

LOK SABHA

Tuesday, December 7, 1971
Agrahayana 16, 1893 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at Ten of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

RE. STATEMENT BY DEFENCE MINISTER

MR. SPEAKER : I may inform the House that the Defence Minister will make a Statement at 1 O'Clock before we adjourn.

PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE

ACCOUNTS OF CENTRAL SILK BOARD

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE (SHRI A.C. GEORGE) : I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Audited Accounts (Hindi versions) of the Central Silk Board for the year 1968-69, under sub-section (4) of section 12 of the Central Silk Board Act, 1948. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-1235/71.]

RAILWAY CONVENTION COMMITTEE

INTERIM REPORT

SHRI R. K. SINHA (Faizabad) : I beg to present the Interim Report of the Railway Convention Committee, 1971.

10.05 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE PROCLAMATION IN RESPECT OF THE STATE OF WEST BENGAL—Contd

MR. SPEAKER : The House will now take up further discussion on the Resolution moved by Shri Mohsin about the continuance in force of the Proclamation. Shri Subodh Hansda.

SHRI SUBODH HANSDA (Midnapore) : Mr. Speaker, yesterday when Shri Bhattacharyya was speaking he said that President's Rule is not liked by the people of West Bengal. It is true that in a democracy there must be representative government of the people but in the extraordinary circumstances which have developed in West Bengal there is no other solution except President's Rule. Though he said that this is not welcomed by the people I can say that President's Rule is welcomed by the people of West Bengal because there was no other way to check the disturbances. Again, he was complaining that there is no rule of law there. But we should remember the circumstances in which there is no rule of law. He was also complaining of police atrocities and things of that nature. It is true that there are certain cases where there have been police excesses while there are many cases where the police remained inactive. I feel that the police should act in such manner as the situation demands and, if necessary, they must act firmly to maintain law and order. I hope the Minister will go into the question of police acting in a proper manner and taking timely action.

Referring to the dismissal of some government servants he said that it was done illegally and he condemned the action of the Governor. Even though his party may take that view the people

[Shri Subodh Hansda]

of West Bengal are really happy to see that some of the employees who were indulging in politics and anti-national activities have been rightly dismissed from service. So far as the liking of the people for that act of the Governor is concerned, when the CPM called a bandh in West Bengal, to protest against the dismissal, that bandh was frustrated by the people of West Bengal. Therefore, they cannot say that the dismissal of those government servants was disapproved by the people of West Bengal, or the action of the Governor was illegal. In fact, I would say that the Governor should take firm action against some of the existing employees who are still indulging in politics in West Bengal.

In the recent past there were heavy floods in West Bengal. Most of the areas in West Bengal were flooded and there was heavy damage to crops and existing roads, particularly in my district. Some of the areas like Naraingarh, Sabangh, Pingla, Bhagwanpur, Pataspur, Daspur, Dehra and Keshpur were badly affected. There is little hope of good crops in all those regions. During this period the prices of foodgrains have shot up and now they are above the reach of the poor people. Those people who are poor have no avenues of employment either and so there is no means of livelihood. There are starvation deaths, particularly in areas like Naraingarh, Sabang and Pataspur Police Station areas. I hope government will rush rice to all those areas just to save the people from starvation. Relief work undertaken in all those areas at present is quite inadequate. More relief work should be taken up in those areas so that the people could be saved from starvation.

During the incessant floods the most important roads of the District were badly damaged, particularly the roads leading from Midnapore to Dherua, from Balichach to Pingla and from Gopivallabhpur to Pandachecha. Some of the other important roads are completely damaged with the result that public vehicles could not ply in those areas. All those roads have to be repaired or reconstructed. Apart from that, new roads should be constructed

in the interior areas like Banspahari and Belpahari to connect Jhargram sub-division headquarters. Then there should be a good road to connect Mokrapur to Temathani via Madan Mokon Chowk. Now that area is neglected; particularly during the flood season, the entire area is flooded and even the government officials are not able to go to that area for inspection. So, it is essential to have road communication to those area by constructing new roads.

Coming to unemployment, it is perfectly true that the unemployment problem in West Bengal is gradually growing up day by day. It is no use saying that the government should take in hand new industrial units just to give employment to these people. Government have taken up the 16 point programme just to revive the closed units and take over the sick units. It is not an easy job. Government have taken up this programme but I do not think this will solve the unemployment problem in West Bengal.

Who will invest money in West Bengal? No one is willing to invest money in West Bengal in industrial units because they are not sure whether they will get raw materials and a return on their investment. Unless the government guarantee the supply of raw materials no industrialist is going to set up any new industries in West Bengal.

Government have set up many financial institutions to give credit to industrial units. But the finances of these financial institutions are controlled by industrialists like Shri Birla who have their own representatives in the financial institutions. The financial institutions are not giving help to the sick units. Government is taking some steps to revive the closed industries. It is a good attempt, no doubt, but before giving life to the closed industries, why do you not give prolonged life to some existing industries which are somehow surviving.

In the Haldia Project the local people are not getting any employment. On the other hand, people

from outside like Calcutta are getting employment. Why not government give employment to the local people, especially those who have been affected by the project. I hope government will take note of this and steps will be taken to see that the local people get a chance.

Now, the Government have taken up certain irrigation projects, Karasavati and Keleghai projects. These projects are already under construction. For these projects, the Government have taken thousands of acres of land, as well as cultivable lands, from poor people and they have not been given compensation. I know, the people should sacrifice for the country's cause. But lands taken from the people who have got only 2-3 acres for the construction of these projects have nothing to fall back upon. I want to know from the Government what help they are getting from the Government, whether they have been given any compensation. I would urge upon the Government to take steps to give full compensation to the poor people whose lands have been taken by the Government.

Lastly, there are some other irrigation projects which have been left out, particularly, in the Jhargram sub-division, the Dolong river project which is pending since 1947. When we ask the Government about it, we get a reply that this is under consideration. I do not know how long it will be under the consideration of the Government. There is the Subarnarekha Embankment scheme which is a flood control scheme. If this Dolong project is taken up, it will serve the purpose of flood-control also. I hope, this will be taken up to save the people from floods as well as to help them to get irrigation from this river.

DR. RANEN SEN (Baraset): Mr. Speaker, Sir. (*Interruptions*)

When I was in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, this is how we used

to address the Speaker as "Mr. Speaker." Bengali is a very flexible language. We adopt all English words in it. (*Interruptions*) *Mr. Speaker, Sir, even the amendment that was given notice of by the Marxist party on this resolution has also been withdrawn by them. Therefore, there is no other way out than this (the President's rule).

On the President's rule in West Bengal I will initiate my discussion by stressing the need for civil defence measures. Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the city of Calcutta and the adjoining industrial belt the arrangements for civil defence measures are not satisfactory. It is true that as a result of the successful attacks by the Indian Air Force, the Pakistan Air Force has been shattered and this no doubt, has given a sense of security to the people of West Bengal but still I feel there is full justification for stepping up the civil defence measures. During the last few days many events have taken place both at national and international level. Unless we take adequate lesson from these incidents and make arrangements to ward off any possible danger that may arise in the near future, I am afraid the entire civil life in West Bengal will be put into jeopardy.

