

I. THE WEST BENGAL BUDGET
1970-71—General Discussion.

II. THE WEST BENGAL APPROPRIATION (No. 2) BILL, 1970

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE
MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI
K. R. GANESH) : Sir I beg to move :

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal for the services of the financial year 1970-71, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The question was proposed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are having the West Bengal Budget and the Appropriation Bill considered together by the House. Only one day has been allotted for this, and in view of the urgency of the matter it will be better to finish this thing today. Therefore, I would request the hon. Members to be brief in their observations.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : Are we discussing these two things separately ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Both Budget and the Appropriation Bill.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Proclamation ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Proclamation not now. During next week.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : Whenever this situation has arisen, both are taken together. Why are you separating it this time ?

DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA (Mysore) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to speak on the Appropriation Bill as also the West Bengal Budget for 1970-71. Even from my student days I had the greatest admiration for the people of Bengal. Bengal had given the greatest of patriots. Since an attempt by the Britishers to divide that patriotism and the fight for freedom went on not only with vigour but it attracted the attention of the entire India and the world also. And even after Independence, Bengal had the largest number of leftists parties. In my opinion, the prominent among them was the party started by the great patriot and leader Subhash Chandra Bose, the Forward Bloc. And today the position in West Bengal is such that we have to make an attempt, a determined effort, to see that democracy is saved and freedom is made safe for India.

Sir, I must painfully submit that I am not satisfied with the amount that has been set apart in this Budget for Bengal because I expected a better treatment for Bengal at this critical hour. Bengal requires so much amount that a special provision ought to have been made particularly in the matter of grants assistance, and Centrally-sponsored schemes and also in particular subjects of unemployment, bearing in mind the rural and urban unemployment as also educated unemployment in particular. And here my suggestion to the Government at the outset is to allot at least one hundred crores of rupees because it is very necessary that the administration should have the strength to implement the programmes. And for that I suggest that the law and order position should improve to a considerable extent. It was painful for me to read just this morning in the front page of the Statesman—"Bengal staff strike hits Secretaria—Attendance good in districts Rival student groups fought with bombs, two buses were attacked and the police fired on clashing groups in separate incidents in Calcutta today as the State Government employees, students and secondary school teachers began their strike. "There is no doubt whatsoever that the Government servants and the teachers and the students who were involved in the strike were sponsored and encouraged and organised by political parties. There is no doubt whatsoever. And certain signs of improvement we could find during the last five months. But today we are not satisfied at all about the action that has been taken. If there are ills in this country, if there are problems in this country today which could not be solved, it is for want of firm administration. We want a firm administration, a clean administration, and an administration which will not only impose but bring about a position of discipline and the rule of law in this country. Discipline and the rule of law are the fundamentals for the growth of democracy and also for the balanced development and progress of any country.

Today inroads into democracy are being made by different parties, particularly the Communist Parties of India. It is painful to see that the Naxalites who have proved themselves a menace to this country have not been curbed. They challenge the Government. Just a few days back we saw in the paper the challenge of Kanu Sanyal and Char

Mazumdar. It is a challenge to the decency the decorum, the culture and, I must say, the spiritualism of this country. This has to be fought and fought to the finish. For that it is necessary that with some amount of determination we must curb these forces.

Sir, I must say that the problems of Bengal are peculiar. To-day there is the problem of refugees. The appeasing policy of this Government since we got independence has brought so much discontent, misery and poverty to the people. If Bengal to-day is poor and is becoming poorer, it is because of the influx of refugees from Pakistan. Is this the way of tackling this problem? Even yesterday when the foreign relations question was discussed, nothing was said about the influx of refugees to this country or the method we should employ with determination, *i.e.* we should tell Pakistan that this kind of thing cannot be allowed in this country. Sir, I have got great hopes in our President, a very elderly statesman, whose rule is there to-day. And through Parliament the administration is to be done and money is to be sanctioned. He is not only a democrat, but I know he has always been saying that he stands for the poor of this country, particularly the labourers and the farmers of this country. As such, it is my appeal that there must be a clean and firm administration. For that, it is not enough that you set apart money. That money should be used. Socio-economic progress is the basis for political stability in any country. What is the socio-economic progress in this country? It is not being allowed at all when there are *bandhs*, strikes, *gheraoes* and all other things which are not suited not only to the soil of this country but also to the way of living of the people. For generations, the people of India have been known for their way of living, a democratic way of living, having a living faith in God and serving the people who are in difficulties. That position is completely changed, particularly in Bengal. In Bengal to-day is there any security for life, honour or property of the people? In this situation, what should be done? I have heard people saying and even our Prime Minister saying, 'I am seeing a movement of resistance growing among the people to resist violence and all sorts of things.' But what is it that is being done? The confidence of the people is shaken. Fear-

complex is there among the people. Is there safety for the people there? What is the position of the police in this country to-day? I must mention on this occasion that the way the police were handled in Kerala and Bengal made them silent spectators to these tragedies. Not only were they made silent spectators to these tragedies, but they were asked to give protection to these evil forces who were doing all sorts of unthinkable and unimaginable things in this great country known for spiritualism. Sir, now there must be a determination on the part of the Government. There must be a rule with firmness.

I very strongly feel that socialism democratic socialism, can be established only by putting an end to these strikes, *gheraoes* and *bandhs* organised by political parties for political ends because if we compare ourselves with other countries, communist or otherwise, this kind of strike are never allowed there and it is a well-known fact that these things are not only not allowed but they are curbed with firmness. And for that greater production, unhampered production, is the only solution. The establishment of socialism of plenty is the only solution for all the ills in our country. What was the position of Bengal in the past? We were all very happy that Calcutta was the biggest city in this country, that there was peace and plenty, that it was industrially the most developed city. But what is the position today? The people are running away from that city. Every attempt is being made to drive them out. Today the attempt of the communists is to spread communism in this country. They do not at all want the people to be contented and happy because if the people are contented and happy, if they progress in life, if they have got everything that they want, then the communists cannot exploit the situation there will be nothing left for the communist, to exploit. That is the position today. I can understand, we have allowed to some extent, the communists to grow in this country. Today we see the Naxalite menace in this country. We must ban them. We must put down the Naxalite menace ruthlessly. Today we see that the Naxalite menace has spread to so many parts in the country. That should be resisted with all the might that the Government has. For that some kind of a firm determination is very very necessary.

[Dr. K. Nagappa Alva]

Then the problem of the employed has assumed gigantic proportions. Here in our country the problem of unemployment is already great. Added to this the problem of the employed is also becoming very great. I wanted to emphasise the need to curb the strikes, etc. being launched by the teachers, students, the Government servants and others. If Government servants are used by political parties to organise a strike and attempt to paralyse the working of the Government, if students and teachers are used by political parties for political purposes, what are we heading for? If these things are allowed, where will they lead us? These communists are repeatedly saying that they are determined to destroy the bourgeois Constitution. Our Constitution is a bourgeois Constitution for them. Every Indian has to bear in mind the sacredness and the sanctity of the Constitution. If one has to prove one's loyalty to the Constitution, one has to preserve the sanctity and the sacredness of the Constitution. But the communists in this country do not want this Constitution, the Constitution by which the people are pledged to build democratic socialism and secularism. These communists want to destroy the Constitution. They do not want the courts to exist in this country. That is the position now. Therefore, I would appeal to you and, through you, to the Prime Minister and the President of India to continue President's rule in Bengal. And during that period, no matter how long it takes, it is the duty of those who are in power to see that peace and tranquility is brought to the people of Bengal so that they can have peace of mind and have the willingness to work and save democracy and freedom in this country.

For that, so much of money is required. I once again come to this point. I know that West Bengal has been neglected. It is not for us to say or what reason it has been neglected. It is for us to make good that by allotting more money. Here I must say about the poverty. In India it is said that more than 50 per cent of the people suffer from mal-nutrition and under-nutrition. Lakhs of people are on the roads and pavements and live in slums, in addition to the miseries of the refugees. I must once again say that it is very necessary to have special programmes for these people instead of just speaking about

them as we do in the case of flood affected people. The urgency is so great and the importance of the subject is so great that if we do not do anything for them, they will naturally get upset. Why? The basic needs of the people in this country have to be met. We should provide them the primary things that are necessary for them to live like human beings. These people live in hutments and slums and it must be our endeavour to have special programmes for them and to see that they are given enough food. Particularly, children, pregnant mothers and nursing mothers must be treated as a special category. Whatever may be the other difficulties food must be given to them because nutrition is a very important aspect. Nutritious food is necessary for the development of the body and the mind and the soul. That can be achieved only by giving this kind of satisfaction to the poor people of this country. We must go to them first.

We see lot of violence indulged in particularly by students who are called Naxalites. I must say that we cannot call them Naxalite students. They are students and once they become Naxalites they cease to be students. They cannot be student Naxalites. They must be treated as Naxalites.

I must once again say that the basic needs of the people must be met. They should be provided with sanitary and environmental arrangements and drinking water facilities must be provided to them at the earliest possible time.

The problem of unemployment in this country is indeed a great problem and this comes in the way of our progress. What about the employed in this country? I have nothing against organisations. Organisations can be allowed, But Government servants should not be allowed to paralyse the Government by strikes through organisations. This is unthinkable. This section of workers must be considered as essential service. It is necessary that some code of conduct has to be formulated for their guidance.

It is also necessary that there must be some kind of industrial truce in this country. I suggest that there must be industrial truce for at least five years. It is very necessary.

I will be the last man to say that monopolies and monopoly industrialists should be encouraged if they do not look to the

basic needs of the poor people. All the demands of the workers must be met, but at the same time you should not allow them to be led by the political parties which encourage the workers to launch strikes and to do all sorts of violent things. I would suggest that their demands should be settled by some tribunal or by some other arrangement so that whatever they deserve is given to them. Then, Sir, we cannot forget the fact that this is rural India. It is very necessary that the land legislation must be enforced at the earliest time so that the middle-class and the lower-middle class people for whom Shri Nehru had given the greatest importance can have their living and independent living with progress and prosperity, unhampered by any forces whatsoever, particularly the political forces or the political parties.

Then, Sir, with all humility, I suggest a 11-point Commandment Programme to our Prime Minister:—

In this august House and in this month of August, in which month we got freedom for this country:—

(1) legislation to prevent and put down violence and anti-social and anti-national activities.

(2) Clean, efficient and firm administration respecting Parliament, the Constitution and the Supreme Court.

(3) Saving democracy from the inroads of communism and anti-social and anti-national forces.

(4) Improving Centre-States relationship to have a strong and united India.

(5) Stopping all attempts to topple the State Governments and divide political parties.

(6) Fighting the Communist violence and subversive activities and seeing that the designs of Russia are frustrated.

(7) Foreign relations should be improved and every attempt to be made towards that so that we depict a correct and bright image of independent India.

(8) No 'gheraos' or 'bandhs' or strikes by political parties for political ends as greater and greater production,

unhampered production, is the road to socialism of plenty and democratic socialism.

(9) Encouraging movement of the people to resist violence and protecting life honour and property of the people.

Here, I must say that it is very necessary to realise that it is not a question of talking, it is not a question of issuing statements, but it is a question of giving them all protection that is necessary and the victims of these nefarious acts must be given all compensation and help and also life pension, etc. for the dependents and this kind of movement must be encouraged so that we may be instilling some amount of confidence in these fear-stricken people, and the youth of the country.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA: Yes, Sir I will take only two minutes.

(10) Banning the Naxalite movement and the challenges of Charu Mazumdars and Kanu Sanyals, disciples of Mao, to be met.

The Prime Minister is having the great and consolidated power of the Press, radio, the Intelligence Departments and other machinery which should be utilised to fight and condemn violence and subversion.

(11) A comprehensive programme to solve the gigantic problem of unemployment and speedy action.

Sir, in every act of the Government and in every act of the political leaders it is necessary that we infuse confidence in the minds of the youth and the students of this country and here I must say this, with all humility, that our Prime Minister is the greatest monopolist today, with the influence and power from all sources, and particularly after the reshuffle of the Ministry she has become all powerful and that power may be used for the good of the country.

Sir, Shri Chavan is in charge of Finance now. He is an Indian socialist. I have got all the admiration for him. The Home Ministry was considered to have half the strength of the Cabinet and that

strength is gone now. But, I know, as a strong man he will use all his strength to see that the necessary finance, that not only the necessary finance is given to Bengal, but also it is used properly so that democracy and freedom are quite safe in this country.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAY (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, the wreckers of the Constitution have left us but the breakers of the law left behind them are doing havoc in Bengal now. Although they could not wreck the Constitution but they nearly wrecked the economy of Bengal adding incalculable weight to the already heavy burden.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal) : You mean the Syndicate ?

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAY : I mean the CP(M).

AN HON. MEMBER : What about the Syndicate ?

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAY : They are in secret collusion but not always. They have now wrecked the economy of Bengal and that is why we are so much concerned about the Budget so much concerned with what provisions are being made to improve the economic lot of the poor people of Bengal. The condition of Bengal is extremely unfortunate and extraordinary and extraordinary condition demands extraordinary initiative, imagination and ingenuity to tackle it. We must know the problem so that we can be equal to the task of solving it. What has happened, let us remember. First this CPM-led United Front always paying lip—service—and only lip—service—to the cause of the poor agriculturist have ruled Bengal not once, but twice, for 9 months and then in the next instalment, for 13 months—22 months in all, but what they have done in concrete terms, in terms of law and Constitution ? Of course they do not believe in the Constitution. They have not made any law to improve the condition of the agriculturist. Instead, what they have done is really appalling. They have started in-fighting. They have set one people against another. They have encouraged, instigated and

equipped the agriculturists to fight the agriculturists and if necessary, to kill them in a brutal way.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : What is the brutal way ?

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAY : The one you sometimes practise in the Asansol area. This unhealthy or dangerous way of doing good to the agriculturists, that is, by killing them has done not an iota of good to the poor agriculturists and yet we have to believe what the CPM swear by that they are for the poor people. Secondly, they always swear also by the poor working class. What has happened to the poor working class movement in the last 3 years in Bengal ? Several trade union movements took place in the last 2 years. As you are aware, the INTUC joined in although politically we differ from them in some respects but trade union action being united action, action for ameliorating the lot of the poor masses, irrespective of our political, party differences we lent our support while they launched that movement for the improvement of wages of the textile workers, jute workers and tea workers. But what the CPI(M) have done ? They have split not only the trade union front, they have split even the professional front. So, if we look now at West Bengal, the University and College Teachers' Association is nearing the breaking point, the Secondary Teachers' Association has already been broken and the Primary School Teachers' Association has also been broken, and I do not like to say that through their in-fighting in the AITUC the two sets of brothers have since fallen apart one set forming the CITU and the other set continuing as the AITUC. Now these are their matters and I am not much concerned with them but for this fact. Had I not been in West Bengal, had I not been concerned with the facts of what flowed from their in-fighting, I would not have said that. You know their inter-union rivalry. Their way of sabotaging the workers' movements has a dangerous effect on job potentiality, on the employment situation, in West Bengal. In Durgapur they have tried to show their muscles, they have tried to show their strength—I should say "show off". Now, what happened, everybody knows. Had it been only a temporary crisis in the CPI(M), I would have reason to be happy. But I am not happy because, as a result of what

has happened in Durgapur, the potentiality of a movement, even the potentiality of a right sort of movement, has been hampered because, we now know, that if a movement is guided by bad leadership for purely partisan or sectarian causes, there is a sort of apprehension among the workers which has since proved true, and the apprehension now extends to all types of political movements, that all types of political parties when they launch a movement, perhaps it is for their own benefit because, now from their own experience and at their own cost they have learnt that these so-called Left politicians are for their own partisan ends, and they have also learnt that the scope of more employment and the potentiality of more production have gone dangerously low, affecting thereby the prospects of employment in Durgapur and other industrial areas. Then, Sir, we have seen that these people are again now playing a dangerous game with the Government employees. While they were in power, they have tried to inject politics into the Police, a thing unheard of before. They have set up . . . (interruptions) He is unhappy because some things are coming out which disturb him.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : It is because we have gone to jail even during Dr. B.C. Roy's and Mr. P. C. Sen's time when they were Congress Chief Ministers, which my friend Chattopadhyaya had not done. He has not even seen the face of a jail as yet.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : Sir, I had not the privilege of being born earlier, and that is the difficult. Now, Sir these people had imported politics not only into the Administration but also into the Police. During the regime of the United Front Government at the instance of the CPI(M) a Police Association had been formed anew drawing to it only people who toed their line or had pro-CPI(M) leanings. Thereby, the morale among the Police had been badly affected and the non-partisan officers of the Association had been discharged or had been transferred to wherever the CPI(M) liked. They tried to break the morale of those people simply because some of them did not yield to the threats and bullies of that party and did not like to work at the behest of that party's mandate. What is just now happening in West Bengal, Sir? There is going on a movement among the Government employees. You know

there is a Coordination Committee and within that Coordination Committee there are different Associations. Now, many of them did not like to join this movement, but they had again been forced to do so as they tried to force the Durgapur workers. I would not have said all these matters if it had not affected the employment situation, if it had not affected the economy of West Bengal not only indirectly but directly. You find, Sir, they have also brought about a stalemate among the Government workers; it is not only trade union movement not only professional movement; it has its repercussions on the Administration and on the people because it is through the administrative machinery and other agencies that the Government has to serve the people if it wants to serve them. They are, as you know, more interested in disservice the people, in spreading disaffection and thereby reaping political harvest; they are not interested in the least to serve the people through the administrative and other governmental agencies. They are importing politics in the police, infiltrating into the Administration and implanting their own men in the Government. I do not mean to say thereby that all people, all officers, all employees have been coaxed and have been misguided by the bullies, the cliches and slogans of the CPI(M). There are a lot of people who have the good sense the good judgment and who have seen through the game of the CPI(M).

