

12.16 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE. PROCLAMATION ABOUT WEST BENGAL; WEST BENGAL BUDGET, 1970-71; DEMANDS* FOR GRANTS ON ACCOUNT (WEST BENGAL), 1970-71; AND DEMANDS* FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS (WEST BENGAL), 1969-70.

MR. SPEAKER: As you might have seen the foot-note on the Order Paper, Items No. 8, 9, 10 and 11 are to be discussed together. We are discussing them together. The total time allotted for all these items is 5 hours. As the Business Advisory Committee decided, the other day, there will be no lunch hour today and at 5 O'Clock, all these items will be guillotined. After that, the other Bill will be taken up. We will not rise till the business put for today is finished. That was the decision taken the other day. I hope, you will kindly cooperate.

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री (हापुड़) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आठवें आइटम के बारे में व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाना चाहता हूँ, जिसके लिए आपने श्री विद्या चरण शुक्ल को बुलाया है। . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अभी तो उन्होंने मूव ही नहीं किया है।

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : मूव करने के पहले ही मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। आर्डर पेपर जो हमको आज मिला है और जो मेरे हाथ में है, अगर वह सही है, तो उसमें लिखा हुआ है कि "यह सभा पश्चिमी बंगाल के संबंध में संविधान के अनुच्छेद 356 के अन्तर्गत 19 मार्च, 1970 को राष्ट्रपति द्वारा जारी की गई उद्घोषणा का निरनुमोदन करती है।" निरनुमोदन का अर्थ होता है डिसएप्रूव करना। अगर यह सही है तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह क्या डिसएप्रूव कर रहे हैं या एप्रूव कर रहे हैं ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इसका कौरीजेखम इश्यू हो गया है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : प्रेस में कोई मार्क्सवादी तो नहीं पहुंच गया है यह पता लगाया जाय।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA): I beg to move:—

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 19th March, 1970, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of West Bengal."

I want to bring to the notice of the House the circumstances under which this step has to be taken by the President. As the hon. House knows the Chief Minister of West Bengal tendered his resignation on 16th March and at the request of the Governor he agreed to continue as the caretaker Chief Minister. On 17th March about 10 Parties wrote to the Governor saying that they were totally opposed to any Government led by Communists (Marxists) and that it would be wrong, immoral and illegal on the part of the Governor to invite the leader of the Communist Party (Marxists) to come and form the Government there. On this the Governor wrote to the leaders of the ten Parties asking them how it would be immoral or illegal for him to invite the CPM Leader to form the government and what exactly was their objection. Simultaneously he also considered and consulted many political leaders and among them was Mr. Jyoti Basu. Mr. Jyoti Basu first claimed full majority and he said he would be able to form and run a government. When the Governor asked him to disclose the names of his supporters in the face of the letter from the ten Parties he received, Mr. Jyoti Basu informed him on 19th morning that he was unable to disclose the names of his supporters. Thereupon a report was submitted by the Governor to the President and President's rule under Art. 356 was enforced.

As the hon. House might have seen, instead of dissolving the Legislative Assembly of

* Moved with the recommendation of the President.

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

West Bengal. It has been kept under suspension and the Assembly is in existence but is not in operation. The broad approach of the Centre to the administration in the States which are under President's rule is already known to the hon. House because several States in the past four years were under President's rule. We do not want a very static or stand still administration in these States. We want to give them a positive and dynamic administration. As I said in the other House, we also want to cleanse the administration of whatever political and wrong influences that might have been injected into the administrative machinery of the State. In this we might face some criticism here and there. We might face difficulty. But I do not think we shall be able to justify our administration even though it may be for a short period and it would be our responsibility to see that proper, legal and constitutional administration is given to the people of West Bengal.

There have been criticisms about various aspects of the law and order situation and some people have written to us saying that even after the imposition of the President's rule, the law and order position has not improved to the extent that they expected. I want to state here that it will take a little time to come back to normalcy and we cannot expect that conditions would change in a day or in a few days and it would be very difficult to fulfil this expectation that normalcy would return in a few days.

As I said earlier, Sir, we want to give a dynamic and positive administration there. And, I hope, we will have the complete support in the House to give this kind of administration and that the House will approve the Proclamation that has been issued by the President.

[Demands for Grants (On Account) West Bengal, 1970-71]

DEMAND NO.1—4—TAXES ON INCOME OTHER THAN CORPORATION TAX

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,74,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of

West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of 'Taxes on Income other than Corporation Tax.' "

DEMAND NO. 2—9—LAND REVENUE

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,55,24,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '9—Land Revenue.' "

DEMAND NO. 2—76—LAND REVENUE—OTHER MISCELLANEOUS COMPENSATIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,98,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '76—Land Revenue—Other Miscellaneous Compensations and Assignments.' "

DEMAND NO. 2—92—LAND REVENUE—PAYMENT OF COMPENSATION TO LAND-HOLDERS, ETC. ON THE ABOLITION OF THE ZAMINDARI SYSTEM

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,15,00,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '92—Land Revenue—Payment of compensation to Land-holders, etc. on the abolition of the Zamindari System.' "

DEMAND NO. 3—10—STATE EXCISE DUTIES

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 34,76,000/- be granted to the President out

of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '10—State Excise Duties.'"

DEMAND NO. 4—11—TAXES ON VEHICLES

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,03,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '11—Taxes on Vehicles.'"

DEMAND NO. 5—12—SALES TAX

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 26,75,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '12—Sales Tax.'"

DEMAND NO. 6—13—OTHER TAXES AND DUTIES

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,54,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '13—Other Taxes and Duties.'"

DEMAND NO. 7—14—STAMPS

MR. SPEAKER: Motion Moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,53,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '14—Stamps.'"

DEMAND NO. 8—15—REGISTRATION FEES

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 27,89,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '15—Registration Fees.'"

DEMAND NO. 9—16—INTEREST ON DEBT AND OTHER OBLIGATIONS

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,33,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '16—Interest on Debt and other obligations.'"

DEMAND NO. 11—18—PARLIAMENT, STATE/ UNION TERRITORY LEGISLATURE

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,13,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '18—Parliament, State/Union Territory Legislature.'"

DEMAND NO. 12—19—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,68,78,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '19—General Administration.'"

DEMAND NO. 13—21—ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 82,64,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '21—Administration of Justice.'"

DEMAND NO. 14—22—JAILS

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 79,91,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '22—Jails.'"

DEMAND NO. 15—23—POLICE

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,49,60,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '23—Police.'"

DEMAND NO. 16—26—MISCELLANEOUS
DEPARTMENTS—FIRE SERVICES

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,25,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '26—Miscellaneous Departments—Fire Services.'"

DEMAND NO. 17—26—MISCELLANEOUS DE-
PARTMENTS—EXCLUDING FIRE
SERVICES

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs.

2,29,00,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '26—Miscellaneous Departments—Excluding Fire Services.'"

DEMAND NO. 18—27—SCIENTIFIC
DEPARTMENTS

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 26,000 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '27—Scientific Departments.'"

DEMAND NO. 19—28—EDUCATION

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 22,65,65,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '28—Education.'"

DEMAND NO. 20—29—MEDICAL

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,60,84,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '29—Medical.'"

DEMAND NO. 21—30—PUBLIC HEALTH

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,85,22,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '30—Public Health.'"

DEMAND No. 22—31—AGRICULTURE—
 AGRICULTURE

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,53,93,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '31—Agriculture—Agriculture.'"

DEMAND No. 22—95—AGRICULTURE—CAPITAL
 OUTLAY ON SCHEMES OF AGRICULTURAL
 IMPROVEMENT AND RESEARCH

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 95,48,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '95—Agriculture—Capital Outlay on Schemes of Agricultural Improvement and Research.'"

DEMAND No. 23—31—AGRICULTURE—
 FISHERIES

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,15,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '31—Agriculture—Fisheries.'"

DEMAND No. 24—33—ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 74,34,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '33—Animal Husbandry.'"

DEMAND No. 24—124—ANIMAL HUSBANDRY—
 CAPITAL OUTLAY ON SCHEMES OF GOV-
 ERNMENT TRADING—GREATER CAL-
 CUTTA MILK SUPPLY SCHEME.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,91,34,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '124—Animal Husbandry' Capital Outlay on Scheme of Government Trading—Greater Calcutta Milk Supply Scheme.'"

DEMAND No. 25—34—CO-OPERATION

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 48,58,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '34—Co-operation.'"

DEMAND No. 26—35—INDUSTRIES—
 INDUSTRIES.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,01,99,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '35—Industries—Industries.'"

DEMAND No. 26—96—INDUSTRIES—CAPITAL
 OUTLAY ON INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC
 DEVELOPMENT.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 53,83,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '96—Industries—Capital Out-

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lay on Industrial and Economic Development.'"

DEMAND No. 27—35—INDUSTRIES—COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 75,39,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '35—Industries—Cottage Industries.'"

DEMAND No. 27—96—INDUSTRIES—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT—COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,84,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '96—Industries—Capital Outlay on Industrial and Economic Development—Cottage Industries.'"

DEMAND No. 28—35—INDUSTRIES—CINCHONA

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 22,25,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '35—Industries—Cinchona.'"

DEMAND No. 29—37—COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT WORKS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,67,80,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State

of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '37—Community Development Projects, National Extension Service and Local Development Works.'"

DEMAND No. 29—109—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON OTHER WORKS—COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT WORKS

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,77,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '109—Capital Outlay on Other Works—Community Development Projects, National Extension Service and Local Development Works.'"

DEMAND No. 29—LOANS AND ADVANCES UNDER COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, NATIONAL EXTENSION SERVICE AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT WORKS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,17,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of 'Loans and Advances under Community Development Projects, National Extension Service and Local Development Works.'"

DEMAND No. 30—38—LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,84,37,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year

ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '38—Labour and Employment.'”

DEMAND No. 31—39—MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENTAL ORGANISATIONS—WELFARE OF SCHEDULED TRIBES AND CASTES AND OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 76,22,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '39—Miscellaneous Social and Developmental Organisations—Welfare of Scheduled Tribes and Castes and Other Backward Classes.’”

DEMAND No. 32—39—MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENTAL ORGANISATIONS EXCLUDING WELFARE OF SCHEDULED TRIBES AND CASTES AND OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 61,66,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '39—Miscellaneous Social and Developmental Organisations—Excluding Welfare of Scheduled Tribes and Castes and Other Backward Classes.’”

DEMAND No. 33—42—MULTIPURPOSE RIVER SCHEMES.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,67,10,000/ be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '42—Multipurpose River Schemes.’”

DEMAND No. 33—43—MULTIPURPOSE RIVER SCHEMES—IRRIGATION, NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS (COMMERCIAL).

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 33,91,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '43—Multipurpose River Scheme—Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works (Commercial).’”

DEMAND No. 33—44—MULTIPURPOSE RIVER SCHEMES—IRRIGATION, NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS (NON-COMMERCIAL)

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,46,42,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '44—Multipurpose River Scheme—Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works (Non-commercial).’”

DEMAND No. 33—98—MULTIPURPOSE RIVER SCHEMES—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON MULTIPURPOSE RIVER SCHEMES.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 95,63,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '98—Multipurpose River Schemes—Capital Outlay on Multipurpose River Schemes.’”

DEMAND No. 33—99—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON IRRIGATION, NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS (COMMERCIAL)

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,22,000/- be granted to the President out

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of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '99—Capital Outlay on Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works (Commercial).''

DEMAND No. 33—100—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON IRRIGATION, NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS (NON-COMMERCIAL)

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,26,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '100—Capital Outlay on Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works (Non-Commercial).''

DEMAND No. 34—50—PUBLIC WORKS

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,52,52,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '50—Public Works.'"

DEMAND No. 35—51A—GREATER CALCUTTA DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,68,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '51A—Greater Calcutta Development Scheme.'"

DEMAND No. 35—106A—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON GREATER CALCUTTA DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs.

65,33,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '106A—Capital Outlay on Greater Calcutta Development Scheme.'"

DEMAND No. 36—53—PORTS AND PILOTAGE
MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,38,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '53—Ports and Pilotage.'"

DEMAND No. 37—57—ROAD AND WATER TRANSPORT SCHEMES

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 26,68,000 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '57—Road and Water Transport Schemes.'"

DEMAND No 37—114—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON ROAD AND WATER TRANSPORT SCHEMES

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,42,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '114—Capital Outlay on Road and Water Transport Schemes.'"

DEMAND No. 38—64—FAMINE RELIEF

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,00,00,000 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year

ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '64—Famine Relief.'"

DEMAND No. 39—65—PENSIONS AND OTHER RETIREMENT BENEFITS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,09,88,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '65—Pensions and other retirement benefits'."

DEMAND No. 39—120—PAYMENTS OF COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,82,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '120—Payments of commuted value of pensions'."

DEMAND No. 40—67—PRIVY PURSES AND ALLOWANCES OF INDIAN RULERS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '67—Privy purses and allowances of Indian rulers'."

DEMAND No. 41—68—STATIONERY AND PRINTING.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 39,08,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year

ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '68—Stationery and Printing.'"

DEMAND No. 42—70—FOREST.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 95,14,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '70—Forest'."

DEMAND No. 43—71—MISCELLANEOUS—CONTRIBUTIONS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,01,84,000/ be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '71—Miscellaneous—Contributions.'"

DEMAND No. 44—71—MISCELLANEOUS—SPORTS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,49,000/- be granted to the president out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '71—Miscellaneous—Sports'."

DEMAND No. 45—71—MISCELLANEOUS—CIVIL DEFENCE.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 62,61,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '71—Miscellaneous—Civil Defence'."

[Shri Vidhya Charan Shukla]

DEMAND No. 46—71—MISCELLANEOUS—
OTHER MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,09,59,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '71—Miscellaneous—Other Miscellaneous expenditure'."

DEMAND No. 46—109—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON
OTHER WORKS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,83,31,000/ be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '109—Capital Outlay on other works'."

DEMAND No. 47—71—MISCELLANEOUS—
IRRECOVERABLE LOANS TO DISPLACED
PERSONS WRITTEN OFF.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 67,33,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '71—Miscellaneous—Irrecoverable loans to displaced persons written off'."

DEMAND No. 47—71—MISCELLANEOUS—
EXPENDITURE ON DISPLACED PERSONS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,55,01,000/ be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '71—Miscellaneous—expenditure on displaced persons'."

DEMAND No. 47—109—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON
OTHER WORKS—EXPENDITURE ON
DISPLACED PERSONS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,00,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '109—Capital Outlay on Other works—Expenditure on displaced persons'."

DEMAND No. 47—LOANS AND ADVANCES
TO DISPLACED PERSONS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,00,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of 'Loans and Advances to Displaced Persons'."

DEMAND No. 48—78—PRE-PARTITION
PAYMENTS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '78—Pre-partition payments'."

DEMAND No. 50—98—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON
MULTIPURPOSE RIVER SCHEMES—
DAMODAR VALLEY PROJECT.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,61,46,000/ be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '98—Capital outlay on multi-purpose river schemes—Damodar Valley Project'."

DEMAND No. 51—103—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON PUBLIC WORKS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,42,78,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '103—Capital outlay on Public Works'."

DEMAND No. 52—124—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON SCHEMES OF GOVERNMENT TRADING.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,43,27,000/ be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of '124—Capital outlay on schemes of Government Trading'."

DEMAND No. 54—LOANS AND ADVANCES BY STATE/UNION TERRITORY GOVERNMENTS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,72,55,000; be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of 'Loans and advances by State/ Union Territory Governments'."

[*Demands for Supplementary Grants (West Bengal), 1969-70*]

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

DEMAND No. 3—10—STATE EXCISE DUTIES.

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 68,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '10—State Excise Duties'."

DEMAND No. 4—11—TAXES ON VEHICLES.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,72,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '11—Taxes on vehicles'."

DEMAND No. 8—15—REGISTRATION FEES.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 5,05,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '15—Registration fees'."

DEMAND No. 11—18—PARLIAMENT, STATE/ UNION TERRITORY LEGISLATURE.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved.

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 9,87,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '18—Parliament, State/Union Territory Legislature'."

DEMAND No. 12—19—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 6,72,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '19—General Administration'."

[Shri Vidhya Charan Shukla]

DEMAND No. 15—23—POLICE.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,15,44,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '23—Police'."

DEMAND No. 16—26—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS—FIRE SERVICES.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,87,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '26—Miscellaneous Departments—Fire Services.'"

DEMAND No. 17—26—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS—EXCLUDING FIRE SERVICES.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 51,57,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '26—Miscellaneous Departments—Excluding Fire Services'."

DEMAND No. 18—27—SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENTS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 5,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '27—Scientific Departments'."

DEMAND No. 19—28—EDUCATION.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,97,68,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '28—Education'."

DEMAND No. 20—29—MEDICAL.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 57,86,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '29—Medical'."

DEMAND No. 24—124—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON SCHEMES OF GOVERNMENT TRADING—GREATER CALCUTTA MILK SUPPLY SCHEME.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 54,36,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '124—Capital Outlay on Schemes of Government Trading—Greater Calcutta Milk Supply Scheme'."

DEMAND No. 26—96—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Re. 1/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '96—Capital

Outlay on Industrial and Economic Development'."

DEMAND No. 28—35—INDUSTRIES—CINCHONA.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,32,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '35—Industries—Cinchona'."

DEMAND No. 31—39—MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENTAL ORGANISATIONS—WELFARE OF SCHEDULED TRIBES AND CASTES AND OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 5,96,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '39—Miscellaneous Social and Developmental Organisations—Welfare of Scheduled Tribes and Castes and other Backward Classes'."

DEMAND No. 32 — 39 — MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENTAL ORGANISATIONS—EXCLUDING WELFARE OF SCHEDULED TRIBES AND OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 9,96,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '39—Miscellaneous Social and Developmental Organisations—Excluding Welfare of Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes'."

DEMAND No. 33—42—MULTIPURPOSE RIVER SCHEMES.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 27,71,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '42—Multi-purpose River Schemes.'"

DEMAND No. 33—43—IRRIGATION, NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS (COMMERCIAL).

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 4,20,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidation Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '43—Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works (Commercial)'."

DEMAND No. 33—44—IRRIGATION, NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS (NON-COMMERCIAL).

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,23,77,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '44—Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works (Non-Commercial)'."

DEMAND No. 33—98—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON MULTIPURPOSE RIVER SCHEMES.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 6,90,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of pay-

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

ment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '98—Capital Outlay on Multipurpose River Schemes.'"

DEMAND No. 33—99—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON IRRIGATION, NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS (COMMERCIAL).

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,17,37,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '99—Capital Outlay on Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works (Commercial)'."

DEMAND No. 33—100—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON IRRIGATION, NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS (NON-COMMERCIAL)' "

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 8,37,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '100—Capital Outlay on Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works (Non-Commercial)'."

DEMAND No. 34—50—PUBLIC WORKS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,24,64 000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '50—Public Works'."

DEMAND No. 36—53—PORTS AND PILOTAGE.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,60,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '53—Ports and Pilotage'."

DEMAND No. 38—64—FAMINE RELIEF.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,76,55,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '64—Famine Relief'."

DEMAND No. 39—65—PENSIONS AND OTHER RETIREMENT BENEFITS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 19,24,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '65—Pensions and other Retirement Benefits'."

DEMAND No. 39—120—PAYMENTS OF COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,45,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of '120—Payments of Commuted value of Pensions'."

DEMAND No. 41—68—STATIONERY AND
PRINTING.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,72,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of ‘68—Stationery and Printing.’”

DEMAND No. 44—71—MISCELLANEOUS—
OTHER MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 44,43,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of ‘71—Miscellaneous—Other Miscellaneous Expenditure.’”

DEMAND No. 44—109—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON
OTHER WORKS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 3,17,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of ‘109—Capital Outlay on other Works.’”

DEMAND No. 45—71—MISCELLANEOUS—
IRRECOVERABLE LOANS TO DISPLACED
PERSONS WRITTEN OFF.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,00,00,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of ‘71—Mis-

cellaneous—Irrecoverable Loans to displaced persons written off.’”

DEMAND No. 45—71—MISCELLANEOUS—EX-
PENDITURE ON DISPLACED PERSONS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 8,19,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of ‘71—Miscellaneous—Expenditure on displaced persons.’”

DEMAND No. 50—124—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON
SCHEMES OF GOVERNMENT TRADING.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,54,17,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of ‘124—Capital Outlay on Schemes of Government Trading.’”

DEMAND No. 52—LOANS AND ADVANCES
BY STATE/UNION TERRITORY GOVERN-
MENTS.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 76,33,000/- be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of ‘Loans and Advances by State/Union Territory Governments.’”

The Statutory Resolution regarding the Proclamation, the West Bengal Budget, the Demands for Grants on Account (West Bengal) and the Supplementary Demands for Grants (West Bengal) are all before the House.

Items 8, 9, 10 and 11, will all be discussed

[Mr. Speaker]

together. They have already been moved. Hon. Members may now move their Cut Motions subject to their being otherwise admissible.

[Cut Motions moved on Demands for Grants on Account]

SHRI HARDYAL DEVGUN (East Delhi): I beg to move:

That the demand for grant on account under the head '23-Police' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Failure of the Government in Maintaining law and order in the State. (11)]

That the demand for grant on account under the head '23-Police' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Induction of friends and relatives of the Ministers in the administration. (12)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '23-Police' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Failure of the Government in checking incidents of murder, looting and arson. (13)].

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '23-Police' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Failure of the Government in curbing political murders in the State. (14)].

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '23-Police' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Failure of the Government in providing security to the industry in the State against sabotage by the Naxalities and other unruly element. (15)].

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '23-Police' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Protection to encouragement to Muslims who slaughtered cows on Id day at

open places and in front of temples in West Bengal. (16)].

SHRI MOHAMMAD ISMAIL (Barrackpore): I beg to move:

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '23-Police' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to implement commission's recommendation on wages of State Government employees as demanded by the State Government Employee's Federation (17)].

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '23-Police' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Failure to advise the President to give assent on the Bill passed by overwhelming majority by the elected State Assembly of West Bengal for recognition of unions. (18)].

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '23-Police' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Failure of the Central Cabinet to recommend on the Bill on subsistence allowance to the workers. (19)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '96-Capital Outlay on Industrial and Economic Development-Cottage Industries' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to take over all the factories including Mohini Mill (Cotton) and Bangshwarsary (Cotton) which were locked out. (20)].

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '38-Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to compel the jute employers to honour the clause to finalise wage structures of more than 2 lakhs jute workers of West Bengal by setting up tripartite body suggested by all the concerned unions of West Bengal. (21)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '109-Capital outlay on other works-Expenditure on displaced persons' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Failure to compel fishery corporation to implement the article of memorandum in West Bengal. (22)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '90-General Administration' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to implement effectively various amendment Acts, rules and orders of the United Front Government. (23)].

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '23-Police' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to continue norms fixed by the United Front Government for the Police personnel (24)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '35-Industries—Cinchona' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to increase wages of beedi workers of West Bengal on the basis of increased wages of jute, engineering and State Government employees. (25)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '35-Industries—Cinchona' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to extend the period of taking over by five years for complete nationalisation of foreign essential service companies by the State Government or Central Government as demanded by the entire people of Calcutta. (26)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '38-Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to fix minimum and maximum and grade scales for cotton workers of West Bengal on the basis of engineering tripartite agreement. (27)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '38-Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to introduce uniform D.A. in all the industries in West Bengal on the basis of price index. (28)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '38-Labour and Employment' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to take strong steps against those engineering firms which have not implemented the engineering agreement in West Bengal. (29)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '57-Road and Water Transport Schemes' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to finalise grade scales of 10,000 Calcutta Tramways employees which have been submitted to the State Government by all the Unions concerned. (30)]

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): I bed to move:

That the demand for grant on account under Head '19-General Administration' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to set up a high-powered judicial enquiry commission to go into complaints of killing, murder, assault, loot, arson, molestation of women, forcible seizure of legally owned land, gheraoes in industrial, educational and other concerns, setting up of 'People's Court' 'People's Railway Stations' levying illegal taxes, subversion of general and police administration, utilising Government machinery for enforcing totalitarian hold over the people, curbing democratic freedom of the people, terrorising Press and creating a reign of terror in the State by C.P.M. and other political elements. (31).]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '19-General Administration' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Shuffling of administrative officers, giving preferential lifts to some set of officers, shifting other officers and creating an atmosphere of terror and intimidation in general administration by home Ministry for enforcing C.P.M. hegemony of the State administrative machinery. (32)]

[Shri Samar Guba]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '19-General Administration' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Absence of immediate setting up of Government machinery for distribution of vested land and Benami land to landless cultivators, recovery of illegally occupied land by C.P.M. and other political elements from poor land owners, recovery of illegally occupied land by CPM supporter jotedars, and guaranteeing legitimate rights of share croppers. (33)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '19-General Administration' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Absence of declaration of a policy for land reform for the benefit of landless cultivators and tribal people. (34)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '19-General Administration' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Absence of a labour policy for safeguarding interest of workers against all machinations of industrialists and ensure peace, and production in industrial field and stop influence of CPM onslaught on rival trade union. (35)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '19-General Administration' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Absence of general directives to the police to stop violent activities by CPM and steps to ban meetings, processions, demonstrations and assemblies with arms by CPM and political elements throughout the State. (36)].

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '19-General Administration' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Raising of 1,10,000 armed volunteers by CPM holding of meetings, processions and assemblies by such armed volunteers, creating an atmosphere of political terror and intimidation by such armed forces. and directives publicly given by CPM

Ministers and other chief party functionaries to those CPM armed forces to remain prepared for acting as an 'Army of Liberation' like the Liberation Army of Vietnam. (37)]

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch-Bihar): I beg to move:

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '50-Public Works' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Need to include the Project for a bridge over the river Manshai, in Cooch Behar District, in the Fourth Five Year Plan. (38)]

SHRI J. M. BISWAS (Bankura): I beg to move:

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '64-Famine Relief' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Failure to take adequate measures in order to give relief to the famine stricken people of Hura P.S., Para P.S., Raghunathpur P.S., Jaipur P.S. and Kashipur P.S. in Purulia district and Chhatna P.S. in Bankura district. (39)]

That the demand for grant on account under the Head '64-Famine Relief' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Failure to start immediate relief work in the famine stricken areas in Purulia and Bankura districts in the shape of starting gruel kitchen and making arrangements for Test Relief and Gratuitous Relief for the affected people. (40)]

SHRI DEVEN SEN ((Asansol): I beg to move:

That the demand for a Supplementary Grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,72,000 in respect of 'General Administration' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Financial aid to West Bengal by the Fifth Finance Commission. (1)].

That the demand for a Supplementary Grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,15,44,000 in respect of 'Police' be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Failure to maintain law and order in the town of Burdwan.(2)]

That the demand for a Supplementary Grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,15,44,000 in respect of Police be reduced by Rs. 100.

[Failure to maintain law and order in Stripur Colliery, Asansol, district Burdwan. (3)].

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE (Kolaba): Sir, I rise on a point of order. How can items 8, 9 and 10 be discussed together?

(Item 8 is a statutory motion. It is a separate motion....)

MR. SPEAKER: Statutory Motion at the end will be put first.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE: It will be mixing the discussion.

MR. SPEAKER: That was the decision of the House. That was the decision adopted by the House itself.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE: Please bear with me for a minute. The House cannot possibly override its own rules of procedure. You cannot override the rule which is already there. When it is a clear Statutory Motion, it has to be treated separately. When the Business Advisory Committee thought of this, out of 5 hours they could have allotted half-an-hour or some time for the Statutory Resolution separately. But in a peculiar manner, in order to suit the convenience or time of the House they have mixed up all the Motions, and it is clearly misleading the House, because, after all, Statutory Resolution should be first disposed of and then the budget should be taken up. I really object to this procedure. Even if the whole House agrees, unless you change the rules of procedure, you cannot do it. You must give your ruling about it.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA (Madhubani): I support what Mr. Kunte has said.

MR. SPEAKER: This was the decision of the Business Advisory Committee. It was put before the House and the House adopted it as it is. I am just carrying out the decision of the House. The House is the master of the Rules, of everything else.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE: This is not the correct position. This cannot be done unless you change the Rules of Procedure.

MR. SPEAKER: Rules are made by the House.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE: If you want to suspend certain rule, you can suspend the rule. I want a clear ruling. Are you suspending the rule or not? If you don't do that, whatever be the decision of the Business Advisory Committee, whatever be the decision of the House, this cannot be taken up together.

MR. SPEAKER: The House has decided. I stand by the decision of the House. Now, Shri A. K. Sen.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : श्री ए के मेन हाउस में है नहीं लेकिन आप उनका नाम पुकार रहे हैं। सत्ताधारी कांग्रेस दल की तरफ से पहले बुलाना मेरी समझ में कुछ यह तरीका नहीं आता।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : श्रीमती सुचेता कृपालानी।

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI (Gonda): Mr. Speaker, Sir, though we are in the Opposition today we are here to fully support the steps that the Government has taken. When the President's rule was imposed in Bengal people all over the country except a particular section, have welcomed it as a reprieve for the long sufferings of the people of Bengal. The people of Bengal expect a better future than what they were having during the last one year. We were getting more and more alarmed with the kind of reports we were receiving from Bengal during the period. The reports indicated that the Administration was paralysed, the police was completely immobilised, there

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were constant inter-party clashes leading often to murders. I don't wish to go into the figures; we all know them. But the main features were the Naxalite type of rampages in various parts of the state resulting in violent clashes, rioting, arson, loot molestation of women, and such other criminal activities. People were afraid to give evidence or even report about it. We know the farce that was perpetrated in the name of enquiry over the Rabindra Sarovar incident.