From what has happened during these past few days, it is not clear the role that China will play. This war for independence has made one thing clear to us all beyond all shadows of doubt that the Soviet Union is the only true friend of India. They are also the true friends of the freedom loving people of Bangla Desh. The Soviet Union have helped all liberation movement all over the world, and they have once again come forward to help the people of Bangla Desh in their struggle for freedom. The role of conspiracy of the imperialist America, is not difficult to discern because these imperialists of America have worked consistently against the interests of the freedom loving people of Indo-China and Middle East. It was but natural that

*The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

[Dr. Ranen Sen]

America will adopt the same policy with regard to Bangla Desh also. But it was difficult to predict the role "the revolutionist China" was going to play. Their main role was to stab in the back of the freedom movement in Bangla Desh.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for the security of West Bengal and keeping in view the possibility of threat from China we have to step up our civil defence measures. A citizens council has been set up there. This council has met only once so far. An executive committee has also been set up. But this body like the earlier body has also met only once so far. Therefore, I would like to ask the Government whether we can put up with the present state of affairs or we should bring about an improvement therein. Let us suppose the State is placed under a difficult position. There is no good arrangement for supply of water to the people. Moreover, the committees that have been formed have not been decentralised a fact which was stressed by my friend Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, the other day. As a result of this non-decentralisation these bodies would not be able to enlist the cooperation of the common people for war efforts. Even assuming that war is not thrust upon this State, it is necessary to strengthen this State because from here we can help the jawans and the men of Mukti Bahini who are fighting in Bangla Desh. Therefore, the second urgency of the situation is that the Government should take early steps to ensure reopening all the factories that are lying closed at present. This will not only offer employment to people but the production that will be achieved will go a long way to lend support to our war efforts. Therefore, I say Sir, that all the defence employees that have been retrenched should be called back and they should be offered employment. The Government should stop the policy of retrenchment. At the moment all the political parties in West Bengal are with the Government and nothing should be done which may affect industrial peace in the country.

Today West Bengal is being ruled by the bureaucrats and police—to put things in plain words. These bureaucrats are doing more harm than good and police have on many occasions taken to a policy of repression—a fact which even members of the Congress party, I hope, will concede.

Therefore, if we are to strengthen the State of West Bengal then during this President's rule the Government's policy should be directed to make the people happy.

I come from Bongaon which is on the border. I have received information from Bongaon and the near about places that many people were injured and killed as a result of border shelling. It is time that the Government should state clearly as to what they are going to do with these persons. After all these persons had to suffer for no fault of their own. The other day I saw a television feature, wherein it was stated that more than 181 persons were dead and more than 500 persons were injured as a result of Pakistan action in West Bengal. These are common people—these are poor people. I would like to know from the Government why these persons should not be given the benefits of war risk insurance. Every member of this House should know that many thousands of persons were killed or injured in Tripura-Assam border.

Now I would speak something about the cultivators of West Bengal. At present more than one lakh police cases are pending against these cultivators. If we expect that the cultivators should produce more, then all these cases should be withdrawn immediately. Not only this. Barring all those persons against whom Government have positive evidence of having helped the enemy or having acted as their agents, all other persons who were arrested for taking part in democratic agitations, agrarian agitations should be released and all political prisoners should be released forthwith. Of

course, I do not say that the Marxist MLA who was arrested with a revolver should be released. But I say all those persons who had no specific charge against them should be released.

The jute workers comprise the big section of the industrial workers of West Bengal and their number is indeed a big one. These workers have put forward a demand for increase in their wages. Day before yesterday the Foreign Trade Department had issued a pamphlet wherein it was stated that this year as compared to the last years, the jute goods to be produced for export will be more than 600 crores of rupees over the last year's figures. This is what the Government says. Then I ask the Government how many hundreds of crores of rupees will go into the pockets of jute mill owners. Thus the Government help the mill owners to earn while they do nothing with regard to the demands of the workers. Are we to believe that the President's rule in West Bengal is only to let loose the police for a lathi charge on the people or they will also do something to meet the demands of jute mill workers. The workers of the Indian Oxygen Company are producing gas which is used for defence purposes and other purposes also. The owners of this company, taking advantage of the war situation, is trying to violate the agreements that had been arrived at with the workers and the Labour Department of West Bengal Government has done nothing in this matter. Therefore I would like to know if during the President's rule, which is being extended for 6 months more, the Government would intervene in this matter or not.

When the news about the recognition of Bangla Desh by the Government reached West Bengal, scenes of jubilation were witnessed. Boys danced on the streets; they sang in ecstasy and distributed sweets on the streets. It is necessary that every effort should be made to enlist the cooperation of the people for

war efforts who are so very sensitive to such matters.

The prices have soared very high and things have gone beyond the reach of a common man, but things are being sold in black market. I would like to know how many hoarders and black marketeers have been arrested during the President's rule. Why should not Government whip the black marketeers in open streets. Even baby food is not available. Therefore, I would like to know whether Government is going to deal with these people with a firm hand. I urge that Government should take every step to bring down the prices of commodities all over India. Finally I would urge upon my Marxist friends that if they are left with any revolutionary conscience then to them I should say "Beware of China".

*SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI (Calcutta South): Mr. Speaker, Sir, (interruptions) I feel proud speaking in my mother tongue today. I generally speak in English. The differences of languages is not the main thing today. There has not been any conflict in Bengal over languages. The conflict has taken place in Bengal over establishment of democracy. Today my heart is overwhelmed, my heart wants to speak and sing in that language through which the feelings of Mujibur Rehman found expression. I am not speaking in Bengali due to my bias against any language. Today a proposal has come before this House for extending the President's rule in West Bengal by another six months. In this connection I have a few submissions to make. Three questions are very important in this context. Firstly, the question of holding elections in West Bengal, secondly the political situation in West Bengal and thirdly the problems that pervade the industrial sphere in West Bengal today. I won't take much time because at this historic moment not only the people of West Bengal but the people of the entire country are

* The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

[Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsai]

anxiously waiting for significant developments to occur. I know at this historic moment our victory can be best ensured if we can rise above petty political narrowness. Therefore, through my speech I do not desire to take up petty political matters and I do not wish to hurt the feelings of other political parties also, I feel, Sir, that we have been provided with another opportunity to rectify our past political mistakes at this historic moment through the countrywide declaration of emergency. After the expiry of President's rule when the time comes for forming a democratic Government in West Bengal through fresh elections, I wish, then all the political parties will be able to cooperate fruitfully to raise the prestige of West Bengal on the democratic front. The workers of our party, the workers of CPI and CPM should do well to remember that if we want to create a 'Sonar Bangla' in West Bengal as was dreamt by Mujibur Rehman, then we should bring an end to the regime of pipe guns and Bombs in West Bengal. I feel that the new horizons and new dreams that have emerged today, in that situation we (all political parties) will be able to work in cooperation, peace and harmony. Mr. Speaker, Sir, it has not been possible to hold fresh elections in West Bengal primarily due to two reasons. Firstly, in all those areas where the refugees from Bangla Desh have been settled, it has not been possible to scrutinise and overhaul the voters lists due to the unsettled and emergent conditions prevailing there. Secondly, the officials i.e., the S.D. O., the police, magistrates etc., are all busy and having their hands full with the refugee problem. Another thing that appears important to me is that apart from these areas, an impression has taken root in the minds of the people of our entire State that it is futile to hold election after election. This does not serve any purpose. It will be better to establish and maintain some stability in the political and administrative sphere over a period of time before holding fresh elections. You are aware Sir, that during the President's rule and under the able leadership

of Shri Siddhartha Sankar Ray, and due to the farsightedness of Mr. Das, there has been marked improvement in the law and order situation in West Bengal. I do not believe that there has been a complete political stability and establishment of law and order in Bengal or that the police excesses etc. have completely disappeared but I certainly believe that the situation has considerably improved and it is much better today than what was two years ago.

