

the constitutional and legal position of the police in India, with particular reference to—

(i) the status, duties and powers of the police and the nature and extent of control of Government over their functioning under the provisions of the Constitution and the criminal law ;

(ii) the spheres of responsibility of Government and the police in the performance of police functions ; and having regard to the experience gained of the functioning of the police under the law and the Constitution, to report on the changes, if any, necessary in the law with a view to effectively helping in the preservation of the rule of law and the efficient and impartial performance of police functions, and ensuring uniformity in standards throughout the country."

*The House divided :*

Ayes—14;

Noes—27.

AYES—14

Basu, Shri Chitta.  
Bhandari, Shri Sundar Singh.  
Bhargava, Shri M. P.  
Chatterjee, Shri A. P.  
Kesavan (Thazhava), Shri.  
Mandal, Shri B. N.  
Misra, Shri Lokanath.  
Mohta, Shri M. K.  
Panda, Shri Brahmananda.  
Patel, Shri Sundar Mani.  
Pitamber Das, Shri.  
Rajnarain, Shri.  
Thengari, Shri D.  
Varma, Shri Niranjana.

NOES—27

Abid Ali, Shri.  
Appan, Shri G. A.  
Chavda, Shri K. S.  
Chengalvaroyan, Shri T.  
Dharia, Shri M. M.  
Hussain, Shri Syed.  
Khaitan, Shri R. P.  
Kulkarni, Shri A. G.  
Lalitha (Rajagopalan), Shrimati.  
Mangladevi Talwar, Dr. (Mrs.).  
Mehta, Shri Om  
Neki Ram, Shri.

Patil, Shri P. S.  
Patra, Shri N.  
Punnaiah, Shri Kota.  
Purkayastha, Shri M.  
Reddy, Shri Y. Adinarayana  
Satyavati Dang, Shrimati.  
Shukla, Shri M. P.  
Siddalingaya, Shri T.  
Singh, Shri Dalpat.  
Singh, Shri T. N.  
Sinha, Shri B.K.P.  
Sinha, Shri R. B.  
Upadhyaya, Shri S. D.  
Usha Barthakur, Shrimati.  
Varma, Shri C. L.

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Bhargava's Resolution is lost. Now we go on to the next Resolution.

#### RESOLUTION RE DEVELOPMENT OF CALCUTTA

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir,...

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मेरा एक प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है। एक औचित्य के प्रश्न पर मैं आप की राय जानना चाहता हूँ। क्या यह संभव नहीं है कि ये सब रेजोल्यूशन आज मूव कर दिये जायें और पहले श्री चित्त बासू के प्रस्ताव पर चर्चा हो और उस के बाद दूसरों पर चर्चा हो।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I did not expect such an advice from an experienced parliamentarian like you.

श्री राजनारायण : इसी लिये हम तो कह रहे हैं। हमारा प्रस्ताव तो आयेगा नहीं।

SHRI CHITTA BASU : With your permission I beg to move :

"This House is of opinion that in view of the national, political, cultural and economic importance of the city of Calcutta, its development should immediately be taken up as a national problem."

[Shri Chitta Basu]

Mr. Vice-Chairman, when I move this Resolution, I am prompted not by any feeling of parochialism, regionalism or localism or even from any sectarian point of view. As I belong to Calcutta and the State of West Bengal, it may be the impression of many friends of this august House that I am interested in that particular city because of my association with it. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, therefore at the outset I want to place before this august House that Calcutta is the city of the nation; Calcutta does not belong only to West Bengal. (*Interruptions*) As I was stating, my feeling is—and that is a sincere feeling—that Calcutta does not belong to West Bengal alone but Calcutta belongs to the nation, and therefore it has to be discussed in the background of the national interests. As a matter of fact, Mr. Vice-Chairman, a very important person of our country has written a book which is entitled 'Calcutta—India's City'. This book is written by Mr. Ashok Mitra, former Registrar General of the country. That means Calcutta belongs to the nation; Calcutta does not belong to West Bengal alone. Therefore, if Calcutta dies, it is not West Bengal alone that dies. It is India that dies. My endeavour will be to introduce Calcutta to this august House as representing the supreme sovereignty of the people and the nation. With this perspective in view, my endeavour will be to introduce the great city of Calcutta to this august House in all its splendid and magnificent traditions, in all its rich wealth and also with its appalling poverty and with its too prolonged and too many ailments that she is suffering from today. This House, I am confident, cannot afford to forget the great role the city of Calcutta played in shaping the destiny of modern India. I also believe that this House cannot afford to forget the fact that this great city of Calcutta cradled and reared up many of the best sons and daughters not only of Bengal, but of the country as well. History has it that Calcutta reared up many a philosopher, many a scientist, many a politician and many a statesman of this great country of ours. Calcutta has the rarest distinction of cradling and rearing up national personalities, important personalities, whose names also I want to refer to, if not at great length. She has the rarest distinction of rearing up personalities, leaders and great men

of our country like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar, Kesabchandra Sen, Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. C. V. Raman, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, even J. B. S. Haldane and a host of others. I think you will agree with me that if I go on reading the names, it will be inexhaustible and I will be doing great injustice. Therefore, I desist from mentioning all those great personalities who have contributed, by their genius, to the remoulding and reshaping of our country.

In this connection, I also beg to recall to memory the history of the great city of Calcutta. As you know, this city of Calcutta, about 250 years ago, was established by Job Charnock on a tiny plot of land, 5000 acres in area, with a population of only 1,50,000. It was a small and tiny trading centre for the British, for the East India Company. Today, after 250 years, Calcutta has grown into a big metropolis sprawling over an area of 40 square miles, having a population of 7 million. Calcutta is second only to Tokyo, London or New York.

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ (Mysore): What about Bangalore?

SHRI CHITTA BASU: It is also. I am not going into it in competition, but only in comparison.

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ: Hyderabad.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Yes, all of them. Again, at the very outset I said that the great city of Calcutta belongs not to West Bengal alone, but to the nation as a whole. How does it belong to the nation? I want to give very briefly certain facts in favour of that comment of mine. I quote from a very reliable survey report conducted by the Calcutta University. In that report it has been stated that in the year 1951 only 65 per cent of the population of 4.6 million in the city's industrial region or 2.55 million claimed Bengali as their mother tongue. That means a large part of the city's population in the industrial region did not claim their language or mother-tongue to be Bengali.

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ: No popular Government is there.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** You will have your chance. I am not speaking about the Government now. What is that? Ask him to...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** Please continue.

**श्री राजनारायण :** आप उनको सुनिये ही नहीं, एकदम धाराप्रवाह चलिए ।

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** I am stating certain facts. It does not concern this Government or that Government. If he wants to learn something, certainly let him ask me to the fullest possible extent.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) :** Not through a speech.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** I leave it to you. I was saying that 75 per cent. of the population of the city proper, Calcutta proper, claimed different languages. As far as I am concerned, 25 per cent of the population claim Hindi and Urdu as their mother-tongue. The remaining percentage of the population claim the various other languages referred to in our Constitution. That means Calcutta is not only the city of Bengali-speaking people. Calcutta is the city of people speaking fourteen or fifteen languages, even languages which have not found a place in the Constitution of the country. It is inhabited by them also. Therefore, Calcutta belongs not only to the Bengali-speaking people, but also to the people of the various parts of this great country of ours. I think you will agree with me when I say that money and learning do not know any frontier. You will also agree with me that work also has no barriers. In this respect Calcutta has attained a unique Indianness. This surely is an example in practice, in concrete terms, of the realisation of the cherished goal of ours, namely, emotional integration. Emotional integration you speak of in the Integration Council. Emotional integration you speak of on the floor of Parliament. Emotional integration we, the people of Calcutta, have achieved during our time through our tears, through our toil, through our work, through living together in harmony and amity.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am also tempted to give a single figure to show how Calcutta lights the fire in the homes

and hearths of millions and millions of people of rural India. When I say this, I say this according to a figure available with me from the Government sources—I can also cite the source. From the Calcutta Postal Region in the year 1960-61 about Rs. 276 million, roughly Rs. 28 crores, were sent to different parts of the country by money orders. That means that by money orders payments were made to different parts of India and with that money they could maintain their living. When this is the figure for Calcutta, let me take the opportunity of quoting the figures for other big cities of our country—not with any sense of animosity or any kind of ill-feeling against anybody in this country. Calcutta's figure is Rs. 276 million. Bombay's figure is Rs. 231 million. For Delhi which is the capital of the country, it is only Rs. 77 million. Madras, Rs. 69 million. By this it is proved beyond doubt that a large number of people go to Calcutta, toil there, labour there, work there, earn their living, and that living lights the fire of the hearths and homes in the villages of all the States—I have got the figures to say that none of the States is left from that.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Calcutta is a very important industrial centre of our country. When I say that, I rely on certain figures. I have got a certain book published by the FICCI, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry—centrally reliable. According to the figures given by that particular book—I possess that book with me, I will quote from it—it says that until 1935-36 over half of India's joint stock companies engaged in manufacturing, tea plantation and coalmining industries were located in the State of West Bengal and it accounted for over 55 per cent of the total paid-up capital in large-scale industries of the country. Again, in this respect may I submit respectfully that a greater part of the entrepreneurial talents and the capital came from the States outside Bengal. I also want to quote certain figures to show what even in the year 1960-61 was the industrial growth in that State. The figures are in respect of the paid-up capital of joint stock companies relating to manufacturing, tea plantation and coalmining industries registered and at work in West Bengal and India. For the year 1960-61, it is said that there are 5300 enterprises and the total amount of paid-up capital is Rs. 24,533 lakhs,

[Shri Chitta Basu]

while the all-India figure is Rs. 114,691 lakhs. That certainly goes to prove that about 50 per cent of the industrial activity is concentrated in West Bengal and Calcutta—that industrial activity has centred round Calcutta which is a very important place in the industrial map of the country.