When in 1969 after mid-term poll, the Leftists formed a Joint Front, and came into power, many people hailed them. That was due to the many omissions and commissions made by the Congress. I fully admit that. People thought that now they would get a good deal. Though the Marxist Communists got merely 20 per cent support, as far as their voting strength was concerned, they came to occupy a dominating position in the Assembly, and, therefore, they were the dominant partners in the Joint front that was organised to form the government. The people expected to get a progressive and radical rule. They expected peace and progress. They thought that the poor would come to their own as it was a people's government. I would have been very glad if it had come about. But what do we see instead after one year?

During the last one year, the history of their government is this. I have all the details here but I do not waste my time in going through it all, because everybody knows it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour): Better not.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI: I do not want any frivolous remarks from Shri Jyotirmoy Basu who is a very clever and stalwart leader of that party.

They were given a golden opportunity to show to the country that the bourgeois and reactionary government was no good and their Government would bring heaven to the poor of the country. But today, the Government has fallen. Why? It has fallen not because of any outside pressures, but it has fallen due to acute contradictions inside the

front. It has fallen due to the rot within. The responsibility for this has been squarely laid on the Communist Marxist Party, not by us, but by their own constituents, and by their own 13 other partners who functioned with them to bring this heaven on earth in Bengal. I have got a lot of quotations with me here to substantiate my statement to show how they have held the Communist Marxists responsible.

As I have said earlier they had a unique opportunity, but they wasted it. They were not bothered about carrying on the administration because. They were keen to build a base for the Communist Marxist Party, which would be a jumping ground for them for forging ahead and spreading out. All the other constituents were thus elbowed out from their positions of strength, so that the Communist Marxists could forge ahead in order to strengthen themselves for the future. They did not care even a brass button for the administration of the State. They had no time to attend to it.

As I said, they had a unique opportunity, because they were in a joint front, the joint front could have mobilised multiclass support and could have given a good leftist government. But what has been the result of their activities? The result of their activities has been that they evoked angry reaction among their own partners, that is, the 13 other partners. The whole State was riven with strife and violence. The last days of the UF rule brought credit to no party, and least of all to the dominant party, namely the Communist Marxist. They had thrown overboard all standards of political ethics. They rode roughshod over all norms by which democracy functions. They shocked the intelligentsia of Bengal, the intelligentsia which used to give a lead not only to Bengal but to other parts of India; that intelligentsia was shocked, which at one time had given them unstinted support to the party.

They thought that what they were doing with the support of the labour and the kisans would bring them laurels. But it has not brought them laurels. They have lost whatever good-will they had.

Why did they fail? Why was the Government paralysed? We who believe in democracy feel that the permanent services and at least the police administration should not be political. They should be above politics and they should be neutral. The politics should be confined to the Ministry only. It is for the Ministry to lay down the policy, and the permanent administration to carry out whatever policies are laid down by the Ministry. But the C.P.M. believes in committed services, as our friends the CONGIs today have come to believe. As a result they started inducting their own men in the police force. They started patronising those officers who saw eye to eye with them. For instance, in Burdwan, a serious incident had taken place, to which I shall make a reference a little later. Here, the district magistrate was hand-picked by the Communist Marxist Minister; he being their own man of confidence was placed there to carry out their nefarious work. The result was that the police force got totally immobilised, and indisciplined. We had a demonstration of that, when the Assembly was attacked. It showed how much discontent there was among the police and how it found expression.

The failure of the U.F. Government in West Bengal was to our mind mainly the result of politicalisation of the police; they were not able to get the confidence of the senior officers at the same time they failed to make the rank and file of the police feel a sense of identification with them i.e., C.P.M. Had they been able to win their confidence, they would have been in a position to take over the whole of Bengal. Here is the magazine *Mainstream*, which we do not publish but which is published by the Communist Party. There is a very interesting article. The final comment about what they have done in Bengal is expressed in the following words:

"There was neither wisdom nor statesmanship nor an effort at imparting the vision of a new society in the hectic, almost nerve-racking record of one year of unchallenged rule in Bengal."

They had a golden opportunity to show to the people what they could do, but they failed to utilise the opportunity.

I could have understood if they had done something dramatic against the capitalists, and against the tycoons about whom they are talking all the time and frothing here, but they did nothing, and they did not do anything against them there. All that they did succeed was in creating a chaotic situation in the State. The chaotic situation first came to prevail in the rural areas and then it spread to the cities.

In February, I was at Calcutta. I heard what the conditions in the rural areas were. They were not giving protection to the people. In the pretext of giving land to the landless people what they started was complete loot and arson and lawlessness. Their armed gangs would walk into anybody's house and commit murders and take by force whatever they could lay their hands up on. They created some thing called, the 'people's courts.' In the 'people's courts', composed of their own henchmen, they would decide whose land was to be taken and to whom it should be given. I can understand if they take the land and give to the landless. But in a democracy that should be done through a proper legal process. They can make the process as summary as they like. But it is incumbent that they go through some legal procedure. Again, the Legislative Assembly was completely under their control and they could have passed any law, and under those laws, if they so liked they could have divested all the land-owning people of their land and given over the land to the landless. If they had done that, I could have supported them. But they adopted extra-legal methods. They adopted terroristic methods by which killing and loot went on unchecked. Their own Revenue Minister, Mr. Konar had admitted this. I have got there with me all the quotations, and I shall use them whenever I need them. To save time, I shall quote only what Shri Konar, Minister of Revenue said. He said:

"The post-harvesting situation is normal."

And how was the situation normal? The figures he gave were the harvesting clashes were only 100; 19 people were killed, and three more people were killed by police firing. There were 1721 cases of dispute about forcible possession. These figures

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relate to areas other than the 24-Parganas which was the worst affected. This was what Mr. Konar said some time in January. But Mr. Jyoti Basu, another brilliant luminary in their party said at the end of December the following. He gave different figures. He said that 1128 clashes occurred. In 43 cases fire-arms were used, and 44 people were injured by fire-arms, and 200 people were injured otherwise. In fact, there was a state of semi revolution in the countryside during the winter of 1969-70. They had brought about a new kind of class-warfare. Before 1969 they were dominating in four districts, but during this period of one year Joint Front rule they have spread all over Bengal accompanied by this kind of lawlessness. This has been admitted by no less a person than the Calcutta Commissioner of Police himself. Then, gradually, the lawlessness spread to the Calcutta city itself. I do not want to go into the details. I could only mention the recent incident at Narkeldenga where a boy was killed by bomb-throwing and many were injured. A whole collection of illegal arms was discovered. Bomb-throwing, use of revolver, use of spears and all kinds of lethal weapons, is a normal daily occurrence in Calcutta. Then there is insult to and molestation of women. Only recently, we read about a case where a woman was taken away from her husband, molested and thrown aside in an unconscious State; later she died. There are many such cases. Women do not come out to report because of a sense of shame, but there are many such cases. Only the day before yesterday, I was having a talk with Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri, and she told me that such incidents go on. The police is immobilised and the police cannot do anything there. These are political goondas they are political criminals who are committing all these crimes. If the police did anything to check them Mr. Jyoti Basu would come down upon the police. Therefore, the police sat quite without doing anything. Not only were they inactive against the political criminals and the political goondas, but even against the normal criminals and normal goondas, because they did not know on whose forehead was written 'CPIM.'

The lawlessness in West Bengal was such

that even the writ of the CPM does not run now, all forces of lawlessness are let loose.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gahati): On a point of order. The other day you were good enough to expunge the word 'goonda' used by a member.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI: I withdraw it; I say 'political criminals'. The police cannot discriminate between political criminals and ordinary criminals. As a result, we saw the heinous crime of the attack on the French Consul, his wife was murdered and he and his son were badly injured. It has brought shame to us not only here but in the international world.

The administration became so bad in the entire Siliguri area that revolution was rampant. The army had to be called out. It is a matter of shame for any State Government when they have to call in the army to deal with the situation.

Ultimately, Shri Ajoy Mukherjee could not tolerate it any more. He was caught in a vice and wanted to get out of it. He used such wonderful epithets to describe his own government as 'barbarous', 'uncivilised' and described the 'Marxists workers as bandits.' My hon. friend over there objected to the word 'goonda'. If he prefers, I will use the word 'bandit'. This is how even Shri Promode Das Gupta, Secretary of Communist Marxist party described the situation during those months of tortuous negotiations and manipulations: "We are co-existing to villify each other."

In the industrial sphere, labour trouble was rampant. The Marxist Unions were not many when they came to power. Now they have infiltrated everywhere, into all units. The proprietors have been put in such a difficult situation in industry that when Shri Asoka Melita and I had visited Calcutta, we were told that the industrialists were compelled to make peace with the Marxist Unions; otherwise, they could not run their factories.

Inter-union clashes and rivalries have assumed serious proportions. Murders are frequent. Everyone knows about the con-

troversty between the Chief Minister and Deputy Chief Minister over the non-withdrawal of some criminal cases. It has appeared in the papers. I do not want to go into the details. But it would appear that those who were in charge of law and order were eager to see how many criminal cases could be withdrawn rather than how many criminal cases should be instituted.

At long last, Shri Ajoy Mukherjee wanted to go on a fast. He did not want the UF to go. I will give him credit for it. He tried his level best to see if things could be settled and the situation brought back to normalcy. But ultimately he failed and undertook a fast.

The only part that wanted to see that the law and order situation was maintained was Shri Ajoy Mukherjee. I give him credit for it.

The deterioration in the law and order situation was due to another reason. Politics was badly mixed up with crime. The leaders at many levels tried to find political solutions for criminal incidents. Naturally, political solutions cannot be found for criminal incidents; howsoever powerful the criminals might be, they must be dealt with according to the penal law of the country.

Now I come to the incident in Burdwan on the 17th March. After it was decided that Governor's rule would be promulgated, the Communist Marxists gave a threat as to what the future would look like. On 17th March, they declared a strike and took out a procession. A small procession was taken out by some Congress supporters. For the offence of taking out this procession, after a couple of hours 3,000 people armed with bombs, rifles, revolvers, bows and arrows—there were santhals and others with spears etc. came and attacked the house of Shri Sain. Two of his brothers were brutally speared to death. . . . (*Interruptions*).

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Give the complete story.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI: He can give his own version (*Interruptions*). The third brother, Mr. Navakumar Sain, an Advocate, who came out was attacked. His two eyes were scooped out with spears, and

nitric acid was poured into them. He is lying in hospital. The younger brother, Malai Sain, who was a student worker, rushed to the District Officer, fell at his feet and requested him to give him protection, to arrest him, as otherwise he would be killed. He had first run from his home to his neighbour's house, and then from there to the District Officer. He was not given any protection, he was speared to death in front of the officer. All the members of the family 16 in number, were injured. The house was set on fire. The police were present, but did nothing. The mother was beaten up and the blood of her sons was sprinkled on her.

Mr. Tarun Dutt who is the District Magistrate of Burdwan, was handpicked by the Communist Marxist Ministers to carry on their nefarious activities in this District. I would like to ask the Home Minister if it is not a fact that Mr. Tarun Dutt sold a revolver from the Treasury for Rs. 200 to the Secretary or one of the important Communist Marxist workers of that area. A revolver is given only to people who show a sense of responsibility to hold it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Who holds a licence.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI: Everybody cannot hold a licence. Those with criminal instincts and records cannot hold a licence.

Then, sir, it is said that CPM are the friends of the labour and we are reactionaries. What did they do to the labour? On the same day trouble took place in Tribeni and Dakshin-Diri. Here the factory workers did not go on strike. So, the CPM workers gathered in large numbers in Dakshin-Diri area and Tribeni and armed with lethal weapons attacked the workers and some were murdered. In one place, a poor boy ran into the water, but he was shot from behind. He came out bleeding and begged for the *biksha* of his life, he was assured but when he came out, he was pounced upon and killed. They took a black nail and drove it into the head of another worker and thus killed him. One boy was slaughtered with a sword. These are the friends of labour'. I want the people of India to be warned as to what will be the condition of India when

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these friends of labour come to power.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: You are the friends of the monopolists, and we are the friends of the workers.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI: All that is now over, and the Governor has taken over. What is the legacy left by the rule of one year by these great democrats and friends of labour? The task of the Governor is very heavy. There is widespread disrespect for law. Law and order does not exist. There is partiality for the use of violence and the habit of violence. It takes a long time to give it up. The decencies of democratic rule and adherence to constitutional procedure have been totally overthrown. There is a general attitude of expediency and adventurism. There is a total disregard even of the judiciary. The economy is in doldrums. The factories are shifting. Labour is in constant turmoil.

The need of the hour is that a semblance of order and peace be restored, that there be stability. The people should have confidence in the ability of the Governor to give them peace. Can this Governor give the peace and stability that they need? This Governor was appointed at the express desire of Mr. Jyoti Basu, I have no objection to that, but he has, in his radio talk recently, said that he is working to bring back the United Front. He has also gone in for high praise of Mr. Jyoti Basu. In the *Statesman* of the 28th there is a report of a resolution passed, not by us but by Mrs. Gandhi's ruling Congress, where Mr. Ashok Sen was also present. It says that a joint meeting of the State PCC executive (R) and the Parliamentary Party was held and it passed a resolution. I quote:

"In a resolution it said the Governor's praise of the former Deputy Chief Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, who was responsible for the breakdown of law and order, looting, murders and molestation of women and employment of Government officials for furtherance of his party interests, was indecorous. Regretting the Governor's action, the meeting hoped that he would maintain strict neutrality in all such matters and would not get himself involved in party politics."

In another resolution they condemned the gruesome incidents of Burdwan and demanded a judicial enquiry. They have demanded that the culprits should be punished, those who perpetrated such violence. They further said that his talk about the restoration of the united front was absolutely out of place. Therefore, what is needed, Sir, is not a politician Governor but purely an administrator. The people of West Bengal deserve a much better deal, they have suffered much. I hold the Central Government also responsible for this situation.

Again and again we raised issues of utter lawlessness in this House and told the Home Minister and the Prime Minister that they were training them and collecting arms. Mr. Jyoti Basu has said that they were raising a force of one lakh. What we have seen in Dakshindevi, Triveni, in Burdwan and other places is the consequence of that. There is a private para military force organised by the communists; the leaders are expert terrorists; they are terrorising the great people of Bengal, to which reference was made by Mr. Nath Pai the other day. They are terrorised and they do not know how to hold their own. They have not the courage now to give evidence against the zoolum committed by these anti-social forces.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Not quite like the Siva Sena and the RSS.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI: You are on a par with them; I am against them. It was the duty of the Central Government to have woken up earlier. After being cross-examined in the House Mr. Chavan admitted that arms were being smuggled into Bengal from Pakistan and China. He again admitted that they were "small arms." Certainly "small arms" were being smuggled into our country during the last ten years. What were they doing? Why were they sleeping? Why did they allow this kind of lawlessness in West Bengal? Have the people of West Bengal no right to ask you for protection, succour and help? Why did you turn your backs to them? When Mrs. Gandhi was there in January this year, the Pressmen asked her for her comments on the situation in Bengal. The newspaper report reads:

"She declined to comment on the conditions in West Bengal. She said the situation was delicate and the least said the better. Asked whether she had any talks with Mr. Ajoy Mukherji, she said: 'not much'."

There is another very interesting extract which says:

"Extending 'support to Mrs. Gandhi's Government with regard to every measure directed against the menace of the Syndicate', the CPI (M) politburo which met in Calcutta yesterday, in a statement warned the Prime Minister against the dangers of her policy of 'Marxist baiting and disruption of the United Fronts in Kerala and West Bengal'."

(Interruptions).

I say that the Government in the Centre has failed in its duty because it was seeking the support of C.P.M. The other day Mr. Chavan said that there was no breakdown on the Constitution in Bengal. On that plea they hesitated to interfere in Bengal. Did they not understand the definition of 'breakdown' of the Constitution? This Constitution enjoins that the cabinet should function as one; it has joint responsibility. Was the West Bengal cabinet functioning jointly? There were opposing groups within the cabinet fighting against each other, villifying each other and murdering each other. There was total breakdown of the Constitution. The joint cabinet responsibility required under the Indian Constitution was not in existence there. The blame for what happened in West Bengal does not lie merely on the Marxists; they share the main responsibility but responsibility lies on Mr. Chavan and Madam Indira Gandhi. They should at least now wake up and rectify their mistakes, and have somebody as Governor who is non-partisan and who has no sympathy for CPM and who will function as a real impartial administrator.

Here are all the papers describing the horrible atrocities committed in Bengal and I will place them on the Table.

MR. SPEAKER: You have mentioned them.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti): The Home Minister is not present in the House to listen to the speech. The only Cabinet Minister present is Dr. Triguna Sen. (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE (Ratanagiri): The Home Minister is turning a blind eye and a deaf ear to Bengal. (Interruptions).

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara): About the cut motions, some cut motions have been submitted at 10 o'clock this morning because yesterday was a holiday. Generally, in these matters, we relax the rule and even if cut motions are given here in the House, they are accepted. I think you should have no objection to allowing the cut motions submitted at 10 O'clock.

MR. SPEAKER: If they are four or five, it is all right. But Mr. Samar Guha has given dozens and dozens of them. The Secretariat has no time for circulating them. If you give a few, it is all right. But if you give a big bundle of papers, what can I do? You can select a few.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: If the cut motions are received now, when shall we get the replies prepared on those points?

MR. SPEAKER: That is why I have requested him to select a few.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: He will select only a few.

SHRI J. M. BISWAS: I want to submit only one cut motion.

MR. SPEAKER: I am thankful to you.

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने जो श्री कर्मा कर्मा कि
जैसा बिजनेस ऐडवाइजरी कमेटी ने तय किया
था और ठीक तय किया था कि 5 बजे इसको
खत्म कर देंगे, लेकिन यह दो तीन लोगों के
कटमोशनस हैं और कुछ अप्रॉप्रियेशन पर हैं, तो
दम-दम पन्द्रह-पन्द्रह मिनट दो-तीन को समय
दे दीजिए ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : पहले ही काफी लेट हो रहे हैं और बाकी आप और उसमें लेट करा रहे हैं। प्रोक्लेशन पर ही बहस न रखिए। और भी चीजें हैं, डिमांड्स हैं, बोट आन एकाउंट है, I think the debate should cover all these. Mr. Parimal Ghosh.

SHRI PARIMAL GHOSH: (Ghatal): Sir, today we are discussing the West Bengal budget in this House because of the fact that in spite of the fact that UF Government came into power with an overwhelming majority in the mid-term poll, it did not last because of the inherent contradictions among the political parties, which have brought about immense disorder to the people of that State. Normally the budget proposals should indicate the economic, social and other aspects and affairs of that particular State. Naturally, when we discuss the budget proposals of West Bengal, normally we cannot ignore the fact of the events that have taken place there for the last so many years. We are all aware of the fact that West Bengal has always been a highly industrially developed state, and particularly pioneer in the field of the engineering industry. The other main industries of West Bengal are jute and tea which have earned the maximum amount of foreign exchange which, in its turn, has contributed to a great extent towards the development of the other regions of India. Out of the total approximate foreign exchange of Rs. 900 crores which the country has earned, the contribution of West Bengal has been to the tune of Rs. 300 crores.

The question is: why is it that today we find West Bengal in this condition where it is left with almost no resources of its own? If we look at the First, Second and Third Plan outlays of the State we find that in the First Plan period the total investment in West Bengal was to the tune of Rs. 154 crores whereas in the same period the investment in Maharashtra and Gujarat put together was Rs. 224 crores. In the subsequent Plans there has been a consistent comparative fall in the outlay of the West Bengal Plan and today it is only Rs. 322 crores whereas in the case of Maharashtra the total plan has gone up to almost Rs. 900 crores.

If we study the events we will find that though the engineering industry in West Bengal was the pioneer industry, it could not flourish because of certain events. We all know that West Bengal had the necessary skills and also the advantage of the proximity of coal and steel. In the subsequent years, under the pressure of other States, the Central Government thought it wise to follow a particular policy. They introduced the equalisation price for steel and coal and almost took away the inherent advantage which West Bengal had enjoyed all along. My objection is not only that these advantages were taken away but when the question of prices came in regard to oilseeds and raw cotton, unfortunately, the Central Government succumbed to the pressures of other States and did not follow the same policy.

The other two main industries in West Bengal are jute and tea. The expansion of these two industries could not have taken place in other States because the products of these industries do not grow in factories but in the soil. If we take the other main industries in India, the chemical and pharmaceutical industry, the original pharmaceutical industry was started in West Bengal. Yet, we find that in the subsequent years most of the development and expansion have taken place in the western region.

If we analyse the causes for the steady decline in the industrial growth in West Bengal and the steady increase in the industrial development of the western region, we find that there has been a consistent policy of helping the other regions by way of following a particular industrial licensing policy in the matter of issuing import licences, in the matter of granting foreign collaborations, in the matter of granting foreign exchange and also in the matter of issuing liberal financial assistance from its own financial institutions. If we study we will find that most of the financial institutions, such as, the LIC, the IFC, the ICICI, the Unit Trust of India, are all located in the western region.

13 hrs.

I would now like to come to another problem which has also added to the maladies of West Bengal. It is the problem of the huge

influx of refugees. I may be permitted to say that Bengal and Punjab had been partitioned so that the rest of India could enjoy the benefits of independence. Partition has equally affected Bengal as well as Pujnab but the Government of India took it for granted that the refugees from West Pakistan had come for good. They immediately took up the question of their rehabilitation from the day they arrived. The West Pakistan refugees have been accommodated on land, houses and shops abandoned by the Muslims who left. It was made possible only because there had been a two-way traffic in the western region. But so far as the eastern region is concerned, there has been only a one-way traffic. This has made the task of the Government immensely difficult because the amenities and other things had to be created afresh.

Even the Estimates Committee have pointed out that only in 1955 the Government of India thought it wise that the refugee problem in the eastern region should be tackled on the same footing as that of the western region but even then the western and the eastern refugees have never been tackled on the same footing. Both the refugees from the west as well as the east had to abandon their immovable property. Compensation and other rehabilitation assistance has been given to refugees from West Pakistan but unfortunately compensation and assistance for the rehabilitation of the East Bengal refugees could not have been granted. We find that about Rs. 450 crores, including evacuee property, have been paid to refugees from the west but in the case of the eastern refugees it has been only to the tune of Rs. 172 crores. These are facts which have completely destroyed the economic and social fabric of West Bengal and today we find many of the things happening in the political field.

I would now like to refer briefly to the recommendations of the Fifth Finance Commission. The Fifth Finance Commission, it appears, has framed its recommendations in such a way that it has left many of the States with huge surpluses amounting to almost Rs. 1,271 crores but West Bengal has been left with a huge deficit in spite of the recommendation for grant-in-aid. These huge surpluses have enabled many of the

States to augment their Plan outlays but in the case of West Bengal it would be difficult even to maintain the meagre Plan outlay of Rs. 322 crores without special assistance.

It appears that the Fifth Finance Commission whose job it was to remove financial disparities among the States has rather accentuated financial disparities notwithstanding its good intentions to give support to the weaker States.

The West Bengal Government has decided to raise about Rs. 80 crores to maintain their Fourth Plan. The assumption was that the difference between the normal revenue receipts and the normal committed expenditure would be met from the contributions to be recommended by the Fifth Finance Commission. But that hope has also been belied. Even the Planning Commission, in its latest review, have made it clear that the State's own contribution to the Fourth Plan would be nil. So, the Government of West Bengal have decided to raise about Rs. 80 crores by way of additional taxes to supplement their Fourth Plan outlay. But most of these moneys will have to be, probably, spent to meet the big gulf of its own non-Plan deficit. So, whatever additional resources that will be raised by future enactments will be required during the Fourth Plan period to bridge the non-Plan deficit alone.

In conclusion, I would like to remind the House that the people of West Bengal and, particularly, of Calcutta have been told several times that the State has a special problem of its own which needs to be tackled in a national way. I would like to say that these commitments would be fulfilled without any further delay. The hungry people of West Bengal will refuse to be fed by mere promises for any length of time. The time has come when the people of West Bengal consider that poverty is unnecessary and that it can be changed by political and economic changes. The gap between aspirations and the development is growing very fast and, unless democratic methods are adopted, the transition might be very painful, if not dangerous.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA (Jalore): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the State of West Bengal,

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the Presidential rule has been imposed for the second time in the course of the last three years. But more important is that in that State no single Government could function at a time for more than one year and, in spite of mid-term elections of February, 1969, once again, we find, in that State, there is no legally constituted Government and the President had to intervene.

Within the short span of three years, the entire social and economic life was terribly shaken and disturbed, particularly, in the course of last few months, and it was indeed a nightmare for a law-abiding citizen of West Bengal to live there. There are very few such occasions and it is only one of those few occasions that the President's rule was welcomed in that State, and the people of West Bengal sighed a sense of relief. After imposition of the President's rule, the life again, for once, is coming to normal, yet, the Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal, Mr. Jyoti Basu, observed the following in New Delhi on March 26:

"If the West Bengal administration during President's rule mounted attacks on the people in order to deprive them of their gains achieved during the UF regime, the people and their parties would launch a strong movement."

Mr. Basu was supported by Mr. Ramamurti, our colleague in the Communist Party here.

SHRI NAMBIAR: Why not?

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: M. Ramamurti has stated that:

"If the Central Government rejected their plea and delayed poll for nothing, they would start a peoples' movement in the State."

Now, let us, for a moment, try to analyse what type of achievements Mr. Jyoti Basu was referring to and what type of people's movement Mr. Ramamurti is contemplating. In the course of their regime, as a part of their master strategy the Communist Party of India (Marxists) persistently and systematically disrupted and permitted the situation of law and order to deteriorate

to such an extent by creating complete chaos that no law could function under that situation. To illustrate that point I will quote the resolution passed by the Bangla Congress, the resolution which directed the Chief Minister to resign. It says:

"During the rule of the UF, unbridled chaos and disturbances have taken place all over the State. The State machinery has become the pathetic onlooker at almost all activities of vandalism and barbarism. The number of murders has increased and many women have lost their honour at the rude and rough cadre of the CPI (M). Looting, arson, rowdiness have become the order of the day. In fact, a reign of terror has been established by the CPI (M) in different parts of the State, including the metropolitan city of Calcutta."

West Bengal was never after the UF regime a simple problem of maintenance of law and order. It was a deliberate and determined conspiracy on the part of the CPI (M) and their associates to create chaotic conditions by which the functioning of democracy may become impossible. While in power, they used every bit of State machinery to achieve their ends.

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli): Never.

MR. SPEAKER: Please don't interrupt him.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: I don't mind their interruptions. Sir farmers were incited against farmers. Workers were incited against workers and law-abiding citizens were murdered by the gangsters. Even according to the admission of Mr. Jyoti Basu himself, in the course of eleven months as many as 600 murders have taken place.

SHRI NAMBIAR: That includes natural deaths also.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: There were thousands of murders and dacoities which were never reported to the Police and which the Police refused to register. Women were molested and their modesty outraged so much so that the streets of Calcutta presented a

deserted appearance after 8 p.m. and no dignified woman was courageous enough to move out of the house after 8 p.m. To support this I quote the then Chief Minister of West Bengal, Mr. Ajoy Mukerji. He is on record as having said:

"First they looted paddy, then the fish, now there is nothing left and they have started looting women."

That was the condition. Thousands of ammunition factories flourished in and around Calcutta in West Bengal making live bombs. They had a flourishing trade and the bombs were available in the streets of Calcutta, practically at every nook and corner. This was the condition under the very nose of the Government which was controlled by Mr. Jyoti Basu, as Home Minister. The streets and roads of West Bengal were paraded openly by persons carrying weapons.

SHRI NAMBIAR: These are all falsehoods.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: The weapons consisted of spears, lathis and sometimes guns. The most dangerous feature in this situation is the involvement of the Chinese and Pakistani elements in the whole situation prevailing in West Bengal. The name of Gandhiji and the name of Netaji is being replaced in the State of West Bengal by the name of Mao. It is Mao who is the inspiring force in West Bengal, and not Gandhiji or Netaji. On 24th March 1970 Naxalite students attacked the room of the Vice-Chancellor in Jadavpur university. They exhibited and pasted printed maps suggesting extension of Chinese Empire in the Eastern region. Such pamphlets and portraits were pasted, in the room of the Vice Chancellor. The sketch or portrait of Mao was printed there and this was tolerated by the Vice Chancellor and by the authorities of the University and by Police of West Bengal. Another humiliating incident, humiliation to the national honour of India, happened on 3rd March, 1970 when as many as 7 cinema houses were attacked by the hooligans and by the gangsters supported by the CPI (M) simply because those particular cinemas was showing the film Prem Pujari and Shatranj. You know what was the offence committed by them (*Interruption*)

SHRI NAMBIAR: Such other Pujaris must be sent out of West Bengal. . .

MR. SPEAKER: What enjoyment do you derive by interrupting every Member ?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: It is not a matter of joke. It is a serious matter that 26 cinema houses were attacked. These were depicting patriotic deeds done by our soldiers. This is not a matter for lighthearted joke or laughter.

SHRI NAMBIAR: They cannot say that the Communist party is supporting the goondas and all that.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: That was a picture depicting Chinese aggression and the heroic deeds of our Indian soldiers. (*Interruption*)

MR. SPEAKER: Order please. Let Mr. Patodia go on If Members go on interrupting him, I will have to deduct their time and give it to Mr. Patodia.