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : See, through and see to?

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : See through the game, the nasty game of course.

Then this Government, Mr. Arun Chatterjee's Government, in their sympathy—at least they call it sympathy—for the Government employees set up an enquiry as to whether their wages should be improved. Now to implement the award of that Commission there was a necessity for Rs. 53 crores but these people allotted only Rs. 9 crores for those employees and then they left the ruling chair. We wanted to tie them to the chair, to keep them there to serve the people but they could not serve the people. They fought with each other, they feel apart and then ran away. We are very sorry because we could not expose their game to the people in a still more clear way. Of course it has been proved clearly but it could

[Dr. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya] have proved proved more clearly what they say and what they do, what gulf there is between their theoretical profession, their lofty professions from the house-tops and their nasty performance down below.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Sir, Dr. Chattopadhyaya is really in difficulty because he is the favourite of both, Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Atulya Ghosh. I do not know what will happen to him.

SHRI PRANAB MUKERJEE West Bengal) : And you are in the favour of . . .

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : Everybody. Personally I am in his favour but his politics is such that nobody can favour him. Even the people of West Bengal have thrown him out and now he is in Parliament here.

Committed to give the employees Rs. 53 crores, they gave them only Rs. 9 crores and they have now come out from the Government. But they are clamouring here, as you know, he is always clamorous. They are clamouring why more is not being given to them.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : You know Mr. Chatterjee is a very rich man.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : Yes, a rich advocate; everybody knows that. Now, committed to give Rs. 53 crores while they were in Government, giving them some Rs. 9 crores and running away from them, they are now fomenting them, encouraging them and instigating them, saying, why don't you clamour for more. What they themselves could provide for them was just Rs. 9 crores against the required amount of Rs. 53 crores. This is one more, proof, if proof indeed is at all necessary of their double dealing.

Now, again, what about their love, their affection, their sympathy towards the refugees? They have been in two instalments—they are an instalment Government as you know—and they have been in the Writers Building for twenty-two months. While there they told these refugees, we will give you *arpan patra* or legal deed. They promised this *arpan patra* to the settlers or squatters and what did they do? They did nothing, they just ran away from the Government and now they are pressing the State Government and the Central

Government and saying, why are you not giving *arpan patra* or title deeds to these squatters? Here again you find what they profess before the election to the people and what they practise inside Writers Building and inside Parliament. So one after another, they say one thing, they do another thing and profess till a third thing. This is not double-faced policy but I say it is a triple-faced policy.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : Dialectics.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : Dangerous dialectics.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Thank you, the Bangla Congress is now going to the help of Congress.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA: You got their help in two instalments for twentytwo months.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: The CPI leader has come nearer to him.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA: No body can get closer to you that is the trouble. Another thing which is also very important and which should be looked at sympathetically is the problem of the teachers. Being a poor teacher myself, very much unlike a rich advocate like Mr. Arun Prakash Chatterjee, I am very much concerned with the teachers' lot. Teachers were assured by the CPI (M) Ministry and particularly the Education Minister Mr. Satyapriya Roy, assured them : "Now onwards you will get regularly your pay packet, both college teachers and school teachers." But as we now find he shed crocodile tears for the . . . He had said: "You people have been assured by the Congress. Now, I, being a CPI (M) man, will look into it." Of course, it is a camouflage . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Are they now getting the pay packets regularly? They are going on strike from September.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA: That is what I am asking you . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You conclude.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA: I am finishing. Now, I am concerned with the profession of teachers.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chatterjee, please do not interrupt him.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: He never attends the University, but he takes money from the Jadavpur University.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA: I do not take the client's money and the Government's money. You can see for how many days he has been present in the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No personal attack

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA: Only professional attack.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: The professors of Jadavpur University get their salary by cheque, while big advocates take cash.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA: Not in white always. So you will find that the teachers have been deprived of their salary regularly even in our Congress rule I am sorry, we did not do what we ought to have done but these people have also not done it. Now, Sir, the teachers are squatting there and I understand that some teachers have come all the way from Calcutta down here and perhaps they will be meeting the Prime Minister tomorrow. So, I am asking the Central Government and particularly the Education Ministry to see to one small thing, a very ordinary thing. See that the teachers, both college and school teacher, get their pay packets regularly. To this I draw your kind attention and also the attention of the Education Ministry so that these teachers get their dues in time. The last thing is . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Is it 'last' or 'lost'?

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA: 'Last', but you started interrupting me in a disorderly way.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: We enjoy it.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA: The last thing I would say as you are not in a position to give me time, is that something must be done about the tremendous unemployment situation, with which I started I think they have left the economy in a near-wrecked position. If they had not wrecked the Constituion, they had

wrecked the economy and thereby they had rendered thousands of people laidoff, unemployed, and even the potentialities of their employment have been seriously disturbed. So, I would request the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Industrial Development and Internal Trade, the Ministry of Steel and Heavy Engineering and other Ministries concerned to see that they pool together their resources, they pool together their imagination, exchange ideas and do something, so that this situation can be tackled and looked into expeditiously. As a concrete measure I suggest that the schemes of the West Bengal Government can be quickly examined and passed. There should be an arrangement, some sort of liaison, not only a single liaison officer but a set of officers of the West Bengal Government who should be posted in Delhi, so that they can pass the schemes of the West Bengal Government, so that these can be examined and attended to by the Central Government quickly and decisions could be taken at a very early level. If the woes and wails of West Bengal are not duly recognised and appreciated by the Central Government, then the nearwrecked economy of West Bengal will be a greater problem not only to Bengal, but, I fear, to India as a whole.

Thank you.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान): उप-सभापति महोदय, जिस काम को बंगाल की विधान सभा को करना चाहिये था, उस बजट को पास करने के लिये आज यह सदन बैठा। वास्तव में हमारे देश के लिये एक दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि किसी भी प्रान्त के अंदर राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू हो। सोमवार के दिन यह सदन उस परिस्थिति पर विचार करेगा जिसके अन्तर्गत बंगाल में राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू हुआ है, और यह कि राष्ट्रपति शासन को आगे लागू रहना चाहिये या नहीं रहना चाहिये। सरकार एक संकल्प लेकर आई है, लेकिन आज वहां पर राष्ट्रपति का शासन है और इस राष्ट्रपति के शासन को लागू करते समय हमारी सरकार की ओर से बंगाल की परिस्थिति का विश्लेषण करते हुए कहा गया कि बंगाल में अराजकता की स्थिति थी, विधान सभा में काम नहीं चल सका, और बंगाल में जो स्थिति पैदा हुई उसके लिय

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

हमारी सरकार की ओर से बार बार एक ही तर्क दिया जाता है कि बंगाल की समस्या आर्थिक और सामाजिक है, सोशियो इकनामिक प्राबल्य का नाम लेकर बंगाल की सारी समस्याओं का निदान करने का सरकार प्रयत्न करती है। लेकिन यह बजट जो इस समय हमारे सामने आया है, इसके द्वारा केन्द्रीय सरकार को एक अवसर मिला था उपसभापति महोदय, कि जिस समस्या के निदान के लिये कारण सरकार टूट पायी थी, बंगाल की उस समस्या के निदान के लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार प्रस्ताव लेकर आगे आती, परन्तु इस बजट को देखने के बाद लगा कि अगर मार्च के अन्दर यह आया होता तो सरकार कह सकती थी जल्दी में हमने बजट पास किया लेकिन आज जिस बजट को लेकर वह आई है, एक काम अवश्य उन्होंने किया है और जो उन्होंने स्टेट-मेन्ट प्रस्तुत किया है उसमें वह कहते हैं बंगाल में जब घाटे का बजट था उस समय 15.51 करोड़ का घाटा था, उस घाटे को कम करके अब 11.01 करोड़ कर दिया गया है। ठीक है, इतना घाटे में कमी की है लेकिन सवाल यह है कि बंगाल की समस्या का निदान, बंगाल की आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने की दृष्टि से करने के लिये क्या आपने योजनाओं में कुछ इस प्रकार का परिवर्तन किया है, आपने बंगाल के बजट में क्या कुछ ऐसा प्रावधान किया कि वहाँ कृषि के क्षेत्र में विकास के साधन प्राप्त हों, उद्योग के क्षेत्र में विकास के नये साधन प्राप्त हों और लोगों को रोजगार मिल सके। इस दृष्टि से बजट में आपने क्या प्रावधान किया है ?

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं लम्बे चौड़े आंकड़ों में नहीं जाऊंगा लेकिन सदन के सामने दो आंकड़े बेशक करना चाहता हूँ जिनसे ऐसा लगता है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने बिलकुल एक बलक की तरह काम किया है। जैसे एक बलक पुराने आंकड़ों को देख उनको कोट कर देता है— और वही रिपीट कर देता है। इसके अलावा केन्द्रीय सरकार ने समस्याओं को समझकर

अपने हाथ में सत्ता की बागडोर सम्भाली थी और उसको चाहिये था कि बंगाल में शांति और सुव्यवस्था स्थापित हो जाय, उसका प्रयत्न करना चाहिये था। इसके बजाय जो आंकड़े दिये हैं, मैं तो कहूंगा वित्त मंत्री श्री चव्हाण से अपेक्षा की जाती थी कि वह बंगाल के लिये कोई क्रांतिकारी व्यवस्था लाने वाला बजट प्रस्तुत करेंगे, लेकिन जहाँ 1969-70 में जो इस्टीमेट था बजट में 17,84,71,000 रु० था और उसको आज जब रिवाइज किया गया उपसभापति महोदय, तो कम करके 16,09,34,000 रु० कर दिया।

इस बार हमको आशा थी कि बंगाल के कृषि के क्षेत्र में क्रांति लाने के लिये सरकार इस ओर प्रावधान करेगी और ज्यादा रुपया बजट के अंदर डालेगी, लेकिन हमने देखा सन् 1969-70 का जो बजट इस्टीमेट था, यह सरकार उसको भी कम करके यहाँ आई और हम देखते हैं अब वह फिगर 16,59,9700 रु० पर आ गया है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ : क्या बंगाल की योजना के लिये जितना रुपया चाहिये, बंगाल की चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिये अन्य प्रांतों के मुकाबले में जितना रुपया चाहिये उनका रुपया क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार ने बंगाल के लिये दिया ? आखिर कौन सा दृष्टिकोण लेकर आये जाते हैं ? इन्डस्ट्रीज की जो मांग 27 है, उसको अगर देखें उपसभापति महोदय तो 1969-70 के अंदर 2,31,78,000 रु० का बजट इस्टीमेट था और एकचुअल जब आया तो 2,22,26,000 रु० हुआ, और इस बार उम्मीद की जाती थी कि सरकार कुछ बढ़ायेगी इन्डस्ट्रीज के मामले में, लेकिन इस बार का बजट उन्होंने प्रस्तुत किया है 2,26,03,000 रु० का, मगर इसके अन्दर भी 5 लाख 75 हजार रु० की सरकार ने कमी की। उम्मीद तो यह थी कि यह इस प्रकार का क्षेत्र था, कि उसमें अगर ज्यादा रुपया लगाया जाता तो बंगाल के लोगों के लिये रोजगार कुछ मिलता। कृषि के क्षेत्र में कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट के अंदर

जो मांग 29 है, उसको भी मैंने देखा, उसके अंदर 1969-70 के बजट में 5,09,42,000 रु० था और इस बार 1970-71 का जो बजट है उसमें 5,03,42,000 रु० कर दिया है। ये ऐसे कार्य थे जिनके बारे में उम्मीद की जाती थी कि इनसे विभास के साधन उपलब्ध होते, बंगाल के उद्योग धंधे फैलते। आज वहां समस्या यह है कि बंगाल के जितने उद्योग धंधे हैं, जितने कारखाने हैं, अधिकांश कारखानों में घेराव होता है, हड़ताल होती है, बंद होते हैं और उसके कारण श्रमिक वर्ग का नुकसान हो रहा है। जिन पार्टियों के कारण ऐसा होता है उनसे आपको संवर्ध करना है, उनका मुकाबला करना है।

बंगाल में आज उत्पादन गिरता जा रहा है और यह एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या है। इसका मुकाबला करने के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार इस बजट में क्या लाई है और इस बजट में कोई ऐसा मद नहीं दिखलाई देता है जिसके द्वारा इस समस्या का मुकाबला किया जा सके। हां, एक मद जरूर दिखलाई देता है और वह यह है कि कलकत्ता एक मेट्रोपोलिटन सिटी है इसलिए उसका बजट बढ़ा दिया गया है, लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ 6 करोड़ रु० के टैक्स भी बढ़ा दिये गये हैं और बजट द्वारा 8 करोड़ रु० दे दिया गया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि कलकत्ता के संबंध में केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा कुछ करने का प्रयास किया गया है, लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि कलकत्ता सारा बंगाल नहीं है। आप कलकत्ते के आधार पर सारे बंगाल की समस्याओं को हल नहीं कर सकते हैं।

उपसभापति महोदय, पहले वहां मंत्रियों पर 10 लाख रुपया खर्च होता था लेकिन अब वहां पर परामर्शदात्री बनाई गई है जो गवर्नर को कामकाज चलाने के लिए सलाह देगी, उस पर अब केवल 1 लाख रुपया खर्च होगा और इस तरह से 9 लाख रुपये की बचत इस मद में हो गई। लेकिन मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस बचत के होने के बाद जो वहां पर गवर्नर हैं, राज्यपाल हैं, राज्यपाल के महाहकार हैं

क्या उन्होंने बंगाल में केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा जो नीति वहां के लिए निर्धारित की थी उसके आधार पर उस नीति को विश्वास देने में समर्थ हो सके हैं। मैं सरकार से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आपने बंगाल के संबंध में जो बजट बनाया है उसके आधार पर वहां के गवर्नर और सलाहकार उसको ठीक दिशा देने में समर्थ हो सकेंगे और उसको अच्छी तरह से कार्यान्वित कर सकेंगे। इस बजट के द्वारा क्या बंगाल की आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारा जा सकता है। उपसभापति महोदय, वहां के जो गवर्नर हैं वे बंगाल में आर्थिक सुधार नहीं ला सकते हैं क्योंकि आज मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि जो वहां का प्रशासन है वह ऊपर से लेकर नीचे तक, चाहे सेक्रेटरियट के अन्दर हों या डिस्ट्रिक्ट के अन्दर हो, वह आज हड़ताल पर है। उनके हड़ताल करने के कुछ आर्थिक कारण हैं और इसके साथ ही साथ कुछ राजनीतिक कारण भी हैं, लेकिन जहां तक राजनीतिक कारण हैं उनको कुछ पार्टियां प्रश्रय दे रही हैं और इसके बारे में केन्द्रीय सरकार को बिचार करना होगा। यह भी आरोप है कि शायद बंगाल के वर्तमान गवर्नर श्री धवन इस दृष्टि से बंगाल को नेतृत्व नहीं दे सकते हैं क्योंकि वे राजनीति में फंस गये हैं, वे राजनीतिक बलबल में फंस गये हैं।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैंने कल ही अखबार में पढ़ा कि दुर्गापुर के अंदर कुछ कदम सरकार ने उठाये क्योंकि वहां पर हड़ताल होने वाली थी जो कि नहीं हो सकी। दुर्गापुर में जो हड़ताल होने वाली थी उसके द्वारा सब कारखाने बंद होने वाले थे और सरकार द्वारा कुछ कदम उठाये जाने के कारण वह नहीं हो सकी। इसका श्रेय किस को दिया जाय। क्या बंगाल के गवर्नर को दिया जाय या श्री ज्योति बसु को दिया जाय जो दुर्गापुर में सभा करने वाले थे। बंगाल के जो भूतपूर्व विधायक श्री दलीप मजूमदार हैं उनकी कोर्ट में पेशी होने वाली थी और उसके संबंध में गवर्नर महोदय ने यह राय दे दी कि उनके बेल का विरोध न किया जाय। अगर वहां पर सभा होती और वे बेल

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

पर छूट जाते तो दुर्गापुर की स्थिति में जो सुधार आया था वह नहीं आ सकता था । लेकिन गवर्नर महोदय के ऊपर जो दबाव आया और बंगाल की विभिन्न पार्टियां क्योंकि दुर्गापुर में शान्ति चाहती थीं इसकी वजह से वहां पर शान्ति स्थापित हो सकी । बंगाल के अन्दर य पार्टियां जो इस तरह की व्यवस्था लाना चाहती हैं कि वहां पर औद्योगिक शान्ति रहे, बंगाल में मजदूरों को काम मिले, बंगाल में किसानों को काम मिले और ये ही पार्टियां राजनीतिक आधार पर, बंगाल शान्ति चाहती हैं ।

