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Friday, March 26, 1971

Chaitra 5, 1893 (Saka)

LOK SABHA DEBATES

**First Session
(Fifth Lok Sabha)**



(Vol. I contains Nos. 1 to 12)

**LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI**

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LOK SABHA DEBATES

LOK SABHA

*Friday, March 26, 1971 | Chair 5,
1893 (Saka)*

*The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of
the Clock*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

MEMBERS SWORN

SHRI ASOKA KUMAR SEN (Calcutta Northwest)

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated)

11 04 hrs

CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

ATTENTION ON HARUANS OF CHHOTI
KHATU, RAJASTHAN

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (गुवाहाटी) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अखिलमन्त्रीय लोक महत्व
के निम्नलिखित विषय की ओर गृह-कार्य मन्त्री
का ध्यान दिलाता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि
वह इस बारे में एक वक्तव्य दें :

“नागौर (राजस्थान) जिले में छोटी खाटू
के हरिजनो पर किये गये अत्याचारों और उसके
परिणामस्वरूप हुई दो व्यक्तियों की मृत्यु और
मकानों के गिराये जाने के समाचार।”

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND
MINISTER OF STATE DEPTT. OF
ELECTRONICS, DEPTT. OF ATOMIC
ENERGY AND DEPTT. OF SCIENCE
AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRI K.C. PANT) :
Government have seen press reports regard-
ing the incidents in village Chhoti Khatu
in district Nagaur. According to infor-
mation received from the Government
of Rajasthan three cases have been regis-
tered relating to the alleged incidents on
9th and 12th March of assault, robbery,
unlawful restraint etc. and the alleged theft
of a buffalo on 6th March. Cases are
being investigated, according to law by
the State CID. According to investiga-
tions held the infant, alleged to have been
killed in the incidents, is alive. The Chief
Minister accompanied by some other
Ministers and members of the Rajasthan
Legislative Assembly belonging to opposi-
tion parties visited the village on 23rd
March, 1971 to restore confidence among
the weaker sections of the community.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी अध्यक्ष
महोदय, मुझे गृह मन्त्रालय में राज्य मन्त्री का
वक्तव्य सुनकर बड़ा आश्चर्य तथा खेद हुआ।
मेरी यह समझ में नहीं आता कि यह वक्तव्य
सदन के सामने तथ्यों को लाने के लिए रखा
गया है या तथ्यों को छिपाने के लिए रखा गया
है। भ्रातृ भगवन् हमारे भ्रान्त-प्राकर्षण सूचना
देखें तो उसमें हमने कहा है कि समाचारपत्रों
में प्रकाशित खबरों के अनुसार दो व्यक्ति मारे
गए और मकान गिराये गए। राज्य मन्त्रा
महोदय कहते हैं कि एक लड़के के बारे में जो
मरने की खबर थी वह गलत है। क्या इसका
अर्थ यह है कि दूसरे आदमी के मरने के बारे में
जो खबर है वह सच है? और अगर सच है तो

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

यह बात वक्तव्य में स्पष्ट शब्दों में क्यों नहीं मानी गई? दूसरी बात यह है कि मकानों के गिराये जाने के बारे में यह वक्तव्य सर्वथा मौन है। क्या राज्य मन्त्री महोदय का कहना यह है कि वहाँ कोई मकान नहीं गिराये गए? उन्होंने प्रेस रिपोर्ट्स देखी होंगी मैं कुछ प्रेस रिपोर्ट्स सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ जिनके आधार पर कि मैंने यह सूचना प्रस्तुत की है। राज्य मन्त्री महोदय ने अपने वक्तव्य में कहा कि मुख्य मंत्री वहाँ गए। उनके साथ विरोधी दलों के नेता भी थे। पत्रकार भी थे। पत्रकारों ने लिखा है कि गांव में भय और आतंक का वातावरण था। लोग दूकानें बन्द करके, घर के दरवाजे बन्द करके पड़े थे। कोई नहीं बाहर बहने के लिए नैयर नहीं था। लेकिन टाइम्स आफ इंडिया के कोरेस्टाउंट ने लिखा है कि जो पांच औरने घायल हो कर जयपुर के अस्पताल में आई हैं। मैंने कुछ पता लगा कि 9 मार्च को और 12 मार्च को इस गांव में क्या हुआ? एक महिला के अनुसार स्थिति का विवरण इस प्रकार है, मैं आप की अनुमति में इस रिपोर्ट को प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ :

"Thirty year old Pipli, mother of five children said, I and three others were dragged out of our houses on the evening of March 9 and beaten up mercilessly. Afterwards some people brought to the spot Jakhawali who was carrying her six day old child in her arms. She too was belaboured... Another woman also called Pipli was beaten up and kicked. Her plea that she was in an advanced stage of pregnancy fell on deaf ears. She gave birth to a child prematurely the same night. Ummeda, a chamar, was also alleged to have been beaten up and released only after someone had paid 1600 to the Pradhan. Ummeda has since been missing."

मैं मन्त्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इस सम्बन्ध में प्रकाशित सारी प्रेस रिपोर्ट्स

को उन्होंने पढ़ा है? अगर पढ़ा है तो उनका वक्तव्य सारे तथ्यों पर प्रकाश क्यों नहीं डालता? हम यह भी जानना चाहते हैं कि यह घटनायें क्यों हुईं? बड़ा दावा किया जाता है कि इस मध्यावधि चुनाव में एक लोकतांत्रिक क्रांति हो रही है। क्या लोकतांत्रिक क्रांति का यह चिन्मौन स्वरूप है जो राजस्थान में दिखाई दिया?

एक माननीय सदस्य : आपस में झगड़ा था।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आपस में झगड़ा हो तब भी किसी को औरतों को जंजीर में बांध कर घसीटने की इजाजत नहीं दी जा सकती। आपस में झगड़ा होने पर भी किसी 70 मान के बुढ़े को मकान की छत पर लगी हुई टिनो के टुकड़े चला कर मारने की इजाजत नहीं दी जा सकती और मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जिस बीडवाडा ग्राम के प्रधान के खिलाफ आरोप है उस प्रधान को अभी तक गिरफ्तार क्यों नहीं किया गया? क्या राजस्थान की सरकार ने इस सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ लिखा है? केवल दनता ही कहना पर्याप्त नहीं है कि पुलिस में मामले दर्ज किए गए।

एक भैम की घोड़ी का मामला दर्ज किया गया। लेकिन यह बात गान-साक कही जा रही है कि इन हरिजनों से इतना बर्तन लिया जा रहा है कि उन्होंने स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के उम्मीदवार को बोट देने का फैसला किया था... (अवधान).... सदस्य महोदय, जवाब देने के लिए मन्त्री महोदय मौजूद हैं। यह तो जांच से ही पता लग सकेगा कि यह लोमहर्षक कांड हरिजनों के साथ वहाँ पर क्यों हुआ? क्यों हरिजनों को इस भयानक कांड का शिकार बनाया गया? यह मान भी लिया जाये कि एक भैम की घोड़ी का मामला था तो क्या किसी को इसके लिए कानून हाथ में लेने की इजाजत दी जा सकती है?

क्या कोई इसके लिए घरों को गिरा सकता है, महिलाओं के जेवर छीन सकता है, लोगों को मार-मार कर उनके घरों से धकेल सकता है ? इसके लिए अदालती जांच का आदेश क्यों नहीं दिया गया ? और मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार राजस्थान सरकार को यह सलाह देने के लिए तैयार है कि सारे मामले की अदालती जांच की जाये और जांच के पहले सारे सबूतों को नष्ट न कर दिया जाये, लोग निर्भय होकर गवाही दे सकें इसके लिए डींडवाड़ा ग्राम पंचायत के प्रधान को तुरन्त गिरफ्तार किया जाये और सारे मामले को अदालती जांच की जाये ?

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र पंत : अध्यक्ष जी, माननीय वाजपेयी जी ने समाचार-पत्रों का उल्लेख किया। उसमें से बताया कि इस इन्सिडेन्ट के बारे में उसमें क्या-क्या लिखा गया है। मैंने अपने स्टेटमेंट में राजस्थान गवर्नमेंट ने जो रिपोर्ट भेजी है, उतना ही बताया है। उन्होंने पूछा कि मकान गिराये गए या नहीं ? जो मेरे पास रिपोर्ट है उसके अनुसार कुछ मकान गिराये पाये गए।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह आपने कहा नहीं वक्तव्य में।

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र पंत : मैं कह तो रहा हूँ। 6 मकान गिराये पाए गए।

Six houses were found destroyed on the spot.

