

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

the vote of the House :

"That the debate on the motion 'that the Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament (Amendment) Bill, 1969, as amended, be passed', be adjourned to tomorrow."

The motion was adopted.

12.56 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at four minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[SHRI M.B. RANA in the Chair]

DISCUSSION RE : HOME MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON VIOLATION OF SANCTITY OF WEST BENGAL LEGISLATURE PREMISES.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Hem Barua.

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to move :

"That the statement made by the Minister of Home Affairs on the 4th August, 1969 regarding violation of the sanctity of the West Bengal Legislature premises, be taken into consideration."

I have gone through the statement of the hon. Minister...Shri B.K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch-Bihar) : On a point of order, Sir.

This is a motion that has just been moved by the hon. Member. This is regarding violation of the sanctity of the West Bengal Legislature premises. Shall I presume that the motion has been admitted either under Rule 186 or Rule 188? I beg to refer to Rule 188 in this connection. It says:

"No motion which seeks to raise discussion on a matter pending before any statutory tribunal or statutory authority performing any judicial or quasi-judicial functions or any commis-

sion or court of enquiry appointed to enquire into, or investigate, any matter shall ordinarily be permitted to be moved."

It is known that the Government of West Bengal have already started an inquiry and the inquiry report is awaited. If the discussion on this is allowed, the inquiry report may be prejudiced. Therefore, I submit that this discussion cannot be held.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : सभापति जी, जो जांच हो रही है वह कोई अदालती जांच भी नहीं है। हाई कोर्ट का जज भी जांच नहीं कर रहा है। वह एक प्रशासनिक जांच हो रही है और अगर कमीशन आफ एन्क्वायरी बन जाये तब भी सदन चर्चा कर सकता है क्योंकि यह मामला अदालत के विचाराधीन है ऐसा नहीं माना जाएगा। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि चर्चा पर कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिए और आप चर्चा की इजाजत दीजिए।

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y.B. CHAVAN): Some retired Chief Secretary or somebody has been asked to go into the matter. It is an administrative inquiry. I do not think there is any bar to holding this discussion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In view of what hon. Minister has said, the hon. Member's objection is ruled out.

Mr. Hem Barua.

SHRI HEM BARUA : I have gone through the statement of the Home Minister about the vandalism perpetrated by a section of policemen in the West Bengal Assembly premises, with due care and caution. It pains me to say that the statement is rather half-hearted, slipshod and haphazard; it does not give a complete picture of the entire incidents; it does not give a complete perspective of the entire incidents. All Maharashtrians are generally clever people and Mr. Chavan is no exception...

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Why not pay that left-handed compliment to some of his very brilliant colleagues ?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : He knows by association.

SHRI HEM BARUA : I hope and trust that, while replying to the debate, Mr. Chavan will make an elaborate statement with regard to the incidents there and give us the benefit of his interpretations also.

This invasion of the Assembly premises of West Bengal is a matter that concerns vitally all the political parties in India because the challenge is not only against the Assembly but also against the Parliamentary democracy in general. Therefore, I think that no political party should lag behind in condemning this sort of vandalism perpetrated by the police in the Assembly premises on the 31st July, 1969. There should be no partisan attitude in this matter. Often the Home Minister is described as a man suffering from partisan attitude when the question of Naxalite comes, and since the Naxalites are against Mr. Basu, he wants to pardon their vandalism and all that. There is a sort of statement like that against the Home Minister. What is true of one party is true of all political parties. Today there is vandalism under the U. F. Government perpetrated by a section of policemen. Tomorrow there may be vandalism under the Congress Government also. Therefore, I say that there should be a sort of general attitude towards this sort of vandalism, and the condemnation should come from all political parties. Here was a group of policemen who entered into the premises of the Assembly House and they turned everything topsyturvy inside the House. They even pulled down the portrait of Harindra Kumar Mukerjee, who was once the Governor of that State and at whose feet I had the proud privilege of sitting as a pupil in the Calcutta University when he was a professor there. There was that sort of vandalism perpetrated by a section of policemen. But, at the same time, I want to say this. The policemen have their grievances also.

Those grievances are to be enquired into. I did not like Shri Jyoti Basu telling the policemen not to agitate or to put on black badges on themselves because they are a section of the people. If you love the people, you must cater to the needs of the people and see that all the people benefit under your regime.

This is an attack not only on the temple of democracy but also against parliamentary democracy in the whole country. Are these policemen alone responsible for violating the sanctity of the House or the temple of democracy? Are we not responsible also? Let us turn the searchlight on ourselves and try to find out if we are not responsible. What happened in the West Bengal Assembly when the adjournment motion was read out with the permission of the Chair by Miss Abha Maiti? I know that three persons of the Treasury Benches, three Members of the Assembly from the Treasury Benches, brandished their shoes against her. Shoes are meant for foot-wear; they are meant for the feet. They are not meant to be taken in the hand and brandished against people. Secondly, a Member of the Treasury Benches rushed at Miss Abha Maiti when she was reading out that adjournment motion. Was that good? Have the policemen alone violated the sanctity of the House? Are we not responsible for violating the sanctity of this House? We have been violating the sanctity of the temples of democracy in this country. That is a bad thing for us. The policemen no doubt deserve to be condemned because whatever the provocation, they should not have acted in that particular manner. There is no doubt about it. But at the same time, we must take these things into account also. We found also the brandishing of shoes against certain members by certain other members of the Assembly or certain Members rushing at the Member who had to be protected by 30 other Members; I congratulate those people who came forward to protect Miss Abha Maiti. Whatever that might be, that attack was as much reprehensible as the attack on the Assembly by a section of the policemen.

But the point is this. Government should have known about this that it was going to happen, because it was quite clear by 12.30 p.m. that a procession would be taken out to the Assembly. Instead of taking precautions against these acts of vandalism which were perpetrated, the Minister was ready with a garland to be placed on the dead body. No doubt, the policeman was murdered in a very gruesome manner. His eyes had been taken out, as Shri Tiwary has said; his nose was cut and his ears had been taken out. It was a gruesome murder. To say that the police have murdered so many people in India and there-

[Shri Hem Barua]

fore they deserved to be murdered is in bad taste. That can be no argument at all. I do not understand this sort of argument. I have never followed this argument at all.

Very often, we hear in this House 'Physician, heal thyself'. 'Physician, heal thyself' is an old adage, and we have to heal ourselves, before crying to condemn other people for doing certain things which we very often do.

My submission is that the violation of the sanctity of the Assembly promises by the policemen is a bad thing, is a reprehensible thing, but at the same time, the violation of the sanctity of the temples of democracy by Members is equally reprehensible. We must not forget that.

There is a crime wave of violence in this country. Everywhere, we hear of violence, demonstrations and all that. I just want to remind you that this is the year of the Gandhi Centenary. Gandhiji taught us the philosophy of non-violence. In spite of that, the Indian people we find, are prone to violence. The impression in the country is this. This Government at the Centre would not listen to any demand or any complaint of the people unless the people go in for violence. That is the impression gaining in this country. Gandhiji taught us to undergo self-sufferings while agitating for a particular thing. But instead of self-suffering, we find that an attack on public property is undertaken in order to demonstrate for one's demands or needs. There is a crime wave of violence in this country and we must take note of that.

I did not like the Prime Minister's speech the other day, the speech that she delivered near her house on 3rd August. She delivered a speech yesterday also. I did not like that also. I did not like it when she said that 'Nobody can stop me, if I want to become a communist'. What is this? You know, Sir, that dictatorship is anachronistic in a democracy. We are pledged to a democratic set-up. We are pledged to a democratic system of government in this country. We have a Constitution that has defined democracy. When somebody who is entrusted with the responsibility of defending democracy talks of becoming a dictator, that is a

bad thing. Dictatorship is something anachronistic in a democratic set-up. We must not forget that.

SHRI MANOHARAN (Madras North) : She said that she was being accused of that.

SHRI HEM BARUA : I remember what those words were. She said 'Nobody can stop me, if I want to become a communist'. That was what she said. I did not like that. I would have liked her.....

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirapalli) : Is it a crime to become a communist?

SHRI HEM BARUA : It is not a crime to become a communist.....

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajpur) : He said that it was in bad taste.

SHRI HEM BARUA : I said that it was in bad taste. If she wants to become a communist, let her leave the Congress and become a communist like Shri Nambiar. Let her leave the Congress and become a communist. I do not have any objection to that. But to be in the Congress Party to guide the destiny of the Congress Party and at the same time to say that 'Nobody can stop me if I want to become a communist' is something anachronistic in a democracy...

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : The hon. Member is wrongly quoting the Prime Minister. I heard the speech myself, and I know that what he says is wrong.

SHRI HEM BARUA : I had read that speech in the newspapers.....

श्री रणधीर सिंह : ये पेंपर की बातें करते हैं, मैंने खुद उनकी स्पीच सुनी है, मैं उस जल्से में हाजिर था ।

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : This is being propagated by Shri Nijalingappa.

SHRI HEM BARUA : It was in the Delhi papers on the 4th morning.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN : Shri S. M. Banerjee should not make such remarks

against our President. This is not the way that he should behave here. He should behave better.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : On a point of personal explanation. I saw in the newspapers the Congress President had met Shri Ranga and Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. What was the topic that they discussed ?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : To discuss the weather we met.

SHRI HEM BARUA : Whatever that might be, some people are touchy about it. I read that speech in the newspapers. The situation in regard to law and order in West Bengal has deteriorated to such an extent that it has affected even the police force. We must not forget that also.

MR. CHAIRMAN : If he wants a reply later on, he can have three minutes more.

SHRI HEM BARUA : As I was saying, the situation in regard to law and order in West Bengal has deteriorated to such an extent as to affect the police force. We must take that fact into account also. Once indiscipline is encouraged for your own purpose, then that indiscipline has a tendency to boomerang on you. That is what is happening in West Bengal. I might become a Member of Parliament by encouraging indiscipline, but I must know that indiscipline would one day boomerang on me. Therefore, there must be some amount of ethics even in politics. I have often been saying that.

AN HON. MEMBER : That is why his party is sinking in West Bengal.

SHRI HEM BARUA : We may go sinking rather than imitate wrong tactics and wrong ways. We shall never do wrong things.

Then, what did Shri Ranadive say in London the 24th June ? He said 'We are not interested in giving relief to the people ; we are interested in preparing the people for a revolution... Then, two redoubtable Members of a political party...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour) : Are we discussing the motion

relating to the attack or rape on democracy in West Bengal ? Shri Ranadive is not here to defend himself. That has nothing to do with the discussion here before us.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : The hon. Member is here to defend Mr. Ranadive.

SHRI HEM BARUA : He is reported to have said like that. When two Members of a certain political party made a statement they made a statement on the basis of a press report that they had. If you read the statement of those two persons you will find that it was full of tirades against the Right Communist Party. At the same time, what happens, Sir ? Full of tirade, every sentence is a trade against the red Communist Party. What happened ? They want to wreck the Constitution from within. Instead of their wrecking the Constitution from within, the Policemen tried to wreck the Constitution in West Bengal. When Mr. Jyoti Basu asked the Policemen to disperse, the group of Policemen did not disperse. It was only when the Commissioner of Police asked the crowd to disperse that the Policemen dispersed. That shows there is an erosion of authority. I must congratulate the Home Minister of West Bengal for the commendable courage shown by him in the face of the agitation. The same thing cannot be said about the hon. Speaker of West Bengal Assembly. The very fact that he had to run away through the window shows the depth and dimension of the vandalism committed by the Police.

SHRI SEZHIAN (Kumba Konam) : We should not discuss the conduct of the Speaker of a State Legislature here. It is beyond the scope of this discussion and this House.

SHRI HEM BARUA : I congratulate the Home Minister of West Bengal for the commendable courage he has shown, but the same thing cannot be said about the hon. Speaker of the Assembly because he had to run away. The very fact that he had to run away through a window discloses the depth and dimension of the vandalism committed by the Policemen on the temple of democracy. But at the same time what

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did Mr. Jyoti Basu tell the Policemen ? He told them, 'We will organize the people against you.' On the 31st of July anti-Nixon demonstration was taking place in Calcutta. Mr. Nixon came to Delhi for 23 hours and a demonstration took place in Calcutta. Shri Jyoti Basu said that they would organise the people against the Policemen there. This is an open invitation to civil strife. Ultimately sense dawned upon him. While taking action against certain erring Policemen, he has alerted the Army, and this also is an invitation to civil strife in this country. There is no doubt about it. He has taken action, but, at the same time, I would like, whichever Party may be in power, whichever political Party may be involved, to effect a sort of psychological compromise. Unless there is a psychological compromise, things cannot improve in this country. Whatever that may be, there are people who have been brandishing allegation against the Congress in West Bengal. They say that it is the Congress that has engineered this mini-mutiny of the Policemen for wrecking the Constitution. I would request this Government to institute a sort of judicial inquiry into the entire gamut of incidents in order to find out the truth. Because without any statistics if you go on brandishing all sorts of things against other people, it would not impress the people for long. You can fool the people for some time but you cannot fool the people eternally. I would request the Home Minister to institute a judicial inquiry into the entire gamut of incidents. The Central Government is in charge of the Constitution. Now...

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you take more time, it will be curtailed from the time for reply. It is better you finish it now.

SHRI NATH PAI : It is a well-established practice of this House to give the hon. member who initiates a debate 30 minutes. If he is doing well, as Shri Hem Barua certainly is, he gets more time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : 30 minutes including the time for reply.

SHRI NATH PAI : We never mislead the Chair. I have told you the practice.

SHRI HEM BARUA : I have just taken 20 minutes or so.

Since the Central Government are the guardian of the Constitution, wherever there is a breakdown of it, they must be alert. I do not want that there should be Central intervention in West Bengal. I do not want the dismissal of the UF Government. At the same time, I would urge upon this Government to take note of the fact that there is a situation of total lack of law and security in West Bengal. This police vandalism, whatever you may call it, has risen because of that situation. Therefore, it is high time the Central Government took note of the situation and worked accordingly.

There are open invitations to civil strife, as I have already pointed out. Government should be alert to these things.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Motion moved :

"That the statement made by the Minister of Home Affairs on the 4th August 1969 regarding violation of the sanctity of the West Bengal Legislature premises, be taken into consideration".

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI (Krishnagar) : It is a very dark day that has come over West Bengal and we are discussing this motion under a great deal of tension. Democratic rights have been drowned, the people are living in tension, womanhood has been dishonoured and Bengal is in a state that is hard to believe. The police have entered the Assembly, the very temple of democracy, justice and the fountain-head of law in the State. They have desecrated the Assembly.

We are all sorry that a policeman was brutally murdered. The murder that has taken place calls for sympathy from every side. And a very violent murder it was, with the victim's eyes taken out and ears chopped off, it is something unbelievable. This kind of vandalism and violence has been preached by certain political parties and that is why such a thing has happened in West Bengal.

Ever since the UF Government came into power in West Bengal, it has had a very

peculiar record. It may just refresh the memory of hon. members by quoting one or two things. Because these things have built up it has led to the ultimate incident that has now happened.

The Leader of the Opposition in Bengal, who is a responsible person, has cited certain figures, and they are very revealing. During the period the U.F. Government has been in power, this is the record: 58 political murders, some 75 political assaults, 166 violent and illegal gheraos in the industrial sector, more than 100 criminal trespasses in the agricultural sector, besides looting and burning of public and private property; also defiling of places of worship.....(*Interruptions*). Statistics speak more than anything else. There has been a fall in industrial production of 82 per cent in the last four months. Let me now come to the most heinous thing that has happened in the history of India. In Kanki, an expectant mother has been speared to death. Such a thing has never been perpetrated in the whole history of India even in her darkest days. In medieval times during war and raids soldiers were instructed not to touch places of worship, not to touch women. Now, this has happened to an expectant mother, and this has happened in West Bengal under the U.F. Government. Mr. Jyoti Basu has tried to have some kind of administration but he himself said in the police budget debate in the Assembly :

"The internal dissensions among the U.F. constituents are reflected in the untoward events and these make things difficult for the police."

There are not my words, Sir, I am quoting Jyoti Basu's words !

So, what he is attempting to do is to organise a force so that they can control the police. Who are these 3,000 persons he propose to organise as the police are not organised ? I should ask the Central Government to look into this. He says that this force will consist of politically conscious youth who will take the law into their own hands should that be necessary." I

shall quote another choice bit from one of the U.F. Ministers who referred to the *gherao* and said : "If the *gheraos* continue the U.F. Government cannot last more than seven or eight months."

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : Is *gherao* the subject-matter of the motion ?... (*Interruptions*.)

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI : Mr. Probodh Pura Kayastha of the Socialist unity Centre has admitted publicly that the CP(M) is dividing the police politically to gain their own ends. If this is the opinion of the constituents of the U.F. Government, one can imagine the state of the police in West Bengal ! I say that what they did is reprehensible. But what is the remedy for this ? When various heinous things are happening and these are brought to the notice of the Central Government, let the Central Government question the State Government about these incidents and not just say that "this is a matter for the State to decide and that this is a matter of law and order." Law and order concerns people and if it is a matter of the constitution, if it is a matter which affects the people the Centre has also a responsibility. I do not say that the Centre should do anything outside the Constitution. Let there be a probe by a high powered judicial commission and let there be a thorough investigation as to why there were so many political murders and why the policy walked into the Assembly. When Miss Abha Maiti went to the chamber of the Home Minister, she was rudely told to "get out"..... (*Interruptions*). As Members of Parliament if we want to go the room of the Home Minister, have a right to do so because we are placing something before him. That right cannot be denied to any member of the legislature. This is something which has not happened in the legislative history of India.

There is only one instance in the history of the world when Cromwell marched his armies into the British Parliament and evicted those present. Where is the Cromwell in West Bengal? Who is the Cromwell who leads the police into the Assembly Chamber? Who is that shining example who invades the assembly and wrecks things there? Under whose authority

[Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri]

and under whose leadership are the people held to ransom in West Bengal? These are the questions that must be answered.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam): Mr. Chriman, Sir, this is a very serious matter, and on this occasion, it is not easy..... (Interruption).

SHRI K. N. TIWARY (Bettiah): Sir, this should be noted by the Home Minister: that already a Member of the communist party has information that Abha Maiti will within two days be sent to jail.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak): She has already said that.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): It is a matter for the State Government. You cannot do anything.

SHRI RANGA: I belong to the whole of India although I do not hail especially from West Bengal. Here is this Government which is responsible for law and order, among other things, for the whole of India including West Bengal. But what has been happening in West Bengal is something very serious indeed, and that is likely to prove disastrous to the whole of the country if the Government of India does not take time by its forelock and exercise its responsibilities which have been placed on their shoulders by the Constitution. We are all agreed, I am sure, in condemning what had happened in West Bengal Assembly Hall the other day, and the police people and others who are responsible for that most unfortunate event. But who was responsible for it at all? Were they only the police who took part in it? Were they the only people who were responsible? I speak subject to correction: I am told that quite a large number of those policemen belonged to a trade union of police people which has been sponsored by one of the communist parties.

Some of the communist party people there and their leaders were complaining, I am also informed, that it is the Congress people who were behind that riot. It is quite possible that some Congress people who were behind one police union and the communists were behind another police union. But why should there be two police unions at all? Or why should there be any

union for the matter? I am not prepared to agree with those friends who plead for trade unionism that it is the right of the policemen also to form such unions. I agree with the hon. Home Minister and the Government of India that everybody can have it but not the Cabinet Ministers, not the police, not the judiciary. If trade unionism were to enter into these ranks, then God only can look after our democracy.

But most unfortunately for us, there are political parties in our country which have taken interest in this direction and have helped these people to have their own trade union. Once one trade union for policemen has come into existence, and our friends, the communists, must have their finger in it, because they are experts in trade unionism; so they created a rival trade union in West Bengal. These two Unions began to quarrel and rival with each other, and the result is this. This is only one of the many reasons. This is only a foretaste of what is going to happen and what is in store for us not only in West Bengal but in the whole of India also.

Why was that policeman killed? Who killed him? How did he die? Who was responsible for plucking out his eyes and for preventing that unfortunate man's funeral at the right time and delaying it and afterwards creating all the trouble when the procession was going on? In regard to all these things, should not the country have proper information? My hon. friend, Shri Hem Barua, was suggesting an enquiry. Who is to appoint this enquiry? My hon. friend, the Home Minister, says this is law and order and it is a State subject, and therefore, "I am completely helpless and I am only to depend upon the information that they supply to me. That is the only thing that I am prepared to dole out here."