आज बंगाल कांग्रेस उन पार्टियों के खिलाफ लड़ रही है जो वहां पर अशान्ति चाहते हैं, लेकिन मैं आपसे यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि वहां पर जो वर्तमान गवर्नर हैं श्री धवन, जिनकी साम्यवादी मार्किस्ट पार्टियों के साथ साठ-गांठ है, जबतक वे वहां पर बैठे रहेंगे, आप कैसा ही बजट बनाइये, वहां पर तरक्की और उन्नति नहीं हो सकती है । मंत्री महोदय, जब इस बजट के संबंध में भाषण देने लगेंगे तो कहेंगे कि इस बजट में ये ये अच्छाइयां हैं, ये ये प्रावधान किये गये हैं, इस मट पर इतना रुपया लगाया गया है, ये सब बात बतलायेंगे, लेकिन मैं यह निवदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जबतक वहां पर एग्रीकल्चर और इन्डस्ट्री को और विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया जायेगा तबतक आप वहां पर समस्याओं को हल नहीं कर सकते हैं । जबतक आप इस आधार पर बंगाल को आगे नहीं बढ़ायेंगे जिससे वहां के लोगों को काम मिल सके तबतक वहां की समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं हो सकता है । लेकिन इसके लिये जो सब से बड़ी रुकावट है वह शान्ति स्थापना की है । जब तक बंगाल में अच्छीतरह से शान्ति स्थापना नहीं हो जाती तबतक वहां पर आर्थिक दृष्टि से आप कुछ नहीं कर सकते हैं । आज वहां पर सर्विसेज के अन्दर और विशेषकर पिछली मिनिस्ट्री की बजह से सारी सर्विसेज में डिमीरलाइजेशन की प्रवृत्ति पैदा हो गई । आज वहां पर कुछ

अफसरों ने कुछ कदम उठाये हैं, लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इन कदमों के उठाने के बाद आजतक उपसभापति जी, वहां पर कितनी हत्याएं हुई हैं । कितने लूटमार के कैंसेज हुए हैं, लेकिन किसी का कन्विकशन नहीं हो रहा है । गवर्नर साहब इस बात में इन्टरेस्टेड नहीं हैं कि जिन लोगों ने हत्याएं की हैं, लूट की है उनके खिलाफ मुकदमे चले । कल हो सकता है कि चुनाव हो, सी० पी० आई० (एम०) फिर पावर में आ जाय तो जैसे हत्यारे वानु साम्यूल को पहले रिहा कर दिया था बिना मुकदमा चलाए वैसे फिर रिहा कर दे आज जो सरकार बैठी है वह कहती है कि रूल आफ ला स्थापित करना चाहते हैं, न्याय देना चाहते हैं । जिनके साथ अन्याय हुआ है कानून के दरबार में जाकर उनके साथ न्याय हो उसकी व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए लेकिन आपके धवन साहब उसके मार्ग में रोड़ा बन कर बैठे हैं । अगर आप ईमानदारी से इस बजट को लागू करना चाहते हैं, बंगाल की जनता को राहत देना चाहते हैं तो जो एग्जीक्यूटिव हैड है इस बजट को लागू करने के लिए जब तक उसे वापस नहीं बुलाएंगे तब तक बंगाल की जनता को राहत नहीं दे पाएंगे । इतना ही वह कर मैं अपना स्थान ग्रहण करता हूँ ।

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL :

Sir, the question of Bengal always raises controversies in this House and I do not wish to add to any acrimonious discussion. I have seen the situation in Bengal several times. I have seen the large number of refugees who came a few years ago. Even now a number is coming every day. And it makes one's heart bleed to see these people coming in such conditions and in such numbers every day. It is, therefore, difficult for the State of West Bengal to adjust itself and come back to normal life.

To-day Bengal is under President's rule. What is the Government of India doing about it ? If unemployment is there and that is the reason for difficulties, what is the Government doing to give employment ? If you give people employment, they will start working. There is an old English saying. 'An idle brain is a devil's workshop.' Are there not so many workshops working in Bengal to-day because of

the policy of the Government ? Bengal had the largest amount of industry, prosperous industry. To-day that industry is going to rack and ruin. And if some of the Naxalites will have their own way, and the Government is not able to protect those plants, some of those plants will be ruined beyond repair. It will take a lot of money to put them right. It will take a lot of organisation to bring them back to efficient working and to provide employment to those who would be put out of employment. I do not see any provision in the Budget to curb this or remedy this. I want to ask the Government a few questions. It is not that we in India only know of the situation in West Bengal. It is known elsewhere also. Has not the Government received schemes and offers of grants from the United Nations and other organisations to improve the city of Calcutta and to provide a large amount of employment to the people there ? What is the Government doing about it ? My understanding is that the Government have turned a cold shoulder to these offers of providing funds for improvement and employment, which is the only remedy really for Bengal. The other remedy also is with the Government. But the Government has been indecisive or unable to take action. I do not know whether it is because the Government of Shrimati Indira Gandhi relies on the votes of the Communist Party that they are not able to take action. But if there is a Government, it must be seen that there is a Government, and people will have faith in the Government only if the Government is able to establish law and order. How long have we had President's rule ? Has President's rule brought law and order there ? It is no use telling us that the situation has improved and giving out press releases. We know that you have learnt this method of conveying everything to the press from the communists or perhaps from Hitler. You are trying to delude the people into this sort of a thing that the situation has improved. The situation has not improved. The situation is not improving. Ask the people of Bengal, the ordinary people, who come and go from here, ask the small ordinary trader, leave alone the big businessman. They will tell you that the situation in Bengal is going from bad to worse. If there is no protection to life, if there is no protection to the property, who is going to do anything about business there and who is going to stay and work there ? Has the President's rule

done anything to improve the situation ? It has not done anything. Therefore, this Government has been found lacking in that. I do not know what the reason is. But if this goes on, the situation will become worse for this country because Bengal is not Bengal alone. It is a very important part of this country. A well-known founder of one of the communist parties said the road to Paris is through Shanghai and Calcutta. They have got Shanghai. Does this Government want to give them Calcutta also ? That would be a question very justifiably asked. If anyone on the Treasury Benches wants to say "No", I would like him to prove it. Every action of theirs is such as would encourage forces of disruption, encourage violence, trouble. No decisive action has been taken to curb violence as should have been done. It disturbs everybody who has the interests of this country at heart to see Bengal going down like this and taking the whole country in this wrong way. I would like the Government to set itself thinking about it. This is not a matter of the parties alone. It is a matter which concerns the whole of India. I would like the Government to talk to other parties and try to set right the situation in Bengal.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is good we get an opportunity to discuss, through this Budget, not only Bengal but the ills which trouble the whole society, whether we live in Bengal or in Gujarat or in Kashmir or in Tamil Nadu. The tragedy is, the whole trouble is, that the old order is crumbling, the old values are disappearing, the old beliefs have disintegrated, the whole society which was based so long on collaboration with landlordism, with capitalism is now developing into monopolism. The old society is shattering. It is breaking into pieces. And the people are refusing to accept which they accepted before, in the past, as *kismet*. Today, whether you live in Gujarat or in the deep jungles of Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh or in Andhra Pradesh, men refuse to die of starvation; they refuse to face unemployment; they refuse to lose their land or cattle. Man wants to be treated as a man. He wants his rights in the society. And all this Mr. Dahyabhai Patel or his tribe or the Jan Sanghaites call disturbances. They say that these disturbances have to be clamped down by a heavy military regime or by President's

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

rule all over the country. That is where you are heading for. The people have changed.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : आप
मूलन समझ रहे हैं। ऐसा नहीं है।

SHRI KALYAN ROY : The people have changed and if you want to prevent that change, that is not possible for you. If you are thinking of bringing a military regime here, if what we have seen in Pakistan is going to be repeated here, the people are not going to tolerate a regime which refuses to give them food, employment and land. The tragedy is this that it is not only in Bengal that you are seeing it today. The oppression and repression of the twenty years of the Congress misrule and the British exploitation in the last 200 years is one part of the story. The other point which is equally true is that where we should unitedly fight the monopoly, where we should unitedly fight the capitalists, where we should unitedly fight the landlords, there we are divided. That is the tragedy 4 P. M. of Bengal. We are not able to stand unitedly. That is the tragedy.

In a nutshell, what happens in Bengal today is what happened in Spain in 1930. When we should have jointly fought the Franco regime, we found the anarchists and Trotskyists busy in killing the Communists resulting in the victory of the dictatorship of Franco. Bengal will show whether this grand alliance is going to succeed or fail. Bengal is the State where a bigger battle of India is being fought out today. The reason is clear and simple. Unfortunately, Bengal is disturbed. The reason, I am told, is that millions of graduates who are unemployed refuse to be unemployed. The Jadavpur university is closed because the engineers are dissatisfied and the teachers are dissatisfied. If the mines are shut and if the factories are shut and if the workers are not paid wages, what will happen? Yet I am proud that in Bengal we do not have a movement like the Shiv Sena. You can go anywhere in Calcutta or Dalhousie Square where you can find big business houses owned by the Birlas—from where

Shri Mathur comes—or belonging to the Mundhras or Bajorias, or Tatas or Goenkas. Unfortunately, they have stopped investing any money to develop West Bengal. But we have never raised Shiv Sena slogan and we are proud of it. We are not going to be led by chauvinists and provincialists. We are not going to say that a steel plant should be here or an oil refinery should be there. But it is true that all the commercial concerns in Bengal do not want to employ local Bengalis. The employment of local Bengalis today is less than 50 per cent, not because there are no graduates in Bengal, not because there are no engineers in Bengal and not because there are no chartered accountants among Bengalis. But it is the practice of these capitalists not to employ the local labour in order to disrupt the working class. Yet, Bengal is seeing a fight for a better life, a fight for socialism and democracy. Those who are talking in terms of repression, in terms of more jails, in terms of more C.R.P. and in terms of more industrial security force men, want basically to destroy the democratic movement there.

It is true that Bengal is disturbed, as I said before. But, Sir, you have to find the causes. Who were the actual owners of Bengal? I said they are the Birlas, the Bajorias, the Tatas and others who are anti-labour, anti-people and anti-national as a whole. They are all inter-linked with the Clive Street barons. In Bengal have you heard of a multi-millionaire taking part in politics? No. All that they are interested in is robbing, plundering and looting the State of Bengal. They are responsible for all the ills of West Bengal. It is because of the exploitation by them in the past that we see the break-down of law and order there because people are not going to accept that position now. They are not prepared to accept the law and order which was imposed during the last twenty years when you shot down the workers and killed the peasants and locked in people in jails for years together. Therefore, one danger you see in West Bengal is this anti-national character of the capitalists there. I am sorry to refer what the people speak of Marwaris? It is not due to chauvinism. In the whole of Eastern India these capitalists have never invested anything in order to develop the industrial regions of India of which Bengal is the most advanced region. See the tremendous transaction of money in West Bengal. Take jute mills. The Britishers are going

and the Indians are coming. The same is true with regard to coal mines. The same is true with regard to tea plantations. They are destroying the jute mills; they are destroying the tea plantations and they are doing the same thing to coal mines. Can you ever dream of the kind of statement which I got the other day from Dr. Triguna Sen? He said that the Government of West Bengal have reported that out of 232 working collieries, 112 are not making any payment, worth mentioning of royalty. Of the rest of the collieries, 100 are making payments—some regularly and some at irregular intervals. The total royalty payment due to West Bengal up till now is Rs. 20 crores. This was what he said. What was he doing for the last twenty years when the twenty crores were not paid? I did not have to come to Delhi for that. I am sorry I admit my failure. The Government also showed hesitancy in taking money from the coal mine owners. Will the Minister give an assurance now that the royalty will be taken by the West Bengal Government, the royalty which they are not paying yet? You have put Shri Bhupesh Gupta in jail because he went there to take the land belonging to the people; you have put Shri Dange in jail. Some hundreds of thousands, as Shri Chandra Sekhar told yesterday, have been evicted from their lands because they have failed to pay the water tax, because they have failed to pay the betterment levy. But, why are you so cowardly towards the mine owners who have refused to pay about fourteen crores of rupees as royalty?

Sir, this is the same problem in relation to other things. I have asked a question about royalty. But, now, Sir, about the textile mills. Bengal is the only State in the country where there are 13 mills closed down for years and nearly 30,000 people are there. The whole Bengal wanted to have a textile corporation so that they can get finance from the financial institutions. The United Front Government wanted it. But it was turned down. You have taken over the textile mills in Bombay, you have taken over the textile mills in Andhra Pradesh and somewhere else also. But why are you so tardy to help the Bengal textile mills? Is this not discrimination? May I have the definition of discrimination?

Then, No. 2, is about one coal mine, Sir, Dhemomaim. Wherever there have been coal mines in India, whether they are in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar or Andhra

Pradesh, the Government of India has mines under the NCDC. But, in this case, they have said, "They have excellent property, best metallurgical coal", and for the last two years questions have been asked in this House whether the Government proposed to take it over. The first reply, which was given on 17th November 1969, is this: "The matter is under investigation." Then, Sir, the second reply was on the 10th March 1970, that is: "The proposal to take it over is being actively pursued". And, the last one, Sir, was on the 13th August 1970, which is this: "The NCDC is yet to come to a final decision." This is just in relation to one mine. Is this not discrimination? Please, Minister Sahib, let me have another definition, a new definition of discrimination.

Then, what about Calcutta? Well, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, says, it is our national problem. But the city is rotting, the city is collapsing. We have just received the news, the news came just now, that the whole sewerage, even older than the water supply system, has collected over the years, 3 million cft, of silt and this has consolidated and is harder than cement and making the storm water channel narrower and narrower.

What about the one million unemployed? Have you spent anything for Calcutta? Have you repaired one road since the President's rule came? Have you repaired one pipe since the President's rule came? Have you cleared one slum after the President's rule came? Nothing. All you do is to talk in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha and send officers to Calcutta. It is hardly easy to get seats in the IAC planes because officers are going to Calcutta and coming from Calcutta. But Calcutta remains where it was. That is the situation which is becoming intolerable.

Now, Sir, North Bengal. In this House, some time back, a question was asked about the Tiesta project. The scheme is necessary not only for the development of North Bengal which has been neglected by the Government of India, but for strategic purpose also. Because of the floods, it was asked whether the Government had any programme to take it. There was a scheme. 80 crores of rupees was required. But, what was the reply of Dr. Rao?

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

He said, "We have no money." In the Fourth Five Year Plan it is turned down. So, tell us, which part of West Bengal has been helped? Have you helped the peasants? No. Have you developed new factories? No. Have you taken up the Calcutta Port? It is being neglected every day. According to the Government's answer to a question on the Fourth Plan, Calcutta will export 65.5 million tonnes, less than even Vizag which will export 76.80 million tonnes. Calcutta means including Haldia. You are neglecting Calcutta Port and you are bracketing all the desires of the people to have jobs, to have housing, to have some shelter and land and calling it a law and order problem. Have more GRP, have more army and if the army cannot bring order, bring it from anywhere else. Your attitude, unfortunately, whatever may be the origin, is not any different to the attitude of the last Emperors of the Moghul regime. If this attitude persists, I shudder to think what will happen. You are breeding some hatred or contempt in the minds of the people of Bengal. You have not been coming as friends. People think you to be their enemy. They think: "These are the people who have taken away our jobs, they are responsible for my losing my land and who have made me a stranger in my land". Which Bengali will tolerate this kind of 150,000 refugees rotting in Calcutta where prostitution is the highest? Why is it so? You read the papers. See how the pimps are working overtime while the corrupt officers are wasting their money otherwise. This is the glaring situation of Bengal. You cannot ignore it in the name of law and order. This is what exactly Nixon said. When the Negroes wanted their rights, when they wanted to enter the white man's hotel, when they wanted the white man's job, it was called a law and order problem. It is not a law and order problem. This is a problem of human dignity, the rights of the people have been exploited so long, who have been ignored so long and who have been exploited so long. They want their right to live. That is the demand we are making.

I may further point out that the Minister is talking of Farakka Barrage. Does he not know that it is being deliberately sabotaged? Two canals and dams are being built somewhere up in the UP and expert opinion is that if these two are dug,

then the Farakka Barrage will be there but it will be like Fatehpur Sikri. Nobody will be utilising it. This is what will happen to the Farakka Barrage. This is the danger for Bengal. On the one hand we have the capitalists of Burra Bazaar or Clive Street who are ruining the whole development of Bengal and on the other hand they are financing the big reactionary parties in order to bring military rule in this country. This is one danger. The other is the Leftist forces. When we should have united to fight against this exploitation against the repression, against the splitting activities, unfortunately the GPM wrecked the United Front. It is a matter of shame that they tried what the Congress did. I am reading two lines from a paper—*Frontier*—which is very friendly to the GPM. It is dated 8th August 1970 and it says :

"The CPI(M) sought to achieve exactly what the Congress did in West Bengal during the last two decades. It put its own men in responsible positions of official and semi-official organisations without changing the basic bureaucratic character of these bodies, distributed favours among its rank and file at the expense of others and swelled its ranks by attracting hired hoodlums who were used to finish off rivals in the fields."

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : What is the paper?