दूसरी बात उन्होंने यह पूछी कि दो आदमियों के मारे जाने की सूचना थी—अलवारों में—और उनके काल-एक्स्प्रेस नोटिस में भी इसका जिक्र है। मैंने इन्क्वेस्ट का जिक्र किया है, बूढ़े का जिक्र नहीं किया है। इसमें छिपाने की बात नहीं है, मैंने अहमिदाबाद बूढ़े का जिक्र नहीं

किया, क्योंकि उसकी जांच चल रही है। वैसे राजस्थान गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से जो रिपोर्ट आई है, उसमें उन्होंने यह बताया है कि यह बूढ़ा जो मरा है, वह नेचुरल-काजज से मरा है, मारा नहीं गया है। मैंने इरादतन इसको स्टेटमेंट में से निकाल दिया था, क्योंकि इसकी जांच चल रही है, इस लिए इसमें छिपाने की कोई बात नहीं थी।

आप ने कुछ औरतों का जिक्र किया जो अस्पताल में इस वक्त दाखिल हैं। सी० आई० बी० आफिसर्स ने, जिनमें एंडीजनल एस० पी० और इयूटी सुपरिटेंडेंट आफ पुलिस शामिल है, उन्होंने इसकी जांच की है, उन औरतों से बातचीत की है और उनसे बातचीत करने के बाद ही वे गाँव में गए और अब वहाँ जांच कर रहे हैं।

जहाँ तक इन घटनाओं का सम्बन्ध है, ये निन्दनीय घटनाएँ हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि सबन के हर सदस्य को इस तरह की घटनाएँ निन्दनीय लगती हैं और लगेंगी। इसमें जो भी दोषी पाये जायेंगे उनके खिलाफ उचित कार्यवाही की जायगी। मुख्य मन्त्री जी ने भी यही वक्तव्य वहाँ दिया है कि जो भी दोषी पाये जायेंगे उनके खिलाफ उचित कार्यवाही की जायगी और दण्डित किया जायेगा।

जहाँ तक इन कारणों का प्रश्न है, अभी माननीय सदस्य ने कहा है कि स्वतन्त्र पार्टी को बोट दिया, इसलिए यह हादसा हुआ, लेकिन किसी ने कहा है कि आपसो भगड़ा है—दो भिन्न बात सामने आई हैं, इसलिये जांच चल रही है, जब तक जांच पूरी न हो, मैं कुछ कह नहीं सकता।

जहाँ तक जांच का प्रश्न है कि किस तरह से इस मामले की जांच की जाये, यह राज्य

[श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र पंत]

सरकार का मामला है और वे इसमें कदम उठा रहे हैं और राज्य सरकार ही इसको आगे बढायेगी।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने पूछा था कि केन्द्र सरकार राज्य सरकार को परामर्श दे कि इस मामले की अदालती जांच हो। प्रश्न केवल राज्य का नहीं है, हरिजन कल्याण के लिए केन्द्र सरकार प्रत्यक्ष रूप से जिम्मेदार है और उसकी अधिकार है कि राज्य सरकार को सलाह दे कि सारे मामले की अदालती जांच होनी चाहिए।

SHRI PILOO MODI (Godhra) : Apparently, the entire mischief in Chhoti Khatu occurred because the Bauris who belong to the Scheduled Castes had the temerity to vote according to their choice for Mr. Somani of the Swatantra party. I can imagine that it must have been particularly galling to Members of the ruling party who have styled themselves as the champions of the downtrodden. It must also have been upsetting to Mr. Sukhadia, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan, Mrs. Gandhi's valiant knight in shining armour, in her fight against poverty. It must have appalled Mr. Mathuradas Mathur, the Finance Minister of Rajasthan, to find that simple folk of Scheduled Castes would prefer the Swatantra party to that led by Mr. Jagjivan Ram yesterday, Mr. Sanjivayya today and God knows who tomorrow. But it must have been totally unnerving to Mr. Chaina Ram, the villain of that area, the Pradhan of Deedwana panchayat, the paragon of virtues who has dozens of cases pending against him. Not one case being pursued to its logical conclusion, because of Mr. Chaina Ram's intimate connection with the Finance Minister, Mr. Mathur. The Rajasthan Government having shirked the Adjournment Motion in the Vidhan Sabha and having turned down a request to entrust the investigation to the CBI, Mr. Sukhadia the Chief Minister, gallantly agreed to visit the area in the company of Mr. Mathuradas Mathur, the Finance Minister

and Mr. Devpura, the State Minister for Home Affairs, along with the Opposition members.

It is interesting to note what Mr. T. N. Kaul of the *Times of India* has to say in its issue of March 24. He says that if the purpose of Mr. Sukhadia's visit was to restore confidence amongst the terror-stricken people, the trip was apparently a failure as Mr. Chaina Ram formed part of the Chief Minister's party.

He was seen by some people being patronised in the Chief Minister's party. It is further reported in the *Times of India* of March the 25th, that the Chief Minister on having completed his investigation, proceeded to Deedwana to have lunch with the very same Mr. Chaina Ram, who is reported to have descended on Chhoti Khatu village with 50 to 60 persons of his own kind on March, the 9th, to beat up women, take away their ornaments and cash on the trumped up charge of a stolen buffalo and again came back on March 12th, to demolish a number of houses belonging to these Harijan families.

I have here photographs of the damage that has been done to the houses of the Harijans in this village. With your permission, I would like to lay them on the Table.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): He should be allowed to lay it on the Table.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I had written to you in this connection and I have not heard from you. Apparently, you are not interested that the House and the country should see the conditions of the people there. I have also here a tape-recording of the evidence given by the women who were so severely and brutally beaten up. With your permission, I would like to play it. If I do not have your permission, I would not play it. The level of

violence in Nagaur constituency during the election was quite unbelievable. 20 jeeps belonging to the Swatantra candidate Mr. Somani, were damaged or burnt. About 40 workers are still hospitalised. They were even refused registration in Government hospitals and they had to be taken to private nursing homes. Mr. Somani wrote to the Chief Election Commissioner as early as January 15th, warning him against the reign of terror and the open incitement to violence advocated by his opponents, in addition to lodging 50 complaints with the police, with the Collector, with the officials of the State Government, with Chief Minister and other ministers, with the State Election Commission, with the Chief Election Commissioner and the Prime Minister herself. None of these brought forward even a reply except mere evasively acknowledged.

In view of all that has been said and published regarding the incident, which without any shadow of doubt is intimately connected with the election and even otherwise, I would like to know whether the Government of India will accept the responsibility of investigating the matter and conduct a full enquiry into the causes of incidents which have led to this criminal episode and this reign of terror.

I would also like to know from Government what machinery it will employ to investigate this matter, in view of the fact that Mr. Chaina Ram enjoys the patronage of the Finance Minister, Mr. Mathur, who enjoys the patronage of the Chief Minister, Mr. Sukhadia, who enjoys the patronage of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who we are told has only recently received a massive verdict from the people.

SHRI K. C. PANT My hon. friend has made certain insinuations against persons who are not here to defend themselves. I can only go by the facts before me, which show that when this matter came up before the Legislative Assembly on the 22nd March, the Chief Minister and Mr. Mathur, both of whom were mentioned by

Mr. Mody, showed their concern from this particular problem and this incident by visiting the village on the 3rd.

SHRI PILOO MODY In the company of?

SHRI K. C. PANT In the company of the leader of the Jan Sangh...

SHRI PILOO MODY And Mr. Chaina Ram.

SHRI K. C. PANT ... and SSP and CPI three parties.

SHRI PILOO MODY In addition to Mr. Chaina Ram .. (interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER Please do not interrupt him when he is replying.

SHRI K. C. PANT I was merely mentioning the fact that the Chief Minister responded very quickly when the matter was brought to his notice in the Assembly and both he and Shri Mathur, along with the opposition leaders, visited the village the very next day. This shows quick response to the situation and not any indifference to it. That is all that I wish to point out.

Then there was a reference to a lunch given by a gentleman, which was raised elsewhere also. The Chief Minister has clarified that the lunch was given by Shri Mathur.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Where?

SHRI K. C. PANT This particular lunch you are referring to was given by Shri Mathura.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Where.

SHRI K. C. PANT That, you ask the Chief Minister.

SHRI PILOO MODY : We are asking you questions

SHRI K. C. PANT : You have asked your questions and now I am replying. Then he mentioned the fact that 20 jeeps of Shri Somani were destroyed. We on this side of the House cannot imagine 20 jeeps being engaged by a candidate.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I expect a standard level of reply and not cheap jibes from the Minister.

MR. SPEAKER : I expect it from both sides.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Then he referred to the fact that certain complaints were made to the Prime Minister, among others. I cannot say what was done to the complaints received by the State Government but we have received complaints from various parts of the country with regard to intimidation of voters. I may say that if you look at it from purely party point of view, in this matter we are more sinned against than sinning. We have had to take measures in various States to prevent intimidation of the poorer sections of the society, but if you go by facts they are more with us than with you.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Nagaur is a shining example.

SHRI K. C. PANT : All the complaints that we have received, we have forwarded to the State Government for going into them. I should imagine that along with others this too was received and forwarded to the State Government. As to the investigation of this particular incident, I have already said that the State Government is investigating into it. If they need our assistance, we shall certainly see what we can do about it.