Let us have a glance at the manufacture of our country as a whole and the share of West Bengal and Calcutta. In this particular brochure published by the FICCI, it is stated that West Bengal however continues to account for a large share of the national production. For instance, the State's share in the total production of jute goods in India in 1963 was about 95 per cent—Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want your attention to these—finished steel 30 per cent; enamel ware 70 per cent; soap 31 per cent; whitewares (crocery) more than 50 per cent; razor blades 92 per cent; coal 29 per cent; tea 25 per cent; electric fans 87 per cent; radio receivers 31 per cent; paints and varnishes 49 per cent; sewing machines 80 per cent; rubber footwear 74 per cent; electric lamps 56 per cent; paper and paper boards 21 per cent; railway wagons 78 per cent. While this is so, what has been the actual treatment meted out to this industrial growth—when I mean industrial growth, I mean industrial growth centring round Calcutta? According to the figures available with me it is found that West Bengal does not get its due share from the Central Government. How do I say this? The figure is with me to show that in the year 1963-64 West Bengal received only 11.5 per cent of the copper requirements, 7.5 per cent of the zinc requirements, 10.5 per cent of the tin requirements, and 2.3 per cent of lead. While West Bengal contributes very largely towards manufacture, these very important raw materials which are needed for the industrial growth and maintenance of industrial activity are not being given fully from the Centre, and the percentage figure is as low as 2 per cent in certain cases. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will appreciate that. This city of Calcutta has got a very big commercial importance. I have got also figures to quote—I limit myself to quoting only one figure. There are a large number of banks, insurance companies and a large number of commercial enterprises and commercial units. Only in the case of banks it has been found that

Calcutta handles 30 per cent of the country's bank clearances. Calcutta again, Mr. Vice-Chairman, contributes very largely to the Central coffers by way of income-tax, by way of customs duties, and only a little portion of it is sent back to the State for continuance of the industrial activity, for the continuance of the increase in the living conditions of the people of Calcutta. When the time comes, I will prove by figures how injustice has been done to Bengal and Calcutta, by figures available from Government sources.

Sir, again, the gay Calcutta has got a port, the Calcutta Port. This Calcutta Port is not only the nation's door through which either we have to 'export or perish' which has been the slogan or the catch-word of the Government, this Calcutta Port is the great door for export; not only is it a great door for the export of our merchandise or our commodities, but it is also a great window to look beyond our borders, to see and look around the world. And in this connection...

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa) : Do you also import something?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Mr. Chatterjee will look to China all the time through that.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : When I said, "It is a window", it means that we look at the world through the window of Calcutta. I do not look to Peking or Moscow, I look around the world. In view of the importance of the Port of Calcutta, I am tempted to quote from the proceedings of the First National Conference on Shipping, Shipbuilding and Ports, 1967. The latest figure is available here. With your indulgence, I quote...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN ( SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You have already taken 25 minutes.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I will require more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN ( SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Half an hour you will get.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Sir, You give me more time. I will appeal to you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN ( SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You have got five minutes.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** No, 15 minutes.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN ( SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN ) :** Ten minutes all right.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** Give me 15 minutes because I am not speaking anything irrelevant. If I say anything irrelevant, then stop me.

In that Report, it is stated :

"The hinterland of the Port includes the States of West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, almost the whole of Uttar Pradesh, part of Madhya Pradesh, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, covering an area of about half a million square miles with a population of about 200 million. In this extensive area are located the rich coal and ore mines in the country and the well-established tea and jute industries, steel plants and other large and medium scale industries. The region is also known for its agricultural wealth. These natural advantages and its geographical location give the Port of Calcutta its opportunity to handle about 41% of the total value of exports and 28% of the total value of imports of the country. Its two-way traffic potential is an added attraction to shipping from all corners of the world."

That means that the Port of Calcutta is not the Port of Bengal alone, it is the Port of a very large part of India, and beyond India, Sikkim and Bhutan. Therefore, I again say that Calcutta belongs to the nation, Calcutta does not belong to West Bengal alone.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, since you have reminded me about time, I will certainly try to be very brief. Calcutta has got its cultural aspects also in addition to what I have already said regarding its commercial importance, industrial importance, and the importance of the question of the national and emotional integration. This City of Calcutta is endowed with a number of scientific and technical and research bodies and a number of universities which are really temples of learning drawing countless scholars not only from the different parts of the country but also from the world outside. We are really very proud of its academic life with its

University College of Sciences, the Bose Research Institute, the Viswa-Bharati of Kavi Guru Rabindranath Tagore. In this connection, I also like to mention that I do not know whether the present Prime Minister of our country does feel a sense of belonging to Visva-Bharati. But we are proud that she is also a student of that Great institution of Poet Gurudev. Again, we have got institutions like 'The Amrita Bazar Patrika', 'The Hindustan Standard', 'The Statesman' and the 'Modern Review' which are not only of Calcutta and Bengal, but which also belong to the nation as a whole. Therefore, I am to say that this Calcutta belongs to the nation and when it belongs to the nation, it has got two prolonged ailments from which it suffers. And if this Parliament is concerned about restoring the health of the nation, it cannot do that unless it is determined to remove the ills, maladies and ailments in the body of Calcutta. My attempt would be to list certain ailments or illnesses or maladies from which we suffer.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, before going in detail into the ailments, I simply refer to certain aspects of them. We have got the problem of drinking water even in the year 1968. There is the problem of transport, there is the problem of sewers and drainage. There is the problem of education, the problem of unemployment, the problem of housing and the problem of health. I do not know whether I will be able to discuss in great detail the problem...

(Time bell rings)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** Half an hour.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** Another 15 minutes I wanted.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN ( SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN ) :** There are other people also.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** You have to know Calcutta. Unless you know Calcutta, how can you tackle its problems? I think you will agree with me.

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमान्, इनके पास बहुत मेटर है, बहुत मेटर दे रहे हैं, बोलने दीजिये ।

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** I do crave your indulgence on this occasion because you have to know Calcutta as the

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nation's city. You are not to see Calcutta from Hyderabad or from that very, very glorious Chair. As I said earlier, my object is to introduce Calcutta in a new way to this great House. Therefore, let the Members of the House know Calcutta and if they know Calcutta, then they will give their opinions about the demand which I place before them.

**SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA :** He is talking of Calcutta of the disciplined part, not the indisciplined part.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** Coming to drinking, I think it is the minimum essential of life. But it is shameful that even today 60 per cent. of the people of Calcutta do not get adequate protected water to drink. According to a survey published in 'The Hindustan Times' on the 10th June, sixty per cent. of the city's population get less than ten gallons of water per head per day as against the minimum requirement of 50 gillons. Mr. Vice-Chairman, in 16 Municipal and 14 non-Municipal towns around Calcutta, there is no arrangement for the supply of protected water. In this connection, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I beg to refer to the report of the World Health Organisation Consultant Team which was invited by the Government of West Bengal. They visited Calcutta some years ago. I am searching for it in my bag because these things have to be searched out for refreshing the memory of the Government. The Team says :

"The provision of filtered or otherwise safe drinking water is inadequate to a serious degree and has been so far many years. Because of this inadequacy, hundreds of thousands of people are driven to a variety of unsafe sources of water for daily use."

What is the reason for it? They have said :

"... the early safeguarding of the Hooghly river as a continuing source of filtered water for the Greater Calcutta area. This river has shown an alarming increase in salinity at the Palta intake and at an accelerated rate since 1935. Without major supplementation of this river water by fresh water discharges from other sources during dry months, increasing salinity will bar the use of this water source for weeks at a time—a disastrous eventuality for over six million people."

Sir, this is what is Calcutta. We have no water to quench our thirst. And this is so even after 21 years of freedom. Mind you, it is a city and not a village, a city which is second only to London. There is no provision for drinking water for about 60 per cent. of the population. Please note.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, then I refer to some problems of transport. You will note that four lakhs of people daily come to Calcutta through Howrah and Sealdah stations. They go back from Calcutta after the day's work. In a survey it has been found that about 10 lakhs travel daily by the trams, another 15 lakhs by buses. You will be astonished to learn, if you have any experience of Calcutta's traffic problem, that a tram car, which has got a capacity of 65, carries invariably 165 passengers. A bus with a capacity of 45 carries 100 passengers. This is what is Calcutta.

Sir, there are about 10,03,967 licensed vehicles including 815 Government buses, 410 trams, 80,000 motor cars and thousands of rickshaws and *thelas*. I do not know how to express what is a *thela* and a rickshaw. But this primitive form of transport is also found in Calcutta.

Coming to suburban railways, here I would like to compare Bombay with Calcutta. In the year 1950-51 the number of passengers carried by the Bombay suburban railways was 29 crores and 4 lakhs. It increased to 42 crores in 1960-61. But in Calcutta it was 3 crores 9 lakhs which increase to 6 crores in 1960-61. The solution of this traffic problem is the immediate construction of a Circular Railway. But we are fed on illusory answers from the Treasury Benches. I have got here with me the report of the Saranganpani Committee submitted in 1966 which recommended construction of a Circular Railway in Calcutta. I have got the report of the French expert who was invited by the late lamented Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy. They also suggested construction of tube Railways. But in reply to questions here they give illusory answers while the problem of Calcutta is mounting day after day: it is becoming disastrous.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want to draw your attention to another very elementary question, the question of primary

education. Our Constitution made a very solemn pledge that within ten years, I think, the children of the country...

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) :** वाइस-चैयरमैन साहब, क्या कुछ समय की पाबंदी है? कितनी देर इनका भाषण चलेगा?

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :** हाँ, आधा घंटा दिया था।

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** कितना हो गया अभी तक।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :** हो गया 40 मिनट।

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** फिर दूसरे स्पीकर का सवाल आयेगा, तो समय की पाबंदी होगी।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** You see, Mr. Basu, how you put the Chair in difficulty. You do not understand that. You want more time. It means others suffer. You can take time while you answer. Now I am not giving you more than four minutes. You have already taken 42 minutes. Three minutes more.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will be astonished to learn that even today, according to the report of J. P. Naik, 50 per cent. of the school-going children in the 5-11 age group have got no arrangement for primary education. The figure with me suggests that out of 3,80,000 children in the 5-11 age group, only 1,63,000 have schooling facilities. It is thus obvious that over 50 per cent. of the children in the 5-11 age group have no scope for primary schooling. Is it not a shameful thing? Is it not a violation of the Constitution? Even today in the great city of Calcutta nearly 50 per cent. of the children have got no scope of schooling and 30 per cent. of the people are still illiterate in a city which you call yours, which you call an Indian city.

Again, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the matter of secondary education is equally alarming and collegiate education is equally disquieting. I have got facts to show how appalling those circumstances are.