SHRI KALYAN ROY : *Frontier*. This is the tragedy. Unfortunately, we found it even after the fall of the UF regime, that the police bullets are shooting down the peasants in Midnapur as in the coal-belt from where I come and where I am the President, and only a fortnight ago in the Janbad colliery, two workers were shot down. This is what is happening. On the one hand people are fighting. On the other we find this. A veteran communist, a veteran revolutionary, Surender Choudhary, who spent half of his life in the Andamans was brutally attacked and nearly murdered by the GPM people in Baranagore.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS) in the Chair]

Only the day before yesterday the Communist Party office in Serampore was ransacked. This is not the way to build up unity. This is not the way to fight the monopolists. This is not the way to fight the capitalists. The Communist Party of India will never take up arms

against other parties, against other friendly parties if they are one with us and join us to fight against our giant enemies like the Birlas and the Tatas. But unfortunately, Sir, there is one party which does not believe in this. Sir, I was reading yesterday Mr. P. Ramamurti's speech which he delivered in Lok Sabha the day, before yesterday and in which he has said, "The people of Bengal would not keep quiet simply because the CRP and the Special Armed Police as well as the Border Security Force and the Eastern Rifles had been sent there." May I ask who brought the Border Security Force in West Bengal in 1969? May I ask who used the Eastern Rifles to shoot down the Naxalites in Midnapore? These questions I asked this year, and the Home Minister, in reply, said "According to State Government, units of the Border Security Force were requisitioned by the State Government in aid of civil authority and were deployed in Belgharia, Naihati and Titagarh areas." In reply to another question on another occasion the Home Minister said, "Some contingents out of the two companies of the Eastern Frontier Rifles were sent to Gopiballabhpur and Debra in Midnapur." So, Sir, is it proper or right on the part of those, who used the Border Security Force and the Eastern Frontier Rifles to shoot down people when they were in power, to talk against the same Border Security Force and the Eastern Frontier Rifles now? And this Border Security Force was ruthlessly used, against opposition by the Communist Party, to crush the Naxalites even on those days. Sir, Mr. Shukla gave me, on the floor of this Parliament, the information that 248 Naxalites were put in prison. Jana Sangh is wrong; today many Naxalites are being murdered brutally by the police in the lock-up, or by the Marxist Communists in their great 'jihad' to annihilate all other parties. This is the danger. This is the tragedy, and I want an answer from the Minister. Only the other day, Sir, I asked this question in this House—"how much do you spend to protect the ex-Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal?" I asked this question, Sir, because West Bengal bristles with economic problems and the unemployment problem. We do not give unemployment doles. Thousands of students are without employment. The workers are poorly paid. This is the problem. So I asked that question in the context of the unemployment problem. The ex-Deputy Chief Minister's house has been turned into a fortress. Armed men are there.

It is difficult to go near his house. And the answer to the question I put was, "It will not be in the public interest to give the details of the security arrangements or of the expenditure incurred on the same." Here is a fine revolutionary party whose leader is being protected by the CRP—I am talking about the CRP being deployed elsewhere such as in this case. I demand from the Finance Minister a clear categorical reply. Is it one lakh of rupees per month which is being spent for the security of Mr. Jyoti Basu, the ex-Deputy Chief Minister? What is the public interest in it? (*Time bell rings*)

Lastly, I would only say . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS) : You wanted two minutes about four minutes back.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : This is the only important part of his speech—to slander the CP(M). Let him do it to his heart's content. Actually, as far as what he has said about the ex-Deputy Chief Minister is concerned, it is completely false. Let him weave his false slanders and let him complete his speech when he is tired of weaving these false slanders. What he said in the first part about monopoly capitalists, that was absolutely a show piece. He is actually with them, with the monopoly capitalists. Now he is at the best part of his speech. So let him say what he says, Sir, and let him finish it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS) : I cannot give you any more time, Mr. Kalyan Roy.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : I am finishing, Sir. Just give me one minute.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Why one minute? You may continue your slander.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Mr. Chatterjee said what he said in defence of Mr. Jyoti Basu because he has a fine apartment, which is near to Mr. Jyoti Basu's house. Therefore, I am not disputing about his safety.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : No doubt I have rented a Flat but not from the money of any colliery-owner. Mr. Kalyan Roy takes money from colliery-owners in order to raise his Flats. I also know, Sir, that he has inherited a lot of patrimony from his father. I earn myself and, therefore, I have rented a flat. My money is not from colliery-owners.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : I know that Mr. Chatterjee is working for, and is pleading in court, the cause of the capitalists I know and you also know that today he has taken ten thousand rupees from Mr. B. M. Birla particularly to interrupt me. Naturally. (*Interruptions*)

(*Continued interruptions, Shri Kalyan Roy and Shri A. P. Chatterjee speaking at the same time*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS) : Now it is impossible. Both of you sit down.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : He will not get his nomination unless he interrupts me. Mr. Promode Das Gupta has got his nominee here; he has got to interrupt me, because he has been paid for it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS) : Will you please sit down now?

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Only one minute, Sir. Lastly I appeal to all the parties : we have had enough of this inter-party murders in West Bengal; we have had enough of fights in West Bengal. Let us get together and fight the menace of this grand alliance which the CPI (M) is supporting for crushing Bengal. Let us unite.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I wish Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Mr. Chavan were here because my remarks will concern them also. I do not think Shri K. R. Ganesh is in a position. . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) : He represents both of them.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : He represents nothing; he has been taken into the Cabinet not the Cabinet; he is a Deputy Minister.

So, first of all, I would like to say that Congress, both wings, have been rejected by the people of West Bengal for ever and for good. So I do not propose to reply to any of the reactionary howls of the Congress Member from west Bengal.

Then I would like to say the people of my State, that is, my people have suffered since the British days. We have made sacrifices but perhaps I should not claim credit for them because they were for the cause of the country's freedom

but that is not the only part of the story. Since independence at the hands of the Central Congress Government and their proteges there during the last two decades or more the people of West Bengal have suffered as never before and I should like to put that on record.

Sir, during the two decades the Central Congress Government under Congress rule has tried to efface West Bengal from the political map of India. That is the dirty conspiracy they hatched and they have continued that conspiracy for two decades. I would cite only one or two examples. I know this would hurt some of them but these are stark facts. In 1947 West Bengal was the first industrial State. In 1967 before the UF regime came it went down far below and Maharashtra came on the top because all the financial institutions' headquarters were taken by this Congress Government from Calcutta to Bombay. Licences were not issued even to the monopolists. It is not socialists, because we have no power, who could have set up industries there. But they would have done it but they too were refused and they tried to stifle the democratic growth of West Bengal because the people of West Bengal even during the British regime did not hesitate—our youths did not hesitate—to mount the gallows for the sake of the country and afterwards since they have not bowed down before this reactionary Congress rule under which monopoly exploitation, feudal exploitation and imperialist loot is going on there, and since they have cherished the values of democracy, they tried to efface West Bengal from the political map of India by stifling it financially, economically, politically, by every possible means. It is a dirty conspiracy of the Centre still being practised by the Government headed by Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

I must call a spade a spade.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Call a disruptionist a disruptionist.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Now I come to the port of Calcutta. Have they waken up from their slumber. It was the most flourishing port, but it is now a derelict port. For twenty years they could not ponder over it and see that the port is kept well. It is under their tutelage. They have spent at least 4,000 crores to beautify Delhi. Wherefrom did the money come? It is from Calcutta and Bombay. At least from Calcutta you

have taken Rs. 10,000 crores and see this Budget. They cannot allot even Rs. 200 crores for the improvement of Calcutta, not even Rs. 100 crores. Nothing almost but only Rs. 40 crores. Are you not taking the money, everything from West Bengal, from Calcutta? It is the metropolis not only of West Bengal but also of the entire Eastern India. They have allowed it to die. The Central Congress Government and Shrimati Indira Gandhi is still trying to do so. I am pained to say this. I must put it on record that what she is doing she does not know. She does not know what she is doing to the country. Aurangzeb thought that he was ruling the Moghul Empire after it had collapsed. That is what she is after now and history will prove that that is what she is after.

During the UF regime our people came, to some extent, to its own, breathed freely to some extent. Now the Presidential regime, what shall I call it? I call it an uncivilised, barbarous regime, imposed on West Bengal by brute force and violence and State violence. That is the regime that is in West Bengal since the Presidents regime, do you know what has happened? Some 8,000 to 10,000 have been arrested and 80,000 warrants are going on. The CRP is behaving as if West Bengal is a conquered territory. They are behaving as an army of occupation. Our people are being insulted. That is the feeling that the people of West Bengal have today. What have not the CRP done during these days? They have raped women. They have shot at random. I can cite you instances. In Durgapur, they molested a newly-wed wife in the early morning of 1970. Do you know what they have done in Bijur? Saris were taken off from the women, they were arrested and sent in a van. That is the regime that Shrimati Indira Gandhi is running and she is a woman. I shudder to think what she is doing. So, it is an army force, it is a police force and an occupation force. We feel that West Bengal is now an occupied territory. It is a conquered territory. That is how the Central Congress Government is behaving and treating us in this fashion. Inside the lock-ups...

THE MINISTER OF STATE (DEFENCE PRODUCTION) IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI P. C. SETHI) : It is absolutely wrong.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : (Orissa) He says that it is absolutely wrong.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Has he the courage to accompany me and go there? I will show him.

SARDAR RAGHBIR SINGH PANJHAZARI (Punjab) : Whenever you like.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I will show you the place. You do not know what you are saying. You do not know it I assert it. I will not call you a liar, because had you known it you would not have uttered that. Now, in the police lock-ups they were mercilessly beaten. Where is the law? Does the law provide for it? Are you not the greatest, single law-breaker? You have killed many persons in police lock-ups. That also you have done--during this Presidential regime. So, that is your policy. We do not think and I do not think that it is for Delhi to decide on the mid-term poll. The State's affairs are the concern of the people of the State. It is for them. It is their inherent birthright to decide on elections and to choose their own form of Government. Now, you can enslave us by brute violence. We have long suffered under the British regime, and we feel we are just like slaves there. Nothing more, not citizens.

Now what has happened in connection with the employees' strike that is going on? The Indira Gandhi Government is conducting an undeclared war against the people of West Bengal. That is what has happened. The police and the military have been alerted. Everything has been done, just like Hitler did in the occupied territories of Europe. That is how the Presidential regime is behaving there with the help of certain dirty toadies with the British today. Mr. B. B. Ghosh, at the head. I call him a dirty British toady. He is not a man of Bengal. He is a traitor to Bengal, and the people of Bengal, if he lives will pay him, we will pay him some day, or other, today, tomorrow or years after. But we will never forget this, what has been done by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. If you think you can run the State by enslavement of the people, as if in a conquered State, behaving like that, you can continue in that way. You can do that. You want to draw our blood. We have given blood. You want to drink our blood. Yes, we will give you blood in profusion for you to drink, but we will never agree to barter away our fundamental rights. You can hold us in slavery, and slaves also some day or other will

[Shri Niren Ghosh]

stand up and fight, will continue to fight for years, if necessary for decades together but we will never yield to this. I want to make that absolutely clear to this Congress Government.

Now, Sir, things have been spoken about Naxalites. May I say that the Naxalites are acting as the storm-troopers of the ruling Congress and the CPI ? The CPI guides them, advises them, gives them shelter, gives them information and also the police. May I tell you some more information ? *(Interruption)* Two top Naxalite leaders of Andhra Pradesh have been arrested from the house of a Congress (R) worker, ruling party Congress worker. Do you want to know the name ? He is Dr. Bose in North Calcutta. Again four murderers, they also paraded in the name of Naxalites, have been arrested from the house of a dissident leader, Swaraj Bandhu Bhattacharya. Shall I tell you that Shri Asim Chatterjee, a top Naxalite, has been seen in the house of the Police Commissioner, Shri Ranjit Gupta, telling him to do this and to do that, when a warrant of arrest was pending against him ? Shall I tell you that the police and the Naxalites are in collusion ? Shall I tell you that the Central Congress Government and the Intelligence Branch under the direct control of Shri L. P. Singh, Home Secretary, have issued a directive to utilise these persons to kill and not only send workers of the C.P.M. to jail under whatever pretext they can ? That is why in order to crush Durgapur all the trade union leaders were arrested on fantastic charges of conspiracy to murder. Have you seen the F.I.R. ? Assaultants unknown, witness nil. That is the F.I.R. After that the S.P. of Burdwan forwards a note : I have reason to believe that they conspired to murder certain anti-social elements and a follower of Pitu Mitra. Everybody knows him in Bengal. For various murders he has been prosecuted. For that all trade union leaders were arrested. That is the part of the conspiracy that is going on. That is, the Naxalites are actually the hand-maidens acting as the storm-troopers. They and their satellite the C.P.I. and the ruling Congress Party with the help of the strike-breakers, the stooges, came out...

SHRI KALYAN ROY : I challenge him to go to Durgapur even with the help of the police. The workers will chase

him out of Durgapur. Let him accept the challenge. Let him challenge this. In December, 1969, it was in the coal fields. Why do you resort to this ?

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS) : Mr. Roy it is incorrigible. He did not interrupt you. Don't try to interrupt him.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : He is saying...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS) : Will you kindly sit down ? I will request you not to interrupt any further.

SHRI M. SRINIVASA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh) : They are glorifying each other.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Now, Sir, our people are on the firing line. *(Interruptions)* They have stood on the firing line. The ruling Congress Party Government of Shrimati Indira Gandhi is trying to decimate the people of West Bengal, mow them with fire. All right. Our people will also pass through that gruelling and grim experience in order to learn some things of the politics of India. That is the negative lesson. They will learn. History teaches that unless the people of the working class and the peasantry pass through this experience, they will never learn to know friends from foes, and they are learning. They call us, there is a right reactionary danger. Shri Bhupesh Gupta says. Yes, there is. And my party will fight them. But there is also a thing called reaction. There is right reaction, and there is reaction. And that reaction is symbolised by the Central Congress Government headed by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and that thing one cannot forget because if one can impose a barbarous and uncivilised regime there in a State, what else can you call it ? *(Interruptions)* Do you know what the Birlas say ? *(Interruptions)* They say, we have nourished Mahatma Gandhi, we have nourished also Jawaharlal Nehru, they say we nourish Shrimati Indira Gandhi. They say so. Go and ask them. They say it. *(Interruptions)* They have said, one of the top people told me, "I have given Rs. 30 lakhs in cash to Shrimati Indira Gandhi personally." I do not know...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA) : Let him prove.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : They have said it, one of them had said. I am reporting what has been said, I have reported it. (Interruptions) There is such a thing as reaction, and this reaction has got to be fought. You know that all the head offices have been closed by the Birlas in Calcutta. If their bank facilities were withdrawn, they would have surrendered and they would have reopened them. What have they not done during the five months of Presidential regime? Are they in collusion with the Birlas or not? Let them prove their innocence. Why do they not stop that collusion knowing that 2500 employees are in the street? And you do not. And that is what is happening.

That is the Budget. There is no provision for unemployment. The UF Government wanted to provide Rs. 10 crores but not a single pie is provided now. The Recognition to the Trade Union Bill was passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly unanimously. But so far it has not been assented to. May I raise the question? If the people of West Bengal and their elected representatives have passed a Bill, who is Delhi to block it? They have to see that it is assented to. It is their inherent right. But they are blocking a Bill that has been unanimously passed by the West Bengal Assembly. Now, as regards the refugees, I would only say that I am a member of the Review Committee on refugees and I have seen their condition. All the Central Government financial advisers there would not allot any money for the rehabilitation of the refugees. Whatever you may say, they will say "No money, no provision." That is the stand they are adopting. Now more refugees are flowing in.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS) : Will you kindly conclude?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I will try to.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS) : One more minute.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : So, things have come to such a pass. I said this is a reactionary regime in Delhi and

I stick to it. Now we have read in the papers that the disciplinary sword is going to come down upon certain progressive members of the Congress Party for speaking things on the floor of Parliament which accord with their declared programme. So, this is how things are taking shape. This is the Ruling Congress Party; let the people know about it. At least, my people know about it. The people of my State know about it. They will learn more about you and they will never, never bend down on their knees to the reactionaries who are trying to enslave us.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS) : I think you should finish now.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The mid-term poll cannot be at the dictate of New Delhi. As I said, it is a fundamental democratic right of the people of my State, not only of my State but of all the States in India. Is India a vast prison shackling 55 crores of people? That is the question that has come up. It is a pertinent question. To-day or tomorrow you will have to answer it. You cannot evade it. You can laugh now. But I dare say in history the people will have the last laugh.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS) : Please conclude.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : So, I say that this regime must go here and now. The mid-term poll must be held immediately. And if this brutal, uncivilised, barbarous, enslaving regime goes on and goes on slaughtering people, spilling blood and declaring a war against West Bengal, the people of West Bengal will go on fighting. Whether they win or not, they will not bend down and beg for mercy. We will give our lives. We have given our lives. We are still giving our lives. We have given thousands of lives.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar) : For nothing.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You should know that whatever happens, we will not bend down to slavery and to this dictatorial regime.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Sir, it was a speech full of sound and fury signifying nothing.