In the Industrial sphere in West Bengal, Sir, the Government has constituted the Industrial Rehabilitation Corporation of India with the object of helping the sick industries. The workers should have been given representation in the Board as we have already discussed in the Consultative Committee. But instead, we find a person called Abhijit Sen who is a black person in his deeds, who has swallowed 3 crores of rupees belonging to the Government, has been entrusted with a position of responsibility in that Board. Another person called S. Hada, who is closely associated with the Birla Group has also been included. If the industries of West Bengal are to undergo a healthy revival, then I would suggest that these two persons should be removed forthwith and the Board should be reconstituted with persons who will be answerable to the Government. Now, Sir, I will mention a few things about the condition of the farmers in West Bengal. It is true that the tillers of the land in West Bengal are fully cooperating with the Government in view of the emergent situation prevailing in the country. But the Jotedars and big landlords taking advantage of the situation have taken over full control of the produce of their tall and have hidden the stocks, just as the black marketeers and hoarders of Delhi have hidden all stocks of kerosene. Sir, if you watch the liberation struggle in Bangla Desh, you will notice that those who stood at the forefront of that struggle are the farmers, the poor and the students. In this part of Bengal, if the farmers are exploited, those who produce grains for feeding the jawans, for feeding the Mem-

bers of Parliament, if they are exploited by the Jotedars taking advantage of the emergency and the police help the Jotedars then, I, in spite of being a Congress member myself will raise my voice against the Congress administration and I will openly revolt. I feel that a time has come when we should all broaden our outlook and work in cooperation and harmony for the betterment of the country, irrespective of our political ideologies or party affiliations. I believe that the youngmen of the CPI, CPM, Congress and other parties have committed mistakes due to defective leadership. Today they should change their outlook and rise above petty rivalries and try to work in cooperation with each other for a common goal. About the situation in Calcutta that was mentioned by Dr. Ranen Sen just now, I will say that there is nothing new in that. The same situation obtains in Delhi and other places also. Sir, in my constituency i.e., South Calcutta the people have mainly two problems— one pertaining to Bustee and the other pertains to the film industry.

I will conclude my speech by again stressing upon the problems stated by me earlier. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hope you have understood the reasons for my speaking in Bengali. The reason is that my heart is very much overwhelmed today. I wanted to speak in the same language in which Rabindranath Tagore sang "Jana Gana Mana" the national anthem of India and Sheikh Mujibur Rehman also sang "Amar Sonar Bangla. . . ." the national anthem of Bangla Desh. I had no intention, Sir, to enter into any language controversy. Let there be no misunderstanding about it.

***SHRI SAKTI KUMAR SARKAR** (Joynagar): Mr. Speaker, Sir I wholeheartedly support the resolution which seeks to extend President's rule in West Bengal by six months more. I believe that the President's rule in the State is constitutionally valid. It is a democratic move because the administration in West Bengal is being run under the supervision of Parliament.

Mr. Dias, the Governor of West Bengal, is now at the helm of the administration of the State and no doubt the steps that have been taken by him have assumed important significance. We were living in a state of frustration, anguish and despair and the administrative machinery of the State had come under the political influence of political parties there. I must congratulate Mr. Dias for the significant steps that he had taken to free the administrative machinery of the State from political influence. I feel that the people of West Bengal have breathed a sigh of relief from the misrule of the administration of the two erstwhile United Front Governments. Today the people are able to move about freely on the streets. But it does not mean that the situation is completely satisfactory. Even today instances of police excesses are there and I feel that the situation needs to be improved further. In this connection I would like to make a pointed reference to one matter of importance. The conduct of the senior officers who are running the administration in the State is far from happy. They have not been able to attune themselves to democratic values nor they have been able to meet the hopes and aspirations of the people. They are still living with their old bureaucratic ways and they have not been able to rid themselves of its baneful influences. When we the Members of Parliament approach them on any matter, they do not even show the barest courtesy of a "Namaskar". Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will pray to you Sir, as a head of this House, you should kindly intervene in this matter. At least when the MPs approach the officials of West Bengal Government they should be shown due courtesy.

I would like to say on another matter of importance. We feel really ashamed and sorry for the incidents that have taken place in different jails. I had repeatedly sounded words of caution in this regard. It is most unfortunate that the senior posts have been manned by the IAS officers who have no practical experience and most of

*The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

[Shri Sakti Kumar Sarkar]

these jail incidents have taken place because of the lack of experience of these officers. During the last one year atleast 50 persons were killed in jails of West Bengal and I had invited the attention of Mr. Dias and the Home Minister Mr. Pant but nothing was done. Therefore, I feel that we have to pay our alert attention to improve the law and order situation and the bureaucratic administration in the State.

I will conclude by saying a few words about the floods in the State. During the last three years the State was visited by floods repeatedly. We have discussed this issue many times. My area, the Sundarbans, is affected adversely every year but we find that due to paucity of funds nothing could be done by the State Government. I also feel Sir, that under the prevailing circumstances it would not be possible for the State Government to bear the economic burden for these measures. I will therefore urge upon the Irrigation Minister through you Sir, that Centre should come forward to bear 70 to 80% of the expenses for flood protection measures in the State.

And finally about Sundarbans—the neglected Sundarbans. I have repeatedly asked for the development of this area. I was given an assurance also that the area will be developed and a Sundarban Development Board will be constituted. I had written to the Prime Minister also. She had written me back to say that the matter was receiving attention but beyond this nothing has been done.

I will therefore appeal to the West Bengal Government and the Governor that they must immediately take some statutory measures to set up the development board for the Sundarbans. Once again I lend my support to the extension of President's rule in West Bengal for 6 months and while doing so I will request my CPM friends, that in view of the emergency situation in the country if they refrain from hurling the criticisms against the President's rule, then I feel it will

strengthen the administration in the State. With these words Sir, I conclude my speech.

MR. SPEAKER : May I bring it to the notice of the hon. Members that some time back we introduced this practice that only those Members who give their names in advance with copies to the interpreters could be allowed to speak in a language other than English and Hindi. It is very difficult for our staff to be taken off-hand. Sometimes they are very much handicapped. It is only the second day since we recognised Bangla Desh and nobody is speaking in any other language than Bengali.

SHRI D. BASUMATARI (Kokrajhar) : South Indian languages are being allowed. Everybody wants to speak in his own language.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY (Rajnandgaon) : We do not follow, but we enjoy the language

श्री जगन्नाथ राव बोशी (शाजापुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने सभी नियम बतलाया कि हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी के अलावा जो भी किसी दूसरी भाषा में बोलना चाहेंगे उनकी स्पीच की ऐडवान्स कापी देनी पड़ेगी। जब यह बात पढ़ने उठी थी तब भी मंत्री महोदय के ध्यान में यह बात लाया था कि लोक सभा का सदस्य चुने जाने के लिए किसी का पढ़ा लिखा होना आवश्यक नहीं है। यहां जो भी सदस्य आर्थेंगे वह पढ़ना लिखना अवश्य आर्थेंगे ऐसा आवश्यक नहीं है। इसलिए इस नियम में परिवर्तन होना चाहिए। पार्लियामेंट में उनके जाने पर कोई रोक नहीं है। कोई भी बेपढ़ा लिखा आदमी आ सकता है जनता के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में। इसलिए इस नियम में बड़ा परिवर्तन करना चाहिए। वैसे तो मैं भी कम्पढ़ बोल सकता हूँ क्योंकि यहां पर उसके अनुवाद की व्यवस्था है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप तो बड़ी अच्छी हिन्दी बोल सकते हैं ।

श्री जगन्नाथराव बोही : फिर भी नियमों में परिवर्तन होना चाहिये ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अगर इस तरह के दो चार प्रावनी और आ गए तो बड़ी मुश्किल हो जायेगी । मैं आप से एप्री नहीं करता । यहां तो पढ़े लिखे प्रावमियों को ही मानना चाहिये । और बहुत से मैदान हैं जहां पर बेपढ़े लिखे लोग जा सकते हैं ।

श्री हुकमचन्द कछवाय (मुरेना) : इस वक्त बहुत से अनपढ़ लोग ऐसे हैं जिनका प्रतिनिधित्व यहां नहीं है । उनका भी प्रतिनिधित्व होना चाहिए ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं आपको अनपढ़ नहीं समझता । अगर आप जैसे अनपढ़ लोग दो चार और आ जायें तो बड़ी मुश्किल हो जायेगी । आप अच्छे खासे पढ़े लिखे से ज्यादा समझते हैं ।

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore): Your ruling was only this that if a member wanted to speak in Bengali, he will intimate it to the Secretary at two hours in advance

MR. SPEAKER: My predecessor made an exception in the case of some States. Of course, under the Constitution, it should be either Hindi or English. We made certain departures. I thought there should be no discrimination. If we make a departure in one case, we have to do it in other cases also. But so far as giving notice and a copy of the speech is concerned, that will apply uniformly to all the regional languages, as it applies to the South.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Members from the South do not give advance copy of their speeches.