Now I come to the unemployment problem. In this matter, Mr. Vice-Chairman I would simply refer to certain figures given by the Government

of India in course of the deliberations of the West Bengal Consultative Committee. It was said there that in the year 1967 the number of registered unemployed was 3,32,666, out of whom only 33,000 got employment. In the absence of time, I am not quoting all the figures

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, विषय को देखकर इनको टाइम दीजिए।

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** It is 4,45,673 registered. Among the educated unemployed matriculates account for 76,000, Higher Secondary passed for 54,000, graduates for 8,380 and post-graduates come to 713. I can give so many figures. But I have got figures to show that annually 54,000 peoples well the army of the unemployed in the city alone. And what is the *per capita* income of the city population? Calcutta has got an annual *per capita* income of only Rs. 811, while that of Bombay is Rs. 1,180 and Delhi's Rs. 872. In this connection, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I should also like to refer to a particular news item published in a foreign journal, the 'New York Times'. There it has been said that "Calcutta is a city of many disasters."

Now before concluding, I would refer to the housing problem. You will understand the seriousness of the problem by this one fact that there are 7 lakhs of people living in the slums. And of these 7 lakhs, 10 per cent of the people have got no latrines, 66 per cent have got no bath-rooms, 90 per cent live in single apartments without any kitchen and 50 per cent have got no provision for drinking water. Ten lakhs of people live on the pavements. How horrible, how terrific the problems are.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** Thank you.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** No, my concluding part comes now. I have been able to introduce Calcutta partially, not fully, because you did not allow me to do so.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** You have taken 45 minutes although you are entitled only for half-an-hour and still you say this?

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** My point is this that Calcutta belongs to the nation and its ills should be removed.

[Shri Chitta Basu]

For that a comprehensive plan is necessary. As a matter of fact, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think you know that a plan was made by the C.M.P.O., having an outlay of Rs. 100 crores. But the State Government is not in a position to finance that Master Plan which is necessary to remove some of the ills that I have mentioned. Therefore, I demand of the Government of India and of this august House that this problem of Calcutta's development, being a problem of national character, should be treated as such and the Government of India should release sufficient funds outside the State's Fourth Five-Year Plan allocation so that this great city can remain a great city and a national city, too. In this respect, I am tempted to quote what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once remarked about Calcutta in 1961.

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Madras) : There is no quorum. What is it? Are you speaking to the walls?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : This is what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said :

"Calcutta is the biggest city in the country. Its problems are national problems, quite apart from the problems of West Bengal, and it is necessary that something special should be done. If the whole city went to pieces, it would be a tremendous tragedy."

And echoing the sentiments of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I say : If Calcutta dies, India dies; if Calcutta lives, who dies?

*The question was proposed.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN ( SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN ) : Mr. Lokanath Misra.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : You have done some injustice to me.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while supporting Mr. Chitta Basu's Resolution..

SHRI CHITTA BASU : ... and my speech.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : No, not your speech. You had put me to a lot of inconvenience. I had fixed an engagement at 3 o'clock with the Planning Commission for discussing the Plan of Orissa. I do not know whether I could be present there. Anyway, coming back to the debate, while supporting the

Resolution of Mr. Chitta Basu, I would emphasise in this House that I would like the entire India to develop and not in particular parts unevenly keeping the same disparity that already exists. In fact, what I would wish is that rural India should develop so that we produce whatever we need and we do not have to import foodgrains. We had laid a lot of emphasis on this, but the leaders of the Congress Government have misled the country so long and ultimately we are experiencing the difficulties of the wrong plans pursued by the Congress leaders for these 20 long years. Therefore, each man in every part of the country now feels that that particular area has not been properly taken care of, so much so a gentleman from Calcutta has also the same grievance, that Calcutta has not been properly looked after.

Sir, there are two types of cities in India. The first type is that which has developed on its own, where the population has increased from year to year, and from a small population it has grown into an enormous city with an unwieldy population. Calcutta comes in that category. And there are also cities like yours, Sir, or Bangalore or the city in which we live now, the city of Delhi, which are planned cities, which began with some planning. Therefore, they do not have any difficulty in growing because the growing population was visualised and the city was carved out accordingly. Calcutta, coming under the first category, should have definitely got the attention of the Government that was due to it. I am one with Mr. Chitta Basu in saying that Government should give much more attention to Calcutta than it has given. But there is also another aspect which has to be looked into. Calcutta which developed because of its industry, because of its location, because of its strategic position from many points of view, depended very much on industrial development. That was number one. For a certain period of time, Calcutta's industries developed normally without any hindrance. All of a sudden, a time came when there was great difficulty in the industries' normal functioning. The pity was that my friends like Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Chatterjee who are absent unfortunately—I would have been very much more inspired if they were present to speak on this because I do not believe in their maxim of condemning somebody in his absence. I believe in arguing out things in their presence.



I am surprised, I do not know what could have kept them away from the House when we are discussing a matter like Calcutta from where they come. It seems they are not interested in any topic like the development of Calcutta and something else has attracted them and kept them away from the House. I would have very much relished their presence here. Friends like them—I would call it misleading the people—mislead the people of Calcutta and that way, the labour problem overstepped the development of industries. Before the industries could develop in the right direction to the point of fulfilment, the leftist elements in Calcutta, in West Bengal, wanted to persuade the people. .

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Sir, on a point of order. We are only 14 here. There is no quorum.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : All right, I will see. Yes, you are right. I will ask them to see that there is quorum. Thank you for reminding me.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : In other countries of the world, the leftist elements at least waited in the national interests for the industries to grow sufficiently well before the labour trouble was brought in. But unlike that, in Calcutta the communists thought that that was the only instruments that they could use politically for their own ends, for their own purposes. And, therefore, much against the national interests they started indulging in direct activities in the labour field. So much so all the industrialists at one time got scared. There were invitations from different parts of the country by different Chief Ministers. You must be remembering, Sir, at one time, Mr. Nijalingappa, the erstwhile Chief Minister of Mysore invited the industrialists who were scared by this Communist menace, by the left wing menace, in Calcutta. It is a great menace. It is a national menace. (Interruptions). It is not capitalism at all. If you have also understood Marxism as well as I do, it is not capitalism at all. . . (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Kesavan, let him speak.

SHRI KESAVAN (THAZHAVA) : Sir, communism may be a menace to my friend.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Now therefore, Sir, it is a boon to crores and crores of. . . (Interruptions). Naturally when Calcutta is going without industry it is a great boon and you have been doing a lot of national service to Calcutta. (Interruptions) Sir, the point is that it impeded very much further industrialisation and whatever industries were there, they did not function properly. The maximum number of lock-outs and gheros, that took place during the history of Calcutta at any one time, was during the non-Congress Ministry there. I am not admirer of Congressmen. I know what Congressmen are. They are probably as bad or even worse than the communists. The communists are anti-national from that point of view because they do not allow the industries to grow. They do not allow the farmers to grow. Therefore, I would place the blame squarely for this retardation in the industrialisation in Calcutta on the communists' left wing's shoulders. They are squarely responsible for it.

Then coming to commerce, Sir, the registration of joint stock companies in Calcutta was probably the highest in the country in any office of the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies in the country. But for normal functioning in the head offices of these joint stock companies also they need an atmosphere of security. The clerks must be allowed to go into the offices. Or else, how do they function normally? The executives must be allowed to travel at least to their headquarters, to their head offices. Or else, the companies do not function at all. Now, anybody who would travel a distance of about 20 kilometres—Calcutta is a city of distances—a clerk gets into a tramway car and travels only two kilometres and sees the communists setting fire to the tramway car. He gets stranded there. And then there is a lot of panic in the city, and they believe in creating panic in the city because they want chaos in the country and through chaos they feel that. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Chittu Basu, you must listen to Mr. Misra.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, he is no more interested in what other say. He listens to himself only.

SHRI CHITTA BASU I am not interested in you

(Interruptions)

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA Not in me, you must be interested in what I say I do not want you to be interested in me nor would I relish it because I know what your feelings are

Therefore, Sir, an atmosphere of security is needed and that way the left wing party had vitiated the atmosphere of Calcutta to such an extent that the head offices also feared that it would be difficult for them to function. Therefore, the number does not grow now. The new companies that come up, they see that they are not registered in the zone of Calcutta, but elsewhere. They go to Bombay. There are hundred and one more registering offices of the joint stock companies in the country. Previously they wanted to rely on Calcutta because they thought that Calcutta was a safe place. But now it has become unsafe from that point of view. Therefore, I put the entire blame on the left wing party who have seen to it that anybody coming to that place became unsafe. Therefore both commerce and industry have been retarded.

Now, Sir I am one with Mr Chitta Basu that the city must have a circular railway and an underground railway. I have had the opportunity of looking around some of the main cities of the world during the last one or two months and I have seen how their underground trains and lines function how efficiently they function. But here also it needs a lot of investment. All the country's resources would have to be poured down in one particular city which needs its safe maintenance, safe upkeep. The way a number of trams and buses are burnt by our communists' friends in Calcutta, that gives me an impression that if there is a fire in the underground train, no fire brigade probably would be able to come and they have their own tactics of not allowing the fire brigade to reach the place. (Interruptions) I would very much insist on the Government, Sir, that in the congested cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and in all the congested cities as a matter of fact, underground railways are a very good substitute. They take away the congestion from the surface of the city right down underneath thereby creating a lot of

space for the traffic, for motor cars, for pedestrians to walk freely, on the surface of the city.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) Why do you think that if an underground train is burnt, its fire cannot be put out? Have you got any special reasons for that?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA I have given specific reasons for that. My only fear is there was only one Communist Party previously, only one, but now part of it went further left that created Mr Chatterjee. They have now gone further and further left. They have created Naxalites. I do not know how far they will be able to go. And I saw in the morning's newspapers today Miss Ajha whose photograph is lovely that reminded me of how evil the preachings of the Communist Party could be. A girl of 23 who would have probably educated herself and done a lot of service to the country was going into the forests and wandering about and getting arrested for being in possession of transistors and other things, may be for dacoity may be for thieving may be for many other things. I cannot conceive of these ideas. I do not know where they want to take the country.

(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER She comes from

(Interruption)

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA Maybe, any place I have no quarrel with the place. She might have belonged to Orissa. That makes little difference for me.

Now Sir, while urging for an underground railway for Calcutta I would request the honourable Railway Minister to ensure that nothing goes wrong with it by the communist menace because a lot of the resources of the country would be poured into it. Therefore all safeguards should be taken so that nothing wrong happens to it.

