

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : You cannot disturb the House by making such an important statement in this surreptitious manner.

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK : We do not know what he has said.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : He has said about the composition of the Pay Commission. Let him read it back again. I do not mind. We gave a calling attention motion. (*interruption*).

MR. CHAIRMAN : Are you prepared to put questions. Otherwise I do not want to allow this.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Sir, we expect that some statement would be made on our calling attention motion on demonstration of 50,000 government employees.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That means you do not have any questions to ask.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : My question is whether government will give interim relief within thirty days from now to the Central Government employees and whether government will extend the benefit of increments given to the railway employees to other classes of employees who are stagnating their maximum for the last two years? I want a specific answer to this question.

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK : I also join my hon. friend Shri Banerjee in this connection. I want to know whether there is any proposal to give interim relief to the government employees. Also I want to know whether the Government would give the interim relief within thirty days from now.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let the Minister read the whole thing again.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : You do not play with the fate of the people of Bengal in the midst of discussion. It cannot be allowed. When such an important statement is made in the midst of the discussion, then we also have the right to ask whether any interim relief is to be given

to the government employees. (*Interruption*).

MR. CHAIRMAN : I realise the importance of Bengal. You please sit down. Because this is also a very important matter, I have allowed him to lay the paper on the Table of the House.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : He could have made this statement tomorrow before the whole House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have allowed it.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : I will go on disturbing. It is my right\*\*....

MR. CHAIRMAN : Whatever he says will not be recorded.

SHRI P. C. SETHI : I have already laid it on the Table.

20.26 hrs.

WEST BENGAL STATE LEGISLATURE  
(DELEGATION OF POWERS) BILL—Contd.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour) : No amount of demogogy will hide the character and failures and the misdeeds of 20 years of Congress rule in West Bengal. 20 years of Congress rule have ruined Bengal to rack. Again now the effort is to impose the same Congress rule through the backdoor, and the first item on the agenda there is to project the image of the ruling Congress party there.

It is now a month and a week. What is happening there. Some diehard superannuated bureaucrats in the name of administration are fighting like cats and dogs for power, position and money. They are doing that there and in the Centre these Benches are talking about curtailing the powers and privileges of the ICS. That is the true character of Congressmen. Here under the guise of consultation, the Government are bringing into the Consultative Committee Jan Sangh

\*\*Not recorded.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

Swatantra members in greater numbers, people who have been rejected outright by the people of West Bengal at the polls. Do Government really think these people have any right to speak for the people of Bengal, people in whom the people of Bengal have no confidence.

There is no provision for advisers in the Constitution. Let Government say what are their powers, what will be their remuneration, what will the *bakshaesh* that Government have to give them for projecting their image there.

Look at the sickening quarrel over the post of Chief Secretary. They would not have Shri Mullick because he is a scheduled caste. The bureaucrats there would not accept him as Chief Secretary. So that gentleman had to rush to Delhi and seek the help of Shri Jagjivan Ram. He may deny it, but it makes no difference. Till such time as Shri Jagjivan Ram brought pressure, he was not accepted as Chief Secretary. That is the character of the Government here.

Why cannot MPs elected by the people of West Bengal be taken as honorary advisers to the Governor? No, because they cannot trust them; they will not do the salesman's job of projecting the Congress image during the period the Government have in mind.

In the Consultative Committee, if Government are fair—which I doubt they will ever be—the composition must reflect the party position in the West Bengal Assembly. You cannot inject people who are not there at all. We must know how often this Committee is going to meet. What will be the powers of this Committee? Will it be a coffee party, a party to ditto your summary decisions, a *chaptuse* party? We must know. We have had the experience of 1967. You had made a mockery of this Consultative Committee.

You are talking about student unrest. I have heard a lot of platform speakers here. You are aware of the fact that West Bengal has the highest number of unemployed, although it has the highest concentration of

industry and capital. So, if you honestly put yourself in the position of a student there, what is there before you which will keep you cool, sobre and thoughtful? There is nothing but frustration, nothing but a bleak future before them.

And look at the plans that they have in mind, at the social discrimination and the gap between the high and the low. All these things are responsible for this. And your economic planning which has failed them completely and the economic measures that you have taken, have created more problems and more gap between the high and the low, have driven them to this situation, and unless you really remedy the whole thing at the base of it, nothing is going to happen, nothing is going to stop.

What is happening under President's rule? The vultures are at work. In the coal belt, severe atrocities and repression are taking place. The coal mine-owners are trying to stop the implementation of the Wage Board award through goonda raj and by giving police lump sum for suppression and repression work. Workers, peasants, every body is interested in performance barring a few grabbers and exploiters. The Congress jotedars are very busy trying to grab land. The assurance given by the Governor there is so hollow, and the benefits of the UF regime have so impressed the people that you are so anxious to undo it.

Mr. K. Sen, Member of the Board of Revenue, was talking against the tillers. He had gone round certain districts and he has submitted a report. We would like to see that report given by him and what he has said. Has he not said that if you want to grab the land that has been given, you will be inviting severe trouble and that it will jeopardise your political advancement? The report must be laid on the Table of the House.

Six weeks have gone since the imposition, and it has become a reign more for exploiters and reactionaries. The Birlas have forced 70,000 workers to go on strike from today. They have been removing files. You have the

Sarkar Commission. You have impressed the whole country, in other words you have bluffed the whole country, and now you allow Birlas to take away files from the central office for destruction and hiding. The Managing Director there is a very close relation of Mr. G. D. Birla. He offered a bribe of Rs. 1,000 for doing this wonderful job to the police, but the police officer, I must thank him, a young Deputy Commissioner called Ramachandran, had the courage and honesty to catch that man and put him behind the bars.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA : Mr. Ramachandran was the Central Police officer.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : He is D. C., Central District.