Under other circumstances, my hon. friend the Home Minister is prepared to utilise the institution of the Governor, quietly, overtly or covertly anyhow, using the CBI also. When it comes to West Bengal, the hands of the powerful Home Minister are completely tied behind his own back. He is a prisoner; only he does not realise it; even if he realises it, he does not admit it, because it goes against his pride. Therefore,

how dare he confess that he is a prisoner now in the hands of this West Bengal United Front Government and the communists who are dominating that Government? Is it not a fact that a duty is cast upon him to see that there is peace in that State also? Is there peace in that State? I agree with Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri. I admire her courage not only on this occasion but on previous occasions also for having come forward and warned this House that there is no law and order, there, is no law and order, there is no peace at all so far as the law-abiding people in that State are concerned

Now what is the position? They talk about vandalism in the Legislative Assembly. Who led the way? It was the Members of the Assembly. It was referred to by my hon. friend, Shri Hem Barua as to how it happened when the Governor came. Quite a number of our friends, even Members of this House, were prepared to stand by those Members of the Assembly who created that disturbance on that august occasion. You may agree or you may not agree with the party on the other side, but you must be prepared to give them a hearing. Similarly, you may agree or you may not agree with the Governor. You may think him to be the most useless man, the most dangerous man. Nevertheless, when he comes into the Legislative Assembly to discharge his duty cast upon him by the Constitution you have to display the most elementary bit of courtesy. They failed to do it on that occasion. So they led the way for the police people.

Afterwards *gheraos* came. Why do we want policemen. The functions of policemen are not like our functions; If any *goonda* comes and begins to hit me and I am not in a position to protect myself it is your duty, it is everybody's duty to come to my rescue. But if you do not come to my rescue you need not be punished. If a policeman stands there and goes on watching me helplessly without coming to my rescue then it would be dereliction of duty on his part because it is a cognizable offence. A number of offences are detailed in the Criminal Procedure Code as cognizable offences. How do they become cognizable? How can they be distinguished from the other offences? When such offences take place if

by any chance policemen were to be there anywhere near or if anyone appealed to policemen for help even by telephone, it is the primary duty, it is the principal duty of the policemen to immediately rush to their rescue and take notice of the offence. In order to enable them to discharge their duties we have given them arms.

What was happening in West Bengal? Our friends of the U.F. Ministry and its constituents the Communist friends did not want them to exercise their duty, not even their inescapable duty. First of all, in the case of *gheraos* they said that the police should not take notice until and unless they gave permission. That is how they broke this Gordian-knot. When it comes to a man or when it comes to a woman in so far as their married state is concerned the moment you out that *thali* or the bond of marriage then they are free to do whatever they like, they can go into any house and live in any way they like and the society has no control over them, the society has no obligation towards them. Similar is the position with policemen. They have cut the Gordian-knot and they have made it impossible for the police people to continue to respect their constitutional duty as they had been taught to respect ever since they had their training. They have been taught to go to the rescue of the people and that they should act as the eyes, the nose, the arms and the legs of law. But here they were kept away and it was left to the High Court again to remind them that it would be a sacred and inviolable duty of the police people, whatever may be the orders that may be indicated to them directly or indirectly from the level of the Cabinet, to take notice of these cognizable offences and prevent them. Even that was set at naught. When one of their own Ministers wanted protection, he could not be given protection. Recently, one Minister has joined the *gherao* they call it *dharna*—along with the jute workers. Only two days ago he joined the strike. A Minister joining the strike, is it not very strange?

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : ब्रह्म किया ।
हमारे मंत्रियों ने भी किया था सत्याग्रह ।

SHRI RANGA : *Satyagraha* he can do in his own home against his wife or against

[Shri Ranga]

his children. But he cannot very well carry on *satyagraha* against his own government, when he happens to be a Cabinet Minister. I know that some of the Ministers belonging to the party of my hon. friend committed that kind of blunder here in this city last time, before the mid-term elections. In this way, we have been setting a bad example.

श्री रवि राय : इसमें कोई बुरी बात नहीं थी ।

SHRI RANGA : It is not only the Communists who can follow this line. Fascists have done it in the past. There are two sides to a sword. Those friends who call themselves ultra-revolutionaries because they call themselves communists, let them beware that only next-door there would be fascist offensive also.

Are we ignorant of the fact that there are two kinds of forces in our country? Do we not have some evidence of it? Only two years ago Shri Gulzarilal Nanda had to law down the seal of his office. Therefore, it is the duty of Members of Parliament, Members of the Assembly there, members of the Cabinet here and members of the Cabinet there first of all to set a proper example.

Instead of that, we have been busy setting up a bad example, destroying all those canons of decency, duty, decorum and democracy with the result this is what has happened. This, I feel, is a foretaste of what is going to happen.

What is this government doing? My hon. friend here is supposed to be a very strong man. I do not want to be very harsh on him. He is himself coming into a lot of trouble with his own conclave. The whole of the Union Government is responsible for the present state of affairs. What can he do, poor man, if the Union Government is not prepared to strengthen his hands?

Is there no emergency in West Bengal today? There is emergency, according to me. Is there law and order in Bengal? No. Are the policemen free and allowed to exercise their rights and duties, God-given

rights and duties? Are they allowed to perform their duties and exercise their rights according to the Constitution? Are they free? No, they are not. Then, what is worse, that Ministry is now threatening to rouse the people against the police, just as their leader had been rousing the people against her own party in the recent past. If the people are to be roused against the police, if the Ministers are to rouse themselves against their own government, against the Cabinet, then is it not a state of emergency? When we have a complete collapse of all the standards which we have till now accepted as norms of decent democratic society, is it not the duty of this government to recognise what is happening, declare an emergency there, take charge of that government and provide the minimum, not the maximum, bit of law and order in that State?

I wish to say in all seriousness that if this government is not going to behave as it should, according to the Constitution, if it is not going to discharge its duty by our Indian democracy by declaring emergency in West Bengal, it will be held responsible for all times to come the destruction of civil order in our country, when it overtakes us in a very short time, for the denigration of law and order and for the destruction of national freedom that we have won after so much of sacrifice under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (हापुड़) : सभापति महोदय, जनतन्त्रीय परम्परा में पश्चिमी बंगाल की विधान सभा में जो घटना घटी है, वह इतिहास में अपने ढंग की पहली घटना है। पुलिस ने जिस प्रकार विधान सभा में प्रवेश कर व्यवहार किया उसकी सभी ओर से निन्दा की जाएगी भले ही वह किसी की प्रेरणा पर वहाँ गई हो। पुलिस द्वारा इस तरह से विधान मंडलों में प्रवेश करने का समर्थन कोई नहीं कर सकता है।

सभापति महोदय, आज वहाँ पर संयुक्त मोर्चे की सरकार है। कल को किसी दूसरे दल की सरकार भी वहाँ हो सकती है। अगर इसी प्रकार से जिस प्रकार से पुलिस का व्यवहार

पश्चिमी बंगाल विधान सभा में रहा है, आगे भी रहा तो कल को दूसरे विधान मंडलों में भी इस प्रकार की घटनायें दोहराई जा सकती हैं। इसलिए पुलिस की इस कार्रवाई की जितनी निन्दा को जाए, कम है।

परन्तु, सभापति महोदय, निन्दा मात्र कर देने से मैं अपने भाषण को समाप्त नहीं करना चाहता। मैं इस घटना की पृष्ठभूमि में भी जानना चाहता हूँ। मध्यवर्ती निर्वाचनों के पश्चात् पश्चिमी बंगाल में जो घटनायें घट रही हैं वे जनतन्त्र के सामने प्रश्नवाचक चिन्ह लगाती जा रही हैं? उनको हमें देर तक आँखों से ओझल नहीं करना है और न ही हम कर सकते हैं। हिंसा, धेराव, हत्या, अमुरक्षा की भावना वहाँ व्याप्त होती जा रही है। पश्चिमी बंगाल के अतिरिक्त उड़ीसा, पंजाब, मद्रास आदि में भी गैर कांग्रेसी सरकारें हैं। लेकिन कहीं पर भी इस प्रकार का वातावरण आपको देखने को नहीं मिलेगा जहाँ खुले तौर पर संविधान की अवहेलना की जाती हो संविधान विरोधी भाषण दिये जाते हों और उनके साथ-साथ लाल सलाय और माओ-त्से-तुंग के विचारों का खुला प्रचार दिया जाता हो। इसके साथ-साथ एक और प्रकार के वातावरण का निर्माण भी आज वहाँ की हवाओं में हो रहा है। पूर्वी और पश्चिमी बंगाल के एकीकरण की हवा वहाँ बह रही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन सारी चीजों को केन्द्रीय सरकार और देश को भी चिन्ता की दृष्टि से देखना होगा। क्योंकि बंगाल की इन घटनाओं का प्रभाव केवल बंगाल तक सीमित नहीं रह सकेगा, इससे पूर्वी भारत जो देश का एक मजबूत भाग है, वह भी सारा प्रभावित होगा। इन घटनाओं की पृष्ठभूमि में मैं गृह-मंत्री महोदय से कुछ प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि आज वह इस सदन को भी बतायें और सदन की मार्फत देश को भी बतायें कि पिछले चार-पांच महीनों में वहाँ क्या पुलिस के धानों पर हमले नहीं हुए हैं? अगर हुए हैं तो हमले करने वाले जिन अपराधियों

को वहाँ पकड़ा जाता है उनको छुड़ाने वाले व्यक्ति कौन थे? जो छुड़ाने वाले व्यक्ति थे क्या उनका किसी राजनीतिक दल विशेष से सम्बन्ध है? क्या वे ही तो इस प्रकार की घटनायें वहाँ नहीं करा रहे हैं?

दूसरी बात यह है कि धानों के ऊपर जो हमले हो रहे हैं क्या उनके अन्दर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी मार्क्सिस्ट के कुछ लोगों का हाथ है और अगर हाथ है तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसके सम्बन्ध में पश्चिमी बंगाल की सरकार ने अब तक उनके खिलाफ क्या कार्रवाई की है और केन्द्रीय सरकार की उनके सम्बन्ध में नीति क्या है?

क्या यह भी सही है कि संयुक्त मोर्चे की वहाँ पर जो विभिन्न इकाइयाँ हैं जिनमें राइट कम्युनिस्ट भी हैं, एम० एम० पी० के लोग भी हैं, पी० एम० पी० के लोग भी हैं उनके कार्यकर्ताओं में आपस में भिन्न-भिन्न जिलों के अन्दर भगड़े हुए हैं और क्या एक से अधिक संघर्ष की घटनायें इस प्रकार की नहीं हुई हैं? उनके सम्बन्ध में क्या किसी सी० पी० एम० के कार्यकर्ता को गिरफ्तार किया गया है और यदि नहीं किया गया है तो इन घटनाओं के पीछे वास्तविकता क्या है, यह भी मैं जानना चाहता हूँ।

क्या यह भी सही है कि चौबीस परगना जिले में एक वहाँ के प्रमुख कांग्रेसी ने बंगाल की सरकार से अपने जीवन के संरक्षण की माँग की थी और पुलिस का संरक्षण मिलने के बाद उस व्यक्ति की हत्या की गई और आज तक किसी एक व्यक्ति को भी इस हत्या के अपराध में गिरफ्तार नहीं किया जा सका है?

एक व्यक्ति, जिनसे हमारा सदन अच्छी तरह से परिचित है, श्री नस्कर जो पीछे कांग्रेस की ओर से यहाँ मंत्री रह चुके हैं, उन्होंने जब इसी प्रकार अपने संरक्षण की माँग की तो पुलिस ने उनको संरक्षण तो दिया लेकिन उसके बावजूद भी क्या उनके घर को जला नहीं दिया गया? अगर यह सही है और ये सारी जो घटनायें घट रही हैं इन घटनाओं के पीछे

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

कौन-सी भावना है जो आज सारे देश को चिन्तित बनाये हुए है ? केन्द्रीय सरकार कब तक धैर्य के साथ इन सारी बातों को सहन करेगी ?

एक और सबसे बड़ी बात है। कुछ दिन हुए यहाँ प्रश्न आया था। उस प्रश्न के उत्तर में गृह मंत्री ने कहा था कि हमारे पास कोई इस प्रकार की सूचना नहीं है। शायद शतरंज फिल्म को लेकर कलकत्ता के किसी सिनेमा घर के सामने यह घटना घटी थी। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि आपको सूचना किस प्रकार आयी ? वहाँ के गुप्तचर विभाग के जो छोटे अधिकारी हैं उनको यह निर्देश है कि आप वरिष्ठ अधिकारियों को सीधे सूचना नहीं दे सकते हैं और अगर सूचना देंगे तो सीधे सी०पी०एम० के कार्यकर्ता को देंगे। इसका परिणाम यह है कि गुप्तचर विभाग के जो वरिष्ठ अधिकारी हैं, उनके पास ये सारी चीजें पहुँच नहीं पाती हैं जब उन तक सारी चीजें पहुँच नहीं पाती हैं तो उसका परिणाम यह होता है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार और केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्रालय भी अन्धकार में रहता है और दूसरे जो जिम्मेदार व्यक्ति हैं वे भी अन्धकार में रह जाते हैं।

पश्चिमी बंगाल में पुलिस के विधान सभा भवन में घुसने की जो घटना घटी है इसके बारे में एक जानकारी और मैं आपको देना चाहता हूँ। मेरा अपना अनुमान यह है कि यह सारी जो घटना हुई है यह योजनाबद्ध ढंग से हुई है। सभापति महोदय, पश्चिमी बंगाल के अन्दर पुलिस के दो संगठन हैं। एक तो वह है जो पश्चिमी बंगाल पुलिस एसोसिएशन कहलाता है और एक वह संगठन है जिसके नेता श्री प्रमोद दास गुप्त हैं जो सी० पी० एम० के समर्थक हैं। घटना इस प्रकार से थी। पुलिस के जिम सिपाही की लाश सुबह मिलने वाली थी उस लाश को सुबह न देकर दुपहर तक रोककर रखा गया। पुलिस सुपरिंटेंडेंट को यह आदेश दिया गया कि लाश इनको न दी जाए क्योंकि वे वहाँ से मूक जलूस की शबल में उसको ले जाना चाहते थे। इससे पुलिस के

इससे पुलिस के लोग भड़क गए और भड़कने के बाद जो एस० पी० थे उनके घर पर उन्होंने आक्रमण भी किया। लेकिन विधान सभा में प्रवेश करने की जो घटना हुई इसमें प्रवेश करने वाले व्यक्ति उतने पश्चिमी बंगाल पुलिस एसोसिएशन के नहीं थे जितने जिनके नेता श्री प्रमोद दास गुप्त हैं, वे थे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्री जी इसकी भी जाँच करें कि जो सिपाही बरखास्त हुए हैं क्या उनमें से एक सिपाही वह भी है जिसके नेता श्री प्रमोद दास गुप्त हैं ? वास्तविकता यह है कि वहाँ इस प्रकार की कार्यवाइयाँ हो रही हैं जिससे वहाँ की जो पुलिस एसोसिएशन है वह प्रभावहीन हो जाए और श्री प्रमोद दास गुप्त जिसके नेता हैं, वह अधिकार कर ले। यह इन सारी घटनाओं की पृष्ठभूमि है।

यह केवल बंगाल के लिए चुनौती नहीं, बल्कि सारे भारत के लिए चुनौती है और देश के जनतंत्र के लिये चुनौती है। केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्री जी से मेरा कहना यह है कि पानी जब बिल्कुल मुँह तक आ जाए तो उसको देर तक धैर्य के साथ नहीं देखना चाहिए, उसका उचित उपाय करना चाहिए और इतना मजबूत उपाय करना चाहिए जिससे देश के दूसरे प्रान्तों में भी जनतंत्र को कोई चुनौती न दे सके।

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI (Gonda): We are discussing this subject today because all of us look upon this incident not merely as a law and order problem but as a serious challenge to our Constitution, to the democratic functioning itself. We consider that the Central Government is responsible to see that democracy functions properly at the State level, and if it does not, the responsibility for that lies squarely on them. That is why we are able to discuss this subject today; otherwise, I am sure, our friends on that side would have created such a row here that we would not have had our say here.

We all condemn this incident of 31st July, 1969; it was atrocious, most horrible; the police marched into the Legislature which represents the will of the elected

people and created havoc—heat the legislators and broke the furniture. The Speaker had to run away most ignominiously. This is an atrocious type of thing which I have never seen anywhere. I am sure the people of Bengal feel ashamed of it. From the reports we find that many members said that this was a slur on Bengal and they condemned it.

What does this show? This is symptomatic of the serious malady in the administration. The police is the last to rise in this manner. In an administration the police does not so easily get indisciplined because the police is specialised body; it is disciplined, trained and regimented; it is prepared to face all kinds of provocation; it has to work under stresses and strains. Therefore, if the police behaves in that way, it means that the administration is rocked from the very foundation. There is something vitally wrong in the administration and, therefore, such a thing did happen. It is a danger-signal for democracy, it is a danger-signal for the system under which we are working in this country.

Having condemned this incident, let us go into the causes, how is it that such a horrible and atrocious incident could take place? We have not to go very far. Since the U.F. Government came into power—I am referring to the last Ministry—again during this Ministry—there has been a systematic erosion of discipline in all spheres of life—labour, students, government servants and so on. I do not want to go into the details; I do not have much time; member after member has made a reference to such incidents and we have discussed this subject also before in this House. Therefore, I need not go into those details. I will only remind the House of one incident and that is most glaring. Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee, the Chief Minister, last time was beaten in his own place, in the Writers' Building; he was beaten by his own staff and no action was taken against those staff members. Naturally what sort of discipline can you expect after that? Do you think that the police will not be shaken by such incident?

15 hrs.

If the Government servants can beat up the Chief Minister and get away with it, naturally indiscipline spreads everywhere.

What is the role of the authority that is ruling? They have dual role. They are the administrators as well as the agitators. They are the preservers of law; they are the breakers of law. They defend the law and they break the law. They encourage lawlessness and indiscipline in every possible way. They are creating disruption everywhere. They have created a second Police wing consisting of their own Partymen and this private army is being used for their own purposes. This private army takes the law into its own hands and hinders the work of the Police. Naturally, what do you expect the Police to do? Do you expect the Police to work? We have been crying hoarse that the people of Bengal need protection. The Home Minister should open his ears and hear it. The Police is totally immobilised. Take the Rabindra Sarovar incident, where young people ran amuck, outraged women and created havoc. The Police could do nothing. It was immobilised. At the enquiry of the Rabindra Sarovar incident people were so terrorised that they dare not come and give evidence. The Party workers who functioned as second wing of the Police are active in terrorising people. That is our suspicion. Thus Police indiscipline has been increasing. Who encouraged this? The Government and the Communist Party. Police is in a state of confusion. They do not know what is their role. They do not know what they are supposed to do. This lawlessness has been encouraged by no less a person than the Home Minister himself. Repeatedly the Home Minister goes and says 'All right, I will take it to the streets'. He is very conscious of the public support. Very recently when Morarji Bhai was in Calcutta and he said 'We are watching the Bengal situation'. Jyoti Basu challenged him saying 'Come along. I will give you the challenge. Come to the streets'. Again and again he has expressed such views. Even during this incident he told the Police demonstrators—I am reading from the Hindustan Standard—that 'things would be pretty bad for them if he turned the crowd assembled at the maidan for anti-Nixon demonstration against them,' Home Minister telling the Police 'I will turn the crowd against you! Do you expect law and order to be maintained there? Will there be any respect for law? Will there be any law? Naturally when such condition prevails there,

[Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani]

there can be no discipline in the Police force. The Home Minister himself is thus encouraging mob rule. (*Interruptions*) From the time of Durgapur erosion of discipline has started. Why from the time of Durgapur, even from before that the situation has started deteriorating. (*Interruptions*).

The Police know that their job is one of hazard. The police know that they have to face death, they have to face injury. They are ready for it. They are trained for it. But the Police also have a right to expect protection. Police must also know that the Government is behind them and will protect their interests and look to their grievances.

I would like to get more light from the Home Minister about the facts of the case. We are still in the dark. We do not know how this young Policeman got killed. Was his body mutilated? If so, by whom? If a body is mutilated in this manner; naturally it will cause provocation to the Police force. (*Interruption*) Why was the procession allowed to go on for such a long time?

I would also like hon. Members here to ponder over one thing. The Home Minister of Bengal is all the time challenging all and sundry in regard to the support that he has from the public. If he has so much support, why did he have to call for the aid of the Army? If he was so sure of his strength from the public why should he have stopped so low as to call for the help of the Army? The Home Minister there has talked of conspiracy; however I feel that there is a deep conspiracy behind the whole thing but a different conspiracy as time is running short. I cannot repeat them but I shall refer to the speech of Shri Prakash Vir Shastri. My hon. friend Shri Prakash Vir Shastri has talked about the existence of two rival unions among the police there and about the attempt on the part of the communists to dominate over the police association. Perhaps, this was stage-managed so that they could sack some of the police men and get in their own people in order to control it from within. We respect that there is a deep conspiracy behind the whole thing.