MR. SPEAKER: We do get it. There are a number of people who are masters

in English or Hindi, but they speak in the regional languages.

DR. RANEN SEN: This year you had told us that we have only to give two hours' advance notice before we speak in the regional languages. I have given two days' notice.

MR. SPEAKER: I did not object to your speaking in Bengali, because that was your maiden speech in Bengali.

श्री राम सहाय पांडे (राजनंदगांव) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक सुझाव है । आपने पहली दफा कहा था कि जब भी कोई माननीय सदस्य हिंदी और अंग्रेजी के अतिरिक्त किसी इधर भाषा में यहां बोले तो उनको आपको लिखित स्पीच पहले भेजनी चाहिये । लेकिन बंगला भाषा के संबंध में मुझे यह कहना है कि दो तीन दिनों तक आप ऐसा न कीजिये । हमको बंगला भाषा सुनने में बड़ी अच्छी लगी । इसके माध्यम से बड़ी भारी कान्ति हुई । चाहे हम समझे या न समझें, वह हम को अच्छी लगती है । जितने ही माननीय सदस्य बंगला बोलने के लिये कीन हैं, उतने ही हम उनको सुनने के लिए कीन हैं । हम शायद एक भी शब्द नहीं बोल सकते, लेकिन हम समझते हैं कि इसके द्वारा एक कान्ति हुई है एक जागरण की बात हुई है । इस लिए इसकी इजाजत आपको देनी चाहिये ।

*SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Dharapuram): Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I extend my whole-hearted support to the Resolution moved by the hon. Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, seeking the approval of the House for extending the President's rule in West Bengal by another six months, I would like to say a few words. Because of the historical common cultural and emotional link between the Tamilians and the Bengalis, I am emboldened to participate in this debate and make some concrete

[Shri C.T. Dhandapani]

suggestions for implementation by the Central Government in West Bengal.

Sir, on account of political instability leading to chaos and confusion among the people in many parts of the country, the President's rule in the States has become the order of the day. When the people of the country are unable to choose as to which political party they should give their votes and when no political party gets the majority of seats in the legislature as a result of the dilemma in the people to select such a political party to rule the state, the President's rule from the Centre is imposed. It is ironical that in a democracy the President's rule in some States should be welcomed and in some others it should be imposed from the Centre much against the wishes of the people.

I would like to strike a note of warning to the political parties contributing to the creation of this unfortunate situation in the country. If this undesirable tendency is allowed to continue in our country, surely the democratic aspirations of the people will be crushed under this kind of autocratic ambition of a ruling party in the Centre. In fact, this sounds the death-knell for democracy in our country. It is high time that the political parties in our country listen to the gong and search their conscience as to how they can win back the faith and confidence of the people. They owe a duty not only to themselves but also to the people of the country who have irrevocably chosen the democratic way of life. The political parties of the country should realise that the people are no longer to be treated as pawns in the game of politics and it is imperative that the political parties should lay greater stress on the welfare programmes for the people rather than on all kinds of political philosophy.

All the same people of the country are surprised and shocked at the rapidly deteriorating law and order situation in West Bengal. It is also common

knowledge that the contribution of the political parties for this sorry state of affairs in West Bengal is not of a small order. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is encouraging violent activities like murder, shooting, looting, arson etc. as the means for solving the problems being faced by the people in the country. They seem to believe that solutions can be found to any problem by taking resort to rifles and guns. I would like to tell that they are sadly mistaken in their approach and if it spreads, then democracy in the country will be extinct in a short time. They should realise that in the atmosphere of deteriorating law and order situation no worthwhile developmental programmes can be undertaken and completed.

Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, the Minister of Education in the Central Cabinet, is also designated as the Minister for West Bengal Affairs. He has an office in Calcutta to look after his work in West Bengal. It is incomprehensible to me that, after appointing a retired I.C.S. Officer as the Governor of West Bengal, why should a Central Minister be in charge of West Bengal affairs. I would like to pose this question : is this arrangement really meant to help the people of West Bengal or is it meant for the political gains of the ruling party in the Centre? I would like to know whether this Minister is looking after the economic development of West Bengal or its political development? I am afraid that this unhealthy precedent might be made use of by the Centre in future in the case of other States also, which do not toe the line of the ruling party in the Centre. I would like to categorically state that this political expediency is constitutionally improper and it smacks of partisan approach to the problems facing the country. I have no hesitation in saying that all the political parties without exception are exploiting the misery and poverty of the people of West Bengal for their own ends. The political parties, whether they be the

ruling or opposition parties, should remember that they have to face the people in the elections and they are bound to be confronted with the question as to what they have done in the interest of the common people.

We are aware of the fact that the Congress Party as also the Communist Party of India and some other Parties have at one time or the other ruled the State of West Bengal. I would quote some statistics to prove that whichever Government might have been there in the State, they have not fully utilised the allocations made to them under the Annual Plans and also under the three Five Year Plans. This only shows that there is something seriously wrong with the State Government machinery that they are unable to implement the developmental schemes by fully utilising the allocations made for that purpose. In the year 1966-67 while a sum of Rs. 63.29 crores was allotted; they spent only Rs. 53.03 crores; in 1967-68, the allocation was Rs.60.87 crores and the expenditure Rs.51.01 crores; in 1969-70 the expenditure was only Rs. 45.98 crores while the allocation was Rs.46 85 crores. Who is responsible for this kind of serious lapse? Is it not an injustice done to the people of West Bengal? There is no use resorting to mud-slinging. Even under the regime of late Shri B. C. Roy, the Congress Government did not spend the money allocated for developmental purposes. You know Sir, that West Bengal is rich in marine wealth—I refer to the development of fisheries in West Bengal. In the First Five Year Plan, though a sum of Rs. 154.5 lakhs was allotted, only a sum of Rs. 64.1 lakhs was spent on the development of fisheries. For irrigation projects the provision in the Plan was Rs.1537.8 lakhs and the expenditure was only Rs. 1419.7 lakhs. Similarly, in the sector of small industries and cottage industries the expenditure was only Rs. 67.4 lakhs, while the plan allocation was Rs. 74.3 lakhs. In the development of Ports and Harbours, the plan allocation was Rs. 190.5 lakhs, while the expenditure was only Rs. 170.5 lakhs. I am sure that what I

have stated so far is more than enough to prove that the State Government machinery is not capable of implementing the schemes of economic development by fully utilising the allocations. There seems to be something basically deficient in the administration, whether it has been under the Congress Party rule or under the other Opposition parties rule. Even in the Second and Third Five Year Plans; the amounts of Rs. 74.34 crores and Rs. 155.84 crores spent respectively are much below the allocations made. I would like to appeal to the Central Government that at least under the President's rule; some serious thought must be given to the State Administration and wherever there is draw-back or deficiency in the State Administration, it must be set right. During the President's rule it is the responsibility of the Centre to gear up the administrative machinery.

I would appeal to all the political parties that they should forthwith end mutual recrimination and start concentrating on the problem of relieving people's distress and misery. You are aware, Sir, that the benefits of economic planning have so far gone to a handful of rich families. In fact, the Indian economy is in the clutches of 75 affluent families and it is not surprising that the ruling party is also under their sway. If the Central Government do not take adequate steps to tackle the seething discontent developing in the people of the country and more particularly in West Bengal, the Government may have to rue the day when violence erupts in all its fury.

11.00 hrs.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI (Gauhati): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in deference to your wishes, I will not speak in my regional language. But I will have my say in English.