The actual criminals are a very powerful gang. It is their reign, and they are moving everywhere. In the meantime our great Nanda is taking the people of Calcutta for a ride. For 23 years he has been selling the story of the suburban railway. How wonderful: With due regard to him, he should be sent for psycho check-up. He talks something and contradicts it the next moment. We do not understand what he wants to do. We understand that, in fact, nothing will happen to Calcutta as long as you remain in power. The Calcutta civic services have come to the verge of collapse. I want to ask how many lock-outs have been removed during this Presidential rule.

The Constitution provides for a mid-term poll within six months. Why is it that you want to run away from this? Because you know that you would be rejected outright if you expose yourself to the people's verdict. That is why you want to run away from this. You will not get even 20 seats.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude. There are many other speakers waiting.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : One minute more, Sir. I surrender to you. The whole question is, are they waiting for Mr. Giri's election petition to be decided? I have asked that question, but no reply comes from them. What I say is, take courage, dissolve the

Assembly, go to a mid-term poll and face the people, and let the people say who are right and who are wrong.

श्री देबेन सेन (आसनसोल) : पश्चिमी बंगाल ज्यादा समय तक राष्ट्रपति शासन बरदाश्त नहीं करेगा। संयुक्त सरकार के पतन के बाद वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन कायम हुआ है। दो शक्तियां अगर पावर में आती हैं तो उनको लोग कभी बरदाश्त नहीं करेंगे। एक तो एक्सट्रीम लैफ्ट है जिसमें नक्सलाइट आते हैं और दूसरी एक्सट्रीम राइट है जिसमें ठेकेदार, चपड़ासी इत्यादि आते हैं जो कि एम्प्लायज के द्वारा वैंकड हैं, विंग कैपिटल के द्वारा जिनको बैंक किया जाता है। इन दोनों ही शक्तियों को पश्चिमी बंगाल कभी बरदाश्त नहीं करेगा। इनका मुकाबला करने के लिए राष्ट्रपति शासन भी असमर्थ रहेगा। नक्सलपन्थी तत्वों का सबसे बड़ा सेंटर है प्रेजीडेंसी कालेज। यह प्रेजीडेंसी कालेज वह कालेज है जहां पर बंगाल की क्रीम, बैस्ट वायज जाते हैं। इसलिए हम कभी यह बरदाश्त नहीं करेंगे कि उन लोगों को नक्सलपन्थी कह कर हमारे भाइयों को और हमारे लड़कों को जेल में बन्द कर दिया जाए या उनको गोली से उड़ा दिया जाए। आपको कारण खोजना होगा। नक्सलपन्थी क्यों होते हैं? लेकिन ठेकेदारों, चपड़ासियों, मालिकों का राज कायम हुआ तो उसको भी हम लोग बरदाश्त नहीं करेंगे। राष्ट्रपति शासन भी इनका मुकाबला करने के लिये समर्थ नहीं होगा। इस वास्ते मैं कहता हूँ कि जितनी जल्दी राष्ट्रपति शासन खत्म हो, उतना ही बंगाल के लिए अच्छा होगा।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि बंगाल की जो बीमारी अभी है, वह क्यों है, इसके कारण भी आपको खोजने होंगे। बंगाल की आर्थिक बीमारी भी है। पांचवें फाइनेंस कमीशन ने जो फाइनेंस का बटवारा किया उसमें सात राज्यों के शेयर को तो बढ़ा दिया

[श्री देवेन सेन]

लेकिन बंगाल के शेयर को कम कर दिया जो पहले से ही कम था। बिहार को 199 करोड़ अधिक दिया, गुजरात को 158 करोड़ अधिक दिया, हरियाणा को 79 करोड़ ज्यादा मिला, महाराष्ट्र को 419 करोड़ ज्यादा मिला, पंजाब को 117 करोड़ ज्यादा मिला और उत्तर प्रदेश को 280 करोड़ ज्यादा मिला। लेकिन बंगाल डिफिसिट है। उसको कम दिया गया। इसलिए बंगाल का कोई सुधार करना हो, वहां जो हालत है, उसमें सुधार लाना हो तो आपको बड़े पैमाने पर बंगाल की सहायता करनी होगी।

जो अधिकार संयुक्त फ्रंट के समय में हम लोगों ने पाये हैं, उन अधिकारों में से एक पाई भर भी अधिकार हम से छीने नहीं जाने चाहिए, चाहे वे अधिकार किसानों को मिले हों या मजदूरों को मिले हों। उन सब अधिकारों को बहाल रखा जाये। इस बास्ते जो कमेटी आप बनायें, उसमें विभिन्न पार्टियों को जो प्रतिनिधित्व आप दें वह प्रेजेंट असेम्बली में विभिन्न दलों की संख्या को देखते हुए दें। ऐसा न हो कि ऐसे लोगों को उसमें रखा जाये जो कि हमारे सब अधिकारों को छीन लेने के पक्ष में वोट देने वाले हों।

रिपयूज के बारे में भी मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। डा० सेन ने उसका जिक्र किया है। यह कौन सा न्याय है कि वेस्ट पाकिस्तान से आने वाले शरणार्थी जो प्रापर्टी पाकिस्तान में छोड़कर आए हैं उनको तो यहां आने पर कम्पेंसेशन दिया जाए लेकिन ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से जो शरणार्थी आए हैं, उनकी प्रापर्टी रिकार्ड भी नहीं की जाती है, उसका कोई हिसाब भी उनसे नहीं लिया जाता है, कम्पेंसेशन देने की बात तो दूर रही। इसलिए मेरी मांग है कि अगर सरकार कम्पेंसेशन न भी दे सके, तो

