Parul Bose, can we ignore the other conditions and atmosphere of violence and murder prevailing in West Bengal, in respect of which the CPM spokesmen are absolutely silent and dumb? Can we forget the hundreds and thousands of persons who have been murdered and who have been assaulted over the last one and half or two years in West Bengal? Can we also forget the hundreds of peasants and farmers who have been murdered in various parts of West Bengal on account of political disputes? Can we forget the cold-blooded murder of so many policemen in West Bengal, policemen who have been doing their duty under extremely difficult conditions, policemen who are not provided with sufficient weapons and instruments? They have to perform difficult duties in the face of death. Can we forget the murders of these policemen?

17 hrs.

The policemen, after the lapse of so much time, have now become somewhat active, and if they are fulfilling or carrying out their duties under difficult conditions, I believe they deserve to be complimented and not to be condemned. If there is any lacuna, it is because proper instruments and proper equipments are not being given to the policemen and that is why they are not so active as they should be.

Who were responsible for demoralising them? Has any one of us forgotten so soon, within a few months, that when Shri Jyoti Basu and the CPM were in power, policemen were given instructions and directions

not to interfere when their volunteers were involved in murdering people? Have we forgotten that they were prevented from noting down diaries and making enquiries, and the policemen were thoroughly demoralised? And today when they have become somewhat active, the CPM representative comes out in the open and tries to accuse them for whatever little duty they are carrying out.

The problem is not with regard to the functioning of the policemen. The problem is that the policemen are not properly armed by the Government, the problem is that the West Bengal Government has not been given proper power that are needed to control the situation, the problem is that the Governor who functions today is not functioning effectively, the problem is that the Central Government is still tolerating the same Governor and the same administration, the problem is that even today the Central Government has not realised the problem of West Bengal in its proper perspective.

Today an atmosphere and a shadow of violence and murders is prevailing in West Bengal. All of us are reading newspapers, and not a day passes when we do not come across cases of murder or assault or looting. Not a day passes when some section of society in West Bengal is not threatened. Whether it is the office worker or factory worker or bankman or ordinary citizen in Calcutta and surrounding areas, he does not feel safe to walk around. It is dangerous to move out of his house in the evening, and he does not know when he is going to be pick-pocketed or stabbed or murdered. This is the typical condition which is prevailing today. Even taxi drivers are playing their taxis under threat. Many goonda elements force themselves into the taxis and compel the taxi drivers to follow their direction; otherwise they are subjected to assault and all kinds of humiliations. Who does not know that it is these very anti-social elements and goondas which move around various localities of West Bengal in groups and demand money? If any law-abiding citizen is not prepared to pay, he is assaulted and sometimes murdered. The other day a respectable gentleman by name Harikrishna Kejriwal was murdered in cold-blood because he refused to pay the sum of

Rs. 500 to these goonda elements who were demanding the money? Who does not know that, whether it is the taxi or bus or tram car or train, it is these very elements which force their way into them without paying fares? There is not even one officer, one responsible conductor or person who has the courage to ask for fares from these persons. This is the atmosphere that is prevailing in West Bengal and these are the conditions. Have the Central Government taken note of these conditions? Have they realised that the type of violence and atmosphere that is prevailing, needs to be properly examined and looked into? In a pre-planned manner, it is being organised in West Bengal. Our party's spokesmen in this Parliament have been pointing this out to the Government for the last 2½ years, but nothing has been done.

To prove that it is part of the planned activity of certain elements in West Bengal I may quote Mr. Charu Mazumdar who happens to be the leader of the CPI (ML). They are all off-shoots of communism, whether it is Naxalites or CPI (ML). What he has said about their activities has been reported in the newspapers. I would request your indulgence to quote briefly from a newspaper report of what Mr. Charu Mazumdar has said. According to him and according to the party to which he belongs, by February such a situation will be created in West Bengal that "an open confrontation with the forces of law and order which his plan implies will be possible. To carry out the plan the Naxalites will have to acquire fire arms and some recent cases of snatching away of fire arms from policemen are regarded to be significant." This is the type of activity going on in West Bengal. There are certain elements in West Bengal, whether they belong to CPM-L or Naxalites or CPM, who are determined to maintain a situation of lawlessness and would not abide by any administration. If the Government is really serious in tackling the situation in West Bengal, it will have to realise the situation in its proper perspective. I wish to warn them. Simply authorising the West Bengal Government with a limited legislation will not solve the problem. It will be necessary to outlaw the elements who are determined to wreck our Constitution and

[Shri D. N. Patodia]

create conditions of lawlessness. It is necessary that we must create conditions in which people will abide by law and will be able to live in peace. If necessary West Bengal is a place where you will have to impose martial law to protect the rights and safety of the people... (*Interruptions.*) The situation is so serious. I can understand the laughter of my CPM friends who are responsible for creating this situation today. Today when it comes to them they hit the Government. I can understand their difficulties. When it pinches them they always shout. I hope the Government will realise the seriousness of the situation and will take the steps that are necessary.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI (Krishnagar) : I have read this resolution with great consternation. As women we are very sorry and regret that there has been this stabbing of Shrimati Parul Bose. None of us can condone such an act. But at the same time I should like to ask the persons who had brought this motion before this House ; what has resulted in this situation where violence has been let loose ? Let them search their hearts. I come from West Bengal and I was there during the U. F. regime. Jyoti Basu let loose 3, 000 goondas and they coupled with the CPM are doing havoc in West Bengal. (*Interruptions.*) I must be allowed to have my say. Let me bring to the notice of the House that an adjournment motion was sought to be brought over the stabbing of one woman. We all regret this incident. Is this only case of a woman that has been killed or stabbed ? Has there been any adjournment motion tabled when thousands of deaths have taken place ? Let me draw the picture of the United Front regime in West Bengal when there was no safety for anybody. I was really surprised that the Cong (O) tried to join hands with the CPM to bring an adjournment motion. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh and Shri Morarji Desai have also thought that the Adjournment Motion should be allowed. I am really surprised when their own workers have been hacked to pieces by the CPM. In Malda, Jyotish Juardar had been butchered seven days ago. He was one of their own workers. In Malda, there was

Manindra Bakshi. He was killed, murdered in front of his mother. (*Interruption.*) He was one of their workers. He was butchered by the CPM. Also, let me tell the House that Mriganayan Sain's three sons were killed in Burdwan (*Interruption.*) Let the House listen to me. Mriganayan Sain's three sons were killed in front of the police. She herself was pulled down, and was made naked and the blood of her sons was strewn on her. This happened during the UF regime. And to this what had Shri Hari Krishna Konar, Minister in the UF regime, to say when this was done ? He said in a public meeting that he was "proud of what had been done !"

Then, what happened to Bimal Kanti Ghosh, a sitting Member of Congress (O) in this House ? He was assaulted, and he nearly died on account of the assault perpetrated on him. On the other hand, has there been a word of regret on the part of the CPM when heinous things were done ? Did Hari Krishna Konar express regret at the attack on the Mayor of Calcutta ? I would like to know. The sons of mothers have spoken out. All this was done in front of the police in the UF regime, that was in office. No action was taken. Gunamani Roy was the man who gave evidence, because he had seen what had happened; he was an eye-witness to the Sain brother's murder. What happened to him ? Because he gave evidence, he was killed in the court of law. In the lawn in front of the judge he was murdered. All this happened in the UF regime, in West Bengal There was no safety.

Then, about the Rabindra Sarovar incident. The musical evening there was made in to a nightmare, and the judicial enquiry could not function. Assaults were perpetrated on womenfolk; lady lawyers were assaulted. (*Interruption.*) I am speaking about the Rabindra Sarovar incident. Whenever Shri Jyotirmoy Basu speaks about it, he never misses a chance to have a go at me. But let me tell him that the lawyers could not function. The judicial enquiry could not proceed.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond-Harbour) : ** (*Interruption*)

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI :
Let him prove it.

MR. SPEAKER : This will not form part of the record. What are you doing ? Have patience to listen to her. They are listening.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI : So, this Frankenstein that they have triggered off is now coming towards them. Some of their party people get killed by the violence they have invoked. They are the only people who have perpetrated violence. So, they must reap the fruits of this violence. I have been to these places where these murders have taken place.

Let me also cite one instance, and let the House know of it. I think it is a shame on the face of India that an Adivasi peasant woman, who was expecting a child, was spear ed to death and the child she was carrying was killed by kicking her mercilessly. That was done by whom ? By the CPM. And who was this Adivasi woman ? Her name, nobody will know. Let the House listen to her last words. There are mothers and fathers in this House. Let them listen. Nobody will know her name. But what she said last will go out in the air and float in the air of West Bengal and India. Her last words were, "I have not seen the face of my child." (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : What is going on in the back rows ? There is too much noise in the House.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI : There was this girl who was discovered three days afterwards. Her body was mutilated. Her parents did not know from where to get her whereabouts till after three days she was found under the water. The river threw her out. Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu knows Bengali. I will quote what was said in Hooghly at that time. It was a couplet ringing in the minds of all the people of Hooghly :

"Kothay gelo, kothay gelo

Deke loke bolay

Sonar Anga, Banglar Meye
Ache sital jaler taley
Chotto Sonar Kaner phul
Chander alay jaley
Megh baran chuller rash
chariya ache jaley."

This was done by the CPM. One does not know where the CPM ends and Naxalite begins or where the Naxalite ends and CPM begins and how the CPM has been infiltrated right into the administration, right into every sphere of life in West Bengal—that has to be tightened up if we are to eschew such violence.

Today what is needed is that our Government must arm itself with any legislation and any power it wants to curb this violence, so that our sons and daughters and young children and even unborn babies may not be killed. These young boys are brain-washed and that is why they desecrate the statues of the leaders of our nation. People like Mr. Harekrishna Konar and Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu say they are proud of them ! I think Mr. Basu will hang his head in shame when he hears of these things and search his heart, if he has a heart. I do not think they have a heart. Their methods have been heartless. (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Basu, please sit down. Why are you getting up every time ? (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI : There will be repercussions. People as a body will rise against this violence. They know that the Congress stands for the rule of law. We do not want military rule. We do not want the army to come in. We want the people to be able to face it themselves and to give their opinion fearlessly and I am sure the CPM will be thrown out with the contempt it deserves not only in West Bengal but all over India. People will no longer go about in fear of the CPM, which owes allegiance to something outside India and has perpetrated violence and vulgarity in India, which is the cradle of culture. We do not want such a party which spoils

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri]

our country and our youth. It should be banned. The CPM has no place in the scheme of things in our country and in this Parliament. I hope the CPM will come to a bad end, which it is sure to come to, when it faces the people, who will see that they do not come back into power. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : If you want a debate you should listen to it. There is no point in screaming and yelling all the time. I do not think you are interested in the debate.

SHRI S. S. KOTHARI (Mandsaur) : Mr. Speaker there is no doubt that the attack on Shrimati Parul Bose deserves universal condemnation. It should not have taken place. But is it an isolated incident? Certainly not. The previous speakers have drawn a picture of the atmosphere of violence prevailing in West Bengal. The situation has deteriorated so much that every day a number of murders is taking place.

I have listened with rapt attention to whatever Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri said. But can the Central Government confidently claim that it has no responsibility for the deplorable state of law and order in West Bengal? That is an issue which must be faced. President's rule is there in West Bengal and the Central Government is in charge of that State. If in one part of India, an important part at that, the law and order has deteriorated to such an extent, I feel the time has come when we must make determined effort and see to it that law and order is firmly restored in West Bengal.

Why is it that despite the fact that during the last more than six months we have been hearing that the Central Government is taking action, practically nothing has been done and the situation continues to deteriorate? Why is this inertia there? Is it because the Central Government is pressurized by certain of its political allies not to take adequate action? Let the Minister reply to this.

We are all aware that Preventive Deten-

tion has become a necessity in Calcutta. I would say that it is humane to have preventive arrests, preventive detention rather than shooting down. We do not wish to see that every day some young men are killed, some policemen are murdered. Yet, why is it that the Preventive Detention Bill is not being placed before the House? For the last six months the Central Government has been dilly-dallying and the law has not been brought before us. If a clean preventive detention law is drafted, which is solely intended to curb Naxalite or other violence by anti-social elements in West Bengal, we would support it. Government must bring forward at an early date a clean Bill which does not have a dual purpose.

What happened in the Consultative Committee meeting last time? Shri Bhupesh Gupta did not want this Bill; so, the Government withdrew it. Shri Chavan is supposed to be a strong man; yet he quietly said: "let us skip it over," and that item was postponed.