Again, I would like to ask one other question. How is that. Mr Ghosh has

just now said that within two days Miss Abha Maiti would be arrested? I know they have got a private army; they have partymen who go and prevent the police from functioning and who are responsible for eroding the discipline of the police. But is there a private judiciary is there a private administrative machinery in their hands, and they decide whom to arrest and whom not to arrest after consulting their own partymen? Is that the law and order situation under their dispensation? Where is the Constitution? How are we functioning? Are we not sitting on a volcano? That is all what I would like to ask of the hon. Home Minister.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI:

I would just like to make one submission to the Home Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, after going through the files where Dr. B.C. Roy had dismissed two hundred policemen for reprehensible misconduct had reinstated those 200 policemen. On what grounds has he done that? That should also be answered.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI:

That would help in maintaining discipline!

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (भोपाल): सभापति महोदय, 31 जुलाई को पश्चिमी बंगाल विधान सभा में जो घटनायें हुईं, ये अभूतपूर्व थीं। इससे पहले कई घटनायें इस देश में हुई हैं, किन्तु स्वयं पुलिस वाले विधान सभा में घुसे और उस समय वहाँ पर जिस तरह की धींगा-मुइती हुई, उसको देखकर उन लोगों को बड़ा भारी धक्का लगा है, जो इस देश में शांति से और प्रजातंत्र के अन्तर्गत राज्य चलाना चाहते हैं।

इस बारे में तीन पहलू हैं: एक तो यह कि उस दिन क्या हुआ; दूसरे, वह क्यों हुआ और तीसरे, आगे चलकर ऐसा न हो, इसके लिए हम क्या करें। ये तीनों पहलू बहुत महत्वपूर्ण हैं। 31 जुलाई की घटनाओं के विषय में समाचारपत्रों ने काफी कुछ दे दिया है। किन्तु ऐसी घटना कोई एकदम नहीं घटती। उसके पीछे कुछ कारण और परंपरायें

रहती हैं और फिर एक तात्कालिक कारण भी हो जाता है ।

मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय को बताना चाहता हूँ कि जब वह चीन के हमले के दिनों में महाराष्ट्र से यहां आये, तो उस समय कहा जाता था कि हिमालय की रक्षा के लिए सह्याद्रि यहां पर पहुंचा है । किन्तु पिछले कई सालों की घटनाओं को देखकर ऐसा लगता है कि हिमालय के सन्निध्य में रहकर सह्याद्रि कुछ ठण्डा-सा हो गया है । कम से कम इन घटनाओं को देखकर उसमें कुछ गर्मी आए और मंत्री महोदय कोई समुचित कदम उठायें, तो बहुत अच्छा होगा ।

मैं गृह मंत्री का ध्यान इस बात की ओर आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि हमें कम्युनिस्टों की मंडोडालोजी के बारे में जानकारी होनी चाहिए । जब से कम्युनिस्ट प्रणाली इस देश में अधिकार में आई है, तब से लोगों के मन में सुरक्षा के बारे में बड़े भारी सन्देह की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है । यह केवल पश्चिमी बंगाल में ही नहीं है, यह तो केरल में भी हुआ है । जब लोगों को यह दिखाई देता है कि पुलपल्ली पुलिस स्टेशन पर हमला होता है, टैल्लिचरी पुलिस स्टेशन पर हमला होता है और इतना होने के बाद भी जो हमला करने हैं उनको पकड़ा नहीं जाता है तो उनके अन्दर इस प्रकार की भावना पैदा होती है । यही घटनायें पश्चिमी बंगाल में भी हुई हैं । जो पश्चिमी बंगाल सरकार की घटक पार्टियां हैं उनके द्वारा आपस में लगभग सौ के करीब ऐसी मारपीट की घटनायें हुई हैं और राजनीतिक हत्यायें हुई हैं । ऐसा होने पर भी अपने-अपनों की सुरक्षा करने के लिए उनको पकड़ा नहीं गया है । यदि इसी तरह घटनायें होती रहें तो पुलिस वाला भी तो एक आदमी है, वह भी एक ह्यूमन बीइंग है । उन पर जब लगातार हमले होते हैं और वह भी ऐसे कार्यकर्ताओं के जरिए और फिर पुलिस वालों को कोई संरक्षण नहीं मिलता, जिस दिन यह घटना हुई है जिस में पुलिस वाले की हत्या हुई है उस दिन

पुलिस वालों से शस्त्र छीने गए थे । यह शस्त्र क्यों छीने गए ? उनके शस्त्रों का प्रागे क्या होगा ? ऐसी ही घटना होगी तो आम आदमी ही नहीं, स्वयं पुलिस वाला भी महसूस करेगा कि मैं भी असुरक्षित हूँ । ... (शयबधान) ...

I am also a believer in the dictum that we must hate the sin and not the sinner. But let us understand why there is sin.

यह कुछ घटनायें जो होती हैं यह वहाँ ही क्यों होती हैं ? रवीन्द्र सागर घटना कलकत्ते में ही क्यों होती है ? असेम्बली में घुसने की घटना कलकत्ते में ही क्यों होती है ?

There is some background to this. We must understand it completely before we arrive at any conclusion.

सवाल यह है कि कई जगह गैर-कांग्रेसी शासन चल रहा है । ऐसा नहीं है कि और जगह गैर-कांग्रेसी शासन नहीं चल रहा है । जैसा मेरे मित्र ने अभी कहा वह भी चल रहे हैं । किन्तु जब यह होता है कि जाने या अनजाने से हमी उनके लिए कई-कई बार जिम्मेवार होते हैं जैसे कि रवीन्द्र सरोवर की बात हुई, उसकी खबर अखबारों के जरिए या और किसी तरह से लोगों के सामने भी नहीं आई थी । हमारी ममभ में यह बात नहीं आती है कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने कहा कि यह एग्जेक्यूटिव है । अब पश्चिमी बंगाल में जो हुआ वह भी क्या एग्जेक्यूटिव है या अन्डर-रेटेड है ? आखिर जो भी घटना होती है वह क्यों होती है ? उसके पीछे क्या है ? लगातार पिछले कई महीनों से अपने जो भी ऐसे यंत्र हैं उनको निष्प्रभावी बनाने की कोशिश की जा रही है । यह घेराव का मामला अब केवल मजदूरों तक ही सीमित नहीं रहा । यह तो विद्या के क्षेत्र में भी आ गया । हैडमास्टर का घेराव किया जाता है, प्रिंसिपल का घेराव किया जाता है । तो प्रागे चलकर पुलिस वाले पुलिस अधिकारियों का घेराव करते हैं यानी व्हेयर बिल इट एण्ड ? हम इसको बढावा देने जायें तो यह

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

कहाँ जाकर खत्म होगा ? लोक सभा के अन्दर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेता डांगे जी ने कहा कि वी विल घेराव । यह स्टेटमेंट दिया जाता है कि

The right CPI does not exclude the use of arms if it finds that ultimately all the democratic avenues are exhausted...

मतलब क्या होता है इसका ?

We cannot get an answer from the parliamentary institutions.

या तो हम किसी दूसरे के ग्राम्प पर भरोसा करें या पहले से ही ग्राम्प डम्प करते चले जायें, इस तरह आखिर देश के अन्दर हम ऐसी हवा पैदा करेंगे तो आगे चलकर मैं समझता हूँ कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का भी राज नहीं चलेगा । केरल के अन्दर ऐसी हवा चली तो उनको नीचे आना पड़ा । तो उससे हम भी कुछ सबक सीखें । आखिर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का भी राज हो तो किमी उसूल से तो चले, किसी सिस्टम पर चने । लेकिन वहाँ क्या है ? धीरे-धीरे न्यायालय को निष्प्रभावी बनाना, पुलिस को निष्प्रभावी बनाना, मन्त्रियों को निष्प्रभावी बनाना, प्रिंसिपल को निष्प्रभावी बनाना धीरे-धीरे सबको हम निष्प्रभावी बनाने चले जायें तो

Ultimately it will definitely boomerang on us; we shall be the victims.

यदि हम यही कहें कि

Every revolution is followed by a counter-revolution:

यही हमारा कहना है तो अलग बात है । किन्तु यदि हम यह चाहते हैं कि कोई तब्दीली भी करनी है, क्रान्ति भी लानी है तो वह जनता के भले के लिए हो तो काउंटर रेवोल्यूशन के कारण उसको खत्म करें यह तो ठीक नहीं है ।

Is it a part of the counter-revolution?

कि पुलिस वाले स्वयं घुसों और फिर ज्योति बमु को यह कहना पड़े कि हमको मिलिटरी की

मदद चाहिए, हमको मिलिटरी यहाँ लानी चाहिए । इस सारी घटना के पीछे जाकर हमें ऐनालाइज करके देखना पड़ेगा कि ऐसा क्यों है ? यह जो पिछले तीन-चार महीने में वातावरण के अन्दर एक अस्थिरता पैदा की गई, जैसा कि मेरे साथी प्रकाशवीर जी ने कहा कि एक भूतपूर्व कांग्रेसी नेता के पहले से कहने के बाद भी और उसको संरक्षण देने के बाद भी उसका घर जलाया जाता है, चौबीस परगना का एक व्यक्ति जो कहता है कि मैं सुरक्षा महसूस नहीं करता, मुझे संरक्षण दिया जाय, उसके बाद भी उसके साथ घटना होती है तो यह सारी बातें बड़ी गम्भीर हैं और मैं आगे के लिए आगाह करना चाहता हूँ । मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि संविधान की धारा 355 में यह जिम्मेदारी दी गई है, केवल एक्जटर्नल गेग्रेसन की ही नहीं इंटरनल डिस्टर्बेंस की भी जिम्मेदारी केन्द्र पर डाली गई है । हम डेमोक्रेटिकली, कांस्टीट्यूशनली कैसे फंक्शन करें जबकि विधान सभा के सदस्य को भागना पड़ता है, मान्यवर स्पीकर को भागना पड़ता है, मंत्री महोदय को भागना पड़ता है, उनको भी पीटा जाता है । तो संविधान के मुताबिक यह केन्द्र की जिम्मेदारी हो जाती है । संविधान के अनुसार राज्य कैसे चले यह तो देखना होगा क्योंकि जहाँ तक राइवलरी का सम्बन्ध है, प्रकाशवीरजी ने जिक्र किया कि पुलिस वालों के अन्दर भी यूनियनों बनी हुई हैं । मंत्री महोदय इसकी जाँच करें क्योंकि तीन हजार पुलिस वाले जुलूस निकाल कर आते हैं और वह अन्दर आने के बाद भी ज्योति बमु को कुछ नहीं करते, यह देखकर स्वयं कुछ लोगों ने मुझको कहा कि क्या उन्होंने ही कहा था कि आगो प्रोसेशन लेकर ? लोगों के मन में सन्देह है, यह मैं बता रहा हूँ । वरना तीन हजार लोग आते हैं । उनको आने के लिए इतना समय लगा और उन्हें पता ही नहीं है । इसका मतलब है कि नीचे के स्तर के ग्रादमी ऊपर के अधिकारियों को सीधे समाचार भेज नहीं सकते । इसलिए

न उनको पता लगता है न यहाँ बँटे हुए लोगों को पता लगता है।

दूसरी बात—पुलिस वाले वेलफेयर की दृष्टि से एसोशिएशन करें तो कोई आपत्ति की बात नहीं है। किन्तु मैं गृह मंत्री को बताना चाहता हूँ, दिल्ली में भी पुलिस वालों की कुछ ऐसी घटनाएँ हुईं। उनकी भी कुछ शिकायतें हो सकती हैं। लेकिन उनके शिकायतों के निराकरण के लिए कोई यंत्र आप बनाना नहीं चाहते। यदि उनकी यूनियन नहीं है तो वेलफेयर एसोशिएशन की दृष्टि से वह काम करें। अगर कोई ऐसा वेलफेयर एसोशिएशन हो तो जो उनकी शिकायतें हैं उनको वह देखेगा, जाँच करेगा, परखेगा और उनको हल करने की कोशिश करेगा। इस दृष्टि से कोई एसोशिएशन बनाना पड़ेगा।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: The hon. member is saying that there is no arrangement for looking after the grievances of Delhi police. It is not a fact. Last time we discussed the Bill here in 1967, I made it very clear that while we do not recognise any trade union activity on the part of policemen, there is a provision for allowing a welfare association to function. Such an association has been sanctioned under the IGP's instructions and it is functioning today.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी : धन्यवाद। धन्यवाद के साथ मैं इसलिए कह रहा हूँ कि चूँकि यूनियन बनाने का हम उनको कोई अवसर नहीं देने तो उनकी जो शिकायतें होती हैं उनको दूर करने की दृष्टि से कुछ ऐसा होना चाहिए।... (व्यवधान)... मुझे जो कहना था वह मैं नहीं कह सका क्योंकि बीच में वह उठ गए। अपनी सेना के अन्दर भी कई ऐसी बातें हैं। उनके लिए भी यूनियन बनाने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। तो मेरा कहने का मतलब यह है कि कोई ऐसा यंत्र होना चाहिए जिसमें कि इन बातों को हल करने का कोई रास्ता निकल सके।

अब एक महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि ज्योति

बसु ने पुलिस वालों को यह धमकी दी कि मैंने ही सूचना भेजी है और मेरे तीन हजार लोग आ रहे हैं, वह यह तमाशा देख लेंगे। मेरी समझ में यह बात आती है कि पुलिस वाले गड़बड़ करें तो रिजर्व पुलिस के जरिए उनको काबू में लाने की कोशिश करें। रिजर्व पुलिस की तरफ से गड़बड़ हो तो मिलिटरी वाले काबू करें, किन्तु पुलिस वालों के सामने यह कहना कि मेरे तीन हजार आदमी आ रहे हैं और वह यह तमाशा देख लेंगे, यह बड़ी गम्भीर बात है। आगे चलकर कोई राज करे उसके मन में यह भावना रहे तो ठीक ढंग से राज चलना मुश्किल होगा। प्रजातंत्र के अन्दर इस प्रकार से राज चले तो यह एक बड़ी गम्भीर घटना है। मैं फिर एक बार बताना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी जो मेयडानाजी है जिसका वर्णन अभी आया कि हम कोई समस्या का हल करने के लिए वहाँ नहीं बँटे हुए हैं बल्कि हम चाहते हैं कि ऐसी स्थिति हम पैदा करें जो क्रान्ति के लिए उपयुक्त होगी, अगर इसी बात को लेकर एक बड़ी क्रान्ति की कड़ी के रूप में घटना पर घटना होती चली जाए तो यह बहुत ही गम्भीर बात है। इसकी पूरी जाँच करने का जिम्मा गृह मंत्री महोदय लें और कानून की सारी व्यवस्था स्टेट सर्विजेंट है, इसको न छोड़ने हुए, जाँच करके इसके पीछे जो भावना है, उसको निकाल कर तथा आगे चलकर इस देश में ऐसी घटनाएँ न हों, इसको करने की जिम्मेदारी वे अपने ऊपर लें।

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE (Ratnagiri): All sides of the House are agreed that the action of the West Bengal police in attacking the West Bengal Assembly chamber has been reprehensible. We have been getting information only from newspapers. So I do not feel justified in fixing the blame on any single party or for that matter, on the State Government, without some authentic information.

But what has to be admitted is that as far as this incident is concerned, it can no more be treated in isolation than a lightning can be when there are

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

gatherings of storm around one. It is a symptom, an outward expression, of probably the inner frustration and revolt and if one has to be realistic, one must admit that these symptoms have not developed overnight but have grown row to such magnitude that Parliament cannot relegate them merely to the sphere of State authority and responsibility. If it did there would be no difference between its attitude and that of the proverbial ostrich burying its head in sand and pretending that there was no storm brewing, all round. It must be admitted, whatever the cause and effect that a storm is brewing. In that environment, how does law and order, peace and security come to prevail in any place, in any country.

Here I am reminded of what a famous constitutional lawyer, Sir Ivor Jennings, had said. He said, the fact that democracy works in England is because at any given moment 90 million people believe that 90 million other people will do their duty! Whatever provocation there was for this incident which brought about this atrocious attack on the State Assembly, the fact has to be faced that there must have been a tremendous background for this to have happened. Even the UF Government has had to admit this. It has had to admit that this has been an attack on the very democracy of this country.

I am surprised when I hear this word 'democracy' from them because time and again, unfortunately, they have expressed their lack of confidence in the Constitution. What is more, these thousand policemen who were walking through the streets of Calcutta had to walk for 1½ hours to reach the Assembly. How is it possible that no precautions were taken, no action was taken and that other policemen on duty who must have seen them go by just stood by and did nothing about it? It is reported that even at the Assembly gate, the guards put up just a very feeble protest. Then when the policemen finally broke into the Chamber, we are told they shouted slogans against the Dy. Chief Minister. I do not want to mention them here as I do not want to offend the susceptibilities of my friends over there.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: So concerned about my sentiments!

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE: Then what did Shri Jyoti Basu do? He charged them with misusing the right which the UF Government had given them to demonstrate. I ask you, is the right to demonstrate by the police force in keeping with any of the accepted conventions and principles of administration?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Yes.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE: That is the main difference between us. If the police who are the guardians of law and order are to be given the opportunity and the right to demonstrate against those who administer, then I am afraid there cannot be any law and order in any place. And this is what Mr. Jyoti Basu has admitted as we can see from newspaper reports. What is more, one of the constituents of the Government of Kerala, Mr. Govindan Nair, is reported to have said—these are his words as reported in the *Times of India* yesterday—that "the CPM believe in damaging the Constitution by wrecking the State administration." This is one of their colleagues saying it; I do not say it. (Interruption) This is obviously their principle of administration: that they should damage the Constitution by wrecking the State administration. In this the principle which is followed also in West Bengal? What is the function of the police force? Or, for that matter, what is the function of the armed forces and the paramilitary forces? It is primarily to ensure the security of the country. In order to do that, there must be implicit discipline. This incident has proved beyond doubt that there has been a breach of discipline, what does Mr. Jyoti Basu say, and what does he mean by saying, for instance, as is reported today, that the breach of discipline in the police force has been due to sabotage or a conspiracy against the UF Government? I cannot understand people, who have the responsibility of administration, saying in a public meeting that there is a conspiracy against the UF Government and a section of the police force has been subverted or has been caught in the net and that the top police officials are involved in it. If he had to say that, why did he have to say it in a public meeting? Will he foster any kind of confidence in the police force? West Bengal is a border State. And if

this kind of indiscipline were to be there, for instance, in the armed forces, where would our country be? The security of the country is the concern of everybody, and yet, your administrators, your top-leaders are fostering this indiscipline in the police force.

Finally, I would ask the Government: is it satisfied with the sort of enquiry which is being conducted? The enquiry, it is stated, is going to be restricted to the incident of 31st July. Will Parliament and the Government be satisfied with this sort of enquiry? Of course, the Constitution does give the authority the Central Government to see that law and order, internal peace and security are maintained. Therefore, I would request the Government to consider the whole situation and the working of the police force, as it is, and not merely this incident in isolation.

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHURI (Berhampore): Mr Chairman, Sir, It seems it has become the favourite portion of many sections of this House to seek to chastise the United Front Government on every conceivable occasion. We have seen that in 1967 when the first United Front Government came to power. We know how by the pressures brought from here, in New Delhi, the United Front Government came to be dismissed illegally. We also know what has been the result of that action. It seems to me that there is another conspiracy afoot. I do not refer merely to the alleged conspiracy between the police and certain politicians in West Bengal. I am speaking of the conspiracy in Delhi to bring down the U.F. Government in West Bengal. Sir, the most vociferous against that Government have been the spokesmen of those parties which were rejected by the people in the mid-term elections which were held early this year. I particularly refer to our friends on my right side, the spokesmen of the Swatantra Party and Jan Sangh—also the BKD but they were not at that time the BKD in West Bengal but they were Lok Dal and many other parties like Jatiya Dal and so on—who were rejected by the people and it is they who are now the most vociferous in the demand that the UF Government must be dismissed because there is no law and order today in West Bengal.

Sir, I therefore particularly want to refer to the fact that at the present moment 2½ lakhs of jute workers in West Bengal are on strike. But there has been no report of breach of law and order. There have been many complaints against the UF Government in West Bengal. But what of other ships? Everybody is aware that in U.P. the Congress is in power. In U.P. Sir, simply because the Gajendragadkar Commission's report was accepted in the main by the Government you know the type of speeches that have been made. One student leader belonging to my friend, Shri Jagannath Rao Joshi's party has challenged the police that he will shoot. He has threatened even the Chairman of the Commission with shooting and has threatened a blood-bath. They are not Naxalites. There is no U.F. Government in U.P. But still this has happened. In the other corner, in the west, there has been shooting in Vapi because Morarji Day was held by students, they had to be fired upon to disperse them and other students were injured.