I take my stand here to support the Resolution moved by Shri Mohsin for extension of the President's Rule in West Bengal for another six months. There could have been some scope of debate

[Shri Dinesh Chandra Goswami]

as to whether the President's Rule should be extended for another six months or not if the Resolution had come a fortnight before but today, in the context of the entire change in the internal and international scene, there is no other alternative but to vote for the extension of the President's Rule in West Bengal. I can assure my friends on the other side that we on this side of the House are as keen as they are, that a popular Government should be installed in West Bengal the moment the circumstances so permit. But at the same time I will ask my friends, particularly my Marxist friends who all the time are shouting for elections in West Bengal to search their own hearts and find out why in spite of three elections in the last five years, we have not been able to instal a stable popular Government in West Bengal. I will, therefore, ask my Marxist friends particularly to take note of the fact and, after searching their own hearts, try to find out the causes for which a stable popular Government has not come into existent and try to remedy them.

Here, I will particularly ask the Central Government to take note of the important problems facing West Bengal as well as the entire eastern region. If we see the previous political developments in West Bengal, it is clear that there has been a serious effort of extremist party to create a vacuum both in the economic and intellectual field in West Bengal and now they are trying to spread their domain in the entire eastern region. That is why we saw a situation of chaos and confusion in West Bengal.

Coming from the border State of Assam, I can state emphatically that there has been a consistent threat by extremists to create a situation of chaos and confusion in Assam and in the neighbouring States more or less in the line of West Bengal. We are fortunate that they have not been successful uptill now in this direction. We must remember that if chaos and confusion prevails in the eastern region, and it is bound

to prevail, if we cannot bring the situation of law and order to some sort of stability in West Bengal, the very question of integrity of the entire country would be at jeopardy. So, the Central Government should take positive steps to see that we can do something to bring law and order situation in West Bengal to normalcy.

It is heartening to know that during the last few months, particularly due to the serious efforts of Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, there has been a lot of improvement in the law and order situation in West Bengal. But I have got my feeling that it is only a temporary lull. After all, we must remember that violence has a tendency like a proverbial demon that when it does not find any one to attack it attacks its master. Violence acts like a boomerang. That is why today the Marxist friends are talking on the floor of the House that there should be an improvement in law and order situation in the State. My own feeling is that the situation now improving in West Bengal is only a temporary lull. Unless some permanent solution of the socio-economic problems of West Bengal can be found, once more, we will see a deteriorating situation. Therefore, I will particularly request the Central Government to take note of the fact and find out some measures by which a permanent solution of the problem can be arrived at.

We must remember that there has been a tremendous attitudinal pressure in this country for economic development. The common man not to speak of the elite—know about the higher standard of living in the West and the progress made there. They, in their heart of hearts want such a climate to prevail in this country also. The students, the youth, of our country have come to know about advanced scientific and technological developments. And in their heart of hearts they want that a situation should be created in this country when they can use this knowledge and we can only hope for such a situation if there is improvement in the economic position and the economic condition. After all, the Naxalite activities are not

activities of some hooligans or goondas but we know that brilliant boys and university students who always topped in the examinations have suddenly declared themselves to be extremists and Naxalites. The reason is not far to seek. There has been a tremendous frustration in the minds of the youth of the country that in the present state their urges and aspirations are not going to be fulfilled and unless we can satisfy their thirst and unless we can create conditions in this country where the youth may feel that their urges and aspirations are going to be fulfilled, I have got my own feeling that the law and order situation will always be the most acute problem.

It is an unfortunate thing that in West Bengal and particularly in the entire Eastern Region the economic condition is very poor and that is why the frustration is much more. Therefore, I request the Central Government that while the President's rule is there, in spite of the hardships we are facing in the economic front to-day because of the complexities in the international situation, there should be a sustained effort that an atmosphere is created so that the urges of the young people may be fulfilled. If these cannot be fulfilled, I have got my own feeling that the problems of West Bengal and the acute problems of the entire Eastern Region will not be solved. Therefore, I request and particularly, lay stress on this fact- and in this context I may refer that even foreign visitors who came to this country, have taken note of this fact and only a few months ago, Senator Kennedy who visited India said that there should be an integrated policy of economic development for the entire eastern region because the Eastern Region must be taken as a complex region. The Eastern Region is indeed a very complex region because of the existence of a large number of languages and tribes and so on. Therefore, during the President's rule the Central Government should take both short term measures, measures by which one can find short-term solutions to the law and order problem and other economic problems and also long term

measures for an integrated development in the entire Eastern Region so that the urges and aspirations of the younger generations and the common man of the entire region can be fulfilled and we can hope to have a stable situation in the entire Eastern Region. The entire world is looking to the Eastern Region to-day because fast changes in the international situation in the Eastern Region are coming into existence which will change the complexity of the entire Asian political situation and as the entire world is looking to it, it is high time that we also have a role to play with regard to the Eastern Region and that we also have a completely different type of approach to the Eastern Region.

With these words, I support the resolution.

श्री जयन्नाथराव बोशी (शाजापुर) :
पश्चिम बंगाल में राष्ट्रपति शासन छः महीने आगे बढ़ाने के प्रस्ताव पर चर्चा चल रही है। एक शब्द में ही सरकार की नीति का वर्णन मुझे करना हो तो मैं ऐसे कर सकता हूँ :

The Government is willing to strike but afraid to wound. इसकी वजह से यह मामला आज तक आगे चला आया है। राष्ट्रपति शासन एक अस्थायी तरीका है काम चलाने का। स्थायी तरीका हमेशा ही लोकतंत्र में यह होता है कि लोक-प्रिय सरकार चलती रहे। लेकिन कई प्रदेशों में हमारे देश में राष्ट्रपति शासन आजकल चालू है। उसके लिए एक विशिष्ट चटना जिम्मेदार थी और वह थी दल बदल की प्रवृत्ति। उसकी वजह से राजनीतिक अस्थिरता पैदा हुई थी और उसकी वजह से मैसूर, गुजरात, पंजाब आदि में लोकप्रिय सरकारें नहीं चल सकीं और राष्ट्रपति का शासन आया। किन्तु जहाँ तक पश्चिम बंगाल का सम्बन्ध है वहाँ केवल राजनीतिक अस्थिरता ही नहीं बल्कि राजनीतिक अस्थिरता

[श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी]

श्री श्री और है जिस की बजह से आज भी राष्ट्रपति महोदय का शासन वहां लागू है और जाने भी उसका छः महीने के लिए बढ़ाये जाने की बात है।

पिछली बार जब पश्चिम बंगाल पर वहां कहल हुई थी तब मंत्री महोदय ने स्वीकार किया था कि पश्चिम बंगाल की परिस्थिति में सुधार आया है। मुझे यह कहना पड़ता है कि वास्तव में पश्चिम बंगाल में क्या हो रहा है, इसके बारे में ठीक-ठीक जानकारी सदन को नहीं मिल रही है। यदि मंत्री महोदय का यह कहना ठीक है कि पश्चिम बंगाल की परिस्थिति में सुधार हुआ है, तो फिर आपत्कालीन स्थिति की घोषणा से पहले कुछ प्रदेशों में फरवरी में चुनाव कराने की जो बात थी, उसमें पश्चिम बंगाल में चुनाव कराने की बात नहीं थी, इसका क्या कारण था? प्रश्न यह है कि जब 1971 में लोक सभा और विधान सभाओं के लिए चुनाव हुए, तो क्या उस समय परिस्थिति अच्छी थी? बहुत खराब थी। इसके बावजूद पश्चिम बंगाल में भी चुनाव हुए। आज मंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि पश्चिम बंगाल की परिस्थिति में सुधार हुआ है। यदि यह बात ठीक है, तो फिर आपत्कालीन स्थिति से पहले फरवरी में जिन राज्यों में चुनाव कराने की बात कही गई थी, उनमें पश्चिम बंगाल को सम्मिलित क्यों नहीं किया गया था?