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम इस सदन में आज सी० पी० आई० और सी० पी० आई० (एम०) के संघर्ष का दृष्टा देख चुके हैं। यह दृष्टा बंगाल के 4 करोड़ निवासियों को रोजाना देखना पड़ता है। जब तक बंगाल में कानून और व्यवस्था कायम नहीं होगी तब तक बंगाल में कोई कहे कि एम्प्लायमेंट बढ़ेगा तो वह एक निराशा मात्र है। जब तक कानून और व्यवस्था फिर से कायम नहीं होगी तब तक बंगाल में न कोई इंडस्ट्री बढ़ेगी, न ही कोई उद्योग पनपेगा। हजारों कारखाने बंगाल में बन्द पड़े हैं, सैकड़ों कौलियरीज बन्द पड़े हैं। कोई मालिक अपना कारखाना बन्द करना नहीं चाहता, कोई अपनी बिजनेस बन्द करना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन जब स्थिति असहनीय हो जाती है, जब रात-दिन मारपीट होती है, जब रात-दिन धिराव होता है, रात-दिन माल नहीं निकालने दिया जाता, जब प्रोडक्शन डाउन हो जाता है तब बन्द करने के सिवाय चारा क्या है। दुर्गापुर में हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार का 500 करोड़ रुपया लगा हुआ है और उस दुर्गापुर की क्या हालत कर रखी है, कलकत्ता पोर्ट की क्या हालत कर रखी है, कलकत्ता की सड़कों की क्या हालत है, कलकत्ता के स्कूल-कालेज और यूनीवर्सिटियों की क्या हालत है। यह सब इन्हीं पोलिटिकल पार्टियों ने जो यहाँ पर आज लड़ रही थीं करवाया है। बंगाल में 1969 में जब मध्यावधि चुनाव हुआ तब से आज तक कम से कम दो हजार पोलिटिकल वर्करस मारे जा चुके हैं। मेरी पार्टी के हो सी से ज्यादा आदमी मारे जा चुके हैं। रोजाना कलकत्ते में आप चले जाइए तो आप देखेंगे गुजरते हुए कि कहीं कार चल रही है, कहीं बस चल रही है, कहीं बम फट रहा है और कहीं कुछ और हो रहा है। मैं सी० पी० आई० (एम०) या सी० पी० आई० के झगड़े में नहीं पड़ना चाहता और न ही मैं प्रेसीडेंट रूल को ही अच्छा समझता हूँ

क्योंकि 5 महीने से वहाँ प्रेसीडेंट रूल कायम है और उस के बाद भी बंगाल में कानून और व्यवस्था का पुनः स्थापना नहीं हो पाया। जिस समय पुराना यूनाइटेड फ्रंट टूटा था उस समय लोगों को बड़ी बड़ी आशाएँ बंधी थी, लेकिन इन्दिरा गांधी ने धवन साहब को वहाँ बैठा रखा है जो बड़ा ही कमजोर शासक है और जिस का मन सी० पी० आई० (एम०) के साथ जुड़ा हुआ है और वह बार बार हल्की हल्की चीजें करता है। अभी कनु सन्याल को 'ए' क्लास जेल भिला हुआ है। वह कनु सन्याल जिसने सैकड़ों आर्दमियों को मार डाला, भले ही वह नक्सलाइट्स का समर्थन करता हो या न करता हो, उसको मुजरिम की तरह से ट्रीट किया जाना चाहिए। नीरेन घोष साहब कहते हैं कि वहाँ सी० पी० आई० वालों का समर्थन सरकार कर रही है और सी० पी० आई० वाले कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस उन का समर्थन कर रही है, पता नहीं चलता कि इन्दिरा, धवन और ज्योति बसु के बीच में क्या चल रहा है लेकिन बंगाल के चार करोड़ लोग उन के बीच नष्ट होते जा रहे हैं, वहाँ के कारखाने बन्द होते जा रहे हैं और चारों ओर एक आतंक छाया हुआ है। रोजाना एक या दो बिजनेस मैन कलकत्ते में फेल होते हैं और रोजाना एक या दो दुकाने और कारखाने वहाँ बन्द होते जाते हैं। वहाँ फरखा बंराज से कोई नया इम्प्लायमेंट नहीं होने वाला है। अभी फरखा बंराज के बड़े गीत गाये गये। फरखा बंराज से थोड़ा सा पानी कलकत्ता शहर में आयेगा और वह भी जब तक कलकत्ता का वाटर बोर्ड नहीं बनेगा तब तक पीने के किसी काम में नहीं आयेगा और गंगा में बह जायेगा। इसी तरह से दुर्गापुर में एक नावेल नहर बनायी गयी थी जो न तो इरिगेशन के काम में आयी और न नेवी-गेशन के काम में आयी। कलकत्ते में बड़ी भयंकर परिस्थिति है और इस परिस्थिति का यदि इन्दिरा सरकार ने सख्ती से दमन नहीं किया तो वह कभी सुधरने वाली नहीं है। यहाँ पर अभी नीरेन घोष साहब इन्दिरा की

सरकार को इस लिए गाली दे रहे थे कि वह सख्त होती जा रही है और मैं इसलिए उन की निन्दा कर रहा हूँ कि वह सरकार बड़ी कमजोर है, सख्त नहीं है। अगर सख्त होती तो आज कलकत्ते की स्थिति इतनी नहीं बिगड़ती। यह सब देख देख कर बंगाल की चार करोड़ जनता और कलकत्ते की एक करोड़ जनता आज परेशान हो रही है। एशिया में टोकियो के बाद कलकत्ता सब से बड़ा शहर है। उस में आज बेकारी है। वैसे मध्य प्रदेश, राजस्थान, बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश आज भी बंगाल से कम धनिक है, आप का उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, उड़ीसा भी बंगाल से नेशनल इन्कम में बहुत गरीब और पिछड़ा हुआ है। लेकिन यह सब गरीबी के कारण नहीं होता जो आज कलकत्ता में हो रहा है। अगर गरीबी से नक्सलाइट्स पैदा होते तो मध्य प्रदेश और राजस्थान की मिलों में वे पैदा होते। यह तो एक राजनीतिक षडयंत्र रचा हुआ है और उस के पीछे बड़ी बड़ी चीजें लगी हुई हैं। कलकत्ते की हर दीवार के ऊपर तमाम जगह लिखा हुआ है—माओत्से तुंग चीनी चेयरमैन, तामादेर चेयरमैन। चाइनीज राष्ट्रपति, आमांर राष्ट्रपति।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARRY DAS) : You know Bengali well.

SHRI BALKRISHNA GUPTA : I lived in Bengal. मैं बचपन से बंगाल में रहा हूँ और शायद उतना ही बंगाली हूँ जितने कि श्री अरुण प्रकाश चटर्जी हैं। कलकत्ते में तीन रुपये किलो में बम बिक रहा है और अभी कलकत्ता को एक ट्रांसपोर्ट कंपनी ने इतने बमों का माल पकड़ा गया है जिसने 44,000 बम तैयार हो सकते थे। इतने केमिक्स पकड़े गये हैं। यह माल बंबई से बुक किया गया था और बंबई के किसी नक्सलाइट ने यह माल किसी अपने एजेंट को बुक किया था। वह ट्रांसपोर्ट कंपनी वाले

लोग हमारे पास आये थे और कह रहे थे कि हम लोग तो माल बुक करते हैं और माल ले जाते हैं। वह लोग छूट गये हैं तो इस तरह की चीजे कलकत्ते में रोजाना ही रही हैं। गोली चलती है जो सरकार नहीं चलाती, आपस में पार्टियां एक दूसरों के ऊपर चलाती हैं। अगर सरकार गोली चलाये तो कलकत्ता में शान्ति स्थपित हो जाय और शायद बिजनेस वा रिवाइवल भी हो जाय और उसमें कलकत्ते में फिर इम्प्लायमेंट बढ़े।

कलकत्ता अब भी, वेस्ट बंगाल अब भी, हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत बड़ा इंडस्ट्रियल प्लेस है शायद हिन्दुस्तान में बम्बई के बाद कलकत्ता सब से बड़ा इंडस्ट्रियल टाउन आज भी है और कलकत्ता में इस दुरवस्था में भी लोग अपना बिजनेस चला रहे हैं और वहां बैठे हुए हैं। जब जापान न एका बम्ब फेंका था तब कलकत्ता में मेरे सामने भगदड़ मच गई थी और हवाई स्टेशन पर, गाड़ियों में, जगह नहीं मिलती थी लेकिन आज रोजाना गलियों में, सड़कों पर, ट्रामों में, बसों में, मकानों में और मुहल्लों में बम्ब फटते रहते हैं फिर भी किसी ने कलकत्ता डर कर के नहीं छोड़ा कि हम मर रहे हैं। मैं अरुण प्रकाश चटर्जी की एक बात से सहमति प्रकट करूंगा कि इन्दिरा सरकार कलकत्ते की दुरवस्था की दायी है और वह दायी इसलिए है कि वह अपनी पूरी ताकत कलकत्ते के ऊपर नहीं लगाये हुए है, अगर वह पूरी ताकत कलकत्ते के ऊपर लगा दे तो कलकत्ता में ही नहीं हिन्दुस्तान में जो नक्सलियज्म फैल रहा है वह भी नष्ट हो जाय। लेनिन ने कहा था कि लन्दन के लिये कम्युनिज्म का रास्ता वाया शंघाई और कलकत्ता है, लन्दन तो कभी कम्युनिस्ट होगा नहीं क्योंकि पश्चिमी जर्मनी और मास्को की ट्रीटी हो रही है लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर कलकत्ता से यह जरूर फैलेगा अगर यह वक्त पर न रोका गया और आज जो हालत कलकत्ता की है वही हाल दिल्ली और बम्बई की होने वाली है। इसलिये मैं सरकार के लोगों से निवेदन करूंगा कि वह

[श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त]

यह देख कि इन्दिरा जी बारह बार कलकत्ता हो आई है लेकिन बारह बार जाने का कोई भी असर नहीं पड़ा है ।

श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी (मध्य प्रदेश) : यह गलत है ।

श्री ओम् मेहता : आपने नहीं सुना की नीरेन घोष क्या कह रहे हैं

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : वह कहेगा लेकिन हम अपनी कहते हैं ।

श्री ओम् मेहता : इसका मतलब है कि, हम ठीक हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS) : Do not get diverted.

SHRI BALKRISHNA GUPTA : They want to divert me. I do not want to be diverted.

जब इन्दिरा जी के ऊपर कुछ कटु आक्षेप किया जाता है तो वहां एक बौखलाहट पैदा होने लगती है, चाहे वह सी० पी० एम० करे, चाहे एस० एस० पी० करे, चाहे कांग्रेस (आर्गेनाइजेशन) करे और वह लोग डाइवर्ट करते रहते हैं । तो कलकत्ते की यह अवस्था है और कलकत्ता में ही नहीं अभी सिलिगुड़ी में जब कुछ लोगों ने थानों पर अटक किया था तो रेलवे के लोग पकड़े गये और रेलवे में चार दिन तक हड़ताल रही और एक भी रेल नहीं चली और इसी तरह से खड़कपुर में सात दिन तक हड़ताल रही और कलकत्ता में बम्बई, पुरी और उड़ीसा की एक भी गाड़ी नहीं आई । तो आप देख सकते हैं कि इस मामले में अगर सख्ती सरकार नहीं करेगी तो क्या स्थिति होगी । नन्दा जी ने दब कर दो दफा समझौता किया, दोनों दफा स्ट्राइक बन्द हो गई लेकिन फिर वह स्ट्राइक हुई, तो दब कर समझौते करने में कलकत्ता की अवस्था नहीं सुधरने वाली है ।

कलकत्ता को कई लोग वियतनाम और वियतकांग बनाना चाहते हैं लेकिन यह न वियतनाम है, न वियतकांग है और न सैगान और न हैनाय

है, कलकत्ता को हम लोग जब तक जिन्दा रहेंगे कभी वियतनाम नहीं बनने देंगे । इन्दिरा सरकार को यह जान लेना चाहिये कि कलकत्ता के अन्दर आज भी जो लेबर है वह नान-बंगाली है और वह बीस तीस लाख की तादाद में बसे हुये हैं, कलकत्ता में कैपिटल भी नान-बंगाली है लेकिन कलकत्ता में एक तरह की बाबू कम्युनिज्म फैली है जो कि बंगालियों ने धारण कर ली है । बाबू कम्युनिज्म इसलिये है कि उनको काम नहीं मिलता है, कालेज से निकले हुए लड़कों को काम नहीं मिलता है, तो उनको हाथ स काम करना होगा । अभी थोड़ी देर पहले जब नन्स के बारे में डिस्कशन हुआ तो सरदार स्वर्णसिंह ने बताया कि मीनियल लेबर क्या होता है । अंग्रेज का लड़का, प्रेसिडेंट हुवर का लड़का, कालेज में पढ़ते हुये जूठी तश्तरियां धोता था । जूठी तश्तरियों को धोते मैन लन्दन में बड़े से बड़े घर की ओरतों को देखा है । सर हावर्ड ग्रिफिस के यहां मैं ठहरा हुआ था, वह कलकत्ता यूनिवर्सिटी के वाइसचांसलर और हाई कोर्ट के जज थे और उनकी बीबी रात का सारा जमा हुआ पेशाब आदि मुबह पैखाने में फेंक रही थी और मेरे जूते साफ कर रही थी । यह डिगनिटी आफ लेबर कलकत्ता को सीखनी होगी, कलकत्ता के लोगों का बाबू के काम से अब काम नहीं चलेगा । कलकत्ता में इतने लोग बेकार पड़े हुये हैं, कलकत्ता में पावर का भी डेफिसिट है, हर चीज में डेफिसिट है, तो उस शार्टेज को कम करने में क्या बंगालियों ने किया वह लोग कहते हैं कि बंगाल को यह नहीं मिला, वह नहीं मिला । बंगाल को जितना रुपया स्वराज्य काल में गया है, उतना किसी प्राविन्स को आबादी के मुकाबले में नहीं मिला । यह सब झूठा प्रचार यहां हो रहा है । मैं बंगाल का रहने-वाला हूं, मैं भी बंगाल का प्रेमी हूं । लेकिन सेन्टर का रुपया ले ले कर बंगाल ने उसका दुरुपयोग किया है । कलकत्ता कारपोरेशन को लोग चोरपोरेशन कहते हैं, जो 82 फी सदी रुपये का हिसाब खा जाता है, सिर्फ 18 फीसदी रुपया सड़कों पर और दूसरी चीजों पर खर्च

करता है। अब उन्होंने नयी आक्टाइड ड्यूटी लगाई है जिससे कलकत्ते का पोर्ट और बढ़ेगा। अभी तो गौहाटी में टी आक्शन सेन्टर खोला गया है जो कलकत्ता के टी आक्शन सेन्टर को खत्म कर देगा क्योंकि उन्होंने आसाम की चाय पर टी टैक्स लगा दिया है . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बांक बिहारी दास) : अब और आगे नहीं समय ले सकते हैं।

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : 5 मिनट का समय और दे दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बांक बिहारी दास) : नहीं हो सकता है।

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : नहीं कैसे। आप सबको देते हैं। आप एस०एस०पी० वाले को ही क्यों कहते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बांक बिहारी दास) : ऐसा मत सोचिए। आप 2 मिनट में खत्म कर दीजिए।

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : कलकत्ता की अवस्था अगर सुधारनी है तो मैं सरकार से कहूंगा कि वह सख्ती से काम लें। वह सिर्फ सी० आर० पी० और सी० पी० सी० से ही नहीं, हर तरह से, सख्ती करें और स्ट्राइक और तालाबंदी करने वालों से भी सख्ती करें। एक दफा मजदूरों से भी सख्ती करें। मैं एस० एस० पी० का होते हुए भी यह कहता हूँ क्योंकि यह जो नकली वामपंथी बने हुए है ये कहते हैं कि काम मत करो, रूस में स्ट्राइक नहीं होनी चाहिये, चीन में नहीं होनी चाहिये और यहां पर होनी चाहिये। दुर्गापुर का कारखाना जो प्राइवेट सेक्टर है उसका प्रोडक्शन 30 परसेन्ट है। यह क्या हालत है, यह किस तरह के वामपंथी हैं जो लोगों को काम करने से रोकते हैं, जो लोगों को कमा कर खाने से रोकते हैं, और जो स्लोगन चलाते हैं "जो कमायेगा वह खायेगा"।

मैं इतना ही कह कर आपकी आज्ञा शिरोधार्य करके बैठ जाता हूँ।

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal): Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Budget and also the Appropriation Bill.

Sir, this House has been converted into a Calcutta 'maidan' so far as the CPM and CPI squabbles are concerned.

Sir, it was very amusing to find colleagues of the UF Government fighting each other. They are fighting in the streets of Calcutta, they are fighting in the streets of rural areas and they fight here also.

Sir, Shri Niren Ghosh was telling us about the sacrifices that have been made by the CPM. Of course I agree with him. What are the sacrifices that they have made? I want to remind them of the pre-Independence era. They really made a sacrifice of themselves at the altar of the British Government. That is a real sacrifice. In the post-Independence era they have made again a very great sacrifice of themselves at the altar of Mao Tse-tung of China.

So when they speak of sacrifices they remind themselves and us of their anti-State, anti-people and anti-country interests that they have already served during their regime not only in the UF Government, but throughout the history of the CPM. So, they should not boast of that sacrifice. That is a sacrifice to make the whole country a sacrifice at the altar of Mao. They have sacrificed themselves in 1962 when China committed a naked aggression on us. They said that a people's country, a democratic country, cannot be an aggressor and here is the mouth-piece, "His Master's Voice", Shri Niren Ghosh, reminding us of the sacrifices that they have made. The people of West Bengal, the people of the whole country, take that sacrifice with contempt and we take that sacrifice in the contemptuous spirit that it deserves.

Sir, Shri Niren Ghosh was telling about the Birlas, confiding to him about Shrimati Indira Gandhi being nurtured by the Birlas. What a thing that the Birlas have confided to Shri Niren Ghosh—the secrets that he is sharing with the Birlas.

[Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay]

I am amazed to find that they have got the guts to come to the public to admit that they are in the good books of the Birlas and the Birlas are telling all the secrets to them.