Sir, indiscipline is the monopoly of West Bengal; that is what is being said. Here I find people, detractors of West Bengal and they want to pull down the Government of West Bengal. I am really sorry that even our sister Suchetaji should be amongst them. There has been no attempt to understand the problems of West Bengal. Many allegations have been made. I do not have the time to go into them, but I must ask the House to understand that today there has been a complete change-over in the political set-up in West Bengal. First of all that must be understood.

What has been the crime of this new U.F. Government? The Congress passed a land reform Act but they never implemented it. Because the implementation has started, since the United Front came to power, there has been an upsurge in the rural areas and a new hope amongst the poor masses. There has been a concede some lawlessness also. But, this has been the result of the accumulated default of the past one decade and a half under the Congress.

There have been allegations that some parties are encouraging indiscipline amongst

[Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri]

the police. On the one hand, the other day we have heard Shri Madhu Limaye accusing Shri Jyoti Basu of not conceding the trade union rights of the policemen in West Bengal, and of speaking in the same terms as Shri Chavan, of the police. Here we have heard another allegation from Shri Prakash Vir Shastri that the CP(M) leader, Shri Promode Das Gupta himself was leading a policemen's union in West Bengal. The fact of the matter is that there has been an old police association in West Bengal as also a non-gazetted policemen's association. Both were in existence before the United Front Government came into power. It is also a fact, it is a general complaint of the administrators, district magistrates, divisional commissioners and even officers in the Secretariat that the police force in West Bengal, under the former Inspector-General of Police, whom I do not want to name who is now on leave and who is going to retire, had been built up as an *imperium in Imperio*. Even the Home Secretary's or Chief Secretary's writ would not run, so far the police as force in West Bengal, is concerned. The United Front Government is trying to set that matter right.

So far as the incident of the 31st is concerned, it is true and even Shri Jyoti Basu has conceded it, that there had been an administrative failure and they have taken the most expeditious steps in entrusting, not a Communist but an ex-ICS officer, with the task of putting up a report within seven days as to who has been responsible for this. There is the Commissioner of Police, there is the Inspector-General of Police and there is the West Bengal intelligence department if everybody is a fellow traveller; what can you do? In West Bengal millions of people have become fellow travellers and they have been put in power. What can you do?

There is really no break-down of law and order in West Bengal. The West Bengal Government is very much in power. Now the accusation is that the West Bengal Government has alerted the army. So long as they rule, so long as they administer, if they apprehend that there is any serious threat of breach of law and order, it is their constitutional right to alert the army. There has not been any break-down of law and order.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Was there any threat or not?

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHURI: Yes, there was a threat. The administration is very much alive to that position. There is absolute peace in West Bengal. Even though two and a half lakhs of labourers are on strike, there has been no report of breach of peace. Even though a Minister has been accused of supporting that strike by Professor Ranga, the strike is not against the government; and strike is against the jute barons, jute tycoons, and even the Congress people are in that strike. So, it need not be said or asserted that there has been a break-down of administration in West Bengal.

The problems are stupendous. The West Bengal Government is trying to solve them. Let us try to understand their difficulties and help them as much as we can.

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumtakonam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I join others in expressing our deep concern and strong condemnation against the outrage committed on the sanctity of the Legislative Assembly in West Bengal. There can be no two opinions on that. It was not only an assault on the Assembly but an attack on the parliamentary democracy in the country. This has been very vehemently condemned by all sections of the people including the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal. Therefore, it is not a matter of contention whether what has happened in the premises of the Legislative Assembly of West Bengal, the entry of policemen into the law-making body, the supposed-to-be law protectors breaking the very law-making body, is a thing to be condemned or not. There can be no two opinions on that score.

The mover of the motion, Mr. Hem Barua, said that this vandalism under the UF Government is there today and tomorrow it may happen under some other Government. It is not a point whether it happens under the UF Government but even if it happens anywhere, it is to be condemned even if it happens under the Congress Government or the D. M. K. Government or any Government, it is to be condemned. On that score, there should not be any division of opinion.

The only thing to be noted is that we should be very careful in discussing these matters pertaining to the State Governments. It is one thing to discuss about the outrage committed against the State Legislature. But it is another thing to comment upon the behaviour of the Speaker, to comment upon the background of the whole incident. If you go deeper and deeper, we will be interfering into State matters.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal): He did not condemn the behaviour of the Speaker.

SHRI SEZHIAN: I say, it should not be done. Whether it has been done or not, I am not commenting on that.

The other day, when the Home Minister was answering the Call Attention Notice, he aptly put it that "we should keep in mind the way we can function in this House taking into consideration the Centre-States relationship." I am not holding any brief for the UF Government in West Bengal; I am not holding any brief for the activities there. It is a thing to be discussed by the West Bengal Assembly; it is a thing to be discussed and settled by the people of West Bengal. If it is a thing that pertains to the ambit of the Centre, we are fully competent to discuss it. Otherwise, it will be a dangerous precedent. If you take everything that happens in the State and go on commenting that this Government is not good, that Government is not good, the parliamentary democracy will be completely routed out in this country. Then, instead of having a federal form of Government, you can as well have a unitary form of Government in the country.

What happened in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly is being discussed against the whole background of it, against the political leniency of the ministers there. I do not know what will happen if in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly somebody moves a motion against the conduct of the Home Minister, Mr. Chavan, or against the conduct of the Chairman. How will the federal form of Government survive?

The other day, three days ago, when I was in Madras, one Member of the Pondicherry Assembly, a D. M. K. Member,

came to me and said, "I am going to move motion to discuss the conduct of a Central Minister." I said, it would become a privilege matter. He said that an outrage had been committed against the State Minister. Afterwards I found that out. The Home Minister made a statement that we should be careful in not affecting the Centre-State relationship. What has the Minister of State in the Home Affairs done?

He made a statement in the other House wherein he has made a blatant charge against the Home Minister of the Union Territory. He has stated in that statement :

"The Home Minister of the Union Territory of Pondicherry is alleged to have been involved in a case of murder."

It is a very blatant charge, made in a high-handed manner. If it has happened, of course, it is a thing to be condemned. Then two days later, the same Minister to the House and says, 'I withdraw, I apologize'. Much mischief has been done and afterwards, he comes and says that he apologizes. Should a Central Minister make such a statement about the Home Minister of a State, making frivolous charges, charges which are completely untrue? In that statement one more serious thing has been said. It is a statement prepared and read in the House. He has said in that :

"We thought that we should have an impartial agency to inquire into the matter and find out the facts and in the light of those facts we could either take the matter to the Court or if we find, that no justice is obtained, then we could think of other measures.

If some crime has been committed by the Minister there, then I can appreciate it. Moreover, is it the method of approaching the judiciary? He says that if no justice is obtained, then he could think of other measures. Where do the Central Government come here? Do they not have belief in the judiciary? Do they believe in their own extra powers which have been vested in them under the Constitution for being used in times of emergencies? Emergency is always created by the Congress. Whenever the Congress is in emergency, they declare emergency in the States. For the information of the House I may say that no murder was com-

[Sbri Sezhiyan]

mited in Poachicherry and no Minister was involved; only a murder of truth has been committed by the Minister of State here making use of the privileges of the Parliament.

Coming to the basic matter that is before us, there can be no two opinions on this that an attack on the Assembly is an attack on the Parliamentary democracy. But what is the background of this, whether there was any implication; whether there was any conspiracy, whether there was any effort to pull down the Ministry there, this should be gone through by an inquiry by the State Government. If they do not do that, then the proper forum would be the State Assembly. The proper people would be those people in West Bengal. If an unconstitutional thing has been done, if an unlawful thing has been done, we should proceed in a lawful way, in a Constitutional way. Just because you think that something unconstitutional has happened, you should also not go in the same way.

The former Deputy Prime Minister, when he was in Calcutta, is reported to have said, 'We are watching the U.F. Government'. As a Minister in the Central Government, he should watch every State Government. Way should be single out one State Government and say, 'We are watching this' as though he has been appointed as the policeman for the entire system? This sort of arrogation, assumption, that they are the only guardian of democracy, they are the only people who know all about law and order, and that the other Governments are just municipalities to be tempered with or to be condemned by them, this sort of attitude is not good. While condemning the outrage committed in the West Bengal Assembly, let not another kind of outrage be committed in the name of the Constitution, in the name of democracy, by us, by this Government or by this House.

श्री क० ना० तिवारी (बेतिया) : सभापति महोदय, मेरे खयाल से बंगाल में या केरल में या कहीं भी जो घटनायें घट रही हैं, उनको सुपरफ्लुअसली देखने में, ऊपर-ऊपर देखने से ऐसा मालूम होता है कि कहीं पर ला एंड आर्डर है और कहीं पर नहीं है। लेकिन मेरा ऐसा खयाल है कि इसमें भारत सरकार को और

होम मिनिस्टर साहब को थोड़ा अन्दर जाना चाहिए। इस खयाल से अन्दर जाना चाहिए कि यह आइडियोलोजिकल लड़ाई है। आज बंगाल में जो गवर्नमेंट में है वह एक आइडियोलोजी को लेकर चल रही है, और आज जो भी घटनायें हो रही हैं वह उसी आइडियोलोजी को अचीव करने के लिए हो रही हैं। अगर इधर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया तो आप कितना भी प्रयत्न करें, गवर्नमेंट कितनी भी कोशिश करें, यह घटनायें बन्द नहीं हो सकती हैं। आज एक सीधी लड़ाई चल रही है। चाहे बंगाल में हो या किसी दूसरी जगह हो जहाँ पर उनकी सरकार है, वह एक खूनी क्रान्ति की बात करते हैं, और इसके लिये वह किसी मीन्स को अपना सकते हैं। उनके सामने सिर्फ एन्ड रहता है, तरीका कोई भी हो सकता है, चाहे उसमें वायोलेंस हो चाहे नान-वायोलेंस हो। उनका मीन्स में विश्वास नहीं है। अगर ऐसा न होता तो, जैसा श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी ने कहा, चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब अपनी ही राइट्स बिल्डिंग में पीटे नहीं जाते, और वह भी सरकारी अफसरों के जरिये। उसी सरकार के अफसरों के जरिये जिनके वह चीफ मिनिस्टर थे और ज्योति बसु डिप्टी चीफ मिनिस्टर थे। ज्योति बसु ने उनके खिलाफ कोई ऐक्शन नहीं लिया। सैंकड़ों आदमी मारे गये, चाहे वह पी० ए० पी० को हों, चाहे ए० ए० पी० के हों या दूसरे हों। आज तक किसी आदमी को कोई सजा नहीं हुई।

इसी तरह से घेराव के सम्बन्ध में है। दुर्गापुर में जहाँ इतनी बातें हुई, जिन लोगों को घेरा गया, जिन लोगों को सताया गया, दुखी किया गया उनको कष्ट देने वालों के ऊपर कोई ऐक्शन नहीं लिया गया। मगर जहाँ पर उन लोगों की रोकथाम की गई, वहाँ पर आपके मिलिटरी आफिसर को भी गिरफ्तार करके उस पर केस चला दिया गया। इसलिए इस बीमारी का इलाज दूँटना है तो पहले बीमारी की जड़ को दूँटना होगा। मैं पूर्ण विश्वास करता हूँ कि जो भी घटनायें घट रही

हैं, चाहे वह नेफा में हों, चाहे केरल में हों चाहे बंगाल में हों, उनके पीछे एक क्रान्ति की आइडियोलोजी है, जिस पर वह विश्वास करते हैं और जिसकी ओर वह जा रहे हैं। आज जोतदारों के साथ भी ऐसा हुआ है कि जो लोग किसान की बात करते हैं उनके घर जला दिये जाते हैं, लूट लिये जाते हैं, उनका पब्लिक ट्रायल होता है। ऐसे लोगों के खिलाफ क्या ऐक्शन बंगाल गवर्नमेंट ने लिया? जो हमारा संविधान है उसके अन्दर यह सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट एक कमजोर औरत की तरह से देखती रहेगी। इसके सिवा वह और कुछ नहीं कर सकती है। इसका कारण यह है कि वह संविधान से बंधी हुई है। जब संविधान का सवाल आयेगा तब यह जो आइटेम्स हैं वह प्राविशियल गवर्नमेंट के अन्दर आते हैं, सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट कुछ नहीं बोन सकती है। इसका इलाज तब तक नहीं हो सकता, और मैं वार्न करना चाहता हूँ, जब तक वहाँ की मासेज और दूसरी सारी पार्टियाँ, जो कि कम्युनिस्ट आइडियोलोजी में विश्वास नहीं करती, एक नहीं हो जाती। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होगा तब तक न स्थिति का सुधार हो सकता है और न कोई रास्ता निकल सकता है।

मेरा यह भी खयाल है कि जितनी घटनायें घट रही हैं उनमें एक बड़ा गलत स्लोगन दिया गया है, जिसके जाल में पी एस पी, एस एस पी और दूसरी पार्टियाँ पड़ गई हैं। वह स्लोगन है यूनाइटेड फ्रंट का। जहाँ-जहाँ यूनाइटेड फ्रंट का स्लोगन आया वहाँ-वहाँ वह फेल हो रहा है। जो यूनाइटेड फ्रंट वाले कहते हैं कि काँग्रेस फेल हुई है, वह अपनी तरफ नहीं देखते हैं। जो दोनों आँखों का अन्धा होना है वह एक आँख के अन्धे को भी अन्धा कहता है। आज सी पी आई तीन हिस्सों में बटी हुई है। उसमें सी पी आई है, सी पी आई (एम) है और नक्सलाइट्स हैं। सी पी आई केरल में कम्प्लेंट करती है कि सी पी आई (एम) उनको खत्म करना चाहती है। वहाँ मंत्रियों में भगड़ा हुआ, इसको आप

जानते हैं। आज पी एस पी वाले बहुत खुश होते हैं कि रिबोल्यूशनरी पार्टियाँ आगे आ रही हैं। लेकिन जो दुनियाँ में अपने को रिबोल्यूशनरी कहते हैं वह लोग एक दूसरे को गालियाँ देते हैं। चाइना रूस को गाली देता है, रशिया जेकोस्लोवाकिया पर चढ़ाई करता है, रूमानिया आज यू एस ए से बात कर रहा है। ल्यू शाऊ ची के चाइना का प्रेजिडेंट होते हुए भी यह हालत होती है, जो भी वहाँ पर पहले रिबोल्यूशनरी कहलाते थे वह जेल में हैं या फाँसी के तख्ते पर लटका दिये गये। जब रूस में ट्राट्स्की जैसे आदमी की वह दशा होती है तब मैं चाहता हूँ कि पी एस पी और एस एस पी वाले, और साथ में स्वतंत्र पार्टी और जन संघ वाले भी, जो कि कभी-कभी उनके साथ मिल जाया करते हैं, वे भी सी पी आई (एम) से होशियार रहें। वह उन लोगों से खुदा न हों। आज वह अपने को रिबोल्यूशनरी कहते हैं, लेकिन उनको याद रखना चाहिये कि ल्यू शाऊ ची और ट्राट्स्की के साथ क्या हुआ। वहीं दूसरों के साथ भी हो सकता है।

इसलिये मैं गृह मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो आइडियोलॉजिकल लड़ाई हो रही है, उसकी तह में जाकर और अपने घर को ठीक करके ऐसे लोगों का मुकाबला करें। जो दूसरे लोग हैं, जो अपने को प्राग्रेसिव कहते हैं, जो कम्युनिस्ट नहीं हैं उनको भी साथ लेकर जो ज्योति बसु माम अपील करते हैं, उनका मुकाबला वह करें।

DR MAITREYEE BASU (DARJEE-
LING): Mr Chairman... (Interruptions) I have very little time; even then they are against it. I began by congratulating Mr. Jyoti Basu for his forthrightness. He has admitted that there has been a failure in his administration. It is a courageous thing to say and he said it and I therefore congratulate him. But why is the failure of administration? What effect is it having in places far away, places like my constituency tacked away on the border of Bhutan? The jealousy between the partners constituting the United front—they call themselves united

[Shri Maitreyee Basu]

front is such that they are killing one another. I shall tell you some incidents which have happened recently in which they fought and killed one another. If they fight each other and call each other names, how can they function effectively or have good administration? They will jump if I say that the left communists are finding fault with the right communists. The statement by Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad and Mr. A.K. Gopalan was polemics with the right communists party; that has nothing to do with any other party, neither with the Congress, nor the S.S.P., P.S.P. nor any other. When this statement was laid on the Table, anybody who had any knowledge of politics could see that it was sheer polemics between the two communist parties. If they go on like this and kill each other, how can they function and maintain administration in a place like West Bengal?

The General Secretary of the union of which I am the President writes to me:

"You must have read about incidents in Dooars Tea Gardens arising out of the launching of general strike by RSP on 14.7.69. There have been series of incidents in the gardens, the saddest of which was in Dalsingpara tea gardens. Two young workers were stabbed to death in a cold blooded way. Two others were injured."

In Atiabari T.E. the SSP workers clashed with the RSP raiders from Rajabhat T.E. The SSP workers when confronted with the threat of armed raiders retaliated with the same sort of arms, i.e., bows and arrows, spears, lathis and what not. A large number of persons, a majority of which were RSP crowd were injured."

16 hrs.

Only yesterday I received this other letter. I would not tax the patience of the House by reading the whole of it.

There is a letter from another tea garden: Nya Syles Tea Garden, P.O. Nagrakata, Jalpaiguri district. There the manager was attacked with sharpened bamboos and bows and arrows, not because they wanted anything but because they wanted the derecognition of the SSP union. The

CP(M) workers raided the office of the manager just to get rid of the SSP union. SSP is not my party and I do not see eye to eye with the SSP at all; I have absolutely no fraternity with them but is this the way the trade union should function? Somebody said that they were trade unionists. I do not call them trade unionists..... (Interruptions.) Can they explain their attack on the SSP union? It was functioning there and they were the recognised union. Suddenly the CP(M) workers take it into their head to attack the manager but because he has recognised the SSP union. If this is how the parties who call themselves united front go on, how can they have a proper, clean and strong administration?

I am the last person who wants the fall of the UF Government. Last time in 1967 they were pulled down. But what is the result? They have come back in greater strength. In my younger days when I was a student in Germany I saw the same thing happening with Hitler. He was pulled down by the then Government and the party was declared illegal. When they were legalised they came back with four-fold strength. What is the use of pulling something down? It is no use. Whether they are fascists or communists, if they have captured the imagination of the people for the time being, it is no use pulling them down.

How has all this happened? The Congress failed in its duty in West Bengal. In spite of our pointing it out so many times that Mr Atulya Ghosh should not be given the long rope he was given, the Central leadership and the Congress gave it. Now Mr. Ganesh Ghosh says that Miss Abha Maiti would be arrested in two days. He is not a member of the Government there and yet how does he know? This is mixing up politics with administration. This administration and politics being mixed together should be abhorred by everybody. (Interruption) I hold no brief for Miss Abha Maiti. She belongs to the same group as Mr. Atulya Ghosh does, and she is one of the engineers in bringing the Congress regime down and putting the people in power there. I do not mind if she is arrested for her sins, but her sins must be proved, not by Mr. Ganesh Ghosh but by a real enquiry. I do not think that pulling down the image of the country as

some hon. friends over there have tried to do will do us any good. The police and others must be told how to behave and that duty lies really upon the Central leadership here and the Central Government itself.

I would urge upon the Home Minister and the Prime Minister to look into these matters and realise the danger and insecurity in which the people in the outlying areas over there live. This must be looked into.

DR. RANEN SEN (Barasat) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, instead of discussing wholeheartedly and unequivocally condemn the police vandalism in the West Bengal Assembly, somehow or other, all the ladies and some of the gentlemen started discussing something which is beyond the jurisdiction and competence of this House. All these arguments were advanced in 1968, as to how the UF Government has behaved in West Bengal, how law and order has failed, how the administration had failed, and so on, but in spite of that, the West Bengal Government have kicked out the Congress and weeded out the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh and have put the United Front in power. Therefore, I do not want to argue with those ladies and gentlemen, including Dr. Maitreyee Basu. All these arguments were placed before the public of West Bengal by Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, Dr. Maitreyee Basu and all those ladies and gentlemen. Still, the people decided otherwise. Therefore, I can understand their consternation, the anger and their frustration and their lurking hope to pull down the West Bengal United Front Government. But I can here say with all the emphasis at my command that none of these gentlemen sitting either to my right or to my left can throw out the United Front Government in West Bengal because the majority of Bengalees are behind the United Front Government. (*Interruption*).

Therefore, I say, let us face the facts. So much tear is being shed over the death of a policeman. May I recount that during these 20 years of Congress rule in West Bengal, 1,017 men, women and children have been killed by the police? Who nurtured or cherished the police department and created hatred for them in the minds of the people? Did those ladies and gentlemen shed any tear for those innocent men,

women and children who were killed during that period in West Bengal?