वह ईस्ट बंगाल में हिन्दुओं द्वारा छोड़ी गई प्रापर्टी का रिकार्ड रखने की व्यवस्था करे, ताकि वह भविष्य में आवश्यकता पड़ने पर काम जाँ सके।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : Sir, the people of West Bengal regret that they have had to experience President's rule twice within a short period, due to the betrayal by the Marxist marauders of the trust twice reposed on them for running the affairs of the State of West Bengal, according to our democratic Constitution. Now the triple turks of the Marxist Party are crying hoarse like a divorced lady suffering from the frustration of hysteria. Look at their blood-shot eyes they are showing to everybody. They are talking of a blood-bath if their booty of loot, arson, murder and killing is touched by anybody. They are giving a warning to the newspapers that if they do not play as their drummer boys, their offices will be destroyed. I have already used the words, it is the psychology of the divorced lady suffering from the frustration of hysteria.

What is the condition in West Bengal today? It never happened. At Alipurduar, there was a hartal when Mr. Jyoti Basu visited that place. At Malda there was a hartal. Today's paper says that yesterday when Promode Dasgupta, Secretary of the Marxist Party visited Berhampore, there was a hartal. In hundreds of places, it is heartening to find, the triple turks of the Marxist Party have been greeted with black flags. On the contrary Ajoy Babu is now receiving a hero's welcome everywhere not by thousands but by lacs of people. Why? It is because people look to him as the saviour from the hand of a tyrannical rule and also from chaos, murder and killing. I am extremely surprised to find the attitude of CPI after fall of U. F. It is not my word. It is the word of my CPI friends. They were telling so many times that they would expose the Marxists and isolate them from the people. Now it is a momentous occasion. When the people want that these Marxist marauders should be isolated from the people and they should be exposed, I do not know why our CPI friend is

running after the mirage of re-unification of the United Front, whom their council called the Marxist gangsters, killers, etc. It is not my word. It is their word. They called them gangsters, killers and murderers who set workers against workers, peasant against peasant and student against student. I do not know what has happened to CPI I repeat, it is a momentous occasion for all the democratic people of West Bengal to isolate the Marxists and also to expose their character. I am sorry that our CPI friends are not performing this duty. Either they are confused or they are misleading others.

Sir, West Bengal, which is suffering from multi-malady has to be tackled first. We have to undo the mischief done by the Marxists during the last 13 months. For that, administrative overhauling is absolutely necessary. The den of the conspirators in the Secretariat—in the Home Ministry and other Ministries—should be cleared first. It should be reshuffled. If the Governor dislikes the use of the phrase “weeding out partisan officers”, let there be overhauling and reshuffling of the Secretariat. Then, the police association which they utilised for staging that Reichstag drama in the Assembly, that association headed by Mr. Pralya Talukdar, which has been given recognition must be immediately de-recognised and the West Bengal Police Association, which commands the faith of more than 95 per cent of the policemen should be given recognition immediately.

The West Bengal Visa and Pass-port Department has been made another den of giving protection and encouragement to the anti-national saboteurs from the other side of the border. That has to be remedied. The organisation of the DIG and IG have to be overhauled immediately. Then I repeat that there should be a general inquiry of all cases of loot, arson, murder and killing so as to restore confidence in the mind of the people of West Bengal.

I congratulate Shri Ashok Sen. He was here for the last so many years. He should have raised this issue of the refugees much earlier, because it is a burning problem. 75 per cent of the active workers and

cadres of the Marxist Communist Party are recruits from the refugees, because Marxism finds a good breeding ground in starvation, hunger and frustration which the refugees provide. I have no time to explain it in detail. Unless you solve this problem, Calcutta will explode and with the explosion of Calcutta I do not know what the fate of India will be, whether it will remain in tact. Therefore, I again warn that the problems of Calcutta should be tackled immediately. A promise was made in this House that slum clearance will be given priority. I say that PL 480 funds should be released immediately for slum clearance projects in Calcutta, as assured by the Finance Minister. That work should be taken up immediately and the problem of slum clearance should be tackled.

I again warn that if the bureaucrats behave in a die-hard way in dealing with the people, as it is possible under President's rule, then it will create a dangerous situation. I warn that the bureaucrats should not be allowed to deal with the problem in a die-hard manner.

The next problem is land reform. Immediately a Land Reform Commission should be instituted. All binami lands and government vested lands forcefully occupied by the landless peasants and tribals must be immediately regularised. Those lands of the poor peasants which have been taken away by others should be immediately restored to their legal owners.

Government should also immediately pay compensation to those poor peasants and tribals whose lands have been taken away or whose crops have been harvested. Share croppers should be given immediate protection and, if necessary—I say it is necessary—the ceiling should be sliced down to 65 bighas in West Bengal and the surplus land should be distributed to the tribals and the harijans.

Regarding fisheries government have charged that West Bengal has not utilized the Central aid. Now it is time for them to utilise that money. It is a big problem in West Bengal. Fisheries should be developed immediately.

Lastly, education and Marxism are antagonistic to each other. Marxism tries to subvert free education. The Secondary Board of Education

[Shri Samar Guha]

has been completely overhauled by the Marxist Education Minister. It has to be re-overhauled. The Zila School Board has been made to be completely under the clutches of the Marxists. They should be immediately reorganised. Then, those teachers who have been forcefully ejected and replaced by Marxists, they should be immediately restored to their posts.