इसलिए मंत्री महोदय यह स्पष्ट करें कि जो चुनाव होते हैं, क्या वे किसी राज्य की स्थिति को देखकर होते हैं। या संसदीय राजनीतिक दल की स्थिति को देखकर होते हैं। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि यह एक पर्सनल इक्वेशन का

मामला है। यह कोई नई बात नहीं है। पश्चिम बंगाल में जो स्थिति है, वह केरल और आंध्र आदि उन प्रदेशों में भी दिखाई देगी, जहां कम्युनिस्टों का प्रभाव है। यह क्यों हो रहा है, इसके मूल में हमको जाना पड़ेगा। केवल पर्सनल इक्वेशन से काम नहीं चलेगा।

प्रजातंत्र में मतभेद रह सकते हैं, लेकिन उनकी कुछ मर्यादा रहती है। आज हम देखते हैं कि हिंसा की राजनीति को प्रश्रय मिल रहा है। जहां तक आर्थिक पहलू का सम्बन्ध है, उत्पादन के सब साधनों को शासन के हाथ में देने से एकदम स्वर्ग पैदा नहीं हो जायेगा। आखिर चेकोस्लोवाकिया, पोलैंड और रूस में स्वर्ग पैदा नहीं हुआ है। वह तरीका तो एक साधन है, साध्य नहीं है। वह मार्ग अपनाने से जो लाभ हो, यदि उसको आम जनता में बांटा जाये और आम जनता की खुशहाली में वृद्धि हो, तब हम उस को स्वीकार कर सकते हैं। लेकिन वह आर्थिक स्थिति कब पैदा होगी?

आज-कल सत्तारूढ़ दल के जो मित्र हैं—राइट कम्युनिस्ट, उन्होंने सभी एक थोसिस निकाला है। द्र. काम्बाइन बेल्ट विद बुलेट। उन्होंने खुले रूप में यह कहा है, ने सत्तारूढ़ दल के मित्र हैं और पश्चिम बंगाल में उन का भी प्रभाव है। हिंसा का जो दौर चला है, उसको बन्द करने के लिए सत्तारूढ़ दल हमारा सहयोग चाहता है। हम भी यह चाहते हैं, क्योंकि हिंसा की राजनीति में हम विश्वास नहीं करते हैं। हमारे यहां कहा गया है : एक सब विप्राः बहुधा वदन्ति। खुले रूप से जो चर्चा होती है, उस विचार-मन्थन के जो नवनीत सामने आता है, उस को स्वीकार करने की बुद्धि और भावना हम लोगों में होनी चाहिए। Democracy is not just a framework only. It is a liberal mind to

understand, accommodate and adjust the other man's point of view, if you agree. इस बात को ले कर हम को आगे चलना पड़ेगा ।

अभी मेरे मित्र, श्री गोस्वामी, ने कहा कि इट इज़ ए सोशोइकनोमिक प्राब्लम । क्या हिन्दुस्तान के अन्य भागों में पिछड़ापन नहीं है ? जिस प्रदेश से तीन तीन प्रधान मंत्री आये हैं, क्या वह उत्तर प्रदेश आगे बढ़ा हुआ है ? क्या उस में पिछड़ापन नहीं है ? क्या मध्य प्रदेश में पिछड़ापन नहीं है ? क्या इसी कारण वहां भी हिंसा का दौर चालू है ? मैं समझता हूँ कि यह प्रश्न पिछड़ेपन या भुखमरी का नहीं है । मैंने खुद देखा है कि जब इस देश में अंग्रेजों का राज्य था और जब कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी अंग्रेजों का साथ दिया करती थी, तो एक मानव-निर्मित अकाल की वजह से बंगाल में लाखों लोगों की मृत्यु हुई, लेकिन उस समय वहाँ कोई क्रान्ति की आग नहीं मड़की । क्यों ? By itself hunger does not create a revolution You will have to couple it with anger हंगर के साथ जब एगर् आ जाता है—वह चिमारी किसी को देनी पड़ती है—, तब हिंसा का जन्म होता है । जिस पार्टी का हिंसा पर विश्वास है, जहाँ-जहाँ उस का प्रभाव है, चाहे वह केरल हो, या पश्चिमी बंगाल या आन्ध्र, वहाँ नक्सलाइट्स की प्रवृत्तियाँ दिखाई देती हैं । 1967 से लेकर अब तक इस सदन में जब जब इस बारे में चर्चा हुई है, क्या उस में सी० पी० आई० या सी० पी० (एम०) ने हिंसा को समाप्त करने में सहायता देने की बात कही है ? हम हमेशा कहते आ रहे हैं कि सरकार इस प्रश्न के मूल में आ जाये, यह प्रश्न जोतें-दारों और किसानों का नहीं है, इसके पीछे जो षड़यंत्र और भावना है, उस को देख कर कदम उठाना चाहिए, हम इसमें सरकार के साथ हैं, क्योंकि यह राजनीति किसी का

भला नहीं करती है, स्वयं उन लोगों का भी भला नहीं करती है ।

हम ने देखा है कि सी० पी० आई० और सी० पी० (एम०) अलग अलग हो गये । क्यों ? क्या इसका कोई राष्ट्रीय आधार था ? नहीं । इसका कारण यह था कि इन लोगों के जो अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सेन्टर हैं, उन में आपस में मतभेद पैदा हो गये, इसलिए यहाँ भी इन दलों में मतभेद पैदा हो गये । आज ये लोग एक दूसरे पर आरोप लगाते हैं कि अमुक चीन के साथ है और अमुक रूस के साथ है । हम लोगों का इस से क्या सम्बन्ध है ? देखें मैं जो परिस्थिति लानी हूँ, उस की दृष्टि से अपना विश्लेषण क्या है, यह बात महत्व की है ।

इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि केवल शरीबी और भुखमरी के कारण ही शैक्षणिक संस्थाओं में बम फेंकने, गुरुजनों की हत्या करने या आसुतोष मुकर्जी से लेकर महात्मा गांधी तक महापुरुषों की प्रतिमाओं को खंडित करने या उन पर डामर लगाने और साहित्य को जलाने आदि की घटनाएँ नहीं होती हैं । इसके पीछे एक प्रवृत्ति है । जान-बूझ कर अव्यवस्था और अशांति पैदा की जाती है और उस आग में सब को धकेल दिया जाता है । इस बात को न समझ कर केवल पर्सनल इन्वेस्टमेंट के लक्ष्य पर इस समस्या को देखना—जो जो हमारे साथ है, जो जो हमारे मित्र हैं, जो हमको संतारक और पदासीन करने की दृष्टि से उपयोगी हैं, उन सबको अच्छा कहना—देख के हित में नहीं है ।

एक समय ऐसा था, जब केरल में चुनाव के दिनों में मुस्लिम लीग के बारे में स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री, श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू, कहते थे कि After all, the Muslim League in Kerala is a dead horse. उस को जिंदा

[श्री जयन्नाथराव जोशी]

किस ने किया और क्यों किया ? पुराने जमाने में यह एक क्रिश्चन सा हो गया था कि जब जब धार० एस० एस० का नाम लिया जाये, तो मुस्लिम लीग का भी नाम लिया जाये। आज-कल उस को छोड़ दिया गया है, क्योंकि वह सत्तारूढ़ दल की मित्र बन गई है। प्रश्न यह है कि इस अवधि में उस में कौन सा परिवर्तन हो गया है, कौन सा मेटामारफासिस हो गया है ? तथ्य यह है कि उस ने सत्तारूढ़ दल का साथ देना शुरू कर दिया है। चूँकि केरल में राज्य चलाने की दृष्टि से वह सत्तारूढ़ दल की सहकारी बन गयी है, चूँकि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने उस का साथ देना शुरू कर दिया है, इसलिए उन को छोड़ दिया गया है, जिस प्रवृत्ति के खिलाफ़ एक प्रबल वातावरण और वायु-मंडल पैदा करने की आवश्यकता है, उस को छोड़ दिया गया है। हमारे सामने जो मंत्री महोदय बैठे हुए हैं, उन्होंने श्री रंगपट्टम की मुस्लिम कान्फ्रेंस में नक्सलाइट्स के विरुद्ध एक वातावरण पैदा करने के बजाये यह कहा कि हम धार० एस० एस० पर पाबन्दी लगाने वाले हैं, उसके लिए बिल तैयार है। यह बात अक्षरों में आई है।