Sir, I am in this House since the last seven years. (*Interruption*). The ladies need not interrupt. I can shout louder than them. Sir, in this House I have been a Member for the last seven years and I have not seen a single Member, either from the Swatantra or the Jan Sangh or Shri K.N. Tiwary shedding tears for those innocent ladies and gentlemen who have been killed by the police.

Therefore, I say that behind all this police vandalism there was a definite conspiracy hatched by reactionaries. One by one, I want to name them and say how the police have been trained during the British days; they were trained as an anti-people's force. The Congressmen will remember that. The Congress praised the police administration and hurled the police against the people. The police were a privileged class in our country; it is still so. They are enjoying certain privileges. When the police force found that these are being curtailed, that bribe-taking is being checked by the UF Government, they stated defying the Government; not only today, but in 1967 also. Within three months, there were incidents and there was evidence of police revolt in West Bengal. All that did not affect the United Front Government.

This time when they found that nothing can overthrow this Government established by the will of the people they started conspiring with dark reactionary forces. Sir, you will be astonished to hear that the top bosses of the Special Branch, the Intelligence Branch, the Calcutta Police and the West Bengal Police conspired. Otherwise, how is it possible that all these things are happening there just three miles away and the Police Department do not know and they do not inform the Home Minister nor the U.F. Government? Was it not conspiracy? I would request Shri Chavan to look into this case. If he has any power he should pull up these officers. If he has no power at least he should not be misled by these ladies and gentlemen. It is for the first time in the history of West Bengal Assembly that this has happened.

[Dr. Ranen Sen]

When this dead body was taken, all the newspapers reported, that Congress leaders went there and laid wreaths on the dead body. Was it not encouragement? They also made inciting speeches there. There were leaders like Avamaity, Bijay Singh Nahar and Nepal Roy. These names appeared in the Congress papers. They shook hands, with the miscreants. Therefore, if one is led to this conclusion that there was some Congress hand in this conspiracy he will not be wrong in that. This is the way democracy functions. Democracy sheds tears for democracy and fights democracy there.

Sir, only a section of the police was involved in this, not the whole police force. After this incident from districts of West Bengal the district police associations are condemning—not in the way that these ladies and gentlemen have done—in unequivocal terms this police vandalism that took place within the precincts of West Bengal Assembly. Therefore, there are honest policemen also. I definitely hold this opinion that there are some policemen who did not fall a prey to this conspiracy of the reactionaries.

On the eve of Lenin Centenary I want to mention one line which the great teacher of the people—Lenin—wrote in 1917 during the days of the revolution in his famous book that bureaucracy; police and army of the capitalist state cannot be fully used for the benefit of the people. It is so now.

A charge is levelled that the police has been made inactive and passive. What is this? This police are not allowed to take bribes. Does it make them inactive? The police are not allowed to beat peasants and workers. In this jute strike our Chief Minister said that the strike will be peaceful and the police should not intervene. When the Chairman of the Jute Mills Association wanted police help it was not given. Therefore it is said by vested interests that the police has been immobilised. The strike was peaceful. Therefore there is no break down of law and order. There is no break down of administration. If there is anything, as our friend Shri Sezhiyan said, let the West Bengal Assembly discuss it. They are competent to do it. Let not these ladies and

gentlemen waste their breath on a subject which is beyond their competence. I say, still there is time. The Central Government must not interfere in this. If the Central Government interferes it will be wrong on their part and I tell here that the people of West Bengal will not tolerate any interference from the Centre.

Bengalis did not tolerate Ayub Khan on the other side of the border. They are not going to tolerate any Ayub Khan on this side of the border either.

श्री सीताराम केसरी (कटिहार) : सभा-पति महोदय, आज जिस विषय पर सदन में बहस हो रही है, वह सारे देश के लिए एक समस्या और प्रश्न बन गया है। आज मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि पश्चिमी बंगाल के उप-मुख्य मंत्री को भी, जो हमेशा केन्द्र को चुनौती देते थे, केन्द्र की सहायता की जरूरत पड़ी और उन्होंने मिलिटरी की सहायता मांगी। यह खुशी की बात है कि उन्होंने केन्द्र की प्रधानता को स्वीकार किया। पश्चिमी बंगाल में पुलिस ने जो बगावत और विद्रोह किया कोई भी कानून मानने वाला और संविधान में विश्वास रखने वाला व्यक्ति कभी भी उस कार्य की प्रशंसा नहीं कर सकता है। परन्तु मैं अपने दोस्तों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसी दिल्ली में पुलिस द्वारा बगावत की जो कार्यवाही की गई थी, उसका उन्होंने समर्थन किया था और आज वे ही पुलिस को कनडेम कर रहे हैं। यह सन्तोष का विषय है कि उन दोस्तों के मन में कानून, न्याय और संविधान के प्रति आस्था पैदा हुई और उन्होंने इस बात को मन्जूर किया कि पश्चिमी बंगाल में पुलिस द्वारा जो घटनाएँ हुई, वे अच्छी नहीं थीं, वह बगावत और विद्रोह था, जैसे कि यहाँ भी पुलिस ने बगावत और विद्रोह किया था।

विधान सभा एक मन्दिर है, न्याय की जगह है, जहाँ हम कानून बनाते हैं, जहाँ हम जनता की भलाई की बातें सोचते हैं। वहाँ

पर इस प्रकार के अशोभनीय कार्य किये जाने का कभी भी समर्थन नहीं किया जा सकता है ।

यह ठीक है कि पश्चिमी बंगाल में संयुक्त मोर्चे की सरकार लोफ़तंत्र के आधार पर बनी है और वह एक कानून-संगत सरकार है । लेकिन यह भी ठीक है कि उस प्रदेश के रहने वाले उस सरकार से यह अपेक्षा रखते हैं कि वह प्रदेश में कानून और व्यवस्था, अमन और चैन बरकरार रखेगी, ताकि लोग शान्तिपूर्वक रह सकें । लेकिन जैसा कि अखबारों से प्रकट होता है, उस सरकार की नीतियों के कारण विभिन्न वर्गों में बगावत और विद्रोह की भावनायें पैदा हो गई हैं, वहाँ पर अमन-चैन के खिलाफ एक वातावरण बन रहा है, जिसके कारण ग्राम जनता में उस सरकार के प्रति असंतोष बढ़ रहा है ।

पुलिस वाले जब जलूस बनाकर एम्बेम्बली हाल की तरफ चले, उस समय सरकार को उसकी जानकारी थी । वह उस जलूस को रोक सकती थी और इस प्रकार उस घटना को रोक सकती थी । उसने विधान सभा भवन को अरक्षित क्यों छोड़ दिया ? उसने वहाँ पर पुलिस और पहरेदार क्यों नहीं बिठाये ? अगर वहाँ पर पुलिस होती, तो ये घटनायें न घटती । सरकार उन घटनाओं को नहीं रोक सकी, इससे साफ जाहिर है कि उसने इस बारे में कोई सतर्क नीति नहीं अपनाई ।

जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा है, जो व्यक्ति कानून में विश्वास रखता है और संविधान के प्रति आस्था रखता है, यह कभी भी इस घटना का समर्थन नहीं करेगा । लेकिन लोग पश्चिमी बंगाल की सरकार से अपेक्षा करते थे कि वह पहले से आवश्यक कदम उठाकर इस तरह की घटना को रोकती ।

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR (Basihat),
Mr. Chairman, Sir, so far as the action of the police in entering the chamber is concerned, there can be no two opinions that it was one of the most reprehensible

acts that anybody could perform, and the condemnation of the police on this count will be unconditional. But, at the same time, we have also to try to understand why this kind of incident is happening. Normally, government officers do not rebel and of all types of government officers the policemen are the least likely to rebel. Why was a situation created where this kind of ugly incident could take place? I have to say with regret that the administration in Bengal for some time past has created conditions where respect for law and order was undermined. Even when there were certain good objectives, these objectives were carried out in a way which gave reason for the breakdown of law and order.

I will give two examples. The first is the question of land distribution. There is no doubt that those people who are trying to distribute land amongst the poor have a good objective. But when there is a Government with absolute majority, with clear majority, there is no reason why this land distribution should take place not through proper and legal method but through what is sometimes called people's court or what is sometimes called sheer *goondairm*. There have been through out the countryside many such cases. This has been admitted by the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister themselves. They have said that there have been excesses. This is one factor where law and order was undermined through out the countryside. The people have not received due protection.

There is another danger connected with it. In a State like West Bengal, a border State, with so many problems, with so much unemployment with a very large volume of displaced persons who have come from East Bengal, there is already an explosive situation. So, once the bonds of law and order are weakened, the consequences are very dangerous.

Now, I would draw the attention of the House to incidents that took place like Kanki, Mudhusudanpur and Harwa where, unfortunately, sometimes, things took even a communal turn. Minorities have been afflicted. There has been oppression on minorities. I do not suggest that the

[Shri Humayun Kabir]

Government did it, but conditions were created, there were the lawless elements and once law and order broke down, it was inevitable that there should be such incidents. (*Interruptions*) I do not know why they are shouting. I do not know if the Home Minister is aware that in certain parts of 24-Parganas, not only Muslims but also Hindus have crossed the border and have gone to Pakistan because at least their lives will be safe. There is a rampage on the countryside. Because law and order has broken down in this manner, the police have also lost their sense of discipline.

Again, the policemen themselves have been under attack and not only policemen. In the Assembly Chamber itself, Dr. P.C. Ghosh was attacked and the Governor was also attacked. Even the sanctity of the High Court itself was violated when a group of people went and occupied the seats of the Judges in High Court. How can we expect law and order to be maintained against this background ?

There has been a talk of conspiracy. I also agree that there is probably some conspiracy. But I should like this House to find out who are the conspirators. I do not for a moment suggest that there should be any interference or any toppling down of the West Bengal Government. That will be a mistake, but this House must know the facts. If there is a conspiracy, the first question is : Who gave the permission for taking out the procession ? Is it or is it not a fact that the police band was with the procession ? Is it or is it not a fact that both the police headquarters in Calcutta and the room, in the Assembly Chamber, of the Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal were constantly getting information of the procession as it was marching. Is it or is it not a fact that there is internal rivalry between the many constituents of the U.F. ? There was a suggestion that one party was using some of the discontented policemen in order to harass and inflict injury on other section of the U.F. (*Interruption*).

AN HON. MEMBER : It is all bogus.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR : He says, it is all bogus, perhaps in his view what the police did was also bogus. About the

people who have been killed, the members of the Forward Bloc, the members of the C.P.M., the members of the R.S.P., I am concerned as an Indian citizen. He may not be concerned with anybody except when his partyman is killed. As an Indian Citizen, I am concerned whenever any body is killed.

This is a very serious portent. When the Reichstag was burnt in Berlin, the people did not take it at first seriously. But the Nazi party used the Reichstag fire in order to create a paralysis of the administration, in order to get rid of those elements in the administration which were not sympathetic to the Nazi party. Who knows that there is not a similar attempt today to reorganise the police administration in West Bengal so that the C.P.M. may become supreme ? And the people may be terrorised in West Bengal as a result of which democracy, integrity and independence of the country will be in jeopardy. Therefore, this House has a right to discuss this question. I think, the best thing would be this. A delegation of Members of Parliament consisting of representatives of all parties could look into the affairs and they could submit the report even to the West Bengal Government; I have no objection to that. If a group of Members of Parliament went from here...

AN HON MEMBER: They would be killed.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: They would not be killed. If members from different parties went there, this would immediately make ordinary men in Bengal feel that the whole of India is concerned with their plight and there will be a return of the sense of security. I would conclude by saying that, in the interest of integrity of India, Parliament should send a delegation of Members belonging to different parties to go and investigate and make a report.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bimalkanti Ghosh.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: My name is also there. Two members have spoken from BKD and other parties. I should get at least five minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If your name is there, you will be called.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti): My name is also there. But we cannot force the Chair like that.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am calling the members according to the list. Mr. Bimalkanti Ghosh.

SHRI BIMAL KANTI GHOSH (Serampore): The sanctity of the West Bengal Legislature premises was violated by a group of highly agitated policemen on the 31st July, 1969. They forcibly entered the Assembly Hall and ransacked the whole Assembly House, specially the Assembly Hall. This unprecedented police revolt, as manifested in attacking the Assembly House and threatening the safety of the Speaker and the members of the Assembly, should be condemned with all forces at our command. This occurrence cannot be viewed in isolation. It is a challenge to the Parliamentary democracy. The absence of rule of law in every field of activities since the institution of U. F. Government led ultimately to this type of revolt, proclaiming the anarchy for which the State Government, particularly the Home Minister of the State Government, is entirely responsible. Since the U. F. Government had assumed office, cases of looting and arson had been increasing. There had been nearly 100 political murders during the last few months. The Government has not taken the proper steps. The ruling Communist Party (Marxist) in West Bengal was exploiting the police force for political purposes. The entire police force had been demoralised because of government policy. Mob rule was being encouraged and the police force was being humiliated by certain constituents of the U. F. Government. The mutinous behaviour of a section of policemen was the repercussion of what the Communists in West Bengal were doing by creating an atmosphere of lawlessness in their attempt to wreck the Constitution from within.....

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I rise on a point of order. An hon. Member can consult his notes, but can he read his whole speech?

SHRI BIMALKANTI GHOSH: I am not reading my speech. I am only consulting my notes. From the report we see that the agitated and unruly police person-

nel forcibly entered the office room of the Superintendent of Police, 24-Parghanas, at Alipore and ransacked his office. This happened before 2.30 P. M. They reached the Assembly House at about 4.30 P. M. Therefore, there was a time-gap of two hours at least. I would like to know what the State Government was doing after they received the news regarding the occurrence at Alipore. There was enough time to take necessary steps to protect the sanctity of the Legislature, but they did nothing. Generally, when a procession moves through the streets of Calcutta, it is followed by a wireless van of Calcutta Police. In this case, according to the report the police mob was highly agitated and the Government knew what had happened only two hours back at the Alipore Police Headquarters. But there was no police wireless van following the procession. I do not know what was the reason behind it. I fail to understand why the Government could not take the necessary steps even though it was within their knowledge. We fail to understand why the police wireless van did not follow the procession.

If they were sincere regarding the protection of the sanctity of the legislature, they could easily do it.

In broad day light the agitated procession reached the Assembly House which is situated in the heart of the city of Calcutta. May I know what the Police Commissioner of Calcutta was doing at that time?

In their attempt to divert the attention of the people from the real cause of occurrence the Communists are raising the bogey of conspiracy. I firmly believe that if there was any conspiracy behind the whole affair, then some constituents of the U. F. Government are involved in that conspiracy.

Therefore, I suggest that an enquiry commission should be appointed. A Supreme Court Judge should be appointed to investigate into the matter so that everybody in this country may know the real cause behind it. Only in order to save their skin and in order to save themselves they are attempting to divert the attention of the people from the real cause. This is my humble submission.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी (पूना) : सभापति जी, जो घटना पश्चिमी बंगाल की विधान सभा में घटी, मैं उसकी तरफ एक विशेष निगाह से देखता हूँ। मुझे लगता है कि अपने देश में जो लोकतान्त्रिक तरीकों से अपने समाज का शासन चलाना चाहते हैं और जो लोग लोकतान्त्रिक तरीकों से अपने समाज में

16.33 hrs.

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the chair]

परिवर्तन लाना चाहते हैं, उनके लिये यह दुर्घटना एक खतरे की घण्टी है। मैं जब यहाँ बोल रहा हूँ तो मैं एक विरोधी दल का आदमी बनकर नहीं बोल रहा हूँ, इसलिए कि हमारे जो गृह मंत्री हैं, उनके ऊपर जो जिम्मेदारी है, उसके साथ-साथ मैं इस चीज को भी मानता हूँ कि जिम्मेदारी सिर्फ हुकूमत की नहीं, बल्कि हम सब लोगों की भी है, जो जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व करने के लिए यहाँ बैठते हैं। अगर ऐसा न होता तो आज यहाँ पर इस सवाल को लेकर चर्चा करने का कोई अधिकार हम लोगों को नहीं होता। मगर पश्चिमी बंगाल विधान सभा में यह घटना घटी और यह सवाल ला-एण्ड-आर्डर का है, इसलिए यहाँ चर्चा नहीं होनी चाहिए, ऐसा हम नहीं कहते। इस लिए कि यह सवाल ला-एण्ड-आर्डर का सवाल नहीं है, यह तो एक बड़ा बुनियादी राजनीतिक सवाल है, इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह भी समझता हूँ कि यह हमारे सिद्धांतों का सवाल भी है।

मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि जो लोग सही मायनों में लोकतान्त्रिक तरीकों के ऊपर विश्वास रखते हैं, उनको तो बहुत ही संयम से काम लेना पड़ेगा। अगर हम लोग लोकतान्त्रिक तरीकों से अपने समाज में बदलाव लाना चाहते हैं तो हम साथ-साथ यह नहीं कह सकते हैं कि लोकतंत्र का जो ढाँचा हम लोगों ने बनाया है, उसका इस्तेमाल हिंसात्मक क्रांति के लिए करेंगे। अगर मेरा दल भी इस तरह की भाषा इस्तेमाल करेगा या काँग्रेस का कोई

आदमी इस तरह की भाषा इस्तेमाल करेगा तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह लोकतंत्र के खिलाफ होगा। लेकिन मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि कभी-कभी ऐसी भाषा बोली जाती है और कभी-कभी वह समाचार पत्रों में भी आती है। उस के बाद लोग कहा करते हैं कि हमने ऐसा नहीं कहा, वंसा नहीं कहा, लेकिन अक्सर होता है कि जो बात समाचार-पत्रों में आती है, उसका असर लोगों के दिलों पर जरूर होता है। उस के बाद अगर हम लोगों ने कन्ट्राडिक्शन भी दिया, तो उसका उतना असर नहीं होता है और जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ, अपने देश में आज कल यह चर्चा चल रही है कि हम लोगों को हिंसा के जरिए क्रांति करनी है—इससे हम लोगों को सबक सीखना चाहिए। हम सिर्फ हिंसा से क्रांति करने की बात करने वालों का विरोध करके नहीं चल सकते। अगर अपने देश में मौलिक परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है, हजारों सालों से जिनके ऊपर अन्याय हो रहा है, उनको हमें न्याय दिलाना है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमको भी बदलाव के लिए कदम उठाना चाहिए।

आज अगर केरल में कम्युनिस्ट (मार्किस्ट) के लोगों की तादाद ज्यादा है, ज्यादा तादाद में चुने गये हैं या पश्चिमी बंगाल में ज्यादा तादाद में चुने गये हैं तो हमको इस सवाल पर सोचना चाहिए कि हमारे आदमी क्यों नहीं चुने गये। मैं खुद कम्युनिस्ट नहीं हूँ, लेकिन कम्युनिज्म में सब चीजें गलत हैं—यह मैं मानने वाला नहीं हूँ.....

श्री क० ना० तिवारी : हमदर्दी है।

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : हमदर्दी ही कहिए।

श्री ज्योतिर्नय बसु : आप भूल गये, पहले क्या करते थे और अब क्या करते हैं ?