Mr Chitta Basu said a lot of things about agricultural production in the country. I am happy that West Bengal is still best at its agricultural production and it is because the Communists have been kept confined to the city of Calcutta. If they were allowed to go to the rural areas, probably that would have been impeded also. Fortunately

for the people of Bengal, they know what the Communists are and therefore they are kept confined to the city where they are playing havoc. It reminds me casually of the demonstration a few days ago when Mr. McNamara had come. A lot was attempted to be made of Mr. McNamara's coming to Calcutta and his association with Indo-China, Indonesia, etc. He is a person who came here as the World Bank Chairman to help Calcutta. The arguments are substantiated by the demonstrations and the action taken by the Communist Party during Mr. McNamara's visit that they do not want Calcutta to develop. They want to have a vicious circle and have all sorts of difficulties created, have all sorts of frustration among the people and then gain more popularity by creating chaos. Mr. McNamara had travelled a long distance from New York to Calcutta to offer help for its development and these gentlemen who at least appear to be very much concerned about the development of Calcutta, and apparently so, staged a demonstration and created all the hurdles possible to Mr. McNamara's being taken round and shown the pitiable condition in which the people live. If it had been possible, probably some immediate help would have come. I would have liked Mr. McNamara to see the slums. In the dead of night after one in the night he could not have gone to see them. There are several thousands of Oriyas serving the city of Calcutta as coolies, plumbers, etc. and in the Corporation they are in so many capacities. They live in the slums. Seventy-five people sleep in one room. They do not have any space. It is atrocious. But who is responsible for it? If Mr. McNamara comes to help these people here my friend Mr. Chatterjee would not allow him to go and see. I would have wanted Mr. McNamara to see the places as the World Bank Chairman. What was the ultimate aim and what was the outcome of your demonstration except putting people in a lot of difficulties and retarding some of the office workers and commercial workers and the normal life in Calcutta? What else did you achieve through your demonstration? It is a vicious circle. You want to create misery and you want to fish in that misery. The Communists want to enlist the people's support by appearing as if they are the only saviours. This vicious circle goes on in Calcutta.

Therefore I would like that something should be done immediately for the suburban railway in Calcutta. Secondly, at least for the slum-dwellers immediately some housing schemes should be evolved. There must be adequate provision for education of the small children because they have to go a long distance and Calcutta being very crowded it is difficult for small children to walk long distances. There is difficulty about drinking water and it should be made available. Then taxi is a problem there. In Delhi you get taxis on phone but in Calcutta, in Chowringhee you do not get. If it is an evening and if you have to catch a train, you are bound to miss it because taxis are available during the mornings in the interior of Calcutta and no taxi is available at the platform when you get down from the trains. In the evening it is vice-versa. When you try to come back from the city, you do not get taxis. They are all crowded probably at the railway station or elsewhere.

**SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE** There should be nationalisation.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA** In the case of nationalisation you will not get it all and if the Ministers go there all the taxis will be standing in a row for them. The number of taxi licences should be increased immediately so that there is free competition and there are a lot of taxis in the city and there is no dearth of them. There should be no illegal bargains made by the taxi-drivers as many of them do now. I know about it. I request the Minister to at least issue about two to three thousand more licences immediately when Bengal is under the Presidential Rule. If another Government there again there might be difficulty because I know some of their difficulties. Thank you.

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री चित्त बासु ने कलकत्ता की समस्याओं के प्रति जो ध्यान आकर्षित करने के लिये प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

कलकत्ता का महत्व अपने देश के भौगोलिक, सांस्कृतिक और राष्ट्रीय जीवन के साथ जुड़ा हुआ है। हिन्दुस्तान का कोई भी शहर हो, किसी भी कोने में हो, चाहे पूर्व में हो, चाहे दक्षिण में हो, चाहे उत्तर में हो, चाहे पश्चिम में हो, चाहे छोटा हो, चाहे बड़ा हो, सब शहरी

[श्री मुन्दर सिंह भडारी]

ने मिल कर ही देश का एक चित्र प्रस्तुत किया है। अगर हम अपने देश के चित्र के बारे में स्वाभिमान ले कर चलना चाहते हैं तो उस चित्र को बनाने वाली एक एक बुनियाद चाहे वह एक छोटा सा शहर ही क्यों न हो वह भी जितना अच्छा होगा, जितना स्वच्छ होगा, वहां का जीवन जितना शांतिप्रद होगा, जितना सुखी होगा उतना ही सारे देश का अच्छा चित्र बनाने में और सारे देश के चित्र का न केवल अपने ही देश के लोगों के ऊपर अच्छा परिणाम प्रगट करने में, परन्तु जहां पर एक ऐसा संयोग भी हो कि कलकत्ता एक ऐसी जगह स्थित है जो अंतर्राष्ट्रीय आवागमन के बीच में पड़ता है, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय वायु मार्गों का एक केन्द्र है और इस कारण अनेकों लोग जो आज हवाई यातायात के आधार पर भी दुनिया की कुछ ही जगहों को छू सकते हैं, आज कलकत्ता एक ऐसी जगह है कि हिन्दुस्तान में उसको छू कर हिन्दुस्तान कैसा है, हिन्दुस्तान का जन कैसा है, हिन्दुस्तान का जीवन कैसा है, उसको भी छूने का, उसको भी देखने का कलकत्ता में इस अंतर्राष्ट्रीय आवागमन के केन्द्र के स्थित होने के कारण सारे विश्व पर पड़ने वाला परिणाम कलकत्ता के जीवन से प्राप्त होता है। इस कारण से जो इस प्रस्ताव के पीछे एक भावना है कि कलकत्ता के जीवन के सम्बन्ध में विशेष रूप से महत्व दिया जाय, उसकी वास्तविकताओं को हम सब लोग एक राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर समझ कर उसके जीवन को सुखी बनाने का प्रयत्न करें, इस दृष्टि से वास्तव में एक योग्य प्रश्न की ओर ध्यान आकर्षित करने का प्रयास किया गया है। आज जो

4 P M कलकत्ते की समस्याएँ, तेजी से वहाँ पर जनसंख्या बढ़ने के कारण जो नागरिक जीवन के कुछ कष्ट निर्माण हुए हैं, जिनकी तरफ प्रस्तावक श्री चित्त बासु ने ध्यान केन्द्रित करने की कोशिश की, आवश्यकता है कि उन बातों की तरफ ध्यान दिया जाय।

कलकत्ते के ट्रेफिक के सवाल को हाथ में लेने की बात कही गई है। मुझे इस बात की

प्रसन्नता है कि बहुत वर्षों से अटका हुआ सवाल, हुगली नदी पर दूसरा पुल बनाने का, उसे थोड़े दिनों के पहले एक नए अध्यादेश के जरिए स्वीकृति प्रदान की गई। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि प्राथमिकता देकर उसको हाथ में लिया जाय। क्योंकि आज हावड़ा और कलकत्ता, यह इस शहर के दो अविभाज्य भाग हैं और इनको जोड़ने के लिए केवल एक पुल है जो सारे कलकत्ते की इतनी बड़ी आबादी के आवागमन का बोटिलनेक बन कर खड़ा हो जाता है। कलकत्ते के सारे जीवन को हम बहुत बड़ी सुगमता प्रदान कर देंगे जितने शोध यह पुल बन कर तैयार होगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि अब जब इसकी स्वीकृति मिल गई है, जितना शीघ्र इस काम को पूरा कर सकें कर देना चाहिए।

कुछ मुख्य मार्ग हैं कलकत्ते के आवागमन को ठीक करने के लिए, जिनके बारे में वहाँ पर विचार हो चुका है जिनके सम्बन्ध में केन्द्रीय सरकार प्राथमिकता दे सकती है। सेन्ट्रल हैवी एक्सप्रेस वे, कोना एक्सप्रेस वे, ईस्टर्न मेट्रो-पोलिटन बाइपास, बारकपुर-कल्याणी एक्सप्रेस वे, मुख्य रूप से इन मार्गों को प्राथमिकता देकर आप बना लें तो कलकत्ते के आवागमन की बहुत बड़ी समस्या हल हो जायगी।

जैसा कि मेरे बन्धु, मिश्र जी, ने कहा, टैक्सियों के अभाव के कारण इतने बड़े शहर में टैक्सी पकड़ कर रेलवे स्टेशन पर समय पर पहुँचकर गाड़ी में बैठ जाना, यह बहुत बड़े संकट और कष्ट का कारण बना है, जिसकी तरफ ध्यान दिया जाना बिलकुल आवश्यक है।

सर्कुलर रेलवे की तरफ भी ध्यान खींचा गया। मैं उसका भी समर्थन करूँगा। कलकत्ते के शहर में आज अन्डरप्राउन्ड रेलवे बनाना बड़ा निर्णय है, जिसको काफी हिम्मत के साथ करने पर ही पूरा किया जा सकेगा, लेकिन तब तक एक सर्कुलर रेलवे बना कर कलकत्ते के आवागमन की समस्या को हल करने में बहुत मदद दी जा सकती है।

कलकत्ता हमारा बंदरगाह भी है। आज सारे आसाम, बंगाल, बिहार, उड़ीसा और अनेक क्षेत्रों के लिए बड़ा बंदरगाह होने के कारण कलकत्ता आज व्यापारिक केन्द्र भी बना हुआ है। आज भारत के आयात और निर्यात का वह बड़ा स्थान है लेकिन वहाँ का जो डाइमंड हारवर है उसके सम्बन्ध में भी सुधार की आवश्यकता है।

मैं वहाँ पर फिर से आग्रह करना चाहूँगा कि हुगली नदी में गर्मियों की ऋतु में पानी कम हो जाने के कारण बंदरगाह में कीचड़ जमा होने की समस्या है और जिसके कारण फरक्का बांध बनाने की पिछले 50 वर्षों में योजना चली आ रही है, उसको जितनी जल्दी पूरा किया जाय उतना श्रेयकर होगा। यह नितान्त आवश्यक है कि कम से कम 4 हजार क्यूसेक पानी हर समय गंगा नदी में बहने के लिए होना चाहिए। अगर हम कलकत्ते का महत्व बना कर रखना चाहते हैं, कलकत्ते को सारे पूर्वी भारत के आयात निर्यात का वास्तविक केन्द्र बना कर रखना चाहते हैं तो 4 हजार क्यूसेक पानी हुगली नदी में हर हालत में बारहों महीने बहता रहे, यह वहाँ की प्राथमिक आवश्यकता है। मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से इसलिए भी आग्रह करूँगा कि आज इस मुद्दे को कड़ी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय विवाद का कारण बना कर 4 हजार क्यूसेक पानी की सप्लाई को किसी न किसी प्रकार रोकवाने के प्रयत्न चले हैं। आज केन्द्रीय सरकार को दृढ़ता के साथ, न केवल कलकत्ते शहर के लिए बल्कि सारे पूर्वी भारत के औद्योगिक आर्थिक और व्यापारिक कारणों का ध्यान में रख कर इस प्रश्न को एक निश्चय और ठोस नीति अपना कर हाथ में लेने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए।