DR. KARNI SINGH (Bikaner) : Sir, we in the opposition are not interested in a post-election *post mortem* of what has happened in the poll. We are sportsmen and we bow to the people's verdict. But in our mind somewhere there are some doubts raised, particularly after seeing the ballot papers yesterday, and these are not only in our minds, but these are shared by the nation at large, and I hope the government will have the courage to clarify the position before the people.

I have fought five elections and I come from Rajasthan from the same area as the one under discussion today. I have seen elections fought in Rajasthan in Nehru's time, in the time of the late Pantji, the father of the hon. Minister, and I realise that there is a great change that is taking place all over. The post-election scene is no longer the same as it was since 1952, 1957 or 1962. Today revenge has come into play. What you see in Chhoti Khatu is just one such indication of how the government sits back and allows the poor citizens who voted according to their own wishes to be victimised. I have seen this victimisation not only in Chhoti Khatu, I have seen it in my own constituency. The day my results were declared the people belonging to the Congress Party there immediately started their witch-hunt. Mr. Speaker, I am not given to making false statements and you know me for the last twenty years. I will say that if this witch-hunt is not stopped, it is going to be the end of democracy. It is not enough to be returned to this House in a very large majority; it is also important that this government, which have been given by the people this immense verdict in their favour must come and protect the poorer citizens, the poorer harijans who have been victimised by the governmental machinery.

In my constituency, I know that people who are supposed to have voted for me have been told that cases will be opened against them. I know that in certain cases where we had our public meetings, a few miscreants were asked to throw stones. The Collector and the

Police officers who stood nearby did not even raise a finger to protect the citizens until the citizens took the law into their own hands and dispersed the miscreants. In Jodhpur, the jeeps of Mrs. Krishna Kumari, a sitting Member of this House, were burnt,

MR. SPEAKER : May I request you to be relevant to the Call Attention ?

DR. KARNI SINGH : No civilised society and the Government can allow such reign of terror to happen as has happened in Chhoti Khatu. There is one thing that is becoming very evident. If the Government fails to protect the citizens, the time will come when the citizens must take the law into their own hands. I have seen that when the Government has failed to protect the citizens, the citizens have kept quiet because they are law-abiding. But how long can you expect them to sit back and watch these atrocities taking place, women beaten up, their houses destroyed, all in the name of democracy. I am afraid this kind of idea is not going to help.

We also know that Mr. Sukhadia with his partisan attitude having been returned to power through the back-door, not by the verdict of the people as Mrs. Indira Gandhi has been returned, and those people are interested in their chairs and that they are incapable of giving people the protection following the elections. I would, therefore, like to know from the hon. Minister whether the Central Government is prepared to step in any State where the Government in power has started witch-hunting against the people. Secondly, I would like to know what compensation do they propose to pay to these poor Harijans whose homes have been destroyed, whose women have been beaten up and whose children have been killed. Thirdly, I want to know what protection does the Government of India propose to give to the citizens who voted against the Congress Party. An ex-Army soldier, Mr. Ajit Singh, was the only man who gave protection to the poor Harijans and

he gave it because he was a soldier and he had the guts to stand up against the atrocities of the Government. May I know whether this Government will take steps to see that Mr. Ajit Singh's family is also given protection and that no harm is done to them.

I hope these questions will be answered in the way in which the hon. Minister's father would have given so that they can satisfy this House and the people at large.

SHRI K. C. PANT : My hon. friend referred to the general question of intimidation of voters. So far as the general question goes, it has received the attention of the Chief Election Commissioner even earlier and after the mid-term poll, he has made certain suggestions. He had proposed certain legislative measures also and these legislative measures which were to have been further considered by a committee of the leaders of the Opposition parties. But after this committee was constituted, the Lok Sabha was dissolved and this committee could not consider the matter further. That is where this matter stands. I believe, in yesterday's meeting of the leaders of the opposition parties with the Prime Minister this matter also came up.

The other two specific measures which were taken during these elections to guard against the possibility of intimidation were, firstly, that the number of polling booths was increased particularly in areas inhabited by Harijans, etc. where intimidation could be apprehended and, secondly, the method of counting was changed this time. As all hon. Members know, this time, the counting took place on a constituency-wise basis. This was to avoid the possibility of voting trends in any particular booth being known. Therefore, if you look at the problem objectively, after these measures, no one really can get an idea of the trend of voting in a particular booth. Voting is secret and individual voting, of course, it is difficult to know otherwise,

[Shri K.C. Pant]

but, even the trend this time it is difficult to know. So, I would not be very assertive in saying that such and such a village or such and such a locality did vote for so and so under these circumstances. It is not..

DR. KARNI SINGH : Then how did you come to the conclusion that the Scheduled Castes voted for you ?

SHRI K. C. PANT : It is not an isolated belief, it is a fact in the whole country.

SHRIMATI GAYATRI DEVI (Jaipur) : The hon. Minister does not know. Reports from that area say that when the women came back, they were asked. किस को वोट दिया है ? उन्होंने कहा ताजे को दिया है।

That is why he did not get that report

SHRI K. C. PANT : I do not expect these women to tell Her Highness that they have not voted for her... (Interruptions)

It is not unknown, Sir, that people in her position of life were told one thing and the voters cast votes the other way.

SHRIMATI GAYATRI DEVI : I am very sorry, Sir, I cannot take it from the hon. Minister. If this is the behaviour of the Government of India—this is not what is expected of them—from the way we saw the voting went (Interruptions) And as far as the women are concerned, they are in the hospital in Jaipur. They were going to come here to-day. I wish I had brought them but I did not expect this sort of behaviour from the hon. Minister. Otherwise, these women could have come here and when he comes out, they would have told him which way they voted.

SHRI R. K. SINHA (Faizabad) : Do you recognize Her Highness and Rajmata's inside the Lok Sabha ? This is what I want to know.

MR. SPEAKER : They are not hon. Members. Then, what is the harm if he says, 'Her Highness, the hon. Member ?' (Interruptions)

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, I had no intention of hurting her feelings. I would not have been called upon to give the reply if she had not intervened. I was replying to another hon. Member.

As far as the complaints received, my hon. friend asked me, 'Will the Government sit back and do nothing when complaints are received, from the State Governments?' Complaints are received from the State Governments where the Congress Party is in power and where other Parties are also in power. We have to be even-handed in our approach to all these Governments. We cannot be partisan in these matters and we treat all complaints alike and that is what we are doing even now.

I am glad Dr. Karni Singh mentioned the need to protect poor Harijans. This is what we are trying to do in all the areas to the extent possible. In Western UP, in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and other areas where we received prior intimation of possible intimidation, we did take whatever steps that lay in our power. We are certainly interested that voting is free and fair and that is the basis for democratic functioning. In West Bengal, as the House knows, we took various steps. I think the administrative machinery of this country can be congratulated for the manner in which these elections were held, peacefully and in an orderly manner and, by and large, in such an operation except for a few complaints here and there, the elections passed off, I think, very smoothly.

My hon. friend asked me about giving protection to those who voted against

the Congress. Our experience is that, by and large, those who voted against Congress in these elections are capable of taking care of themselves. It is those who voted with us, who are the poorest sections of the community, who need protection.

DR. KARNI SINGH : Does he mean that the citizens should be encouraged to take up arms? What a ridiculous statement?

SHRI PILOO MODY : The Minister is beginning to over-reach himself.

DR. KARNI SINGH : I think this is an extra-ordinary statement that is being made.

SHRIMATI GAYATRI DEVI *rose*.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, I am not yielding.....(*Interruptions*) This running commentary is not necessary because I am going to explain that every citizen is entitled to the protection of law...(*Interruptions*). That is why I am telling you. All citizens are entitled to the protection of law. I think my hon friend and Mr. Vajpayee before him, emphasized that the weaker sections of the community deserve particular protection.....(*Interruptions*). That is all I say. In regard to the last question regarding protection to the citizen. It is a State subject—Law and order is a State subject. It is for them to provide protection. So far as we are concerned, when we come into the picture, as we did in West Bengal, we do our level best to provide every protection to the citizens that we can.

SHRI P. K. DEO : It is a matter of concern that the Stalin era has dawned this country in order to liquidate all sorts of opposition. As early as 8th February the Swatantra party in Rajasthan brought to notice of the Election Commission and

the Government of India that a reign of terror has been let loose in that part of our country and they wanted the CRP to be deployed there so that there could be free and fair election, but no steps were taken in that regard. On the 16th February, when the Maharaja of Kishangarh was shot at and killed, the Prime Minister *Suo motu* came with a statement for a CBI investigation and it was welcome by the Chief Minister. But 3 days afterwards the I. G. of Police and the Home Minister of Rajasthan Government came with a statement that there was no political motivation and the culprit has been apprehended, thereby to prejudice any CBI probe which was contemplated by the Prime Minister.