SHRI NAMBIAR: My submission is only this. He cannot say that the Communist Party is supporting the goondas. (*Interruption*) Patodia House is representing the big money business.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: When the Chinese attacked, all the patriotic elements condemned it, but not a word of condemnation was uttered by the CPM. Certainly they have their links with the attack.

श्री प्रकाशबोर शास्त्री: अध्यक्ष जी, नम्बियार साहब का कहना बिल्कुल ठीक है कि पटोदिया साहब कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को न कहें बल्कि मार्क्सिस्ट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को कहें— यह बात सही है। (व्यवधान) . .

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: The cinema house showing the film Prem Pujari was attacked by the goondas supported by the CPI (M). .

SHRI NAMBIAR: Never; he must withdraw it.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: Only because Prem Pujari was a national film and it has

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condemned the Chinese aggression, it was not allowed to be exhibited in West Bengal. That happened with the support and active connivance of the West Bengal Government at a time when Mr. Jyoti Basu happened to be the Chief of the Home Department. Such was the scare created in West Bengal that the police was no more a pass-word; the court was no more a pass-word; the Constitution was no more a pass-word. For anything happening in West Bengal, CPIM was the pass-word. If you have to get anything done in Bengal, it must have the authority of the CPI(M) and it must have the authority of Mr. Jyoti Basu. You can commit murders, you can commit rape, and you can do any damage you like, but if it is approved by the CPI(M) it is as good as having been approved by God. That was the state of affairs there.

SHRI NAMBIAR: Absolute nonsense. What he is talking is nothing but nonsense. Everything that he says is nonsense.

SHRI BENI SHANKER SHARMA (Banka): Everything is on record.

SHRI NAMBIAR: The CPI(M) as a party is functioning here. So, he cannot say like that.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi): On a point of order. Can any hon. Member describe another hon. Member's speech as nonsense? Is it parliamentary?

SHRI NAMBIAR: Surely it is.

MR. SPEAKER: I would request Shri Nambiar to keep sitting silently and quietly. One or two interruptions are enough. Let him not make it a habit to interrupt every now and then.

SHRI NAMBIAR: I seek your protection. How can he make such remarks against the CPI(M) ?

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: I would say that the CPI(M) members are goondas.

SHRI NAMBIAR: I would say that it was the RSS who killed Mahatma Gandhi and not we. They were the goondas who killed Mahatma Gandhi.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: You have ruled a number of times that when an hon. Member is speaking, other Members should not get up frequently and continue to interfere with his speech. Here Shri Nambiar has not only done this, but he has also said that the Jan Sangh or the RSS murdered Gandhiji. I would like to tell him that if anybody had murdered Gandhiji, he was tried and given death punishment. But if anybody is murdering the spirit of Gandhiji, then it is the CPI(M). You know, Sir, that we wanted to pass a resolution where we would pay our homage to Gandhiji, but these people said that they would not like to use the word 'non-violence'; yet, they are the people who say that others had murdered Gandhiji, whereas it is they who are the real murderers of the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi.

MR. SPEAKER: Can Shri Nambiar go out for lunch for some time?

SHRI NAMBIAR: I shall go out for lunch after Shri D. N. Patodia finishes.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: I think Shri Bal Raj Madhok forgot that under the regime of the CPI(M), murderers of Gandhiji will never be punished but only murderers of Mao would be punished. That is the situation.

After the imposition of President's rule in West Bengal, the agitation by the CPI(M) took a somewhat different turn. My description of what is happening in West Bengal would be somewhat incomplete if I did not give some of the illustrations which I have to bring to the notice of the House. With regard to the incident on March 17th, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani has already said what had happened at Burdwan. The house of Mrs. Sain, who happened to be the supporter of the democratic forces in West Bengal was attacked in the morning at about 8.30 a.m. by as many as 1,000 armed persons. They went there with guns and with spears and lathis. When the two brothers wanted to escape, they were followed into the kitchen, they were cornered and over-powered and were spared to death.

SHRI NAMBIAR: Where has he got these fabricated stories from?

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: The eyes of the eldest brother were damaged for life and he has become blind, and an one-month old child was thrown into the flames. This is what has happened after the imposition of President's rule when the CPI(M) movement took a different turn.

Recently, you must have learnt from the newspapers about what had happened at Sripur near Asansol where four bodies have been unearthed and many more bodies may be unearthed, nobody knows how many.

SHRI NAMBIAR: That is from a graveyard.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: On March 17, the CPI(M) forces attacked the house of the Deputy-Speaker, a person who was slightly inconvenient to them. His house was attacked by as many as 200 armed forces during the State-wide strike on March 15, when several persons were injured and killed by the CPI (M) persons. The CPI(M) leaders gave a call to launch a movement throughout the State and asked their followers to keep spears and lathis ready for launching the movement. I quote from the official organ of the CPI(M), namely the *Janashakti* which mentioned editorially in their edition of March 19:

"All West Bengal will be ablaze, if an alternative Mini-front was formed at any stage without the CPI(M). The Mini-front Government will not be able to enter the secretariat."

That was the challenge thrown by the CPI(M) and their supporters and their official organ. These are the conditions in West Bengal. Ultimately, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, the weak Chief Minister of West Bengal and the weak Central Government could not wait any longer and had to come out. . .

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: I am entitled to have 20 minutes.

MR. SPEAKER: Does he think that they are not over yet?

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: No, not at all. Seven minutes were taken away by the interruptions, and I must get at least seven minutes more.

MR. SPEAKER: No, no. He can have one or two minutes more.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: They had taken away seven minutes, and I have calculated the time for my speech, and I shall need seven minutes more. It was a very important point that I was making. . .

SHRI NAMBIAR: As soon as he finishes his speech, I shall go out for my lunch.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: How can I speak in the midst of these interruptions? You must give me some more time.

Another most serious indictment of the UF is that it has systematically and deliberately disrupted the economy of West Bengal. The phenomenon of gherao which was introduced by the CPI(M) under the garb of labour-management relationship involved all sorts of violent activities. Officers of mercantile houses were assaulted and were dragged out of their offices and dragged out of tea-houses and were severely beaten and injured. It was not only the private sector that was involved, but the public sector was also equally involved, and according to some of the Ministers who have told me in private conversations, in Durgapur alone, they have incurred a loss of not less than Rs. 10 crores in the course of the last one year. This gherao was not confined merely to mercantile houses or industrial complexes, but it spread to schools and colleges, hospitals and Government offices and even to police departments. This has happened in spite of the gheraos having been repeatedly declared illegal by the High Court. Yet, Ministers of West Bengal vied with each other in glorifying gherao, because there was no respect for law and there was no respect for the verdict of the court. There was respect only for one thing, namely violence and creating chaotic conditions and the orders given by the CPI(M) and their supporters. The immense damage done to the economy can well be measured by some of the figures published with regard to the industrial disputes in West Bengal. During the year 1969, up to September, the

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stoppages of work were as many as 710. The number of persons involved in these stoppages was 6,45,187, and the number of man-days lost was 8,85,49,203. For all that is being done and all that has happened in West Bengal, the CPI(M) is being condemned and they are being held responsible. In fairness to them, I should say that they have done nothing wrong; they have done nothing which was not expected of them; you cannot expect anything better from them. They have done exactly what was expected of them, and what they advocated during all those months. But our surprise was with regard to the role of the Chief Minister, Shri Ajoy Mukerji. The Chief Minister Shri Ajoy Mukerji left his party not on account of ideological differences but on account of personal differences, and he went to the extent of joining hands with the CPI(M) with whom he had fundamental differences on ideology, and he tried to cling to power but he could not succeed, and that is how the responsibility for whatever has happened in West Bengal will have to be shared by the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

With regard to the role of the Centre, the Centre also cannot escape the responsibility for what has happened in West Bengal. As I said earlier, I would like to repeat today that the weak and timid attitude adopted by the Central Government had been largely responsible for what happened in West Bengal, the consequences of which we are facing today. After all, what is the role of the Central Government? if the Constitution does not function, if law and order is not maintained, if foreign powers are involved and if parties are determined to wreck the Constitution and to destroy the democracy, then at what point of time should the Central Government intervene and at what point of time should the Home Ministry act and what function the Central Government has in that situation? If the Central Government wants to suggest that they have nothing to do in the matter, then where is the necessity for a Central Government at all? where is the necessity of having the Home Department at all? Where is the necessity of having a separate Prime Minister, apart

from the Chief Ministers of the respective States?

What is the immediate need for improving the situation. First of all, rule of law must be established there. Law and order has to be maintained and for that purpose, we are not going to be beaten down by whatever the Communists might shout. We are not going to suggest mid-term elections. The first requirement is the maintenance of law and order so that democracy is permitted to function. Unless this is done, there is not going to be any mid-term elections. Therefore, we have suggested that the situation there demands the declaration of an emergency; during that period, the Communist Party (Marxists) should be banned. A strong administration has to be carried on. Until the administration is able to weed out these disruptive forces from the administration, there should not be any talk of election.

SHRI NAMBIAR: **

(Interruptions).

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: Calcutta was reduced to a shambles (Interruptions)

SHRI NAMBIAR: Nonsense, rubbish (Interruptions).

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: I will not permit such accusations. These words should be expunged. I want your ruling. He is holding the House to ransom.

श्री सत्यनारायण सिंह (वाराणसी) :
अंग्रेजों की दलाली करने रहे, अंग्रेजों के साथ
खड़े रहे, अब देशभक्त बने हैं ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : कुछ समझ में नहीं आ
रहा है । आप बैठ जाइए । (व्यवधान)

श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी (भोपाल) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर है ।

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: A member has threatened another member. He has said **

** Expunged as ordered by the Chair—*vide* col. 284.

That must be expunged.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order.

SHRI NAMBIAR: The Swatantra Party will be banned.

SHRI ONKARLAL BOHRA (Chittor-garh): This is the way they are behaving in Calcutta.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta-North-East): On a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Joshi is already on a point of order.

श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी : मेरी आपसे प्रार्थना है कि वाद विवादों में कहीं न कहीं टोका टोकी जरूर होती है, अगर किसी सदस्य ने कहा कि किसी पार्टी को बैन करो या न करो तो यह भी अनपार्लियामेंट्री नहीं है, लेकिन गुस्से में आकर * * * कहा जाय या कहा जाय कि इसको बाहर भेज दो, * * यह कहा तक उचित है कि इसको प्रोसीडिंस में रखा जाय ? (व्यवधान) किसी सदस्य को ट्रेंटर कहना क्या उचित है ? (व्यवधान)

MR. SPEAKER: Will you please sit down. After all, the debate cannot proceed if you behave like this (*Interruptions*).

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE: Is it in order for a Member of Parliament to say in relation to a functioning political party which is represented in this House by Members who are participating in the debate and in the day-to-day work of the House, that that party should be banned, implying thereby a sort of a very serious reflection on the character of the party which is represented in this House not on account of the graces of any individual or party but because of the mandate of the people? Is it in order for a Member to refer to a functioning political party in the country, which has its representation in Parliament, and say that it should be banned, thereby reflecting on the entire membership of that party and also on the membership of Parliament as a whole? I think this is a reflection on the character of

Parliament and is a reflection on the privileges of this House.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: There would have been weight in what Mr. Mukerjee has said if the party which has been referred to had believed in democracy, had believed in the Constitution, had believed in the rule of law. The way they behaved in Bengal and the way they are behaving in this House shows that they have no faith in democracy, and therefore such party will continue to behave like this. Therefore, not only the Swatantra Party, but every democratic party will have to demand that this Party should be banned.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE: This aggravates the matter I should think. This is something which should be stopped.

MR. SPEAKER: The proceedings of the House cannot remain dignified if you provoke each other. If you provoke each other, if you annoy each other in your speeches, how can the decorum of the House be maintained?

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Ernakulam): It is Mr. Patodia who is provoking.

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot go into the procedural side of it as to what are the basic merits of a remark. I can only appeal to you that when you are sitting side by side as political parties, such remarks are not in good taste.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili): That is not the point.

MR. SPEAKER: I am not going into the legal and procedural implications I am just appealing to the House. I have a lot of respect for your legal acumen, but for God's sake please allow me to proceed. You may know much more. But we have to conduct the business of the House. You must have respect for each other's party. You can criticise the policies but do not make personal remarks like this. Mr. Patodia's time is up.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: With just one sentence about the Governor's role, I shall

[Shri D. N. Patodia]

conclude. In complete disregard of the enormous damage done to the people of West Bengal by the UF regime, ignoring all that was done by them to destroy democracy and wreck the constitution and forgetting the amount of misery and frustration brought to the people of West Bengal, Mr. Dhavan refers to the U.F. Government as a 'novel experiment', expresses regrets for the destruction of a political garden that was planted a year ago and promises that it would be his constant efforts to bring about a restoration of the United effort. He exceeded the limit of constitutional propriety and needs to be disciplined.

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot keep on waiting and I shall call the next speaker now.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: On a point of order. Is it permissible for a Member to threaten another Member here, in the course of a certain dispute between them?

MR. SPEAKER: I have already disapproved of that. Shri Kesari.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: For future guidance I want to know whether any Member is entitled to express an opinion regarding any political party or organisation? Suppose I say: that this Congress has divided, it has no longer the legacy of the Congress which was built by W. C. Bannerjee and that it is indulging in political immorality and defections and therefore this Congress should be banned?

MR. SPEAKER: I am not going to listen to it; I have given my ruling already.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: For future guidance, I want to know. If I express an opinion, would I be wrong?

MR. SPEAKER: Should you go on defying me? I request you to sit down. I have called another hon. Member. There is no point of order involved. I have already made some observations on that point.

SHRI RANGA: I am told that one of the Members here said in the House * *

Is that proper?

MR. SPEAKER: It is very improper . . . (*Interruptions*). I do not know whether those words could have been recorded.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: Will you see that those words are expunged?

MR. SPEAKER: I shall see.

SHRI RANGA: It would be proper if they withdrew it themselves.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON: We have nothing against you personally; we are fighting your system. . . (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER: You cannot solve any big problem by exchanging words in this manner. India is a vast country and is not confined to this hall. Nothing will be solved by your coming to grips physically here.

श्री सीताराम केसरी (कटिहार) :

अध्यक्ष जी, आज वेस्ट बंगाल की जो अवस्था है और जिसकी वजह से राष्ट्रपति का शासन वहाँ लागू हुआ है, वह हमारी बदौलत पैदा नहीं की गई है, वह हमारे इन मित्रों के द्वारा पैदा की गई है।

13.45 hrs

[*Mr. Deputy Speaker in the chair.*]

अजय मुखर्जी वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री थे। आप तो जानते ही हैं कि जिन लोगों ने उनके साथ अन्याय किया था, उनकी क्या गति हुई है। वह जब कांग्रेस में थे तो आला कमान ने जयपुर में उस त्यागी, तपस्वी और ईमानदार व्यक्ति के साथ जो दुर्व्यवहार किया, उसका फल हमारे सामने है। उस व्यक्ति को जयपुर में कांग्रेस के मंच से अपनी विचारधारा को अभिव्यक्त तक करने नहीं दिया गया था। उस त्यागी और तपस्वी के साथ जो अन्याय हुआ

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

उसका फल हम देख चुके हैं। बंगाल में जो लोकतंत्रीय विचारधारा चल रही थी, जो लोकशाही चल रही थी, जो कांग्रेस का शासन चल रहा था, वह चूर चूर हो गया और जनता ने अपना आक्रोश प्रकट किया कांग्रेस शासन का अन्त कर और उनके नेतृत्व में पूर्ण आस्था व्यक्त की। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि उसकी पुनरावृत्ति होने जा रही है। मैं सी पी एम के जो नेता हैं और जो हमारे साथी यहां हैं उनमें कहूंगा कि दीवार पर जो लिखा हुआ है, उसको देखें। उनके साथ अन्याय करके जो फल कांग्रेस को भोगना पड़ा वही फल इन हमारे साथियों को भी भोगना पड़ेगा। आपने उनको अपमानित किया है, उनके नेतृत्व को आपने चुनौती दी है, उनकी ईमानदारी पर आपने शक किया है, उनके व्यक्तित्व पर आपने कुठागघात किया है, और आप याद रखें कि इसका फल आपको भोगना पड़ेगा।

आप जानते हैं कि 1969 में जो चुनाव यहां हुए वे इस आधार पर हुए कि अजय मुखर्जी का नेतृत्व पश्चिमी बंगाल को प्राप्त होगा या शासन का संचालन वे करेंगे। चुनाव के बाद आपने देखा कि जो वायदा इन लोगों ने जनता के साथ किया और अजय मुखर्जी के रास्ते में जिस तरह से रोड़े अटकाने, प्रशासन में जिस तरह से गड़बड़ियां पैदा की, वे कितनी दुखद और अशोभनीय थीं। वे ऐसी वारंवाइयां थीं जो लोकतंत्र को खतरे में डालने वाली थीं। आप तो जानते ही हैं कि इन लोगों ने क्या रवैया अखत्यार किया दूसरे जो राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ता थे उनके प्रति। ये इनकलाब की बात करते हैं, देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना की बात करते हैं, सब्ज बाग गरीबों को दिखलाते हैं लेकिन इन्होंने क्या किया, इनके क्या क्या कारनामे रहे? इन्होंने सी०पी०आई०, एस०एस०पी०, जनसंघ आदि राजनीतिक दलों के वर्कर्स को, स्वतंत्र पार्टी के वर्कर्स की हत्या करने की कोशिश की, उनमें

आतंक की भावना पैदा की ताकि लोकतंत्र की भावना वहां जारी न रह सके, लोकतंत्रीय अंग से वे लोग काम न कर सकें। हमने देखा कि कलकत्ता के जिन बाजारों में, जिन गलियों में लॉग दिन भर आराम से घूमते थे, मनोरंजन करते थे, वे सुनसान हो गए, वे मरघटों में परिवर्तित हो गए, वहां कुत्ते भीकने लग गये, वहां इंसानियत खतरे में पड़ गई। वहां अशांति फैल गई और ला एण्ड आर्डर वहां का खत्म हो गया। इस सब की जिम्मेवारी किस पर थी? ज्योति बसु साहब पर थी, सी०पी०एम० के लोगों पर थी। यह कितनी दुखद बात है।

आप यह भी देखें कि जहां पहले नौ लाख मजदूर काम करते थे, वहां अब साढ़े आठ लाख मजदूर ही काम कर रहे हैं। पचास हजार मजदूर बेकार हो गए हैं। ये कितनी गलती से हुए हैं? इनकी ही गलती से हुए हैं। सिनेमाघरों पर आक्रमण होने शुरू हो गए। यह बड़ी ही अवांछनीय बात थी। मैं मानता हूँ कि बहुत सी फिल्में अच्छी नहीं होंगी हैं, उनके विचार से भी और मेरे विचार से भी। लेकिन इसका यह अर्थ नहीं कि इस तरह से सिनेमाघरों पर आक्रमण किए जायें, मनोरंजन के स्थलों पर जाने वाली वूह-वेटियों को इस तरह से बेइज्जत किया जाए, उनकी इज्जत को खतरे में डाला जाए। यह बहुत ही दुख और शर्म की बात है।

एक बात मैं व्यवसायी वर्ग में भी कहना चाहूंगा। मुझे अफ सोस है कि पट्टीदिया माहब चले गए हैं। जिस कुटुम्ब और समाज से वह आते हैं, उपी समाज से मैं भी आता हूँ। उनसे मैं पूछना चाहूंगा कि सी०पी०एम० को आज तक इतना ताकतवर किमने बनाया है, किमने उनको इतना पैसा 1969 तक दिया है? बड़े-बड़े व्यापारियों ने ही तो दिया। लक्षपतियों और करोड़पतियों को डरा धमका कर भी ये उनसे पैसा लेते हैं और अपने संगठन को चलाते हैं। कलकत्ता में यही हुआ है। 1967 में चैम्बर की कान्फेंस दिल्ली में हुई थी। उसमें

[श्री सीताराम केशरी]

चैम्बर के जो प्रेसीडेंट थे वे पश्चिमी बंगाल के खिलाफ बोले थे। लेकिन उनकी मुखालिफा कलकत्ता के व्यापारियों ने की, लखपतियों और करोड़पतियों ने की। उन्होंने कहा कि यह गलत बात है और ज्योति बसु की सरकार बड़ी अच्छी सरकार रहेगी, यू० एफ० की गवर्नमेंट अच्छी रहेगी। लेकिन अब वे भी परेशान हैं। उनको भी चेतना चाहिए। इस तरह से इन लोगों में दोस्ती नहीं करनी चाहिए। धनी लोगों ने इन लोगों से दोस्ती करके लोकतंत्र और लोकशाही को खतरे में डाला, उस पर कुठाराघात किया और लोगों के जीवन को खतरे में डाला। इतना ही नहीं सारी मानव जाति को उन्होंने खतरे में डाला। अपना जीवन खतरे में रहे, उसकी परवाह तक उन्होंने नहीं की।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बंगाल सारे देश को राजनीतिक नेतृत्व प्रदान करता रहा है। कांग्रेस का इतिहास, आजादी की लड़ाई का इतिहास, स्वतंत्रता का इतिहास, समाजवादी परिकल्पना के आधार पर आर्थिक-व्यवस्था के स्थापन का इतिहास का नेतृत्व बंगाल ने किया है। बंगाल ने गुभाचन्द्र बोस जैम मद्दान व्यक्ति को पैदा किया। उस समय उन्होंने समाजवाद की कल्पना की थी जिस समय कि इस देश में बहुत कम लोग ऐसे थे और मैं यहां तक कहने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि बंगाल ने पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू से भी एक कदम आगे बढ़कर आजादी की लड़ाई में नेतृत्व दिया था। आपको याद होगा जिम समय कांग्रेस के प्रेसीडेंटशिप का चुनाव वह लड़ रहे थे उस समय क्या अवस्था थी? मैं कहता हूँ आज की अवस्था क्या है? उस बंगाल में आज अशांति क्यों है? ला एण्ड ग्रांडर खतरे में क्यों है? एक वजह है। मैं कहना हूँ, इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि बंगाल के नौजवानों में, बंगाल के लोगों में, देश में लोकतंत्र रहे इस एक कल्पना की, एक विचारधारा की, एक प्रतिभा की उनमें भरमार है जिसकी

आज कोई यूटिलिटी नहीं है, वहां बेकारी है। सी० पी० एम० वाले चाहते हैं कि बंगाल में बेकारी बढ़े, उद्योग धंधे घटे जिसमें कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा वहां के लोगों में अशांति पैदा हो। एक चीज और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर अशांति के पीछे कौन सी भावना है? अशांति के पीछे एक ही भावना काम कर रही है। आप देखिए हिन्दुस्तान के पूर्वी और उत्तरी सीमा पर जो खतरा है, नागालैंड से लेकर वेस्ट बंगाल तक और आपने इस हाउस में सुना कि गृह मंत्री ने यह स्वीकार किया है कि चीन और पाकिस्तान से वहां शस्त्रास्त्र आए हैं, इसके पीछे यह भावना है। यदि नागालैंड में अशांति है, यदि वेस्ट बंगाल में अशांति है, तब चीन को मौका मिलेगा हमारे लोकतंत्र पर आधारित सरकार को हमेशा इन-स्टेबल रखने का जिसमें यहां की तरक्की रुकी रहे, यहां की आर्थिक व्यवस्था जो सुदृढ़ होने वाली है वह रुकी रहे और चीन हमेशा अपनी सुप्रीमसी के अन्दर हमें रखे, यही इसके पीछे भावना है। मैं अपने दोस्त से कहूंगा कि यदि वह चाहते हैं कि इस देश में आर्थिक चित्र बने, यदि वह चाहते हैं कि यहां राजनैतिक स्टेबिलिटी रहे, यदि वह चाहते हैं कि लोकतंत्र पर आधारित यह जो सरकार है इसका विशाल रूप मुखरित होता उन्हें चाहिए कि संविधान के आधार पर, लोकतंत्र के आधार पर जो बंगाल में अशांति पैदा हो गई है, बंगाल में जो आज क्रांति के नाम पर इतनी बड़ी अराजकता फैजी हुई है, आतंक फैला हुआ है, इसे रोकें। यह सारी घटनाएं क्या हैं? अभी आप देखें, आसनधोल में क्या हुआ? बर्दवान में क्या हुआ? क्यों सी० पी० एम० रोकते हैं कि गवर्नर वहां न जायें। जाने दो। अगर आजादी की भावना है, विधान में विश्वास है तो जाने दो, देखो, सच्चाई क्या है, सच्चाई को आने दो। सच्चाई का मुकाबिला करने की ताकत रखो। लोकतंत्र के अन्दर जो विश्वास रखते हैं वह सच्चाई से नहीं घबड़ाते हैं। जो जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व

करते हैं किमी भी सच्चाई से उसे घबड़ाने की जरूरत नहीं है। आप क्यों घबड़ते हैं? आप मध्यावधि चुनाव क्यों चिल्ला रहे हैं? क्योंकि आप जानते हैं कि दूसरे यूनाइटेड फ्रंट के लोग चुनाव नहीं चाहते हैं। आप याद रखिए जो आप स्वप्न देख रहे हैं वह आप कभी नहीं जीतेगे। मैं बताता हूँ। यह दोस्त लोग घबड़ते होंगे, मैं नहीं घबड़ता। मैं जानता हूँ कलकत्ते को। मैं भी दो वर्ष कलकत्ते में रहा हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ कलकत्ते केवासियों को। मैं जानता हूँ बंगाल के लोगों को। मैंने कई बार कहा है कि दिल्ली में भी बंगाल का सबल नेतृत्व रहना चाहिए और जिस दिन दिल्ली में बंगाल का सबल नेतृत्व होगा, जिस दिन वह समझेंगे कि मेरा भी केन्द्र में से (Say) है, याद रहे, बंगाल हमेशा से अपने नेतृत्व के लिए लड़ता रहा है, कांग्रेस का इतिहास, आजादी की लड़ाई का इतिहास, भारत का इतिहास इस बात का साक्ष्य है, देख लीजिए आप मुमाव वाक् को सी० आर० दास को, उनके द्वारा किए गए में यहाँ कांग्रेस के राजनीतिक चित्र का निर्माण हुआ, इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ और यहाँ की सरकार के नेतृत्व को मैं यह राय दूंगा कि यहाँ पर भी उनका प्रतिनिधित्व रहना चाहिए जिनमें बंगाल में जो प्रचार किया जाता है कि केन्द्र उनका शत्रु नहीं है, केन्द्र के खिलाफ जो भावना पैदा की जाती है कि केन्द्र उनका दुश्मन है इस भावना का अन्त होगा। यह हमेशा चालाकी के साथ जो बात करते हैं और आज जो मध्यावधि चुनाव की बात कर रहे हैं वह इसलिए नहीं कि चुनाव लड़ना चाहते हैं। इनमें ताकत नहीं है। आप देख लीजिए 1969 के चुनाव का जो रिजल्ट है, वोट गिन लीजिए, अगर सी० पी० एम० अलग लड़ जाय तो कहीं नहीं रहेगा। मैं कहूँगा अपने दोस्तों से कि अगर समाजवाद की स्थापना चाहते हो, यदि मजदूरों के हितों की रक्षा चाहते हो, यदि आप चाहते हैं कि लोकतंत्र विकसित हो, तो मैं आपको राय दंगा एंड ए फ्रंट कि बुद्धि से काम लो। नहीं तो याद

रखो, कही ऐसा न हो कि वेस्ट बंगाल वियतनाम हो जाय जो रूस भी चाहता है, चीन भी चाहता है, और अमेरिका भी चाहता है। इसलिए मैं अपने दोस्तों से कहूँगा कि ऐसा न हो कि बंगाल दो भागों में विघटित हो जाय। अभी आपने देखा कम्बोडिया में क्या हुआ। यद्यपि मेरी हमदर्दी, मेरा ममर्थन वियतनामियों के साथ है, मैं नहीं चाहता कि कोई विदेशी हस्तक्षेप हो किसी भी देश में, लेकिन आप देखें वहाँ क्या हुआ? वहाँ अखाड़ा बन रहा है चीन, रूस और अमेरिका का। उसी तरह से वेस्ट बंगाल बनेगा। वहाँ पर लोकतंत्र बिखरित हो जायगा, वहाँ जो लोकशाही है वह खत्म हो जायगी, स्टैबिलिटी खत्म हो जायगी। इसलिए मैं एक दोस्त के नाते राय दूँगा कि आप वहाँ विधान का सम्मान करें, वहाँ शांति लायें, मजदूरों के हित की बात सोचें और अन्त में मैं अपने दोस्त से आग्रह करूँगा कि आपने जो राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया है उसको ऐसा चलाइए, उसका ऐसा मंचालन कीजिए कि वहाँ पर फिर से वह लोग पुनर्विचार करें और अजय मुखर्जी के नेतृत्व में सरकार का निर्माण हो सके तो कराइए जिनसे शांति रहे, चैन रहे और गरीब मजदूर जो मजदूरी में अलग हो रहे हैं उन्हें तीकरी मिले, कामकाज मिले। कलकत्ते में अमन चैन रहे और पुनः वहाँ संविधान के अनुसार शासन-व्यवस्था कायम हो।

श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी (भोपाल) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पश्चिम बंगाल में फिर एक बार राष्ट्रपति महोदय का शासन आने के बाद उसके बजट पर हम यहाँ विचार कर रहे हैं। वास्तव में जो स्थिति पश्चिमी बंगाल में पैदा हुई और जिसके परिणामस्वरूप राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करना पडा, उसको देखकर यह कहना पड़ता है कि हमारे सामने जो नैठे हैं कांग्रेसी शासक यह अनुभव से कुछ सीखना नहीं चाहते। अभी जो मेरे मित्र बोले उन्होंने बहुत सी बातें कही, कांग्रेस का इतिहास वगैरह मुनाया। थोड़ा सा मैं भी बताना चाहता हूँ,

[श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी]

इतिहास कांग्रेस का भी देखना चाहिए, कम्युनिस्टों का भी देखना चाहिए। आज जो स्थिति बंगाल के अन्दर पैदा हुई है वह कोई नई नहीं है। 1957 में पहली बार जब जनता ने कम्युनिस्टों के हाथ में अपना शासन कुछ इंडिपेंडेंट्स के भरोसे केरल में दिया तब कुछ समय बाद केरल में यही स्थिति पैदा हुई थी जिसको लेकर वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करना पड़ा था। उममे उन्होंने कुछ नहीं सीखा। 1967 के बाद भी जब बंगाल में कम्युनिस्टों के हाथ में संयुक्त मोर्चे की सरकार आई जिसमें वह प्रभावशाली थे, उस समय से कुछ नए शब्द अपनी राजनीति के अन्दर आ गए, बाकी और क्या हुआ, वह तो अलग है। सबसे पहले आ गया नक्सलवाड़ी। हम यह समझ सकते हैं कि यहां जमीन के लिए भूख बहुत है, यहां जमीन का बटवारा होना आवश्यक है किन्तु आखिर एक प्रादेशिक सरकार जो होनी है वह कानून के मुताबिक शांति के साथ यह कर सकती है और उसमें केन्द्र सरकार बाधा डाले तो उस बाधा को दूर भी करा सकती है। किन्तु नक्सलवाड़ी के नाम पर जो एक नया नागा दिया उसका आज का रूप केवल बंगाल तक सीमित नहीं है। बहुत दूर तक वह फैल गया है। दूसरी बात उन्होंने घेराव की दी और यह लेबर और मैन जमेंट के मामले को लेकर दी। . . . (ध्वजधान) . . . आप तो सी० पी० आई० वाले हैं और आप तो बहुत स्टेटमेंट निकालते हैं इनके खिलाफ, आप क्यों टांकेते हैं? तो लेबर और मैन जमेंट का जो मामला था वह घेराव इंडस्ट्रियल सेक्टर तक ही सीमित नहीं रहा। वह तो शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में आ गया, विद्यार्थियों ने वाइस-चांसलर और प्रिंसिपल का घेराव करना शुरू कर दिया। धीरे-धीरे घेराव यह एक वृत्ति बन गई, नक्सलवाड़ी एक वृत्ति बन गई। दुनिया ने कभी देखा नहीं होगा कि स्वयं सरकार यह कहती है कि इसको बन्द करो, सारा काम बन्द करो। यहां तक कि केन्द्र का शासन जो यहां हाथ पर

हाथ रखे बैठा हुआ है, केन्द्र का भी सारा काम काज वहां बन्द हो जाता है तो आखिर इसका मतलब क्या है? मतलब बिलकुल माफ़ हैं। मैं कम्युनिस्टों को बिलकुल दोष नहीं देना चाहता हूँ—Theirs is an open book. Whoever can read and understand it can follow it.