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHARI : Dr. Ram Subhag Singh also opposed it.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA (Delhi Sadar) : We are not responsible for Dr. Ram Subhag Singh. So far as we are concerned, we supported it.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH (Buxar) : I only opposed adventurist measures. I am prepared to support all efforts that are going to be made to improve law and order in the country.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Sir, I rise on a point of order. There are clear rules about quoting what transpired in the Consultative Committee on the floor of the House. It could not be mentioned here under our rules. Further, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, who is the leader of our group in Rajya Sabha, is not present in the House. So, he cannot defend himself. Apart from that, we want to make it clear that under no circumstances will we support the Preventive Detention Act. It is our clear stand.

MR. SPEAKER : May I request hon. Members not to mention anything that has transpired in the Consultative Committee on the floor of the House..... (Interruptions) Now that you have raised a point of order, you have to listen to what I have to say. His point of order was whether a reference could be made to what happened in the Consultative Committee. I have already expressed my view about it.

SHRI S. S. KOTHARI : Even though I could erase from my memory what happened in the Consultative Committee, the account of the proceedings that appeared in the newspapers is there for all to see.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : If Shri Bhupesh Gupta does not want this Act and the Government has obliged him, the public should know it ; it is in the public interest.

SHRI S. S. KOTHARI : Having castigated the Government for its failure to maintain law and order in West Bengal, I now come to the other aspect of it. I sympathise with my CP(M) friends with regard to the assault on Shrimati Parul Bose. I also sympathise with them about the murders that have taken place of their partymen. But how has this atmosphere of violence come about in West Bengal ? What happened during the months of the United Front regime when Shri Jyoti Basu was in charge of the home portfolio in West Bengal ? That is something which cannot be erased from memory. It was the CP(M) which was responsible for nurturing violence in the State. They were responsible rendering the police inactive. At that time whenever the police was phoned, they just said, "Let the incident occur, let some people die, then we shall come." The police was inactive at various times, even during gheraos and other serious incidents that took place, when law and order was violated and even murders took place. The police did not come in time ; they only came after the incident had occurred. I must say that the CP(M) sowed the wind and now they are reaping the whirlwind. No body should sympathise with violence. Anybody who claims to be a

democrat should condemn violence. Every Member of this House should condemn violence and should make efforts to see that any violence that is there in West Bengal or other parts of the country is eliminated.

During the CP(M) regime there was infiltration in the police ranks and as a consequence of that the police force also had become demoralised. The policemen must perform their functions effectively, impartially and objectively. For that purpose if any powers are needed they should be given those powers. I am in favour of that. Law and order is a basic necessity for civilised and democratic existence and it must be maintained.

Now I come to the Governor of West Bengal, Shri Dhavan. For the last six months, even more, probably most parties and most people, who can see reason and who are not biased, have criticised that gentleman and have pleaded with the Central Government to withdraw him and appoint an administrator who can dynamise the administration and make it effective. I would again plead with the Central Government that we do not need political philosophers in West Bengal ; we need administrators who have experience of administration and who would try and perform their duty, the legitimate function of maintaining law and order, and not be guilty of dereliction of duty, of mixing with political parties and of taking sides.

There is a demand for elections in West Bengal. Do you expect the voters to go and vote and get into trouble, even get killed ? Would people vote in such an atmosphere. We can have elections in West Bengal only if this atmosphere of violence is dispelled, if there is peace and murders are not committed, if the police performs its functions effectively, if a state of affairs is created where the voter can in a free and fearless manner go to the polls and exercise his democratic right to vote ; otherwise, it is no use talking of elections because the elections can be rigged and would be false and only those who can meet violence with violence would go and vote and other citizens would not

[Shri S. S. Kothari]

exercise their franchise. And what about the number of schemes that were indicated by the West Bengal Advisers and administrators? None of these have taken off from the paper on which they have been made out. Why go about grandiose schemes which will never be fulfilled, like the Underground Railway? Let us have a simple railway over the ground and run it efficiently. I am not going to speak about numerous other proposals. But I would like to sound a note of warning to-day. If you are not able to solve the problems of unemployment, if you are not able to check the rising prices, this unemployment and the frustration that emanates from out of unemployment is going to spread disturbance in this country. The portents are that what is happening in West Bengal may be repeated elsewhere. If we are unable to provide the bare necessities of life to the people to lead a decent existence and for educated persons to find jobs. It is necessary that proper pragmatic efforts are made in that direction.

I would conclude by reiterating that law and order must be maintained with a firm hand. Those who seek police protection must be provided protection. Anti-social elements should be firmly dealt with. Since preventive detention is more humane, than shorting, the Preventive Detention Act must be immediately revived in West Bengal.

Lastly, the Governor who has only brought misery to that State must be replaced by an able administrator.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central): It is tragic that Mrs. Parul Bose's stabbing has taken place while she was in the school because we sympathise and we believe in the sanctity of life and stability of the society itself. But I want to ask a very simple question since the resolution seeks to condemn the Central Government. How many times the Opposition Parties in Bengal tried to weaken the Central Government? To-day this resolution speaks that the Central Government has failed but the Opposition Parties in Bengal have always tried to weaken the Central

Government. The result is as it is. I am not talking of those who are as such. I am talking of the double voice with which some of the political parties are speaking in this House. Whatever happened in Bengal cannot be studied in isolation. We have got to take into consideration the background and the canvas, rather a red canvas, where the CPM, Naxalites and extremists prowl together and more especially in Calcutta. The question is: who is responsible? Instances and illustrations have been quoted by Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri. Therefore, I need not go into them. The question I would like to raise is: who is responsible for the violence, looting, atrocities, murders and arson that are taking place in Bengal? (*Interruptions*) Who is responsible? You are responsible. Therefore, I am accusing you. (*Interruptions*) Responsibility entirely lies on the extremists and the Naxalites and CPM. They are the culprits. They tried, when they were in power, to sow the wind. Now they are reaping the whirlwind in which they are burning themselves. Therefore, they have come here in this House to condemn the Central Government.

If I may remind this House, and some of the Members of the Opposition and the Opposition Parties that the CPM and extremists tried to use democracy to destroy democracy itself.

17.34 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair]

That is a fact which is noted down in the history of India itself.

We are not oblivious of the fact that many of the extremist elements in this House and outside have been saying that they would like to destroy the Constitution. They went to the extent of saying that the democratic and constitutional means are not sufficient enough to bring about the radical changes needed in this country or change in the socio-economic conditions of the people; they therefore emphasise that this democratic method must be destroyed and constitutional means also must be given up. I don't want to name anybody; but

I vividly remember the very clear picture presented when Mr. Nambiar got up and said: "We do not believe in this Constitution. What is wrong there if a red flag is hoisted at 11 O' clock on the Government building?" These were the words which are still ringing in my ears.

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli) :

Sir, he is mis-quoting me; We said, the Constitution needs to be changed. we are changing it. It is our job.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : we have been hearing various arguments, changing phraseology etc. We always hear such things. I must emphasise this point and say that Calcutta must be and West Bengal must be a sufficient warning to the rest of the country, to those who believe in democracy and democratic methods and democratic means. Those who believe in violent means for changing society must be kept at arm's length. I would like to emphasise the fact as to what is meant by democracy. Don't fall into the trap of Communists (M) or Naxalites. As Dr. Ambedkar said, democracy is both form and method. It is a Government by which radical and revolutionary economic and social changes can be brought about without bloodshed. These people, Naxalites, Extreme Naxalites, Communist Marxists, do not believe in these democratic methods. I am really surprised today to see that some of the opposition parties are also party to and supporters of this Resolution. I am happy that the people from Bengal are summoning up the necessary courage and putting up resistance to the extremist activities indulged in by these people to destroy West Bengal. I would only appeal to the opposition parties and their leaders, that it is very dangerous to be associated with the Communists (M), Naxalites or the Extremists.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : You are also supporting the Communist Government. You are also working under them.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE ; I may tell the Leader of the Opposition that today

is a shining example of his association with the Communists (Marxists), in regard to this Resolution. Let the country take a warning of what is in store for us, if democratic means are given up and violent and unconstitutional means are adopted.

With these words I oppose the Resolution moved by Shri P. Ramamurti.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur) :

The fact that West Bengal is still under President's rule is enough proof to show that the Central Government is incapable of bringing the State back to normalcy. I don't think that any other proof is needed for that. I would like to have guidance not only from the Mover of the Resolution, but from the legal luminaries who form part of the House, to throw light on this point. When there is deterioration of law and order situation in a State, immediately the Central Government takes it over. But, after taking over, if the law and order situation is still worse, then what is the remedy? I am afraid that the Constitution has not provided any remedy for that. The Swatantra Party spokesman, Shri D. N. Patodia has suggested that we can hand over West Bengal to martial law. I think this is not a remedy at all. Rather, it will worsen the disease. As Shri H. N. Mukerjee had suggested during the question hour, there are certain things which ought to be dealt with politically. We have to concede that some amount of political tact is also needed to tackle the situation. But that is not the only issue.

The atmosphere is surcharged with violence, and nobody can deny this. I am sure the hon. Mover of the motion, Shri P. Ramamurti would not contradict the fact that they rather set the pace for what is going on in West Bengal. I do not blame him because as a party they are wedded to certain ideals. So, when they are entrusted with the job of looking after or keeping law and order, they are equally interested simultaneously in keeping up the agitation against law and order itself. To my mind, it is not very clear, but still that is the idea which they have because they have never minced words to

[Shri S. Kandappan]

express that this is the ideal to which they are wedded. But as far as the Centre is concerned,

I should like to know from the hon. Home Minister what concrete steps they really were able to take during the past eight or nine months to put down the spread of violence in the State. To my mind, because I come from a distance, it appears that the atmosphere of violence that is prevalent today appears to be worse than what it was during the UF regime. In fact, we all know that when the President took over West Bengal, the contention of the CPM-led group in the UF Government was that unless there was a mid-term poll, the situation would worsen. I am afraid that they are trying to vindicate that prophecy. They have given enough caution to the Central Government that they are going to create this kind of atmosphere in West Bengal.

In spite of that caution, the Central Government have not taken enough precautions and steps to curb this kind of activities. I am sure, in such a situation, we have got blame the Central Government. But with regard to this motion, I have to point out that this is an isolated case which has been brought before us. I have no reason to disbelieve the *bona fides* of Shri P. Ramamurti. But I do not know whether the commissioner of police, after really getting the information, sat tight without moving even a finger. I doubt very much, and I would, therefore, like to be enlightened by the Home Minister on this point. If what has been brought to the notice of the House by Shri P. Ramamurti is really true, then this is really a very serious case on which the Central Government must act immediately. If the Central Government think that this is not true, even then, since this matter has been brought up by a responsible Member of this House, they have to investigate into this matter thoroughly. This is the only suggestion that I would like to make about this motion. With regard to our support, I would rather categorically state that we shall reserve it; after we hear the reply of the Home Minister, we shall make up our mind,

because after all, we are living at a distance and none of our Members comes from West Bengal, nor have we any idea of starting a unit in West Bengal. So, from what we gather from the newspapers and from what we gather from our colleagues, we have to make up our minds. So, I am trying to be objective. I hope other Members also will take an objective view on this issue, because after all, this is a very serious matter, namely charging the commissioner of police. I do not claim that the commissioner of police or any official is an angel who will not commit such blunders; he might have committed such blunders. But we have to find out whether he has really committed that blunder before we accuse him. That is the position that I would like to take on this issue. I would like to impress upon the Home Minister that he has to furnish all the data that he has got with him to the House. I would also like to pose this question to the House, particularly to those who think that when the hands of the Centre are strengthened, everything will be okay in the country, to which I am opposed. But on this occasion, I would like to pose this question. Now, the hands of the Centre are strong enough. Since Independence, the hands of the Central Government are getting stronger and stronger. I do not know where it will lead to or end. Every day we find the situation deteriorating in most States. The Naxalite menace is not a new thing. The hon. Minister and the Prime Minister are aware that many State Chief Ministers, Congress and non-Congress, have been repeatedly urging upon the Home Ministry and Government in Delhi that they should have some measure, some formula, by which they can effectively tackle the Naxalite menace. In States in the far south like Andhra Pradesh and in some localities in my own State, this menace is very much alive. So Government have got to find out means to curb this menace. Simply because the Centre has the Reserve Police or the Army under their command is not going to solve any problem. It is not the panacea for all ills. We have got to approach all these problems socially, politically and otherwise. With regard to West Bengal, I hope the Minister will be able to let us

know the realities behind this stabbing incident.