Now, coming to the post-election period, it is a matter of concern that victimisation of this sort is allowed to continue. I would like to know categorically from the Home Minister if Mr. Chand Ram who accused No. 1 in this case accompanied the Home Minister and the Chief Minister to entertain them in that particular village. And, secondly I would like to know this. It is not a fact that even though more than 100 cases are pending against Mr. Chand Ram and in this case it has been blatantly proved that he is at the root cause of all the troubles, he is being given the mantle of protection by no less a person than the Finance Minister and the local MLA, Mr. Mathuradas Mathur who once happened to be my colleague in this House? Taking into consideration all these facts the House cannot abdicate its responsibility to look after the welfare of the harijans especially under Act. 338 of the Constitution. I would like to make a demand on behalf of the Swatantra party and all of us from this side that a categorical assurance should come from the Government that there will be a judicial probe into this entire state of affairs to be presided over by no less a person than a judge of the Supreme Court and that all files and papers should be handed over. I would like to have the reaction of the Government to my suggestions.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : And also what happened in Morena. Villages have been burnt by the Rajmata of Gwalior.

SHRI P. K. DEO : Have an enquiry, judicial enquiry.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Not a goonda enquiry but a judicial enquiry.

SHRI K. C. PANT : My hon. friend has again repeated what he has said earlier. Certain complaints were referred to the Government of India and I have already stated they were dealt with. The second point he made was whether a particular gentleman accompanied the Chief Minister. According to press reports, he did. But so far as I am concerned, I have no official information from the Rajasthan Government on the point. So far as the question of entertaining the Chief Minister is concerned, I have already said that Mr. Mathur entertained him.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Did he get that information also from the Rajasthan Government or from the press report ?

SHRI K. C. PANT : I have already answered the last question

SHRI P. K. DEO : What was the answer to the last question regarding judicial probe ?

SHRI K. C. PANT : I have already answered it. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee had asked that question already.

So far as the root cause of the trouble is concerned, as I have said, there are two versions of the incident and two versions of what the root cause was. Until the investigations are complete, I cannot say which of them is correct.

SHRI P. K. DEO : It is not a question

of law and order. It is a question of Harijans who have been affected here, and it is our responsibility and the responsibility of this house. Why are Government abdicating their responsibility to probe into the matter on behalf of the Government of India and why are they leaving it to the Rajasthan Government who are a party to it ?

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Member may please resume his seat. Now, Shri H. M. Patel. The hon. Member is absent.

Some Hon. Members rose—

अध्यक्ष महोदय : कानि अटेंशन नोटिस के समय जिन सदस्यों का नाम होता है सिर्फ उन को हा मौका मिलता है सबाल पूछने का ।

SHRI KALYANASUNDARAM (Tiruchirapalli) : I have given notice of an adjournment motion...

MR. SPEAKER : When I am standing, the hon. Member should sit down.

SHRI KALYANASUNDARAM : By the time I could rise, you were already on your legs...

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Member may kindly sit down. When I am standing, he should sit down.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan) : On a point of information from you...

MR. SPEAKER : An Hon. Member has arrived late and he wants to take his oath now. He has requested that he may be permitted to do so now.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : On a point of information from you...

MR. SPEAKER : The Hon. Member seems to be a very active Member. Why should he not allow the hon. Member who wants to take the oath to do so ?

MR. SPEAKER : No, I have not allowed it. It is just an accident. If some accident has happened, what has Government to do with it ?

MEMBER SWORN (*Contd.*)

Shri Naik Balkrishna Venkanna
(Kanara)

SHRI KALYANASUNDARAM : It is not just an accident. There is a lock-out in the IAC, and two officers were used for jobs for which they were not accustomed.....

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Member may kindly resume his seat...

11.42 hrs.

RE : GENERAL FLECTIONS

श्री ज्ञानेश्वर प्रसाद यादव (कटिहार) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, कल सदन में जो रहस्योद्घाटन किया गया चंडीगढ़ में आय हुए बैलट पेपर के बारे में, उस का लोक सभा में बहुत देर तक चर्चा हुई थी, लेकिन सूचना और प्रसारण विभाग का जो आल इंडिया रेडियो है उस के द्वारा उस को पब्लिसिटी नहीं दी गई। मैं चाहता हूं कि इस प्रकार से सूचना और प्रसारण विभाग...(स्थगित)

SHRI KALYANASUNDARAM : I know that. You are standing just to prevent me from speaking and to make me resume my seat...

MR. SPEAKER : That is one way of making a Member sit.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) : It has been customary in this House that when accidents of this nature take place, at least the hon. Minister just comes forward *suo motu* to make a statement. I hope you will direct the hon. Minister to make a statement...

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Member may resume his seat now. The observations made by those hon. Members who are speaking without my permission will not go on record. *Interruptions* **

MR. SPEAKER : I hope he will.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : As my colleague has pointed out, it has taken place in the context of a lock-out where officers were being made to do work for which they were not normally accustomed.

11.43 hrs.

RE : MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT

We should know the facts.

SHRI KALYANASUNDARAM (Tiru-chirapalli) : I had given notice of an adjournment motion regarding the tragic death of two airlines officers at the Delhi airport. It is not an ordinary accident that has happened. It has happened in the context of the lock-out, and, so, it is urgent and important.

MR. SPEAKER : He is correct. I only said it is not a matter for an adjournment motion. But if the Minister comes out with a statement, that would be in order. I welcome it.

SHRI P. K. DEO : I had given notice of.....**

** Not recorded.

MR. SPEAKER : No. I have not permitted him. It will not go on record.

11.44 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

MONOPOLIES AND RESTRICTIVE TRADE PRACTICES (AMENDMENT) RULES

THE MINISTER OF COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI RAGHUNATHA REDDY) : I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (Amendment) Rules, 1971 (Hindi and English versions) published in Notification No. G.S.R. 92 in Gazette of India dated the 12th January, 1971, under sub-section (3) of section 67 of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969. [*Placed in Library See No. LT-16/71.*]

GOLD CONTROL AMENDMENT RULES, INCOME-TAX (FIFTH AMENDMENT) RULES WEALTH-TAX (AMENDMENT) RULES, AND NOTIFICATION UNDER CENTRAL EXCISES AND SALT ACT.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA) : I beg to lay on the Table—

- (1) A copy of the Gold Control (Forms, Fees and miscellaneous Matters) Amendment Rules, 1970 (Hindi and English versions) published in Notification No. S.O. 19 in Gazette of India dated the 2nd January, 1971, under sub-section (3) of section 114 of the Gold (Control) Act, 1968. [*Placed in Library See No. LT-17/71.*]

- (2) A copy of Income-tax (Fifth Amendment) Rules, 1970 (Hindi and English

versions) published in Notification No. S.O. 4001 in Gazette of India dated the 16th December, 1970, under section 296 of the Income-tax Act, 1961 together with an explanatory Memorandum. [*Placed in Library See No. LT-18/71.*]

- (3) A copy of the wealth-tax (Amendment) Rules, 1971 (Hindi and English versions) published in Notification No. S.O. 999 in Gazette of India dated the 1st March, 1971, under sub-section (4) of section 46 of the Wealth Tax Act 1957. [*Placed in Library See No. LT-19/71.*]

- (4) A copy each of the following Notification (Hindi and English versions) under section 38 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944 :—

- (i) The Central Excise (Fourteenth Amendment) Rules, 1970 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 2065 in Gazette of India dated the 26th December, 1970.

- (ii) The Central Excise (First Amendment) Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 63 in Gazette of India dated the 9th January, 1971. [*Placed in Library See No. LT-20/71.*]

- (5) A copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English versions) under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962 and section 38 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944 :—

- (i) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Eighty-second Amendment Rules, 1970, published in Notification No. G. S. R. 1984 in Gazette of India dated the 5th December, 1970.

- (ii) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General)

Eighty-third Amendment Rules, 1970, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 2004 in Gazette of India dated the 12th December, 1970.

Eighty-ninth Amendment Rules, 1970, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 2067 in Gazette of India dated the 26th December, 1970.

- (iii) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Eighty-fourth Amendment Rules, 1970, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 2036 in Gazette of India dated the 19th December, 1970.
- (iv) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Eighty-fifth Amendment Rules, 1970, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 2037 in Gazette of India dated the 19th December, 1970.
- (v) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Eighty-sixth Amendment Rules, 1970, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 2038 in Gazette of India dated the 19th December, 1970.
- (vi) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Eighty-seventh Amendment Rules, 1970, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 2039 in Gazette of India dated the 19th December, 1970.
- (vii) G.S.R. 2041 published in Gazette of India dated the 19th December, 1970 containing erratum to Notification No. G.S.R. 1859 dated the 31st October, 1970.
- (viii) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Eighty-eight Amendment Rules, 1970, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 2066 in Gazette of India dated the 26th December, 1970.
- (ix) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) First Amendment Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 39 in Gazette of India dated the 2nd January, 1971.
- (xi) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Second Amendment Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 84 in Gazette of India dated the 16th January, 1971.
- (xii) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Third Amendment Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 85 in Gazette of India dated the 16th January, 1971.
- (xiii) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Fourth Amendment Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 111 in Gazette of India dated the 23rd January, 1971.
- (xiv) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Fifth Amendment Rules, 1971 published in notification No. G.S.R. 112 in Gazette of India dated the 23rd January, 1971.
- (xv) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Sixth Amendment Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 179 in Gazette of India dated the 6th February, 1971.
- (xvi) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Seventh Amendment Rules, 1971.
- (ix) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General)

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

published in Notification No. G.S.R. 180 in Gazette of India dated the 6th February, 1971.