यानी उनकी जो सारी बैकग्राउण्ड है, वह बिलकुल स्पष्ट है। इसलिए मुझे कहना है कि हमारे देश के जो नेता हैं, उनको भी अभी बहुत कुछ सीखना है। दुनिया में जहां भी कम्युनिज्म आया है—यूगोस्लावियां हो, रूस हो, चीन हो, अल्बानिया हो, पोलैंड हो, ईस्ट जर्मनी हो, जहां भी हैं, उनमें इन नेताओं को अभी बहुत कुछ सबक सीखना जरूरी है। इसलिए पश्चिमी बंगाल में जब यह आया और नए नए नारे शुरू हुए, मैंने उसी समय कहा था—बुढ़िया मर गई, इसका दुख नहीं है, लेकिन मृत्यु एक बार दरवाजा देख लेती है—आज हमारे गृह मंत्रीजी यहां नहीं हैं, यदि वे भी यहां होते तो अच्छा होता—लेकिन इसके पीछे जो भावना है, जब तक हम उस को नहीं समझते हैं, इसको कैसे रोक सकेंगे।

14 hrs.

मैंने एक मित्र अभी कांग्रेस का इतिहास बता रहे थे। मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि इसी देश में इसी शताब्दी के प्रारंभ में एक हवा शुरू हुई थी कि देश में एक और होम लैंड बनाया जाय और इस बात को लेकर कमिन्सटेंट प्रयत्न किया गया, लेकिन इसका विरोध करने वाले भी इस देश में थे—वीर सावरकर जैसे, डा० हेडगेवार जैसे महान नेता। परन्तु शासन द्वारा जो ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए था, वह नहीं दिया गया, अन्ततोगत्वा परिस्थिति ऐसी पैदा हो गई कि इनको मजबूर होकर देश के टुकड़े करना स्वीकार करना पड़ा और देश का विभाजन हुआ। इससे न उनका भला हुआ और न हमारा भला हुआ। वह

एक पॉकेट बना—चाहे अमरीका का हो, चीन का हो या रूस का हो, लेकिन क्या वहाँ की जनता हमारी नहीं है? जैसे पश्चिमी बंगाल की जनता हमारी है, वैसी ही पूर्वी बंगाल की है, सिंध की है, पंजाब की है और They have completely lost their democratic rights. क्या हमको शर्म नहीं आती है। आजादी के आने के बाद हमने प्रजातंत्र का आनन्द उठाया, लेकिन उनको प्रजातंत्र से वंचित रखा गया, हमको दुख क्यों नहीं हुआ, हमने आवाज क्यों नहीं उठाई। हमारे ही बन्धुओं को उस अधिका-र से वंचित रखा गया—क्या यही सफलता है, यही कांग्रेस शासन ने किया। आज रोडे-शिया के लिए, वियतनाम के लिए हम बोलते हैं, उनके लिए हम क्यों चुप रहें ?

1957 से 1960 तक जो केरल में हुआ, क्या हमने उससे सबक सीखा—कुछ नहीं सीखा। 1967 में जो कुछ हुआ क्या उससे कोई सबक सीखा—कुछ नहीं सीखा। अब 1969 में क्या सीखा—मुझे तो बिल्कुल भरोसा नहीं है कि आपने कुछ सीखा होगा। मुझे तो केवल इस बात का समाधान है—विभाजन के समय कांग्रेस ताकतवर थी, इसलिए उसने दे ग को धोखा दिया, बरबाद किया, आज वैसा करने की स्थिति में कांग्रेस नहीं है। यानी भगवान ने हमको बचाया। आज जो हमारे सामने ईंठे हैं—ये स्वयं अल्पमत में हैं, दूसरों के बलबूने पर वहाँ बैठे हुए हैं और 1972 में तो यह स्थिति भी नहीं रहेगी, बंगाल और केरल में हिन्दु-स्तान का वियतनाम बनाने की दृष्टि से लगातार वे सारे काम शुरू हो गए हैं—इसमें कोई छिड़ी हुई बात नहीं है। इसके लिए जो जो चाहिए, वह वह उन्हीं किया है। सबसे पहले केन्द्र को दुबला बनाना, केन्द्र को कम-कुवत करना—उस विचारधारा की पहली कड़ी है।

आज जब बंगाल में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया तो वह कहते हैं कि वहाँ के लोगों को प्रजातांत्रिक अधिकार नहीं है। इंग्लैंड जैसा देश एक ही जगह पर बैठ कर

दूर दूर तक राज्य चलाता है, जबकि हम यहाँ पर बैठे हुए हैं, पार्लियामेंट में बैठकर राष्ट्रपति शासन का मतलब है केन्द्र का शासन—क्या यह अप्रजातांत्रिक शासन है, इसका क्या मतलब है। यहाँ पर सारे देश के प्रतिनिधि बैठे हैं, पश्चिमी बंगाल के प्रतिनिधि बैठे हैं, जो इस पर विचार कर रहे हैं, क्या यह अप्रजातांत्रिक है? लेकिन आज इसी बात को लेकर पूरे बंगाल में यह हवा पैदा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है कि केन्द्र यदि मध्यावधि चुनाव को नहीं मानता है तो यहाँ के लोगों को प्रजातांत्रिक अधिकार नहीं हैं, डेमोक्रेटिक राइट्स खत्म हो गए हैं। ऐसा केन्द्र को कमजोर बनाने की दृष्टि से ही कहा जा सकता है—ऐसा केवल पश्चिमी बंगाल में ही नहीं हो रहा है, केरल में भी हो रहा है।

केरल में जब से कम्युनिस्टों का शासन संयुक्त मोर्चे के नाते आया, हमारे कार्यकर्ताओं की हत्याएँ हुईं—हमारे चन्द्रन की हत्या हुई यानी डरा, धमका कर ऐसी भावना पैदा करने का प्रयत्न किया जाता है। मेरे मित्र नाराज हो जाते हैं, परन्तु मैं यह भी मानता हूँ—राजा कालस्य कारणम्—रविन्द्र सरोवर की घटना पश्चिमी बंगाल में क्यों हुई, पुलिस वाले वहाँ असेम्बली हाउस में क्यों घुस जाते हैं, बैंक पर डाका वहाँ पर क्यों पड़ता है। जब एक बार पता चल जाता है कि जो गवर्नमेंट वहाँ पर बैठी हुई है, वह स्वयं ली-नेस है, ऐसी चीजों को एन्क्रेंज करती है तो जितने एन्टी सोशल एलीमेंट्स होते हैं, वे सब बाहर आ जाते हैं। वे समझ जाते हैं कि पुलिस उनका कुछ नहीं कर सकती है, इतना पुलिस को इम्पेबिलाइज कर दिया गया। इसी प्रकार की घटनाएँ पुलपुली में हुई, तालचेरी में हुई, वहाँ पुलिस चौकियों पर हमले हुए, हथियार छीने गए, पश्चिमी बंगाल में एक नहीं, अनेकों जगह से हथियार बरामद किए गए। जिस आधार पर प्रजातंत्र खड़ा रहता है—उस फ्री-प्रेस पर भी आक्रमण किया गया। प्रेसवालों के प्रति कहा गया कि यह जूटवालों का प्रेस है,

[श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी]

यह फलाने का प्रेस है, इसका बीच में आना खतरनाक है, यह झूठ बोलता है, उसके बाद संविधान पर भी आक्रमण शुरू किया गया। रणदिवे ने तो इंग्लैंड में यहाँ तक कह दिया—

We are out to wreck the Constitution.

पश्चिमी बंगाल में पिछले तीन सत्रों में 489 हत्यायें हुईं, जिनमें 98 हत्यायें राजनीतिक हत्यायें थीं, इतना होने पर भी केन्द्र का शासन कुछ नहीं करता है, शान्त बैठता है। हालांकि संविधान की धारा 355 के अनुसार यह केन्द्र सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है कि संविधान के आधार पर प्रांतीय शासन को चलायें, लेकिन केन्द्र ने क्या किया? धारा 160 के अन्तर्गत गवर्नर को कुछ कन्टिजेन्सीज में मार्गदर्शन करने का अधिकार केन्द्र का है, क्या कभी आपने किया? जिस समय नक्सलवाड़ियों की अराजक प्रवृत्ति वहाँ पर पैदा हुई, आपने वहाँ की विधान सभा को भंग नहीं किया, किन्तु विधान सभा 8 दिन आगे बुलाया जाय या 8 दिन पीछे बुलाया जाय केवल यही सोचते रहे। इस पर जब राज्यपाल ने विधान सभा को भंग कर दिया तो राज्यपाल महोदय का क्या करना चाहिए, क्या कोई निर्देश केन्द्र ने उनको दिया? आज ऐसी स्थिति क्यों पैदा हुई कि हम यहाँ पर बैठकर कानून पास करते हैं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार के जितने संस्थान हैं, उनकी सुरक्षा के लिए यहाँ से पुलिस जाय, केन्द्र की पुलिस उनकी रक्षा करे। आपके संस्थानों की रक्षा के लिए जब आपको अपनी पुलिस भेजनी पड़ती है, तो सामान्य आदमी की रक्षा कौन करेगा? सामान्य आदमी किसकी तरफ देखेगा, क्या केन्द्र की इतनी ही जिम्मेदारी है कि वह रेलवे को प्रोटेक्ट करे, पोस्ट आफिस को प्रोटेक्ट करे, केन्द्र के जितने इस्टैब्लिशमेन्ट्स हैं उनको प्रोटेक्ट करे, तो बाकी लोग कहाँ जायेंगे। क्या यह केन्द्र की जिम्मेदारी नहीं है कि एक सामान्य आदमी जब अपने को असुरक्षित महसूस करता है, तो

वह उसकी सुरक्षा के लिए पग उठाए? मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वह किधर देखे, कहाँ न्याय मांगे, क्या अदालत से मांगे? लेकिन कान्सिस्टेंटली अदालत के बारे में अनादर कौन पैदा कर रहा है, संविधान के बारे में अनादर कौन पैदा कर रहा है? पिछले 22 सालों से हम गरीबों का भला नहीं कर पाए, और आज ही जब हम गरीबों का भला करने चलते हैं तो संविधान हमारे रास्ते में रुकावट बन कर आता है, अदालतें रुकावट बन कर आती हैं?

Is this the first time that we amended the Constitution in the last 22 years? We have done it 23 times.

लेकिन इतना होने पर भी कभी हमने अनादर की बात नहीं की थी, लेकिन आज क्यों अनादर हो रहा है—

There seems to be a method in the madness.

जानबूझ कर प्रजातंत्र को समाप्त करने की दृष्टि से संविधान के बारे में अनादर, अदालतों के बारे में अनादर, पुलिसवालों के बारे में अनादर और अन्त में फ्री-प्रेस के बारे में अनादर की बातें की जाती हैं, किसी का बोलने नहीं दिया जाता, कार्यकर्ताओं पर हमले होते हैं, यह सब क्यों है? इस सबका एक ही उद्देश्य है—एक तरफ प्रजातंत्र को समाप्त करना और दूसरी तरफ जिसको वे रेवोल्यूशन बोलते हैं, उसकी तैयारी करना और वह तैयारी सीधे और ठीक तरह से हो रही है, आपकी नाक के नीचे हो रही है।

चीन ने 1962 में हम पर हमला किया, जितने भाग पर उसने कब्जा किया, उससे आज तक पीछे नहीं हटा, इस पर भी वह चुप नहीं रहा। वह दिल्ली में बैठकर क्या करता है—हम सबने देखा या नहीं? हमारे पुलिस वाले को पकड़ कर बन्द किया जाता है, पोस्टमैन को थप्पड़ मारी जाती है, कुत्रीकल नारायण

जैसे को किस तरह से खुलकर पैसा दिया जाता है, किस तरह से वह पैसा उन तक पहुंचता है, किस तरह से बैंक में रखा जाता है, ये सारी गतिविधियाँ, शस्त्र और मार्गदर्शन क्या हमको दिखाई नहीं देती हैं, फिर भी हम चुप हैं। 1962 में एक ही कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी देश में थी, लेकिन बाद में बंट गई। एक कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी पीकिंग की तरफ क्यों देखती है? खुलकर कलकत्ते की सड़कों पर हमारे नव-युवक यह कहते फिरते हैं—हमारे राष्ट्रपति—माओत्से तुंग। हमारे नाम तुमार नाम सोनार नाम वीयतनाम—तुम्हारे बाप का नाम हिन्दुस्तान है, यह भी पता है या नहीं? जब हमारे नौजवान इस तरह से खुलेआम भारत का नाम छोड़ कर भारत पर आक्रमण करने वाले चीन का नाम लेते हैं, यदि चीन के खिलाफ फिल्म दिखाई जाती है तो उसको भी बरदाश्त नहीं करते हैं, ऐसे लोगों के लिए क्या किया जाय, यह प्रवृत्ति कैसे पैदा हो गई? बम इधर उधर ही नहीं फटे बल्कि विश्वविद्यालय में भी फटने लग है। यहां तक स्थिति आ गई कलकत्ते में एक बार कि आलू मिलने में कठिनाई हो गई लेकिन बम मिलने में कठिनाई नहीं है। यह क्यों हो रहा है? नाक के नीचे सारा हो रहा है—हत्यायें, बम, डकैती, शस्त्र और इतना ही नहीं कारखाने चल रहे हैं स्टेनगन और मशीनगन की अलग अलग पुर्जों के रूप में असेम्बल करने के। राष्ट्रपति शासन आने के बाद अब धीरे धीरे उनको पकड़ने लगे हैं लेकिन पहले तो उनको कोई पकड़ता ही नहीं था। मैं सी० पी० आई० के डांगे जी के स्टेटमेंट की बात करता हूँ, हमारी बात को छोड़ दीजिए, जिनको कि फ्रैंटल पार्टी का कहा जाए, आज केरल में श्री अच्युत मेनन की जो सरकार है, क्या मार्क्सिस्ट पार्टी उससे खुश है। यहां पर श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी बड़ी वकालत करने आए। क्या मार्क्सिस्ट उसको वहां हटाने की कोशिश नहीं कर रहे हैं? क्या अच्युत मेनन की पार्टी को तांडने की हांशिश नहीं

हो रही है? क्या आर० एस० पी० वालों को बहकाने की कोशिश नहीं हो रही है? आई० एस० पी०, पी० एस० पी०, एस० एस० पी०, इनको अलग करने के लिए सारा कुछ नहीं हो रहा है जैसे कि प्याज से अलग अलग छिलके निकलते जाते हैं? तो जो अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय झगड़े होते हैं वह हमारे घर में आकर खड़े हो जाते हैं। पाकिस्तान बनाने में भी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय ताकतें काम करती थी वैसे ही आज हिन्दुस्तान में अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय ताकतों के द्वारा एक और हिस्सा इस दृष्टि से अलग करने की बात चल रही है। इसीलिए सारे सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों में यह सागर होता चला जा रहा है। पीपुल्स रेवोल्यूशन की बात होती चली जा रही है, पीपुल्स आर्मी की बात हो रही है। और हमारे गृह मंत्री धमकी देते हैं, क्या धमकी देते हैं? हरी क्रांति सफल न बने। तो क्रांति लाल होगी। लेकिन क्या लाल क्रांति से समस्या हल होगी? Are you a harbinger of the new revolution? Are you the sappers and miners of the Red Revolution?

आखिर एक गृह मंत्री के नाते वास्तव में बंगाल में जा करके लोगों को जागृत करना, यह तो दूर रहा, यह तो छाड़ दिया, स्वयं उन्होंने पूना में अपने भाषण का तीन चौथाई हिस्सा मालो जी या कौन सज्जन हैं, उनके लिए दिया। इसीलिए मुझे पूना में कहना पड़ा कि गृह मंत्री जी वहां पर माओ के समाचार लेने आए इसलिए माओ का विचार करें और मालो जी का विचार छोड़ दें। जनता को कौन जगाएगा? बंगाल में कौन जाएगा? रवीन्द्र सरोवर कांड होने के बाद यहां पर प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं कि एग्ज जरेटेड न्यूज है। . . . (व्यवधान) . . . बंगाल में आज वही हो रहा है जैसा कि पाकिस्तान बनने के पूर्व होता था। जो बनाने वाले थे यदि उन्हीं का आशीर्वाद मिले तो बनेगा जरूर किन्तु बंगाल के अन्दर एक बार जो आग भड़की है उसको अगर बुझाना है तो मैं इनको भी कहता हूँ जो कि हमारे मित्र हैं कि पाकिस्तान के अन्दर विभा-

[श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी]

जन के बाद उन नेताओं की स्थिति क्या हो गई? या तिब्बत के अन्दर कम्युनिज्म आने के बाद, सिक्किम में कम्युनिज्म आने के बाद दलाई लामा और पण्डेन लामा की स्थिति क्या हो गई? छोटा सा ड्यूबचेक बेचारा अपने देश के अन्दर सीक्रेट वोट की बात करता था तो उस ड्यूबचेक की स्थिति क्या हो गई? हंगेरी में एमरेनेगे की स्थिति क्या हो गई? पोलैंड में गोमिल्का की स्थिति क्या हो गई और बलगेरिया में डिमिट्रोव की क्या स्थिति हो गई? इन्टरनेशनल ताकतों के हाथों में जब सारे अधिकार जाते हैं तब इस प्रकार की स्थिति होती है, क्या यह बात सही नहीं है? अगर शासन नहीं चलेगा तो जनता चलेगी। . . (व्यवधान) . . . अब मैं कुछ बातें बताने के समाप्त करता हूँ। (व्यवधान) . .

आज बंगाल के अन्दर कुछ चीजें करनी बहुत आवश्यक हैं। सबसे पहली चीज यह है कि राज्यपाल महोदय, धवन साहब जो वहाँ पर हैं उनके विचारों के बारे में कोई नवीनता नहीं थी। आखिर उन्होंने मांग लिया कि ये सज्जन हमको चाहिए तो वह उनको दे दिए गए। वह सज्जन स्वयं आकाशवाणी पर कहते हैं कि हमारा काम है, हम इस फ्रंट को लायेंगे, यह करेंगे, वह करेंगे। इसलिए वहाँ पर कोई ऐसा गवर्नर रहे जो कि राष्ट्रपति शासन में भी कड़ाई से काम करे। जब तक आप ऐसा व्यक्ति नहीं रखेंगे तब तक काम नहीं चलेगा। इसलिए उनका किसी दूसरी जगह तबादला करना बहुत आवश्यक है। . . . (व्यवधान) . . . यह मेरी मांग है।

दूसरी बात यह जैसे कि केरल में हुआ कि ट्रांसपोर्ट में चाहे जितने लोगों को भर्ती करा दिया गया जो कि मार्क्सिस्ट थे लेकिन जैसे ही अच्युत मेनन की सरकार आई तो उसने 6 सौ लोगों को निकाल दिया जिस पर हड़ताल हुई। तो सर्विसज़ में जान बूझ कर जो

मार्क्सिस्टों को घुसाया गया है उस एलिमेन्ट को बौद्ध आउट किया जाना चाहिए। यह होना बहुत ही आवश्यक है।

तीसरी बात यह है कि बम और हथियार की दृष्टि से जो खराबियाँ बंगाल के अंदर पैदा की गई हैं उनको पूरी तरह से समाप्त किया जाना चाहिए ताकि सामान्य आदमी का जीवन सुरक्षित हो सके। इसके अतिरिक्त मार्क्सिस्ट नेता कहीं कहीं खड़े होकर जा कहते हैं कि हम आग लगायेंगे, हम यह करेंगे वह करेंगे, उनकी इस प्रकार की धमकियों का डटकर मुकाबला करना पड़ेगा। यदि राष्ट्र को सुरक्षित रखना है, देश को सुरक्षित रखना है और प्रजातन्त्र को सुरक्षित रखना है तो यह करना ही पड़ेगा। . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

इसके अतिरिक्त केन्द्र की जो जिम्मेदारी है, उसको केन्द्र पूरा करे। अगर केन्द्र उसको पूरा नहीं करता है तो आगे चलकर कहीं जैसी स्थिति वियतनाम के अन्दर हो गई थी, वही स्थिति इस देश के अन्दर भी न हो जाए। हम समझते हैं कि राष्ट्रवादी तत्व और राष्ट्रवादी ताकतों को मजबूत किए बिना हम कुछ नहीं कर सकते। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री और गृह मंत्री भारतीयकरण का नारा देकर जो उछालते हैं, हमारी समझ में नहीं आता कि हमारे देश के अन्दर माओ के नारे लगे लेकिन हमको शर्म नहीं आती, हमारे देश के अन्दर दूसरे लोगों के जिन्दाबाद के नारे लगे, तो ऐसे लोगों के दिलो दिमाग के अन्दर भारतवर्ष की भावना को कूट कूट कर भरे बिना इस देश की सुरक्षा नहीं रह सकती है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि इस देश में प्रजातंत्र को मजबूत रखना है, राष्ट्र को सुरक्षित रखना है तो राष्ट्र और प्रजातन्त्र में आस्था रखने वाले सभी दलों को साथ में आकर एक साथ विचार करना होगा और राष्ट्रीय ताकतों को मजबूत करना होगा

घोर देश को बचाना होगा ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ ।

SHRI A. K. SEN (Calcutta-North-West): While I support the budget demands that have been placed before the House, it is necessary for me to emphasise certain aspects of the administration which has been running in West Bengal for the last one year, so that this House knows when it passes the budget what it is passing and what happened in the past which must be remedied with the money which the poor tax-payer has paid.

You will see, Sir, that the Demands include a sum of Rs. 9 crores approximately for Police Administration. This Rs. 9 crores has been paid and utilised for the purpose of demoralising the police force for the last one year.

I was in Burdwan yesterday and what I have seen has convinced me of the fact that the entire police administration had been subverted for the last one year only to serve the interests of one political party, namely the CPI(M), whose representative claimed that he was there not as a unit of the collective Council of Ministers but as a representative of one party and one party alone.

Having regard to the scarcity of time which we have, I shall give you only three instances which occurred during the last one year to show how shamefully the administration had behaved and to what hopeless straits the men and women of West Bengal had been brought and how life and property and honour and security had been made playthings in the hands of political machination. Let us start from the north of Bengal. In each case, I shall quote only instances where the victims have been of parties other than the Congress, the ruling Congress or the Opposition Congress. In North Bengal, several atrocities were committed on members of the Forward Bloc Party, the party founded by Netaji Subhas Bose, a party which has been consistently with the UF, and they had to take steps to protect themselves by openly declaring that the police and the administration had refused to help them. It is not just one instance, but at least a

dozen such instances were there in the district of Cooch-Bihar alone. In the district of Jalpaiguri, I shall not give instances of the houses and lives of Congressmen being put to jeopardy, but of members of the RSP which still supports, I take it, the CPI(M) in West Bengal, of how at least four members belonging to the RSP in the district of Jalpaiguri had been out to death simply because they controlled the union of certain tea-gardens and the other party which had the police administration under their control thought that they should take over the union administration.

Coming nearer to Calcutta, you will recollect and the House will recollect what happened after the harvesting, how instead of distributing land through the machinery of the district authorities and instead of collecting the levy of paddy through the machinery of law which had been passed by the legislature before the new Government was formed—the Land Ceilings Act was passed long ago, and the levy Acts were also passed long before the UF came into existence—they had started distributing it through other methods. I shall give you only one instance in the district of 24-Parganas very near Calcutta, in the village of Narainpur. I must say that the CPM people had been very candid and had been quite expressive in regard to their programmes and policies, the moment the police administration came in their hands. They had openly declared and proclaimed that in the village of Narainpur the authorities of the CPI(M) would come to distribute the lands and to take over paddy from those whom they called the jotdars. Of course, those who put on red scarves became persons other than jotdars; even if they had owned 200 acres, their lands were exempted from seizure and their paddy was left out, if they were red scarves. All that was needed was only to express openly their allegiance to the CPM by putting on the red scarf which does not cost very much even these days. Those who had no red scarves, the day they proclaimed that on a particular day the authorities of the CPM would come, fled away from the village; every able-bodied man and woman, excepting two persons, an ill-fated government officer of the Agriculture Department serving the UF Government and who thought that after all he was a part of the UF machinery and he

[Shri A. K. Sen]

would not be touched and who was one of the very first to be killed and another person. When the leaders of the CPM had come to that village, what happened was this. There was no family to be seen there. A landless peasant had left his wife in his house. His wife was an expectant mother carrying nine months, and the baby was about to be born. It was difficult to carry her away from the house. That ill-fated man was working in the paddy fields where he was employed as a labourer; he owned no land, and he was not a jotdar by any stretch of imagination. When he heard that these leaders had come, he rushed to his house for the purpose of seeing whether there was any surplus paddy still left for him to have a bite. As he approached his house, he found his wife staggering near the door-step with a lance piercing through the expectant mother's bosom that she carried and coming right through the back, and there she was lying in a pool of blood and she could only utter these words, and these were the only FIR report of the husband in the police records; she said to the husband before she sighed her last breath, 'This is very painful, my dear husband.' Then, she said 'I am very sorry that I have not seen the face of my baby'. In Bengal, it is called *koka* or *munna*. She said as she breathed her last '*Main ne apne munne ka chehra nahim Dekh paaya*'. This was what had happened even though he was not a jotdar at all.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPLANI:
According to them, she was a tycoon.

SHRI A. K. SEN: He was not a capitalist or a tycoon; a capitalist knows how to ensure his security, because money can flow from him quite liberally.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Must be a CIA agent.

SHRI A. K. SEN: Shri Samar Guha knows how his PSP members were hounded out day and night in the district of Midnapore. The poor man is here; he went to that place as an MP and he went from door to door to every policeman, to the Minister and to everyone else, but the PSP men were butchered and attacked. The only fault with

them was that they did not support that particular party in power.

Then, coming to Burdwan, I want to recount the situation again, because I was there only yesterday, and I saw the tears of the mother who had lost her three able-bodied sons, and all their children were in hospital lying injured, either with arrows or with lances or with other fatal wounds. You will recollect, Sir, that the UF Government came into power in 1967, and whoever had taken part in the general elections of 1967 had been clearly selected and made the subject of attack.

There was a family called Sai in Burdwan. The eldest brother is a practising advocate, I take it, a respectable man by all descriptions. Two other brothers were members of the Youth Congress. They regularly took part in elections, they ran a night school in a part of the house that belonged to them. I have seen the school myself; therefore, be it not said that this is not a fact. The family was the centre of youth congress activities. Many young men gathered there including two brilliant boys who had obtained gold medals and first class in Burdwan University. One was called Indra Yatik and the other Jiten Roy. Both are dead now.