Dr. RANEN SEN (Barasat) : At the outset, I went to state without any equivocation that this murderous and dastardly attack on Mrs. Bose on which a motion has been moved has to be condemned by everybody. My party has condemned it without any equivocation. But we cannot support this Motion (*Interruptions*). I may remind my friends from Kerala that they do not know me; if they heckle me, they will get it back in the same coin. Let there be freedom for every member to express his opinion. When Shri Ramamurti was on his legs, there was not a single interruption from our side. I would expect the CPI (M) friends to observe the same norm in regard to other members.

The whole situation in W. Bengal is being looked at by Shri Ramamurti from a mere party point of view. Secondly, he does not give a correct and comprehensive picture of what is happening in the State today. Thirdly the Motion very tacitly and cleverly evades the real reason behind this atmosphere of violence prevailing in the State. It was the CPI (M)—I openly accuse that party in this House—who introduced individual terrorism, and political murders against political party workers, against political party workers of parties functioning in the UF in those days (*Interruptions*). This is an open fact. You ask the SSP, PSP, SUC, Forward Bloc, CPI—any of the parties. They were victims of CPI (M) vandalism, depredation and violence. With the help of the police the CPI (M) introduced a reign of terror in the State. That was why the UF was split and the Government fell.

Now I want to state a few things in *The Statesman* of 29 October, the CPI (M) —Naxalite hostility has been reviewed. I will simply read a sentence from it :

"In all there were about 123 clashes involving Marxists and Naxalites. At least 68 were believed to have been *intitlated* by CPI (M) workers

while the remaining 55 were attacks by Naxalites".

I am simply quoting from a newspaper. He was quoting from another newspaper. Therefore, quoting newspaper is not a crime. What is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander.

This particular action against Shrimati Parul Bose took place on the 4th November. On the 3rd November what happened? According to a newspaper report :

"At Haltu in Kasba 24-Parganas, a group of teen-aged boys carrying pipe guns and bombs entered the Haltu Hieh School when classes were going on and dragged out of the class room Pinaki Nag. It is reported that Pinaki was brought to the ground floor, ordered to stand erect and was shot point blank from a pipe gun. The bullet pierced his chest and he fell dead. The attackers then walked away."

Who did it? It was the CPI (M).

SHRI NAMBIAR : No, never.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : He is the son of my classmate. I have got all the papers with me about him.

DR. RANEN SEN : I was not present there, I am quoting from the newspaper.

Some time in the month of August, our party in West Bengal issued a statement appealing to all quarters, particularly the CPI (M) to stop this individual terrorism and political murder. From the eight party combination in West Bengal a similar appeal was issued, but it was not responded by the CPI (M). Not only that, openly and publicly they are mentioning Shri Jyoti Basu's name with the slogan, "A tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye." Is this a sober statement of a political leader?

SHRI NAMBIAR : What is the defence? The police will not defend us. We should not defend ourselves?

DR. RANEN SEN : If all the political parties were united in West Bengal against these political murders and individual terrorism, all these things could have been minimised, but they gave a different slogan publicly in the papers and on the platform.

In this resolution only police atrocities in relation to the CPI (M) have been referred to. If they are honest, if they are defending the interest of the West Bengal people, they would have come out, at least in their speeches, stating that there is untold police violence in West Bengal in the name of fighting Naxalites. Youngmen were dragged out of their houses and killed. Shambu Bag who was arrested, was shot dead in the prison van. This charge was openly made by the Forward Bloc. He was a member of the Forward Bloc. Therefore, they should be able to understand the situation instead of simply revolving everything around their party. And unfortunately the CPI (M) today does not enjoy a great position in West Bengal. Therefore, I must say that there is a menace from the Naxalities, there is no doubt about it, but it is a political menace and it should be fought politically. May I remind them that the son,—Biplav Halim, of one of the leaders of the founders of the communist party, Abdul Halim was put in jail during the UF regime. Mr. Jyoti Basu put him in jail for sometime. Then due to subsequent agitation, he was released. Now, he is a so-called Naxalite. Would you accept them as anti-social elements?

SHRI NAMBIAR : But we released him.

DR. RANEN SEN : Please do not interfere like this. Secondly, it is stated by certain parties including the CPM and the Jan Sangh that the CPI is helping the Naxalites. I will remind them that in several places, the Naxalites attacked our party fellows in Kharagpur, Jamshedpur and Ashok Nagar in 24-Parganas. Therefore, our objection

to the Naxalite movement is political. We never call them anti-social elements though there may be anti-social elements among Naxalites; but the majority of anti-social elements is under the banner of the CPM, and everybody in West Bengal knows it.

One of the leaders of the communist party of India, Shri Surendar Choudhuri, spent 10 years in the Andamans. We knew him personally. He was assaulted by the goondas from CPM party. The police have not been able to arrest a single man. There are several instances like that. In the name of fighting the Naxalites, the CPM cadre are pointing out the Naxalites to the CRP. There are instances. Here is a book from which I can quote if I had the time. There are instances given by the CPM fellow-party men which speak so much against the CRP. But in actual fact, they are co-operating with the CRP; with a section of the police and the CRP.

SHRI NAMBIAR : This is too much.

DR. RANEN SEN : It has become too much for him. But wait. He will get some more. There is another set of figures, During the three months ending 15th September, 1970, about a 100 political murders were committed of which 73 were committed by the CPM alone. In this violence, 56 of the victims were Naxalite supporters; nine belonged to the CPI; and the others belong to the Forward Bloc, the RSP or the CPI, SSP and the PSP. (*Interrupted*). Therefore, I would say that we would have been very happy if Mr. Ramamurti had brought out a motion condemning the, armed violence by Naxalites in West Bengal irrespective of the violence that has taken place in respect of the CPM and irrespective of the position taken by the CPM. Then, we would have surely supported Mr. Ramamurti. But, as I said, everything revolves on the CPM. Therefore, they are not in a position to keep a wider view of things, and therefore somehow or other, they condemn it. They speak of police protection. Who are the

people who first sought police protection, after the UF regime? Mr. Jyoti Basu, Mr. Harikrishna Konar, then Prashant Sur and then Mrs. K. G. Bose. More people are waiting in the queue asking for police protection. They have unleashed a reign of terror and now they are afraid of the Frankenstein that they have created. Their Deputy Chief Minister could not give security to the citizens of West Bengal. Now, they are talking of security for them, under the President's rule, and they are shouting so much against the President's rule.

This factional attitude should be sunk by the CPM. If they are honest and if they really want to stop all this violence, they should openly condemn the political murders and individual terrorism, because they are the strongest party and in them lies the safety of so many people. Secondly, they should keep control over the so-called middle cadre. Today the situation there is, on the one side the CPM leaders are seeking police protection. On the other side, the middle cadre are running away from the Naxalites. It is for the CPM to initiate a new situation in West Bengal. If the CPM have learnt a lesson, instead of running the police protection, they should sit with all the political parties and try to come to a settlement about this particular point, namely, condemning individual terrorism and political murder. I appeal to them to join all other democratic parties and safeguard the democratic rights of the people of West Bengal against police violence and police atrocities. Today the police there are running amuck. Therefore, I take this opportunity of making this appeal to the CPM leaders who are present here to bring about a new situation in West Bengal.

18.00 hrs.

SHRI VIKRAM CHAND MAHAJAN (Chamba): Sir, the unfortunate and tragic incident quoted in the motion by Mr. Ramamurti is the direct result of the misrule of his party, the misrule of a Government which was controlled by Mr. Jyoti Basu and company. If any-

one is to blame, it is they. West Bengal led India in culture, literature, politics, revolution and in gaining independence. But the misrule of Mr. Jyoti Basu and his party has resulted in the present tragic situation in West Bengal. As a result of the misrule of that Government which was controlled by his party, now misguided anti-social elements are carrying Chinese arms in one hand and Chinese notes in the other. Let us trace the history of the present situation where the State has ended up. In 1967, when the UF Government came to power, when Mr. Jyoti Basu became Home Minister the leaders of the Naxalite movement, Mr. Charu Mazumdar and Mr. Kanu Sanyal were behind the bars. But Mr. Jyoti Basu and company withdrew the cases against them and set them free. Therefore, the direct responsibility for the present situation is on the CPM.

Not only that. There were 1,400 cases of violence against property and person. Out of them more than 1,000 cases were withdrawn by the United Front, which was controlled by Shri Jyoti Basu. Then, cases against anti-social elements were withdrawn by this government. I would like to quote from the statement of the then Chief Minister in *Amrit Bazar Patrika* of the 26th May 1970. He said :

"In 9 months of United Front rule 519 political clashes occurred in the State. 81 persons were killed and in 2,000 cases CPD (M) was involved."

He added that the government which was then controlled by Shri Jyoti Basu was uncivilized and barbarous. This is the only instance in the history of this country when a Chief Minister had to go on fast against his own government. That shows that the present situation in Bengal was created by the CPM, which is now loudest in condemning the present situation.

Not only that, they encouraged anti-social elements in gherraoes. They prevented the police from acting when they were in power; when people were murdered, they made them stay away. They also saw

[Sari Vikram Chand Mahajan]

to it that the police was infiltrated. The result is that there is infiltration of Naxalites in the police with the result that it does not take an honest stand against the anti-social elements. Now the Naxalites are acting as foreign agents of Pakistan and China. They are financed by them. But the responsibility for raising this Frankenstein lies squarely on the shoulders of the CPM.

Now they say that unemployment and uneconomic reasons are the causes for the present situation. But are they trying to defame the weaker sections of the society? It is not the unemployed in Bengal who is taking the law in his own hands. It is the person who is bribed by the anti-social elements, who is in the pay rolls of these elements, who is financed by them, who is doing all this, and not the weaker section of the society. Therefore, there is no point in blaming them. The remedy lies, firstly, in seeing that the police is strengthened. The police force, which was infiltrated during the United Front regime which was controlled by the CPM should be thoroughly re-organised. A committee should go into it. In the mean time, the police force from other States should be made to man the police stations in those areas. Secondly, the Preventive Detention Act must be introduced and strong measures must be taken to see that the law and order situation improves. Then, the United Front regime forced the industry to close which resulted in unemployment. The industry must be protected, including the public sector, which was also made to suffer by them. If the situation does not improve, then government should go in for even martial law. Lastly, the government which is doing its best to meet the situation with, I hope, go in for sterner and stronger measures, if necessary. At the same time, I would say that though the opposition parties are loudest in condemning the government, on their part they have done nothing to strengthen the hands of the government in those regions.