1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 249 in Gazette of India dated the 20th February, 1971. [Placed in Library See No. LT-21/71]

- (xvii) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Eighth Amendment Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 181 in Gazette of India dated the 6th February, 1971.
- (xviii) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Ninth Amendment Rules, 1971, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 182 in Gazette of India dated the 6th February, 1971.
- (xix) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Tenth Amendment Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 217 in Gazette of India dated the 13th February, 1971.
- (xx) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Eleventh Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 218 in Gazette of India dated the 13th February, 1971.
- (xxi) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Twelfth Amendment Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 219 in Gazette of India dated the 13th February, 1971, together with an explanatory memorandum.
- (xxii) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Thirteenth Amendment Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 248 in Gazette of India dated the 20th February, 1971.
- (xxiii) The Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Fourteenth Amendment Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 249 in Gazette of India dated the 20th February, 1971.
- (6) A copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English versions) under Section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962:--
- (i) G. S. R. 1985 published in Gazette of India dated the 5th December, 1970.
- (ii) G. S. R. 2006 published in Gazette of India dated the 12th December, 1970 together with an explanatory memorandum.
- (iii) G.S.R. 2007 published in Gazette of India dated the 12th December, 1970 together with an explanatory memorandum.
- (iv) G.S.R. 2040 published in Gazette of India dated the 19th December, 1970.
- (v) G.S.R. 42 published in Gazette of India dated the 1st January, 1971 together with an explanatory memorandum.
- (vi) G.S.R. 89 published in Gazette of India dated the 16th January, 1971.
- (vii) G.S.R. 90 published in Gazette of India dated the 16th January, 1971 together with an explanatory memorandum.
- (viii) G.S.R. 91 published in Gazette of India dated the 16th January, 1971 together with an explanatory memorandum.
- (ix) G.S.R. 183 published in Gazette of India dated the 6th February,

1971 together with an explanatory memorandum.

- (x) G.S.R. 222 published in Gazette of India dated the 13th February, 1971 together with an explanatory memorandum.

- (xi) S.O. 98 published in Gazette of India dated the 1st January, 1971 together with an explanatory Memorandum. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-22/71]

- (vii) G.S.R. 294 published in Gazette of India dated the 27th February, 1971 together with an explanatory memorandum.

- (viii) G.S.R. 295 published in Gazette of India dated the 27th February, 1971 together with an explanatory memorandum. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-23/71]

11. 46 hrs.

(7) A copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English versions) issued under the Central Excise Rules, 1944 -

- (i) G.S.R. 2005 published in Gazette of India dated the 12th December 1970 together with an explanatory memorandum

- (ii) G.S.R. 2011 published in Gazette of India dated the 15th December, 1970 together with an explanatory memorandum.

- (iii) G.S.R. 2043, 2044 and 2045 published in Gazette of India dated the 17th December, 1970 together with an explanatory memorandum.

- (iv) G.S.R. 2047 and 2048 published in Gazette of India dated the 18th December, 1970 together with an explanatory memorandum.

- (v) G.S.R. 2063 and 2064 published in Gazette of India dated the 26th December, 1970 together with an explanatory memorandum.

- (vi) G.S.R. 31 published in Gazette of India dated the 2nd January, 1971 together with an explanatory memorandum.

MESSAGE FROM RAJYA SABHA

SECRETARY: Sir, I have to report the following message received from the Secretary of Rajya Sabha :-

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 111 of the Rules of procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to enclose a copy of the Imports and Exports (Control) Amendment Bill, 1971, which has been passed by the Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 25th March, 1971."

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS (CONTROL) AMENDMENT BILL

AS PASSED BY RAJYA SABHA

SECRETARY : Sir, I lay on the Table of the House the Imports and Exports (Control) Amendment Bill, 1971, as passed by Rajya Sabha.

11.47 hrs.

RESIGNATION BY MEMBER

(SHRI BHAGIRATHI GOMANGO)

MR. SPEAKER : I have to inform the House that Shri Bhagirathi Gomango,

[Mr. Speaker]

an elected member of Lok Sabha from Koraput constituency of Orissa, has resigned his seat in Lok Sabha with effect from the 25th March, 1971.

11.48 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET, 1971-72-
GENERAL DISCUSSION AND
DEMANDS FOR GRANTS ON
ACCOUNT (GENERAL),
1971-72- *Contd.*

MR. SPEAKER: The House will now take up item 6 namely, further general discussion on the Budget (General) for 1971-72 and item 7, namely, discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants on Account in respect of the Budget (General) for 1971-72.

DEMAND NO. 1—MINISTRY OF
DEFENCE

MR. SPEAKER Motion moved

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 40,60,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Defence'."

DEMAND NO. 2—DEFENCE SERVICES
EFFECTIVE-ARMY

MR. SPEAKER Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,71,25,33,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective-Army'."

DEMAND NO. 3—DEFENCE SERVICES
EFFECTIVE-NAVY

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,76,33,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Defence Services Effective-Navy'

DEMAND NO. 4—DEFENCE SERVICES
EFFECTIVE-AIR FORCE

MR. SPEAKER Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 81,65,00,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Defence Services Effective-Air Force'."

DEMAND NO. 5—DEFENCE SERVICES
NON-EFFECTIVE

MR. SPEAKER Motion moved

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,76,67,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Defence Services Non-Effective'."

DEMAND NO. 6—MINISTRY OF
EDUCATION AND YOUTH SERVICES

MR. SPEAKER Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 41,66,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Education and Youth Services'."

DEMAND NO. 7—EDUCATION

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,39,47,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of Education'."

DEMAND NO. 8—ARCHAEOLOGY

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved .

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 70,62,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Archaeology'."

DEMAND NO. 9 - SURVEY OF INDIA

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,08,84,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Survey of India' "

DEMAND NO. 10 —OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND YOUTH SERVICES

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,62,15,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Education and Youth Services'."

DEMAND NO. 11—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,38,08,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'External Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 12—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,32,72,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of External Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 13—MINISTRY OF FINANCE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,29,08,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Finance'."

DEMAND NO. 14—CUSTOMS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion Moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,18,00,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Customs'."

DEMAND NO. 15—UNION EXCISE DUTIES

MR. SPEAKER : Motion Moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,36,30,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Union Excise Duties'."

DEMAND NO. 16—TAXES ON
INCOME INCLUDING CORPOR-
ATION TAX ETC.

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,68,70,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Taxes on Income including Corporation Tax etc.'"

DEMAND NO. 17—STAMPS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,62,55,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972 in respect of 'Stamp'."

DEMAND NO. 18—AUDIT

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,60,00,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1972, in respect of 'Audits'."

DEMAND NO. 19—CURRENCY AND
COINAGE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved .

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,53,40,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Currency and Coinage'."

DEMAND NO. 20—MINT

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,52,02,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Mint'."

DEMAND NO. 21—KOLAR GOLD
MINES

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved .

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,71,89,000 be granted to the president, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1972, in respect of 'Kolar Gold Mines' "

DEMAND NO. 22—PENSIONS AND
OTHER RETIREMENT BENEFITS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,15,63,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Pensions and Other Retirement Benefits'."

DEMAND NO. 23—OPIUM FACTORIES
AND ALKALOID WORKS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,14,73,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1972, in respect of 'Opium Factories and Alkaloid Works'."

**DEMAND NO. 24—OTHER REVENUE
EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY
OF FINANCE**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,17,44,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Finance'."

**DEMAND NO. 25—GRANTS-IN-AID
TO STATE AND UNION TERRITORY
GOVERNMENTS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,93,47,86,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Grants-in-aid in State and Union Territory Governments'."

**DEMAND NO. 26 - MISCELLANEOUS
ADJUSTMENTS BETWEEN THE
CENTRAL AND STATE UNION
TERRITORY GOVERNMENTS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 18,35,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Miscellaneous adjustments between the Central and State and Union Territory Governments'."

**DEMAND NO. 27—PRE-PARTITION
PAYMENTS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 18,000 be granted to the Presi-

dent, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Pre-partition Payments'."

**DEMAND NO. 28 — MINISTRY OF
FOOD, AGRICULTURE, COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 70,18,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation'."

DEMAND NO. 29—AGRICULTURE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,52,25,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Agriculture'."

**DEMAND NO. 30 — PAYMENTS TO
INDIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL
RESEARCH**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,27,33,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Payments to Indian Council of Agricultural Research'."

DEMAND NO. 31 — FOREST

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 67,06,000 be granted to the President."

on account for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Forest'."

DEMAND NO. 32 — OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF FOOD, AGRICULTURE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,59,12,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue, Expenditure of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation'."