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : जैसे हमें युगोस्लाविया से हमदर्दी है, यूगोस्लाविया में

कम्प्यूनिज्म है। आप लोग यूगोस्लाविया के हमदर्द थे, इसलिए हम लोग भी कम्प्यूनिस्ट हैं—यह कोई सवाल नहीं है। कोई कम्प्यूनिस्ट हो या न हो—हम इस पर चर्चा नहीं करते हैं, लेकिन देखना यह है कि आजकल लोगों में जो यह भाषा चल गई है कि हम लोग हिंसा के जरिए क्रांति करना चाहते हैं, उसका नतीजा क्या हो सकता है और हमको उसमें क्या सबक सीखना चाहिए। यहाँ जितने लोग बैठे हुए हैं—मैं इस चीज को मानने को तैयार हूँ कि वे लोकतांत्रिक तरीकों से इस देश में बदलाव लाना चाहते हैं। अगर यह बात है तो आज बंगाल में जो घटना घटी है, क्या उस घटना को लेकर हम कुछ ठोस कदम उठाने जा रहे हैं या नहीं—मेरे सामने यह सवाल है।

अभी श्री ज्योति बसु के बारे में, जो वहाँ डिप्टी चीफ मिनिस्टर हैं, बहुत-कुछ कहा गया है। मैं अभी समाचारपत्रों की कटिंग को पढ़ रहा था, उससे पता चला कि वहाँ भी पुलिस का संगठन बनाने की बात थी। जब हम लोग यहाँ कहते हैं कि पुलिस को संगठन का अधिकार होना चाहिए। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि जितना दूसरों को है, उतना ही उनका हो, यानी स्ट्राइक करनी है तो कैसे करनी है, बब करनी है, करनी चाहिए या नहीं करनी चाहिये? इस पर सोचना होगा दूसरी बात है, कि जिनको हथियार देते हैं, उनके अधिकार जहाँ तक महदूद रहें, यह सब कठिनाइयाँ हम समझ सकते हैं लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब वहाँ पश्चिमी बंगाल पुलिस एसोशियेशन है, एक बड़ी संस्था है, तब वहाँ दूसरी संस्था बने और उसको भी रिकग्नीशन देने का विचार करना, यह कहाँ तक सही है। जब हम सब लोग यह दावा करते हैं कि एक उद्योग एक ही यूनियन होनी चाहिए और जब हमारे लोगों के हाथ में हुकूमत है तो क्या यह ठीक है कि एक यूनियन के होते हुए भी दूसरी यूनियन को मान्यता दी जाय। जब उस पुरानी यूनियन के सैक्रेट्री को सस्पेण्ड किया गया और उसको लेकर पुलिस वालों में जो बेदिली पैदा

हुई—सबके लिये कौन जिम्मेदार है। मैंने स्वयं इस बात को कहा है कि पुलिस वालों ने हाउस में जो काम किया, वह गलत काम है, निन्दनीय काम है, उसकी मज्मत होनी चाहिए, लेकिन उसके लिए हम लोग कहाँ तक जिम्मेदार हैं, यह भी सोचना चाहिए। अगर पुलिस वालों में इस तरह की फूट होती है, आपस में लड़ाई-भगड़े होते हैं और जो मंत्री मंडल है, उसमें से कुछ लोग किसी खास संस्था को बढ़ावा देना चाहते हैं, तो उससे पुलिस वालों में जो असंतोष होगा, उसके नतीजे इसी तरह के हो सकते हैं। यह काम हम लोगों को नहीं करना चाहिए। जहाँ तक मधु जी गए, वहाँ तक तो मैं नहीं जाता हूँ लेकिन यह जरूर कहूँगा कि ज्योति बसु जी की भी इसमें जिम्मेवारी है। यह काम इतनी आसानी से एक दिन में नहीं हुआ है। अगर ऐसा है तो उसके लिए अपनी जिम्मेवारी को भी कबूल करना चाहिए। मैं पूछता हूँ दो यूनियन्स बनाई ही क्यों गई, इसका जवाब देना चाहिए। क्या इससे पुलिस पोर्स में फूट नहीं होगी। मैं तो पहले से इस बात को मानता आया हूँ... जो पहले के डिफेन्स मिनिस्टर थे उनसे भी मैंने कहा था कि डिफेन्स इन्स्टीट्यूशन में सिविल एम्प्लॉईज की एक ही यूनियन होनी चाहिए। लेकिन कांग्रेस वालों ने हम लोगों में फूट डाली; मंत्रीवरी जी इसका सबूत देंगी, हम चाहते थे कि एक ही यूनियन रहे।... (व्यवधान)... मुझे थोड़ा-सा समय और चाहिए।

श्री रवि राय : एक-एक पार्टी से दो-दो आदमी बोले हैं। वह खत्म कर रहे हैं। पांच मिनट और दे दीजिए।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We have allotted 3½ hours and I intend calling the hon. Minister at 5 O' clock. The hon. Member may try to conclude soon.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : The time may be extended and the hon. Minister may reply tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He can take another five minutes.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : तो यह चीज जो हुई, इस तरह का हिंसा का वातावरण अगर आप पैदा करते हैं, उसका समर्थन करते हैं और फिर इस तरह से जो प्रदर्शन होते हैं वे फिर सेक्रेटेरियट तक ही महद्द नहीं रहेंगे, विधान सभाओं और लोक सभा में भी आ सकते हैं। क्रामवेल ने क्या किया था? क्रामवेल अपने मिपाहियों को पालियामेंट में ले गया और लोगों को भगा दिया। तो मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह खतरे की घंटी है। इसलिए सही मानों में अगर आप लोकतांत्रिक तरीके पर चलना चाहते हैं तो गरीब लोगों के मवाल आपको हल करने चाहिए। वहाँ पर यू० एफ० गवर्नमेंट है—एक पार्टी के गरीब को जमीन उठाओ और दूसरी पार्टी के गरीब को दो—यह कैसे हो सकता है? क्या यह चीजें वहाँ नहीं होती हैं? परन्तु इस तरीके से काम नहीं होगा।

आज जो पुलिस वाले हैं उनको आप कोई शिक्षा भी नहीं देते हैं। जो बड़े अफसर हैं वह तो किताबें और परचे देखते हैं, दुनिया में क्या हो रहा है, वह सब उनकी समझ में आता है लेकिन बेचारे सिपाही की शिक्षा का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं है। बिहार में मैंने देखा है कि जहाँ तक पुलिस द्वारा कानून की रक्षा करने का जो काम है वह नहीं होता है। मैं वहाँ पर चीरी वा कांड देखने के लिए गया था—एक पुलिस अफसर से मैंने पूछा कि यह कैसे हुआ, उसकी जमीन वहीं थी उसने कब्जा कैसे किया तो उसने कहा यहाँ तो ऐसे ही चलता है। तो इसका मतलब यह है कि हमारे जो सामान्य पुलिस वाले हैं उनके लिए हमारे यहाँ शिक्षा का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं है। आप गरीबों के फायदे के लिए नयी स्थिति लाने जा रहे हैं लेकिन आज की पुलिस यथार्थवाद को कायम रखने के लिए अफसरों के इशारे पर चलती है। अफसर तो पालिटिक्स जानते हैं लेकिन वे गरीब पालिटिक्स नहीं जानते हैं। उनको आपने कुछ सिखाया ही नहीं है। इसलिए हमें इस बात को सोचना चाहिए कि जब

हमें एक गरीब को भी न्याय दिलाना है तो उसमें भी आपस में पार्टीबन्दी नहीं होनी चाहिए।

तीसरी बात यह है कि अगर सचमुच में हम चाहते हैं कि इस देश में बदलाव हो—वहाँ कम्युनिस्ट गवर्नमेंट है इसलिए मैं नहीं कह रहा, इस तरह की घटनाएँ दूसरी जगह भी हो सकती हैं...जो तेलंगाना में हुआ उसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है, ऐसा क्यों होता है? कारण यह है कि जब आप जनता को न्याय नहीं देंगे, उसकी सुनवाई नहीं करेंगे और अपनी हठधर्मी चलायेंगे तो फिर यही होगा। यहाँ दिल्ली में क्या हुआ? आपने कहा उनको अधिकार है—है अधिकार लेकिन कैसे मिले? 67 के एनेक्शन के पहले उनको अधिकार मिला था अपनी यूनियन बनाने का लेकिन एनेक्शन होने के बाद उनके अधिकार छीने जा रहे थे तभी लोगों में असंतोष हुआ। वे आपके घर के सामने आ गये, उनके पास कोई हथियार नहीं थे। मैं आपसे पहले भी प्रार्थना कर चुका हूँ कि हिंसा और रहम, इनका विच्छेद नहीं हो सकता है। दोनों को साथ चलना चाहिए। बेचारी गरीब पुलिस जिसके पास कोई शिक्षा नहीं है, वह अगर नेताओं के कहने पर चले तो उसको आप सजा देंगे? एक हजार अभी सस्पेन्डेड हैं, उन पर मुकदमे चल रहे हैं...उनके लिए आपको रहम की बात करनी चाहिए। आप मानते हैं कि उनकी शिकायतें थी, प्रीवान्सज थी, तो उनको दूर करना चाहिए। ऐसे असंतुष्ट लोगों को किसी ने गुमराह किया हो तो सभी को सजा देना ठीक नहीं होगा। इतना फर्क आपको देखना चाहिए।

अन्त में मैं यह नहीं कहता कि उस गवर्नमेंट को निकालो क्योंकि सिर्फ निकालने से लोकतन्त्र नहीं चल सकता है। इस गवर्नमेंट को निकालना है तो फिर तेलंगाना वाली को निकालना पड़ेगा। तो उससे काम नहीं होगा। किसी जुडिशियल इन्क्वायरी में भी मुझे कोई

विशेष मतलब दिखाई नहीं देता है। अगर वास्तव में देश की भलाई के लिए और लोक-तंत्र के लिए कुछ सोचना है और करना है तो फिर बिना किसी पार्टी का टिकट लगाकर एक पार्लेमेन्ट्री कमेटी या कमीशन आप बिठायें जिसके जरिए हम वहाँ पर जाकर देखें और समझें कि आगे चलकर क्या काम करना चाहिए, कैसे संकेत होना चाहिए, क्या कन्वेंशंस और नार्म्स होने चाहिए—इन सब बातों का फैसला वह कमीशन करे। जो स्थिति पैदा हुई उसको आगे रोकने के लिए क्या करना चाहिए, इसको देखा जाये तभी उससे कुछ फायदा होगा। यही मेरा आपसे नम्र निवेदन है। मैंने आपका ज्यादा बक्त लिया उसके लिए माफी चाहता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Shri Venkatasubbaiah.

SHRI B. P. MANDAL (Madhipur): Sir, on a point of order. I have given an amendment to the motion. But you have not called me. As a matter of fact, when it is allowed, you should have called me.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Because you have an amendment, it does not mean that you should be called. That is not the procedure. From the Independents, we have called four. I know you have given an amendment, and you come from Bihar, and you would have liked to participate. But there is the time-factor. It is not a question of excluding any one, but it is very difficult to call you simply because you have given an amendment.

SHRI B. P. MANDAL : The Independents are about 68 in number and they are always being ignored in this House.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Order, order. Shri Venkatasubbaiah.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I join with other friends in deploring this incident that has taken place in the West Bengal Assembly where the temple of democracy, as has been described by some of our friends, has been desecrated and the police who are defenders of law and order, have taken into their own hands what to do and have gone on rampage. Whether this un-

precedent act of the defenders or the custodians of law has been done on any spontaneous dissatisfaction or on account of any incident that happened the previous day or on that day, and that made these policemen act in this manner, is the question that has been discussed here.

I would only mention to this House through you that to my mind this is not an act that has been done on the spur of the moment or certain things have led to these policemen to take this extraordinary attitude in going out and desecrating the Assembly chamber. When we look back to the events that have taken place after 1967 and also certain events that have taken place systematically in some of those States where the communist (Marxist) party is a dominant partner in their governments, and when my other friends who belong to the non-communist parties are lamenting upon this state of affairs—I am really amused at some of them. Unfortunately, consciously or unconsciously, or because lure of power was so great, they got into the spider's web of the communist party (Marxist). Little did they realise that they will be squeezed out like lemons in course of time as has been happening in West Bengal and also in Kerala.

Sir, I would only appeal to my hon. friend Shri S. M. Banerjee to consider what is going to happen to his own party. It is systematically being assimilated or exterminated by the attitude of the dominant part of the Communist Party of India.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I belong to the people and the people are more important to me than the party (*Interruption*).

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : That is why he was a party-less man and now he has become a party-man. You see the classic example of the Idikki project in Kerala, how some of the Marxist Communists have engineered to bring about a general strike there because that department is being handled by a CPI gentleman, Shri Govindan Nair. The same thing is happening here. An impression has been created that the established order must be subverted, people must be made to lose confidence in the law and order and the democratic process of Government. It was

[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

started by Ranadiv and it has now been supplemented and supported by Shri Namboodiripad and Shri Gopalan. But Namboodiripad came out when he saw that some of his partners in the UF Government in Kerala started questioning him. He is now retracing his steps. This is a sort of systematic planning of the Communists because they are afraid if they do not take this attitude they will be devoured by the more reactionary and revolutionary party called Naxalites that is coming up. They want to compete with the Naxalites so as to keep themselves in power.

As this august House is aware, one of our hon. Members, Shri Bimal Kanti Ghosh, who just now spoke, was assaulted in Calcutta, and this is being systematically followed up in the recent incidents we know about the Ravindra Sarovar incident. We know what is happening in other walks of life. We know what is happening with regard to land distribution and industrial peace. My good friend Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri said that 2½ lakh jute mill workers are on strike but there is no disturbance of law and order. But he said that Congress men also have joined the strike. Perhaps that may be the reason for the workers to keep to the well established norms of parliamentary democracy.

I want to make one thing clear. We do not want to encroach upon the autonomy of a State Government as long as that State Government, whatever be its political complexion, enjoys the confidence of the people who have voted it to power. We do not want to encroach upon the autonomous authority of any State Government. We do not want to emulate their example of doing *dharnas* by Ministers coming over here and doing *satyagraha*. I would only appeal to the hon. Home Minister that this should not be taken as an isolated incident. It has got its chain reaction. I do not believe that this has been committed on the spur of the moment. As the custodian of the Constitution and Parliamentary Democracy, in which every one of us is deeply concerned, he should take such steps as to see that the confidence is restored among the people, that the Constitution is preserved and the normal democratic process is continued without any fear or favour. Whatever steps he takes in this direction I hope

along with me hon. friends of other political parties will also certainly support.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai) : Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in our ceremonies there is what is called Bhakti mantram. All our friends are reciting Swartha mantram. I am reminded of that because in the debate everybody is condemning somebody-Swartha mantram or condemnation ; nothing more. After all, what is the reality ? The reality is : condemn that government. The policemen went there, therefore, Shri Jyoti Basu must be removed ; therefore, that government must be removed—wonderful logic and argument. Again, I want to point out that when they do not find arguments, they resort to lies.

In 1934 there was the big earthquake in Quetta. There was a great Indian bowler, probably the fastest in the world, who defeated a team in the first six overs, Mr Nissar. Three days after the earthquake, the newspapers published a news item by Reuters—there was no PTI at that time—that Mr. Nissar was dead. Four days after that, Mr. Nissar went to the Reuter office in Lahore and said "I am Mr. Nissar, I am quite alive". I am reminded of that story. I am sure the person referred to by Shri Prakesh Vir Shastri will phone him up four days after the publication of this report and say "I am hail and hearty; I have not been murdered by anybody."

AN HON. MEMBER : He has not said that any body has been murdered. He said that his house has been burnt.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : If he has not said it, then I withdraw what I said. But that is how I understood him.

Similarly, Shri Jagannath Rao Joshi has said that a news has appeared that the Naxalites who attacked the police station in Kerala have been released although it is a fact that all of them are still rotting in Jail and the case is going to be proceeded with in a court of law. Somebody else says that the people who have attached and murdered the policemen were allowed to go scotfree. They do not know that 15 people have been arrested and bail has been refused to them by the Magistrate. The law will take its own course. Yet, these lies go on.

Then, my hon. friend, Shrimati Suchetha Kripalani referred to the Ravindra

Sarovar incident. When there was a debate in this Parliament after that incident took place there was a very insistent demand that there must be a judicial inquiry. When that judicial inquiry was granted, it is going on and people are not coming forward to give evidence, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani comes and says that people are afraid to give evidence. Therefore, what are we to do? Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani must be taken as a truthful person and nobody else.....*interruptions*. What is the fun of all this shouting? It is a slur on the womanhood of Bengal or say that she could not find even a single woman who was molested then and who is prepared to come and give evidence before a judge. What is the use of shouting now? Let them produce the person, the evidence.....*interruptions*. They do not have the guts to produce even a single woman and yet they say that this kind of thing is going on. When they are not able to give evidence, what is the point of their shouting? (*interruptions*) Even though they are not able to produce even a single witness, yet they say that we must believe that the incident had taken place. This is the type of argument which they seek to raise in this House.....*interruptions*.

17 hrs.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI:
 It is very well known all over Calcutta.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Immediately after that, when the Calcutta Municipal Elections took place, a Congress candidate shouted this and got himself defeated and the deposits of so many people were forfeited. That is the answer of the people of Calcutta to these things.

I can understand all these people who are frustrated. Because they cannot go to the people of Bengal and get a hearing—all these things have been completely rejected by the people—and canvass for themselves, they use the forum of this House against them. That is all.

SHRI J.B. KRIPALANI: I do not want to interrupt my friend. May I ask: Did he believe in the Congress Government to be just because it got the vote? He has

been condemning the Congress Government even when it has got the vote. Tyranny is tyranny, whether you get the vote or not.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: But after as particular incident, when the people's feelings have been aroused, you naturally expect the people's feelings to be reflected in the elections which take place immediately.

Therefore, these are the type of arguments that are being brought in here. Coming to the particular incident itself, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani was quite right in saying that the administration had totally failed. I agree with that. What are we to do? This is not an administration that we have created. This is an administration that has been handed down to us by the Congress party. What are we to do? It is a well known fact that the recruitment to the administration, the recruitment to police force and to other forces, has taken place on the basis of a political circular that the people belonging to certain parties will not be taken. Even now, the circular is there. Therefore, it is a politically-biased administration that has been in existence in the country.

As far as the police force is concerned, we know how police force has been recruited in the past. We know all those things. Therefore, naturally, as a result of these things, particularly, as regards the bigger officials who are politically motivated, who are biased against the Government, how many of them are loyal to the Government itself is a question.

Now, they all say that a bad thing has happened and that it is an extra-ordinary thing that has happened. And the people compare with what happened in Delhi saying, "Why did you support the police?" Yes, We did support the police in their just demands. They were at that time asking for certain economic demands. We did support them. There was no question of any revolt by the police. No place was entered into by them; no Government office was entered into by them. Nobody's head was broken. Where is the comparison?

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA
 (Raiganj): What happened at Durgapur?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: We can talk about that later.

Therefore, what happened in Delhi at that time was a pure and simple economic demand of the police force. We certainly stand by the democratic right of the policemen on that. We are no ashamed of our stand.

Even in West Bengal, again, another story was put up that there are two police associations, one association of which Mr. Parmod Das Gupta is the leader. Where is the association I have yet to find out. These are all stories. My friend Mr. Joshi was saying that Mr. Jyoti Basu wanted to create a rivalry in the police unions. I want to point out to him—he may not know the facts—after all, the police association which has been in existence for the last so many years is an association which is in name but, in reality, is dominated by the gazetted officers. As a matter of fact, out of 48 members on the executive committee, the actual number of members coming from the constabulary ranks is just 4 and that 44 members are above the rank of the D. S. P.

That is the sort of association that has been in existence. That has been the position there. We know also what is the attitude of some of these gazetted officials. I am not talking of all of them but of some of them. When they get into key positions, they try to utilise it for certain political purpose, anti-governmental purposes.

After certain evidence has come, when certain action is taken against a particular police officer who happened to be the Secretary of that organisation... (*Interruptions*). This was not a trade union action that was taken. Mr. Joshi must understand that no trade union action was taken. When a particular police official—a high official and not an ordinary constable—who happens to be the Secretary of that organisation was trying to do certain things, when he was guilty of dereliction of duty—when he was on duty in Calcutta, he went to Durgapur without informing anybody; we know what happened the next day—, when things of that kind took place and he was suspended pending further inquiry, how can you com-

pare that with a case of victimisation of trade union official? Therefore, I only want to point out that facts must be seen as facts, facts must be seen in their total perspective; and things should not be distorted.....

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: Has he been taken back?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: He is still under suspension.

I would also like to say something about the question of breakdown of law and order. What is the law and order that has broken down in West Bengal? What is this breakdown of law and order? All these years the ordinary people were killed, the ordinary people were beaten up by the landlords. The landlords were beating them under the Congress regime; the landlords were beating up the workers, the employers, were beating up the workers. If an ordinary man is beaten up, then it is law and order; if the workers are beaten up, then it is law and order; if the landless labourers are beaten up, then it is law and order; if peasants are beaten up, then it is law and order, and the policemen will not go anywhere near that. The land which was due to the landless labourers had been grabbed by the landlords, (*Interruptions*) and if the peasant now seek to assert their rights because they have a Government which they know will stand by them and if the police are told, 'Don't go and disturb', then the law and order is disturbed! Because, according to them, law must always be on the side of the exploiter. When the jute bosses require the police force to come and guard their interests and the Government says, 'We will not send the police force', and a peaceful strike takes place, law and order has broken down! Therefore, this question of law and order is a fig-leaf which is being raised again and again only for the purpose of discrediting the Government.....

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: Why did Jyoti Basu ask for the Army?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I will answer that also.

All this talk of law and order has been there ever since that Government came into

existence ; not now, but even in 1957, this was the slogan. When they found that they could not go to the people of West Bengal, they thought that with the fiat of military and with the fiat of the Central Government, they could upset the will of the people of West Bengal. Once again if the same slogan is sought to be raised, I only warn them that they may raise that slogan and may attempt it, but once again the people of West Bengal would answer it and a more convincing way, in a way that they would never again be able to raise that slogan.

श्री शिव नारायण (बस्ती) : मैं ज्योति बसु को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने गमराज्य ला दिया बंगाल में....(व्यवधान)....

As you sow, so you reap.