My last warning and appeal to the Government is this. If they fail to tackle the problem of West Bengal in a constructive way, in a socialistic way, the stake in West Bengal is not mere party stake, not mere stake of one State but the fate of Indian democracy, the fate of territorial integrity of India and fate of something for which we are here, for which we call ourselves as Indians will be imperilled. I give that warning to the government.

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHURI (Berhampore): I do not want to take much of the time of the House at this fag end of our discussions. But I feel extremely discouraged, almost depressed, to see the way that the Government and many of the parties who had the responsibility of ruling West Bengal till the other day before President's rule had been imposed has gone about the task of doing something for Bengal.

20.52 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Sir, the Governor while addressing the legislature only a few months back said that a unique experiment of ruling an important State like West Bengal by 14 parties was undertaken in Bengal but unfortunately that experiment has failed not once but twice. However, I find little sign on the part of the leaders of the constituent parties of self-inspection and any sign of addressing themselves to the stupendous task that confront us in that State.

Having said that, Sir, I must now turn to the present State Government in West Bengal after the imposition of President's Rule. Now, Sir, before the united front came to power we who were partisans of the united front used to complain against 20 years of gross mis-rule

under the Congress. Then Congress people after the united front came to power started shouting plaintively about united front mis-rule. But for the last one month or six weeks under President's administration there is simply a state of non-rule and no administration. Some hon. Members have blamed the Governor. I hold no brief for the Governor. But what about your officers in whose hands you have put the responsibility of administering West Bengal? Those officers are not the officers of the Governor. Those officers are officers of the Central Government acting under the directions of the President and the Central Government. You have allowed for whole six weeks these officers quarrelling among themselves for position, for status, for their pay and these are the people in whose hands you have—in the name of the President—put the fate of an important State like Bengal. I do not have the time to go into the detailed aspects of the problems with which we are confronted in West Bengal. Many other hon. Members have dilated on that but we can hardly do justice to those problems in the two-hour discussion that we have for this Bill. But I must with full sense of responsibility utter a word of warning. As our hon. friend Shri Guha said that democracy and many other things which you hold dear are at stake. Sir, we do not seem to realise that in West Bengal we are sitting on a volcano and any moment the whole State will blow up in a revolution—nothing short of a revolution—and Bengal will be in conflagration and if Bengal falls to pieces it will pull down the whole of India. Only this morning I had an occasion to say with regard to the city of Calcutta if Calcutta blows up the whole of India will be blown up and I again repeat that warning that you are confronted in West Bengal with nothing short of a revolution. The masses are on the march. They have waited for 23 years and, however, much you may try to suppress them if you do not with full sense of responsibility and constructive statesmanship size up the whole problem and tackle them with full sense of seriousness then I can only pray to Providence that heaven may help us.

Coming now to the detailed provisions of the Bill, almost all sections of the House have

demanding—Professor Ranga from the Swatantra Party, Shri Bal Raj Madhok and every other Member who has spoken as also from the ruling Congress benches—that this consultative committee which we are going to form should include all elected Members of both Houses from West Bengal, apart from whoever else it might include, because that will at least enable this committee to be a replica of the state of public opinion in West Bengal to some extent.

Secondly, I have moved two amendments through which I have sought to ensure that this committee is not merely a rubber-stamping body but should meet at least once every three months for 10 days at least so that the gamut of problems may be discussed and proper advice could be given to the President and the Governor and public opinion can at least feel that it is not the rule by bureaucrats and officials only.

I would finally utter a note of caution because already vested interests have more or less taken it for granted that now they can do whatever they will. Not only did Shri Birla have the gumption to defy the Governor, the President's representative, but in the villages, in the countryside, the big land-owners, the jotedars, are taking the law into their own hands and have started a new offensive against the peasantry thinking that the President would come to their aid. Let not the Central Government allow that to happen. If you do not take the warning, civil war—whether you call it a blood-bath or not—will start in the countryside. There is no doubt about it. So, I would ask the Government to look to that aspect also.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU (Darjeeling) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, at the fag-end of the day or almost quite late at night I will not be allowed—and I do not want to—to tax the patience of the House. The inevitable has happened and President's rule, however undesired, has come. This Bill is a natural corollary to that. It would come and has come.

The question of the Naxalite movement has been discussed in this house many times over but in my opinion it has not touched the fringe of the problem. It is not a law and order problem and it cannot be controlled by ordinary methods. People think or are allowed to think

that the Naxalite movement is mainly a students' movement. But it is not that. It is merely the forth of the whole movement. The real root of the movement is in the villages, the rural countryside, and the real base of the movement are the poor Tribals.

This Naxalite movement started in Naxalbari, a very obscure hamlet, as is very well known to you, when Shri Wangdi was killed. I was present there in a nearby village and this case was withdrawn by Mr. Jyoti Busu. Can there be a greater crime than this kind of withdrawal of such cases? Now Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu has disappeared. I am sorry to backbite. He is putting a brave front by criticising the Congress (R) or the Congress whatever it is. But their Party was not averse to getting votes from Congress (R) nor the Congress (R) members were averse to casting votes to his Party Member in a very recent election. Now he puts up a brave front.

21 hrs.