There was a bye-election from a constituency called Rian very near Burdwan sometime, I think, in December 1969. At that time the Congress had not split. There was a common Congress candidate. Everybody worked including these two boys both of whom were described by the Vice-Chancellor of Burdwan University as 'gems of the University'. The day the counting was going on, one of the Sai brothers, who is now dead, came out and was stabbed. He had not stabbed anybody. He was taken to hospital. An FIR was filed. But not a single arrest has been made, though the assailants were abroad. The eldest brother who is the advocate was attacked: Indra Yatik, who was going on a scooter, on the 11th Dec. was attacked by a bomb being hurled on him. He was taken to hospital where he expired. Then came the fate of the eldest brother, the advocate, who was subjected to fatal assaults. Even after lodging an FIR, nothing was done. When

I saw him yesterday lying injured, he was shouting almost like a mad man, saying that during the last six months when the people of Bengal had paid every bit of their taxes to maintain this so-called police administration, a man who lodged an FIR after being attacked and injured by bombs or other lethal weapons, found that nothing was done.

On the contrary, what happened? The two boys were arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. In the olden days we heard that it was a black law; whenever Pandit G. B. Pant used to bring it for renewal here, I remember the attack on it, 'Scrap it', 'dirty law', 'police law' These two boys were arrested under the PD Act supposedly on charges of violent activities, as if violence is a thing very unknown to the CPI(M). They are not only not unknown, but they are proclaimed openly. I can quote extracts from their speeches delivered yesterday.

Now what happened? When the matter came up to the Supreme Court, the Court released the detainees with the stricture that all the allegations against them were false. Shri Jyoti Basu, Shri Konar and Shri Promod Das Gupta (Secretary of the Party) had charged them with being goondas and were therefore arrested under the PD Act, forgetting for the moment that the Supreme Court of the country had dismissed the allegation as false.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: The Vice-Chancellor had said that one of the boys had got a first class in Commerce honours.

SHRI A. K. SEN: Assuming for the moment that I am a goonda, that Shri Samar Guha is a goonda that everybody is a goonda, according to the dictionary of the Communist Party(M), who gave them the authority? We are not yet in China or in any other communist country that whomsoever the party will brand as a criminal will be shot without a trial. I remember those pictures which everybody saw, how thousands of people were taken with their hands tied and tried in mass trials in China after this Party came to power, and how they were shot without even a pretence of a trial. I hope we are not governed by these jungle laws yet. In this country nobody can be touched. Not

even the Rashtrapati, not even the Prime Minister, not even the Home Minister here has any authority to touch a man unless the court condemns him. If they try to touch him, they will do so at their peril because they will be subject to the processes of law, to damages and imprisonment. They have no authority to touch the body or the person of a free citizen. Who gave them the authority?

What did they do on the 17th March when not merely the Congress but many of the old constituents of the United Front Party, the CPI, Mr. Gupta's party, were attacked. It was in the precincts of the factory that bundles of arrows were shot at the workers, and not one man who shot the arrows was a worker. They were poor, ignorant Santals who were brought either by the lure or money or something else. They were brought with bows and arrows and they attacked Mr. Gupta's union men, not Congressmen. I suppose they are goondas according to their definition. He showed me, and I saw the photographs in the paper showing arrows, lethal weapons which were used by people who were outsiders. Three were killed there, at Tribeni, not far from Calcutta.

What happened in Burdwan? Two armed processions were brought, not from the town of Burdwan but from outside. Santals, Bowries and Bagdis, poor villagers, people for whom I have the highest sympathy, people who have been suppressed for ages by a social order which completely ignored their needs, were brought to the town of Burdwan. Santals were given lethal weapons to go to the town of Burdwan. By a curious coincidence, the police under the leadership of the Additional Superintendent of Police and the Subdivisional Officer were posted just near the spot which was about 200 yards from the Grand Trunk Road where the Sazi House was located and the Youth Congress used to have its office. I walked from the Grand Trunk Road yesterday and it took me nearly ten minutes to reach that spot. It is a side lane which leads to a sort of place which is blind.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have already taken 15 minutes. We are going to conclude this debate at 5 p.m. I do not

[Shri A. K. Sen]

mind your taking any amount of time provided it is against your party's time. I am just putting it to you.

SHRI A. K. SEN: I am very much obliged. I usually do not wait for the bell to go, but this is a case of a great human problem, and if this House remains mute and does not express itself clearly to the people who have been oppressed and suppressed for such a long time, we shall be failing in our duty, and I can assure you that I shall not take one minute longer than is necessary to give voice to the wails of hundreds of women who have lost their husbands, their sons and their near and dear ones.

These armed people were brought. Mr. Konar says, "If we are attacked, then we know how to deal with these attackers", and "if we kill them", he said, "I am proud of those killers." These are the people to whom law and order was entrusted. It is reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Hindustan Standard*. It does shame to everybody except the party which has its leaders in such people. He says publicly, "I am proud of these men, and I shall not condemn these acts of brutality". When I read it, I could not actually believe it as coming from a responsible leader. Before quoting it here I made enquiries by telephoning the Calcutta Office of the paper which reported it to verify whether it was actually the statement made by him, and I was told by the office that the reporter was a very responsible man and he would not have put it unless these words were actually uttered.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: It has to be taken with a pinch of salt.

SHRI A. K. SEN: Pinch of salt or no pinch of salt. . . (*Interruptions.*) Three branches of the procession converged on this house like pincer movement. From that we know that some guerilla instructions were given on a very large scale. They came like a pincer movement and attacked the house. These boys are no where on the grand trunk road. It is absolutely a lie to say they were attacked with bombs. Bombs, if they had been hurled, leave some injury, some mark. Who is the man who has been injured among the processionists? They came with bows,

arrows, guns and bombs. An official himself told me that one of the bombs was thrown by the processionists at the additional SP and if it had exploded the additional SP would have been killed. They came and converged on this house. They had ladders and everything to be used to scale the walls. I saw that the ladder was still there. I asked the police officer why it had not been taken as a seizure because under the CrPC it should be seized as an exhibit. What happened then? They started putting fire, arrows and gunshots. The house of Mr. Konar's father-in-law was only about ten yards from that house. One of the allegations is that guns were fired from the house. I do not know myself; I am only quoting the allegation. But the fact is that that gun was seized. So there was a gun in the house of a neighbour and that neighbour saw his neighbour butchered and attacked. This gun was not fired. But that gun was fired in the window which was closed by the boys; all the windows and doors and everything were closed. I invite a committee of this House to go and see. The District Magistrate and other authorities have tried their best to remove doors and windows; a few charred doors and windows still remain and the new doors are quite evident. What happened? They had fifteen maunds of potatoes which had just been brought from their land and with these potatoes they were trying to evade. They scaled up to the first floor with the ladders. In Burdwan every house has a stack of straw which is called *paloo* in Bengali. From that *paloo* straw was dragged down before the windows and fire was set. The District Magistrate told me that when he went he found the rooms full of smoke. They were actually smoked out like rats. The eldest brother came and ran to the kitchen and closed the door. The door was broken down; it is still broken open and I have seen that door. There he was pulled down and subjected to attacks of lethal weapons; spears, arrows, swords, and everything came upon him and the poor man fell dead. The mother came and tried to catch the feet; she told me herself that when I tried to touch their feet begging for the life of my son, they spilled blood on my face and hit her with a lathi. Mr. Konar says that whoever goes to the hospital will see that the lathis' story is an absolute myth.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: It is all *sub judice*.

SHRI A. K. SEN: May be. When they were *sub judice* in your case. . .

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: When they are *sub judice*, let us not discuss these cock and bull stories. . . (*Interruptions*)

SHRI A. K. SEN: These are not cock and bull stories. I request you, Sir, to appoint a Committee of Parliament Members to go and inspect. I do not want to give my own version. Let them go and find out for themselves. I could not sleep for three nights.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: It is well before the court and the Courts will decide.

SHRI A. K. SEN: I am happy to see some allegiance to courts because they are not called bourgeois courts.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: You better heal thyself, doctor.

SHRI A. K. SEN: This must stop. . . (*Interruptions*.)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: It is within my rights.

SHRI A. K. SEN: I have every right to say what I have said. This is the spirit which we have to deal with. Fortunately, this is not Burdwan yet. They forget that fear does not bow down everyone. There are still people who know how to stand up against brutalities, and I am one of them. When they were smoked out and this man was killed, another boy had gone to the neighbouring house of a doctor. The doctor's own evidence is that they killed this man who had taken shelter under his cot, spearing him repeatedly. The mother was injured. Three other brothers were injured and the *moharrir* of the lawyer brother is still in the hospital. I have seen six stitches on his hand. Let a committee be appointed by you to visit him. There must be a committee. People must come and see these atrocities so that all the traces are still there and people will see with their own eyes what brutalities have been committed in that town.

Then, what happened? Jiten Roy had

done nothing; he had come because he was a teacher in the house there. He was killed. He was a brilliant boy, a gold medalist. He got a first class. He was only 21 years old or even younger. He is no more. The whole of Burdwan city was in mourning yesterday. I went there and everybody was wearing black badge. No red scarf was visible. Red has gone. Thousands of men and women had come to pay their respects for the man whom they have dubbed as a goonda.

Those who have killed have to be brought to book and they have to be tried. Warrants have been issued against those who are absconding, including the leaders. One is the Commissioner of the municipality belonging to the CPM. His name is Sashti Sanyal. The other is the secretary of the local communist party. His name is Sushil Bhattacharya. Both are absconding. I suppose according to their law, if they are absconding, we are entitled to kill them. They are goondas! I do not say so. They have to be tried. There will have to be free and impartial investigations. The police administration was stopped. People were brought from outside. The S.D.O. was present when this happened—two hours of arson and looting was going on. The additional S.P.'s own evidence shows that he wanted to shoot or at least fire tear gas shells. But he was prevented by the S.D.O. The S.D.O. was brought there only a few months back; it was his first post as S.D.O.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI: Has the S.D.O. been removed?

SHRI A. K. SEN: Now he has been removed. But the question is, dozens and dozens of people are still absconding and they have to be brought to book. A judicial enquiry has to be instituted. My demand is this. The tears and wails of this mother—she was weeping and she told me, "Tell the Parliament that I want only *Bichar*". *Bichar* means justice. She said, I shall be able to identify those who came and struck me, my sons and others. She could hardly speak. She is still in the hospital. This House should give *bichar*, as a sovereign body, *judice* or *sub judice* or anything. I implore upon you, Sir, that this House must set up a committee to go and visit this place and report to this House immediately what atrocities have been

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committed by a party in whose charge law and order was given under the Constitution and how the whole trust reposed in them under the Constitution has been completely subverted and used only for party purposes.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN: The Prime Minister should go there. The Home Minister should go there.

SHRI A. K. SEN: They say, papers are criticising us untruly. In the maidan it is said, if we are criticised by any paper and if the reporters are then attacked, we cannot help. This open incitement was given day after day by the leaders. On the 16th, Das Gupta said, sharpen your spears; make your lathis strong; you have to shed blood. Why? Because we have not been able to form a Government! Until the 16th, they tried to form a Government and they could not. Therefore, on the 16th, they said whoever forms a Government, shed blood; have a blood bath for the whole State and if possible for the whole of India. This is the great danger which faces the Constitution, which faces our democracy. Every party is united today in Bengal in condemning it. CPI has condemned it, SSP has condemned it, Forward Block has condemned it; everybody has condemned it except these proud fathers or leaders of killers. Everybody has been hanging his head in Shame in Bengal because the blood of women has been spilled, children have been killed, sons have been butchered in front of their parents and their blood has been spilled on their face.

The voice of conscience cries out for grief, cries out for justice. This, Government should not be dependent on the Governor today. The Governor, however good he may be, however intelligent he may be, his dispensation may not satisfy the people. Nothing short of a committee of this House to visit and report on the events will allay the fears and soothe the great wounds which have been inflicted on a very suppressed town and suppressed State. Their conscience has been suppressed, their soul has been suppressed, their dignity has been completely destroyed. Nothing short of a committee of this guardian of democracy, this Parliament, can retrieve the position. I would, therefore, request the Home

Minister to agree to this, the Government to agree to this and request you, Sir, and through you the Speaker that this House must resolve to set up a committee to report on this.

Now I will take only a minute to refer to the problems of Calcutta. Only less than Rs. 1 crore has been sanctioned for the development of greater Calcutta, including capital projects. The problems of Calcutta have been many; with partition millions have come from across the border, which is not our own making and this House really knows that this sum of Rs. 1 crore is really nothing. I am appealing to the Finance Minister and the Home Minister that at least Rs. 200 crores are needed during the next five years for the purpose of doing at least a modicum of Justice to the people who have been wounded by partition, whose problems have been mounting every day and yet have not been solved. Sir, this is one of the occasions when I have taken more time and I am obliged to you but the things were such that it needed a little more time being taken.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri N. C. Chatterjee has specially requested that he may be permitted to speak earlier because of his indifferent health. If the House agrees, I will call him now.

SHRI N. C. CHATTERJEE (Burdwan): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I felt very proud when I was returned as a Member of Parliament from Burdwan. I felt very proud that I was a member of not only Burdwan but also Arambag and Goghattahana, a part of which is Kamapurur the birth place of Sri Ramkrishna, the birth place of the greatest son of modern India, modern Asia and modern world. But today I am no longer proud; I am very dispirited and sad because the hopes, wishes and aspirations of our people have been completely shattered.

I do not regard whatever Shri Sen has spoken as truth. I do not think that only one side of the picture should be presented; both sides of the picture should be presented. Bengal today is in great peril. Democracy was in peril two years back when the Governor of Bengal, possibly at the behest of the Centre, dismissed Ajoy Mukerjee Ministry. That was a great shame and that gave a great

impetus to the democrats. I was there when the general elections took place. I myself addressed 33 meetings in different parts of Bengal in spite of my poor health. Sir, I wish you had seen the peoples' upsurge. I wish you had seen what wonderful demonstration they gave everywhere. The action of the Governor in dismissing the elected Chief Minister was taken as a direct insult by the people. The people stood up and said, "We will not allow the Governor to do it."

In this city of Delhi I had the privilege to preside over a seminar where distinguished Judges, ex-Judges, lawyers and jurists, all said that it was absolutely illegal; no Governor could dismiss the elected ministers because the Governor wanted the Assembly to be summoned on a particular date and the Ministry demanded some day's notice.

There was a great upsurge of the people. The people, confident that they would retaliate, gave a wonderful demonstration of solidarity. They stood up and threw out the Congress and the Governor. That was a censure both against the Centre and the Governor's rule.

People hoped, wished, aspired that under the United Front and Ajoy Mukerjee Ministry there will be complete coalescence of all forces and democracy will give a stable government and the rule of law and will lead to democratic efforts being made to redress the grievance of the oppressed and the poor. But today they have been completely belied. I do not know why.

I tried my best, as also some people, to have at least Ajoy Babu and Jyoti Babu to sit together and thrash out all the difficulties but we could not succeed. The problem was deeper; it was something else.

14.52 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY *in the Chair*]

Anyhow, again the Governor has taken over, the democratic government is gone and again the elected ministry is finished. Although 215 members of the United Front were returned to the Legislature, they were in power and had all their own way, since something had happened there was progressive disintegration. That disintegration

is still going on. I do not know why it all happened.

With regard to the Burdwan affair, whatever has been said has deeply touched us, at least the pathetic exclamations and appeal of the lady, Mrignayani Devi, to the Government officers for redress. But I had a different version from Jyoti Babu. He came here and told us that not merely the day before his effigy was burnt amidst some commotion but another effigy of the United Front was taken out and burnt. I do not know what is the truth. Truth must be got at. I am supporting Shri Sen. If you think that you should do it, you should not delay any longer. If you want the truth, you must have the truth but not truth at the hands of the bureaucrats or the Governor or certain politically motivated parties. Have the honest truth and find out where the fault lies.

The trouble is that we have been too patient and reticent. Now is the time to make our voice felt against any disorder. Bengal today is pathetically appealing for normalcy. Normalcy should be restored; I hope, normalcy will be restored. I must admit that the Centre did not misbehave this time. There was no demand by the Prime Minister or the Central Home Minister that the Legislature should not function. The Legislature has not been dissolved. That shows that the Legislature has been deliberately kept. Why? Not merely for the purpose of getting votes for some people to be elected to the Rajya Sabha; the Legislature has been kept there with a definite purpose so that again a democratic government can function.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Mini Front.

SHRI N. C. CHATTERJEE: It is not merely the question of a mini front. Mini front is not the ambition of anyone. Whatever it is, let democracy function; let us know the truth and get at it; let us establish normalcy. We must vindicate the rule of law; we must see that no one loses his life because of his dislike of another party. But I am told—I do not know—by an ex-Minister that there are men in Burdwan this time against whom the order was that they should not enter Burdwan. I do not know this happened. They say, it is absolute truth.

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

In spite of all that, they came in and their presence in Burdwan itself shows defiance. But that does not justify the tragedy of killing somebody; that does not justify taking away a man's life. As a matter of fact, Mr. Jyoti Basu told me—I do not know whether it is true or not—that there was a small party, there was no *lathi*, there is no weapon, there was no lethal instrument, and then came a bigger force from the other side of the river Damodar, that is, from Raina and then a clash took place.

Whatever it is, it is a matter of great shame, a matter of great discredit, not only to West Bengal but to the whole of India. We should try to get at the truth. Let us have the truth. Let us punish the delinquent people whoever they are. The truth must be got at by judicial means. Let us not only rely on newspapers or magazines or big articles and thereby be misled. Let us know the truth; let us vindicate the truth and let us take action accordingly.

I should say that time is not gone when one should try to make another United Front. That should be done. When you have got the Legislature, it should be shown that the Legislature is honestly kept there for the purpose of having a democratic Government, having a popular government or having an elected Government and that can be done at the earliest possible moment after normalcy is restored and after a stable Government is formed in West Bengal.

SHRIMATI UMA ROY (Malda): Mr. Chairman, Sir, one of the biggest problems of the State now is the problem of law and order. The problem has become so deep-rooted that even after the suspension of the legislature and promulgation of the President's rule, cases of murders, loots, arsons, etc. are coming to light everyday. The murders committed during day time, on 17-3-70 in Burdwan town, in presence of high officials, point to the fact how the Government machinery which was out to serve the interests of the particular political party are still at work even after the President's rule. This House is not aware what action has been taken against the officials responsible for such massacre. The mere transfer of these officials from the district will not

meet the ends of justice. I, therefore, urge upon the Government that a full judicial enquiry should be held in the matter and a high power committee should immediately be appointed to weed out those officials who were appointed or promoted to key positions, particularly, in the Police and the general administration on political considerations. It is apprehended that recruitments have also been made in the lower cadres of the Police Department merely on political considerations. The Government will not be able to function in a proper way unless the influences of the political parties are completely eliminated from the administration, I, therefore, draw the pointed attention of the Government to this dangerous position.

15 hrs.

The House may be aware of the cases of loot, arson, and murders that appear in the daily newspapers of West Bengal. I cite some instances of such cases about which I claim to have personal knowledge. On 12-2-70, one Mr. Manindra Ch. Bakshi, a Congress worker of Nalagola village and one Mr. Karamatullah, a poor peasant of Sealdanga village of Malda district were brutally murdered. On 13-3-70, a gang of Santals under the alleged leadership of the local MLA, attacked the residents of the Bhulkimari village, Malda district and set fire to the houses of the villagers who are refugees from East Pakistan. They completely destroyed their harvests and other belongings and killed three persons on the spot and threw their bodies into the fire. The actual number of death cases is not yet known.

Again on 15-3-70, a pre-planned attack was made upon six or seven families of Dighalbar village of Bamangola Police Station, Malda district and their houses and other belongings were completely set fire to. Under the guidance of the same MLA they did not hesitate to loot the paddy grown in the land belonging to the mosque and wakf estate of Machuakandar village of Malda district. I am citing another serious instance which happened a few months back during the regime of the United Front Ministry. Some people forcibly entered the

house of Sri Azimuddin Sarker, President, District Congress Committee (Organization), Malda District, assaulted the inmates of his house including his wife and looted everything from his house. The matter was taken up with the State Government but no fruitful action has so far been taken.

These cases show how the law-abiding people of West Bengal were living in a condition where the Government existed only by name. The Government should take serious note of the situation and take all remedial measures so that the people of West Bengal may feel secure of their own lives and property.

The next problem which confronts the State is the problem of economic development and unemployment. The budget, however, does not throw any light as to how these gigantic problems are going to be solved. These problems can be solved to a large extent by a co-ordinated development of agriculture and industry. But, unfortunately, the provisions under these heads are very meagre and nominal compared to the needs.

As regards development of agriculture and agro-industries, the districts of North Bengal promise to flourish as a large agricultural complex. The Government is urged to embark upon some development schemes in North Bengal where the problem of unemployment amongst the educated and uneducated, is assuming serious proportions.

The development of Haldia port and the setting up of an oil refinery and fertiliser project were considered to reduce the problem of unemployment in that State. But, unfortunately, the project report of the Haldia fertiliser project is yet to see the light and the oil refinery is yet to start its work in full vigour. I regret to point out that the General Manager and other top officials of the Haldia refinery are yet to move to the project site from Delhi and mostly due to reluctance on their part to move to the site, the progress of the work is suffering. Since the economic prosperity of the State is bound up with the early commissioning of the oil refinery and the fertiliser project, the Government is urged to look into the matter and take steps immediately for movement of the Haldia refinery staff and officers to the

project site. During the regime of the United Front Government at the instance of several political parties, agricultural lands even within the ceiling limits, have been forcibly taken away and distributed not amongst the actual landless labourers but to the members of the political parties. Such cases where lands within ceiling limits have been taken away should be recovered and returned to the owners immediately. Since there has been an awakening amongst the agricultural population of the State, a quick and early implementation of the land reforms is the only solution to this problem. I urge upon the Government to bring about quick implementation of the land reforms envisaged by the Government during Congress rule. The way in which the problem was sought to have been solved, merits consideration and the Government should look into the matter without any further delay.

One last point I would say is this. I request that a Parliamentary Committee should be appointed to enquire about all these cases. Thank you.

DR. RANEN SEN (Barasat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, in this discussion on West Bengal, at the very outset, I want to make it absolutely clear that I reject all the arguments and the sentiments expressed by the Swatantra, Jan-Sangh Members in this House. And, in regard to Mr. A. K. Sen, I want to state that the speech that he made objectively helped the forces of reaction in West Bengal in this country. The Swatantra and Jan Sangh openly gave expression of the mind of the people who wanted to turn back the wheels of history. It is a well-known fact that these gentlemen and the people who are the henchmen of these people never liked the United Front Government from the very beginning. The United Front Government was formed by the will of the people. Congress was cut to size and Swatantra Jan-Sangh was wiped out of the map of West Bengal. Nobody can deny that it is for the first time in West Bengal during United Front regime people had their freedom, peasantry was no longer afraid of the jotdars and the blackmarketeers workers were not afraid of the big business that were ruling in Calcutta and elsewhere. The United Front Government started grappling with

[Dr. Ranen Sen]

the land question. In regard to the surplus land held illegally by the Jotdars nearly 4 lakh acres of land are distributed among the peasantry either directly by Government or the peasantry encouraged to get hold of the land, by the United Front Government. Sir, a new life was evident in West Bengal. As I said earlier this was not liked by the big business. It was not to the liking of reactionary and big business forces and they did spare no pain to bring down the fall of the United Front Government. But unfortunately what that reaction could not do, certain activities of the Marxist communist party were able to do. My feeling is this that from the political point of view, as it appears now, the United Front of the left and the democratic people and democratic parties of the Left, were never believed by the CPM as United Front. They only believed in the United Front which they could dominate. This is my first charge against the CPM. My second charge is that they divided the glorious united action of the working class and of the peasantry that was generated in the early days of the United Front Government. Lakhs of jute workers, tea workers, textile workers, engineering workers,—irrespective of political affiliations,—fought side by side. In this movement, in the name of revolution, in the name of class struggle, division was created. In the village side, where the peasants were fighting against the jotdars, in the name of class struggle, peasants were pitted against peasants, and outsiders were pitted against the workers or peasants. This is my second charge against the CPM. I have nothing to do with any cock and bull story, but this is my political charge against them.

My third charge is this. Instead of trying to implement the 32-point programme of the UF, the CPM used their influence over the State machinery for furtherance of their own interests. They wanted to strengthen their party. That was their only concern. That brought about a situation inside the UF. The result that we find today is that inside the UF, out of the 14 parties, they stand isolated. It is time that their party leadership and their members try to ponder over the situation, why such a situation is there in West Bengal today. I had spoken

earlier of the glorious united action of the workers. But today, we do not find any glorious united action of the workers.

The Birlas have attacked their employees. But we find the leaders of the CPM having secret confabulations with the Birlas. . . (Interruptions) this is my charge.—and rejecting the demands of a section of the AITUC who wanted a general strike against the Birlas. Therefore, I say that in the name of revolution and in the name of class struggle, they have helped only the Birlas and the Tatas in West Bengal. They have tarnished the image of the UF. What is the objective condition today in West Bengal?

No single party can rule in that State. Only the UF can. Either it is the UF of the right reaction or the UF of the left and democratic parties. This is the only solution.

I am sorry to say that the jotdars had 60,000 guns. Even today, they have 60,000 guns in their possession.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Licensed; the number of unlicensed guns may be much more.

DR. RANEN SEN: There are many unlicensed guns also, but the Home Minister never cared to disarm those jotdars. This helped the jotdars. There were instances where jotdars had shot at people, but those jotdars' guns were not seized. On the other hand, there are enough instances where the jotdars have taken shelter behind the flag of the CPM. We have witnessed this unfortunate affair there.

Today we have come to a position where still the whole situation can be salvaged. The CPM was crying hoarse over the Mini front. Even today, they are shouting against the mini-front. Political opportunism has a limit, but in regard to the CPM, this political opportunism has gone beyond any limit. On the 14th or 15th March, while crying hoarse against the mini-front, imaginary mini-front, the CPM leadership went to the Governor and almost persuaded him by telephone, as I said. . .

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH (Pali): Micro-front.

DR. RANEN SEN: It was a mini-mini-front or a micro-mini-front, whatever he may like to call it. What was the result? To our astonishment, we found that Mr. Jyoti Basu was assuring the Governor that if he were given the Ministry, he would show his majority. But before that, he could not show it. What is the meaning of this? The meaning is bribery, corruption and intimidation and physical violence etc. could be used to secure a majority for themselves. I am reminded of an important speech made by Shri P. Ramamurti, when we were discussing the report of the Committee on Defections. He was waxing eloquent and said very strongly that the defections must be stopped and he also said that the people who defected must seek re-election. But what is the position in West Bengal? All those noble sentiments have been forgotten. But somehow or other Mr. Jyoti Basu's bluff was called by the determined and principled stand of 8 parties of the UF, and, therefore, he had to beat a hasty retreat.

The CPI and several other constituent parties of the UF have taken a stand that it is still time to retrace the steps. For that, we have asked the Bangla Congress leadership to retrace their steps.

It must be stated here clearly that some of the statements that Bangla Congress have made, and some of the actions which they have done have done great disservice to the UF. But the main guilt by and large is that of CPM. It should be held responsible for the promulgation of President's rule in West Bengal. Therefore, it is for the CPM to create a condition in which the UF can be reformed and reformed. (*Interruptions*) Acharya Kripalani need not be afraid that I may not refer to Burdwan. If I had the time, I would have said a few words about those things. But the main political thing is that the CPM should try to create a condition in which the UF can be reformed and restored, because it is they who are responsible for this sorry state of affairs in West Bengal. I agree here with Shri N. C. Chatterjee who has said that the whole thing can be revived again. Otherwise, what would be the position? Otherwise, there should be a fresh verdict of the people taken. But it is humbug to say that it can be taken in two months' time; it is sheer humbug to say that. There-

fore, our party thinks that by the last week of November this year, fresh elections can be held in West Bengal so that the people can express their opinion.

Meanwhile, I want to state certain things very categorically and very strongly. There are reports that the police have started attacking the workers and peasants in many areas. I have received a telegram which reads as follows:

"Armed attack on AITUC workers by the management of Sunkarpur Colliery led by manager and contractor Ramanuj Tewari on twentyeight stop several quarters ransacked and looted top several CPI workers and wives of workers seriously injured stop CPI workers also arrested. . "

We are getting other such reports also from the villagers. I want to warn the Government of India that if during the President's rule, any attempt is made to take away the positive achievements that the workers or the peasants have got during the last 13 months of UF rule, or if in the name of enforcing law and order, the CRP or the Border Security Force or the Industrial Security Force or the military are used against the people of West Bengal or if in the name of doing justice to the jotedars and the big business, this repressive machinery is let loose, then there will be a flare-up in West Bengal and nobody on earth can prevent that flare-up, and nobody can stop it.

Therefore, Sir, I say with all humility that the Central Government should see to it that the repressive machineries are not let loose. Lastly, I would like to say a few words about the budget. I agree with what Shri Asoke Sen, said namely, that very little money has been given to Calcutta—Rs. 1 crore or so.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Half a crore of rupees.