जैसा बोझोगे वैसा काटोगे । मेरे लायक होम मिनिस्टर बंगाल, ज्योति बसु जब इस दिल्ली में तयारीफ लाग प्राइम मिनिस्टर से मिलने तो उन्होंने रिफ्यूज किया । हिन्दुस्तान के होम मिनिस्टर से मिलने के लिए । इंडिसिप्लिन उस दिन क्रिकेट किया उन्होंने । ... (व्यवधान) ...

This is pure fact. He refused. I am sorry to say this.

उन्होंने रेफ्यूज किया होम मिनिस्टर से मिलने के लिए । मैं चाहता हूँ कि मैं होम मिनिस्टर होता उस दिन तो बंगाल नहीं पहुँचने देता उनको । उन्होंने इंडिसिप्लिन क्रिएट किया । देखिये यह बंगाल के अखबार ने लिखा है—

Tear Jyoti Basu to pieces.

यह बंगाल के अखबार ने लिखा है जहाँ उनकी हुकूमत है, जहाँ उनका डंडा है ।... (व्यवधान) ... अरे सुनिए पांडेजी, मैंने आपको भी देखा है उत्तर प्रदेश में । यह वहाँ के अखबार ने लिखा है—

Tear Jyoti Basu to pieces.

बंगाल कहता है और मैं आज कहता हूँ,

बैठें राममूर्ति जी, मैं उनका जवाब दे रहा हूँ । अगर बंगाल में जरा भी शान होगी, पानी होगा और सम्मान होगा तो आने वाले एलेक्शन में हमारी माँ-बहनें उसका जवाब तुम्हें देंगी जो तुमने रवीन्द्र सागर में किया । यह हम नहीं कहते, तुम्हारे अखबार ने लिखा है, हम नहीं गए थे वहाँ ।

असेम्बली में जो पुलिस गई, उसके पीछे क्या था ? कांसपिरेसी इनके बीच में है । इनके अन्दर में खुद फूट है... (व्यवधान) ... कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का यह नमूना है, देख लीजिए ।

This is the way how they are acting. They have no faith in democracy. They have no faith in the Constitution. This is their ideology.

इनको कोई फेय नहीं है कांस्टीट्यूशन में । मैं इस गर्वनमेंट को आगाह करना चाहता हूँ, अभी हमारी बहन सुचेता जी ने जो कहा और जितने भाई यहाँ बोले मैं उनसे सबसे हाथ जोड़कर कहता हूँ कि इनका विश्वास नहीं है संविधान में । इन्होंने कहा है कि फूंक दो इस संविधान को चोराहे पर । और किसने कहा ? नम्बूद्रीपाद ने कहा, ए. के. गोपालन ने कहा । इससे बड़ा सबूत मैं आपके सामने और नहीं दे सकता ।

श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु : यह पूरा सिन्डीकेट का आदमी है ।

श्री शिव नारायण : सिन्डीकेट रहेगा इस मुल्क में, हम रशियनेट नहीं हैं, चाइनीज नहीं हैं, हम कांग्रेगिएट हैं । हम रशिया से पैसा नहीं लेते हैं, हम चाइना से पैसा नहीं लेते हैं । मैं अपने होम मिनिस्टर को वाणिग देता हूँ, इनको चीन से कई हजार रुपया आया और उससे यह रवीनूशन हो रहा है । और आज क्या चाहते हैं ज्योति बसु कि केवल उनकी पार्टी बामिनेट करें । इसलिए दूसरे मिनिस्टरों को पिटवा रहे हैं । पुलिस बुलाई ज्योति बसु ने, दूसरे ने नहीं बुलाई, मैं दावे के साथ कहता

[श्री शिव नारायण]

हैं, आप इसकी डटकर जांच करो और अपनी पुलिस और इंटेलिजेन्स को सतर्क करो। मैं जानता हूँ अपने प्रान्त की बात, उन्होंने प्रकाश-वीर जी पर बड़ा श्रटक किया। हमारा जो एक हरिजन मिनिस्टर था उसका घर फुँकवा दिया। यह हरिजनों के बड़े हमदर्द बनते हैं, गरीबों के बड़े हमदर्द बनते हैं। कलकत्ते में एक ही हरिजन जरा सम्पन्न है, उसका घर इन कम्युनिस्टों ने फुँकवा दिया। मैं हरिजनों को सावधान करना चाहता हूँ कि इन कम्युनिस्टों से सावधान रहें, ये इस देश में बगावत करना चाहते हैं।

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: He ought to be ashamed; they did not make him Speaker; they did not give him anything.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Do not provoke him.

श्री शिव नारायण : हम प्रोवोक नहीं होते हैं, हम इसका जवाब देंगे। चाहे भारखण्डे राय हों या ज्योति बसु हों—भारखण्डे राय हमारे यहां यू०पी० में फूड मिनिस्टर रह चुके हैं, यू०पी० में एटेक हुआ - दादा ने कहा, हम उनका बड़ा आदर करते हैं, लेकिन मैं दादा से पूछना चाहता हूँ—अपने दामन में देखो, जो कुछ रविन्द्र सरोवर में हुआ क्या वह हमारी मां-बहनें नहीं थीं? आज आप मुचेता जी को कुछ भी कह लें, लेकिन अपने दामन में देखो कि तुमने क्या किया, उसका नतीजा हमारे सामने आयेगा।

Those who will obey can give orders; those who do not obey cannot give orders. We have a strong Home Minister here. I want him to act as a Home Minister. He must remember Sardar Patel.

सरदार पटेल का खून हमारी रगों में है, आपकी रगों में है, इस देश की रक्षा करो। हम तुमसे डिमाण्ड करते हैं कि बंगाल की रक्षा करो, क्योंकि आजादी की लड़ाई में बंगाल हमारा टार्च-बीयरर रहा है, जिसने सुभाष चन्द्र

बोस दिया, जिसने रास बिहारी घोष दिया। आज बंगाल कम्युनिस्टों और चाइना के हाथों में जाना चाहता है, बंगाल की रक्षा करो - यह हमारी मांग है।

इन चन्द शब्दों के साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि पुलिस ने ज्यादाती की है, लेकिन इसके लिए जिम्मेदार कौन है, इनकी टिलाई इसके लिये जिम्मेदार है, इनका इन-डिस्प्लन जिम्मेदार है, इन्होंने डिवाइड एण्ड रूल की पालिसी पर चल कर उनको डिवाइड करने की कोशिश की। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ---

Whenever you divide, you go to hell. You must deal with these matters with a strong hand.

यही हमारी अपील है।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी (कानपुर) : सभापति जी, सदन के सामने जो प्रस्ताव है, मैं समझता हूँ कि आज यह बहस शायद इस सदन में नहीं होनी चाहिये थी। जब यहां पर काल-एटेन्शन की बात आई - वहाँ पर पुलिस ने जो कुछ किया और संसदीय प्रणाली को खत्म करने की जब बात यहां पर आई तो मैंने निवेदन किया था कि केवल काल-एटेन्शन ही नहीं, इस पर बहस भी होनी चाहिये।

यहां पर बहुत सी चीजें पश्चिमी बंगाल की सरकार के बारे में कही गईं हालाँकि वह चुनी हुई सरकार है और एक दफा राष्ट्रपति शासन के आने के बावजूद, पी० सी० घोष जैसे व्यक्ति को कठपुतली मुख्य मंत्री बनाने के बावजूद, हुमायूँ कबीर और उनके तमाम लोगों की साजिशें बेकार साबित हुईं और आपने देखा कि दोबारा चुनाव में आखिर लाल भण्डा जीता।

मैं एक बात यहाँ खास तौर से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ—जो कुछ भी बातें यहाँ पर कही गई हैं, लेकिन जितना साहस वहाँ के डिप्टी चीफ मिनिस्टर ने दिखाया—जब वहाँ कांग्रेस के मेम्बर को मारा गया और उसने

कहा कि मैं तो कांग्रेसमैन हूँ, मुझको मत मारो—उसके बाद जब विश्वनाथ मुकुर्जी को मारा गया, उसके बावजूद भी उन्होंने उसका मुक़ाबला करने की कोशिश की। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि संसदीय प्रणाली की हिफाजत करने वाले कौन थे...नेपाल राय और आभा मंती जब एक तरफ पुलिस वालों को बरगलाने की कोशिश कर रहे थे, उनमें फूट डालने की कोशिश कर रहे थे, क्या उनकी हमदर्दी उन पुलिस वालों के साथ थी जो किसान और मजदूर के बेटे हैं। लेकिन जब रिश्तखोरी बन्द कर दी गई, सीनाजोरी बन्द कर दी गई और जो चीजें कह रहे हैं कि पुलिस को नहीं करनी चाहिए, जब डूज एन्ड डोम्स का कोड आफ पुलिस कन्डक्ट बनाने जा रहे थे तो लोगों को नाराजगी हुई और जो वेस्टेड इन्स्ट्रुट्स हैं, जो बड़े-बड़े समायोदार हैं जोकि नहीं चाहते कि वहाँ पर यूनाइटेड फ्रंट की गवर्नमेंट रहे, उन्होंने साजिश की और इस बात की कोशिश की कि पुलिस वालों के द्वारा रिवोल्ट किया जाये। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर उसकी आंख निकाली गई है तो उसके बारे में देखा जाये, हमको उसका बड़ा दुख है लेकिन जब पुलिस वालों ने 14 साल के बच्चे को मारा, 19 साल की बच्ची को मारा और उत्तर प्रदेश में 90 साल की बुढ़िया के साथ गलत काम कराया क्या तब भी आपने ग्रांसू बहाये? आपने तो पुलिस वालों की हिफाजत की। प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियाँ कहती हैं कि वहाँ से यू० एफ० गवर्नमेंट हटेगी। यह भी कहा गया कि ज्योति बसु ने या दूसरों ने कहा कि हम जनता का सहारा लेंगे। यह सही है कि अगर चुनी हुई सरकार को उखाड़ने की कोशिश की गई तो उसके खिलाफ जनता लड़ेगी—चाहे वे पुलिस वाले हों या कोई भी हों। आज प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियों की तरफ से जो कोशिश हो रही है उनके लिए मैं एक शेर सुनाकर समाप्त करना चाहता हूँ :

अब टूट गिरेंगे जंजीरों,

अब जिन्दानों की खैर नहीं।

जो दरिया भूम के उठे हैं
तिनकों से न टाले जायेंगे ॥

जो दरिया भूम के उठा है वह आगे ही बढ़ता रहेगा—कारवाँ चलता रहेगा, लोग भौंकते रह जायेंगे लेकिन होगा कुछ नहीं।

सभापति महोदय : मैं आप लोगों को एक बात बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जितना समय था वह हो गया है, 6 बजे हाउस उठ जाएगा और हाफ एन आवर डिस्कशन को भी पोस्टपोन करना पड़ेगा इसलिए मुझे माफ करेंगे अगर सभी सदस्यों का समय न मिल पाये।... (श्ववधान)...श्री कृपलानी जी।

SHRI J.B. KRIPALANI (Guna): Mr. Chairman, I hope my brother-in-law here will not disturb me.

So much emphasis has been placed upon the fact that for a second time the United Front had won in the elections. Congressmen can very well say that they have won elections umpteen times. Does that mean that their Government had been just? Will any communist give them such a certificate because they had been elected by the people? Or do they want a certificate for themselves because they have been elected by the people. It is not because you were elected by the people; what you actually do after the elections is of greater importance. You may get the vote; yet you may turn out to be rascals. That does not mean that you did not get votes. Many Governments have come to power in many countries through the vote; they have repudiated the vote and tyrannised over the people. You have accused the Congress for tyrannising over the people all these years; I have done it, not because they came with a majority of votes but because they were doing things which they ought not to have done.

Another thing that I want to say is this. On that day we had a discussion; today we have a discussion. We do not yet know from the Home Minister or from anybody or from the *confidant* of Jyoti Basu, Mr. Banerjee, how this policeman was tortured to death. Who did it?

[Shri J.B. Kripalani]

Who did it? What party was it? Which trade union was it that was concerned and which trade union went into the Assembly? We know nothing about it.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: People have been arrested.

SHRI J.B. KRIPALANI: We do not know who were responsible, who killed this man, who tortured this man; we do not know whether he was tortured or not. The Home Minister only said he was mutilated; but how was he mutilated? That, we do not know. I do not suppose he (the Home Minister) knows it. Do you know it, Sir? He does not know. What can he do? His writ does not run in Bengal.

Sir, we consider this as a reprehensible act. But why should the communist friends consider this to be a reprehensible act? For them, this Parliament or these Assemblies are not temples of democracy. They have said umpteen times that this Constitution was made by the bourgeoisie; it was made by the agents of the capitalists and the landlords; that they have no belief in this. They want to destroy this Constitution, lock, stock and barrel. How can they consider the invasion of our House a reprehensible act? They say it has been built upon untruth, upon exploitation; that all of us who through the years suffered in jail, and sat in the Constituent Assembly were the agents of reactionaries, agents of the capitalists; and we were among them Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel—everyone of us, agents of the bourgeoisie; that we were agents of landlords and reactionaries. If such a House which has been built by the reactionaries is invaded by the police what harm is there? Why are you crying? You should be glad; you should be glad that this pseudo-democracy is disappearing. That is how you will one day come here also and do the same thing and be happy about it. Why are you complaining? Sir, we do not understand their logic. Their logic is not Aristotle's logic; their logic comes from China or Russia.

AN HON. MEMBER: Karl Marx.

SHRI J.B. KRIPALANI: Yes; Karl Marx; it is called dialectical logic.

Sir, I warn this Government. Today, you are sending the army at the instance of

the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Tomorrow you will have to send the army at your instance.

श्री तु० राम (अरारिया) : सभापति महोदय, बंगाल में जो घटना घटी है वह प्रजातन्त्र के लिए अच्छी बात नहीं है। लेकिन बंगाल में अराजकता की स्थिति क्यों है, इसके पीछे क्या योजना है यह हम लोगों को समझनी होगी। आपको मालूम होगा कि इन कम्युनिस्टों को प्रजातन्त्र पर तो विश्वास है नहीं। मार्क्सिस्ट थ्योरी बगैर खूनी इन्कलाब के नहीं चल सकती है, बगैर इन्कलाब के कम्युनिज्म को ऐस्टेबलिश नहीं कर सकते हैं। तो फिर ये कम्युनिस्ट इस मुल्क में बैठे रहेंगे ? नहीं। भीतर घुसकर अराजकता पैदा करेंगे और वह योजना-बद्ध है, चाहे वे दो पार्टी हों। बंगाल में माओ-त्से-तुंग जिन्दावाद के नारे लग रहे हैं। यह क्या है ? यह प्रजातन्त्र और चीन की लड़ाई हो रही है। वह जमीन के लिये नहीं हो रही है बल्कि सिद्धान्त के लिये लड़ाई हो रही है। हम प्रजातन्त्र के माध्यम से वेलफेयर स्टेट, कल्याणकारी राज्य और समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं जबकि वह खूनी इन्कलाब में विश्वास करते हैं और उसके द्वारा समाज में खेज लाना चाहते हैं। आज केरल के अन्दर आप देख रहे हैं, बंगाल में देख रहे हैं कि क्या स्थिति हो रही है। हां जमीन का बंटवारा चाहते हैं और क्लियर भंडी हमारी कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट देती है बैंक का राष्ट्रीयकरण करके। अगर प्रजातन्त्र को मानते हैं तो मजबूती के साथ अराजकता का दमन होना चाहिए। कम्युनिस्टों की योजना ही यह मालूम होती है कि पुलिस कोई काम करने लायक न रह जाय और पार्टी ही सब काम करे। आप जमीन पर अधिकार चाहते हैं। जब आपके हाथ में ताकत है तब कानून बनाकर उस गाड़ी को चलाइये और अराजकता की स्थिति को रोकिये।

यह दुःखद घटना है कि पुलिस ने असेम्बली में घुसकर अराजकता पैदा की। लेकिन इसकी तह में क्या है यह हमको सोचना होगा। इसमें बिलाई करने से काम नहीं चलेगा। अगर

संस्कृती के साथ हमारा कदम नहीं उठेगा तो प्रजातन्त्र को खत्म करने के लिये जो संक्रामक रोग भ्रराजकता का फँला हुआ है वह बंगाल में ही मिट कर नहीं रह जायेगा, वह सारे देश में प्रजातन्त्र को जड़ को खोखला कर देगा और सब जगह पर टी० बी०, थाइसिम और न जाने किस-किस चीज का रूप लेगा। मुझे दुःख है कि इस तरह की घटना घटी। ऐसा और जगहों पर नहीं होना चाहिए। लेकिन आपको एक हाई पावर्ड जांच कमिशन नियुक्त करना चाहिए जो सारे मामले की तह में जाये कि क्या कारण है कि पुलिस वाले वहाँ आये।

उन्होंने भ्रराजकता की स्थिति को बढ़ाया घेराव करके। जब इस तरह के घेराव होंगे, नाजायज काम किये जायेंगे तो यह स्थिति और भी खराब होगी। अगर आपके हाथ में लाठी है तो उनके हाथ में भी लाठी होगी, दूसरे हथियार होंगे और दो विचारों की लड़ाई होगी। पालियामेंट के फ्लोर पर भी होगी और मँदाने जंग में भी होगी। उसमें आप भी जायेंगे। आज लोग यहाँ पर प्रजातन्त्र की वफादारी की बात कहते हैं और प्रजातन्त्र के माध्यम से पालियामेंट में आते हैं। प्रजातन्त्र की रक्षा होनी चाहिये नहीं तो मुक्त बरबाद होगा। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यहाँ पर वह लोग डिक्टेटरशिप और चाइना का जो रुवाव देख रहे हैं उसको जनता कबूल नहीं करेगी। यहाँ कहा गया कि बंगाल के एलेक्शनों में हमारी जीत हो रही है। भले ही आज डरा-धमका कर वोट ले लिया जाये, लेकिन यह चीज बहुत दिन नहीं चल सकती है। यहाँ पर प्रजातन्त्र मजबूत बनेगा ही।

SHRI B.P. MANDAL (Madhipura):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, what has happened in West Bengal is a matter which should be considered very seriously. We should consider it above any party consideration because if such sort of things happens in our country democracy will vanish in the air. So it is regrettable that when we are considering this particular important matter of policemen entering into the temple of

democracy, the legislative assembly, trying to assault a Minister and attacking the Speaker of the Assembly, we are considering it in a partisan spirit. It is reprehensible and it is not good at all. If such sort of things happen in other parts of the country, Mr. Chairman, you can imagine what will happen to this country.

Therefore, Sir, I think that the Home Minister of India and this House should not remain innocent spectators to such sort of affairs and should not allow such things to happen in any part of the country. Some ten or fifteen years back—I think it was in the year 1948 or so—in the State of Bihar there was a police riot just after independence. But this sort of things never happened. The policemen demanded certain rights and that was led by Shri Ramanand Tiwary who is at present in the SSP and who also happened to be the Minister in charge of police in the State. But such things did not happen. The policemen did not enter the Assembly and attack the Minister or the Speaker.

Therefore, these things should be thought over coolly. After all, Sir, we have been elected to this House and to the Assembly by means of the democratic process. If such things are allowed to happen the democratic process will vanish. Therefore, I would request the Home Minister not to remain an innocent spectator. He should realise that it is his responsibility to see that law and order is maintained in this country. This House has got ample authority to discuss such sort of things. Some hon. Members from the other side said that law and order is the responsibility of the State and this House has got nothing to do with it.

I do not agree. Because, if law and order is broken in West Bengal, Bihar or Uttar Pradesh, what is the meaning of the Centre? The need of the hour is a very strong Centre. I would request the Home Minister to look into it. Also, I think it will not be placed if a parliamentary delegation, commission or committee, consisting of Members of Parliament belonging to every party, is formed and sent to West Bengal to inquire into all these things.