Now about tribal welfare, this naxalite front has its base in tribal areas. Anybody can challenge me. I can prove it. It started in Naxalbari which is a tribal area, an area of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It spread to Srikakulam, a Girijan area which is also a tribal area and which is also a very backward area where the landlords are rack-renters and were the moneylenders are let loose by the powers that be. And this attitude of epicurean dilettantism on this side and the bitter sneering on that side is not going to help the country. This dilettantism we have seen long enough. Even now it is going on. We have seen bitter sneering also long enough and it is still going on. Now, I do not know whether sneering is an unparliamentary word because Mr. Vasudevan Nair is looking at me. If it is an unparliamentary word, then I will be only too glad to withdraw it. I do not want it to go to the Committee of Privileges. But this is happening now. Now, if we want to save the country, we have to save Bengal. In order to save Bengal, these people who are there should be purged of dilettantism. That is my appeal to the Government through you that Bengal must be saved. Bengal's rural areas must be saved and I am very well conversant with the border areas of Bengal on the

[Dr. Maitreyee Basu]

slopes of Bhutan. One must realise that Bhutan presents a bastion of mountains to us. But Its slopes fall gently to the other side.

This policy of keeping these tribals in seclusion, the policy followed by some of these Advisers to the Government who wanted to keep these tribals in seclusion, has brought disaster on us. In order to save their culture and give them some protection, the whole thing has been done in such a way that they have secluded and they have been allowed to carry on with their own diseases and their own practices.

Now, Mr. Hiren Mukerjee said something about burning of rests and all that. Is he, wonder, in favour of 'Jhum' cultivation by the tribals? If so, let him declare. But this 'Jhum' cultivation has not saved the country. They must be taught modern methods of cultivation. Their culture must be safeguarded. At the same time, they must be given protection. They must be made to feel that they are part of India and that they are serving the country.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOU DHURY (Cooch-Bihar): On 30th March when we discussed the West Bengal Presidential Order, on that day on 30th March, I made a reference that not only gruesome murders took place in Burdwan Dakshinduari, Triveni and other places, but also in Cooch Behar where the CPM started the people's Courts and with their supporters they killed 5 people and interned their bodies. I made a submission here on that. I also wrote to the Governor and the Home Minister. I requested the Home Minister to enquire into this matter about these incidents along with Burdwan and other places and let there be a judicial enquiry into the incidents that took place at Cooch Behar also. But, Sir, it is more than 25 days; and I am very sorry, the Home Minister did not care even to send proper reply to that letter. Should we not presume that the Home Minister must have sent this letter to the local officers i. e., the administrators there in Bengal, but they were so callous that they did not think it necessary to have a proper enquiry and send a proper reply in the matter to the Home Minister? I demand of the Home Minister, let him declare whether he is going to have a judicial enquiry about the incidents in Cooch Behar.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: We wholly support him.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Shiva Chandra Jha, if you like, you may say something now instead of at the Third Reading stage.

श्री शिवचन्द्र झा (मधुबनी): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बात के मुतालिक हम लोगों ने कई दफे बातें उठाई हैं कि प्रिजिडेंट्स रूल जब लागू किया जाता है तो उसमें उसका जो रिप्रेजेन्टिव कैरेक्टर होता है। वह कम हो जाता है। अफसरों के हाथ में ताकत आ जाती है, हुकूमत के हाथ में ताकत आ जाती है और ब्यूरोक्रेसी का बोलबाला हो जाता है जिससे भ्रष्टाचार और करपशन बढ़ जाता है। हम लोगों के लिये जो जनतन्त्र को चलाने की जिम्मेदारी रखते हैं चुनौती की बात है कि जब ऐसा मौका आता है, संकट आता है और ब्यूरोक्रेसी के हाथ में ताकत चली जाती है तो हम कौन सा वाया मीडिया अर्थात् बीच का रास्ता निकालें जिससे रिप्रेजेन्टिव कैरेक्टर भी हो और प्रिजिडेंट्स रूल जो हम चाहते हैं वह भी हो। हम देख रहे हैं कि इस सरकार की तरफ से कोई कोशिश नहीं हो रही है कि जो हमारा डिमाक्रेटिक फ्रेमवर्क है उसमें हम कोई रास्ता निकालें। इसलिये मैंने संशोधन दिया है।

मेरा पहला सुझाव यह है कि आप जो कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी बना रहे हैं जिसमें चालिस मेम्बर यहां से स्पीकर साहब चुनेंगे और बीस राज्य सभा से वह एक माकरी बन कर रह जाती है। यह एक तमाशे के रूप में हो जायेगी, जिस तरह से बिहार में बिठला दी गई थी। उसमें श्री रंगा गये थे। दूसरे बिहार के एम०पी० नहीं गये थे। इस तरह से आपका यह कहना कि यह नेशनल कैरेक्टर है, मीनिंगफुल नहीं होता है। यदि आप चाहते हैं कि हकीकत में वहां की आवाज उठे तो जो वहां के एम० पी० हों उनको रक्खा जाये। मैंने संशोधन



रक्खा है कि बजाय 40 मेम्बर यहां से लेने के और 20 मेम्बर राज्य सभा से लेने के, यहां पर जितने बंगाल के मेम्बर हों और वहां जितने बंगाल के मेम्बर हों, वह ही कमेटी में रहें। मेरा संशोधन इस प्रकार का है, जिस पर मैं बाद में आऊंगा, लेकिन इतने से ही काम चलने वाला नहीं है। मैं श्री त्रिदिब चौधरी के संशोधन का समर्थन करता हूँ कि उनकी बैठकें भी ज्यादा हों और उनको जिम्मेदारी भी ज्यादा दी जाय और एक कार्यक्रम बना कर चला जाय कि इतने समय में यह काम होगा और इतने समय में यह काम होगा। राष्ट्रपति शासन में कुछ भी नहीं होता है। विकास का काम सारा ठप्प हो जाता है। अफसरों की अफसरशाही चलती है। यह मैं बिहार के अनुभव के आधार पर कह रहा हूँ। कोई सुनने वाला नहीं होता है। राष्ट्रपति शासन को तो अच्छा होना चाहिये लेकिन होता है उलटा। पहला काम तो यह होना चाहिये कि जो कमेटी बने उसमें यहां के जो एम० पी० हैं बंगाल वाले वही रहें। जिस स्टेट की यह कमेटी हो उसी के जो एम० पी० हैं वे उसमें रहने चाहिये।