श्री रवि राय (बुरी) : सभापति जी, जो प्रस्ताव रामसूति जी ने इस सदन के सामने

रखा है उसके तिलसिले में इतना ही कहना है कि जिस तरीके से श्रीमती पारूल बोस पर हमला हुआ, उसका जैसा वर्णन रामसूति जी ने किया वह यह है कि वहाँ की पुलिस के सब इंस्पेक्टर पारुजी के घर गए और उनके साथ उनकी बातचीत हुई। पारुजी खुद स्कूल नहीं जाना चाहती थीं लेकिन सब इंस्पेक्टर ने उनको धमकासना दिया कि आप जाइये, हम लोग आपकी प्रोटेक्शन देंगे। अब यह बड़ी विचित्र चीज है कि बावजूद इसके कि पुलिस ने पारुल जी को धमकासना दिया था कि उनको प्रोटेक्शन मिलेगा लेकिन फिर आगे चल करके उनके ऊपर हमला हुआ। ऐसी स्थिति में रामसूति जी ने यहाँ पर जो वर्णन किया है और उसमें भारत सरकार और होम मिनिस्ट्री की जो असफलतायें दिखाई हैं उनके साथ हमारा कोई मतभेद नहीं है। आज बंगाल में कौन राज्य करता है? वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति का शासन है। केन्द्र की सरकार वहाँ राज्य करती है।

18.11 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *In the Chair*]

इसलिए यह केन्द्रीय सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है कि वह बंगाल में ला ऐन्ड-ऑर्डर, कागून और व्यवस्था को कायम रखने के लिए जवाब दे। जब इस राजनीतिक स्थिति को हम मान लेते हैं तो फिर दूसरे और जो तर्क हैं वह हम लोगों के सामने साफ हो जाते हैं। मैंने रामेन बाबू के भाषण को सुना। उनके भाषण का जो हिस्सा है जिसमें कि उन्होंने बंगाल में हिंसा के वातावरण के बारे में वर्णन किया—उसके साथ हमारा ज्यादा मतभेद नहीं है लेकिन मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनके सारे भाषण में, केन्द्रीय सरकार की तरफ से जो धमकाचार और पुलिस की तरफ से जो सरकारी हिंसा हो रही है उसको सम्पूर्ण रूप से नज़रबन्द कर दिया गया है।

श्री राममूर्ति इस समय यहाँ पर नहीं हैं लेकिन मैं आपके द्वारा उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे कुछ अन्तर्मुखी बनें। उन्हें कुछ विवेक को भी गवाह रखकर सारी चीजों के बारे में अन्तर्मुखी होकर सोचना चाहिए। एक जमाने में बंगाल में हिन्दुस्तान की राष्ट्रीयता और विद्वबबंधुत्व का राज्य था। बंगाल की तरफ सारा हिन्दुस्तान और दूसरे देश नेतृत्व के लिए देख रहे थे लेकिन आज बंगाल में जो आतंकवाद का फैलाव हुआ है उसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी मौजूदा सरकार और जो राज्य सरकार थी उस की है। इस चीज को हम नजरन्दाज नहीं कर सकते हैं। मैं राममूर्ति जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम पिछले कई सालों से इस बात को देख रहे हैं जैसे हमारे दल के एक मजदूर नेता श्री वी०पी० भा साहब जोकि आसनसोल में हजारों मजदूरों के लिए काम करते थे, उनकी हत्या की गई। वी० पी० एम० के कार्यकर्ताओं ने उनकी हत्या की। लेकिन कुछ भी नहीं हो पाया जबकि दिनदहाड़े उनकी हत्या की गई थी। दूसरा उदाहरण मैं आपके सामने और रखना चाहता हूँ। बर्दवान में कांग्रेस समर्थक परिवार का एक लड़का जिसका नाम मलय था, उसकी भी कुछ तरह से हत्या की गई? कांग्रेस (भार) के साथ में हमारा राजनीतिक मतभेद हो सकता है लेकिन अगर गांधी जी के इस देश में राजनीतिक कामकाज का आधार हिंसाको बनाया जायेगा तो उसका जवाब हम सभी को देना पड़ेगा। मैं खास तौर से श्री राममूर्ति जी से दर्दवास्त करूंगा कि वे जरा इन चीजों को देखें। कोणार साहब जोकि सी० पी० एम० के नेता हैं, मुझे ताज्जुब है कि कैसे उनके मुंह से यह चीज निकली कि बर्दवान में जो हत्या हुई उसके लिए वे गर्वित हैं, उसके लिए वे प्रसन्न हैं। जैसाकि कहा गया बंगाल में जो हिंसा का वातावरण बना है उसकी जिम्मेदारी कुछ हद तक राजनीतिक दलों पर है—जैसे कि सी०पी० एम० (एल) और सी० पी० एम० और मैं तो

यह भी कहता हूँ कि बंगाल कांग्रेस का यह आरोप है कि सी० पी० एम० के लोगों ने भी मिदनापुर जिले में उनके कुछ कार्यकर्ताओं की हत्या की है। यह बंगला कांग्रेस का आरोप है जिसको कि नजरन्दाज नहीं किया जा सकता। मैं समझता हूँ कि अभी जो बंगाल में हिंसा का वातावरण फैला हुआ है उसके निराकरण के लिए हम सभी लोगों को इकट्ठा होकर के संकल्प करना चाहिए, शपथ लेनी चाहिए कि न केवल बंगाल बल्कि सारे देश में राजनीतिक काम काज का आधार हिंसा को नहीं माना जायेगा। मह असल चीज है और जब श्री राममूर्ति इसको समझ जाएंगे तो फिर आगे चलकर बंगाल की राजनीतिक स्थिति का समाधान करने में बड़ी आसानी होगी मैं समझता हूँ कि जब कोई क्रान्ति होती है, बड़ी क्रान्ति तो उस क्रान्ति के बीच में कुछ छुटपुट हिंसा हो जाती है और वह बात किसी हद तक समझ में भी आ सकती है लेकिन बंगाल में तो लगातार कई सालों से दो तीन पार्टियों का आधार ही हिंसा बनी हुई है। हम लोगों ने भी क्रान्तिकारियों की जीवनियां पढ़ी हैं। लेनिन या जो दुनिया के बड़े क्रान्तिकारी रहे हैं उन्होंने भी किसी भीरत के ऊपर हाथ उठाना, बच्चों को मारना या किसी की हत्या करना, राजनीतिक काम काज में कभी भी हिंसा को भित्ति नहीं बनाया। इस लिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कोई क्रान्ति करने के समय तो छुटपुट हिंसा हो सकती है लेकिन जब हम प्रजातांत्रिक ढांचे को मान लेते हैं तो उसमें रहकर फिर राजनीतिक कामकाज का आधार हिंसा बनाना कोई अच्छी चीज नहीं है।

अन्त में मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि बंगाल में कानून और व्यवस्था की स्थिति को लाने के लिए जल्द से जल्द वहाँ पर मध्यावधि चुनाव कराये जायें ताकि लोगों को उनकी चुनी हुई सरकार मिल सके। इसकै

[श्री रवि राय]

लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार को जल्द से जल्द एलान करना चाहिए कि वहाँ पर चुनाव होगा और सरकार की तरफ से या राजनीतिक दलों की तरफ से जो हिंसा होती है वह फौरन बन्द होनी चाहिए। हिंसा को राजनीतिक काम काज का आधार नहीं बनाया जाना चाहिए। इतना कह ही कर मैं समाप्त करता हूँ।

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी भ्रन्दाजन और कितनी देर तक चलेगा ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अभी पाँच चार घादमी रहते हैं।

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त : भ्रन्दाजा कुछ भाइ-डिया हो।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इस हाउस में क्या भ्रन्दाजा लग सकता है।

SHRI SHRI CHAND GOYAL (Chandigarh) : Since it is a motion under Rule 184 it can be postponed till tomorrow also.

MR. SPEAKER : No, please.

SHRI SHRI CHAND GOYAL : We have got an hour and a half. The non-official business will start at 6.30.

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त : मिनिस्टर कब जवाब देंगे, यह तो बता दीजिए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : 10-15 मिनट में। करीब 15 मिनट वह लेंगे, इस तरह करीब आधा घण्टा लग जायेगा।

श्री तुलसीदास जाधव।

श्री तुलसीदास जाधव (बारामती) : अध्यक्ष जी, हाउस के सामने माननीय सभासद राममूर्ति जी ने जो डिस्कशन शुरू किया है उसके बारे में उनका आरोप यह है—एक्टिव कनाइवेन्स आफ दि गवर्नमेंट। मेरी दृष्टि से वे जो अभी कह रहे थे वह गलत बात है। ऐसी कोई बात जिस

का कि उनके सामने प्रूफ नहीं आता उसको कहना कि कहीं पर कोई हिंसा हुई जिसका कारण गवर्नमेंट थी, मैं समझता हूँ यह ठीक बात नहीं है।

दूसरी बात यह कही—भार्गोनाइज्ड अटैम्पट बाई गवर्नमेंट—मेरे विचार से सी० पी० आई० के माननीय सभासद ने जो यहाँ पर इतिहास दिया उससे इस सदन को और इस देश को माखूम हुआ कि इस हिंसा की प्रवृत्ति को बढ़ाने का कारण क्या था। यदि इस प्रकार देखा जाए कि जैसे किसी लड़के को कोई एजुकेशन दी जाये और फिर वही लड़का उसी काम को करे। गये दो तीन वर्ष में बंगाल में रेवोल्यूशन के नाम पर, क्रान्ति के नाम पर अभीतक जितने खून हुए उनमें वहाँ पर गवर्नमेंट उनका कारण नहीं थी और यह गवर्नमेंट तो अभी ही वहाँ पर आई है। वह भी अपनी तरफ से कोशिश करते हैं। हमारे सी० पी० आई० (एम०) के सदस्य ने जो कुछ कहा उसके बजाय विस्तार से कोई रेजोल्यूशन रखते तो भ्रलग बात थी, कि बंगाल में हिंसा बढ़ रही है, लेकिन उन्होंने बार बार कहा कि यह कोशिश सी० पी० आई० (एम०) के विरुद्ध है। उनका यह कहना बिलकुल गमत है।

दूसरी बात यह कही गई कि भ्रन्डर इन्स्ट्रक्शन्स आफ दि होम मिनिस्ट्री होता है। यहाँ से इन्स्ट्रक्शन जाता है। यह कहना भी कोई बुद्धिमत्ता की बात नहीं है। जहाँ तक मैंने क्रान्ति के बारे में पढ़ा है, उसके यह माने नहीं हैं कि कोई एक स्त्री को मार दे या उसका खून कर दे। रेवोल्यूशन के माने यह होते हैं कि साईटिफिक रीति से रेवोल्यूशन हो। आपने देखा कि रूस में किस तरह से 1917 में रेवोल्यूशन हुआ, लेकिन भ्रब दुनिया की स्थिति बदल गई है। रूस ने भी अपना रवैया बदल दिया है। भ्रास्त्रर यह लोग किस कारण से रेवोल्यूशन की बात करते हैं ?

जो कुछ श्रीमती पारुल बोस के साथ हुआ उन पर जो हमला हुआ उस का कारण एक ही है कि इस पार्टी ने, सी० पी० आई० (एम) उनके साथियों ने अब तक जो कुछ बोया और जिस तरह से वह उगा उसको ही वह काट रहे हैं मैं एक दूर में गया था वहाँ एक साइन बोर्ड पर लिखा हुआ था—

“बद न बोले जेरे गर्दुम गर कोई मेरी सुने है यह गुंबद की सदा, जैसी कहे वैसी सुने।”

जिस तरह से इको होता है, उसी तरह से सी० पी० आई० (एम) ने जो बोया उसका नतीजा वह भोग रहे हैं। मेरी विनती यह है कि सी० पी० आई० (एम) और सी० पी० आई० (एम० एल०) रेवोल्यूशन की बात करते हैं यह ठीक है लेकिन उनको यह देखना चाहिए कि उसको कब, कैसे और कहाँ करना होगा। यह सावधानी उनको बरतनी होगी। 1917 कास्टेलिन का कोड अगर वह यहाँ लाना चाहेंगे तो उससे काम नहीं चलेगा। हिन्दुस्तान का वातावरण देख कर उनको यहाँ काम करना होगा। मजदूरों और किसानों के लिए उनको लड़ना होगा। आप लोग पालियामेंट में आकर बैठे हैं, यहाँ संविधान की शपथ ली है और कहा है कि डिमाक्रेटिक तरीके से हम बरताव करेंगे। लेकिन जिन लोगों ने शपथ ली वह उसके खिलाफ बरताव कर रहे हैं, यह देखकर मुझ को दुःख होता है। वह लोग बड़े त्यागी हैं, बड़ी मेहनत से काम करते हैं, लेकिन गलत रास्ते पर जाने से हिन्दुस्तान को उनके द्वारा ठीक मार्ग नहीं मिलेगा।

मैं अपने मित्रों से विनती करना चाहता हूँ कि अभी तक गवर्नमेंट ने कोई डाइरेक्ट आर्डर दिया हो ऐसा नहीं हुआ है। जैसा सी० पी० आई० के भाई ने कहा, सब लोग मिलकर जितनी पार्टियाँ हैं वह वहाँ जाएँ, जोखिम उठा

कर पब्लिक में जाएँ और इस तरह के गुनाह करने वाले लोगों के साथ ऐसा व्यवहार करें जिससे उनका कंवर्जन हो जाये। यह नहीं कि पुलिस का सहारा लेकर उनको रोकें। अगर इस तरह का काम किया जाये तो इस बात में सरकार और पुलिस हर जगह मदद करेगी ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है। आज जो वातावरण बंगाल में है वही बिहार में है, वही आन्ध्र में है। इस देश में किसी दूर दराज जगह पर किसी गरीब औरत को या लड़के को मार देने से रेवोल्यूशन नहीं होगा। रेवोल्यूशन करने वाले दूसरे तरीके से रेवोल्यूशन करेंगे।

इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा यही कहना है।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : No word is too strong to condemn the savage attack on Mr. Parul Bose. I have done it as Secretary of my party promptly after the incident. I want to remind the House that we do not follow standards of morality, of political morality, undoubtedly. As such, at the time of the Rabindra Sarovar incident, we conedcmned that too. Even at the time of the Rabindra Sarovar incident, we stood for the honour of our mothers and sisters. Although Mrs. Parul Bose belongs to the CPM, she is also our sister, and, therefore, I again condemn the barbarous attack on her by the extremist elements.