I do not know what Shri Kalyan Roy said about the money Shri Chatterjee got. I do not want, Sir, to indulge in mud-slinging. But it is a question of the party and the Prime Minister or the party in power. I do believe in the sanctity of this House and this should not be a *qorum* for mud-slinging on anybody, of any type, that he or she wants to indulge in. [MR. DEPUTY

5 P. M. CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

That brings down and down the prestige of this House. About the allegation of the Prime Minister taking Rs. 30 lakhs, if anybody can take Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 10 lakhs, Mr. Ghosh believes that the Prime Minister can be found taking Rs. 30 lakhs because these people in the Opposition, in the CPM are prone to take money from the capitalists and so they see their faces in their own mirror and they think, when they see their faces in their own mirror, that they can start mud-slinging.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: What about the admission by Mr. Kulkarni on the question of licensing?

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: Coming back to the sacrifices of the CPM, I may state very confidently in this House: 'Yes, there is a quantum of sacrifice but on whose part?' It is a sacrifice from the mothers, from the sisters, from the housewives of Bengal at the altar of the CPM. They are killing brutally the people of Bengal even now. I congratulate Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister and the Government of India as a whole for firmly dealing with the Drapur situation. Again I congratulate Shrimati Gandhi and the Government of India and the Government of Bengal as a whole for the firm action they are now taking. Though it is belated action they are now taking action against these people about the law and order situation in Bengal. What about the strike they had started? It has fizzled out. There are three urchins belonging to their party who have come out in support of the CPM. Now they are employing the urchins belonging to the CPM to make the employees' strike a success and

strangely the employees' strike is not concerned with the employees. Yesterday, the CPM has given an open call to the different sections of youngmen of the CPM wing to come out to see that the employees' strike is made a success. So long they were employed to break the solidarity of the labour population on behalf of the employers. Now they are employing their own cadre to see that the people of Bengal do not live in peace. They want to see that there is constant trouble in Bengal so that they can thrive in that or grow in that. I remind them of the mosquitoes that thrive on the stagnant pools. They are now trying to make Bengal a cesspool of this type of thing so that they can thrive.

I would remind this House about Calcutta and its problems which have taken a major share in all our speeches in the House during the Plan discussions and during the Bengal Budget. I have to confess this. I am of course a Congress worker and I have the proud privilege of belonging to the ruling party. In spite of that I did say that Calcutta did not receive the attention it deserved from the Government of India. I still insist that the plans submitted by the Bengal Government, a plan of Rs. 156 crores for the development of Greater Calcutta, should be passed through the Government of India. It was passed by the NDC and the NDC approved of Rs. 42.93 crores. For the development of Greater Calcutta this is too meagre a sum. Calcutta's problem is not the problem of West Bengal alone. Calcutta's problem is the problem of the whole country and we should all squarely face it. If Calcutta goes today, Delhi will go tomorrow. Calcutta's problem has been a complex one, not that it has cropped up today, not that it has become a complex problem in this year 1970. No sooner had the refugees started coming and squatting in and round about Calcutta the problem began. People from different States came to Calcutta for finding jobs. Here I am reminded of a statement by the Chief Minister of a neighbouring State. I don't believe in regional rancour. So I would not name the Chief Minister or the State he belongs to. He said, "Well, if there is the question of a drought in my State, only what I have to do is just to purchase a ticket to Howrah Station for each of the drought-stricken people so that my people can go to Calcutta near Howrah Station and find out jobs for them in

Calcutta. Now I am not ashamed of the Chief Minister who made that statement. Calcutta, or West Bengal for that matter, shows that hospitality and is showing that hospitality to all the States; no doubt about that. But you must also share the responsibility of feeding the people of Calcutta, of finding employment for the people of Calcutta and of making Calcutta a place to live in. It is now not a place where people can live in comfort, where fresh air can be breathed. So I want the Government of India to pay as much attention to Calcutta as possible.

Sir, this time in the Fourth Plan for the Calcutta Metropolitan Area, as I have said already, the NDC has approved of a sum of only Rs. forty-two crores and ninety-three lakhs. Non-Plan assistance to the tune of Rs. eight to ten crores will be forthcoming for construction of the second Hooghly bridge. Now, Sir, a second Hooghly bridge is an essential thing for Calcutta. If you have gone, or if you have to go, to Howrah Station during the peak period via the Howrah bridge or the Hooghly bridge, it is impossible even to go on foot to cross that bridge. It is such a huge population who live round about Calcutta and who, every day, come from different areas of West Bengal—even from the neighbouring States—to Calcutta for their livelihood. So it is an imperative thing to have a second Hooghly bridge. When Dr. B. C. Roy was the Chief Minister, he was pressing the Government of India for an alternative bridge, for a second bridge for crossing the river Hooghly but, for so long, the Government of India had been turning a deaf ear to that demand. Now I demand with all seriousness that a second Hooghly bridge should get the first priority in our Plan Budget. For the construction of the second Hooghly bridge they have given only Rs. 8 to 10 crores. This assistance should be enhanced so that we can have a time schedule to complete the construction of the second Hooghly bridge. The NDC has also said that Rs. 34 crores would be made available in the General Plan for the development of Metropolitan Transport services. Sir, we in Calcutta are living in an age where the tram-cars are running about Calcutta in a most dilapidated condition, on the most dilapidated roads and in a most dilapidated way. So the tram-tracks must be removed immediately. And to remove the tramways—which is owned by the State Government for a definite period in contract—to remove

that tramways we need a huge retinue of buses, State buses, to take its place for purposes of transport. But where is the money to purchase the buses to replace the tram-cars and thus to ease the traffic situation in West Bengal? So, more money should be found anyhow. In the matter of the outlays on water-supply, sewerage and drainage, transportation, housing, slum clearance and other sectors, the State Government's proposal was about Rs. 156 crores during the Fourth Plan period which is only Rs. 113 crores more than the provision included within the Plan. During the current Financial Year, the provision for Greater Calcutta Development Programme is a little over Rs. 20 crores only. It is not a district town whose development programme you are undertaking. No, it is the development programme for Greater Calcutta. And how can such a programme be executed with this small sum of Rs. 20 crores? It is fantastic how the Government of India can have this step-motherly attitude towards West Bengal and towards Calcutta and its problems. I cannot understand this. And this is not a new thing that we are saying. When Dr. Roy was the Chief Minister, as long back as that he took it up and many authorities were created to see that Calcutta and greater Calcutta problems are solved with the assistance of the Government of India but it seems that the Government of India have not yet been convinced; I do not know how they can be convinced.

Against the annual average outlay of four to five crores only during the last four or five years, this time they are giving seven crores. So it is a significant increase and I hope that they will maintain this for the greater Calcutta development programme during the current year. The West Bengal Tax (Entry of Goods into Calcutta) Act has recently been passed and we expect to get Rs. 6 crores in 1970-71. Out of this sum of Rs. 6 crores half of it will go to Calcutta Corporation and the other half will go to different municipalities. I think there are about 51...

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal):
Eightynine.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : ... of them roundabout Calcutta leaving aside the far-flung municipalities, whose population, whose problems are as serious as those of Calcutta and its neighbourhood.

[Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay]

Sir, you have already told me that my time is up but I want to say something about agriculture, irrigation and rural electrification schemes. When we say that we give top priority to agriculture, our budget allocations do not show that. We have to face drought conditions on the one hand and we have to face flood conditions on the other and we have a surplus landless labourers population who are entirely without any job or employment if there is any drought condition or flood condition prevailing in the area. So top priority should be given to this sector, that is, agriculture, irrigation and rural electrification, so that these three things can be linked together to make an economic unit in the rural area viable. When we take up the question of rural electrification schemes the Minister say that we do not get schemes from the Government of West Bengal. When we heard about it we went to the West Bengal Government and they say that they have sent the schemes long back. I do not know where the loophole is. Rural electrification is the only solution for tackling the unemployment problem in the rural areas. The nationalised banks should come forward with credit facilities and their assistance should be available for rural electrification schemes so that all these can be linked together in order to solve the rural unemployment problem in the State.

Now I want to say about the United Front's role in the Government.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAY : Disunited Front.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Are you united ?

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Like cement; you cannot break it. In our Congress Party you cannot break anything.

We talk of so many schemes but as I have already said our budget does not reflect them. Now, may I again remind about the circular railway scheme of the Government of India ? Let my grandchildren at least get that scheme if I do not get it. Sir, much injustice has been done to Calcutta and West Bengal as a whole and it is high time that the Government of India ...

SHRI KALYAN ROY : May I ask one question ? What was she doing when she was the Minister ?

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : I would tell Mr. Kalyan Roy—if he reads at all, if he knows how to read books—to read the budgets and the speeches of Dr. B. C. Roy given in the West Bengal Assembly from 1950 to 1962 and then he will know what we were doing.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAY : Wilful blindness.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : If one pretends to be blind, we cannot make him see. Shall I tell this House about land reforms ? Though there are so many land-grab movements, though there are so many movements conducted by CPM, CPI, SSP and PSP and which are going on and will go on—not to speak of the house-grab movement—land reforms in our State are the best. What our State has done is unique in India. Though our Plan is the lowest in India, in regard to land reforms we stand the highest. Without knowing the facts, without knowing the political background of the country, let the people who criticise the Congress Government on their land reforms policy go through the land reform Acts of different States. Let them go through the land reform Acts passed by the State Legislatures and also the land reform measure carried out by the President's Government this time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please wind up.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : I am finishing. We have made three provisions in our land reform Act. Share-croppers will get 75 per cent of the share. Do the share-croppers in any State get 75 per cent of the produce ? Secondly, the Burgadars' right of cultivation has been made heritable. It has benefited the Burgadars. We are out to see that the interest of the Burgadars are protected in the Act. What is going on in the name of land-grab is nothing but a political movement and in what is going on in the name of Naxalites, not only the Naxalites are involved. The CPM, in the garb of Naxalites, the, CPI, in name of Naxalites, are responsible for all the mistakes that have been done in

West Bengal. Now they are all hanging a doll, which is the Naxalite doll. The CPM have taken shelter behind the name of Naxalites and for many of the things that are going carried on in West Bengal the CPM party is responsible. I should remind the House about the role of the CPM...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up now.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : The Government of West Bengal and the Government of India, though it is a belated action, seem to be firm in taking action against the law-breakers and the people of West Bengal will support the Government which will very ruthlessly see that law and order is established in West Bengal for the total development and for the total welfare of the State.

Thank you.

SHRI MUKA GOVINDA REDDY : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am happy as well as unhappy to discuss this Budget with regard to West Bengal. I am happy in the sense that we get an occasion to criticise the Central Government for its failures and unhappy for the reason that the Budget which should have been discussed on the floor of the West Bengal State Assembly is being discussed by us now in this House. We are discussing this Budget now because West Bengal is now under President's rule. Mr. Niren Ghosh rightly referred to this and demanded that elections should be held to the State Assembly of West Bengal. I am one with him that elections should be held to the West Bengal Assembly at the earliest, but it should not be a rigged up election. It should be a free and fair election, but today in West Bengal the atmosphere is such that no free and fair elections could be held. There is so much of lawlessness. The Naxalites are active everywhere and this Government, with all its military force and the Central Reserve Police Force, has not been able to contain the activities of the Naxalites. Mr. Niren Ghosh made a specific charge that some of the active Naxalites are being harboured by the Congress (R). The Minister while making a reply to this debate should dispel the fear that that is not the case.

Schools are closed, universities are closed, there is no security of life and people are afraid to move about in the streets of Calcutta and some other places. So I would appeal to all parties in West Bengal and I would also appeal to the Government of West Bengal that an atmosphere should be created wherein early elections to the West Bengal Assembly should be held.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is unfortunate that West Bengal has become a problem State. We are all proud of the heritage of Bengal. What Bengal thought today people of other parts of India would think tomorrow and emulate tomorrow. But unfortunately the land of Vivekananda, the land of Subhas Chandra Bose, has today become a battleground. Mr. Deputy Chairman, I do not blame the parties of West Bengal for the present situation that is prevailing there. I blame the Central Government. We have gone through three Five Years Plans and we have spent more than Rs. 20,000 crores, but unfortunately the problems of West Bengal as well as the problems of other States have not been tackled in a proper way. They have not been able to solve the problem of land. It is true that land reform measures have been enacted in most of the States as they were enacted in the State of West Bengal. But they were weighted more in favour of the jotedars or landed interests and not in favour of the landless or the small peasants. This is the burning problem of the day. My friend, Shrimati Mukherjee, complained about the land redistribution agitation that is going on in West Bengal and in other parts of India. We do not believe in grabbing the land, but we do want that land distribution should take place. The land has been held by jotedars and big landlords for such a long time depriving the tillers of the land their right to till the land and to have the fruits of their labour. This movement is only to emphasize that it is urgent, that it brooks no delay, that all the State Governments and the Centre should put their heads together and see that this is solved at the earliest.

The second important problem that is growing in West Bengal as in other parts of India is the problem of unemployment. People of West Bengal, particularly the youth, are enlightened, intelligent, but they do not want to roam about in the streets without jobs. They do want jobs

[Shri Mulka Gobinda Reddy]

but unfortunately no programme has been chalked out to find out jobs for them. Industries are closing down, production is coming down. The production that was there in 1967 has gone down by 20 per cent, and the problem of unemployment is increasing. The Government should start more industries and find more jobs for the educated youth. If they fail to do that, they should at least give unemployment dole to the educated. Otherwise they will have to seek their own avenues of livelihood, and some of them, the misguided youth, will seek adventurism. Therefore I put the blame both on the Central Government and the State Government for not providing adequate employment for the educated youth.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have discussed the problem of the refugees. As I said some time back, West Bengal, is a problem State. It is surrounded by enemy countries, and particularly Pakistan which is inimical to us is creating such a situation in East Pakistan, driving lakhs of minority communities, to India, particularly to West Bengal. The Economy of West Bengal is shattered when a lakh and a half refugees come every year into West Bengal. So, this problem has not been tackled at all. They have not been firm with the Pakistan Government that these things cannot be allowed. It is your responsibility to see that the interests of the minority communities are safeguarded properly and that they should not be pushed about like shuttle-cocks to India.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, another important problem that should be tackled is this, the Farrakka Barrage. This is a very important project, and it should be completed at the earliest. If this is completed, the Port of Calcutta can be used properly. Otherwise, it will be difficult to make use of the Calcutta Port as has been pointed out already by some of the speakers who preceded me.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, the other day we discussed about Durgapur. We should be proud of Durgapur Steel Mill. Durgapur Steel Mill is not functioning properly and it is not giving full production. Partly some of our friends are responsible for

its not giving full production. We should see that it gives full production because it is a national industry, it is a Government undertaking. Then alone the country's economy will be of some use.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, today we are discussing this West Bengal's Budget. Large amounts that are required for rehabilitating the refugees, for providing employment to the unemployed, for giving doles to the unemployed and for starting new industries, they have not been provided in this Budget. The Government might say that this Budget was prepared by the former West Bengal Government, we had no say in that. The Government cannot shirk its responsibility in this way. Whether they prepare a proper Budget or not, when it has been entrusted to this Parliament, it is the duty of the Central Government to bring forward a Budget wherein they will provide more funds for these developmental activities.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, the last word that I would like to say is about these elections. I do want early elections. As I said earlier, a proper atmosphere should be created for holding free and fair elections. But even then, I am doubtful whether with the present electoral system, any stable Government can ever be formed in West Bengal for another decade or so. I do not think the Communist Party (Marxists) will get the required majority to form the Government. They may, in alliance with some parties or the other friends, led by Shri Ajoy Mukherjee and Shri Bhupesh Gupta, be able to get that majority to form a Government. Therefore, I think there should be a radical electoral law reform. Otherwise, this instability will continue and again and again President's rule will have to be imposed in the State of West Bengal. So, before elections take place, immediate steps should be taken to reform the electoral law whereby we can assure a majority to any party which will get the backing of the people of West Bengal. With these words, I close my speech.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : Sir, I offer you my thanks for giving me a chance to take part in this debate.

The very fact that the Budget of West Bengal is being discussed in the Union Legislature is a clear indication of what is happening in West Bengal today. It has been pointed out by my friend, Dr. Chatterjee, that the economy of West Bengal is almost on the verge of ruination. I entirely agree with him. But I do not agree with him when he says that the 22-month rule of the United Front Government is in alone responsible for the ruination of the economy of West Bengal. In 1948, West Bengal was on the top of the industrial map of India. In 1967 it has gone down. The reasons behind it are not definitely the rule of the United Front Government, inter-party rivalries, inter-party conflicts and labour trouble. If we go through the licensing policy of the Government of India, if we go through the recommendations of the Finance Commission, if we go through the allocations in the First Plan, the Second Plan, the Third Plan and the Fourth Plan, we shall come to the conclusion that definitely there is a calculated way of depriving West Bengal of its legitimate share in the matter of financial allocation.