दूसरा काम यह होना चाहिये कि उसको कुछ रिस्पॉसिबिलिटीज सौंपी जाएं। उसकी ज्यादा बैठकें हों। विकास के काम को वे भागे बढ़ायें और इसके लिए एक कार्यक्रम बनना चाहिये और निर्धारित समय के अन्दर वह पूरा भी होना चाहिये।

यह सब कुछ होने पर भी जो रिप्रिजेंटेटिव कारेक्टर है वह नहीं आता है। एम० पी० लोग भी जो होंगे वे भी सही मानें में उतने रिप्रिजेंटेटिव नहीं होंगे जितने एम० एल० ए० लोग होंगे। इस वास्ते आपको लॉग रेंज साल्यूशन की खोज करनी होगी। लेकिन लॉग रेंज साल्यूशन की बात सरकार ने कभी सोची ही नहीं। वह एक सीमित दायरे में ही रिवाल्ब कर रही है। लांग रेंज साल्यूशन उसका वह

है जो डा० लोहिया ने सुझाया था। उन्होंने चौखम्भा राज की बात कही थी। यह राजनीति की बात है, राजनीति दर्शन की बात है। केन्द्र ने सारी शक्ति अपने में केन्द्रित कर ली है। स्टेट लेवल पर, जिला लेवल पर, गांव के लेवल पर ताकत का विकेन्द्रीयकरण नहीं किया है। उनको कोई ताकत नहीं की है। यदि आप चौखम्भा राज कायम करते, गांव के आधार पर ताकत का बटवारा करते, जिले के आधार पर और स्टेट के आधार पर ताकत का बटवारा करते तो जो जड़ है वह मजबूत हो सकती थी। उस सूरत में अगर आपको प्रेजीडेंट्स कूल भी कायम करना पड़ता तो उसमें रिप्रिजेंटेटिव कारेक्टर रहता, डेमोक्रेटिक रूप रहता। लेकिन ऐसा अभी तक नहीं हुआ है चूंकि यह नहीं हुआ है इसलिए यह और भी जरूरी है कि कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी में वहां के एम पी रहें, उनको ज्यादा ताकत आप दें, ज्यादा जिम्मेवारी दें ताकि विकास के काम को वे आगे बढ़ा सकें।

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I have to ask a question on the statement made by Shri Sethi.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Let us dispose of this item.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I want only half a minute.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Shri Banerjee, please cooperate. I think so many interruptions had taken place in this debate of West Bengal. You kindly wait until this is over.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : On this point I seek your permission to ask questions for half a minute.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I shall allow that at the end of the discussion. Let us have a little more respect for Bengal.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I am raising this because it has been announced in the All India Radio that all the Central Government employees are entirely disappointed at the

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

composition of the Pay Commission. This Commission is not having any labour leader on it. And there is no mention about the interim relief. I warn you that tomorrow the Central Government employees are going to demonstrate before the house of the Prime Minister. Do you think that this Commission can do any justice without a labour representative on this? It is a matter of shame that there is no labour representative in this Commission. This Commission can never do justice to the Central Government employees (*Interruption*).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Order, order, now the hon. Minister, Shri Shukla.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA) : Sir, as many hon. Members said, it is really unfortunate that this distinguished State of West Bengal had to be brought under President's Rule thrice after the Fourth General Election.

It is well known that the phase of President's Rule is only temporary in the political life of any State. We also feel that even though it is a temporary phase we should do some useful work and see that the administration of West Bengal is put back on a sound footing.

Before I touch other points, I would like to deal with the point raised concerning the composition of the committee. When President's rule is operating in West Bengal, that particular administration is responsible to this House. The Committee will not only advise the President regarding legislation but will also advise about the problems of the people of the State. So it has to be representative of House. It is not meant to replace the State legislature; as a matter of fact, it cannot. Therefore, it has to reflect the composition of this House and the other.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Not the minds of the people of West Bengal?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I would not take note of any point made by this kind of interruptions without the permission of the Chair.

As regards representation in the Committee

of members elected from West Bengal, I am quite sure the whips of the various parties will give due consideration to the suggestions made here. This will also be borne in mind by the hon. Speaker and the hon. Chairman when they nominate members to serve on the Committee.

Uncharitable remarks have been made about the previous administrations of West Bengal. We all know that the problems of West Bengal are not the product of one or two or ten or 20 years. These are historical problems which have existed and were being solved at a slow pace by various governments formed after independence. Many Chief Ministers had the privilege to serve the State and have done a great deal of service. They, particularly Dr. B. C. Roy, who was a distinguished Chief Minister, have tried to solve these problems to an extent. But after fourth general elections, these problems have not only not been solved but have been accentuated and complicated so badly that it will take years and years to put the administration back to normalcy and to make it an instrument of public service. Every responsible citizen would wish that what had happened in West Bengal after the fourth general elections had not happened to any State, much less to the glorious State of West Bengal which has been subjected to such misfortunes. Nobody should try to make political capital out of this. We know various popular governments formed there have done a tremendous amount of good upto the fourth general election after which all these troubles started.