यह संसद में उप-मंत्री (श्री एक० एच० जोहन्सन) : यह सत्य है। मैंने धार० एस० एस० का नाम नहीं लिया। मैं ने कहा था कि हम कम्युनिस्ट मार्गनाई-लेनिस्म की एक्टिविटीज पर पाबन्दी लगाने की बात सोच रहे हैं और उस के लिए बिल लाने वाले हैं।

श्री जयन्नाथराव जोशी : धार० एस० एस० तो पिछले 46 साल से चल रहा है, आज के नहीं। इन लोगों के प्रिजुडिसिज को हम जानते हैं, वे कोई नये नहीं हैं। इस के मतभेद भी हम जानते हैं। लेकिन

सवाल यह है कि उन मतभेदों का प्रजातंत्र के अन्तर्गत किस मर्यादा तक ले जाना है। जब-जब राष्ट्र पर संकट आया है, तब-तब क्या यह राष्ट्रीय शक्ति सामने खड़ी नहीं हुई है ? आज भी पचास हजार स्वयंसेवक कोई भी काम करने के लिए तैयार हैं। रक्तदान करने का काम चालू हो गया है। राष्ट्र की रक्षा करने के लिए हम कोई भी काम—छोटे या बड़े काम का सवाल नहीं है—करने के लिए तैयार हैं। हम ट्रीफ़िक पुलिस का काम करने के लिए तैयार हैं।

हमारे प्रेजुडिसिज रहेंगे। उन का कोई महत्त्व नहीं है। प्रजातंत्र के अन्तर्गत यह होता है। प्रश्न यही है कि किस मर्यादा तक, किस हद तक, उन मतभेदों को ले जाना चाहिए। जो राजनीति सब को डुबो-येगी, हम उस को बढ़ावा क्यों दें ? जैसा कि मैं ने कहा है, Government is willing to wound but afraid to strike.

मुझे यह देख कर बड़ा दुःख होता है कि गांधीजी के देश में मंत्री महोदय समाप्तों में कहते हैं : If there would not be a green revolution, there would be a red revolution. Whose responsibility is it to usher in a green revolution, if not your own ?

मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि पूरी रिसर्पासीबिलिटी सब कानून, अधिकार और शक्ति अपने हाथ में होने के बावजूद why did you not usher in a green revolution ?

इस सरकार को शरीरों को सुशासन बनाने से किस ने रोका था ? किस ने उस के मार्ग में रोड़ा अटकवाया था। इतने सालों की एनर्जीज, रिसोर्सिज और देश के धन की बेस्ट के बाद आज इस सरकार के मंत्रीगण हमकी देते हैं कि देयर बिल बी ए रेड रेवोल्यूशन। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि people are prepared to face any revolution. कई हमलों के बावजूद हमारा देश खड़ी

रहा है और बढ़ा रहेगा। अमरीका या रूस के बलबूते कोई देश बढ़ा नहीं रहता है। हम 55 करोड़ जनता के बलबूते बुनिया के सामने खड़े रहे हैं और खड़े रहेंगे। किन्तु जित पर जिम्मेदारी है उस जिम्मेदारी को न निभाते हुए उन की तरफ से धमकी देना और प्रबलम को ठीक ढंग से पेश करने के बजाय दूसरे ढंग से रखना, यह कोई उचित बात नहीं है। यानी किसी को नौकरी नहीं मिलती तो फस्ट्रेशन है, लेकिन फस्ट्रेशन क्या पश्चिमी बंगाल में ही है? क्या बम्बई में नहीं है फस्ट्रेशन? क्या मद्रास में नहीं है फस्ट्रेशन? मैं अपने मित्र को भी बताता हूँ, उन्होंने भी इस बात का जिक्र किया, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी जो हिंसा में विश्वास करती है (व्यवधान)..... यही स्थिति आज तामिलनाडु में भी पैदा हो रही है, यह हमारे मित्र ने स्वयं बताया तो सवाल यह है कि हिंसा पर जिनका विश्वास आधारित है ऐसे दल के साथ केवल चुनाव में सत्तारूढ़ दल को पदासीन करने में चूक वह सहकार देते हैं, इसलिए इसी एक आधार को लेकर उस को कोई भ्रष्टा कहे और हम जो देश के हित को सामने रख कर चलते हैं, देश के हित में यदि हमारा मतभेद होता है और खुले रूप में हम मतभेद सामने रखते हैं तो इस का मतलब यह नहीं कि कोई दुश्मन है। नहीं प्रजासत्त में ऐसा होता नहीं है। इसलिए मैं आज भी कहता हूँ इन तीन प्रदेशों के अंदर जो नक्सलाइट्स का जोर है आन्ध्र, केरल और बंगाल, वह फस्ट्रेशन की वजह से नहीं है।

एक सामंतीय सार्वभूमि : आन्ध्र में नहीं है।

श्री जयन्ताचाराव चौधरी : आन्ध्र में शासन इसलिए हो गया कि आन्ध्र मद्रास से अलग हो गया। उस के पहले आन्ध्र में भारी कम्युनिस्ट जमाव था। मैं जानता हूँ आन्ध्र को। आज कम हो गया। गुन्दर बाला जब जा कर श्रीकाकुलम् में नेता बन जाता है तो क्या हम समझते नहीं हैं।

तो मेरा कहना यह है कि राष्ट्रपति शासन कोई स्थायी रूप से नहीं है। आज भी हम चाहते हैं कि जितनी जल्दी शांति और व्यवस्था वहाँ लायी जा सके, वह लायी जानी चाहिए। इंडस्ट्रियल पीस भी एक चीज है क्योंकि आज वहाँ से कई इंडस्ट्रीज जा रही हैं। ग्राफ्टर माल बेराव इज नो साल्यूशन फार इंडस्ट्रियल अनरेस्ट। यह कोई तरीका नहीं है। औद्योगिक शांति हम भी चाहते हैं। न्याय सबके साथ होना चाहिए। कम से कम मजदूर के साथ जरूर होना चाहिए। एवार्ड जब आता है जो मजदूर के हित में जो है उस को लागू कराने के लिए आप उन को मजदूर क्यों नहीं करते, मालिकों के ऊपर दबाव क्यों नहीं डालते, देश के अंदर अनरेस्ट पैदा क्यों करते हैं? आज भी जो इंडस्ट्रीज बन्द हैं उन को चलाने के लिए शासन को कदम उठाना चाहिए। इंडस्ट्री को हाथ में लेना चाहिए। कच्चे माल की वजह से जो इंडस्ट्री बन्द होती है उस को भी देखना चाहिए और विशेषरूप से जो एक परिस्थिति होती है जिस परिस्थिति के अंतर्गत उद्योग भी ठीक चलते हैं, स्कूल भी ठीक चलते हैं, सामाजिक जीवन भी ठीक चलता है, उस परिस्थिति को लाने की दृष्टि से कड़ाई से सरकार कदम ले, अपने राजनैतिक जीवन से हिंसा को समाप्त करने के लिए कदम उठाए तो हम शासन के पैरों की ताकत बन कर रहेंगे। धन्यवाद।

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F.H. MOHSIN) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, after hearing many friends in Bengali language and one friend in the Tamil language, I was rather prompted to speak in Kannada language, but I restrained myself after hearing the Speaker.