Today, West Bengal has become a bedlam of political lunatics and habitual criminals on the one hand and the shooting-ground of the trigger-happy policemen on the other. Killing, murder, burning of buses, looting of bazars, killing of students, breaking of heads, dishonouring the statues of our national leaders etc. are going on. Even gun duels are going between the Naxalites and the CPM and police. The police are completely unnerved, terrorised and demoralised. They are promulgating curfew in large areas, creating a lot of trouble for thousands of people. They are arresting hundreds of people, terrorising them and torturing them in the police cells and harassing them also. Even the driver of my jeep had been arrested

[Shri Samar Guha]

and kept in prison for ten days, and even when he said that he was the driver of Shri Samar Guha, MP, he was not allowed to telephone to my house. These things are going on in West Bengal.

I shall now make a statistical presentation of the present law and order situation in West Bengal. During the nine months of the President's rule in West Bengal, up to 7th November, these are the figures :

Total number of serious and violent incidents :	2467
Total number of political murders :	227
Total number of inter-party clashes :	519
Total number of persons killed due to police firing	47
Total number of attacks on police	211
Total number of police killed	35

These figures are enough to show the condition in West Bengal today.

I do not want to enumerate the tragic stories of the ferocious barbarities that are being perpetrated on the citizens of West Bengal today by those extremist elements, in which the hands of my CPM friends are also not clean. I do not want to accuse in this House today the CPM friends, because already they stand accused and exposed. It is well known that it is the CPM brutes who have turned West Bengal into a barbarous jungle of violence and terrorism, and now the more ferocious brutes have taken the lead over them, and that is the reason why they are crying hoarse for security and police protection and also some sort of normalcy in the State. I want to remind you that the CPM had undoubtedly sown the wind and now they are reaping the whirlwind. Everybody knows the role of the CPM, their political philosophy, what they practise and what they preach; their philosophy of violence, terrorism and insurrection is known to the people of West Bengal. The people of

Bengal will give right reply at the right moment. But I want to know one thing from the Central Government—I accuse the Home Minister, I accuse the Prime Minister—I ask her what she had been doing during the last nine months? There is a committee called the consultative-committee. During the last nine months, only once did this consultative committee meet. I accuse her for another reason also, namely that when West Bengal was burning, the Home Minister was playing the role of a new Nero. I said it in this House not once, not twice, not thrice but four or five times through questions and other means that, just two months before the UF Government fell, Shri Jyoti Basu derecognised the West Bengal Police Association, an association of 47 years standing and recognition, and recognised the 'Paschim Banga Police Karmachari Sangh' that was organised by Pralay Talukdar, former CPI (M) MLA, an association that does not command the loyalty of even 3 per cent of the policemen in the State. That was given recognition. Now the Chairman of that new police association is Jivan Chakravarty and the Secretary, Santosh Mukerjee, both of them are CPI (M) men. One policeman has been recently caught red-handed in an attempt to kill another policeman. It was found that this policeman belonged to the Paschim Banga Police Karmachari Sangh, being run, organised and controlled by CPI (M) men. This spurious association, created out of political motivation by the CPI (M), which does not even command the loyalty of 3 per cent of the policemen, has been recognised by the last U. F. Home Minister. Could not this association be derecognised during these 9 months? Why was it not done? These policemen of the Police Karmachari Sangh have infiltrated into the police organisation and are striking terror among them. Today the police in West Bengal is completely demoralised. They have lost confidence. I can quote innumerable cases where the police dare not investigate cases of violence. They dare not protect even ministerial staff. I ask: could not this simple thing be done during this time, just to derecognise the Paschim Police Kamarchari Sangh and re-recognise the West Bengal Police Association? Could the Government not do it?

Parul Bose Motn

The second thing, I want to know from the Prime Minister who is also Home Minister is this : She should excuse me if I use a word which is a strong word. I use strong words, but never undignified words, but today you will permit me to use one word against a person there whose recall has been demanded by all the press in West Bengal, by all the public organisations in West Bengal, by all the political organisations in the State including the Ruling Congress—I refer to that gentleman, that **who is called Shri Dhawan. He commands neither respect nor confidence from either the common people or from his administration. This gentleman is making bungle after bungle.

MR. SPEAKER : That word will not form part of the record.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : In an exasperated mood, I used it. It is not in my taste. You would have noticed that I never use vulgar words.

MR. SPEAKER : Does he think it is not a strong word, objectionable word ?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : I withdraw it.

One of the statements made by Shri K. C. Pant was that it is far better to save the lives of many people, policemen, political workers and many other people, than shooting them or being shot on the streets of Calcutta and other places. For that reason, they have delayed so much and so many people have been killed because—I would not use the word 'preventive detention'—the Protective Custody Act or some such step was not used. This is one reason why you could not save the lives of many people. There are many Naxalites who have entered into a activist's cells, but they cannot come out. If they come out they will be shot. There are a number of cases where they have been murdered. If these people are kept in protective custody, they can be saved.

Eighty per cent of these crimes have been committed by habitual criminals

masquerading either as CPI followers or as Naxalities or as combating them. If these habitual criminals are prevented from committing these crimes, I think the police will be able to handle the situation in a better way.

If the Central Government or the Prime Minister is serious about restoring Peace and normalcy in West Bengal, the first condition is the recall of the gentleman called Mr. Dhawan. Secondly, you should make a firm commitment, not in ambiguous words but a categorical statement in this House, that there will not be mid-term poll till 1972. That will restore confidence in the minds of the administration and police in West Bengal. Thirdly, let all the political parties which believe in nationalism and democracy give up their election equations for three months, let them join hands and abjure violence publicly and go to the people and organise demonstrations and mobilise the people's initiative and expose the culprits. That is the only way to check Naxalities violence, not preventive detention. Therefore, it depends upon you. If you have a clear mind, you ask all the parties to join together, and we will expose, isolate and combat these extremist forces. That is the only way to meet the challenge. If West Bengal is left to chaos, I warn the Prime Minister, the rest of India will not live in peace.

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHURI (Berhampore) : A lot has been said in this House to need any exhortation from me to convince hon'ble Members here that something is wrong not in the State of Denmark, but in the State of West Bengal. That something is that the Central Government has failed to act upto the need of the situation so far as law and order and security of the average citizen are concerned.

It is not only a question of one lady being stabbed, for which we all hang our heads in shame. Many hon'ble Members here have tried to give the background, but it is not only a question of Shrimati Parul Bose. Today, the average citizen does not get the normal security which he is entitled to get from the Government, and

** Expanded as ordered by the Chair, vide col...?

[Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri]

for this the police administration, which is now in the hands of the Central Government, must bear the fullest responsibility. It is not as if the police have not been armed with power. Much has been said about the guerilla tactics of Naxalites and others. Naxalite is an omnibus term. Any murderer, any looter, any dacoit, goes by the name "Naxalite" these days, but what is the Central Government doing? What is the police administration for, and what is it doing? Here is a simple fact, a limited fact. A lady was threatened with dire consequences. The Police Commissioner was informed three days before-hand, and the police people on the day of the incident were contacted and they assured the lady that she can safely go to the school and, even then, there were no adequate police measures or police guards posted, although they knew before-hand that some such thing was going to happen.

Now, the police people have already been armed with the Suppression of Terrorists Outrages Act. They can arrest anybody, keep him in custody for 24 hours, but even in spite of that, nothing has been done. Recently, the Police Commissioner even said that they are organising police guerillas and many people outside West Bengal do not know that these days in Calcutta plainclothes Police people have the freedom to shoot anybody they like. The Police Commissioner and the Government of West Bengal have declared that there would be, for three months, no investigation, not even a departmental enquiry, into the incidents of shooting by the police. Recently, only three days back, in Calcutta, in one of the quarters, plainclothes policemen shot down a young man called Bhowmick. This is not only a case of Mrs. Parul Bose alone. The safety of everyone is in jeopardy. For that, the Central Government must convince the House that proper steps are being taken, and unless that assurance is forthcoming, we are bound to support this motion. Of course, I am not satisfied with the limited scope of this motion. So, I have moved my amendment which I commend for the acceptance of the House.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU (Darjeeling):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I join my hon. colleagues here in condemning the dastardly attack on Mrs. Parul Bose. There cannot be any two opinions about it. I would like the hon. Members to know one thing. Quite a number of them have a mistaken idea that this lady is no longer with us. That is not true. She was stabbed on the 4th of this month. Today is the 11th. She is already out of hospital and out of danger. So, she is not dead. I am glad that she is not dead. But I heard quite a number of speakers saying that she was this and she was that. That time has not come. She is still with us.

This morning, when I came to the House, when I entered this hon. House, I saw it was in great turmoil, as though there was a noisy *swayamwara* going on. There were two or three bridegrooms and one bride. The bride was Mr. Ramamurti, and the bridegrooms were Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, Shri Ranga, and the third—well, I forget; I do not remember. There was a rivalry among these three as to who should please the bride more. Now, this was at quarter past one. It is not even 7 O' clock now. It is not yet time for the bed-chamber. But they have fallen out. I congratulate them on finding out their differences before going to the bed chamber.

Dr. Ranen Sen's speech was not at all surprising. He spoke once before like that. I congratulate him on having so much courage, but you will notice how clever a speech it was. Of course, the motion itself is very clever. It is just an attack on the Government only and nothing else, enticing Morarjibhai and everybody. It is an attack on the Indira Gandhi Government and everybody is enticed and happy. But see how clever the motion is. It is only Mrs. Parul Bose who is selected. It is Mr. Ramamurti who is selected as the bride to support this cause or find a bridegroom. But he does not even know Bengali; He does not know the difference between Bose and Ghosh. All the time he was saying Ghosh. He does not even know how to pronounce Bengali names. There are 5' or 6

CPM members from Bengal. They are not chosen for moving this motion. They are not interested in the welfare of Bengal. It is Mr. Ramamurti who is chosen.

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli) : He is our leader.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU : Who is Mr. A. K. Gopalan ? Have you repudiated him ? (*Interruptions*). The motion has to be studied carefully. The whole thing has been done in a sectarian way. Look at the selection of Mrs. Parul Bose, because she happens to belong to CPM. They want to condemn the Government only because their member has been stabbed. They are not talking of the misdeeds committed by the CPM. It is a terribly sectarian approach. Unfortunately this lady was stabbed. But she is out of hospital within a week. So, it could not have been that severe that there should be all this turmoil. It is merely a sectarian approach and nothing else. Then, there is the pathetic dependence on the police of a Government which they seem to hate. But this police has been infiltrated by them. It is not the same police which was there before. Therefore, though we are not happy about the CRP, CRP is indispensable because the morale of the police force has been completely spoiled by Mr. Jyoti Basu.

What happened in Alipurduar ? Only two months ago... (*Interruptions*).

DR. MAITREYEE BASU : **

SHRI NAMBIAR : It is a very unparliamentary language.

MR. SPEAKER : I am not going to allow that word.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU : There was one Mr. A. K. Sarkar, D. C. S. of the North-East Frontier Railway. There was a criminal Babu Nandi by name in his house.

The lady of the house locked him inside. When the police went inside they pretended that he was not in. Then he was discovered. This Babu Nandi was

wanted for many criminal cases all over Bengal and this man was kept in the cupboard by the high railway official. When I asked a question about this to the Home Minister, Shri K. C. Pant, he said he could not answer it that day. All these months he has not been able to answer it. Why is it happening ? Then, when this Babu Nandi was produced before a third-class magistrate, he let him out on bail. This man (the Magistrate) was elevated from BDO to a magistrate by Shri Hare Krishna Konar. Now he has been reverted back and the SDO has to be transferred because he was in league with the DCS. This is the position in Bengal. And now they come here and say that Shrimati Parul Bose has been stabbed.

Dr. Ranen Sen said that all this violence has been let loose by the CPM. I entirely agree. But I would remind him that in 1949, during the B. T. Ranadive days, one Amul Ganguli of Howrah, an ex-MLA was forced to murder his own brother by the order of the CPI. He had to murder his own brother by the order of the CPI. This is the position.