DEMAND NO. 33 — MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 18,87,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Foreign Trade'."

DEMAND NO. 34 — FOREIGN TRADE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 32,74,15,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Foreign Trade'."

DEMAND NO. 35 - OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,56,53,000 be granted to the President,

on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Foreign Trade'."

DEMAND NO. 36 - MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING AND WORKS, HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 27,09,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Health and Family Planning and Works, Housing and Urban Development'."

DEMAND NO. 37 - MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,64,03,000 be granted to the President *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Medical and Public Health'."

DEMAND NO. 38 - PUBLIC WORKS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,19,69,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1972, in respect of 'Public Works'."

DEMAND NO. 39 - STATIONERY AND PRINTING

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding

Rs. 5,28,72,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Stationery and Printing'."

DEMAND NO. 40—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING AND WORKS, HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,09,90,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Health and Family Planning and Works, Housing and Urban Development'."

DEMAND NO. 41—MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 46,02,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Home Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 42—CABINET

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,22,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Cabinet'."

DEMAND NO. 43—DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,39,94,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Department of Personnel'."

DEMAND NO. 44—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 82,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'."

DEMAND NO. 45—POLICE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 25,48,52,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Police'."

DEMAND NO. 46—CENSUS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,62,84,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Census'."

DEMAND NO. 47—STATISTICS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,46,80,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the

[Mr. Speaker]

charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Statistics'."

**DEMAND NO. 48—PRIVY PURSES
AND ALLOWANCES OF
INDIAN RULERS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 88,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Privy Purses and Allowances of Indian Rulers'."

**DEMAND NO. 49—TERRITORIAL
AND POLITICAL PENSIONS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,43,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Territorial and Political Pensions' "

DEMAND NO. 50—DELHI

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,82,26,000 be granted to the President *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Delhi'."

DEMAND NO. 51—CHANDIGARH

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,69,59,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Chandigarh'."

**DEMAND NO. 52—ANDAMAN
AND NICOBAR ISLANDS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,69,47,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands'."

DEMAND NO. 53—TRIBAL AREAS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,38,18,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Tribal Area'."

**DEMAND NO. 54—DADRA AND
NAGAR HAVELI AREA**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,99,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area'."

**DEMAND NO. 55—LACCADIVE,
MINICOY AND AMINDIVI ISLANDS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 60,75,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in

respect of 'Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands'."

**DEMAND NO. 56—OTHER REVENUE
EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY
OF HOME AFFAIRS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,31,18,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Home Affairs'."

**DEMAND NO. 57—MINISTRY OF
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND
INTERNAL TRADE**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 25,81,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Industrial Development and Internal Trade'."

DEMAND NO. 58 - INDUSTRIES

MR. SPEAKER : Motion Moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,95,96,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Industries'."

DEMAND NO. 59—SALT

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,12,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Salt'."

**DEMAND NO. 60—OTHER REVENUE
EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY
OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT
AND INTERNAL TRADE**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,24,82,000 be granted to the President *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Industrial Development and Internal Trade'."

**DEMAND NO. 61—MINISTRY OF
INFORMATION AND
BROADCASTING**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,79,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Information and Broadcasting'."

DEMAND NO. 62—BROADCASTING

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved .

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,48,31,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Broadcasting'."

**DEMAND NO. 63—OTHER REVENUE
EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY
OF INFORMATION AND
BROADCASTING**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,89,19,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of

[Mr. Speaker]

'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting'."

DEMAND NO. 64—MINISTRY OF IRRIGATION AND POWER

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,38,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Irrigation and Power'."

DEMAND NO. 65—MULTIPURPOSE RIVER SCHEMES

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,12,40,000 be granted to the President on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Multipurpose River Schemes'."

DEMAND NO. 66—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF IRRIGATION AND POWER

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,80,89,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Irrigation & Power'."

DEMAND NO. 67—MINISTRY OF LABOUR, EMPLOYMENT AND REHABILITATION

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 37,21,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying

the charges during the year ending on the 31st day March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation'."

DEMAND NO. 68—DIRECTOR GENERAL MINES SAFETY

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,94,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of 'Director General Mines Safety'."

DEMAND NO. 69—LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,50,87,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Labour and employment'."

DEMAND NO. 70—EXPENDITURE ON DISPLACED PERSONS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,92,48,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Expenditure on Displaced Persons'."

DEMAND NO. 71—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR, EMPLOYMENT AND REHABILITATION

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,22,000 be granted to the President,

on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation'."

DEMAND No. 72 - MINISTRY OF LAW

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 34,17,000 be granted to the President on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Law'."

DEMAND No. 73—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF LAW

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,18,000 be granted to the President, on account for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Law'."

DEMAND NO. 74 - MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS AND MINES AND METALS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,24,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals and Mines and Metals'."

DEMAND NO. 75 - GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,16,00,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Geological Survey'."

DEMAND NO. 76 - OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS AND MINES AND METALS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,59,14,000 be granted to the President on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals and Mines and Metals'."

DEMAND NO. 77 - MINISTRY OF SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 52,96,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Shipping and Transport'."

DEMAND NO. 78 - ROADS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,13,38,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Roads'."

DEMAND NO. 79 - MERCANTILE MARINE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,52,69,000 be granted to the President, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Mercantile Marine'."

DEMAND NO. 80 - LIGHTHOUSES AND LIGHTSHIPS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

[Mr. Speaker]

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 46,77,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Lighthouses and Lightships'."

DEMAND NO. 81—OTHER REVENUE
EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY
OF SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,04,51,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Shipping and Transport'."

DEMAND NO. 82—MINISTRY
OF STEEL AND HEAVY
ENGINEERING

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,14,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Steel and Heavy Engineering'."

DEMAND NO. 83—OTHER
REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF
THE MINISTRY OF STEEL
AND HEAVY ENGINEERING

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,41,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Steel and Heavy Engineering'."

DEMAND NO. 84—MINISTRY OF
SUPPLY

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 39,46,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Supply'."

DEMAND NO. 85—SUPPLIES
AND DISPOSALS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,57,38,000 be granted to the President *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Supplies and Disposals'."

DEMAND NO. 86—OTHER
REVENUE EXPENDITURE
OF THE MINISTRY OF
SUPPLY

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,50,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Supply'."

DEMAND NO. 87—MINISTRY
OF TOURISM AND CIVIL
AVIATION

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,65,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation'."

DEMAND NO. 88—METEOROLOGY

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,72,55,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Meteorology'."

DEMAND NO. 89—AVIATION

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,96,06,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Aviation'."

DEMAND NO. 90—OTHER
REVENUE EXPENDITURE
OF THE MINISTRY OF
TOURISM AND CIVIL
AVIATION

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 97,39,000 be granted to the President *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation'."

DEMAND NO. 91—DEPARTMENT
OF ATOMIC ENERGY

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,00,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Department of Atomic Energy'."

DEMAND NO. 92—OTHER
REVENUE EXPENDITURE
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
ATOMIC ENERGY

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,85,70,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Department of Atomic Energy'."

DEMAND NO. 93—DEPARTMENT
OF COMMUNICATIONS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,38,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Department of Communications'."

DEMAND NO. 94—OVERSEAS
COMMUNICATIONS SERVICE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,58,11,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Overseas Communications Service'."

DEMAND NO. 95—POSTS AND
TELEGRAPHS (WORKING
EXPENSES)

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 96,06,76,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Posts and Telegraphs (Working Expenses)'."

DEMAND NO. 96—POSTS AND
TELEGRAPHS—DIVIDEND
TO GENERAL REVENUES
APPROPRIATION TO
RESERVE FUNDS AND RE-
PAYMENTS OF LOANS
FROM GENERAL
REVENUES

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,60,46,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Posts and Telegraphs—Dividend to General Revenues, Appropriation to Reserve Funds and Repayments of Loans from General Revenues'."

DEMAND NO. 97—OTHER
REVENUE EXPENDITURE
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
COMMUNICATIONS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,57,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972 in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Department of Communications'."

DEMAND NO. 98—DEPARTMENT
OF COMPANY AFFAIRS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,49,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1972, in respect of 'Department of Company Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 99—OTHER
REVENUE EXPENDITURE
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
COMPANY AFFAIRS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,08,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Department of Company Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 100—DEPARTMENT
OF ELECTRONICS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 43,94,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Department of Electronics'."

DEMAND NO. 101—DEPARTMENT
OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,37,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Department of Parliamentary Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 102—DEPARTMENT
OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUS-
TRIAL RESEARCH

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,40,58,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Department of Scientific and Industrial Research'."

DEMAND NO. 103—DEPARTMENT
OF SOCIAL WELFARE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,05,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Department of Social Welfare'."

DEMAND NO. 104—OTHER
REVENUE EXPENDITURE
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL WELFARE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,94,39,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Department of Social Welfare'."

DEMAND NO. 105—PLANNING
COMMISSION

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 54,10,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Planning Commission'."