DR. RANEN SEN: It is a little less than one crore of rupees. Calcutta is not a West Bengal city. 25% of the foreign import is through Calcutta Port and 42% of the export goes through Calcutta. This is the city of the eastern region to which you also belong. Bihar and part of Eastern U.P. So

[Dr. Ranen Sen]

also Orissa, Manipur and Tripura are parts of the Eastern region. Therefore, Calcutta problem is not the creation of Bengalees only but it is an all-India problem. This is my first point. This being a bordering area, West Bengal's needs are to be looked into from this angle. For political reasons or otherwise, the Central Government was giving a step-motherly treatment to the City of Calcutta in West Bengal. I do not know whether the President's Rule will end soon or it will continue for some time more. The needs of Calcutta city must be looked into and attended to promptly so that the whole of eastern region may come up.

With these few words I conclude.

सभापति महोदय : मुझे माननीय सदस्यों से एक रिक्वेस्ट करनी है कि बोलने वाले जितने सदस्य हैं मैं चाहता हूँ कि सबको समय मिल जाय, और यह तभी सम्भव होगा जब माननीय सदस्य समय के मुताबिक बोलें ।

SHRI KRISHAN KUMAR CHATTERJI: (Howrah): Mr. Chairman, Sir I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to speak. We all know the happenings in West Bengal as a result of which this Proclamation was issued. There is a Statutory Resolution before us also. I would support this budget of West Bengal for 1970-71 brought forward by Shri P. C. Sethi, our Minister of State for Finance. To all intent and purpose, this budget must have been prepared by the former Chief Minister of West Bengal, Shri Mukherjee who was the Finance Minister also. I am glad that Shri Sethi has to present this budget under certain compulsions of political events. I was surprised to hear the speeches made by some hon. Members, specially that of Shri Ranen Sen in this House. The functioning of the State Government was such that they brought down the law and order to almost this position that there is no possibility of peace returning soon over there. Therefore, the President's rule has been imposed there. No civilised Government was functioning there. I ask my friends of the C.P.M. who represent West Bengal here, whether there was any civilised government functioning there. If there was a civilised

government functioning there, was it possible for any person to go in procession with deadly weapons in hands such as bows and arrows as also certain fire arms and lethal weapons? People were carrying with them the above weapons in their hands in procession and these were allowed. I know of one instance in Twentyfour Parganas where three persons were beheaded. If this is the way that a Government should function I have nothing to say. How can we expect our Parliamentary democracy to survive if this sort of thing is allowed? Only a few days back I found that there, the people had got some relief. They are no longer griefstricken or panicky. They can now hope that the President's Rule will be stabilised for some time, so that the people can breathe relief and can have peace and normal life.

Dr. Ranen Sen was claiming that the people there were having real freedom during UF rule. Was it proper for them with such a majority in the Assembly at their command to look on helplessly when land was snatched away from persons and distributed without going through the process of law?

AN HON. MEMBER: So he is defending Jotedars?

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI: It is not that all jotedars were touched. Those who belonged to certain parties, the CPI(M) and even CPI were not disturbed at all. I know it and therefore, I make this statement. There was a competition among all the parties functioning there in the UF for murder, loot, arson and even rape of women. We have to accuse all the constituent members of the UF which was functioning there that there was a kind of regular competition amongst them to bring about a situation where murder could be committed in broad daylight without action being taken to prevent it. We have seen that.

Therefore, it is high time for the members of Parliament belonging to any party here to think in an objective way and analyse what happened in West Bengal. Pandit Nehru once described West Bengal in a graphic way. He said:

"Bengal once so rich and flourishing

is today a miserable mass of poverty-stricken, starving and dying people. Such a Bengal we are trying to revive."

After independence, Bengal paid the heaviest price in blood and tears. Four million refugees came. They have had to live a miserable life with no shelter, no food, not even the bare necessities of life. They were forced to live in slum areas in sub-human conditions. Can we forget that these refugees are the very persons who suffered most? Has the UF Government after it came into power done anything to tackle their problem? No, they failed.

Poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, social and economic injustice—these are the problems which are to be tackled if President's rule is to turn the tide there. We know that land reform measures have to be speeded up, but it should be done in such a way that the logical result is the meting out of economic and social justice to the peasantry. Only if it is done quickly, can we have peace in the rural areas.

Then again the toiling workers in the fields and factories and the landless peasants have to be looked after. This has to be done as a matter of urgency. Only then can we save West Bengal from disaster and lawlessness. There is great discontent in my State because of the hunger, poverty, unemployment and various other miseries afflicting the people. It is essential that we should take up the problem in right earnest and not just indulge in rabble-rousing political passions here. I do not want to blame any particular party for what took place in West Bengal. But it cannot be gain said that for the breakdown of law and order in the State, the CPI(M) must be held responsible.

A paradoxical situation arose there. The Chief Minister was himself describing the government functioning there as 'barbarous' and 'uncivilised.' Even he was helpless to change the situation. But he wanted to stick to Chief Ministership probably because he thought that good sense would prevail and Shri Jyoti Basu would give up the Home portfolio. They are waiting for the day when they can come back to power. Let them come back provided the CPM is agreeable to admit that there was a failure on the part

of their Home Minister, that he could not maintain law and order in West Bengal, so that peace might be maintained and normal life would be possible and the honour of women would be preserved there.

I want to bring to the notice of the House what *Imprint* published in 1968 on the problem of Calcutta. It said:

"Calcutta is not one disaster but many, each breeding its own kind of despair, its own special nightmare. . . Many shortcomings afflict the Indian nation today, but none so maddening as its fatalistic acceptance of poverty as a fact of life, none so benumbing as our blindness to human decay and degradation. For twenty years our people and governments, unstirred even by sights that sicken any normal mind, have not done a thing about the agonising spectacle that is Calcutta today. That great city and her good people have been allowed to sink almost to a point of no return. Everybody speaks of Calcutta as a problemcity, but obviously few seem to be aware of the many tragedies that make it a hell hole."

Even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to speak feelingly and in emotional terms about the city of Calcutta. Mr. Dhawan in the last NDC meeting made a point that the problem of Calcutta has to be tackled speedily. Otherwise it would be impossible to maintain law and order and to have good Government there. Therefore, I bring this to the notice of the Central Government that through the Governor's rule Calcutta's problems should be tackled on a war footing.

This is what the *Hindustan Standard* has published on the 25th March on the problem of Calcutta:

"West Bengal has the largest number of educated unemployed in the country, the number of job-seekers on the live register of employment exchanges going up to 1,82,000 by the end of December last year.

West Bengal has also the largest number of unemployed craftsmen and production process workers, their number

[Shri Krishna Kumar Chatterji]

according to the register being 43,418 on December 31."

This is the appalling situation of unemployment in West Bengal. That has to be tackled if we want to do something to stabilise the position in West Bengal. These unemployed youths have to be given jobs so that we can create conditions of peace and make it possible for the administration to function peacefully. We depend upon the Government to tackle these problems first.

सभापति महोदय : एक बात मुझ को कहनी है। सी-पी० (एम) के 10 मिनट हैं और डी-एम० के 13 मिनट हैं। डी० एम० के० ने लिखकर दे दिया है कि सारा 23 मिनट का समय सी० पी० (एम) को दे दिया जाए।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: The DMK said it would give half its time to me.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, they have given in writing.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour): You will allow me to put our viewpoints squarely, frankly and fully. That is a very legitimate expectation that I have in mind.

I will only briefly touch the performance of this holy Central Government ruled by the Congress in the last 20 years, their wonderful kindness to West Bengal and the city of Calcutta. They have ruined West Bengal in twenty years and today West Bengal has been pushed to the bottom position of this country. In every sphere of human living we are struggling to be within the last three. Whereas Madras has seventy per cent of its villages electrified, we are struggling for 4.2 in primary education, rural housing and rural water supply, food production, minor irrigation we have one of the last three places. That is how we are struggling under the golden rule of 20 years of Congress to be at the bottom of the list. You must know this, Sir, because you are one of our closest neighbours and you are also suffering. But

I do not know whether you are mindful of the fact. The average annual combined rate of growth in terms of percentage rose by 3.18 per cent between 1952-53 and 64-65 for rice growing. The corresponding figures for Punjab are 8.68, for West Bengal they are 1.38. The annual growth of yield rates per acre between 1952-53 and 1964-65 are 1.68 per cent for all India. For Gujarat it is 4.43 while for West Bengal it is 1.24. One can imagine how sincere are the crocodiles which shed tears by the buckful here. Out of the total institutional financing for minor irrigation of Rs. 254.72 crores, Maharashtra has been given 64.74 crores, U.P. has been given Rs. 52.96 crores, Assam 0.40 and West Bengal—a big lemon; we have not been given a single penny on that account.

What is the condition of Calcutta today? It has given you maximum internal revenue; It has given you maximum earnings of foreign exchange with which you are fluttering everywhere outside. How have they treated Calcutta port? How have they treated greater Calcutta? TTK told me personally that he was going to earmark Rs. 200 crores. That was shelved by the Central Government in collusion with Mr. P. C. Sen who was the Chief Minister then because they thought that if money was spent part of it might find its way into politically undesirable hands. People understood them very well. Twenty years were long enough. I thank the people of Bengal for showing enough patience. In 1967 and then in 1969 they threw them out, just like a piece of rog, completely although they spent all the money that the money bags could provide and the resources that the administration had. When the United Front came in 1967 they (Congress) started the cattle fair. 17 MLAs were bought for fantastic sums of money ranging from 17,000 to 1,20,000. With the help of money and money bags, they toppled the Government. For the purpose of toppling, they even took to blackmailing and Mr. Jagjiwan Ram blackmailed West Bengal in regard to the quota of food grains. They wanted to starve people to make them vote for Congress and bring them to power to serve the big Indian and foreign monopolists with fresh vigour.

They created communal riots. On page 77 of the Gupta Commission Report, a sitting Calcutta High Court Judge says:

"Their evidence is supported by the Deputy Commissioner, Special Branch Sudhindranath Gupta who at the relevant time happened to be in charge of the Intelligence Department in Calcutta. Questioned about the motive of the organisers of the protest march on the 29th of March 1967, this is what Deputy Commissioner Gupta said: 'The motive as far as we can get through the intelligence reports was to discredit the then United Front Government for which a few rich people had spent considerable amounts of money.'"

That is, Mr. Patodia's friends and other friends from that bench and Mr. Chavan. The Central Government has a parallel police force to do spying there. Even Mr. Jyoti Basu's telephone was not spared; we found it out because we have our own source. They had a parallel organisation to know what was the conversation between Mr. Basu and others. How decent, democratic, they are? They are worse than the German Fascists; therefore, they have done. (*Interruption*) Now, they took to—please forgive my language—political prostitution. They went and hugged the PDF and wooed that gentleman, Dr. P. C. Ghosh. For good, a deep burial was given to it under the Congress banner.

I come now to the current issues. We have brought forward a budget here, keeping the Assembly there half-dead. About the 250 p.m. for 280 persons there and the money spent on them, it does not matter, for a big country. Do not worry about it. But why is it that you want to pass the budget here and, at the same time, keep the Assembly alive, suspended? Because you are again after that political prostitution. You want to create a mini-front. You are bidding time and waiting for that. That is why you want to do it. There is the Congress rule in West Bengal directed from Delhi and being administered through the bureaucrats of their choice. Why don't you look at what we have been able to do during the short period? Why don't you for a moment forget your dirty politics and try to find out what we have been able to do in 1969, our records and achieve-

ments, compared to any Government in this country during the last 22 years? Can you cite one Government which could compare with our achievements for the common man, the toiling man, the downtrodden, ignored and neglected man?

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: Is it the United Front Ministry or your achievement?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: The working class front there had fought the biggest monopolies, your masters, and within six months, the big monopolists had to come down because the United Front the CPM (Marxist) Labour Minister supported the workers' struggle and almost every worker got a financial benefit to the tune of Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 per month within six months or our coming into power there.

Sir, everyone knows that the Bonus Act that you have here is in practice to help the lowering of the workers' bonus, but what have we done in West Bengal? In the United Front regime, almost every worker got a higher bonus than the statutory limit. All these forces and the force of the monopolists had to part to the extent of Rs. 50 crores every year to be given to the workers who made money for them. The impact was so severe. If you recollect, you will find it. On account of the strike in Tatas, in our neighbouring State, in the steel industry, even the public sector plant, the Hindustan Steel, was forced to allow Rs. 30 as a wage rise to the steel workers of this country.

In the land front, during the 20 years of Congress rule, under golden rule, as I have just now stated, despite your high-sounding words for the poor peasants, every day, thousands of tillers tenants have been evicted everywhere on a mass scale from their lands. This included the Harijans, tribals, minorities and others. In West Bengal, during the United Front regime, none dared to touch or evict the man from the land if he was a tiller tenant. None could be evicted from that land that he was tilling. During the last 20 years, you have passed and piled so many ceiling laws on paper, but never implemented them, because if you dared to implement them, your machinery in the villages would have gone to bits and pieces. The laws were

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

not applied. There are no figures available for the States despite their shedding crocodile tears today.

One of the Ministers in the United Front—Mr. Harikrishna Konar—I am proud to say that he belongs to my party and he is my leader—distributed three and a half lakh acres of land within six months and within the existing laws; within your existing laws you did not dare to implement them. Apart from that, we set in motion in the course of operation unparalleled and unprecedented movement of peasants and created new self-confidence amongst the neglected and the down-trodden. The CPM devoted all its power, energy and resources for the growth of the havenots. Taking advantage of its leading position in the UF and its vast, increasing, widespread party machinery and dedicated cadre in the trade union, kisan and other fronts, we could make it possible. This created all the wrath that has been showered upon us today. Clashes were organised, engineered by vested interests, jotedars, monopolists and big employers extensively. The vested-interest press indulged in unprecedented vilification campaign. We have been watching the whole thing. You have provided them with an unlimited quota of newsprint. Imagine the articles appearing in the *Statesman*. Will any civilised country, civilised Government, allow such articles and editorials to go unchallenged, in which they have tried to create hatred and wrath between people and people and scare and terror in their minds? The *Anand Bazaar Patrika*, *Hindusthan Standard* which live on CIA money, published on the front page a girl's story. But when they smelt trouble, they immediately published a contradiction. You must look at this eight-column publication in the *Hindustan Standard* which talks about the girl who saw the Burdwan happenings. The next day, the same girl says, whatever I have said is a cock and bull story. 'The girl who hoaxed us all is a red herring.' You cannot touch this paper. Their newsprint blackmarketing came before you, but you struck a deal. Their premises was searched, but you struck a deal. They promised to cover you and you withdrew the action. You are a bunch of undesirables in any kind of civilised Government.

About the Rabindra Sarobar happening, a sitting Judge of the Calcutta High Court examined everything and said, everything was a cooked up story. Mrs. Ila Palchoudhury, if she had any sense of honour, should have come and at least said, "I am sorry".

She said, the girls did not come and appear before the court. . . (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUHURY (Krishnagar): On a point of order, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are going to speak next.

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkottai): If she raises a point of order and if the time taken by her is included in his time, when she speaks I will raise a point of order and that time must be included in her time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am going to call the lady member next and she can give a reply then. (Interruptions).

मैं जिस को इजाजत न दूँ वह न बोले।
अगर कोई इस तरह से बोलेगा तो वह
रिकार्ड पर नहीं जाएगा।

सब पार्टीज को मीका मिलेगा जवाब
देने का। अब आप मुन लीजिये और जब
मीका मिले आप जवाब दे दें।

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Shri N.C. Chatterjee has very rightly pointed out that in the Burdwan case we should not be guided by the one-sided story of a person who is vitally an interested party in the happenings there. Their whole object is to isolate the CPM. But have they succeeded? No, on the contrary, people have come in greater number and closer to us. Revealing facts, may I say something? Out of the alleged 98 political murders, 65 of the victims belong to my party. May I tell you that Shri Chavan, the Home Minister here, in his over-energetic mood, misled the House by saying that 101 political murders have taken place. He said that his own agency provided the information. What sort of cock and bull story these people are trying to say here, one can understand.

In this scheme of isolation, may I tell you what *Hindu* wrote? The *Hindu* dated 23rd December 1969 says on page 6:

"In Midnapur District the crop prospect is stated to be very good. But bangadars are less powerful.

Most of the jotedars are strong supporters of the Bangla Congress and CPI. In the biggest district less trouble is expected."

Then I come to the use of the Home Department. Yes, we use our Home Department, but not for sending police to help jotedars and industrialist in their illegal repressive work, but to allow freedom to workers and kisans to continue their legitimate struggle. These attracted more people to us and strengthened our organisation by leaps and bounds. But it was natural.

Another false propaganda was that we used the police to suppress the other political parties. Congress, during 22 years of its administration, used police to suppress us. But did it help? We would not be so foolish as not to take a lesson from their experience. We shall never do that. We will never be so foolish as to destroy our own prospects. The CPI should have taken a lesson in not using police in administration because it does not help the party; it only helps to ruin the party.

Again, in West Bengal you are using the police and the CRP for repression for committing atrocities. In Hooghly in numerous police stations you have committed rapes, murders and beating of people. In Barupur, in 24 Parganas they are doing the same thing. In Asansol coal belt, in Ajoy, Sripur and Rana you are hand in glove with the police.

Look at our attitude. When the whole country is riddled with regionalism (Shiv Sena) and communalism of Jan Sangh and RSS and the speeches of your own Ministers like Shri Yunus Saleem, what was our attitude towards minorities, what was our attitude towards others? We do not go by these petty considerations of communalism and regionalism. We have been fighting a battle for the down-trodden and the have-nots.

Now that the Ministry has fallen and the other parties are not prepared to form a government, why should you keep the Assembly? The Home Minister must tell us the reason. You are intriguing. For God's sake, don't burn your fingers again. They are already burnt too deep. None except the Bangla Congress is prepared to form a government with your (Congress) support.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: Why is he taking shelter of God?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: None except the Bangla Congress—some of the Bangla Congress members have voted for Shrimati Poorabi Mukerjee—is prepared to form a government with your support. They (other parties) are right because the other parties have understood the mood of the people of West Bengal specially about you. . . . (Interruption). You feel that after some time some of them could be brought round for a mini front but it will not work.

What did you do in Bihar? You might have somehow succeeded in forming a government. That only shows your depth of political degeneration and how you degenerated the country's political life. You plan the same dirty game in West Bengal but we warn you not to do it. We are prepared to be judged by the highest tribunal, the people of West Bengal, to whom we are dedicated. Our hands are untainted and clean. Our conscience is clear and we shall always stand by the toiling people. We roused consciousness in them and we know what their verdict will be. You are afraid of facing it. You are intriguing with the vested interest and the press. But truth will triumph and no bundle of falsehood will help.

I demand and the Home Minister must make a categorical statement here to dissolve the Assembly right now and hold elections within the shortest technically possible time, definitely before the end of May.

I warn you, if you do not submit to the people and if you conspire and manoeuvre to instal a government over the back of the people, as Shri Jagjiwan Ram has said "catalytic agent"—and deprive them of their own chosen government, they will never forgive you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are bringing all allegations against me.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: They will retaliate in the magnitude unknown to you and unforeseen by you. Your fate will be that of Dr. P. C. Ghosh. We want a categorical statement here and now about mid-term elections. Also don't you dare touch the tenants of land and workers. Act against the press and stop the police repression.

About the Jana Sangh and Swatantra may I say one word as a representative of the people of West Bengal? People have out right rejected them at the polls. I do not know what right they have got to talk and preach sermons for the people of West Bengal.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: Jana Sangh will teach them a lesson physically everywhere and in Calcutta.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: About what my hon. friend, Dr. Ranen Sen had said, it must be made clear that Shri Jyoti Basu, as leader of the largest party, was entitled to be called to form the government. What have you done in Madras in 1952 and in other States? It was within his right to be called to form the government as leader of the largest party in the Assembly.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI: Mr. Chairman, Sir, today we discuss Bengal under very dark skies. We are discussing the Bengal Budget because the President has made a Proclamation and Bengal is under President's rule.

The United Front of 14 parties which the Communist (Marxist) seemed to dominate had been in power for 375 days. It is, thank God, over now for the time being and people can at least breathe. May I bring to the notice of the House that during these 375 days, not taking into account the immediate murders that have happened, there have been 600 murders and 900 dacoities? That is more than the number of days they have been in power. . . (Interruption) Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu said that the Rabindra Sarovar incident was not proved. Quite true it was not proved. And it is a shame to Bengal that it was not proved. . .

16 hrs.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: What an argument!

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI: The witnesses were terrorised. . . (Interruptions).

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: All rubbish.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI: The lawyers were assaulted. My own counsel Shri Mihir Sen's life was threatened. His junior was so assaulted that he could not carry on the case. Even the lady lawyers were assaulted. . .

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shame, shame!

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI: This is what happened. It is true that nothing was proved. But it is a shame for Bengal, that law could not function. . . (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Let the hon. lady Member speak.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI: I would like to highlight one or two points of the U.F. Government of which the C.P.M. poses to be the friends of the people. These friends of the people say that they have distributed 3 lakh acres of land to the landless. Have they distributed land to the landless? They have distributed it to their partymen amongst whom there are not many landless.

Mr. Jyoti Basu, sitting in the Writers building, has said that it was a peaceful harvesting. In Nadia alone, there were over 300 clashes over the harvest and over 100 murders and injuries. And he says it was all peaceful. In Nadia district, from about 100 So-called jotedars the land had been taken. I demand that any land that is taken from any person who does not possess laid over and above the ceiling should be returned to him so that justice will be done. I doubt if there are so many big jotedars in Nadia! (Interruptions).

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak): What is this? The hon. lady Member should be allowed to proceed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order. May I request all of you to please listen to her patiently?

SHRI UMANATH: When Shri Jyotirmoy Basu was speaking, you were all shouting.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: That is a wrong accusation. Nobody was shouting.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI: I cannot shout as much as Shri Jyotirmoy Basu can! But I can state some facts. Sir, the time taken by interruptions should not be deducted from my time.

I want to highlight another thing. They say, they are the friends of the people. What have they done in West Bengal for irrigation? All States have asked for irrigation pumps and they have implemented their programmes. Some of the States have 30,000 pumps, 50,000 pumps and Tamil Nadu has 5 lakh pumps. But in West Bengal, the friends of the people with the C.P.M. dominating the 14-parties Government never thought of putting pumps. They have only 1,000 irrigation pumps in West Bengal.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: What did you do in the last 20 years? (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI: I would also like to highlight another thing. We are today discussing the West Bengal Budget. These are the Supplementary Demands for grants for the year 1969-70. I would like to point out to the friends of the people what they have sanctioned or want to sanction for relief works. Look at the picture: office expenses—Rs. 15 lakhs; other expenses, contingencies, office etc.—Rs. 10 lakhs. What is the relief to be given for free supply of clothing and blankets? It is Rs. 2,50,000. They say, they are the friends of the people. (*Interruptions*) I would like to know also another thing. Let me come now to the happenings that have happened lately. Lately what has happened in West Bengal? Democracy has been drowned and law and order has been banished. We were in a state of chaos. Before the proclamation of President's rule which was on the 19th, on 16th Mr. Joyti Basu claimed that he has trained his men who would keep the law and order. He said, 'I have trained nearly 30,000 men.' This

was some months ago. This must have come to about 3 lakhs now. What did these people trained to take law and order in their own hands do?

On the 16th and 17th of March before the proclamation of the President's rule, they caught hold of our Chatraparishad boys just because they are Congress volunteers. They are like our own sons. I appeal to the women in the country to rise as mothers against such horrible crimes. They caught hold of the boys and locked them up in Police lock-ups. They charged them with bayonets and they completely speared through the stomach of a boy and he I understand died instantly! On top of this the Police and the CPM, co-ordinating their activities went to the house of the mother of the boy and made very obscene remarks to her and they also thrashed her. Do you think that women have not been dishonoured in Bengal? The former Chief Minister has said, "They have looted paddy. They have looted fish, they have nothing else to loot. They are now looting women." He has described his own government as "uncivilised and barbarous."

I have seen with my own eyes as to what happened on the day of the Rabindra Sarovar incident. Evidently CPM and other goondas knocked at the door of one of my relatives and asked them open the door. Would anybody open the door on days that followed the Rabindra Sarovar incident in Calcutta? That was the situation created? They said 'We want water'. But nobody dared to open the door. Then they said 'Oh' today we are asking for water. Afterwards we will ask for many more things—for your daughters, for your wives. (*Interruptions*) This is what has happened in West Bengal and this is within my own knowledge. So I can vouch for it.

What happened in Burdwan has been referred to. I would just like to bring to the notice of the House what the DM said—'If the police and the SDO would have gone there in time, then many lives might have been saved'. Mr. S. M. Gosh said 'The Police did not get any permission from the SDO to sternly deal with the armed CPM supporters.' This is the quotation from

[Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri]

notes submitted by Mr. S. M. Ghosh. This is not my note.

I would like to bring to the notice of the House another heartless thing that has happened. Mr. S. B. Roy, Home Secretary of West Bengal Government, who was evidently under the influence of the CPM, said to newsmen at Writers' Building on Saturday that he had received no complaint about the incidents'. Whatever is this, the Home Secretary has no news of the gruesome incident that happened in Burdwan where bright boys of the Sain family have been killed in the most gruesome manner! It is most shocking that the Home Secretary had no news!

May I also bring to your notice that not only the boys were killed but the mother's clothes were torn off and she was hit by a lathi and the blood of her son was smeared on her. She saw the eyeballs of her son being taken out. Mrigniyani Sain, the mother cried, 'I pray as a mother that death may come to him and relieve him of this intense pain.' What do you want to say of this atrocity? What is the ideology that forced them to indulge in such atrocious violence? What is the ideology by which our young men are so brainwashed and made to do all these things?

I would like to cite another instance. In Khanki an expectant mother was speared to death. Her last word was that she did not see the face of her son. She said, 'They have kicked me till the child I was carrying was dead inside me.' These were her last words. These astonishing incidents in Bangal happened under which regime, Sir? Under the regime of the United Front Government. There is one other thing which I want to mention. This kind of thing has never been heard of in Bengal. I have received threatening letters to tell me that I have vilified the character of the young men of West Bengal. I have the greatest love for the young men of West Bengal. I think they are second to none. But what I feel is this. The evil forces that the CPM has generated in West Bengal has succeeded to a certain extent in brainwashing our boys so that they can do some of the things that they are made to do.

It is a peculiar position that the Secretary of the Party of the Dy. Chief Minister says that he is calling the people out to a bloody revolution; the Employment Minister says that gheraos are a rightful instrument in the hands of the workers and they are quite justified, although, the High Court has given an order against gheraos the people in factories keep on shouting 'Vietnam is your name and my name, bring the fire of Vietnam and burn everything'. So, Sir, I would plead with the Government, let a Parliamentary Committee go into all the incidents that have happened, so they may see for themselves what has happened in Burdwan and other places. There should be a judicial probe into all the incidents that have happened in Bengal. Let the Centre come wholly to the rescue of Bengal and do all that is necessary to save the City of Calcutta so that it can smile again and breathe again. Bengal is the pride of India. Let not the CPM or any other violent political party spoil the face of Bengal and India with violence any more. Thank you.

16.13 hrs.