So, it is no use toppling Shrimati Indira Gandhi's government. It is no use having quarrels between Shri Ramamurti and Shri Hiren Mukerjee. There must be a crash programme of development for Bengal. Unless that is done, nothing can be improved. If the Preventive Detention Act is necessary, let them have it. I am not against it. But my proposal is that there should be a crash programme of development. The Central Government has neglected Bengal long enough. It must now come forward to support Bengal. While concluding, I would again draw the attention of the government to the clever move of the CPM and the other opposition parties.

श्री रघुबीर सिंह शास्त्री (बागपत) :
 अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हम लोग लोक सभा में कुछ नया रुझान देख रहे हैं। पहली बात तो यह है कि हमारे सी० पी० एम० के बन्धु आज हिंसा की निन्दा कर रहे हैं और बीस पुरकार कर रहे

[श्री रघुवीर सिंह शास्त्री]

हैं। दूसरी तरफ हमारी सरकारी बेंचों पर बैठे हुए आदमी आज ज्योति बसु को यह कह रहे हैं कि उसने अपने 3 हजार मुण्डे वहाँ छोड़ रखे हैं। आज से पहले जब भी कभी इस हाउस में इस पर चर्चा हुई और लोगों ने बार बार कहा कि सी० पी० एम० के लोग यह कह रहे हैं तो सारी फाइलें उठा कर देख लीजिए, गृह मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री ने जब भी कुछ कहा कभी आज तक उसमें सी० पी० एम० का नाम नहीं लिया। तो आज यह एक नया रुझान दिख रहा है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ प्रस्तावक ने यह लिखा है कि यह सभा सरकार की निन्दा करती है, उसके साथ मेरा उसमें यह संशोधन है कि यह सभा सरकार की निन्दा करती है और सी० पी० एम० और सी० पी० आई०, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टियाँ जो इस सारे हिंसा की जिम्मेदार हैं उनकी भी निन्दा करती है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें हो सकता है कि प्रशासन की असफलता हो, सरकार की असफलता हो, लेकिन मैं यह मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ कि सरकार इस हिंसा के लिए जिम्मेदार है। इसके लिए यह कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी वाले चाहे आई० हों चाहे एम० हों यह जिम्मेदार हैं। इसलिए इस प्रस्ताव में वह संशोधन होना चाहिए।

दूसरी बात—अच्छा चलिए यह तो हो रहा है। एक तरफ तो वहाँ की जनता के लोग मारे जा रहे हैं, लूटे जा रहे हैं, सताये जा रहे हैं और हम यहाँ बैठ कर बहस कर रहे हैं कि क्या होना चाहिए। अगर लोग कहते हैं कि पी० डी० ऐक्ट लाना चाहिए तो यही भाई कहते हैं कि नहीं लाना चाहिए। अच्छा तो और क्या करना चाहिए? यह जरा आप ही बता दीजिए। फिर तो यह है कि लोक सभा की सारी पार्टियाँ एक उपदेशक मंडली बना कर वहाँ चले और लेक्चर देना शुरू करें। अगर

इससे हिंसा रुक सकती है तो तभी रुकेगी जब महात्मा गांधी जैसा आत्मबल होगा। नहीं तो उसके लिए उन्हीं तरीकों और उपायों को बरतना होगा जो कि बरते जाते हैं। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को उन सताये हुए लोगों की पुकार, मरते हुए लोगों की चीख को ध्यान में रखते हुए तुरन्त वहाँ जो बड़े से बड़ा उपाय हो सकता है, पी० डी० ऐक्ट का हो या और कोई हो, वह करना चाहिए। आज सुबह प्रधान मंत्री जी ने उत्तर में जो कहा उससे हमें निराशा हुई। प्रधान मंत्री जी सोच रही हैं कि हम एक कानून लाए वह कहती हैं हम एक बिल पेश कर रहे हैं। बंगाल खत्म हो जाएगा बंगाल के लोग मर जाएंगे तब आप कोई कानून लाएंगे और जब कानून लाएंगे तब उस पर यहाँ बहस होगी। जैसा कि एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि गृह मंत्री वंशी बजा रहे हैं जब कि रोम जल रहा है, मैं कहता हूँ गृह मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री ही नहीं बल्कि सारी पार्लियामेंट वंशी बजा रही है जब कि बंगाल जल रहा है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार ऐसी कार्यवाही भी घी घरे जिससे बंगाल के लोगों को आश्वासन मिल सके और उनकी रक्षा हो सके।

यहाँ बंगाल में चुनाव की बात कही गई। मैं समर्थक हूँ इस बात का कि लोगों को जल्दी से जल्दी अपनी लोकप्रिय सरकार बनाने का मौका मिलना चाहिए। लेकिन जब तक प्रधान मंत्री और संसद इस बात के लिए आश्वस्त न हो जाय कि वहाँ चुनाव निष्पक्ष हो सकता है, शांति से हो सकता है तब तक चुनाव नहीं होना चाहिए बल्कि जलते हुए बंगाल पर पानी डालना चाहिए जिससे वहाँ की आग बुझ सके, वहाँ के जलते हुए लोगों को बचाया जा सके और उनकी मरहम पट्टी की जा सके।

श्री अम्बुल मनी डार (गुडगाँव) : अध्यक्ष महोदय,

की मेरे कत्ल के बाद उसने जफा से तीबा ।

हाय इस जूद पशेमां का पशेमां होना ।।

मैंने आपकी गैरहाजिरी में रूलिंग पार्टी के नेताओं की श्री सी० पी० आई० के नेताओं की तकरीरें सुनीं। आज इन्हें यह सी० पी० एम० वाले नक्सलाइट्स के जन्मदाता दिखाई देते हैं, यह तमाम जो ला-लेसनेस हो रही है इसके यह जन्मदाता दिखाई देते हैं। लेकिन आज तक सिर्फ अपनी माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट को चलाने के लिए इनकी मदद लेना यह इनके लिए कोई जुर्म नहीं दिखाई देता। कांग्रेस प्रॉवेंनाइजेशन के अहमदाबाद और दिल्ली के सेशनो में हमने वायलेंस और बढ़ती हुई ला-लेसनेस के खिलाफ आवाज उठाई और नक्सलाइट्स की तरफ तबज्जह दिखाई अपने प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा की। वह फरमाती हैं कि नक्सलाइट्स जो हैं वह क्या हैं? वह तो गरीब और अमीर का जो भेद है, उनके बीच में जो बढ़ता हुआ फर्क है उसी की वजह से हैं। प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा ने नक्सलाइट्स को इस तरह से पनाह दी कि वह सिर्फ गरीब और अमीर के बीच के भेद की वजह से हैं। मैं यह बिलकुल साफ कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी पार्टी या हम लोग बिलकुल राममूर्ति जी का जो भूव है उसके साथ नहीं हैं और साफ बात है कि वह भूव जो है वह आनेस्टी पर मवनी नहीं है। अगर आनेस्टी पर मवनी होता तो सारी जो बढ़ती हुई ला-लेसनेस है जिसकी जिम्मेदारी उन पर बहुत ज्यादा आती है क्योंकि उनकी हुकूमत थी, यह बात अलग है कि हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा ने जब कांग्रेस को बरबाद करना था, ज्योति बसु जब उनके कदमों में थे, उनके साथ थे उस वक्त ज्योति बसु नजर नहीं आए कि यह बढ़ती हुई वायलेंस को दाबत दे रहे हैं और इस तरह के काम कर रहे हैं। इस-

लिए अगर हमारी पार्टी की कोई राय जानना चाहता है तो हम इस बात का अफसोस करते हैं कि यूनिशन सरकार आज की, यानी प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा होम मिनिस्टर के रूप में जो बंगाल में इस वक्त हुकूमत कर रही हैं उनकी एक बिलकुल फेल्योर हुई है इस माने में कि वह वहाँ कानून को लागू नहीं रख सकीं, इसलिए अगर यह कहा जाय कि आज वहाँ की पुलिस भी अपनी प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा से प्रोटेक्शन मांगती है अपनी हिफाजत के लिए, आप यह प्रोटेक्शन पुलिस को भी नहीं दे सकीं, इसलिए यह हाउस अफसोस करता है तो हम राममूर्ति जी के साथ हो सकते हैं। लेकिन हमारी पार्टी साथ ही साथ मतालबा करती है हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा को जो होम मिनिस्टर भी हैं और इस यूनिशन सरकार को जो इस वक्त रूल कर रही हैं, उनका यह फर्ज है कि हर बंगाली बहन भाई को वहाँ पूरी प्रोटेक्शन दें ताकि वह अपनी नार्मल लाइफ की ऐक्टिविटीज को जारी रख सकें और अगर वह नहीं रख सकते हैं तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक बहादुर बाप की बेटी मेरी बहन इंदिरा गांधी रिजाइन करें, इसलिए कि उनके अंदर ताकत नहीं है। वह चैंपियन बनना चाहती थीं, पहले मोरारजी भाई को हटा कर चैंपियन बन रही थीं और आज यहाँ चैंपियन बनना चाहती हैं, चैंपियन बनना है तो रिजाइन करो इसलिए कि बंगाल जल रहा है। इसलिए कि अगर उनमें ताकत नहीं है—इन्होंने चव्हाण को हटाया, क्योंकि ये चैंपियन बनना चाहती थीं, पहले मोरारजी भाई को हटा कर चैंपियन बनीं, इसलिए अब अगर ये चैंपियन बनना चाहती हैं तो रिजाइन करें। आज बंगाल जल रहा है, बंगाल का हर आदमी बरबाद हो रहा है, उसकी जिन्दगी का कोई भरोसा नहीं है, वहाँ बिजनेस नहीं चल रहा है, इण्डस्ट्रीज नहीं चल रही हैं, मुलाजिम इतिम्नान से नहीं जा

[श्री अन्दुलगनी डार]

सकता। मैं अभी अभी कलकत्ता हो कर आया हूँ... (व्यवधान)... अरे, आप को तो ज्यादा अहसास होना चाहिए, क्योंकि आप हमारे खिन्दगी भर के साथी रहे हैं और आपने और हमने इस आजादी को कायम किया है, आज हम बेइमान नजर आते हैं? क्या आप बेइमान नहीं हैं, जिन्होंने अपनी जमायत के साथ गद्दारी की है, जो अब मुल्क को बंगाल के बाद तबाह करने जा रहे हैं। मुझे डर है इसी पालियामेंट में इस तरह का वायु-मण्डल पैदा करना चाहते हैं कि यहां भी नकली बम नहीं, असली बम गिरें और यू० एस० एस० आर० की मदद से, रशिया की मदद से मेरी बहन डिक्टेटर बने और इस मुल्क में अपना राज कायम करे।

— [श्री अन्दुलगनी डार (कुकाणों) :—

अधिकश मेहुदने -

की मीरे क्तल के बद अस ने जफा से तूबे हाँसे अस रूड पशेमा का पशेमा हुना—
मेहन ने अंकी गेर हासरी मेहन रोलग
पारती के नैतारुन की और सी पी अनी के
नैतारुन की तरेरिस सी - आं अनेहन ये
सी पी अिम वाले नैसलान्त्स के जलद आना
दकहानी देते मेहन - ये ताम जो लोसलैस
हो रहीं हे अके ये जल दाना दकहानी देते
मेहन - लेकन आं तक सरव अेली मारुती
गुनैलत को चलाने के लैने अंकी मदन लेना
ये अंके लैने कुनी जरुम नेहन दकहानी देता -
कगरेस आंलान्त्स के अमदाबाद और देली
के सैशुन मेहन हे ने अेलैस और बूऐती
हुनी लोसलैस के खलफ आवां अहानी और
नैसलान्त्स की तरफ तूजेहे दलानी अेलैने
प्रांम मन्स्र साहबा की - वे फरुमाती मेहन
के नैसलान्त्स जो मेहन वे क्िया मेहन - वे तू
गुरीब और अमेर का जो बेहुद हे अंके बेज मेहन
जो बूऐता हवा फरु हे अंकी जेहे से मेहन -
प्रांम मन्स्र साहबा ने नैसलान्त्स को अं