वहाँ पर गृह समस्या का प्रश्न उठाया गया। घरों की कमी है। इसमें भी कोई शक नहीं कि झोपड़ियों की बहुत बड़ी समस्या है, लाखों लोग जो स्लम में रहते हैं, जिन्हें फुटपाथ पर जिन्दगी बसर करनी पड़ती है उनको वहाँ मकान दिए जा सकें। जो आधी-नौकरी, अन्डर-एम्प्लायमेंट

के शिकार बन कर नौकरी की तलाश में आधा पेट रह कर कलकत्ते के फुटपाथों पर काम की प्रतीक्षा में पड़े रहते हैं आज की हमारी इस औद्योगीकरण की नीति, पूँजी लगाने की नीति के कारण, इस प्रश्न के बारे में भी, कलकत्ते की इस समस्या का समाधान करने के लिए भी विचार करना चाहिए। कलकत्ते की आवड़ी आज भी एक समस्या बनी हुई है। इन लोगों की, जो आज भी फुटपाथ पर लेटते हैं, जिनको झोपड़ियों में रहने के लिए मजबूर होना पड़ रहा है, सख्या उन्नोत्तर बढ़ती जा रही है। सभी प्रदेशों के लोग वहाँ पर हैं। केवल बंगाल के लोग नहीं हैं, आज कलकत्ता प्यार सम्पूर्ण भारत का एक प्रतिबिम्ब है। आज कौन भी भाषा बोलने वाले व्यक्ति, कौन से प्रदेश के रहने वाले व्यक्ति कलकत्ता शहर में पर्याप्त सख्या में नहीं है? वे इसलिए जाते हैं क्योंकि कलकत्ता आज नौकरी पाने का एक प्रमुख केन्द्र बन गया है औद्योगीकरण की नीति के कारण। अब वह काबू में बाहर बढ़ रहा है।

कुछ अन्य समस्याओं की तरफ भी संकेत किया गया। वहाँ पर पिछले दिनों में तनाव की परिस्थितियाँ उत्पन्न की गईं। गरीब लोगों का सवाल तय किया जाना चाहिए, गरीबों को उनकी उजरत पूरी मिलनी चाहिए, गरीबों का शोषण नहीं होना चाहिए, इस सिद्धान्त को मानने में कोई इनकार नहीं कर सकता। उनके हक उनको प्राप्त होकर रहेंगे। कहीं पर कोई आन्दोलन चले इसके लिए, कोई धार्मिकपूर्ण आन्दोलन करे या हिंसा से आन्दोलन करे, जो उनकी वाजिब मांगें हैं वे पूरी होकर रहेंगी। आज कोई भी, कितना भी उनके हितों को दबाने की कोशिश करे, आज युग ने कगवट ले ली है, मजदूर को उसकी मजदूरी प्राप्त होकर रहेंगी। विरोध कर एक प्रजातांत्रिक देश में, जहाँ जनतंत्र के और बहुमत के आधार पर सरकार चलती हो, अगर वहाँ का बहुमत भूखा है, देश का बहुमत अन्डर-फूड है, देश का बहुमत अगर आधा कपड़ा पहना है तो यह बहुत दिनों तक चलने वाली स्थिति नहीं हो

[श्री मुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

संक्ती। वैधानिक तरीकों से ही हमें व्यवस्थित रूप से उस गरीब को न्याय प्राप्त करवाना है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि पिछले दिनों कलकत्ते की घटनाओं ने जो एक उग्र रूप धारण किया और इन गरीबों, इन बकारों, इन मजदूरों की समस्याओं के नाम पर जो हिंसा, तोड़फोड़ और घिराव का वातावरण निर्माण करने की कोशिशें की गईं उनके कारण इन गरीबों की समस्याएं बढ़ी हैं। जो गरीबों की मदद करने के दावेदार थे आज उनकी मदद नहीं कर पाए और बेकारों की समस्या बढ़ गई। जो थोड़ा बहुत उनको काम मिल रहा था, जो कारखाने चल रहे थे, जहां पर तीन तीन शिफ्टों में काम होता था आज वहां पर ताले बन्द हो रहे हैं और तीन शिफ्टों के बजाय दो शिफ्टे या एक शिफ्ट चलने लगी है। इम्प्लायमेंट के नये एवेन्यूज, नौकरी प्राप्त करने वाले नये रास्तों पर आज लोगों को शक पैदा होने लगा है और आज उत्तरोत्तर बेकार लोगों की समस्या, बेकार लोगों की उलझने बढ़ती जा रही है।

श्री ए० जी० कुलकर्णी (महाराष्ट्र) : विकास का नया तरीका निकाला है।

श्री मुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : यह उनको मुवारक रहे जो कि इस प्रकार से गरीबों के लिये केवल ऊंची शोषणाओं और लुभावने दृश्यों को दिखा कर अन्तर्गतगन्ध उन्हीं के लिये समस्याओं का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं। इसमें न गरीबी, न मजदूरी की समस्या, न शोषण की समस्या कम हो जायगी। न मजदूरी पर सोने वाले और पटरियों पर सोने वालों की समस्या कम हो जायगी जिसका हम कलकत्ता की मुन्दरता को बढ़ाने के लिये आवश्यक समझते हैं। मैं आज इसका उल्लेख इसलिए कर रहा हूँ क्योंकि कलकत्ता की मुन्दरता को बढ़ाने की मांग इस प्रस्ताव में है। कलकत्ता की मुन्दरता बढ़ेगी अगर इन लोगों को हम नौकरी के लिये अधिक से अधिक रास्ते दे सकें। यह सब लोग मानते हैं कि यह हुजूम का हुजूम नौकरी की तलाश में इसलिये कलकत्ता

शहर में एकत्र हुआ है क्योंकि आज कलकत्ता के बाहर औद्योगीकरण की मजदूरी दे सकने की क्षमता नहीं। आज छोटी छोटी पूंजी के आधार पर लोगों को सेन्फ-इम्प्लायड सेक्टर में काम प्राप्त करने की सम्भावना नहीं, और आज जो नीतियां हैं उसके कारण इसके लिये अवसर प्राप्त नहीं है। तो अगर कलकत्ता को मुन्दर बनाना है, अगर कलकत्ता की सारी समस्याओं का समाधान करना है, तो कलकत्ता के ऊपर आज जो बढ़ती हुई आबादी का दबाव बढ़ गया है इस दबाव को घटाने की नीतियां स्वीकार करनी पड़ेंगी। पापुलेशन का प्रेशर जो आज कलकत्ता शहर पर है वह आज जो नीतियां विरोध रूप से लागू की जा रही हैं उसके कारण है, जिसमें कि लेबर का कंसंट्रेशन है, कैपिटल का कंसंट्रेशन है। इन सारी चीजों को विकेंद्रित कर के कलकत्ते की आबादी की वृद्धि को रोकना होगा, बाहर से आये हुये लोगों की इस भीड़ को, जो कि नये स्थानों पर नौकरी प्राप्त न होने के कारण मजबूर होते हैं, आधा-पेट भोजन प्राप्त करने के लिये भी कलकत्ता के फुटपाथों पर सोने और रहने के लिये, रोकना चाहते हैं और कलकत्ता शहर की मुन्दरता को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो इस प्रकार की मौलिक नीतियां अपनाने की केन्द्रीय सरकार को जिश करे जिसमें कि कलकत्ता शहर में बढ़ने वाली आबादी का यह दबाव कम हो और उससे न केवल कलकत्ता शहर साफ और मुन्दर हो सकेगा बल्कि यहां की आबादी को एक अच्छा जीवन बिताने का अवसर मिलेगा। कुल मिला कर लोगों की आर्थिक उन्नति करने और लोगों के नागरिक जीवन को अधिक स्वास्थ्यकारक बनाने का अवसर प्राप्त होगा। इसलिए कलकत्ता की इन समस्याओं को हल करने समय हमें इन प्रश्नों पर विचार करना नितांत आवश्यक है।

इस बात का भी विचार किया जाय कि जब तक ये समस्याएँ हल नहीं होतीं—मैंने एक दीर्घकालीन योजना बताई है क्योंकि कलकत्ता के इन प्रश्नों को हम केवल तात्कालिक नीतियों से हल नहीं कर सकते, कलकत्ते के ऊपर जो

पापुलेसन प्रेशर है उसको कम करने के लिये दीर्घकालीन बातें सोचनी पड़ेगीं पर यह एक दिन की बात नहीं है--तब तक यह आबादी जो वहाँ है उसके लिये नागरिक जीवन की सुविधाओं के लिये कुछ इतजाम हमें करने पड़ेंगे, जैसे कि आज यह माना गया है कि कलकत्ता में इस बढ़ती हुई आबादी के अनुपात में वहाँ पर मेडिकल फैमिलीटीज का बहुत बड़ा अभाव है। उस शहर की हालत को देखते हुये वहाँ पर जो अस्पताल है और जो अस्पतालों में इनडोर पैगेट्स के लिये बेड्स हैं वह आज बहुत कम हैं। आज मुम्बई में एक हजार लोगों के पीछे केवल चार इनडोर बेड्स की व्यवस्था कलकत्ता में है और वह भी तब, जब कि स्टेट और प्राइवेट सारे अस्पतालों की सारी कैपेसिटी को हम हिस्स में ले ले तब कही जा कर चार आदमी की एक हजार लोगों के पीछे अस्पताल में रहने की वहाँ पर गजाल है। आज इसका विचार करना पड़ेगा। वहाँ पर मालन्यूट्रिशन के कारण, अइन्सुलायमेंट और अडरफीडिंग के कारण और बहुत अधिक घनी आबदी हो गई है इसके कारण यह समस्या विकट है। कुछ इलाके हैं, बड़ा बाजार उसका एक जीता जागता नमूना है, वहाँ एक मकान में, पाच पाच मजिले मकानों में, एक एक हजार लोग हैं और एक एक कमरे में बीस बीस या पच्चीस पच्चीस लोग जैसे कि एक काल-कोठरी में घुस दिये गये हो इस प्रकार का नागरिक जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे हैं। वहीं उनका शयनकक्ष है, वहीं उनका भोजनालय है और वहीं उनकी दूकन है जहाँ बैठ कर उनको दिन में व्यापार करना पड़ता है। ऐसी स्थिति का निवारण करने के लिये एक ही रास्ता है कि आज की परिस्थिति में जब तक कि दीर्घकालीन बातों का निर्माण नहीं होता तब तक उनके लिये स्वस्थ की उचित रूप से व्यवस्था करनी पड़ेगी।