Shri Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee, former Chief Minister of West Bengal, when he made his Budget speech in the last Assembly which is now being dissolved, pointed out that in a federal Constitution allocation of resources to the States should correspond to the functions allocated to them. Accordingly, Sir, when the United Front Government submitted a memorandum to the Fifth Finance Commission, it was pointed out that until and unless the Fifth Finance Commission made a recommendation and took the responsibility of meeting the non-Plan revenue gap, it would not be possible for the State Government to augment its Plan outlay. Only the other day, we discussed the Fourth Plan and it has been pointed out in the Fourth Plan that the total outlay of West Bengal comes to Rs. 322.50 crores, while Maharashtra's outlay is Rs. 898.12 crores, Andhra Pradesh's is Rs. 420.50 crores, Bihar's is Rs. 31.28 crores and Gujarat's is Rs. 455 crores. While replying to these points which I mentioned in my speech in the discussion on planning, the Minister stated that all these State Governments have augmented their Plan resources out of their own funds. I admit it. Now it is not possible for West Bengal even to allocate Rs. 100 crores for the augmentation of Plan outlay, as a result of which

while the Third Plan outlay was of the order of Rs. 304.74 crores, the Fourth Plan outlay is only Rs. 322.50 crores. Why has it happened? Why has West Bengal which was on the top of the industrial map of India in 1948 come down to a much lesser position in 1967? What is the reason behind it? The reason behind it is that West Bengal has been deprived of licences given by the Government of India. The figures I have with me will show how West Bengal has been deprived of the industrial licences. In 1966-67, Maharashtra got 226 licences while West Bengal got 244 licences, some 18 more than that of Maharashtra. But in 1967-68 it was 249 in Maharashtra and 240 in West Bengal. In 1968-69 it was 262 in Maharashtra and 219 in West Bengal, as a result of which the new companies which were established in Maharashtra were 226 in 1966-67 with an authorised capital of Rs. 26.7 crores, 249 in 1967-68 with an authorised capital of Rs. 40 crores, 262 in 1968-69 with an authorised capital of Rs. 118 crores while in the corresponding year in West Bengal there were only 19 new companies established with an authorised capital of only Rs. 9 crores. If there is no industrial expansion, if no new industries can be started, if the existing factories are closed for want of raw material, how can you expect that West Bengal will have its desired advancement in the field of industrialisation? How can you expect that West Bengal will solve its problem of unemployment? The other day on the floor of this very House the Minister in charge of Industrial Development admitted that 165 factories had been closed in West Bengal within the period from 1st March, 1969 to 25th May, 1970. Of these 165 factories most of them were closed for want of raw material. We all know that the engineering industries constitute the backbone of the industrial structure in West Bengal. What is the condition of that engineering industry now? The Minister himself admitted that for want of raw material, for want of cast iron, for want of steel, the engineering industries are suffering a lot. In the memorandum which was produced by the West Bengal Government and circulated to the members of the Consultative Committee on West Bengal Legislation through the Union Home Ministry, it was pointed out that not 165, but 307

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee]

factories were closed during that period. What is the reason? It was pointed out by the West Bengal Government itself that raw materials are allocated to the industries of West Bengal on the basis of their actual consumption in 1966. We all know that in 1966 actually West Bengal Industry suffered a lot as a result of which engineering industries which were hard hit by the recession, were closed for want of raw material. The Government of India and particularly its responsible leaders have promised so many things for West Bengal. But till today, I can point out, not a single concrete achievement has come from them, no a single plan has been achieved by them. Only on the floor of this House it was pointed out that the Tiesta project cannot be taken up or want of money. Not only the Tiesta project. We also discussed the problem of refugees. From 1947 up-to-date nearly 42 lakhs of refugees have come here from East Bengal, and for all these 42 lakhs of refugees only Rs. 65 crores have been spent. In 1959 the West Bengal Government made a survey and it was found out that 50 per cent of the refugees migrated during that period would require further assistance. I think Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee was perhaps then in charge of refugee rehabilitation. They made recommendations to the Government of India. But the Government of India firmly denied and said that the refugees who came after 1958 would not be given any further financial assistance. However, they formed a committee on refugee rehabilitation and that committee in going on with its work. The committee has made certain recommendations. But those recommendations have not yet been given effect to. May I point out in this connection that it has been stated by the Estimates Committee of which Mr. Arun Chatterjee was a member, that there was scope for rehabilitating the refugees migrating from East Bengal to India in the Andaman island? The Government of India is conspicuously silent over this matter. There is sufficient scope for developing the Dandakaranya, but that too has not been taken up with seriousness. The other day it has been pointed out by an important leader in West Bengal that there was scope to develop the Singhum area and that the refugees could be settled there. But that too has not been taken up. I fail to under-

stand how the problem of West Bengal can be solved if the Government of India, does not come forward with adequate, financial assistance. How can the problem of Calcutta be solved if the Naxalite menace is not removed? How can the problems of Bengal be solved if the unemployed youth are not provided with adequate jobs? What is today the job potentiality? I have some figures in my possession. From these figures, I find that in 1968 about 4,44,813 unemployed boys and girls had registered themselves in the employment exchanges. Of them only 60,988 have got jobs. In 1969, about 4,99,601 unemployed persons had registered themselves in the employment exchanges. Of that, only 46,731 got jobs. The employment opportunities in the State are going down. What is happening is that the big monopolists are shifting their offices from Calcutta and the Government of India itself is doing the same thing. The other day it was pointed out on the floor of the House that the Audit and Account Office of the P & T employing about 2,000 Bengali graduates has been split into four parts and shifted. Similarly, the tea auction centre is going to be shifted from Calcutta to Shillong. I have nothing against Assam. I have full sympathy for them. But it has to be remembered that Calcutta is facing a very crucial problem and that problem is mounting day by day. Instead of solving that problem of Calcutta, the Government of India is trying to add to its problems. By mere words or assurances or promises the problems of Calcutta cannot be solved. Therefore, I would request the Government of India to come forward with adequate financial assistance, if they want sincerely to solve the problems of West Bengal.

I would like to mention another point. I shall take only two or three minutes more. It has been pointed out that what is happening in West Bengal is not a question of law and order and it is not a question of mere administration. It is a mass upsurge or a popular upsurge. This is what was stated. I fail to understand this. It is very difficult to accept that what is happening in West Bengal is the outcome of any popular movement. We see a situation there where the Magistrates are contacted and the assailants are able to escape and to move about

freely. When such unnatural things take place, it is very difficult to believe that whatever is happening in West Bengal is the result of a mass upsurge. It is not so because workers and peasants are killing peasants and the employees are demanding something unheard of before. They are asking who will be the Chief Minister and what party will form the Government. Government employees who are directly involved in the administration are going to strike are killing workers and ask for the withdrawal of the C.R.P. What have the Government employees to do with C.R.P. ? What business they have got to ask for withdrawal of C. R. P. ? Do they consider themselves to be a privileged class. These things have to be taken into account. I cannot accept the proposition put forward by Shri Kalyan Roy that all that has happened is the outcome of a popular movement.

My last point is about teachers. In this connection I accuse the party of Shri Niren Ghosh because Shri Shakti Priya Roy of his party was the Education Minister of West Bengal and he did nothing for the teachers. I would urge upon the Education Ministry through the Finance Ministry that at least they should make one arrangement by which the school teachers get their monthly salaries. In West Bengal some teachers are not getting their payments for more than six months. It can easily be understood how a poor man with a family can carry on without getting his pay for six months. This problem should also be looked into.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : Mr. Deputy Chairman, this debate has helped to focus attention on the problems of West Bengal and hon. Members have very passionately brought before the House the problems of West Bengal as they see them. The debate has been free from much of acrimony. But I regret to say that Shri Niren Ghosh brought to this debate his fire and brimstone. I do not know whether that fire and brimstone is going to help even the cause for which he stands.

Sir, he is a very veteran politician and for a veteran politician like him, to make an accusation in this House against the Prime Minister, that somebody was telling him—that is also the Birlas—is not good. He must be having

belief in the words of the Birlas and their allies than in the Prime Minister of this country; but it is a different matter. He belongs to the CPM and everybody knows that. They have a policy, they have a strategy, they have a political thinking and they have a political platform. We can fight all those on political platform. But I am really pained that a veteran politician like him should make a charge against the Prime Minister of having taken Rs. 30 lakhs from the Birlas and I repudiate this charge and call it a slander. It arises out of the frustration of a political party, whose representative he is, and as a result of that he has come to this pass in making this wild charge and slanderous allegation.

Sir, every body knows and this House knows the events leading to the fall of the UF Government. Sir, this House knows that the Central Government was not interested in the fall of the UF Government. The UF Government was formed by the electorate and it was given sufficient time to at least implement the pledges that they gave to the electorate. Sir, we know which party created the downfall of the UF Government. It is the political arrogance and the wrong political thinking of the CPM, which Shri Niren Ghosh exhibited here, that brought the downfall of the UF Government. I do not have to waste the time of the House in recounting all the events that have taken place when the UF Government fell and the President's rule had to be imposed.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You are sorry for the fall of the UF ?

SHRI K. R. GANESH : It is not a question of my being sorry or anybody being sorry. The fact is that you are responsible for it by your arrogance and by your wrong political formulations. You do not see anything happening in India. You do not see the danger of right reaction. You do not...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You are all our political enemies. We have to learn that... (Interruptions)... learn that from you.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : This is political arrogance. I am prepared to learn from you also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : Sir, he cannot even stand a pacific criticism. He cannot even stand that...

(Interruptions)

Sir, Mr. Niren Ghosh spoke about the alleged neglect of West Bengal for the problem of West Bengal which is as most speakers expressed here, a problem State due to various factors. From the way he put across this, I do not think that any political party which believes in having an integrated strategy for the entire nation can put across that. He talked about slavery of West Bengal, he talked about slaving of West Bengal and and he talked about decimating West Bengal. Now, who has created the situation?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You have created.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : This is the the very situation in which the CRP had to be brought there, in which the cult of bomb had to be met by the forces of the State. Who has created this situation? You talked about lessons of history.

Sir, he has to learn lessons of history. Wherever political parties have played the role that CPM have played, Fascism has come there, dictatorship has come there. If you do not learn that, the entire country...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You are running after Fascist terror.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : ... the entire country is going to be harmed by the arrogance and by the wrong tactics that you have adopted in West Bengal.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You have introduced Fascism through the CRP.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : Sir...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I have never seen such a Minister.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : You have to see more and more Ministers like this who can pay you in your own coin, who understand your language and who can hit in your own language. You have to learn and live with more and more Ministers like this, even though they may be Deputy Ministers.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I know how you are declining every time.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI K. K. SHAH) : Why do you not hear some strong language?

SHRI K. R. GANESH : This House is going to discuss the extension of the Presidential Proclamation and once again the House will have an opportunity and I think there will be a senior Minister to reply to many other points that might have been raised. This Budget which we are discussing is 90 per cent. the UF Budget and there has been only a minor variation in placing this Budget. Mr. Ghosh said that the UF Government wanted to give employment benefit in the Budget that they had produced. I can categorically say that in the Budget the UF introduced, there was no provision for employment benefit, not because it did not want it but because in the economic situation existing in our country, it is just not possible today. With the resources that we have today, with the kind of economy we have today, it is not just possible to have employment benefit. Mr. Kalyan Roy said that since the Presidential Rule nothing has been done. I would place before you that as far as Greater Calcutta is concerned, the other House accepted a resolution moved by one of the colleagues of Shri Roy, Shri Inderjit Gupta, in which the problem of Bengal and particularly of Calcutta was focussed. In the Fourth Plan of Bengal Rs. 42.93 crores have been allocated for the development of Greater Calcutta. Apart from this Rs. 8 to 10 crores of non-plan plan assistance is to be provided for the construction of a second Hooghly Bridge. It is also estimated that about Rs. 34 crores in the Central Plan will be provided for transport services in the metropolitan area of Calcutta. When the Cabinet Secretary went to Calcutta, after his discussions with the Bengal officers, the outlay on water-supply, sewerage, drainage, transportation, housing, slum clearance and other sectors, it has been agreed, will be stepped up significantly outside the State Plan and this work is in hand. During the current financial year, as indicated in the Budget speech, the provision for Greater Calcutta development programme is over Rs. 20 crores. This must be seen in the context of the annual outlay of Rs. 4 to 5 crores, which has been there for the last four or five years. It is true, Mr. A. P. Chatterjee, that this might not be sufficient for the great accumulation of problems that

Calcutta has got. But there is a significant increase, four to five times' increase in the annual outlay that was there, and I do not think that finance alone will be any hurdle as far as solving the problems of Calcutta is concerned—of course within the resources that we have got.

Sir, there has been talk about discrimination against West Bengal, and there has been a comparison between 1947 and 1970. Sir, it may be that, in the process of development in the process of planned development of this this country—and it has been admitted by the Government, by the Prime Minister, to me and again there might have been neglect of certain areas, that certain backward areas have been neglected. And there might have been some neglect of Calcutta too; one need not deny that. But to lay the charge of discrimination I do not think, Sir, it can bear testimony to facts, because the share of West Bengal in Central Taxes and Duties during the Fourth Plan period, as recommended by the fifth Finance Commission, is of the order of Rs. 296.64 crores as compared to Rs. 197.41 crores recommended by the Fourth Finance Commission for the period 1966-71. In addition, the Commission have also recommended grants-in-aid under Article 275(1) amounting to Rs. 72.62 crores. Out of the total devolution to all States during the Fourth Plan period, the share of West Bengal is over 8.5% compared to about 6.5% under the Award of the Fourth Finance Commission. In terms of annual devolution, as against an average of Rs. 39.44 crores during the period 1966-71, the annual average during the Fourth Plan period will be Rs. 73.85 crores.

The proportion of Central assistance to the Plan outlays of West Bengal has been steadily increasing. This proportion of Central assistance, which was less than 47% during the Second Plan period, 51.6% during the Third Plan period, is now almost 69%. For all States taken together, this percentage is 53. The *per capita* Plan outlay too has increased steadily from Rs. 50 during the Second Plan to Rs. 69 during the Fourth Plan. This does not take into account the additional developmental expenditure proposed to be incurred in the Calcutta Metropolitan region outside the State Plan.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : This is jugglery of accounts. You please compare the Fourth Plan figure with

that of the Third Plan because the Third Plan preceded the Fourth Five Year Plan.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : I am just trying to say . . . (*Interruptions*) I do not deny that more investment will be necessary for solving the problem of West Bengal. As most hon. Members have expressed, what I am trying to stress here is that there is no discrimination.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA (West Bengal) : Why don't you compare it with the Third Plan? You give an answer to that.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : Even in terms of Central assistance . . .

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : He is misleading the House.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : Central investment in West Bengal, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, the figures to that I have got, and if I read out these figures, my friend will say I am misleading the House. I am not trying to mislead the House. I am not trying to run away from the Government responsibility of making investments in West Bengal for solving some of the chronic problems of West Bengal. I am not getting away from this fact but I am trying to find out one single fact to show that there has been any deliberate discrimination against West Bengal.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : That may not be deliberate but there is discrimination all the same.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : What can be done? This is a very large country. There are areas which are very very backward because, if you compare 1970 with 1947, West Bengal and particularly Calcutta . . .

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : The whole problem is this. The Fourth Finance Commission's recommendations left six States with a surplus of Rs. 600 crores, and the Fifth Finance Commission has left seven States with a surplus of Rs. 1271 crores. And all those seven States have more plan augmentation in the Fourth Five Year Plan period. That is the whole contention. And West Bengal Government's demand from the Finance Commission has been summarily dismissed by the Finance Commission. That is my contention.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: The Fourth Plan outlay for West Bengal is Rs. 322.5 crores.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: For Maharashtra it is Rs. 890 crores; is it not discrimination?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: You sit down. Don't go on interrupting.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: You do not belong to Maharashtra; why are you shouting?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: You should speak sense, not nonsense.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: Sir, mine was a very pertinent observation; it is recognised by parliamentary practice. When he says it is Rs. 322 crores for West Bengal, can he deny that it is Rs. 890 crores for Maharashtra? Is it not discrimination?

SHRI K. R. GANESH: I have got that figure here. I have got the figure for Maharashtra, I have got the figure for Gujarat, I have got the figure for Tamil Nadu. And obviously those figures will speak what the actual facts are. But all what I am trying to say is that there is no deliberate discrimination.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: It is a misleading statement; it is deliberate.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sen Gupta, don't interrupt now.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: As far as land reform is concerned the hon. Shrimati Purabi Mukherjee has put before this House the land Reform Act of West Bengal Government which has conferred certain tenancy and security rights to *barwadars*. As far as agriculture is concerned it has been decided that the production of foodgrains should be increased to about 80 lakh tonnes during 1970-71 as against the production of 61.5 lakh tonnes.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: How can it be produced?

SHRI K. R. GANESH: As far as irrigation and other schemes are concerned the President's regime there is making efforts to bring 75,000 acres under irrigation during the kharif season. In the industrial field also attempts are being made after the recession, after certain

political factors have settled down, to revive industries there. More licences have been there during the last few months than they were there during the whole of 1969.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Why are you hesitant to collect the fourteen crores of royalty from the coalmine owners? You need not go any where else.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: I got that also checked up to explain. An attempt is made to use the nationalised banks and the credit institutions for solving the problem of unemployed technical personnel. Sir, these are some of steps that the Government has taken since the President rule there.

I realise that the problem of West Bengal is a very vast problem. It is a truncated State and ...