तरु से पनाह दी के वे सरव गुरीब और अमेर
के बेज के बेहुद की जेहे से मेहन - मेहन
ये बालक सां क्िया जेऐता हूनु के हेमारी
पारती या हेम लूग बालक राम मरुती जी का
जो मरु हे अंके सांहे नेहन हूनु और सां
बात हे के वे मरु जो हे वे अंहेसुती पर मेनी
नेहन हे - अंर अंहेसुती पर मेनी हुना तू
सारी जो बूऐती हुनी लोसलैस हे जस
की जमेदारी अं पर बेतू जेपाने अनी हे क्ियुन
के अंकी हकुरमत तू ये बात अंके हे के
हेमारी प्रांम मन्स्र साहबा ने हब कगरेस
को परेबा क्रना त्हा जेहुती बसू जेब अंके
कदमो मेहन त्हे अंके सांहे त्हे अंसा वकत
जेहुती बसू न्जर नेहन आं के ये बूऐती
हुनी अंलैस को दावत दे दे मेहन और
स तरु के कंम कू दे मेहन - अस लैने अंर
हेमारी पारती की कुनी रांने जानना जेऐता हे
तू हेम अस बात का अंसूस कूते मेहन के
येनेन सरकार आं की पानी प्रांम मन्स्र साहबा
होम मन्स्र के रूप मेहन जो बंताल मेहन
अस वकत हकुरमत कू रहीं मेहन अंकी अंके
बालक फेल्लोर हुनी हे अस मेनी मेहन के
वे वेहां कानुन को लांने नेहन रकहे सकेन
अस लैने अंर ये क्िया जेऐने के आं वेहां की
पोलैस बेही अेली प्रांम मन्स्र साहबा से
पेरुतेकशुन मानकती हे अेली हांफात के लैने
अंके ये पेरुतेकशुन पोलैस को बेही नेहन दे
सकेन अस लैने ये हांफास अंसूस कूता हे
के हेम राम मरुती जी के सांहे हो सकेते
मेहन - लेकन हेमारी पारती सांहे ही सांहे
मताले कूती हे हेमारी प्रांम मन्स्र साहबा
को जो होम मन्स्र बेली मेहन और अस येनेन
सरकार को जो असूत रूल कू रहीं मेहन अंका
ये फरु हे के हे बंताली बेन बेहानी को वेहां
पेरुतेकशुन देन तांके वे अेली नारुवल
लैण्ट की अंकेवेहेज को वेहां जारी रकहे
सकेन और अंर वे नेहन रकहे सकेते मेहन तू

میں چاہتا ہوں کہ ایک بہادر بپ کی بیٹی میری بہن اندرا گاندھی (رژائن کریں) اسلئے کہ انکے اندر طاقت نہیں ہے - وہ چھپیں بلنا چاہتی تھیں پہلے مورار جی بھائی کو ہٹا کر چھپیں بن رہی تھیں اور آج یہاں چھپیں بلنا چاہتی ہیں چھپیں بلنا ہے تو رژائن کرو اسلئے کہ بلکال جل رہا ہے - اسلئے کہ اگر انہیں طاقت نہیں ہے..... انہوں نے چوہان کو ہٹایا کیونکہ یہ چھپیں بلنا چاہتی تھیں - پہلے مورار جی بھائی کو ہٹا کر چھپیں بنیں - اسلئے اب اگر یہ چھپیں بلنا چاہتیں ہیں تو رژائن کریں - آج بلکال جل رہا ہے - بلکال کا ہر آدمی برباد ہو رہا ہے - اسکی زندگی کا کوئی بھروسا نہیں ہے - وہاں بزنس نہیں چل رہا ہے - انڈسٹری نہیں چل رہی ہے - ملازم اتندان سے نہیں جا سکتا ہے - میں ابھی ابھی کلکتہ ہو کر آیا ہوں..... (انٹرویویشن) ... ارے۔ آپ کو تو زیادہ احساس ہونا چاہئے کیونکہ آپ ہمارے زندگی بھر کے ساتھی رہے ہیں اور آپ نے ہم نے آزادی کو قائم کیا ہے - آج ہم بیگیمان نظر آتے ہیں - کیا آپ بیگیمان نہیں ہیں جنہوں نے اپنی جماعت کھستاتے عداری کی ہے جو اب ملک کو بلکال کھبھد تباہ کرنے جا رہے ہیں - مجھے تو ہے اس پارلیامینٹ میں اسطرح کا راپو ملقل پیدا کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ یہاں بھی نقلی ہم نہیں اصلی ہم کریں اور ہو-ایس-ایس- آر کی مدد سے - رشیا کی مدد سے مہری بہن ڈکٹھتو بنے اور اس ملک میں اپنا راج قائم کرے -]

19.00 hrs

SHRI K.C. PANT: The mover of this motion has worded the motion in such a way that it was confined within narrow limits. The reason for this is perhaps pointed out by Dr. Maitreyee Basu, but

in the course of his speech he exceeded those confines and he spoke of other things. It was, therefore, but natural that the other speakers who followed him did not confine themselves strictly to the motion but spoke of various other things and as the debate has gone on, I wonder if Shri Ramamurti is not having second thoughts about the wisdom of having started it at all.

I have tried to collect all the information about this particular incident that I could.

According to information received from West Bengal Government, Shri K.G. Bose contacted the Home Secretary, West Bengal, on the telephone on 31st October, and mentioned that his wife Smt. Parul Bose is a teacher in a school located in Beliaghata Police Station where incidents of violence including attacks on his party men had taken place. He said that the school would re-open after the Puja vacation on 2nd November and he wished to know whether Home Secretary had any information regarding any plan of the Naxalites to attack his wife when she would go to the School after the Puja vacation. Not being in a position to say anything straightaway, the home Secretary advised Shri Bose to contact him on 1st November. Having made enquiries from the Calcutta Police authorities in the meantime, the Home Secretary informed Shri K.G. Bose on 1st November that there was no intelligence of any such plan to attack Smt. Bose, Shri K.G. Bose got in touch with the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta also the same day, and Shri Jyoti Bose spoke to the Commissioner on the telephone on 2nd November. Though no intelligence was available regarding any plan of the Naxalites to attack Smt. Bose, the Home Secretary asked the Additional Commissioner of Police to keep a close watch on the situation and to arrange for necessary protection of Smt. Bose. Accordingly, the officer-in-charge, Beliaghata Police Station detailed plain clothes armed police men for the protection of Smt. Bose on 2nd and 3rd November. On the night of 3rd November, the officer-in-charge, Beliaghata Police Station, accompanied by two Sub Inspectors went to Shri K.G. Bose and understood from him that

[Shri K. C. Pant]

his wife would not attend the school from 4th November. The officer in charge accordingly did not detail any policemen for the protection of Smt. Bose on 4th November. However, Smt. Bose went to the school in the morning of 4th November where she was attacked by a group of young men.

On receipt of a telephone call from Shri Bose, the local police rushed to the school. Smt. Bose was removed to hospital where she is reported to be progressing. Investigation was started immediately and so far 16 persons have been arrested.

Shri K.G. Bose issued a statement denying having told the police that his wife would not be going to school from 4th November. The Commissioner of Police has therefore made enquires to find out the facts and has come to the conclusion that there is no reason to disbelieve the statement of the officer in charge and two other police officers.

It is most reprehensible that a lady should have been attacked in this dastardly manner and I am sure that all right-thinking persons will strongly condemn it, including CPM. The Government have every sympathy for the lady and as I said earlier we are very happy that she is progressing in the hospital. I hope that this most deplorable incident will bring home to all the need to abjure violence and to cooperate in establishing peace and conditions of civilised life.

My hon. friend Shri Ramamurti in his speech accused the Government of wanting to wipe out, and I think, he referred to the middle cadres of the CPM. Sir, I think my hon. friend should know by now and at least he should know from his days in the Congress, that that is not our way. We stand for the rule of law. We stand for the peaceful process of change. Above all, we stand for freedom from fear. And, Sir, it would do the country a lot of good if my friend Mr Ramamurti could during his reply stand up and say that he also believes in these things, that he also abjures fear and violence and that he rejects the philosophy of violence for

the attainment of political ends. If he were to make the statement in his reply we could clear the air in the whole country and it would help all of us to come together in the task of protecting innocent citizens from the kind of barbaric attacks, an example of which we have been discussing today.

I make no distinction between one party and another in this matter. Whenever a life is lost, whether it is the worker of CPM or Congress or CPI or even Naxalite, it is a precious life that is lost. And, one must condemn it. It goes against the tradition that has been handed down to us by Gandhiji which in turn was the product of an age-old tradition. Things that are happening in Bengal today run counter to that tradition and put us to shame.

If Mr. Ramamurti could stand up for the process of peace, for the process of law and order, it would help everybody immeasurably to curb the forces of violence.

I am very glad that during this debate there has been general agreement that the police has after all a role to play, that when it comes to violence, when it comes to attack by some unruly elements of peaceful citizens, the police have a role to perform. In the past when police was attacked in rather lurid terms one was not sure if the social role that the police performed had been brought out clearly to everybody.

But I am glad that during this debate at least, this role has been brought into focus, and I hope that after this, the need for the CRP, for instance, will not be questioned in the way it used to be, because, after all, it is the quantum of violence that prevails, that has to be met, and it is the quantum of force that is required to meet which is the essential point. If we have to send policemen every time there is a call of this nature, and every time that protection is sought by individuals, then, naturally, the force has to be rather large. If every individual who is threatened in Bengal and in Calcutta today asks for protection, then he is entitled to it, and I hope that not only the CPM workers but others are also entitled

to it, and if they are all entitled to it, then the force must necessarily be rather large. In this, if the CRP can also contribute, to that extent, the forces of law and order will be strengthened, and I hope that Shri P. Ramamurti will support this approach.

The hon. Member has accused the police of excesses. There may have been individual lapses, and wherever there has been a lapse, we deplore it, and action will be taken against those at fault. But it would be well to remember that during the last six months or so.....

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : There will be no inquiry ; that is worse ; even if there is firing, there is not going to be any inquiry. That is worse.

SHRI K. C. PANT : That is a misunderstanding which can be easily removed. I do not want to go into it just now, but we can discuss it later.

But it would be well to remember that during the last six months or so, 34 members of the police forces have been killed in West Bengal and about 400 injured. Working in the most difficult and trying conditions, the police forces have functioned with restraint. They have been carrying on their duties according to law, and while acting firmly where the circumstances so required, they have taken every possible care to avoid doing any harm to innocent persons.

The families of police personnel who have lost their lives and the members of the forces who have suffered injuries in the discharge of their duties are also entitled to sympathy.

I would request the hon. Member who has moved this motion to consider whether some of the actions of his party when it was in power in West Bengal have not made any contribution to bring about the present situation.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : None at all.

SHRI K. C. PANT : A number of

persons charged with grave offences were released, and a large number of cases involving violence were dropped or withdrawn. In one way or another, directly or indirectly, recourse to violence for achieving political ends was encouraged.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : 20 years of Congress misrule in West Bengal.

SHRI K. C. PANT : This is the first occasion in which Shri Jyotirmoy Basu seems to lack confidence. His voice has lost its ring.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Come, come, Mr. Pant. Do not talk things which are too big for you.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I am confident that the violent activities of the Naxalites and of the anti-social elements operating with them will be brought to an end, and I seek the support of all sections of the House in creating a climate free from violence and brutality.

My hon. friend Shri Samar Guha referred to the need for a campaign against violence. We entirely agree, and we would be glad to join in any such campaign. Let us destroy the roots of the poisonous plant of violence rather than express feigned surprise at the poisonous fruit it produces.

With these words, I oppose the motion and because of my opposing the motion, we also oppose the amendments.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : The debate has been on a rather large canvas, and I do not propose to go into that big canvas just now. It is not that I am shunning it, but I am doing so because of lack of time. The Home Minister could not deny the fact that the police had been contacted. Naturally, despite the fact that prior intimation had been given to the Police Commissioner, he failed to provide this protection. The Police Commissioner's report is the report of an accused, because the accused is making a report about himself.

If the accused comes and says that on the fourth he understood that this lady was

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

not going to school and therefore he withdrew, this is a natural answer you can expect from the accused. What else can he say for failing to give protection? But facts cannot be denied. The lady said "I do not want to go to school." The police people went there and said 'We will give you protection. You can go to school.' Otherwise, when she had said that she would not go to school, why did she change her mind and went to school on the fourth? It does not sound reasonable. Therefore the facts are totally different. Today the Police Commissioner who is the accused is trying to defend himself by giving an alibi, as an afterthought. That explanation is now being bandied about here to show that the police did not at all in any way fail in this matter.