DEMAND NO. 106—LOK SABHA

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 92,62,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Lok Sabha'."

DEMAND NO. 107 - RAJYA SABHA

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 37,82,000 be granted to the President,

on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1972, in respect of 'Rajya Sabha'."

DEMAND NO. 108—SECRETARIAT
OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,15,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Secretariat of the Vice President'."

DEMAND NO. 109—DEFENCE
CAPITAL OUTLAY

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 54,42,67,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Defence Capital Outlay'."

DEMAND NO. 110—OTHER
CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,53,33,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1972, in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Defence'."

DEMAND NO. 111—CAPITAL
OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY
OF EDUCATION AND
YOUTH SERVICES

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 48,18,000 be granted to the President, *on*

account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of "Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Education and Youth Services".

DEMAND NO. 112—CAPITAL
OUTLAY ON THE INDIA
SECURITY PRESS

MR. SPEAKER Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,03,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on the India Security Press'."

DEMAND NO. 113—CAPITAL
OUTLAY ON CURRENCY
AND COINAGE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,55,42,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Currency and Coinage'."

DEMAND NO. 114—CAPITAL
OUTLAY ON MINTS

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,61,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Mints'."

DEMAND NO. 115—CAPITAL
OUTLAY ON KOLAR GOLD
MINES

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 45,55,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Kolar Gold Mines'."

DEMAND NO. 116—COMMUTED
VALUE OF PENSIONS

MR. SPEAKER . Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 3,83,73,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Commutated Value of Pensions'."

DEMAND NO. 117—OTHER
CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE
MINISTRY OF FINANCE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,23,97,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Finance'."

DEMAND NO. 118—CAPITAL
OUTLAY ON GRANTS TO
STATE GOVERNMENTS FOR
DEVELOPMENT

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,64,67,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Grants to State Governments for Development'."

**DEMAND NO. 119—LOANS AND
ADVANCES BY THE CENTRAL
GOVERNMENT**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,63,71,04,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972 in respect of 'Loans and Advances by the Central Government'."

**DEMAND NO. 120—PURCHASE
OF FOODGRAINS AND
FERTILIZERS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 41,12,21,000 be granted to the President *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Purchase of Foodgrains and Fertilizers'."

**DEMAND NO. 121—OTHER
CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE
MINISTRY OF FOOD,
AGRICULTURE, COMMU-
NITY DEVELOPMENT AND
COOPERATION**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,87,95,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation'."

**DEMAND NO. 122—CAPITAL
OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY
OF FOREIGN TRADE**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,62,93,000 be granted to the President,

on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Foreign Trade'."

**DEMAND NO. 123—CAPITAL
OUTLAY ON PUBLIC WORKS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,51,67,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Public Works'."

**DEMAND NO. 124—DELHI
CAPITAL OUTLAY**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,23,34,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Delhi Capital Outlay'."

**DEMAND NO. 125—OTHER CAPITAL
OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF
HEALTH AND FAMILY
PLANNING AND WORKS,
HOUSING AND URBAN
DEVELOPMENT**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,73,01,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other capital outlay of the Ministry of Health and Family Planning and Works, Housing and Urban Development'."

DEMAND NO. 126—CAPITAL OUTLAY
IN UNION TERRITORIES AND
TRIBAL AREAS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,59,76,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay in Union Territories and Tribal Areas'."

DEMAND NO. 127—OTHER CAPITAL
OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF
HOME AFFAIRS

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 68,33,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Home Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 128—CAPITAL OUTLAY
OF THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRIAL
DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNAL
TRADE

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding, Rs. 2,03,70,000 be granted to the President *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Industrial Development and Internal Trade'."

DEMAND NO. 129—CAPITAL OUTLAY
OF THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
AND BROADCASTING

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,74,80,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting'."

DEMAND NO. 130—CAPITAL OUTLAY
ON MULTIPURPOSE RIVER
SCHEMES

MR. SPEAKER : Motion Moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,92,88,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Multipurpose River Scheme'."

DEMAND NO. 131—OTHER
CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE
MINISTRY OF IRRIGATION
AND POWER

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,50,07,000 be granted to the president *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power'."

**DEMAND NO. 132—CAPITAL
OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY
OF LABOUR, EMPLOYMENT
AND REHABILITATION**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,52,53,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation'."

**DEMAND NO. 133—CAPITAL
OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY
OF PETROLEUM AND
CHEMICALS AND MINES
AND METALS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 27,02,71,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals and Mines and Metals'."

**DEMAND NO. 134—CAPITAL OUTLAY
ON ROADS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 18,55,72,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Roads'."

**DEMAND NO. 135—CAPITAL OUTLAY
ON PORTS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,65,40,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Ports'."

**DEMAND NO. 136—OTHER CAPITAL
OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF
SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,51,64,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Shipping and Transport'."

**DEMAND NO. 137—CAPITAL OUTLAY
OF THE MINISTRY OF STEEL AND
HEAVY ENGINEERING**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,62,15,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Steel and Heavy Engineering'."

**DEMAND NO. 138—CAPITAL OUTLAY
ON AVIATION**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,45,76,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Aviation'."

**DEMAND NO. 139—OTHER CAPITAL
OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF
TOURISM AND CIVIL AVIATION**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,52,27,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation'."

**DEMAND NO. 140—CAPITAL OUTLAY
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ATOMIC
ENERGY**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,71, 71,000 be granted to the President, *on account for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Department of Atomic Energy'."

**DEMAND NO. 141—CAPITAL OUTLAY
ON POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS (NOT
MET FROM REVENUE)**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 29,35, 00,000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Posts and Telegraphs (Not met from Revenue)'."

**DEMAND NO. 142—OTHER CAPITAL
OUTLAY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
COMMUNICATIONS**

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 61,27, 000 be granted to the President, *on account, for or towards* defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Department of Communications'."

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय (गाजीपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, सबसे पहले हमारे देश में अश की बार नीतियों के प्रश्न पर आम चुनाव हुआ था, और हमारे देश की जनता ने यह आशा की थी कि जो बजट हमारे सामने आयेगा लोक सभा में उसमें कुछ आन्तिकारी परिवर्तन होंगे, और इसी आशा से उस ने भारी बहुमत से इस सरकार को विजयी बनाया था। मगर दुःख इस बात का है कि जो बजट सदन में आया है उसमें कोई नई बात नहीं कही गई है। वही पुराने आश्वासन दिये गये हैं और पुरानी बातें कही गई हैं।

इस बजट में कहा गया है कि बेकारों के लिये काम की व्यवस्था की जायेगी और इसके लिये 50 करोड़ 80 की व्यवस्था की गई। इसी तरह यह भी कहा गया है कि हमारे देश के जो प्रदेश पिछड़े हुए हैं उनके पिछड़ेपन को दूर करने के लिये 175 करोड़ 80 की व्यवस्था की गई है। साथ ही साथ यह भी कहा गया है कि कीमतों को ठीक रखने का प्रयास किया जायेगा। हमारे देश में जो मंहगाई हो रही है उसके लिये कहा गया है कि सिर्फ हमारे देश में ही नहीं बल्कि सारी दुनिया में मंहगाई बढ़ रही है, और इस लिये इसके कोई खास कदम उठाने की बात नहीं कही गई है। इस तरह से जो बजट हमारे देश के सामने आया है और इस सदन के सामने आया है, उस में लोगों में एक निराशा की भावना उत्पन्न हुई है क्योंकि सारे लोगों ने जो चुनाव दौरे किये हैं, उन में सारी जगहों पर उन्होंने प्रचार किया है कि इस देश में बहुत जल्दी कोई आमूल परिवर्तन होगा। हमें ऐसा मालूम होता है कि यह आशा निराशा में बदलेगी। सबसे आश्चर्य की बात यह है कि इस बजट में यह नहीं कहा गया है कि रुपया कैसे आयेगा, इन सब कामों को करने के लिये धन कहाँ से आयेगा। इस की कोई व्यवस्था इस बजट में नहीं है।

जैसा कल बहुत से सदस्यों ने कहा था, ऐसा मालूम होता है कि अगले बजट में टक्कों का भारी बोझ जनता पर डाला जायेगा और वह आम जनता पर पड़ेगा। मंहगाई और बढ़ेगी और देश में एक निराशा का वातावरण उत्पन्न होगा। आज सारे देश में हिंसात्मक घटनाएँ हो रही हैं। अभी हमारे भाई हरिजनों का समर्थन कर रहे थे। उन्होंने कहा कि अलीगढ़ में मुसलमानों के घरों में आग लगाई गई है, कांग्रेस वालों के घरों को फूँका गया है,

और आदिमियों को चारपाई के बांध कर जलाया गया है। मैंने स्वयं कल जा कर अपनी आँखों से इस को देखा है। एक तरफ यह सब हो रहा है और दूसरी तरफ गरीबी और बेकारी से पीड़ित हजारों और लाखों नौजवान हमारे देश में फरार हो कर जंगलों में शरण ले रहे हैं। चाहते हैं कि देश में आमूल परिवर्तन हो। लेकिन वे इस बजट में कोई खास बात नहीं रखी गई है। वही पुरानी बातें ही इस में बोहरा दी गई हैं।