Sir, I am very thankful to the hon. Members for the various suggestions made by them in respect of West Bengal. As you are well aware, President's rule came into effect in West Bengal from 29th June, 1971. At the time of the imposition of President's rule, the law and order situation was quite alarming, as the Members know. During the brief spell of democratic coalition government rule in West Bengal, from 2-4-71 to 29-6-71, the incidence of violence was the highest. As many as 339 political murders had taken place during that period. 217 inter-Party clashes and 434 cases of attack on the police were reported. So, the difficulties of the administration were increased, and later on, as the House may be aware, flood havoc created another difficulty. As many as 13 out of the 15 districts were affected due to the floods in West Bengal, and eight million people were uprooted from their homes. They went away to seek shelter elsewhere, and this added to the problems of the West Bengal administration.

Further, the House is aware that the refugee influx into West Bengal created more intricate problems. Not only we had to provide food, shelter and clothing for over 75 lakhs of people who came to West Bengal, in West Bengal alone, but along with that, the law and order situation also became more difficult.

Hon. Members will appreciate the difficulties of the Administration. I should say that during the President's rule every effort has been made to solve the hardships created by the anti-social elements and

by the flood havoc and also the influx of refugees amounting to 75 lakhs people.

MR. SPEAKER: Their number has crossed a million.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: There are 75 lakhs in West Bengal alone. I say so because we are discussing only West Bengal. There are refugees in Assam, Tripura, Bihar, Orissa and other places also. This has created enormous problems. Various steps were taken by the State Governments to restore normalcy and to maintain law and order in the State. To curb the activities of criminals and anti-social elements, there were frequent raids to the dens of anti-social elements and quite a number of them were prosecuted under specific provisions of the law. As many as 1,758 dacoits were arrested in the districts only, apart from Calcutta. 38,400 criminals and anti-social elements had been arrested out of whom 11,000 came from Calcutta alone. 4,696 persons were detained under the West Bengal P.V. Act and M.I.S. Act out of whom 2,469 were criminals and anti-social elements other than extremists. A huge quantity of ammunitions, explosives and bombs to the extent of 70,000 were seized from various localities and various persons also. A large number of people were prosecuted. Some of them were convicted also. As a result of various measures taken by the administration there was improvement in the overall law and order situation. There has been a decline in the number of violent incidents committed by Naxalites and extremists.

Educational institutions which were closed due to such incidents have begun to function now. It is really heartening to know that the law and order situation has improved. I may give some statistics showing how the law and order situation has improved month by month. In July 1971 inter-party clashes were 97 and 83 in August and in September it came down to 54. The figures for political murders in July 1971 were 133, for August 142 and for September 86. Incidents of extremist violence and lawlessness

were 370 in July, 266 in August and 152 in September.

Looking at these figures, one could imagine that the incidents of violence are slowly coming down month by month. Though the overall situation is slowly improving we cannot be complacent about these things. Extremists and anti-social elements have not been crushed altogether. They are lying low and at any time they may raise their heads and create a law and order situation. I am one with the Members who have spoken about the Naxalite and other extremist activities creating a law and order situation. When President's rule was brought in West Bengal, it was not only due to the fact that no party could form a stable Government, but it was also due to the fact that the law and order situation had deteriorated. In order to hold elections there, it is necessary that the law and order situation should improve. As Shri Jagannathrao Joshi put it, of course today there is an Emergency, and we cannot think of the elections, but at the same time, we have to take into consideration the law and order situation and the incidents of violence. How can you think of holding elections when there are so many incidents of violence taking place every day, and when there is a large influx of population from Bangla Desh amounting to 70 lakhs of persons who are staying in West Bengal and 8 million people have been uprooted by the flood havoc. All these conditions go to show that today we cannot think of elections. Let things improve. We are not afraid of holding the elections.

Shri Jagannathrao Joshi was saying that we were afraid of holding the elections in West Bengal because our party might not win. I may state for his information that it is not so. We are very confident of victory if elections do take place, and the municipal elections in Burdwan are a pointer in that direction. We have secured 18 seats out of 25 there.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA : Why not hold elections in Rajpur and other places? You are talking only of

Burdwan. Our voters were not allowed to go and vote. One Congress man voted 60 times in Burdwan.

MR. SPEAKER : May I request West Bengal Members to remain silent, they have said enough.

SHRI F.H. MOHSIN : This is an indication to show how the wind is blowing in West Bengal. It is not as though we are afraid of holding the elections.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA : You cannot cow down the West Bengal people in this way.

MR. SPEAKER : I want a quiet wind in this House.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA : Kindly go through my speech, I did not refer to the issue of elections. It is the Jina Sangh leader who asked why elections were not being held in West Bengal.

SHRI A.K. SEN (Calcutta-North-West) : I know it is a sore point for the hon. Members, and let not the hon. Member tread too much on it, as it will pain them too much.

SHRI F.H. MOHSIN : I was only replying to the point of Shri Jagannathrao Joshi who said that the ruling party was hesitating to hold elections because they had no prospects.

Shri Dinen Bhattacharyya said that there was no rule of law in West Bengal. Let him ask himself who has created this law and order situation.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA : You are a new Minister, you do not know anything.

MR. SPEAKER : May I request you to listen to each other? The Minister was patiently listening to whatever was said. I know he is not going to make a long speech. Please do not interrupt him. He is not a new Minister now.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN : We are very eager to see that law and order is restored in West Bengal and we want the cooperation of all, including Mr. Dinan Bhattacharyya and his party.

Government has taken many steps to improve the economic condition of the people. We have launched the 16 point programme for the industrial development of West Bengal. As many as 505 units were closed as on 1-11-71 involving 56,918 workmen.

Between 1-1-71 and 31-10-71, 68 units were reopened involving 37,843 workmen who were put on jobs again. About the 16 point programme, I do not want to elaborate on it because Mr. Dinan Bhattacharyya knows very well how much Government has been striving to see that industrial development takes place there. Even in the matter of supply of raw materials for establishing new industries, every encouragement is given. We do not want that any industrialist should go away from West Bengal. We want to persuade them to continue their business there. It is not only a question of socio-economic problem but also a question of indoctrination by anti-social elements and Naxalites into the young minds in West Bengal. If West Bengal has to improve in all spheres, this indoctrination of Maoist ideology, which has brought ruin to West Bengal has to be stopped. I would appeal to one and all to see that peace is restored. Only through peace we can achieve rapid economic development. I am happy that all parties are supporting this move to extend the President's Rule. This tempo has to be kept up and we should also see that normalcy is restored in West Bengal and in the rest of the country, so that we may make further progress.

With these words, I request the House to adopt the resolution.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is :

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation dated

Moved with the recommendation of the President,

the 29th June, 1971, in respect of West Bengal, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President, for a further period of six months with effect from the 26th January, 1972."

The motion was adopted.

11.38 hrs.

DEMANDS* FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS (RAILWAYS), 1971-72

MR. SPEAKER : The House will now take up Supplementary Demands for Grants (Railways). I think it would not take more than half an hour because the demands are related to certain specific heads and are very limited in scope. Because we have cut short our time to half the normal working time, we should save a lot of time on such items.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal): Half an hour is too short a period.

श्री हुकमचन्द कश्यप (मुरेना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपके घंटे में क्या बोलेंगे रेलवे जैसे विषय पर? काफी लोग इस पर बोलना चाहते हैं... (अवधान)... दो घंटे में क्या होगा?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आपने इसको पढ़कर देखा है? इसके ऊपर ही बोलना होगा। सप्लीमेंट्री डिमाण्ड्स का प्रोसीजर बड़े तग दायरे में होता है, उसके बाहर आप नहीं जा सकते हैं।

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI HANUMANTHAIA): The hon. House is in possession of the document which contains the details about the supplementary demands. I do not want to make a speech at this stage.

I want the house to participate in the debate. I would be able to say something, if at all, by way of reply at the end.