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: But doing nothing.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Thousands of refugees have come there. Lakhs are there and more are coming. The problem of Calcutta is a difficult one. The city which was once the pride of India has stagnated. These are fast problem but I think the Government will do all that is necessary within its financial resources to solve these problems. But it is not merely a question of putting in more money there; the solution of all the problems will depend on the political forces. I do not agree with many of our friends here who just want only CRP or only military force to be used there. The battle of democracy inside West Bengal will have to be fought principally by the people of West Bengal. We are living in a democracy. Of course, in a democracy I do not deny that whenever law and order is threatened, wherever the Naxalite activities are there, the normal administrative machinery has got to see that security of life, security of property and security of avocation and profession is assured by the Government. Any civilised Government has got to do it. But the kind of problem that is being raised by at least one section of the House, in which day in and day out Parliament discusses the problems of West Bengal, cannot be solved, I feel, only by injecting the law and order machinery there. This problem can be solved by investment there, by solving the problem of unemployment, industrial regeneration by introducing effective land reforms. At the same time

a political force has got to emerge in West Bengal to fill the vacuum that exists today. Our friends speak about Kerala. In Kerala a political force arose. In Kerala the political parties took up the challenge and filled the vacuum. Therefore, if a political force arises in West Bengal and fills the vacuum that is there, it can fight the distortion, the distortion of a certain political party. It can fight violence and create conditions in which a regeneration and reorganisation of life in West Bengal can take place. I can only end by saying that West Bengal, which has been the home of Indian renaissance, which has given us the best patriots and the best freedom-fighters, will rise. Though West Bengal may be poverty-stricken, though it may have garbage, it is affluent in culture, art and music and West Bengal will rise and it will conquer its present problems.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sum from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of West Bengal for the services of the financial year 1970-71, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

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

SHRI K. R. CANESH: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was proposed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do you want to speak at this late stage?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I should like to say a few words for two reasons. Firstly, it is an Appropriation Bill. Therefore, the Third Reading should not be bypassed. It is not right, in principle,

in a parliamentary debate, that a Bill of this kind, a Finance Bill, should be passed without going through the Third Reading stage, by skipping it in the manner in which it is sought to be done due to lack of time, or for some other reasons. Much has been discussed about West Bengal and much has been said. I like the final words of our young Minister, that Bengal shall rise and Bengal has risen. Unfortunately certain untoward developments have taken place and that is why today the people of West Bengal are misunderstood. The State is misunderstood. Its way of life is misunderstood, but that would be very wrong way of looking at West Bengal. Apart from the political parties, there are people in West Bengal who desire progress and certain progress and advancement in the cultural and material life of the community cannot be questioned. Whatever may have happened in the upper layer of the political life of West Bengal, the grassroot masses are living in a forthright manner, their help is sound and by and large they want things to be set right, but not in the way some friends have suggested but in an entirely different way. It is but natural that our friends opposite will take advantage of some people here and the disputes and conflicts and contradictions that have developed internally within the Bengal left and democratic movement. We cannot expect them that they would not take advantage of it, but more than these people who are speaking on this side the arch reactionary forces today are looking forward to West Bengal as a base of failure of the efforts of the people to remake the future through their united efforts, united fronts and united struggles. I think they will before long be disappointed because after all life is always superior to the forces of disruption whatever they are, and life will assert itself.

One or two words with regard to West Bengal administration. It seems some people high up in the administration have taken into their head that for the time being at any rate they could run amuck and do whatever they like. I think this mentality is gripping some high officials in the administration of West Bengal who are running the administration on the spot, and I have also a feeling that in some respects this mentality and these trends are encouraged from New Delhi. I should

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

Strike a warning : let them not gamble with the fate of a people and let them not try to take advantage of certain misfortunes that have come their way. For example, the police administration is behaving not only in an irresponsible manner but in some cases in a very aggressive and high-handed manner. It is pointless to talk about Naxalite and other violence when the police administration itself is indulging in unlawful acts in the form of torture of prisoners, political workers, in the lock-up. I pointed out to you the other day the instance of Samir Bhattacharya of Shamapukur who was done to death by torture in the police lock-up. Up to now we have not had any statement from the Government. This sort of action not only disgraces a civilised society, this sort of action creates conditions of uncertainty and really provokes violence. Even a man who believes in non-violence would be tempted to resist such kind of action by methods which may tell on those who practise this kind of brutality and torture on those kept in the police lock-up. I understand that Kanu Sanyal has been arrested. It is well known that we have serious differences with Kanu Sanyal, but he is a political worker, and those who have been arrested with him are political workers. I do not question their *bona fides* in the sense that they believe in something which is laudable. They want to bring about a change in society, want socialism. As far as objectives and ideals are concerned, they share our ideals, we share their ideals, but their path is entirely wrong. They have been of course political workers. Why they should not be given class I treatment in prison, I do not understand. I read in the newspapers—Kanu Sanyal was a good worker in his days; I do not know how he is working now, but certainly he is regarded as a Naxalite leader and a very forthright one at that; he never hides his views—why Kanu Sanyal and his colleagues who are in Darjeeling and in other jails should have to plead with the Government that they should be given class I. I think Government *suo motu* should extend to them class I. If Bhupesh Gupta is entitled to class I, which I was given in Rewa jail when I was there, which I rejected because others were not given, why Kanu Sanyal and others should not be given class I treatment? It is not for the Government to sit in judgment on the political views, methods and so on; let these be decided elsewhere in the proper way. But so far as treatment of undertrial

prisoners is concerned it has been always the convention and practice in West Bengal, and we have seen it even in British times, that political prisoners are to be given class I and they have to be treated with dignity and some honour.

Now, I demand of the Government, and I would ask the Home Minister here to send today, tonight if possible, instructions to the Darjeeling authorities that Kanu Sanyal and his colleagues and similar other Naxalites or political workers, no matter which party they belong to, wherever they are lodged, in whichever jail they may happen to languish, they should be treated with honour and dignity due to political workers.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: Finish-

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: "Try to finish". That is what he is saying.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: I am requesting you to be short.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You may be interested.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: No, I am not interested.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is the temperament. He is not even interested in listening to what I say.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is only requesting you to be brief, nothing else.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let him say. Mr. Yajee was himself a long-suffering political prisoner in his days. He should understand what I am saying.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: I understand you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I would like to say one or two words about the Advisors. Now, as you know, they are all superannuated gentlemen. They were in retirement. Normally, they should have been in the Himalayas praying or expiating for the sins committed by them when they were serving the Britishers. All these super-annuated gentlemen—not all of them, three of them at any rate—have been made Advisors there. One is an engineer, Mr. Ghosh. And the others are, I believe, ICS officials. Now, they have been made Advisors. Now, are we to deliver West Bengal to the British way of

administration? Those Advisors are thoroughly incompetent to comprehend any problem. In the long period of their service under the British. They were permeated with the British way, their whole being was conditioned by the way the British ran the administration at that time. Now, at the fag end of their life, in their retirement is it to be believed that they would imbibe the spirit of modern times and answer and respond to the promptings of a fast-changing and challenging life? We do not believe it. Therefore, I think that this Advisors' business should be gone into. I do not know how long this President's rule would continue. We should like to end it as soon as possible. About this Advisors' regime, I do not know how they are going to be controlled. But it seems that they are taking a bureaucratic approach. I know how in certain approaches they have failed. Take for example the Jute Commission which was appointed by the West Bengal Government and the terms of reference were framed. But the work of the Jute Commission, its inquiry and other things have come to a halt because moneys are not being provided for running the Jute Commission. Their overhead expenditure and other things are not being met. Now, we understand that the jute mill owners have taken it into their heads to sabotage the Commission once and for all and that they are moving Delhi and elsewhere to prevent the work of the Commission. I ask the Government to go into this question and do something about it as far as this question is concerned. Teachers are today on a strike. The teachers . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta you . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Kindly let me finish. I am going to speak. All the time you ask me. Find the rule. Under which rule you require me. . .

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : You speak on Monday.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have taken . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am going to speak. It is not going to be passed. It is not going to be passed in that way.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : Who says?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes, I say.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : It shall be passed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It shall not be passed. For one hour I am going to speak.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : You speak on Monday.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You can cooperate.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : This is Third Reading.

No, no, I am not going to sit down. You can say whatever you like. Mr. Yajee need not have jumped up. If he does not like to hear me, he is free to go away. I am not holding him much as I would like Mr. Yajee to hear what I say. If he does not like it, he can go. But till I have had my say, I am not going to sit. You know very well I am not made of that stuff. You have to go through the third reading stage. You can adjourn the House you can go a way. But the Bill will not be passed till all of us have had our say. If you like, you can adjourn the House and go away. I do not object to it. I will also go away.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : You are not a monopolist. You are a socialist.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You need not make provocative utterances. I am not a monopolist.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : Speak on Monday.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am not a monopolist. Sir, if the Congress Party cannot control their men, we will not also control ourselves. The discussion continue. You can adjourn the House. I am prepared to stop. You can adjourn the House now

SHRI K. K. SHAH : May I request . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You control your men.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I also want to speak.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : I also want to speak.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Everybody wants to speak. If you like, you can adjourn the House now; we will go.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Why don't you continue your speech?

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Mr. Gupta, why are you getting upset? It was only that we thought you had spoken earlier. But if you want to speak, you can speak as much as you like. We will sit and hear. There is the pleasure of hearing you. What is lost? Nothing is lost.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But I find my friend, Mr. Yajee, interrupting me.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : He likes to hear you. May be he was tired of sitting here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If he likes, he can go out.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : He was requesting you to be brief.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : This is not the way to request. I think the Congress Party should understand how to function in this House; I may tell you frankly. Well, I shall bow down a hundred times to your request. But when you make something else and not a request, certainly the natural temptation is not to submit.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : I was requesting you. You are threatening the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes, threatening the Chair. The Chair can look after himself.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right you continue your speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You do not require a drill-sergeant to guard you and guard your office. You can look after yourself well. You know very well, I never bear any ill-will as far as you are concerned. I have all the respect and affection for you. But then, Sir, when you speak on the spur of the moment, sometimes certain things happen.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, it should not happen on the spur of the moment. Please continue your speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Things happen on the spur of the moment. We are human beings. Therefore, it does happen. Why should my friend unnecessarily say this thing? They should understand their position. It is their Government which should pass the Bill. I am not the Government here. If I were the Government, I would behave as Mr. K. K. Shah is behaving. Mr. Yajee also should understand that he is part of the Government.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : I am requesting you, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta; you may speak on Monday.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : He says "Comrade Bhupesh Gupta." What more do you want?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Yajee is my good friend. You can understand that I have no malice towards him. But Mr. Yajee is sometimes a wrong type of tiger. That is the trouble. I have no malice. So, let us not go into this thing.

Now, I say the administration should be a little careful in this matter. The demands of the workers and other things should be met. I warn the Government : Don't try to punish the Durgapur workers.

There is an attempt to punish the Durgapur workers, it seems, or to punish the workers generally. This victimisation of the workers we deplore, whatever may be the other differences. I think from the point of view of the trade union and the working class movement, all should deplore any attempt to victimise the workers of Durgapur. You may criticise me if you like. You may criticise somebody else if you like. But the workers of Durgapur and other places generally should not be victimised. We have got some reports that in some villages lands which had been rightly occupied from illegal possession and ownership of the landlords are sought to be occupied by the jotedars with the help of the police. I urge upon the Government to stop rendering police assistance to the jotedars to recover such lands which the peasants have rightly taken possession of. These are some of the suggestions that I wanted to make. As far as other problems are concerned, some people have discussed the political questions. And we can discuss all those things when we take up the Proclamation.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Sir, only a few words. I am rather compelled to make these few remarks. Shri K. R. Ganesh has taken exception to my speech. But I may tell the House that I have made the speech that I have made, compelled by the facts of life and the facts of the situation obtaining there in West Bengal. And the facts, as you know, are stubborn to you. Now, if 114 head offices of the Birlas are closed for seven or eight months, we repeatedly go to the administration, and they say, "We cannot do anything". The Central Government can. But the Centre does not lift even its little finger to compel the Birlas who are politically blackmailing the West Bengal Government. It is a matter of blackmailing. Well, one is tempted to read into this matters something else. I would so like to say and I have given certain instances, I can give hundreds of such instance but I need not take the time of the House. Therefore, I want to put it on record that the Prime Minister who is now the Home Minister, is outdoing Shri Y. B. Chavan in the total suppression of the people of my State. It is a stark fact. It is a stark reality, whether you like it or not. This is a fact which must be recognised. We criticised Mr. Chavan. He has become a pale shadow in this matter of totally brutal violent, suppression. If I may say, the West Bengal State has been violence personified. That is what its position is now.

The danger of Fascism was talked about by Shri Ganesh. The banner of anti-communism is the banner of all reactionaries and that banner paves the way for Fascism. Unfortunately his party has taken up that banner. Kerala and West Bengal are the glaring examples. He does not know what he is talking about. There can be differences of opinion. But these are the facts of history. He wanted to recite history. So a little bit of history I am also placing before the House.

Now, certain things have been alleged. Well, I might tell the House that none of our ex-ministers ever asked for police protection, neither Mr. Jyoti Basu nor others, as has been alleged by one Member here. We have not asked for any police protection. Mr. Jyoti Basu was attempted to be murdered at Patna where the Congress Party was running the Government with the help of its colleagues. But we never sought any protection. We know we might be killed. We are being killed. We are being murdered. But we do not seek police protection. Never have we done so nor will we ever do so.

Secondly, the Border Security Force is a Central Force. We have never liked that Force. It has been stationed by the Centre in West Bengal. It was never asked for by the U. F. regime. Someone also does not know that E.F.R. is a State armed police under the jurisdiction of the State and under the control of the State. It is not a Central force. When those things were talked about, I wanted to clear up those matters. But I do maintain that we are feeling that we are living in a conquered territory. Let there be no mistake about it. The ways and methods adopted are such. That is not my party's view only. It is the feeling of the people of West Bengal and I am placing it before the House. Do not take it that I am talking for myself or for my party or for my party's followers. We in Bengal are feeling that we are being enslaved by the Central Government. We have been treated like that. I have given expression to that feeling and I do again reiterate it in the end, before I conclude.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, please bear me out. I shall be very brief. Please do not interrupt me. Sir, I would never have risen to speak in the third reading, but for the statement by the Deputy Finance Minister that there is no discrimination in allocation against West Bengal.

AN. HON. MEMBER : He said it was not deliberate.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : First he said that there is no discrimination and then he said that is not deliberate. I am here only to place the correct picture before the House for it to judge how far the Minister is correct.

In the Fourth Five Year Plan, the allocation for West Bengal was Rs. 322 crores, for Maharashtra Rs. 898 crores for Tamil Nadu Rs. 520 crores and for U. P. Rs. 965 crores. I do not know on what basis these allocations were made. It should be clearly explained that for such and such reasons West Bengal got less and others got more. No such attempt was made. This is one aspect.

Another aspect of discrimination is in respect of allocations for major irrigation which is very vital for agriculture in any State. There West Bengal had Rs. 26 crores; Maharashtra Rs. 70 crores

[Shri Dwijendralal Sen Gupta.]

and Tamil Nadu Rs. 32 crores. In respect of minor irrigation, West Bengal got Rs. 19 crores; Maharashtra Rs. 90 crores and Tamil Nadu Rs. 35 crores. As regards rural electrification—that is also a very important factor—West Bengal had only Rs. 10 crores whereas Maharashtra had Rs. 25 crores and Tamil Nadu Rs. 41 crores. In other words, I can tell you that in West Bengal only 3.8 per cent. of the rural areas have been electrified which is the lowest in the country. In Maharashtra the percentage is 25 and in respect of Tamil Nadu it is 66 per cent. If this is the position, how do the Government justify allocation of only Rs. 10 crores or West Bengal as against Rs. 25 crores for Maharashtra and Rs. 41 crores for Tamil Nadu? This is the discrimination. If anybody says that this is not deliberate, are we blind men to believe that? If there are blind men among you, they should go. We are people who have eyes to see and ears to hear. Assuming for a moment, that the Government did not do it deliberately, it is time for them to correct the mistake. If it was not deliberate and it was just a discrimination, then we are pointing out to you that the Government have only one way of correcting it. They should stand up and say: "We shall correct it tomorrow". If they allow this injustice to remain on record and to be perpetuated, how does it satisfy us? How can we in Bengal say that it is not deliberate? Whether it is deliberate or not, it is of little consequence to us. What matters is how you are treating West Bengal. There is a feeling among the people of West Bengal and possibly that is correct, that they are being given a step-motherly treatment by the Centre.

Coming now to North Bengal, the whole of North Bengal has been neglected. There is no arrangement for even flood control in North Bengal or for industrial development in North Bengal, though one-third of the revenue of West Bengal comes from North Bengal. Then there is a backward area in this State, namely, Purulia District.

There is not even a word of Purulia district, in the West Bengal budget for its development. It is a district which is perennially in a state of famine. This year also there has been no rain and there is failure of harvest and famine is loosing large. In these 23 years since 1947, what

have we done for this district for its development? What have we done for West Bengal as a whole?

On the two sides of the river, Hooghly there were already many industries, there were jute industries, engineering industries cotton industries and other industries. Has anything been done since independence? Durgapur is there of course. Except for Durgapur, have they done anything for West Bengal? And Durgapur is in a horrible mess. The workers there have constant complaint for non-repair. They say that it is because of the management that there is no adequate production. The management says it is due to the workers. Why should there not be a commission appointed to enquire into the whole matter? Will the Government appoint a highpower commission to enquire into the whole matter?

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I was a Member of the West Bengal Pay Commission and I consider that our recommendation was very very modest. It may cost Rs. 50 crores or Rs. 55 crores. That is a different matter. But the money has got to be found out. Why not release the fund to meet that? If you do not respect the recommendation of the Pay Commission, what for the Government appointed it. And, the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University was one of the four Members who gave the majority award. Now, if the Government does not meet the genuine grievances of the employees of the State Government and they are forced to go on strike who is to be blamed for that. Of course, I do not support the other parts of the strike. The Report of the Pay Commission is a matter to be considered and implemented. That is how the Government can earn the confidence and cooperation of the Government employees.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You want to say anything?

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Sir, whatever points have been expressed here will be noted by the Government and whatever is necessary will be done.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill be returned."

The motion was adopted.

The House then adjourned at thirty-nine minutes past six of the clock till eleven of clock on Friday, the 28th August, 1970.