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री (हापुड़) :
सभापति जी, मुबह का भूला अग्रर शाम को घर
आ जाए तो उसको भूला नहीं माना जाता।
केन्द्रीय सरकार को जो निर्णय कई महीने
पूर्व लेना चाहिए था, वह निर्णय उसने अब
लिया। मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार के इस निर्णय
के लिए सराहना करना चाहता हूँ। बंगाल
की घटनाओं से पूरे देश में चिन्ता फैली हुई
है। कारण स्वाभाविक था कि बंगाल की
घटनाओं का प्रभाव केवल बंगाल पर ही नहीं
होता। बंगाल पूर्वी भारत का द्वार है। इस-
लिए बंगाल में जो घटनाएँ घट रही थीं उनसे
असम भी प्रभावित हो रहा था तथा मनीपुर,
नागालैंड, त्रिपुरा, नेफा आदि सभी क्षेत्रों में
बंगाल की घटनाओं का प्रभाव होना
स्वाभाविक था। पीछे बंगाल के अन्दर कुछ
महीनों से हिंसा, कत्ल, अराजकता का जो
तांडव नृत्य होता रहा उसने सारे देशमें एक इस
प्रकार की विषम स्थिति पैदा कर दी थी जिससे

लोग सोचने लगे थे कि कौनसा समय आया जबकि केन्द्रीय सरकार मजबूत निर्णय लेगी। न केवल हिंसा, अराजकता और कत्लों की घटनाओं ने इस देश को चिन्ता में डाल दिया था अपितु वास्तविकता यह है कि कुछ समय से यह सोचा जाने लगा था कि बंगाल में कुछ इस प्रकार के व्यक्ति और राजनीतिक दल भी हैं जो विदेशों के संकेतों पर चल रहे हैं और इस देश की स्वाधीनता को दूसरे देशों के हाथों में गिरवी रखना चाहते हैं। बंगाल का यह सीभाग्य था उसने स्वातंत्र्य संग्राम में नेताओं की एक लम्बी श्रेणी पैदा की। विपिन चन्द्र पाल से लेकर नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस और डा० श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी जैसे नेताओं की सेवाओं पर पूरे देश को अभिमान था। यतीन्द्रनाथ दास तथा राम बिहारी बोस जैसे क्रांतिकारी नेताओं को जिस बंगाल ने पैदा किया उसी बंगाल में पिछले कुछ वर्षों से यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण घटनायें घटीं।

पहना सबसे बड़ा बंगाल का दुर्भाग्य तो यह था कि बंगाल का विभाजन हुआ। दूसरा सबसे बड़ा दुर्भाग्य यह रहा कि पिछले 22 वर्षों में बंगाल के अन्दर कुछ राजनीतिक महन्त इस तरह से अपनी गद्दियों पर जमकर बैठ गए कि उन्होंने बंगाल के अन्दर कोई विकास के काम नहीं होने दिए और उसी का दुष्परिणाम यह है कि आज बंगाल के अन्दर हिंसा करने वालों, कत्ल करने वालों और अराजकता में विश्वास करने वालों को आगे आने का अवसर मिला। इसके लिए मैं मुख्य रूप से उन राजनीतिक महन्तों को दोषी ठहराना चाहता हूँ जो कि पिछले 22 वर्षों में बंगाल के साथ अत्याचार करते रहे हैं।

तीसरा सबसे बड़ा जो बंगाल के साथ दुर्भाग्य हुआ जिसको मैं समझता हूँ कि केन्द्रीय सरकार अगर समझदारी से निर्णय लेती तो शायद उसको किसी तरह से सम्हाल सकती थी राजनीतिक तुष्टिकरण में आ करके हमने बंगाल के पहले राज्यपाल श्री धर्मवीर को जिन

परिस्थितियों में हटाया वह परिस्थितियां कुछ अच्छी नहीं थीं। अगर श्री धर्मवीर राज्यपाल के पद के उपयुक्त नहीं थे तो फिर उनको मँसूर में राज्यपाल बनाने की क्या आवश्यकता थी। एक व्यक्ति जिसको प्रशासन का अनुभव था और जिसने बंगाल की परिस्थितियों को बड़ी मजबूती के साथ सम्हालना प्रारम्भ किया था उसे केन्द्र के कुछ नेताओं ने राजनीतिक तुष्टिकरण के चक्कर में आ करके वहाँ से हटाया और दूसरे स्थान पर राज्यपाल बनाया। यह भी बंगाल का दुर्भाग्य था।

बंगाल के अन्दर पिछले कुछ महीनों से जो विनाश चल रहा था और जिन परिस्थितियों ने देश को चिन्ता में डाल दिया था, मैं उन बातों की विशेष चर्चा नहीं करना चाहता। श्रीमती इला पालचौधरी कुछ समय पहले कह रही थी कि वियतनाम और लाल सलाम के नारे वहाँ पर लगते हैं। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया के किसी देश में जिसमें जनतंत्रीय संविधान लागू हो, इस प्रकार की भी स्थिति हो सकती है कि वहाँ के कुछ राजनीतिक दल, राजनीतिक व्यक्ति या राजनीतिक समाचार पत्र खुल्लम-खुल्ला इस बात की घोषणा करें कि माओत्सेतुंग हमारे राष्ट्रपति हैं और श्री वाराहगिरि बेंकटगिरि हमारे राष्ट्रपति नहीं हैं। और फिर उनको उस देश और राज्य की सरकारें स्वीकार करें? अगर चीन के अन्दर कोई व्यक्ति इस प्रकार का हाँ, या कोई राजनीतिक पार्टी या राजनीतिक समाचार पत्र इस प्रकार का हाँ जो वहाँ दबे शब्दों में भी इस बात को कह दे कि श्री वाराहगिरि बेंकटगिरि हमारे राष्ट्रपति हैं, माओत्सेतुंग हमारे राष्ट्रपति नहीं हैं तो चीन की सरकार उसके साथ क्या व्यवहार करती? लेकिन भारतवर्ष ही एक ऐसा देश है जिसके अन्दर इस प्रकार की राज्य सरकारें भी हैं जो इस प्रकार के अराजकतावादी तत्वों और देशद्रोहियों को बढ़ावा देती हैं। परिणाम यह है कि केवल इस तरह के नारे ही बहते नहीं

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

लगे बल्कि वास्तविकता यह है कि कुछ महीने पहले हमारे गृह मंत्रीजी श्री चव्हाण ने इस बात को मदन में भी स्वीकार किया था कि बंगाल के अंदर इस प्रकार के लोग हैं जो सशस्त्र क्रांति के नारे खुल्लम खुल्ला लगाते हैं, दीवारों पर पोस्टर चिपकाए जाते हैं और पेंटिग्स चिपकाई जाती हैं कि अपने अधिकारों के लिए हथियार हाथ में लेना पड़ेगा। इस प्रकार की स्थिति वहां हो गई। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो बंगाल के अन्दर सशस्त्र सभायें और सशस्त्र जुलूस निकलने प्रारंभ हुए हैं, यह कोई मामूनी चीज़ नहीं है। जबकि वहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन है तब यह चीज़ें और भी चिन्ता में डालने वाली हैं।

मैं मुख्य रूप से दो तीन बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। एक तो मुझे इस बात का पता लगा कि बंगाल की सरकार यूनाइटेड फ्रंट के नाम पर चल रही थी लेकिन वास्तविकता यह थी कि वह मार्क्सिस्ट लोगों की सरकार थी। उन्होंने छात्रों के अन्दर भी अपने ढंग की सेनायें बनाई और उनको सशस्त्र हिंसात्मक उपद्रवों के लिए उभाड़ा गया। दूसरी बात यह थी कि छोटी छोटी बम बनाने वाली फैक्टरियां न केवल कलकत्ता नगर में ही थीं बल्कि पूरे राज्य में ही इस प्रकार की फैक्टरियों का जाल बिछाया गया। इसके अतिरिक्त पुलिस के अन्दर भी मार्क्सिस्टों ने कुछ इसी प्रकार के अपने समर्थकों की घुसपैठ कराई। पुलिस के अन्दर भी इस प्रकार के व्यक्ति रखे गए। कम से कम अब राष्ट्रपति शासन के अन्दर मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन सारी बातों की उच्चस्तरीय जांच होनी चाहिए। निष्पक्ष व्यक्ति जाकर वहां जांच करे उसके बाद जो भी व्यक्ति या अधिकारी दोषी पाए जायं या पुलिस में जो घुसपैठ हुई है उसका तत्काल समाधान होना चाहिए।

मेरा दूसरा सुझाव यह है कि जिन लोगों

को जनतंत्र में विश्वास नहीं है या जिनको भारतीय संविधान में विश्वास नहीं है—मैं इस सम्बन्ध में किसी एक पार्टी का नाम नहीं लेता। कोई भी पार्टी या कोई भी व्यक्ति जिसकी जनतन्त्र में आस्था नहीं है, संविधान में जिनकी आस्था नहीं है, विदेशी ताल पर जिनके पैरों में थिरकन पैदा हो जाती है, भारतीय राजनीति में इस प्रकार के लोगों को कार्य करने दिया जाए या कार्य न करने दिया जाए—अब वह समय आ गया है जबकि हमको इस बात पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिए।

मेरी अपनी निजी राय में एक कदम यह भी है अगर आप बंगाल की सामान्य जनता के साथ न्याय कराना चाहते हैं। ये नारा तो गरीबों का लगाने हैं कि हम गरीबों की भलाई कर रहे हैं। लेकिन जो इनकी पार्टी के गरीब हैं गरीब है। और जो सामान्य गरीब हैं वह गरीब नहीं हैं क्योंकि वे इनकी पार्टी के सदस्य नहीं हैं। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर बंगाल और पूर्वी भारत तथा देश के साथ न्याय करना है तो उसका एक ही उपाय है। हालांकि मैं जनतंत्र में राष्ट्रपति शासन का अधिक देर तक हामी नहीं हूँ लेकिन कुछ अपवाद भी होते हैं और बंगाल उन्हीं अपवादों में से एक अपवाद है कि 1972 तक वहां पर राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू रहे और वहां पर कोई मजबूत गवर्नर भेजा जाए जिसको कि प्रशासन का पूरा अनुभव हो।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now Shri Samar Guha. You will have only three minutes.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Why? I think you will throw me out of this House. Why should I be deprived of my right to speak? Under no circumstances should this be curtailed. I very humbly submit that the people of Bengal have suffered so much. Why should you give me only three minutes?

I shall have my full quota of my party to speak.

I consider this debate today as not a mere debate in this House but as a proceeding of impeachment of the diabolical Marxist conspirators who, taking advantage of the freedom enshrined in our Constitution, want to kill our democracy by first getting into power through popular will and then subverting the government machinery and ultimately trying to set up a regime of their own on a totalitarian pattern.

I am very sorry that the whole of West Bengal is passing through a turmoil and crisis. It is not a crisis for Bengal only, but it is a crisis for the whole of India. It is a crisis for Indian democracy.

Bengal today is passing through an acid test of the fate of Indian democracy. I am sorry on such an occasion no senior Minister is present here to understand the implications of the situation in Bengal.

I quite agree with Dr. Ranen Sen when he said there was a tremendous awakening, almost a mass upsurge, a huge inspiration which was released in West Bengal. Taking advantage of this elemental awakening among the people of Bengal, real things benefitting them could have been done, a radical, social and economic transformation could have been effected, if that were the wish and desire of the Marxist Communist Party. Land reforms could have been effected. Workers could have been benefited. Small scale industries and other industries would have been developed. We could have forced the hand of the Central Government to grant more money for the development of Calcutta and for refugees rehabilitation, if we wanted. There was a glorious lesson for all, if they wanted to work unitedly, democratically and peacefully for the benefit of the people.

The examples of the tea garden strike, the textile strike, the jute strike, the engineering workers strike all of these struggles which were conducted unitedly, peacefully and democratically by all the political parties was before us. All the trade unions, the HMS, INTUC, AITUC, all of them joined hands together and we forced the hand of the Central Government to concede the demand

as a result of which 10 lakh workers were benefited.

16.24 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*].

But what actually happened? The CPI(M) were not interested that the workers and the people should be benefited, though they cry horse about it everytime from every platform. What was their objective? This was clear when the Chief Minister described the CPI(M)'s tactics as almost lawless and satanic rule conducted in a barbarous and uncivilised way wherein they perpetrated acts of killing, murder, arson, loot, molestation of women, looting of paddy fields, forcible seizure of land, seizure of fisheries and all such sorts of activities. But it was a rather oversimplified statement from a gentleman who believed in Gandhian techniques. Actually, the Marxist communists are not a set of anti-social elements or criminals. These were not the erratic acts or the anti-social criminal activities of a set of political dilettants. These activities of the Marxist communists were nothing but the peripheral skirmishes of a political party preparing the ground for a major assault on the citadel of Indian democracy. That was why our CPI friends in their General Council meeting passed a resolution saying:

"The policy was pursued by the CPI (M) by misusing government machinery by organising a campaign of terror, murder and using the method of political gangsterism."

Comrade Bhabain Sen said that "in the name of intensification of class struggle they used to justify fratricidal war which is a most abominable and disruptive terrorist campaign." When all the people of West Bengal were terrorised, horrified by the acts that were going on there, when murders were the order of the day, when such was a situation which was worse than that in the jungles of Africa. This was a situation when in broad daylight everywhere killing could go on with impunity. Killing, murder, arson, terrorisation, everything was going on. When Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee said they were barbarous and uncivilised, what did the leader of the CPM, Mr. Promode Das Gupta say? He

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said that these were the birth pangs of a revolution. All these murders, all these criminalities, all these arsons, all the molestation of women—the tears of the mothers, the blood of the brothers—all there were nothing but intensification of the class struggle. For that they raised a voluntary force of 1,10,000 according to the official figures of the CPM. Mr. Hari Krishan Konar told these armed volunteers to be prepared to play the role of an army of liberation like Vietnam." Therefore, the political objective, the political motive of the CPM was very clear. They were not a set of criminal or anti-social elements, they were preparing the grounds by terrorising, intimidating and creating conditions so that their hold and control of the administration may be absolute by eliminating other parties, by stifling and muzzling all democratic voices, and then to advance to their ultimate goal. With that object they held the key portfolios in the United front Government—Home, Labour, Land Revenue, Refugees, Education and some others.

First of all, they had set up a Troika command at their Secretariat with the Secretary, Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary. A cell was created at the State Secretariat everything was first brought to the notice of this cell, to this troika in the Writers' Building. This was passed on to the Home Minister and then, by using the technique of terror or favour in respect of the officials at the Secretariat level, the district level and the sub-divisional level, by all means, by dismissing or terrorising or transferring, by playing on the nerves of the impartial officials, they brought them all to their heels, and then they wanted to perpetrate a reign of terror and totalitarianism on the people of West Bengal. This was the first step of the Troika command.

The second step was that a puppet I.G. of I.B. of secret police was set up and two relatives of the Home Minister were made his deputies. The DIG, I.B. secret police was not only giving all information to the Home Ministry, but indulging in terrorising, scuttling, liquidating all rival trade unions by all means, playing the piper to the CPM, so that in the labour field and other fields of mass contacts complete hold of the CPM could be established.

Like usual military planning, their next step was to set up as the S. P. Wireless, a man who was in command of all communications, an absolute stooge, puppet and henchman of Mr. Jyoti Basu, so that all information either received or transmitted could be given to Mr. Jyoti Basu over the head of the Chief Minister and his other colleagues. When the I. G. was on leave, the Additional I. G. recruited some CPM men as big I.B. officers. It is thus obvious what was the plan of the CPM grand strategy in the Secretariat at the official level. Outside, in the urban and rural areas all their cadres were let loose to terrorise the subdivisional and district and other officers. I do not want to narrate the incidence of violence, chaos and barbaries but I want to go into the underlying political meaning of these incidents and the objectives of CPM. Has any democratic country in the world ever witnessed such ugly, ghastly, grisly, barbarous, inhuman and brutal activities that happened during the last thirteen months in West Bengal? They terrorised the people. They ran a parallel Marxist Communist party Government—Government bureaucracy on the one line and the party secretariat on the otherline. The party secretariat had greater control over bureaucracy in communist countries. In the same manner—it is not my charging but that of the former Chief Minister Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee who accused CPM that the fifth grade CPM party cadres were allowed to control SDOs, BDOs and district magistrates; at every level the Government officials were under the control of the party cadres. Within a few months they brought the whole administrative machinery within their grip. West Bengal police was completely demoralised and then CPM had let loose their satanic rule over West Bengal. If an impartial enquiry is made about the police raid on the West Bengal Assembly it will be found how it gave a convenient handle to the CPM to completely overhaul the police machinery and change the old set up and have a new organisation of CPMs choice just as Hitler did after artiled Reichstag incident. The activities of the Howrah police enabled CPM to do it. The Marxist MLA Prolay Taluqdar was entrusted with the task of organising a new police organisation. The name was suggested by Promod Das Gupta,

Secretary, CPM party. The West Bengal Police Association owed the allegiance of 97-98 per cent of the police personnel. As against that a new police association was established by Taluqdar naming it as — '*Paschim Banga Police Karmachari Sangh*'. You will be astonished to know, Sir, that they did not owe the allegiance of even two per cent of the police personnel? Then the recognition granted to the old Police Association was withdrawn and given to this new CPM controlled organisation, Karmachari Sangh. At the time when there was a possibility of the fall of the UF government this Police Karmachari Sangh recognised by the UF Government of West Bengal issued a Press statement saying: "The policemen will not remain silent spectators if the UF Government was scuttled in West Bengal." The police association threatens the Government. Where is democracy? You can realise Sir, the implication of such threats?

I have some more details about the other activities of their regime and I have collected them day by day upto January 30, 1970. If I can manage funds, I shall publish a summary of them. There were 1117 violent criminal activities like looting, arson, etc. Killing, murder, molestation of women etc. (*Interruptions*.) I do not want to place it on the Table; I shall have to go through them. There were 337 murders; 4,000 persons were injured and 1,700 bomb charges were made all over the year.

Then about the land seizure movement. Land Reform and distribution could have been done peacefully. Whatever Government land was there, whatever benami or wastelands were there in West Bengal could have been secured by the Government and distributed among the landless peasantry. But that was not the objective of CPM. They wanted to grab the lands of the peasants. The CPM had no influence in the rural areas; their influence was confined to the urban areas. So the CPM leaders urged the peasants publicly: "You seize the land and take the land; police will not do anything." In the name of taking benami lands, they took the lands of many poor cultivators having only five or six acres in their possession. So, there was trouble and fighting among the peasant was going on. My friend Jyoti Basu says that 3.5 lakhs of lands had been distri-

buted. How? They have not given legal documents to any of them who seized land. They could not and now the poor peasants will be in difficulty for want of legal seal over the Seized Land. This is the rule of law in West Bengal. The poor peasants will be subject to unnecessary troubles. What they say is—"the Members of CPM Kisan Sabha with 10 paise fee only you will get land." That was their cry. As a result the situation turned bloody in the rural areas. Really, if they wanted to benefit the poor peasants in West Bengal, tremendous good things could have been done, as a real opportunity was available. But, Sir, if they really wanted to benefit common peasantry they could have brought about an agricultural revolution; but that was not done. To the poor peasantry, to the poor landless, the tribal people of West Bengal practically no land was given. Only to their party-men, the CPM party-men, and to their Jotedars who were helping them,—they gave land. Only the party supporters got the land, not the landless peasants. It was their objective to have a stronghold in the rural area. That is why they started land seizure movement by violent means.

Coming to the labour problem: as I said, earlier tremendous things could have been done if they proceeded democratically, unitedly and peacefully; but they did not do that. Because their objective was the other way about. With the help of the DIG, they created trouble in the name of gherao in the industrial field. The total number of violent gheraos comes to 588; and they wanted to scuttle all the rival unions: the CPI union, the PSP union, the INTUC—All unions. Because they wanted to establish a complete hegemony of the CPM over all the trade unions, over the whole labour field in the state. They held secret negotiations with the Birlas to get funds and money for their party and they spent lakhs of rupees among the CPM workers and people for the strengthening of their party and their friends in the rural areas.

The result has been that in 1960-61, the new industrial factories established was 431, but in 1968-69, it was 182 only. Already, the second units of many non-Bengali enterprises are going to be established outside

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West Bengal. They are going to wind up their units in West Bengal. Even seven West Bengal's premier industries have opened their second unit outside West Bengal. I have already said that as a result of this, the number of unemployed has come to 67,000 and according to the statement made by the Minister of Industries, production has gone down by 25 per cent, and employment potential by 23 per cent in West Bengal.

Coming to the field of education, which was also in the hands of the CPM Minister, 63 headmasters and headmistresses had been forcibly beaten and thrown out of their secondary schools, and CPM headmasters and headmistress had been installed in their places. 46 gheraos have taken place in schools in six months and 19 gheraos in Calcutta and Jadvapur university. The management committees of about 500 secondary schools have been scuttled and administrators appointed for those schools and certain colleges. Even administrators were appointed without having the requisite qualifications for the work. Recognition of 400 schools has been withdrawn because they did not follow the dictates of the CPM. Sir, by this means, CPM wanted to control education and middle class intelligentsia in the state.

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I do not understand this. I do not understand why we should be made to suffer. I have been trying to make my points. The people there have tried to weed me out, and they have tried to kill me also. I have risked my life. I have a right to speak on behalf of the people in this House. Please give me a few more minutes.

MR. SPEAKER: There is the question of time.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I shall conclude now. Now, hurriedly, suddenly, they made a search and scrutinised the licences, and suddenly the police found—hitherto, the police did not do anything—so many bombs. I have got there so many pictures. Sir, do you know the figures of the bombs so far

seized? According to the press reports, over 3,000 bombs and explosives worth Rs.5 lakhs and 1,200 bullets, sten-guns, bren-guns, etc., in innumerable numbers have been seized by the police only in three days.

MR. SPEAKER: We are going to apply the guillotine at 5 O'clock. You are taking other Members' time. After all, they are also waiting for their opportunity.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: The time should be extended. Why do you hurry us up in this way? The time should be extended by one hour and a half.

MR. SPEAKER: The Minister has to reply.

AN HON. MEMBER: Let the hon. Member finish his speech. I have so many documents. This is the people's court. . .

MR. SPEAKER: You must stick to the time. There are other members who want also to speak.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I will finish in one minute. I had an idea that perhaps Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee, the hero of the August Revolution, has been completely freed. But I am happy to see, and I salute him and the people of West Bengal—they were dazzled by the lightning in broad day light and sunshine; when the Constitution was functioning all over India, but in West Bengal, they were dazzled; they were puzzled for its collapse. Now they have reacted on the Hartal Day. The CPM people announced that there will be continuous strike to muzzle the people of West Bengal. They said, seven days. after that two days. But now hartal was for only one day—they did not have the courage and guts to go and call for the continuing of the hartal, because the people who are the supreme arbiter have risen, reacted and given a lesson to the hooligans of CPM which they will not forget.

Sir, I had prepared at least 30 or 40 points for constructive work by the Government. But I am not getting the time. I will only say, the Government should not act in a bureaucratic manner. The police should not

act in a bureaucratic manner. They should keep in view the wishes of the people. To restore a sense of confidence in democracy in West Bengal, there should be a commission of enquiry to go into all acts of arson, looting, killing and murder. That enquiry should be immediately instituted so as to allay public fear, create public confidence and restore a new sense of democratic values in their minds, so that these people who, taking advantage of the sacred democratic freedom enshrined in our Constitution, wanted to subvert the Constitution and establish a totalitarian regime,—will get a lesson. That lesson can be given to them only if a commission of enquiry is speedily instituted to go into all the barbarous activities that were committed during the regime of 13 months' rule by the CPM in West Bengal.

16.43 hrs.

श्री बेबेन सेन (आसनसोल) : होम सेक्रेटरी श्री ए० वी० राय ने ऐलान किया है कि श्रीपुर कालियरी की वगल में एक गड्ढे से जो दो डेड बाडीज और दो स्केलेटन पाए गए थे उनकी घब इन्क्वायरी होगी। यह जो घटना घटी थी यह सतरह तारीख को घटी थी। लेकिन यह जो ऐलान हुआ है यह 26 तारीख का हुआ है। इन दो डेड बाडीज में से एक तो नसीम खां की है जो श्रीपुर कालियरी के श्री जूर खां का हमारी पार्टी के कार्यकर्ता हैं, उनके भाई हैं। दूसरी डेड बाडी का आइडेंटिफिकेशन नहीं हो पाया है। वह हैड-लैस बाडी थी। इस घटना का मैं थोड़ा सा हाल आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ। 14-15 तारीख को सबेरे हमारे सेक्रेटरी ने जाकर ए० डी० एम० को यह इत्तिला दी कि हमारे पांच आदमी किडनेप कर लिए गए हैं, उनकी जान को खतरा है और आप कोई कार्रवाही करें। अगर आपने कार्रवाही नहीं की तो उनकी जान को खतरा उत्पन्न हो जाएगा। कुछ पुलिस के आदमी गए तो उन्होंने जाकर तीन आदमियों को माडी हाउस से निकाला। उनके हाथ और पैर बंधे हुए थे, मुंह बंधा हुआ था। लेकिन यह जो नसीम खां हैं इनका उद्धार नहीं किया

जा सका। फिर हमने ए० डी० एम० को जाकर कहा कि अगर नसीम खां को आज नहीं बचाया गया, उनको अगर आज नहीं निकाला गया, उनका आज नहीं पता लगाया गया तो कल आप उनको जिन्दा नहीं पायेंगे, कल उनको मार डाला जाएगा। 19 तारीख को जुम्मन मियां के साथ और भी हमारी पार्टी के मेम्बर किडनेप कर लिए गए। उनकी खबर भी दी गई। लेकिन कोई कार्रवाही नहीं की गई, कोई कारगर उपाय नहीं किया गया। मैं आसनसोल के जो सरकारी अधिकारी हैं, उनको सबसे ज्यादा इन सब घटनाओं के लिए जिम्मेदार ठहराता हूँ। उनके खिलाफ मेरा सबसे बड़ा यही चार्ज है कि उन्होंने मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोगों के साथ मिलकर हमारे आदमियों को मरवा डाला और उनको उन्होंने सताया।

यह जो घटना हुई यह 17-18 तारीख को हुई। 15 तारीख को हम लोग ए० डी० एम० के पास गए थे, एम० डी० ओ० के पास गए थे, एम० पी० के पास गए थे। हम लोगों ने जाकर कहा था कि चूंकि सतरह तारीख को आम हड़ताल का नारा दिया गया है, इस वामने हमको डर है कि उस दिन गड़बड़ होगी, इस वामने पुलिस का समुचित प्रबन्ध किया जाना चाहिए, ज्यादा पुलिस नैनान की जानी चाहिए। ज्यादा प्रबन्ध करने की बात तो दूर जो कुछ पुलिस फोर्स थी उसको भी विड्डा कर लिया गया। यह भी एक कारण है कि जिसकी वजह से हमारे मन में डाउट पैदा हुआ। जब बाडी को गड्ढे में डाला गया तब उसका हैड काटा गया। किसने सिर काटा इसका पता अभी तक भी सरकार नहीं कर पाई है। जब हैड काटा गया तो खून तो निकला ही होगा। वह खून कहाँ गया? पुलिस डाग की इस काम में तुरन्त सहायता क्यों नहीं ली गई। कल के अखबारों में आया है कि पुलिस डाग लगाए गए हैं। नौ दस दिन के बाद वहाँ पुलिस डाग जाकर क्या करेंगे ?

[श्री देवेन सेन]

एक और भी बात है जिस पर आपको ध्यान देना होगा। वहाँ पर एक माडी शाप, लिकर शाप थी जो कि लोगों को टैरराइज करने का केन्द्र बना हुआ था, जहाँ पर लोगों को यातनायें दी जाती थीं, जहाँ ले जाकर लोगों को सताया जाता था और मार डाला जाता था। बीच में एक दिन 23 तारीख को खबर निकली कि वह माडी हाउस जला दिया गया है। अब जो बहुत महत्व की बात है वह यह है कि उसको क्यों जला दिया गया? क्या उसके अन्दर और कोई लाशें थीं, और कोई बाडीज थीं, जिन्दा या मरी लाशें थीं? क्या ऐसा क्ल्यू मिला था कि ये लोग वहाँ मारने की साजिश करते हैं? क्यों उसको जलाया गया? इसका भी कारण अभी तक अज्ञात है। मैं चार्ज करता हूँ आसनसोल के जो अधिकारी हैं और मेरा उनके खिलाफ यह बहुत बड़ा चार्ज है और इसका उनको जवाब देना पड़ेगा, हमारे होम मिनिस्टर को जवाब देना पड़ेगा कि जब गड्डे में से तीन-चार बाडीज निकाली गईं तो गड्डे को और ज्यादा क्यों नहीं खोदा गया, आसपास खुदाई क्यों नहीं की गई? यू० एन० आई० के जो पत्रकार पुलिस के साथ वहाँ गए थे उनकी रिपोर्ट है: "UNI Reporters who visited the site saw bones, clothes and human hair scattered about the bushes there."

सरकारी अधिकारियों ने जब एक बार दो बाडीज और दो स्केलेटन निकाले तो उनको और भी खुदाई करनी चाहिए थी और देखना चाहिए था कि क्या और भी बाडीज वहाँ हैं या नहीं हैं? इसका कारण यह था कि हम लोगों द्वारा बहुत दिनों से सरकार को यह इत्तिला दी जा रही थी कि हमारे आदमी मिसिंग हैं। जब हम उनको बतला रहे थे कि हमारे आदमी मिसिंग होते हैं तो क्या कारण है कि पुलिस ने कोई कार्रवाही नहीं की उनकी खोजबीन करने की। जब हम कहते थे कि हमारे आदमी गुम हो जाते हैं और मारे जाते

हैं तो लोकल अधिकारियों ने उस पर कोई एक्शन क्यों नहीं लिया?