कलकत्ता की इन सारी व्यवस्थाओं को लेते हुये यह स्वाभाविक है कि कलकत्ते के गारव्रेज की, कूड़े-ककट की समस्या को भी देखे और उसका हम ठीक प्रकार से हल निकालें। मवी

महोदय को कलकत्ते में सुबह 5 बजे से लेकर छः बजे तक कुछ इलाकों में जाने का मौका मिले तो वह देखेंगे कि दस दस और पंद्रह पंद्रह फिट ऊँचे कूड़े के ढेर हैं और वह इतने बड़बू देते हैं, कभी कभी तो वह दोपहर बारह बजे तक साफ नहीं होते। इससे आप अदाज लगा सकते हैं कि उसके चारों तरफ रहने वाले लोगों की, उसके चारों तरफ अपनी जिन्दगी बसर करने वालों की क्या स्थिति है जब कि दोपहर के बारह बजे तक आठ आठ और दस दस फिट ऊँचे कूड़े के ढेर होते हैं और जिनका डायमीटर, जिनका घेरा, शायद बीस बीस फिट का होता हो। इतने बड़े बड़े कूड़े के ढेरों के सामने नर्क का जीवन उन्हें बिताता पड़ता है। और केवल उसको उठा कर फेंकने का ही सवाल नहीं है। इस कलकत्ते के कूड़े को किसी प्रकार में फर्टिलाइजर और बाकी चीजों को बनाने में उपयोग करे और इसकी अमदनी को एक इन्वेस्टमेंट के तौर पर कलकत्ते को सुधारने के लिये उपयोग करे। कूड़े की सफाई के लिये उपयोग की जाने वाली मशीनरी क्या हो, इन सब चीजों में तालमेल बैठा सके तो यह भी कलकत्ते के जीवन के लिये एक बहुत बड़ी महलियत हो जायगी।

इसके साथ ही वहाँ की ट्रामवे की व्यवस्था है, उसके बारे में निवेदन करना है। उसके बारे में बहुत वर्षों में विवाद चल रहा है और उसे सरकार के ले लेने के बाद भी, टेक-ओवर करने के बाद भी उसकी व्यवस्था में सुधार नहीं हुआ। अभी तक भी वह घाटे की योजना बनी है उसमें भाड़ का क्रमी नहीं है लेकिन उसमें प्रशासनिक खामिया है, उसका ठीक तरह से इतजाम नहीं। उसकी प्रशासनिक सुचिता में सुधार करने के लिये हमें कुछ करना पड़ेगा। उस तरफ हम ध्यान देगे तो उसके लिये भी रास्ता निकल आयेगा।

जब कि कलकत्ता शहर एक राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न बन कर खड़ा है, कलकत्ता की तरफ हम सब लोगों का ध्यान है, दृष्टि है, तो कलकत्ता शहर में उस एक भावना का विकास होना

[श्री मुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

चाहिये जिसमें से कि सम्पूर्ण देश को बल प्राप्त हो। कलकत्ते की हवा में, कलकत्ते के नागरिक जीवन में, इस प्रकार की धारणाओं को पनपने की गुंजाइश नहीं होनी चाहिये जिसमें से कि संकुचितता का निर्माण हो, जिसमें से कि देश की उपेक्षा कर के अपने ही शहर की चिन्ता करने के विचार का निर्माण करने का प्रयत्न हो। ये दोनों चीजें परस्परविलम्बी हैं, सारे देश को कलकत्ता पर अभिमान है तो कलकत्ता को भी अपने वायुमंडल में सारे देश के जीवन को पुष्ट बनाने में सहयोग देना चाहिये। मुझे दुःख है कि पिछले दिनों में कुछ इस प्रकार की घटनाएँ, कुछ इस प्रकार के वाक्य, कुछ इस प्रकार की भाषाएँ कलकत्ता के बाजारों में, कलकत्ता के नागरिक जीवन को कलुषित बनाने के लिये, देखने सुनने में आएँ कि मानो कलकत्ता कुछ लोगों की वसूली बन गया हो। कलकत्ता के ऊपर कुछ लोगों का अकेले का अधिकार हो। तुम बाहर निकल जाओ, 'तुम्हारा कलकत्ता मे क्या लेना', तुम बाहर के आदमी हो, 'कलकत्ता में तुम भगा दिये जाओगे' इस प्रकार की भाषा का प्रयोग हुआ है। कलकत्ता किसी एक व्यक्ति ने नहीं बनाया, कलकत्ता किसी एक व्यक्ति ने नहीं बसाया। आज जो इतना बड़ा कलकत्ता शहर बना है, मैंने प्रारम्भ में कहा हिन्दुस्तान के हर कोने में गये लोगों ने कलकत्ता शहर को बनाने में मदद दी है। मैं राजस्थान का निवासी हूँ, मैं जानता हूँ कलकत्ता शहर को जिस स्थिति में आज हम देख पाते हैं, राजस्थान के लाखों लोग, जो वहाँ एक सौ साल से भी अधिक समय हो गया तब से हैं, उन्होंने कलकत्ता को अपना माना है, कलकत्ता के सामाजिक, कलकत्ता के सांस्कृतिक, कलकत्ता के औद्योगिक और आर्थिक जीवन में आज उनका एक समरस जीवन बना है। परन्तु छोटे छोटे स्वार्थी लोग, राजनीतिक लिम्बाओं को, जगन कर एवं अविधानों, एक दूसरे के प्रति अनैतान्य का वातावरण निर्माण करने की कोशिशें पिछले दिनों में की गईं। चाहे वह राजस्थान का रहने वाला हो, चाहे वह उत्तर प्रदेश का रहने वाला हो, चाहे वह

उड़ीसा का रहने वाला हो चाहे वह बिहार का हो या पंजाब का हो, जिन्होंने आज कलकत्ता के जीवन को बनाने में, कलकत्ता की मुद्रता को कायम करने में साथ दिया। अगर हम कलकत्ता को एक राष्ट्रीय शहर के रूप में देखना चाहते हैं और उसको राष्ट्रीय आवश्यकता का महत्व देना चाहते हैं तो किसी भी प्रदेश का व्यक्ति कलकत्ता के जीवन में अपने आप को मनुष्य और निष्पक्ष अनुभव करे। अगर इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति को कायम करने की कोशिश नहीं की गई तो यह केवल सड़क बना देने से या मरुतर रेलवे की व्यवस्था कर देने से कलकत्ता की शान नहीं रहेगी वह कलकत्ता की शान एक दिन में मिट्टी में मिल जायेगी। अगर सब को साथ लेकर, सब को सामंजस्य में रख कर, किसी भी प्रांत का, किसी भी भाषा का बोलने वाला हो उस व्यक्ति को कलकत्ता अपने गहर का समान रूप में अधिकारी नागरिक मानकर चलेगा तभी कलकत्ता की यह प्रतिष्ठा बनी रहेगी। इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि वहाँ पर गरीबों की चिन्ता न की जाय या वहाँ पर मजदूरों की और बेकारों की चिन्ता न की जाय। गरीब, बेकार, मजदूर, बिना झोपड़ी वाले, यह सब एक आर्थिक प्रश्न है। इस प्रकार का प्रश्न, इस प्रकार की असुविधा किसी भी जगह के व्यक्ति, किसी भी प्रदेश के व्यक्ति, किसी भी भाषा जानने वाले व्यक्ति का, समान रूप का प्रश्न है। उसको हल करने के लिये अहमद की टोपी मोहिम्मद के सर रखने में काम नहीं चलेगा। ऐसा कहने में काम नहीं चलेगा कि इसको भगा दो, इसको निकाल दो, फिर कलकत्ता की समस्या हल हो जायेगी। इस दृष्टिकोण में कलकत्ता की या देश के किसी भी शहर की, किसी भी प्रदेश की समस्याओं के बारे में विचार करने की कोशिश की तो उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं समझूँ कि वह दृष्टिकोण एक बड़ा दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण दृष्टिकोण होगा। इन विचार धारा से हम लोगों को खदेड़ते चले जाय, तो एक दिन एक दूसरे को एक जगह में दूसरी जगह खदेड़ते खदेड़ते हम सब अपने आप को शरणार्थियों की स्थिति में खड़ा कर देंगे। इस



तरह से एक आदमी को दूसरी जगह से हटा कर, निकाल कर, हम अपने देश के सवाल को हल नहीं कर पायेंगे। मैं चाहूँगा प्रस्तावक महोदय ने यह जो राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण पर कलकत्ता के शहर की आवश्यकताओं पर चिन्ता करने का जो उल्लेख किया है उसके साथ साथ इस कलकत्ता शहर की गरिमा बहेगी अगर कलकत्ता शहर का साधारण नागरिक किसी भी ऐसी मनोवृत्ति को जो राष्ट्रीय एकात्मता की भावनाओं के विपरीत जाता होगा, उसको जड़ मूल से उखाड़ने में उतना ही साहसी और अगुआ बनकर आगे आयेगा, जितना हम देश के भागोलिक इतिहास में कलकत्ता का प्रदान करना चाहते हैं।

**SHRI A G KULKARNI** Mr Vice-Chairman, I am very happy that my colleague, Mr Chitta Basu, has brought forward this Resolution before the House. I know that Mr Chitta Basu has got his own patriotic views and we are here to support his cause of the development of Calcutta. Not being a politician I will not indulge in the political claim of Calcutta, etc and I will limit my remarks to the economic development of Calcutta.

**SHRI M N KAUL** (Nominated)  
You ought to be a politician

**SHRI A G KULKARNI** I said I am not a politician and I will confine myself to the economic development of Calcutta. Calcutta is not a city belonging only to the people living in West Bengal. It is a city having high place in national pride. It is a city where Ramakrishna and Vivekananda were born. It is a city which was previously used to be glorified as the city of Lal, Pal, Bal, where Bengal and Maharashtra along with Punjab were united for the emancipation of India.

**SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI** Now you have started with politics

**SHRI A G KULKARNI** It is culturally and historically important. I value the importance of Calcutta, because it is culturally and traditionally coming up and our comrades intend to develop Calcutta. It is one of the biggest cities in this country. I am one with my friend and I am not going to repeat the same arguments regarding

the development of the circular railway or better hospital arrangements or the development of roads, etc. I agree with my colleagues and I do not want to take the time of this august House by repeating the same arguments. I am more concerned with two aspects of the economic development of Calcutta. One is the infrastructure of Calcutta itself. You must have noted that the development of Calcutta port is being delayed too long. Calcutta port is very near the eastern side. Because of the closure of the Suez canal, unless these ports are developed, the country cannot depend only on ports like Bombay. I can understand the difficulties of Plan priority and of funds. The development of Calcutta port is a priority in the total concept of India's foreign trade. In that respect, again I plead with the Government that more attention and priority A-1 must be given to the development of Calcutta port. It opens up the vast hinterland right up to the Himalayas, from Calcutta to Bihar, UP, etc.

There is another necessity also. It is the development of the Calcutta aerodrome. You must have seen the Dum Dum airport. It is absolutely in a dilapidated condition. Along with the port, I can say there is very urgent necessity for developing the Dum Dum airport. You must have seen in the papers that there were one or two crashes recently within the last two or three years, at Dum Dum airport. It is mainly because the radar installation and scientific instruments for the blind landing of aircraft are not provided. I may say that the development of the Calcutta airport as well as the Calcutta port is a 'must'.

As regards housing I only add my voice to the submission made by my colleagues here. Unless the housing problem is solved, no worthwhile effort will be achieved in industrialisation. Industrialisation requires housing and unless housing is achieved no industrialisation of a very high order can be achieved. Having said all these things I have got certain advice to give to my friends. There was an occasion for me to go to Calcutta with one of the Administrative Reforms Commission groups to study the development of small industries and agro-industries in Calcutta. Here I am not blaming only the recent Government of the United Front, but the blame lies

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

right from Dr B C Roy's Government I found out, Mr Vice-Chairman, that the development of industry in Calcutta was an accident. There is a steel plant in Jamshedpur, and now in Rourkela and in Durgapur the ancillary engineering industry has developed due to these plants. No worthwhile effort or what you call no cultivation of the engineering industry was made in Calcutta by the Government, whichever it might be—it might be the Congress Government in the previous regime or it might be the United Front Government during the last one year or so. Why I bring this matter to the notice of this august House as well as my friends from that area is because we people who are brought up in States like Maharashtra or the old Bombay State have got a tradition of development of industry, not only big industry but small industry also. When we talk of small industry, small industry is always nursed through the Government purchase programme. When we interviewed the Director of Industries in Calcutta, he said there was no such Government purchase programme from the small-scale industries in the West Bengal Government itself. I was really surprised. I was shocked, because no Government which really wants to develop the ancillary industries can say that there was no purchase programme on the Government account through the Director of Industries. He says each Department purchases as per its own will through tender. Why I am bringing this point before this House is that at least the Central Government should now introduce modern methods of development of small industries wherein the purchase programme through the Director of Industries is a must and is an incentive to develop small industries. Also I have seen that what you call the development of co-operation to boost agriculture to boost artisans, to earn their living is not tried on a level which ought to have been tried. You know the cultural history of Calcutta, the national history of Calcutta is so inspiring that I really fail to understand how the leaders of Calcutta in the old days, right from the last fifteen years up to the present day, have not realised that only political awareness is not going to solve the problems of West Bengal or Calcutta itself. Only political awareness and only what you call slogans on socialism are not going to solve the problem at all. It

requires a nursing of industries, it requires a nursing of institutions, which can develop only then, whether it is agriculture or whether it is industry.

Mr Vice-Chairman, I am one with my friend Mr Bhandari when he said that one is really not only surprised—these adjectives are not going to make any impact on the Communists in Calcutta because these are very minor and sweet adjectives to them. You can have political awareness, you can have your own way of compelling the employers to give more to the workers. I can understand all these things. But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not understand why they fail to see that the system of gheraos has done incalculable harm not only to Calcutta but to the country itself. Why I say this is because I have got some experience of these gheraos and we have found out that these originated from Calcutta and from the fertile brains of the Communists who are interested in nothing else who are interested not in the development of this country, but who are interested in trying to create chaos in this country, so that they can pave the way for the Chinese or for the Russians—for whom I do not know. While I make this bold statement, I I have seen the development of the Howrah area, I have seen small engineering workshops. I have visited at least 100 engineering workshops. I have tried to talk with the employers as well as with the employees. That is why I am giving this opinion. Otherwise I do not want to risk this opinion. I say that gherao has done an incalculable harm not only to Calcutta but to the whole country. So I plead with my hon friend Mr. Chitta Basu, I know Mr Chitta Basu is absolutely a nationalist, who champions always national causes, he will never be with the Communists as far as the question of loyalty to the country or the development of the country is concerned, he is one with us. So, I wanted to give my friend a piece of humble advice that when we say to the Government that all these institutions have to be built up, the economy of a city or the economy of a State cannot be built up by miracles. It can only be developed when you build institutions, when you nurse institutions whether it be in agriculture whether it be in industry or whether it be in any other

sector. But what I want to say is, please, for Heaven's sake do not try these things which will harm the cause of Calcutta City itself and West Bengal in the larger context.

I am not going to take more time of the House but only one or two minutes. I had been to Calcutta and why I was provoked was, Diwali was just going to come and I was just talking with the workers who were sweeping the area where I stayed—it was a Circuit House. I was just talking with them and also with many people in the engineering factories. They were telling me, "We are not much worried; we want only rice and one cover for our body in the night. अमरा होना, चावल होना और दूसरा नहीं. That is what they were saying. That is their view. I just asked them how was the countryside because I had gone to see the co-operative societies in three or four villages. They said, "What can we tell you? They are singing such songs"—I forget. Mr. Chitta Basu will recite that for me. The song meant they prefer Vietnam to this country. Mr. Chitta Basu knows that very well.

**SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE :** Mr. Kulkarni knows how to get hold of proper persons.

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI :** We are one with you in the development of Calcutta and West Bengal, but I will only plead with you that these gheraos are not going to help you.

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** वहाँ पर एक नारा है : "भूल जायेंगे बाप का नाम, नहीं भूलेंगे वियटनाम"।

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI :** Mr. Bh. ndari is quite right भूल जायेंगे बाप का नाम, नहीं भूलेंगे वियटनाम। What I want to say is that this type of tendency is not going either to help Calcutta or West Bengal or this country. We are here to develop these institutions, parliamentary institutions, institutions of credit, institutions of agricultural development, and may I request the co-operation of my friends that we could develop Calcutta through only constructive means by keeping pace with democracy and by strengthening our hands here.

**SHRI M. M. SUR (West Bengal) :** Mr. Vice-Chairman, the importance of Calcutta and the problems of Calcutta have been spoken of by various speakers previous to me. I would like to make some suggestions for the solution of the problems.

The problems are principally these. The transport problem is there. The concentration of population has increased. The roads remain the same for the last fifty years. We have built up only one road which is known as Central Avenue, now called Chittaranjan Avenue. Only there are some C.I.T. roads in the outskirts of Calcutta, but the congestion of traffic has increased with the increase of population. Then there is the problem of garbage removal, and there is the drainage problem. The drains were constructed about a hundred years ago, the underground drains, and those who have visited Calcutta know that it is only Central Calcutta which has got underground drains. So far as other portions are concerned, which are under the Calcutta Corporation, such as Tollygunge, Belgachia, etc., there is no underground drain; there is only surface drain. There is the drainage problem, the transport problem. There is the drinking water problem. If the Farraka Barrage is completed, they expect to get more fresh water from the River Ganges or the Hooghly and then perhaps that problem will be solved. But the traffic problem can only be solved by the dispersal of the town. We are trying to increase the living areas by having taller houses. Previously those who have visited Calcutta 30 years ago might have seen that there were many one-storeyed buildings, tiled, *kutchas*, country type houses. In the place of those houses, many multi-storeyed buildings have sprung up. So, in a small area where 20 people were living, now 200 people live. The garbage on the roads has also been accumulating because there is no facility for the removal of that garbage. So the garbage remains piled up in the city, adding to the city's health problems.

The traffic problem can only be solved by the dispersal of the town. The City of Calcutta is now restricted in a small area. On the one side is the river Ganges and on the other side is the Salt Lake. On the two sides there are flanks which can be increased. If across the river you have to go, there

[Shri M. M. Sur]

is a single bridge which is not sufficient. We must have another bridge so that people can go out of the City and come into the City more freely. Therefore the necessity of a second bridge is very important, the second bridge which is suggested at the Princep Ghat. And an underground railway or a circular railway will solve the problem of traffic within the city. If the second bridge across the Ganges is built and if there is an underground or a circular railway and if these two things are attended to properly and if with the introduction of the Farraka Barrage the water question is speeded up, then most of Calcutta's problems will be solved. We must see that Calcutta increases in size in the suburbs. Dr Roy introduced the Kalyani township, which is 30 miles away. But across the river Liluah, Bally and Belur, these localities have to be developed, the underground drainage has to be developed and the water can be drained into the River Hooghly. That problem is not so great because we have got the River Hooghly to take care of the underground sewage water. So, if Calcutta is extended across the river, then only can the problem be solved. Also if these two things—the second bridge across the Hooghly and the underground or circular railway—are attended to the problem will be solved.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, some peculiar remarks were made about Calcuttans' love of Vietnam. I am really proud of that love which the Calcuttans have expressed for Vietnam.