I am grateful to Shri A. K. Sen for highlighting the land problem in the State. This is a very very serious problem.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Others also highlighted it.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : Yes. But he was the first to raise it and raise it very forcefully. We also attach great importance to this question. Hon. Members know that it is a very complicated question. It cannot be solved the way some parties in West Bengal tried to solve it. It will have to be solved constitutionally, legally,

and non-violently, and I agree that it will have to be solved in a very speedy and urgent manner, it cannot be allowed to drag on the way it has dragged on for some time now. We have created a special cell under a very senior civil servant here who is well informed about these matters, and we are going to tackle this problem in an urgent way. We want to see that those who do not deserve the land that they have grabbed to not remain in possession of that land. We also want to see that those who need land who have to have the land should get the land as quickly as possible. As I said earlier, this has to be done in a regular, constitutional, legal and non-violent way, and I hope that in this endeavour of ours we shall have the co-operation of the entire House and particularly all those hon. Members who will have the privilege of serving in the Consultative Committee of this Parliament.

We also want to tackle various administrative problems that have arisen in West Bengal after these two mishaps there. An important thing that the hon. Members have to realise is that the serious problems that have been created in the State of West Bengal cannot be solved overnight, we will have to give some time to solve them. Therefore, it is unfortunate that certain Members have made allegations that this administration that has been unhered in after President's rule is no Government, is a non-functional administration. It is wrong to say that. We know it is functioning, but the result of its functioning would be obvious to the people after some time, it will take sometime. It is an insult to this Parliament if hon. Member Shri Jyotirmoy Basu says that it is a bureaucratic administration. We are responsible to this Parliament for that administration and not the bureaucrats, though they might be instruments. They are not the rules of West Bengal.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU :** When you introduce superannuated civil servants, bureaucrats, dichards, to ruler over that the State of West Bengal, superseding the people's democratic Government, Parliament is insulted by that fact.

**SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA :** Some hon. Members asked how long the

present President's rule will last. According to the Constitution, we have to come before this hon. House every six months and ask for the extension of President's rule if necessary. Therefore, how long President's rule will continue depends on the decision of this hon. House. It is not going to be decided by the Government, by the executive. We will have to judge the situation there and the requirements of the situation and then only we will come before this House, and if we get the endorsement of this House, President's rule will continue. If we find that elections can be held and should be held, or, in the alternative, a popular Government can be formed there, we will certainly be very happy about it, but we would not like anybody, particularly coercive or violent parties, to be able to coerce and suppress the voters of West Bengal and make them vote the way they like. This kind of thing will not be tolerated. I want to say it emphatically that if some people are labouring under this misapprehension that they will be able to coerce the people or intimidate them into voting in a particular line, we shall see to it that such things are not allowed to happen in West Bengal. I do not know whether we will succeed or not, but I can assure the House that we shall do our best to see that whenever elections are held, now or later or during general elections, if we are looking after the affairs of the State Bengal then, proper, legal elections without any coercion are held. This is very important. Therefore, while concluding, I would say that although we wish that a popular government is installed in West Bengal as soon as possible, we shall see that as long as we are there, as long as we are in charge of the administration there, a fair, impartial, quick and efficient administration is conducted there. I hope all sections of the House will lend us support for this measure.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER :** The question is :

"That the Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of West Bengal to make laws, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : We shall now take up clause-by-clause consideration. There are no amendments to clause 2. I shall put clause 2 to the vote. The question is :

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted*

*Clause 2 was added to the Bill*

**Clause 3—**(*Conferment on the President of the Power of the State Legislature to make laws.*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Then we take up clause 3. There are a number of amendments. Shri Yaashpal Singh—not here.

SHRI DEVEN SEN : I move :

Page 2, lines 6 and 7,

for "forty members of the House of the People" substitute—

"all the members of the House of the People from West Bengal" (3)

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA : I move :

Page 2, for lines 4 to 8, substitute—

"Provided that before enacting any such Act, the President shall consult a Committee, Constituted for the purpose, consisting of all members of the House of the People and of the Council of States from the State of West Bengal." (5)

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHURI :  
I move :

Page 2, for lines 4 to 8, substitute—

"Provided that before enacting any such Act, the President shall consult a Committee constituted for the purpose by all members of the House of the People and the Council of States as are elected from the State of West Bengal :

Provided further that if the Presiding Officer of either House of the Parliament finds that any political party or group already recognised in that particular House do not have any member elected from the

State of West Bengal, then the Speaker of the House of the People would be empowered to nominate not more than five members from that House and the Chairman of the Council of States not more than three members from the members thereof in order to provide representation to such recognised parties and groups in the two Houses of the Parliament as do not have any representation from West Bengal." (6)

Page 2, after line 8, insert—

"(2A) The Committee constituted under the provision of the two foregoing provisos of sub-section (2) shall meet at least for ten days in every six months during which the Act shall remain in force for the purpose of general consultation on matters pertaining to the carrying on of the administration of the State by the President, or his representative, or the latter's Advisers, as the case may be, apart from the purpose of consultations on proposed legislative enactments by the President." (7)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I shall now put amendment No. 3 in the name of Shri Deven Sen to the vote.

*Amendment No. 3 was put and negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Then, there is amendment of Shri Shiva Chandra Jha.