I have not brought this Motion because a member of our party has been attacked. That certainly is not my position, because a number of our people are being attacked and we are accustomed to that kind of thing, and we know how to defend ourselves (*Interruptions*). I do not deny the right of self-defence as the right of every individual in this country, even under the Constitution. Therefore, we know how to defend ourselves. But we do not want to make things worse. Therefore, in order that this incident might not happen we went and told the Police Commissioner that this thing is going to happen. They said 'Our intelligence reports do not show that'; then that lady said that 'Our intelligence reports show that this is going to happen'. In spite of this warning, there has been a failure and it is on that ground that I am bringing this particular charge. This is one aspect. This is a question of connivance. Otherwise, it is inexplicable how it could happen.

Secondly, I want to refer to one or two speeches. Shri Ranen Sen talked about so many things and asked why I did not bring forward a resolution condemning the entire police for the present situation. If he had been present here while I was speaking on my motion, he would have heard me refer to the atrocities committed by the police

not only against our people, but against the common people in West Bengal. The police have run amok; they are raping women and doing all such things. I do not want to go into that now. But I want to say that I did not expect anything better from Shri Ranen Sen. After all, it has been the historical experience throughout the world in the labour movement, in the working class movement, in the movement of the people that when the ruling classes find themselves in difficulties consequent on the attack of the common people, 'social democracy' comes to the rescue of the ruling classes. Here is the Communist Party which cannot stand anywhere on its own in this country taking shelter behind the ruling classes, the Congress Party. Therefore, I did not expect anything better from him; he could only speak on behalf of the Congress Party and nobody else.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : (Alipore) : History has also shown that ruling classes produced splitters to divide the working class (*Interruptions*).

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Lastly, Shri Pant wanted me to declare that the CPI (Marxist) does not stand for violence. I would like to remind him of our party programme and ask him to go through it. It is absolutely clear on the point. There we have openly declared that the Marxist Communist Party wants to bring about social transformation in this country by peaceful means (*Interruptions*). He asked me for a statement and I am making it. We have openly declared that we want to bring about transformation in this country by peaceful means. At the same time, we have warned the people that the ruling classes anywhere in this world—this is the historical experience—when they find themselves faced with the threat of loss of power, will not keep quiet, will not bother about parliamentary methods, will not care about parliamentary democracy or any such thing, but will completely smash all those things and resort to naked dictatorial rule, military rule, if necessary, to crush democracy. If such a situation arises in this country, we have warned the people of this country that the Indian ruling classes are not

Parul Bose (Mot.)

exception to the ruling classes throughout the world, and therefore the people must be prepared to meet that naked dictatorial rule. This specific declaration we have made, and we stand by that.

Let us understand the CPI programme also.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You are in alliance with Swatantra.

SARI S.M. BANERJEE : We will fight with the help of the working people, not with the help of Shri Morarji Desai.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Therefore, we stick to that, because we are convinced that that is the only way. We certainly want to bring about social transformation by peaceful means, but we will not be a party to deceiving the people that the ruling classes will always keep quiet. Maybe as a result of the overwhelming majority of the common people, they will not resort to such methods, but if such a situation arises, it is well and good. Therefore, let him not come and say that the CPM is wedded to violence.

Lastly, people were talking about the United Front Government. Mrs. Ila Palchoudhury was waxing eloquent about all these things. I would only ask a simple question. If we are so very bad people, why is it that the CPI and other people are running after alliances with the Congress in order to face the electorate in Bengal?

SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA (Begusarai) : You are running after the Syndicate and the Jana Sangh.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : If the Syndicate Congress supports this resolution, it is their business, it is none of my business. I have today brought a specific resolution on the failure of the Government to give protection in spite of being warned beforehand. On that question if somebody supports me, it is not my concern. I would certainly want other people also to support me. It is simple issue, and in that issue I

am asking for a vote. I am not going into other things. We can discuss them when Shri Nath Pai's resolution is taken up, but today I am asking for the vote of the House in the simple question of the failure of the Government to give protection in spite of being warned beforehand. On that matter I am sure that all people of goodwill will vote for it, irrespective of any other consideration.

MR. SPEAKER : There are two amendments. Is Mr. Samar Guha pressing?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : No.

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

HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

Amendment No. 1 was, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"and also to provide normal security to numerous other citizens who have been planfully murdered by anti-social gangsters and hooligans or killed by indiscriminate firing by the State police and the C.R.P. in Calcutta and other places of West Bengal". (2)

The motion was negatived.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"This House deploras the failures of the Government to provide protection to Mrs. Parul Bose who was stabbed in Calcutta on the 4th November, 1970, while working in her school, despite prior intimation having been given to the Commissioner of Police three days before the incident."

The Lok Sabha divided :

Division No. 3] AYES [19.30 hrs.

Abraham, Shri K.M.
Anirudhan, Shri K.
Badrudduja, Shri
Bajaj, Shri Kamalnayan

Basu, Shri Jyotirmoy
Bhagaban Das, Shri
Chakrapani, Shri C. K.
Chaudhuri, Shri Tridib Kumar
Dwivedy, Shri Surendranath
Esthose, Shri P. P.
Ghoah, Shri Ganesh
Gopalan, Shri A. K.
Gopalan, Shrimati Suseela
Gowda, Shri M. H.
Goyal, Shri Shri Chand
Guha, Shri Samar
Joshi, Shri S. M.
Kapoor, Shri Lakhan Lal
Karni Singh, Dr.
Kedaria, Shri C. M.
Lekkappa, Shri K.
Limaye, Shri Madhu
Mangalathumadam, Shri
Menon, Shri Vishwanatha
Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali
Misra, Shri Jaqeshwar
Modak, Shri B. K.
Mohammad Ismail, Shri
Molahu Prasad, Shri
Nambiar, Shri
Nayanan, Shri E. K.
Patel, Shri J. H.
Remamurti, Shri P.
Ramani, Shri K.
Ray, Shri Rabi
Satya Narain Singh, Shri
Singh, Shri D. N.
Umanath, Shri
Viswambharan, Shri P.

NOES

Achal Singh, Shri
Aga, Shri Ahmed
Ahirwar, Shri Nathu Ram
Ahmad, Dr. I.
Ahmed, Shri F. A.
Amjad Ali, Shri Sardar
Anbazhagan, Shri
Ankineedu, Shri
Asghar Husain, Shri
Awadesh Chandra Singh, Shri
Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha
Babunath Singh, Shri
Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar
Barua, Shri Bedabrata
Barua, Shri R.
Barupati, Shri P. L.
Basu, Dr. Maitreyee
Basumatari, Shri

Baswant, Shri
Besra, Shri S. C.
Bhagar, Shri B. R.
Bhakt Darshan, Shri
Bhandare, Shri R. D.
Bhattacharyya, Shri C. K.
Bist, Shri J. B. S.
Brahmanandji, Shri Swami
Buta Singh, Shri
Chanda, Shrimati Jyotsna
Chandrakar, Shri Chandulal
Chatterji, Shri Krishna Kumar
Chaturvedi, Shri R. L.
Chaudhary, Shri Nitiraj Singh
Chavan, Shri D. R.
Chavan, Shri Y. B.
Choudhary, Shri Valmiki
Dalbir Singh, Shri
Damani, Shri S. R.
Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas
Daschowdhury, Shri B. K.
Deoghare, Shri N. R.
Deshmukh, Shri B. D.
Deshmukh, Shri K. G.
Deshmukh, Shri Shivajirao S.
Devinder Singh, Shri
Dhandapani, Shri
Dhuleshwar Meena, Shri
Dinesh Singh, Shri
Dixit, Shri G. C.
Durairasu, Shri
Gajraj Singh Rao, Shri
Gandhi, Shrimati Indira
Ganesh, Shri K. R.
Gautam, Shri C. D.
Ghosh, Shri P. K.
Ghosh, Shri Parimal
Girja Kumari, Shrimati
Gupta, Shri Lakhan Lal
Hajarnawis, Shri
Hanumanthaiya, Shri K.
Heerji Bhai, Shri
Iqbal Singh, Shri
Jadhav, Shri Tulshidas
Jadhav, Shri V. N.
Jaggaiab, Shri K.
Jaggiwan Ram, Shri
Jamir, Shri S. C.
Jamna Lal, Shri
Kahandole, Shri Z. M.
Kamble, Shri
Kamla Kumari, Kumari
Kandappan, Shri S.
Karan Singh, Dr.
Kasture, Shri A. S.
Kavade, Shri B. R.

- Kedar Nath Singh, Shri
 Kesri, Shri Sitaram
 Khadilkar, Shri R. K.
 Khan, Shri M. A.
 Kisku, Shri A. K.
 Kotoki, Shri Liladhar
 Krishna, Shri M. R.
 Krishnamoorthi, Shri V.
 Krishnan, Shri G. Y.
 Kuchelar, Shri G.
 Kureel, Shri B. N.
 Kushok Bakula, Shri
 Lakshmikantamma, Shrimati
 Laskar, Shri N. R.
 Laxmi Bai, Shrimati
 Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.
 Mahajan, Shri Vikram Chand
 Mahajan, Shri Yadav Shivram
 Maharaj Singh, Shri
 Mahida, Shri Narendra Singh
 Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini
 Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad
 Mane, Shri Shankarrao
 Master, Shri Bhola Nath
 Mayavan, Shri
 Melkote, Dr.
 Minimata Agam Dass Guru, Shrimati
 Mishra, Shri Bibhuti
 Mishra, Shri G. S.
 Misra, Shri S. N.
 Mohammad Yusuf, Shri
 Mobain, Shri
 Muhammad Ismail, Shri M.
 Mulla, Shri A. N.
 Murthy, Shri B. S.
 Nabata, Shri Amrit
 Nanda, Shri
 Oraon, Shri Kartik
 Pahadia, Shri Jagannath
 Palchoudhuri, Shrimati Ila
 Panigrahi, Shri Chintamani
 Pant, Shri K. C.
 Paokai Haokip, Shri
 Parmar, Shri D. R.
 Partap Singh, Shri
 Parthasarathy, Shri P.
 Patil, Shri Anantrao
 Patil, Shri Deorao
 Patil, Shri S. B.
 Patil, Shri T. A.
 Pradhani, Shri K.
 Qureshi, Shri Mohd. Shaffi
 Radhabai, Shrimati B.
 Raghuramaiah, Shri
 Raj Deo Singh, Shri
 Rajaram, Shri
 Ram, Shri T.
 Ram Sewak, Shri
 Ram Swarup, Shri
 Ramsbekhar Prasad Singh, Shri
 Rana, Shri M. B.
 Randhir Singh, Shri
 Rao, Shri Jagannath
 Rao, Dr. K. L.
 Rao, Shri K. Narayana
 Rao, Shri Muthyal
 Rao, Shri J. Ramapathi
 Rao, Shri Thjrumala
 Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.
 Raut, Shri Bhola
 Reddi, Shri G. S.
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath
 Roy, Shrimati Uma
 Sadhu Ram, Shri
 Sait, Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman
 Saleem, Shri M. Yunus
 Samanta, Shri S. C.
 Sambandhan, Shri S. K.
 Sanghi, Shri N. K.
 Sankata Prasad, Dr.
 Sant Bux Singh, Shri
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.
 Sayyad Ali, Shri
 Sen, Shri Dwaipayana
 Sethi, Shri P. C.
 Shambhu Nath, Shri
 Shankaranand, Shri B.
 Sharma, Shri Madhoram
 Shashi Bhusban, Shri
 Shastri, Shri Biswanarayan
 Shastri, Shri Ramanand
 Shastri, Shri Sheopujan
 Sher Singh, Shri
 Shinde, Shri Annasahib
 Shiv Chandika Prasad, Shri
 Shivappa, Shri N.
 Shukla, Shri S. N.
 Siddayya, Shri
 Siddheshwar Prasad, Shri
 Sinha, Shri Mudrika
 Sinha, Shri R. K.
 Sivasankaran, Shri
 Somasundaram, Shri S. D.
 Sonavane, Shri
 Subravelu, Shri
 Sunder Lal, Shri
 Sursingh, Shri
 Suryanarayana, Shri K.
 Swaran Singh, Shri
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.

Tiwary, Shri K. N.
Tula Ram, Shri
Uikey, Shri M. G.
Verma, Shri Prem Chand
Viswanathan, Shri G.
Yadav, Shri N. P.
Yadav, Shri Chandra Jeet

Ayes : 39 ;

Noes : 191

The motion was negatived.

19.30 hrs.

MR. SPEAKER : The result* of the [*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven
of the Clock on Thursday, November 12, 1970/
Kartika 21, 1892 (Saka).*]
division is :

* The following Members also recorded their votes for NOES:

Sarvaahri A.C. George, Chow. Chandret Gohain, A. K. Chanda, N. E. Horo
and M. S. Oberoi.