जब तीन आदमियों का उद्धार माडी शाप से किया गया और लाशें भी वहाँ प्राप्त की गईं तो क्यों माडी शाप के ओनर को नहीं पकड़ा गया और क्या कारण थे कि उस शाप को जला दिया गया? किसी को तो लिकर शाप को लाइसेंस दिया गया होगा और जो उसका ओनर था उसको क्यों नहीं पकड़ा गया और अब भी क्यों उसको नहीं पकड़ा जाता। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि लोकल जो सरकारी अधिकारी हैं उन्होंने कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के साथ मिलकर यह सब कार्रवाही उनसे करवाई है। जो होम सेक्रेटरी की रिपोर्ट पेपर में निकली है उसमें कहा गया है कि दो स्केलेटन पाए गए। लेकिन यह स्केलेटन बहुत दिनों के हैं और यह कह करके अगर वह उससे छूटना चाहते हैं तो यह हो नहीं सकता। अगर स्केलेटन वहाँ गया तो कहां से गया? पुलिस को गोंली से मारा गया तो पुलिस को खबर नहीं कि कितने मारे गए और कौन आदमी मारा गया। पुलिस के पास कोई रिपोर्ट नहीं आई थी। इसीलिए समूची चीज बहुत डाउट करते की है। और मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ के ए० डी० एम० या डी० एम० पर यह एन्क्वायरी नहीं छोड़नी चाहिए। अगर जूडिशियल एन्क्वायरी नहीं की जायगी तो इन सब चीजों का पता चल नहीं पाएगा। यह जो खोदा गया, इसकी खबर किसने दी? पुलिस ने नहीं दी। हमारे जुम्नन मियां जो किडनैप हुए थे उनको उस गड्डे के सामने ले गए थे, उस समय उन्होंने वहाँ जाकर देखा। फिर वह लोग उनको वहाँ छोड़कर साबल लेने गए तो जुम्नन मियां वहाँ से भागे। भागते-भागते गिरमिस्ट कोलियरी में जाकर छिप गए। वह लोग भी पीछे-पीछे दौड़ते-दौड़ते आए। गिरमिस्ट कोलियरी में हमारी यूनिट है। इसलिए वह जब गिरमिस्ट कोलियरी में पहुंच गए जुम्नन मियां तो वह लोग बापस

भाग गए। फिर जुम्मन मियां हमारे सेक्रेटरी को लेकर पुलिस के पास गए और उन्होंने खबर दी। तब यह सब हुआ। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि बिना जूडिशियल एन्वयरी के आपको यह सब खबर मिलेगी नहीं। उन्होंने एक स्टेटमेंट दिया वर्दवान के बारे में। वर्दवान के बारे में आप लोगों ने काफी सुना। मैं सिर्फ एक प्वाइंट पर नजर ले जाना चाहता हूँ कि मां के सामने उसके लड़के का खून लेकर उसके माथे पर टीका देना, यह कौनसी बर्बरता है, मैंने ऐसी बर्बरता तो कहीं देखी नहीं। मां बेहोश हो गई। और जो हैड काटे गए थे, वह कितनी टारचर के बाद हैड काटे गए यह भी एक दर्दनाक चीज है। तो इसकी एन्वयरी लोकल आफिसरों के हाथ में दोगे तो उससे कुछ नहीं होगा। ज्योति बाबू ने कहा, अखबारों में बयान दिया कि मैं एस० एस० पी० के साथ समझौता करना चाहता हूँ। अगर वह समझौता करना चाहते हैं तो हमारी पार्टी के लीडरों के साथ बात करें। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि समझौता का मतलब क्या है? अभी तक पुलिस के हाथों चार डंड बाडीज निकाली गई हैं लेकिन हमारी रिपोर्ट है कि 16 डंड बाडीज वहां पर निकाली गई थीं और उनमें से 11 आइडेंटिफाई भी हुई थीं, वह भी गायब हो गई और यह भी मेरा चार्ज है कि 16 लाशें वह थीं, वहां जो अधिकारी थे उन्होंने उनको गायब करा दिया। वह अधिकारी इसमें साजिश करते हैं क्योंकि इसमें उनके ऊपर भी आरोप आता है। किसी भी आदमी को पुलिस ने गिरफ्तार नहीं किया और मैं कहता हूँ कि जितने सी० पी० एम० के लीडर हैं, प्रमोद दास गुप्ता, ज्योति बाबू, ज्योतिर्मय बसु, वह तो वहां जाते नहीं, ज्योति बाबू नहीं जाते, ज्योतिर्मय बसु भी नहीं जाते, मैं बताना चाहता हूँ—तीन वहां के सबसे बड़े गुंडे हैं और डकैत हैं वह लोग इसी कम्पनी में चपरासी या ठेकेदार थे। उनके नाम हैं राम प्रवेश सिंह, शिवजी और जादव, यह सब मार्क्सिस्ट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के वहां लीडर हैं।

इन्होंने जाकर हमारे आदमियों को सताया, वहां पर मारपीट की और वहां दखल करना चाहा। मैंने आसनसोल में एलान किया बड़ी-बड़ी मीटिंगों में जहाँ पर कि दस-दस पन्द्रह-पन्द्रह हजार लोग थे, हमने कहा कि तुम लोग क्या चाहते हो? तुम लोग यूनियन चाहते हो तो आसनसोल में 200 कोलियरीज हैं तुम एक भी कोलियरी में हमसे ज्यादा मांग वसूल किए हो तो मैं आसनसोल छोड़कर चला जाऊंगा। मैं पन्द्रह साल से वहां काम कर रहा हूँ। हमारी यूनियन वहां है। मैंने एलान किया कि तुम लाठी लेकर क्यों आते हो। तुम किसी कोलियरी में हमसे ज्यादा मांग वसूल कर लो तो हम लोग छोड़ देंगे या तुम लोग ऐसा करो कि वैंलट करवाओ। अगर मजदूर तुमको माने तो तब भी हम लोग यूनियन छोड़ कर चले जायेंगे। लेकिन यह लाठी और बम लेकर क्यों आते हो। यह मैंने वहां एलान किया। लेकिन इन लोगों ने माना नहीं। यहां तक कि आसनसोल में बैठकर उन लोगों के लीडरों के साथ बातचीत हो रही थी और जिस वक्त बात हो रही थी उसी वक्त हमारी गिरमिन्ट कोलियरी पर अटैक हुआ। इसलिए इन लोगों की बात का कोई विश्वास नहीं। मैं एलान करता हूँ कि मजदूर इन लोगों को वहां से खदेड़ देंगे और यह प्रोसेस शुरू हो गया है। चापुई खास, बनेला, पट मुहाना यह सब कोलियरीज हमारे पास चली आ रही हैं। वहां पर मार्क्सिस्ट्स की कोई यूनियन रहने वाली नहीं है। मेरी डिमांड जूडिशियल एन्वयरी की है। गवर्नर वहां पर जायेंगे, यह अखबारों में मैंने देखा लेकिन वह भी जाकर क्या करेंगे? यही जो अफसर लोग हैं इन्हीं की बातों पर वह चलने वाले हैं। मैं मांग करता हूँ कि वहां पर जूडिशियल एन्वयरी हो। यहां पर एक प्रश्न यह आया कि पालियामेंटरी कमेटी एक जाय। मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं। यह भी हो सकता है। लेकिन उसमें देर हो जायगी और तरह-तरह का झगड़ा फसाद हो जायगा। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि पक्की जूडिशियल

[श्री देवेन सेन]

एन्क्वायरी हो और एक जज जो कि बंगाल का न हो वह इसके लिए रखा जाय। मुझे शर्म लगती है यह कहते हुए कि बंगाल का भी हम यहां पर पूरा पूरा विश्वास नहीं कर सकते। बाहर का एक हाई कोर्ट का जज लेकर यहां पर एन्क्वायरी हो। अगर यह नहीं हुआ तो यहां पर जस्टिस नहीं हो सकेगा। मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि जितने नाम मैंने लिए जितने कम्युनिस्ट, मार्क्सिस्ट पार्टी के ये ठेकेदार हैं इन लोगों को गिरफ्तार कर लेना चाहिए और पुलिस वहां क्या कर रही है इसकी खबर-खारी यहां से हानी चाहिए। यहां से खबर भेजनी चाहिए कि तुम लोग इसकी एन्क्वायरी करो। मैं कहता हूँ कि वह जो घर जलाया गया उस घर में कोई किडनेपड मैन या कोई ब्लू है इसका पता लगाना चाहिए। यह ब्लू सब बर्दवान और कलकत्ते से आते थे। उमी घर में और आदमी रखे गए थे। वह भी मार डालने के लिए वहां रखे गए थे। जूडिशियल एन्क्वायरी के द्वारा इसकी सबकी जांच कराई जानी चाहिए।

अब मैं एक और प्वाइंट रखना चाहता हूँ। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी मार्क्सिस्ट कहती है कि वह लोग बंगाल में बहुत ज्यादा मांग वसूल कर लिए। युक्त फ्रंट ने वसूल किया यह कहा जाय तब तो हम मान लेते हैं। युक्त फ्रंट के जमाने में हड़तालें हुईं और मजदूरी की वृद्धि हुई। चटकल में हड़ताल हुई, टी गार्डन में और सूती मिल में भी हड़ताल हुई और मजदूरी में वृद्धि हुई। यह युक्त फ्रंट के जरिए से हुआ यह कहा जाय तो हम मान लेंगे। अकेले कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी मार्क्सिस्ट्स के जरिए से यह नहीं हुआ है। ज्योति बसु कहते हैं कि पुलिस जाकर उनके आदमी को सताती है। मैं कहता हूँ कि वह एक भी व्यक्ति का नाम बताए जो सी० पी० एम० कोलियरी के मजदूर को उन्होंने सताया हो। यह बिल्कुल झूठी बात है।

मैं कह रहा था वहां की मार्क्सिस्ट

कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लीडर वहां के एस० डी० ओ०, वहां के एडीशनल एस० पी० के घरों से निकलने दिखाई देते हैं और उसके बाद ही यह देखा जाता है कि वे लोग आर्डर देते हैं। इसलिए मैं फिर आपसे यह अनुरोध करता हूँ कि जब तक जूडिशियल एन्क्वायरी नहीं होगी तब तक जस्टिस नहीं मिल सकेगा आप जूडिशियल एन्क्वायरी जरूर करायें।

17 hrs.

MR. SPEAKER: The Business Advisory Committee has fixed 5 O'clock for voting and guillotine. The time has to be adjusted that just before guillotine the Minister will speak for ten minutes. Then the other Minister will speak. But, in spite of my bell and reminders, if Members keep on speaking, what can I do? Even the Ministers' time has been taken by the members. I am rather helpless in his matter. Ministers' time is about half an hour but that has been taken by the Members. (Interruptions). I may remind you that all your Parties have exhausted their time. It is only a few minutes left for the Congress Party which will be given to the Ministers.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE: Since this debate began, neither the Prime Minister nor the Home Minister. . .

AN HON. MEMBER: The Minister of State is here.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE: But the senior Minister is not here. This is absolute contempt of Parliament. This is a very important matter concerning the whole of Bengal and not even a senior Minister is in the House. (Interruptions)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): I have a submission to make. Mr. J. M. Biswas wrote to you. He would take only two minutes because our speaker has taken only 15 minutes.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY: I have got a very serious telegram from my constituency. Kindly give me two minutes only.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Sir, give us each two minutes.

MR. SPEAKER: We can spare about five minutes. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: I have written to you that I want to speak on the Appropriations Bill.

MR. SPEAKER: Your Party has taken more time than allotted to it. Mr. Biswas.

SHRI J. M. BISWAS: Sir, I am coming from the Purulia District of West Bengal and there a serious famine is raging. I have submitted a notice under Rule 197 five days back. You assured me that you would consider my notice. My point is this. The agricultural production was less than 25 per cent in my area last year. In my area in the Purulia district, the most affected parts are Hura, Para, Raghunathpur, Kashipur, Santuri and Neturia police station areas. There is severe famine condition there and the people are evacuating their houses, for cities and towns, in search of food. Lots of people have already evacuated their houses. The ordinary people and agricultural labourers, Hindus and Muslims, ladies and children, consisting of over 2,000 persons, went to the Deputy Commissioner of Purulia and they explained to the Deputy Commissioner the condition there and demanded that immediate action should be taken. But instead of taking action the Deputy Commissioner said that he is forwarding their cases to the appropriate authorities. Nothing has been done uptill now. Not a single gruel kitchen has been started in that area. All the police station areas which I mentioned are affected. People are spending their days without any food. I request the Government through you that they should immediately arrange financial assistance to that area. Government must consider running some gruel kitchens, giving test relief and gratuitous relief to the affected people. It is a very serious issue of grave public importance and I draw the attention of the Government through you to this serious aspect of the matter and request them to consider it very seriously and arrange immediate relief.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch Behar): I have got certain press reports

about the grim and serious situation in West Bengal since President's rule. I have got a serious telegram which I quote. It says:

"Since President's rule four missing in Pasarihat areas. Two headless bodies of Heola Barman and teacher Anil Sarkar disinterred on 22nd. Stop Others feared killed by Marxists Stop Sushil Saha killed in Bhabaniganj bazar and Dewanhat shops looted on 17th stop More than hundred injured stop Murderous assault by Marxists continuing unabated Honest policemen being threatened by Superintendent of Police. Situation Grave—Durgeseoigi."

AN HON. MEMBER: What is the date of the Telegram?

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY: I received it yesterday. You want the current news? I am now stating the current news. I quote this from the Calcutta Daily of yesterday, the Hindustan Standard. The heading says 'CPI(M) people's court beheads 5 at Kotwali.' The news item is as follows:

"Mr. Anil Sarkar, a primary teacher, and four others, stated to be Forward Block Members were beheaded by the people's court of the CPI(M) on the night of March 19 near Pashrerhat village in the Kotwali P. S. area, in Cooch Behar.

Two bodies were recovered from under the earth by the police with the heads missing. The whereabouts of other two bodies is still in mystery." The report further says:

"On March 19 an unarmed procession comprising people from all walks of life paraded the roads of villages, most affected by interparty clashes with a mission to restore peace and bring back normalcy. When the procession was coming back some members of the CPI(M) from inside a bush attacked them with bombs, bows, arrows and other deadly weapons. "The processionists then fled in fear. Later, four persons were found missing. They are Mr. Anil Sarkar, Mr. Hadla Barman, Mr. Ram Krishna Mahanto and Mr. Nadda Mia.

[Shri B. K. Daschowdhury]

"Mr. Mantu Barman, who returned with serious injuries, is still in hospital.

"It is reported that the missing persons were handcuffed and produced before the members of the people's court of the C.P.I.(M) at Pasharerhat. The court ordered immediate beheading of the persons.

"No arrest has yet been made."

This is the state of affairs in Cooch Behar and other parts of West Bengal. Therefore, I demand, Sir, that the Home Minister should immediately start a judicial probe into the matter. It is not only a question that there are inter-party clashes and other things. It is a question of five people being beheaded and their bodies being exhumed. This is a very serious matter. The local Superintendent of Police is still threatening the honest policemen not to arrest the persons concerned.

MR. SPEAKER: Now you must conclude.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY: I have written letters both to the Home Minister and the Governor of West Bengal urging upon them to institute immediate judicial probe; otherwise the evidence might be lost. Let there be immediate judicial probe both against the officials and the Superintendent of Police Cooch-Bihar, Shri Majumdar, and other non-officials and those who are connected therein. They must be brought to book.

Thank you.

MR. SPEAKER: Now, Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE (Ratnagiri): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would first like to tender my apology. . .

DR. MAITREYEE BASU (Darjeeling)
rose—

MR. SPEAKER: Order please. When one lady Member is speaking the other lady Member should listen.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE: Let me first express my apology for having lost my temper. But I do think that this is a very serious matter which concerns not only Bengal but it concerns the whole of India. And it is a discourtesy to the House that the senior Ministers choose to ignore the House right throughout and not hear what Parliament Members say in the House.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Where is Shri Yashwantrao B. Chavan?

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE: As far as West Bengal is concerned, the entire responsibility rests upon this Government. I do not mean one person or one minister but the responsibility falls on the whole Council of Ministers. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I need hardly add anything about the state of affairs prevailing in Bengal such as breakdown of law and order, anarchy etc. I think that it is ridiculous for the Government to sit here and talk about the proprieties or improprieties of constitutional matters while Bengal is burning. The prime duty for Government therefore is to see that there is peace and security and good administration in every part of India.

However, after the resignation of the Chief Minister, Shri Ajoy Kumar Mukerjee, the Governor comes out with a statement that he hopes to see that a mini-front or U.F. government is installed. I think this is the height of indiscretion. I do not know whether the Governor is saying this on his own or he is asked to say so by the Central Government. What one rather fears or suspects is that the Central Government is very anxious not to upset either of the parties there because they want to see that this budget session of Parliament goes through with their support. Whatever the Opposition Parties—C.P.M. and C.P.I.—may say, when it comes to voting, we know their attitude. That is the whole point. This is the carrot that is being dangled that a mini-front Government will be installed. The Assembly there has been suspended in the hope that every constituent party there may think 'We shall have an opportunity of forming a Government'. This seems a very suspicious thing.

I ask whether it is within the constitutional responsibility of the Governor to say what he has in his report wherein he has said:

"I respectfully recommend that subject to the approval of the President, in the proposed Proclamation under art. 356, the West Bengal Legislative Assembly should not be dissolved."

Is it within the purview or competence of the Governor to make such a categorical recommendation?

MR. SPEAKER: The time is fixed. A message has to go to the other house. It is already 5.15.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE: I conclude by saying that West Bengal has become a political pawn for the Government. Many other States have become political thorns. But the people of West Bengal being more sensitive have reacted more definitely. That is why Bengal has become a political pawn.

In conclusion I demand that there should be an impartial judicial inquiry. . .

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE: Then why did you ask me to speak?

MR. SPEAKER: As I said, we have already exceeded the time-limit.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU: I must be given an opportunity to speak.

MR. SPEAKER: You must behave with some responsibility. The Bill has to go to the other House before 5.15. Why are others instigating her?

DR. MAITREYEE BASU: They are not instigating me. I am an Independent Member. My rights are being infringed.

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Shukla.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: Several changes have taken place. . .

DR. MAITREYEE BASU: You must allow me to speak. I am not going to make

a long speech. From your smile I see that you have allowed me.

MR. SPEAKER: One or two minutes. I cannot afford to fight a lady.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU: I do not claim any privilege as a lady; I have never done it all my life.

MR. SPEAKER: She is proving more manly.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU: I would say only this. Many harrowing tales have been described. I do not want to add to them; neither have I the time nor the inclination. Some of the things said may be perfectly correct, some may need to be corrected.

When the first UF Government was there, Shri Wangdi, SI Police was murdered in almost cold blood at Naxalbari when the Naxalbari movement started. Then on 2nd October 1967 Shri Ajoy Mukherjee resigned. In that resignation letter which came out in the press all these things that have been said later on about the CPM had been said. In spite of that, everybody went and campaigned for the mid-term election together. What is the meaning of this? I now congratulate Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee for having the courage to resign. I also congratulate Dr. Ranen Sen for making a historic speech here in which he has opened the flood gates.

Now they are asking what is happening, but I have been asking: where is the logic? Now, they are asking the leopard to lose its spots. Can a leopard lose its spots? They chose to ride the tiger. What is the use now asking that it must lose its stripes? I do not understand these things. These things must be clarified by them.

I do not want President's rule, but I am afraid, I am really ashamed to see, that the people of West Bengal have breathed a sigh of relief at the introduction of President's rule. This is what is happening there. All these things must be clarified. Dr. Ranen Sen and Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee must make their stand crystal clear so that we democrats, we socialists, can also join them.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA): After the 1967 General Elections a rather tragic situation has been created in West Bengal. As we know, after the General Election, a mid-term election was held there, several ministries have changed, and still it was necessary again to impose President's rule. That this was necessary was very well reflected in the speeches of the hon. Members from various parts of the country. I do not want to go into that.

There are two or three main points which the House must consider and also remember so that whenever such a situation or such a political question comes before the House, they will always provide good light to the hon. Members taking part in the discussion.

One thing is clear, that the United Front Government after the mid-term poll was constitutionally and validly created. It started functioning with a very substantial support in the State Assembly which was popularly elected. Slowly reports started coming that the administration was being misused for political purposes, and the complaints were made not by the people who were sitting in the opposition, most of the complaints were coming from those people who were constituents of the United Front itself. We in this House know that the Constitution has given either the ultimate power or no power at all to the Central Government as far as State matters are concerned. In respect of any subjects which are allotted to the States, the Central Government has no authority, no jurisdiction, either to interfere or take any action. Law and order, as the hon. House knows, is a matter which is given to the State Government.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: There was a constitutional break-down.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: I would request the hon. Members not to be impatient. I am not holding brief for anybody, nor am I trying to defend anybody. I am only tracing the events by which this kind of situation has been brought about there.

When these reports started coming, we

along with others who are interested in the survival of democracy were worried. We wanted that law and order should be restored, we wanted that the Government should be carried on in accordance with the Constitution and law. Therefore, from time to time we took up this matter whenever we had an occasion to discuss these matters with the leaders who were running the State Government of West Bengal. We offered them our good offices, even assistance in maintaining law and order. But we always saw a negative attitude in them. We did not see much point in interfering, not that we can interfere under the law or Constitution, with the legally, popularly constituted Government in West Bengal. If complaints are heard here today from parties to which Mr. Samar Guha, Dr. Ranen Sen and others belong, these are the parties who constituted the popular Government in West Bengal. . . (Interruptions)

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Not the PSP.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: In the beginning the Central Government was blamed for whatever went wrong in West Bengal by those very persons who are now blaming the UF Government. If any hasty or premature action was taken those persons who had been responsible for the sordid things and this kind of unhealthy politics might have been benefited and felt happy. As I said, it was the second united front Government. As Dr. Bose stated, before the people of West Bengal and the political parties there, there was the experience of the first united front Government. Having had that experience, when a second chance was given to them during the mid-term poll they elected the same united front Government with the same composition with greater majority. After that Government was constituted, it was almost impossible for the Central Government to interfere until the position that was brought about by the resignation of the Chief Minister arose. Even though we did not like things that were happening constitutionally it was impossible for us to do anything about it. There has been a demand for a parliamentary committee or commission of enquiry into what happened in Burdwan and in West Bengal in general. As soon as President's rule was imposed, action was taken by the West

Bengal Government to enquire into this matter. The Governor himself paid a visit to Burdwan and officers against whom serious allegations were made had been transferred from there so that an impartial enquiry can be conducted. We are awaiting the report of that enquiry. . . (*Interruptions.*)

SHRI D. N. TIWARY (Gopalganj): Their complaint is against the Governor also.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI: It is a judicial enquiry?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: After the report of that enquiry is received, we shall be able to determine what action should be taken. . . (*Interruptions.*)

SHRI SHEO NARAIN: He must give an assurance on the removal of the Governor also. Allegations are being made against the Governor which I think are not very fair. (*Interruption*) Let me complete.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY: What about Cooch-Bihar? Have you asked the Governor to go and visit it?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: We shall definitely look into all those points referred to by the hon. Members. Not one we will leave without enquiry. As I said, about the Governor, there might be some objections to his utterances here and there, but we have complete confidence in the Governor and he will carry on the administration of West Bengal under President's rule in accordance with the Constitution and the law. (*Interruption*) There would be no difficulty about carrying on of the government there with the help and wishes of the people and the Members of Parliament. That is the only assurance I can give about the Governor, and I would ask the hon. Members (*Interruption*) not to bring in the office of the Governor into this controversy. The Central Government is responsible for whatever happens in West Bengal and this Government is responsible and answerable to this House for whatever happens there. So, there is no use dragging the office of the Governor into this controversy. I can assure the House that the government of West Bengal will be carried on in accordance with the Constitution and the law. The people

who indulge in unconstitutional activities and who are forming part of the permanent civil service there—we shall try to weed them out—so that those people found to be guilty of political motivation during the former rule are not allowed to play have among the people of West Bengal. We do not want such people to remain in the permanent machinery of the Government there. We will do our best and solicit the co-operation of the hon. Members.

SHRI A. K. SEN: One question, with your permission. What about the Parliamentary Committee that we have been asking for—that they should go and visit the places and see the havoc?

SHRI SHEO NARAIN: What about the judicial enquiry?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: As I said, about these demands, I think the Governor has gone and visited the places and as soon as we get the report from the West Bengal Government, we shall determine what we can do about it. About the Parliamentary Committee, it would be ultimately for you to take a decision about this matter.

SHRI UMANATH: What about the mid-term election?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: The question does not arise, because the West Bengal Assembly is still existing. The Assembly is not dissolved.

SHRI UMANATH: What about the dissolution of the Assembly and having a mid-term election, the demand made by some of the groups outside?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: There is no question of dissolving the Assembly for the present. The Assembly is in existence. It is only in suspension. If the Assembly is not under suspension and if there is a possibility of a popular government being formed quickly by anybody (*Interruption*)—by anybody who can command the majority in the Assembly, it would be perfectly all right. I do not think any person who has love for democracy or who wants

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

democracy in the country will oppose the idea of a popular government coming into being in West Bengal as soon as possible.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: You are afraid to face the people of West Bengal. *(Interruption)*

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. *(Interruption)*

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: We only want a popular government to come in West Bengal as quickly as possible, *(Interruption)*. . . and I hope that the House will approve the proclamation issued by the President.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI P. C. SETHI): As far as the West Bengal budget is concerned, my task is very much simpler because during the course of the debate here, most of the speeches were directed against the proclamation—for or against it—or about the law and order situation.

A few hon. members mentioned some points and I would like to refer to them. Mr. Parimal Ghosh said that proper attention has not been given to West Bengal by the Central Government, but that is not correct. As far as investment in Central Government projects is concerned, Bengal is one of those States where high investment has been made, to the tune of Rs. 403.3 crores upto 31st March, 1968. *(Interruptions)*.

Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu is trying to throw all the responsibility for the development of West Bengal on the Central Government, which is the responsibility of the State Government.

So far as Central assistance to West Bengal is concerned, it was Rs. 31 crores in the first plan period out of a plan of Rs. 68 crores; during the second plan period it was raised to Rs. 73 crores. During the third plan the central assistance was Rs. 155 crores. During the years 1966 to 1969 it has been of the order of Rs. 113 crores. In the fourth plan period, out of a plan of Rs. 323 crores, central assistance is of the order of

Rs. 221 crores. Therefore, it is not correct to say that the central assistance has not been of the required order so far as West Bengal is concerned.

A point was raised that the Fifth Finance Commission's recommendations have not done justice to West Bengal. West Bengal has substantially benefited under the Fifth Finance Commission's recommendations. During the current year, transfers to West Bengal by way of share of central taxes, duties and statutory grant amount to Rs. 73.98 crores against Rs. 47.74 crores in terms of the award of the Fourth Finance Commission and Rs. 54.98 crores under the Fifth Finance Commission's interim award. Therefore, it is not correct to say that the Fifth Finance Commission has not done justice to West Bengal.

During the Fourth Plan period, West Bengal Government would get Rs. 369.26 crores under the Fifth Finance Commission's recommendations, besides their share of additional taxation at the Centre, against Rs. 197.41 crores in terms of the Fourth Finance Commission's recommendations for the period 1966-71.

I have got before me the devolution of funds given to various States by the various Finance Commissions. On comparing these figures it cannot be said that the present Finance Commission has not done justice to West Bengal. Looking to the ways and means position of West Bengal Government, some further assistance out of the amount of Rs. 275 crores and Rs. 175 crores is also being considered. The Planning Commission has had discussions with the State Government and the amount is being decided.

A point was made by Mr. Sen that only Rs. 1 crore has been provided for Calcutta city, while the demand of Calcutta city is much more. This sum of about Rs. 1 crore is only with regard to the vote on account which is only for four months. As a matter of fact, as far as this year's development programme of Calcutta is concerned, Rs. 5.02 crores has been provided for the Calcutta city. The overall plan for the city of Calcutta would be of the order of Rs. 42 crores. Besides this, Rs. 8 crores would be

given outside the plan for the second Hoogly bridge. Therefore, Calcutta city would get Rs. 50 crores as far as the Fourth Plan period is concerned.

A point was raised that the refugee problem of West Bengal has not been properly taken care of. As compared to Rs. 205 crores approximately spent on West Pakistan refugees by the Central Government upto 31st March, 1969 the total expenditure incurred by the Central Government on East Pakistan refugees was Rs. 302.74 crores. Therefore, it is not correct to say that the expenditure incurred by the Central Government on the problem of the East Pakistan refugees is not adequate.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU: What are the comparable figures of refugees from East and West Pakistan?

SHRI P. C. SETHI: I am sorry, I cannot give the details because I am pressed for time.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: We require another Rs. 150 crores to settle the refugees from East Pakistan. What have you done? It is a national responsibility. You are shirking it.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: During the regime of the United Front, where the party of Shri Jyotirmoy Basu was also a constituent, instead of utilizing the money for the development of the State, they were possibly spending them on some other plans. . . (*Interruptions*).

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: During your 20 year rule you have made the State pauper. . . (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Shri Biswas referred to immediate relief work in the famine stricken areas of Purulia and Bankura. I would request him to take up the problem with the West Bengal Government and get the necessary assistance. Afterwards, if it is found necessary, the Central Government will certainly come forward to do whatever they can.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House approves the Pro-

clamation issued by the President on the 19th March, 1970, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of West Bengal."

The motion was adopted.

MR. SPEAKER: Coming to items 9 and 10, there are a number of cut motions.

[Demands for Grants (On Account) West Bengal, 1970-71]

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Sir, I want cut motion No. 31 to be put separately.

MR. SPEAKER: I will now put cut motions 11 to 30 to the vote of the House.

Cut motions Nos. 11 to 30 were put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: I will now put cut motion No. 31 by Shri Samar Guha to the vote of the House.

Cut motion No. 31 was put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: I will now put cut motions No. 32 to 37 to the vote of the House.

Cut motions Nos. 32 to 37 were put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: I will now put cut motion No. 38 by Shri Daschowdhury to the vote of the House.

Cut motion No. 38 was put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: I will now put cut motions No. 39 and 40 by Shri Biswas to the vote of the House.

Cut motions Nos. 39 and 40 were put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the third column of the Order Paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of the heads of

demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 1 to 9, 11 to 48, 50 to 52 and 54."

The motion was adopted.

[*Supplementary Demands for Grants (West Bengal), 1969-70*]

MR. SPEAKER: I shall now put all the cut motions (Nos. 1 to 3) together to the vote of the House.

All the cut motions were put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: Now I shall put all the Demands. . . (*Interruption*)

SHRI PILOO MODY: For all the States.

MR. SPEAKER: Not for all the States, not specially your State. The question is:

"That the respective Supplementary sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the third column of the Order Paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of the following demands entered in the second column thereof—

Demands Nos. 3, 4, 8, 11, 12, 15 to 20, 24, 26, 28, 31 to 34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 50 and 52."

The motion was adopted.

17.47 hrs.

WEST BENGAL APPROPRIATION (VOTE ON ACCOUNT) BILL 1970

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI P. C. SETHI): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal for the services of a part of the financial year 1970-71.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal for the services of a part of the financial year 1970-71."

The motion was adopted.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Sir, I introduce§ the Bill.

Sir, I beg to move§:

"That the Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal for the services of a part of the financial year 1970-71, be taken into consideration."

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal for the services of a part of the financial year 1970-71, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That clauses 2 and 3, the Schedule, Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 2 and 3, the Schedule, Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be passed."

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

* Published in the Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Part II, Section 2, dated 30-3-70.

§ Introduced/moved with the recommendation of the President.