श्री शिवचन्द्र झा : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा संशोधन यह है कि बंगाल के संसद सदस्यों को, जो लोक सभा के सदस्य हैं या राज्य सभा के सदस्य हैं, उनको इस कमेटी में लिया जाय।

मंत्री महोदय ने अपने जवाब में कहा है कि वे इसको नेशनल करैक्टर देना चाहते हैं, जरूरी नहीं है कि बंगाल के ही मेम्बर हों— मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आपने 40 और 20 किस आधार पर लिया है। अगर 40 लोक सभा के और 20 राज्य सभा के ठीक हैं तो लोक सभा से 50 क्यों नहीं हो

सकते या राज्य सभा से 30 क्यों नहीं हो सकते, आपने किस आधार पर इनको चुना है? यदि यह कहा जाय कि 40 मेम्बर बंगाल के लोक सभा में हैं और 20 मेम्बर राज्य सभा में बंगाल के हैं, इस आधार पर सिलेक्शन किया गया है, तो आपके नेशनल करैक्टर की बात कहां रहती है। अगर 60 बंगाल के रखने हैं तो 15 बाहर के भी रखे जा सकते हैं, 75 मेम्बर इस कमेटी में रखे जा सकते हैं। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसमें नेशनल करैक्टर की बात नहीं आती है, ये इसमें चालबाजी खेलना चाहते हैं। इस कमेटी के बनाने में दांवपेच खेलना चाहते हैं, उसमें पार्टी के आधार पर लोगों को लेकर राजनीति खेलना चाहते हैं, नेशनल करैक्टर इसको नहीं देना चाहते हैं। इस लिये मैं चाहूंगा कि मेरा संशोधन स्वीकार किया जाय।

**श्री विद्याचरण शुक्ल :** इसमें जो भी हमने निर्धारित किया है, वह अनुभव के आधार पर किया है।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

Page 2, for lines 4 to 8, substitute—

“Provided that before enacting any such Act, the President shall consult a Committee, constituted for the purpose, consisting of all Members of the House of the People and of the Council of States from the State of West Bengal.”

(5)

*The Lok Sabha divided.*

## AYES

Basu, Shti Jyotirmoy

Bhagaban Das, Shri

Chaudhuri, Shri Tridib Kumar

Daschowdhury, Shri B.K.

Jha, Shri Shiva Chandra

Sen, Shri Deven

Shastri, Shri Ramavatar

## NOES

Achal Singh, Shri

Ahirwar, Shri Nathu Ram

Ahmed, Shri F. A.

Aaghar Husain, Shri

Babunath Singh, Shri

Badrudduja, Shri

Barua, Shri Bedabrata

Barupal, Shri P. L.

Basu, Dr. Maitreyee

Bhakt Darshan, Shri

Bhandare, Shri R. D.

Bhanu Prakash Singh, Shri

Bhattacharyya, Shri C. K.;

Bohra, Shri Onkarlal

Brahmanandji, Shri Swami

Chanda, Shri Anil K.

Chanda, Shrimati Jyotsna

Chavan, Shri D. R.

Choudhary, Shri Valmiki

Choudhury, Shri J. K.

Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas

Dinesh Singh, Shri

Dixit, Shri G. C.

Ering, Shri D.

Gandhi, Shrimati Indira

Gavit, Shri Tukaram

Ghosh, Shri Parimal

Gupta, Shri Lakhan Lal

Iqbal Singh, Shri

Jadhav, Shri Tulshidas

Jagjiwan Ram, Shri

Khadilkar, Shri

Kinder Lal, Shri

Kisku, Shri A. K.

Kotoki, Shri Liladhar

Kureel, Shri B. N.

Lalit Sen, Shri

Laxmi Bai, Shrimati

Lutfal Haque, Shri

Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.

Mahida, Shri Narendra Singh

Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini

Mandal, Dr. P.

Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad

Master, Shri Bhola Nath

Melkote, Dr.

Minimata Agam Dass Guru, Shrimati

Mishra, Shri G. S.

Misra, Shri S. N.

Mohammad Yusuf, Shri

Nanda, Shri  
 Oraon, Shri Kartik  
 Palchaudhuri, Shrimati Ila  
 Panigrahi, Shri Chintamani  
 Pant, Shri K. C.  
 Parthasarathy, Shri  
 Patil, Shri Deorao  
 Pradhani, Shri K.  
 Qureshi, Shri Mohd. Shafi  
 Raghu Ramaiah, Shri  
 Raj Deo Singh, Shri  
 Ram Sewak, Shri  
 Ram Swarup, Shri  
 Rana, Shri M. B.  
 Rao, Dr. K. L.  
 Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.  
 Raut, Shri Bhola  
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath  
 Roy, Shrimati Uma  
 Sadhu Ram, Shri  
 Saha, Dr. S. K.  
 Saigal, Shri A. S.  
 Sankata Prasad, Dr.  
 Savitri Shyam, Shrimati  
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.  
 Sen, Shri Dwaipayana  
 Sethi, Shri P. C.  
 Shambhu Nath, Shri  
 Shankranand, Shri B.  
 Shashi Ranjan, Shri  
 Shastri, Shri Ramanand  
 Sher Singh, Shri  
 Shiv Chandika Prasad, Shri  
 Shukla, Shri Vidya Charan  
 Siddheswar Prasad, Shri  
 Sonavane, Shri  
 Sudarsanam, Shri M.  
 Sursingh, Shri  
 Swaran Singh, Shri  
 Tiwari, Shri K. N.

Uikey, Shri M. G.  
 Ulaka, Shri Ramachandra  
 Venkataswamy, Shri G.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The result of the division is :

AYES 7 : NOES 93

*The motion was negatived*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I will now put amendments Nos. 6 and 7 by Mr. Tridib Kumar Chaudhury to the House.

*Amendments Nos. 6 and 7 were put and negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

"That clause 3 stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 3 was added to the Bill.*

*Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I beg to move :

"That the Bill be passed."

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

**21.35 hrs.**

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, April 24, 1970/Vaisakha 4, 1892 (Saka).*