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) : मैं यह मानता हूँ कि संविधान ने वैंस्ट बंगाल

[श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त]

की यू एफ गवर्नमेंट को यह हक दिया है कि वह वहाँ राज्य करे और उसके काम में किसी प्रकार की बाधा नहीं डाली जानी चाहिये, न केन्द्र की ओर से और न ही किसी और ओर से। जनता ने जो उसको अधिकार दिया है वह विधान के अनुसार राज्य करने का दिया है, विधान को समाप्त करके वहाँ राज्य करने का अधिकार नहीं दिया है। श्री ज्योति बसु कहते हैं कि पुलिस में गुंडागर्दी की है। लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि यह तो उनकी स्वयं की टूट-डो-शन डाली हुई है। जिस तरह के हालात वैंस्ट बंगाल में क्रियेट किये गये हैं उसी का यह परिणाम है। मैं आपको पुराणों में जो एक कथा आती है उसको मुनाना चाहता हूँ। भस्मा-मुर को शिवजी ने वह बरदान दिया कि जिम किसी के सिर पर वह हाथ रखे वह भस्म हो जाएगा वह जिस किसी के सिर पर हाथ रखता गया वह भस्म होता गया। एक दिन भस्मामुर ने सोचा कि क्यों न मैं शिवजी के सिर के ऊपर ही हाथ रखूँ। वह शिवजी के सिर पर हाथ रखने दौड़ा। अब शिवजी आगे-आगे और भस्मामुर पीछे-पीछे दौड़े जा रहे थे। बड़ी मुश्किल से शिवजी ने अपनी जान बचाई।

मैं कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने ही लोगों को यह बुरी आदत सिखाई है कि कांस्टीट्यूशन के खिलाफ काम करो, लोगों के जज्बात को उभारो। आज आप कांग्रेस के खिलाफ, केन्द्र के खिलाफ, दूसरी पार्टियों के खिलाफ सब-कुछ करते हैं लेकिन आप इस बात को भूल जाते हैं कि कल को यह चीज आपके सिर पर भी आकर पड़ेगी। ऐसा न सोचें कि लोग आपके खिलाफ इस तरह की कार्रवाई नहीं करेंगे। जो पहले श्रौं के सिर पर हाथ लगा रहे थे। वे ही आज ज्योति बसु साहब के सिर पर हाथ लगा रहे हैं। जब ज्योति बसु के सिर पर हाथ लगाया जाता है तब आप बिदकते हैं। आज वैंस्ट बंगाल में ला नैसनस है, डीमारेलाइजेशन का वातावरण है। इस वातावरण में लोग केन्द्र से कुछ आशा

करते हैं। यह देश एक है। मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारे देश का फैंडल स्ट्रक्चर है। राज्यों के कुछ अधिकार हैं। वे रहने चाहिए। लेकिन श्रीवर-आल रिस्पॉन्सिबिलिटी सेंटर की है। इससे केन्द्र बच नहीं सकता है। वहाँ लोग कांस्टैट टैसन की स्थिति में रह रहे हैं। वहाँ जो अपोर्नैट्स हैं उनको डीमारेलाइज किया जा रहा है। कानून से हटकर, विधान से हट कर उनको डीमारेलाइज किया जा रहा है। मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप अपनी जिम्मेदारी को पूरा करें। आज वैंस्ट बंगाल में करोड़ों लोग ही नहीं बल्कि देश की सारी जनता आप से आशा करती है कि आप वैंस्ट बंगाल गवर्न-मेंट को वार्न करें कि वह विधान के अनुसार राज्य करे वरना इसके खतरनाक नतीजे होंगे। आप उनको डायरेक्टिव दें। मारा देश इस काम में आपके साथ होगा, यह मैं आपके विप्रवाग दिलाता हूँ।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : जो आघ घंटे की चर्चा है उसको आप आज ले रहे हैं या किसी और दिन इसको ले रहे हैं ?

सभापति महोदय : मैं माननीय सदस्यों से जानना चाहता हूँ कि आघ घंटे की चर्चा वे आज करना चाहते हैं या किसी और दिन के लिए इसको पोस्टपोन करना चाहते हैं ?

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : किसी दूसरे दिन रखिये।

सभापति महोदय : किसी दूसरे दिन इसको लिया जाएगा। आज सदन इसी पर बहस करेगा।

SHRI HIMATSINGKA (Godda) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, every member who has spoken has condemned the violation of the Assembly House by the policemen and I have no doubt that everybody will think that the action taken by the police is one that should be condemned. I also join in that condemnation.

But the mere condemnation will not be sufficient. We should go into the circum-

tances which led to the unfortunate and condemnable action of the police.

If we go back to the history of what has been happening for sometime past during the regime of the U.F. Government, you will find that there was a policeman who had been murdered sometime ago and the policemen of a thana were forced to carry a member of party on a *charpoy* six miles from the thana because there was no other conveyance available. Such action against the police was not taken notice of by the Government and no action was taken against the persons who forced the policemen to carry a member of the party to a distance of six miles. If this kind of a thing happens against the police, you can very well realise the feeling that will be generated in the minds of the policemen.

Then, the police had been asked on many occasions not to take any action against the illegal activities and against actions taken by the members of the labour force or others. Naturally, the police who have the duty protect persons are required to take action against any wrong act, whoever may be the person who commits it. Naturally, they begin to think that it is not their duty to be law-abiding or to carry the duties that have been entrusted to them.

Now, for sometime past, forceable possession is being taken of so-called *benami* lands in the occupation of a number of persons by landless labourers. When the U.F. Government is there who is in a majority and when they have sufficient power, why should they allow this kind of illegal possession to be taken by persons forcibly. Again, about those who take possession, there is a fight between them on party basis. When a particular party member takes possession of the land, some other members of the Government of another constituent party want to oust them. Therefore, there is inter-rivalry between the different members of the constituents of the U.F.

Then, the actions taken against the C.P. I(M) members have been condemned by the Deputy Chief Minister but not against the actions committed by the member of his party. Therefore, with double standards

you can very well realise the feelings in the minds of the police. The U.F. Government members have been erring all respect for the Constitution and they have been publicly saying that the Constitution has been prepared by big people, by the reactionaries and, therefore, they want to break it. If they create such a feeling against the constitution against the respect for the Constitution and the constitutional institutions, naturally, the feeling is created that any action taken against it or institution based on the constitution will not be condemned by the police. Therefore, whether the action taken by the police is due to a conspiracy by reactionaries, by Congressmen or others, has to be judged against this background. What has happened, according to me and according to those who know, is not due to any conspiracy by any party or by any reactionaries but it is the result of double standards in politics that has been preaching democracy but practising the wrecking of the Constitution from within. Therefore, I condemn the action of the police through it is due to the wrong policies that have been followed by the U.F. Government.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour): Sir, all the trouble has come out of one thing that the West Bengal Government is taking vigorous steps to distribute land which was illegally possessed by *jotedars*. They have distributed about 2 million acres of land till todate amongst the landless people. This is a struggle of the *kisans* and the workers. The police force which has been serving the masters and the *jotedars* for the last twenty years cannot be re-oriented and made to serve the people overnight. This police force was of course, doing service for *jotedars* and other big employers and they have been amply rewarded. They are corrupt from top to bottom; everybody in the police force is corrupt.

A section of the Congress and the reaction of the Congress and the reactionaries want the people to believe that there is no law and order problem in West Bengal. I would invite reference to the Bagmari incident where a riot was created—engineered and created—between some Sikhs and some Bengalis, and the Judge of the Calcutta High Court said that a big industrialist in Calcutra was behind it; he had been financing everything.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

Mr. Morarji Desai unfortunately visited that Capital the other day and since the day he went there and uttered certain things which were not becoming of a Minister, things have been going wrong. We do not know what are the reasons.

I had been to Calcutta the day before yesterday and I came back yesterday. I will give certain details which might be of interest to the members of the House.

Miss Abta Maity, a worthy lieutenant of Mr. Atulya Ghosh, a former Minister of the Congress regime, was in the House when the raiders entered the Assembly House. They had done considerable damage. Then she rushed to Mr. Jyo'i Basu's room and asked him to come out and address them. She had inducted them, brought them inside, and then comes and asks Mr. Basu to address them.

Another gentlemen, Mr. Nepal Roy, a Congress M.L.A., admitted that while the raiding policemen came inside the Assembly House in order to do havoc they did a clear 'Namaskar' to him; they stopped near him and said 'Namaskar', and then went on doing the mischief.

Another Congress M.L.A., Mr. Jagada Nanda Roy, was beaten up because he was mistaken to be a Minister. While he was on the carpet, he was asked whether he was a Minister. And when he said, 'I am not a Minister; I am a Congress M.L.A.; they left him.

Mr. Bijoy Singh Nahar, a former Congress Minister, called the policemen inside and asked them to establish democracy. This is what he said; Come inside and establish democracy.

Two garlands were sent for the dead Constable—one from the Provincial Committee of the Congress and the other from the Provincial Parliamentary Group of Congress Party. Never before have we heard of such a thing being done by those people.

When the raiding policemen came inside the House, they shouted this slogan: U.F. leave the throne; bring back the

Congress. They have been constantly campaigning these political slogans.

Recently, three or four weeks ago former Inspector-General of Police had come to Delhi. The Home Minister may enlighten us whether the gentlemen had met him and whether he had received advice from him.

We know that Mr. Chavan has a parallel police force, a network of police force in West Bengal and Kerala. We know within ten minutes of the happening of that event; wireless messages were sent here and they were in the know of what was happening. Such is the network the parallel police force that Mr. Chavan has.

We, democratic people, condemn this act of the anti-democracy. Let the West Bengal Government do its duty because it is within the sphere of the State Government to look after law and order.

SHRI KARTIK ORAON (Lohardaga; It is unfortunate that, in our country, there are many parties which are thriving only by excitement. Our peoples are also giving them votes and are getting some of these parties into power only by their exciting election manifesto. I think, the House and perhaps the whole country will agree that, wherever there is disturbance, wherever there is the question of breakdown of law and order, there is something basically wrong there. For instance, for the police to get into the Legislative Assembly, it is the height of disorder. Everybody will accept that. There is something very much threatening the very existence of democracy in this country. Everybody knows that 'gherao' was started by the Communist Party of India ... (Interruptions). Now they are paying them in their own coins.

There is a saying in Bengali:
"Machhar Thele Mach Bhaja"

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : We can look after ourselves.

SHRI KARTIK ORAON : Under the circumstances it is definite that the Communist Party is not willing to accept that there is something wrong. They think they are running a very good Government. That

is the sort of optimism which is defined as the madness of maintaining that everything is all right while everything is wrong. That is the sort of Government that is run in West Bengal. We must not think that it is limited to West Bengal. If we allow this to go on, it will have chain reaction throughout India. Therefore, I will request the hon. Home Minister to have a mobile fire brigade and keep it moving throughout India and wherever there is any trouble of this nature, that should be crushed. This is the only request I will make. Instead of an enquiry Commission, he should have a fire brigade, made up of strong Central Reserve Police Force.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Contai : Unless one desires to wreck the Constitution either from within or from without, he should unequivocally condemn the ugly orgies of vandalism that were perpetrated on the citadel of West Bengal Assembly in terms which should not be considered too strong. It is not a blot on the West Bengal United Front Government only. The vandalism that was perpetrated has struck the integral structure of the Indian Constitution and also the future of democracy in our country. This is thus a national issue and it has to be discussed in the national forum in all its aspects and root cause dissipated. Being asked by the correspondent of 'Patriot', as to why army was called, Jyoti Basu said 'The Army was alerted lest somebody tried to kill us and the people with rifle'. Mr. Jyoti Basu summarily dismissed the Policemen and asked the Army to seal the armoury of the Police and keep them alert. If the Army goes wrong, who will seal the armoury of the Army and for whom? Mr. Jyoti Basu has to take a lesson, the lesson in a retrospective way, I should say, a heart-searching for the root cause as to why such a situation has developed. It is not a sudden seismic event but a serious explosion in a chain reaction of a drifting political situation. I am afraid I may be accused by Dr. Ranen Sen that I am trying to pull down the West Bengal Government. West Bengal is almost on the verge of anarchy and administrative chaos. I will quote one from the CPI and the other from the horse's mouth, the Chief Minister himself. One of the Ministers of Kerala, a very reputed leader of CPI. Mr. Gobinda Nair was asked

how the CPM can wreck the Constitution from within.

When asked to what extent the Marxist Party succeeded in wrecking the administration in Kerala, Mr. Nayar remarked: 'Not to the extent they have done in West Bengal' Mark what he said: 'Not to the extent they have done in West Bengal!'

A few days before the raid on the Assembly by the police, there was a meeting of the United Front, because they were exasperating situation developing in West Bengal like murder, killing, arson, loot everywhere. this is from the horse's mouth. This is what Mr. Jyoti Basu said. It has appeared in a Bengali paper; I have had it translated into English. Exasperated by the developing anarchic situation in West Bengal, Mr. Jyoti Basu threatened all the partners of the UF in that meeting and he said:

"I cannot tolerate these things to continue. They have to be stopped. Dreadful killings and murders in presence of MLAs are happening. I am going to give instructions to the police to take necessary steps. This is not a movement for land seizure; this is sheer murder, sheer killing".

Where is Jyotirmoy Basu? (*Interruptions*: This is from the horse's mouth (*Interruptions*).

I want to disabuse the minds of some friends here. Dr. Ranen Sen said that we are trying to hatch a conspiracy against the UF Government. No, no. Nobody in West Bengal, no organisation there has asked for the dismissal of the UF Government or any interference from the Centre. What do they want?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He should conclude.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Shri Hem Barua will not be replying. I am replying to the debate.

In the anarchic situation that has developed in West Bengal, what the people want

[Shri Samar Guha]

of the elected representatives there is that they should govern according to the rule of law, not according to the anarchic law of the jungle. That is their demand. They do not want the Government to escape from their responsibility by saying 'Here are the conspirators; there are the CIA agents; Beware of the Centre's agents'. What the people want of the Government; is that they must govern according to the rule of law, according to the pledge they had given to the people.

What is the image of the u.f. government and the present situation in West Bengal today. Nobody knows except in social and cultural affairs, for going to the cinema, sports, shopping or marketing in the political, economic, industrial spheres, in the sphere of land, education, medical or any other sphere, nobody knows what will happen when, how and why in West Bengal. Nobody knows.

I will just give a little bit of the assessment I have made after scanning the news that appeared in the last five months. After scanning collection of the news and making summation of it, where is a statistical account of the present situation; 93 political murders 369 serious political assaults (*Interruptions*) -- I have said how these figures have been obtained--368 general violent incidents, harrowing cases of killing at Kanki, Madhusadanpur, Canning area, Bharatgarh, Hawra and other areas, 34 headmasters removed by CPM workers, the Vice-Chancellors of Calcutta and Jadavpur Universities gheraoed 17 times, 37 gheraos in medical institutions including hospitals. Almost all the fisheries of 24-Parganas and other areas have either been looted or forcibly occupied. There have been 441 cases of violent seizure of land.

Shri Harekrishna Konar, Minister of Land and Revenue, went to my constituency in Contai area and addressed a meeting in the presence of the Home Minister there. What did he say in that meeting? He said: "The police will not interfere. The police will not come. By any means, even violent means, you seize government land and benami land". This is on record. It has also been reported in the papers then. Canning area 20,000 people armed with spears, swords and axes while

dancing the dance of hell were led by land and Revenue Minister Konar.

18 hrs.

There are 207 cases of industrial gheraos...(*Interruptions*.) I am not in any way supporting the action of the police nor do I undermine the gravity of the atrocities committed by them in the West Bengal Assembly. But in what predicament have the West Bengal police been put? What is the police policy of the UF Government? They say that the police will not interfere in the democratic freedom movement. What is the result? On the one side the UF partners, not I, are accusing the Forward Bloc, SSP, CPM, RSP, Bengal Congress—leaders blamed CPM it is on record; if I had time I could quote from each one of them—that the police had been immobilised. The others are accusing that the CPM is using the police machinery for its party purposes. What shall the police do? There were innumerable gheraos in police stations, at least 63 cases recorded for. The police were abused spat upon, their pugrees and belts were taken. Innumerable High Court orders against gheraos and land seizure were issued by the High Court but the police are not implementing them. There have been two cases in High Courts where two police officers had been jailed and they said; what can we do? Our higher officers instructed that their orders should not be executed. In Calcutta High Court talks are going on whether they should close down the High Court. They are thinking of writing to the Supreme Court. What will happen if orders issued by the High Court in regard to gheraos and violent seizures of lands are not executed by the police?

West Bengal police are divided. There is the Calcutta police; the other is the West Bengal police. They were going to have bandh for only one day on the 15th July. The United Front Government author Jyoti Basu on the 14th decided to have an anti-public day and hoped that the storm troopers of the CPM.....would crush overnight the parallel organisation set up there. What is the position of the police? One organisation by CPM, another organisation by CPI. Leaflets were distributed. Sunil Datt was accused for dereliction of duty because he went to

Durgapur. But now the leaders of the police organisation that has been organised by the CPM getting leave to go here and there to organise parallel body of police. It is one record that those people who went there and led the demonstration and assault are from the new police body, the organisation of the CPM.....(Interruptions.)

It is alleged that this is a conspiracy by the Congress. If it is so, my question is: who created a situation for the successful hatching out of the conspiracy? Secondly, Promod Das Gupta says something. They say it is the action of the CIA agents. In the other House Mr. Raj Narain said, No; it is the repetition of another episode and the forces of the CPM want to set up their men in all the key positions. Is it so? The enquiry that has been ordered is an administrative enquiry only.....(Interruptions.) If it is CIA agent, if it is Congress conspiracy or a conspiracy of rightist forces, it is the bounden duty of Jyoti Basu to see that a judicial enquiry is conducted to find out the truth.

All will come out. The next point is this. The Speaker of the House was assaulted. Neither the Home Minister nor the Government has any right to enquire into the matter. It is the duty of the Speaker to institute an enquiry, appoint committee to go into the happenings there.

The last point is—(Interruption)

SHRI NAMBIAR: Tenth last point.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Please conclude.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: If such a thing were to happen in Maharashtra, what will be done? Some Members have said that it is the duty of the Home Minister to defend law and order, to defend the dignity of the Assembly, to defend the sanctity of the Assembly. But, if such a thing had happened in Maharashtra. What would have been out demand? I do not want to answer. I request Shri Jyoti Basu to answer.

Now, I should like to make one humble request. Jyoti Basu, the enemy of the United Front Government is not outside. The enemy of the United Front Government

is not outside. It is the strange political situation in West Bengal, the different parties in West Bengal, that are the cause for killing, murdering, and so on. These different political parties are strangely pulling together in the United Front Government there. Now, Mr. Jyoti Basu, if he can follow the logical consequence, at least he must hand over Home Affairs to the Chief Minister.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): Mr. Chairman, Sir—

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi): Will the Home Minister confirm or deny the facts given by Shri Samar Guha?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am not here to confirm or deny them. I have got to say what I have to say. I had reported to the House the other day. What we are considering today is the report that I made to the House the other day.

Sir, I must say the debate has been very interesting, and, if I may say so, it was somewhat revealing. But the purpose of my speech today or the statement that I made the other day is not with a view to sitting in judgement over the West Bengal Government. As I said, while making any observation on this issue, at this particular moment, I will have to take a very careful note of the important aspects of the political reality in India today, that is the Centre-State relationship. I do not want to say anything which will be construed as something which is intended to run down the Government of a State. That is not my intention.

As one of the hon. Members speaking from the Jana Sangh party, said, there are three aspects of the problem. One is what happened; the second is, how it happened, and then, what can be done to prevent it. This is how they have tried to look at this problem. As regards what have happened as far as the Assembly was concerned about the facts as to how it happened, it is being looked into by the West Bengal Government. They have appointed some officer; though it may not be a judicial enquiry, it is some sort of an enquiry—

AN HON. MEMBER: By a retired official.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: An ex-Chief Secretary, I think. He has been asked to go into the facts. (*Interruption*) Anyway, they want to go into the facts and find out what happened.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: What happened on that day only. (*Interruption*)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: What has happened, which is not yet known also, will be gone into. As long as that report is not with us, I think it will be very difficult for me or anyone of us to express any view on that matter or give any judgment on this matter.

One or two demands that were made of me, were about the appointment of some sort of a judicial enquiry from here. I have made my position very clear yesterday: that to appoint a judicial commission by the Central Government in this matter is rather unrealistic, because, without the co-operation of the State Government, this judicial commission just cannot function. Therefore, as I said, the most important reality of today's politics is that there are different parties running different administrations, and there is a change in the emphasis of their policies. I have no doubt that the entire House will agree that when we say that under the Constitution there is to be a democratic government, it does not mean that it should be a status quo government. Naturally, they will have to see that there is a change in the social and economic

relationship. The only expectation of a constitutional, democratic government is that in order to work out this dynamic change they should resort to constitutional methods and democratic methods. This is the only restriction that is expected of a Government, and I have every hope of the State Governments, of whatever colour of whatever party, they may be, that they will certainly subscribe to this basic point of view. This is my hope.

Some hon. Members also suggested that I should act like a very strong firm Home Minister. I do not want to be a Home Minister who makes brave speeches. I was told about the Home Minister of 1948-49. I must remind them that India of 1968-69 is not India of 1948-49. There are some basic changes. I have to be realistic in the matter. We should not lose heart, we should not be frightened and we should not be panicky. We should have faith in our people and we should work strongly in that direction. That is all I have to say.

सभापति महोदय : मैं समझता हूँ कि हेम बरुआ साहब बोल नहीं रहे हैं। अब हाउस कल सुबह ग्यारह बजे तक के लिये एडजर्न किया जाता है।

18.11 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, August 7, 1969; Sravana 16, 1891, (Saka)