AN HON MEMBER Shame.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) But I am sure that has been concocted by friends who are unfriendly.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE As far as the people of Calcutta are concerned, they have always been international in spirit, and I do not find any shame in that. I find a matter of pride therein. I can tell you Mr Vice-Chairman, that way back in 1830 when the second French Revolution broke out driving away monarchy from the throne of France, the monarchy which had again sneaked in even after the first French Revolution of 1789, that 1830 Revolution of France was celebrated in Calcutta at a public meeting by Raja

Ram Mohan Roy as its president. Since those days Calcutta has got its international spirit and wherever there has been a revolution of the people against autocracy and monarchy and absolutism Calcutta people have come forward and shed their blood even for that cause.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : बाप का नाम भूल कर ।"

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE I can again give you another instance that when in 1946 the Vietnam war of independence was going on, it was on the streets of Calcutta that young boys shed their blood, and if I am not mistaken, one student was killed by police firing because he was one of those demonstrators and processionists who were demonstrating in favour of Vietnam and against the aggression of American imperialism on Vietnam. And when Ho Chi Minh as a guest came to this country (Interruptions) I think it was in 1946 not in 1949, just before independence. Now, when Ho Chi Minh came to India as a guest after our independence, I remember that he caressed and embraced one of these young men who were wounded in the police firing of course he was not killed at that time but wounded by police firing—and said you have kept the banner of internationalism flying aloft in Calcutta. We are proud of that Calcutta, (Interruptions) I can tell you also another instance. The other day the United Front got a ring made of steel of 3 500 American planes downed over North Vietnam, the Government of North Vietnam, the Government of Ho Chi Minh had sent that ring as a present to the people of Calcutta as a token of admiration and love for the people of Calcutta who have kept the banner of internationalism alive and aloft.

Mr Vice-Chairman, I am again proud when that murderer when that organiser of murders in Vietnam in another capacity not as the President of the world Bank but as Defence Secretary McNamara who is responsible for the napalm-bombing on the Vietnam soil who is responsible for the massacre of the innocents there, when that McNamara that murderer McNamara went there, I am proud that the people of Calcutta came out in procession and it was his life's experience that McNamara could not go out

in the streets of Calcutta by day, he had, like a thief, to roam about the streets of Calcutta at midnight. I am proud of Calcutta.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : But he had gone there to help . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Mr. Vice-Chairman, do you believe that that American imperialist would go to a particular city in order to do benefit to that city? He went there to see Mr. Birla, he went there to see the business magnates so that he could have a liaison, a kind of comprador capitalist agreements with the capitalists there. That is why he went there; he never cared for the people of Calcutta; he never cared to give any benefit to Calcutta. I am not one of those who will be so gullible as to believe that McNamara went to Calcutta in order to do good to Calcutta. The man who is responsible for the massacre of thousands and thousands, lakhs and lakhs of people in Vietnam, the man who is responsible for high explosives bombing of the towns and villages of Vietnam, the man who is responsible for the naked aggression on South Vietnamese soil, will that man go there to do good to the people of Calcutta? The man who has not the heart to see that he should not kill the innocent children of Vietnam with impunity, about that man at least I am not so gullible to believe that he has gone there in order to do any good to the people of Calcutta. He had gone there perhaps as the chief of the CIA, to do spying or to have some contact or to enter into an agreement with some of the big business magnates there. I am not so gullible as to believe that. Therefore, I am proud of the international tradition of Calcutta.

But who is responsible for Calcutta's woes? Calcutta is a prototype of the Congress administration. Mr. Vice-Chairman, if you look at the history of the Calcutta Corporation, you will see that the Calcutta Corporation has always been in the clutches of the Congress Party. When there was a chance in the last General Election that the United Front members would come in a majority and would take over the administration of Calcutta Corporation, you know, Sir—that is the history—that six of the United Front members were detained under the Prevention

Detention Act, and in that way an artificial majority was created by the Congress and the Congress therefore captured all the Committees and elected its Mayor, the Deputy Mayor and the Aldermen. And in that way, Calcutta has been governed and ruled by the Congress.

Therefore, as I say, Calcutta is a prototype of the mischief of Congress rule and the Congress rule it is which has created this garbage in Calcutta, created this traffic congestion, created this abnormal situation, intolerable situation, in living conditions.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, here one of the Congress Members said that there are many portions of Calcutta where there is no underground drainage. There are surface drains at Belgachia and other places. If you go to the suburbs of Calcutta, which are within the Calcutta Municipality, during the rainy season you will wonder how the people live in those areas. But who is responsible for these things? Why is Calcutta not getting underground drainage? Why Tollygunge is still suffering from surface drainage and is not having underground drainage? It is the Calcutta Corporation which is responsible for it and it is in the clutches of the Congress.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, you were putting it to me that Mr. McNamara might have gone there to do good to the people of Calcutta. What about those C.M.P.O. fat-salaried foreign experts who have been vegetating on Calcutta's wealth and Calcutta hospitality for the last few years? What have they produced? After putting in a mountain of labour they have produced the proverbial mouse. These C.M.P.O. officials, those fat-salaried officials are sitting there and doing nothing. This is the position of the C.M.P.O. people and this C.M.P.O. is supposed to get grants from the Ford Foundation, another name for the C.I.A. organisation. They are supposed to get grants from certain foreign sources. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is not good giving all this advice to the poor and down-trodden people of Calcutta. The poor and down-trodden people of Calcutta are suffering a lot. If you once go there, then you will find how they ride a bus, how they ride a tram. And you will be surprised that even after all these

[Shri A. P. Chatterjee]

troubles, even after all these difficulties the people of Calcutta are not so rebellious as they ought to have been.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the other day I saw a sketch in the Basumati. Basumati is not our paper. It is the paper of Mr. Asoke Sen. In that sketch of Basumati it has been very painfully pointed and painted how people pick food from the dustbins. I have myself seen—I live in a particular area which is supposed to be a little above average, a locality of a little more well-to-do persons,—in that area when there is marriage festival in some houses and when the remains of the feasts are thrown into the dustbins, the poor people, the boys of the nearby bustees fight with the dogs to get food therefrom. And the person who drew the Basumati sketches pertinently asked the question towards the latter part of it that if some of these young boys next day go and burn a State tram can we blame them?

Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is a limit to the patience of the people. I do not, of course, say that when the patience of the people gets exhausted they should go and burn the trams and buses. But what I am saying is this. It is no use blaming them for these things. You must see to it how they can get two square meals a day. You must see that they get a roof over their heads. You must see that they get their problems of life a little eased, that they get two square meals a day. It is no use giving lectures to the people of Calcutta that you must do this thing or you must not do this thing.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, what about the Calcutta State Transport? The other day only I put a question on the floor of the House and it has been answered. Of course, I have got a written answer and the Minister concerned could not deny it that as far as the Calcutta State Transport Corporation is concerned, though the traffic problem is so heavy, the Corporation is trying to remove some of the buses from the streets. They are instead giving them to private operators. Again, Mr. Vice-Chairman, if the Calcutta State Transport Corporation has a fleet of 800 buses, only 400 are put on the streets and 400 are out of the streets. Why is it so?

SHRI M. N. KAUL: That is in Delhi also.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: It is not because of the poor conductors and drivers. If you talk to a conductor you will find that he works 12 hours a day while his fixed hours of duty are only 8 hours. I have talked to them and they have told me that though their hours of duty are 8 hours, they have to go one hour earlier because they have to take charge. Then after the duty is over, they have to stay there another one hour to hand over the charge and explain cash and all that. Therefore, for them it means a duty of 10 to 11 hours. These people have wrecked their bones in order to work the Calcutta State Transport Corporation. Then you look at the Calcutta State Transport officers, the Managing Director, the General Manager and other big persons who draw fat salaries. Seventy per cent. of the salary of the State Transport Corporation is in this way appropriated by the big bosses who do nothing, who perhaps sleepily doze over certain files, sleepily sign some documents and sign some letters and do nothing else. These people get the fattest salaries. (*Time bell rings*) I will speak till 5 o'clock. Sir, drivers and conductors wrack their bones in order to work the State transport buses but they do not get anything. This is the position.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have heard certain speeches by some hon'ble Members here saying that there should be no gheraos, no strikes and all that. I told Mr. Hathi, the Labour Minister, the other day. I am sorry he is not here. He also said that he had got a note. Only the other day about 500 people have been retrenched by illegal closure of the Surajmal Nagarmal firm. This firm locked out illegally its business premises and have thrown on the streets 500 of its employees. Every day Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will find hundreds of persons being retrenched, laid off and locked out by different business magnates. Now, if after all these things the young people do not protest, then I should think that the young people will be supposed to have lost their backbone even. But the point is this that even after suffering all these troubles they do not as much protest as is expected of them. Even then, Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are to be told that the workers' movement is wrong and that it must be stopped.

What is gherao? It is merely a kind of demonstration. One is not breaking the head of the manager or the employer. It is a kind of deputation merely on the employer.

SHRI PREM MANOHAR (Uttar Pradesh): You killed one of the proprietors of Surajmal Nagarmal.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: But the employer will rend the skies with his cries that he is gheraoed. But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, can the employer close down his business in that fashion? Can the employer close down his concern by throwing on the streets such an army of unemployed? Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, let not advice be given. The wearer alone knows where the shoe pinches. Let them go among the people and talk to them. But when Mr. Kulkarni said that he talked to some persons they talked, he said, about Vietnam and all that. But I say, Mr. Vice-Chairman, likes meet likes. When Mr. Kulkarni went there, he gravitated towards his own likes. That is a different thing. But when we talk to people we do not find such people.

Anyway, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the point is this that as far as Calcutta is concerned . . .

SHRI PREM MANOHAR: So you create such people.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: . . . apart from politics, apart from all these lectures whether we should be internationalists or not, whether we should be politically-inspired or not, I think we should have all these things. That is my definite and categorical view, let there be no mistake about it. The Calcutta people will be going on doing these things. But the point is this. The Calcutta people have a right to better

living conditions and better transport, better traffic, better housing conditions because, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is from Calcutta that 40 per cent. of the revenues of the Centre comes. The majority of the income-tax earnings come from that area, the majority of the export earnings, at least a great part of the export earnings—I will not say majority—comes from Calcutta. These export earnings, these income-tax earnings are not individuals'. Individuals pay income-tax on their own income. But how do they earn that income, these business magnates and millionnaires? They earn their income because of the blood, sweat, toil and tears of the ordinary people of Calcutta. I agree with Mr. Bhandari that it is the ordinary people whose blood, sweat, toil and tears they exploit and, in this way, add to the bank balances of these business magnates. These ordinary people are drawn from various trades and various provinces. The Oriyas, 5 p.m. Bengalis, Biharis and the Punjabis shed their blood together. They are sweated, they are exploited by the same business magnates who do not care to which States or Province a particular man belongs because they know only how to fill their coffers by exploiting the people. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Calcutta has a claim. Calcutta, by its blood, sweat, toil and tears pays the major share of the earnings by way of revenue of the Central Government. Therefore, Calcutta has a claim and that claim will have to be satisfied.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday, the 9th December.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 9th December, 1968.