सब से बड़ी समस्या हमारे देश की बेकारी की है। कल श्री तिवारी बोल रहे थे। उनका कहना था कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर में सब कुछ दे दो तो बेकारी खली जायेगी और देश में आमूल परिवर्तन हो जायेगा। जहाँ तक जनता के सैक्टर का सम्बन्ध है, उसकी उन्होंने कई शिकायतें की हैं। उन्होंने रेलवे की भी बात कही। लेकिन उन्होंने यह नहीं बताया कि आखिर यह सब होता क्यों है। देश में आमूल परिवर्तन लाने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि सब से पहले एक नई विधा देश को मिले। अगर आप को समाजवादी बजट लाना था तो उस में जरूर बेकारों को काम देने की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए थी और इस प्रकार के और क्रान्तिकारी कदम आपको उस में उठाने चाहिए थे। हजारों नौजवानों ने आन्दोलन किया था, जेलों में गए थे। उनकी मांग थी कि या तो उनको काम दिया जाए और अगर काम नहीं दिया जाता है तो उनको बेकारी का भत्ता दिया जाए। लेकिन उसकी भी कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। हमारे देश में लगभग एक करोड़ बेकार हैं। 60-63 हजार प्रेचुएट इंजीनियर बेकार हैं, मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि सरकार बिना बेकारों को काम दिये हुए नौजवानों को जो बेकार हैं उस तरफ जाने से कैसे रोक सकती है, जिस सरकार के जा रहे हैं, किस तरह से उनके बिचार को प्रचल सकती है।

हम लोगों को भी बहुत से पत्र आते हैं। खिलीगुड़ी से मुझे भी एक नौजवान का पत्र आया है। उसने लिखा है कि आप लोग हिन्दुस्तान में क्रान्ति का दरवाजा बन्द करके बैठे हैं और जब तक आप लोगों को मारा नहीं जाएगा तब तक देश में क्रान्ति नहीं हो सकती है, क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन नहीं लाए जा सकते हैं। यह चीज यह जाहिर करती है कि हमारे देश के नौजवान देश में इन्कलाब चाहते हैं, आमूल परिवर्तन लाना चाहते हैं। वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि पचास करोड़ रुपया बेकारों को काम देने के लिये रख दिया गया है। अब आप देखें कि एक करोड़ हमारे देश में बेकार हैं। पचास करोड़ का अगर हिसाब किया जाए तो एक आदमी के हिस्से में पचास रुपये आते हैं। अब पचास रुपये से आप क्या करेंगे, कुछ पता नहीं।

पिछड़े प्रान्तों की बात भी कही गई है। मुझे प्रसन्नता हुई यह देख कर कि आप ने दक्षिण भारत में तीन लोहे के कारखाने दिये। लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश, उड़ीसा आदि में जहाँ आन्दोलन हुए, आपने क्या किया? दूसरी जगह भी आन्दोलन हो रहे हैं, आप क्या कर रहे हैं? खास तौर से पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश में जहाँ बराबर इस बात की मांग होती रही है कि उसके लिए कुछ किया जाए, आज तक कुछ नहीं किया गया है। उसके लिए इस बजट में न तो कोई इंडिकेशन है और ही न कोई बात कही गई है। पता नहीं पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के जो पिछड़े हुए जिले हैं, उनके लिए आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं। हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के लोगों ने जिन में हमारे कांग्रेस के भाई भी शामिल हैं, एटामिक पावर स्टेशन की माँग की थी। उसके बारे में कई बार कहा गया है। लेकिन इस बजट में इसकी तरफ कोई इशारा नहीं किया गया है। मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ कि

[श्री सरजू पाण्डेय]

दूसरे प्रान्तों की आप उम्मेद करें, उनको कुछ न दें लेकिन हम यह भी चाहते हैं कि हमारे प्रान्त और दूसरे प्रान्त जिन की आज तक उम्मेद हुई है, उन की तरफ पर्याप्त ध्यान दिया जाए।

कलकत्ता के सुधार की बात कही गई है। वहां बहुत दिनों से इसकी मांग चली आ रही है। बंगाल में लाखों लोग कलकत्ता की सड़कों पर रहते हैं। उनके पास न घर है और न सोने की कोई व्यवस्था है। इस बजट में कोई बहुत बात तो जरूर कही गई है। लेकिन कोई बड़ी योजना कलकत्ता के सुधार की रखी गई हो, ऐसा मैं नहीं समझता हूं।

हमारे जिले की गंगा दो भागों में बांटसी है। हम लोगों की लगातार यह मांग रही है कि गंगा पर पुल बना कर जिले को जोड़ दिया जाए ताकि हजारों आदमी जो रोजाना डूब डूब आते जाते हैं, उनको सुविधा हो। लेकिन इस पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। राजनीतिक तौर पर कैसे ले लिए जाते हैं। बिहार में डा० राम सुभग सिंह जी ने दबाव में आकर पुल बना दिया। चूंकि हमारा कोई दबाव नहीं था, हमारा कोई आदमी नहीं था, इसलिए कोई पुल नहीं बना आज तक। वहां की जनता की एक ही मांग है कि पुल बना दिया जाए। अगर उस इलाके का विकास करना है तो वहां पुलों का निर्माण जरूरी है। वहां रेलवे लाइन भी छोटी छोटी है। प्रान्त में कोई धंधे भी नहीं है। गरीबी वहां पैर जमाए बैठी है। लेकिन उसके बावजूद इस बजट में कुछ भी प्रावधान नहीं किया गया है।

फसलों की बात इसमें कही गई है। गन्ने की काश्त करने वाले किसान हमारे देश में उजड़ गए हैं। पिछली बार बड़ा भारी सम्मेलन हुआ था। सारे देश के लोग इकट्ठा हुए थे।

इस साल गन्ने के काश्तकारों को भयानक नुकसान उठाना पड़ा है। एक तरफ तो गन्ने के दाम तय नहीं किये गए हैं और दूसरी तरफ आज भी उत्तर प्रदेश में मिल मालिकों की तरफ जिन्होंने तमाम देश की लूट की है और लूट रहे हैं, करोड़ों ही नहीं अरबों रुपया बकाया पड़ा है और उसको उन्होंने भुगत नहीं किया है काश्तकारों को। उनका पैसा आज तक नहीं मिल पा रहा है और न सरकार ने कोई कदम उठाया है पैसा दिलवाने का। गन्ने की काश्त करने वाले जो लागत लगाते हैं, उसका मुआवजा उनको किस तरह से मिलेगा, कुछ पता नहीं है। यहाँ दिल्ली में अनेको डेपुटेशन आ कर मिले हैं। लेकिन कुछ नहीं किया गया है। बजट में आपने केवल मात्र उतना कहा है कि औद्योगिक फसलों के दामों की रोकने और ठीक दाम दिलाने की व्यवस्था की जाएगी। लेकिन दूसरी बातें जिन पर हमारा देश और किसान आशा लगाए बैठे हैं, पूरी नहीं हुई हैं और न उनके बारे में कुछ कहा गया है।

मैं कह चुका हूँ कि आदमी आदमी का भेद जाना चाहिये। जो भेद है वह कम होना चाहिये। आपने बड़े बड़े फफसर रखे हुए हैं। उनकी तनख्वाहों को घटाने की ओर आपने कोई इशारा नहीं किया है। मगरमच्छ आपने पाल रखे हैं। रेलवे बोर्ड और दूसरे लोगों की चर्चा इस सदन में बराबर की गई है। यह कहा गया है कि तनख्वाहों में एक और दस का अन्तर होना चाहिये। एक तरफ तो छः हजार, चार हजार और दस हजार तनख्वाह है और दूसरी तरफ 60 रुपया पाने वाले लोग हैं। इस भेद को मिटाया नहीं गया है, कम नहीं किया गया है। जनता कैसे विश्वास कर सकती है कि समाजवाद आया? ऐसा करके बहुत भी हो सकती थी। लेकिन इस तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया।

आपने बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया लेकिन केवल 14 बैंकों का किया। राष्ट्रीयकरण के बाद भी गरीब लोगों को कर्ज नहीं मिलता है। आज भी वो लोग सिक्कोरिटी नहीं दे सकते हैं, उनको कर्जा नहीं मिलता है। बैंकों में जिनका एकाउंट है और जो बड़े लोग हैं और जो सिक्कोरिटी दे सकते हैं, उन्हें तो कर्ज मिलते हैं। जिनके एकाउंट नहीं है उनकी सिक्कोरिटी नहीं ली जाती है। छोटे छोटे व्यापारियों को कर्जा नहीं मिलता है। काश्तकारों को जो पम्पिंग सेंट लगाना चाहते हैं या दूसरे काम करना चाहते हैं और कर्जा लेना चाहते हैं, उनके पास जमीन रहते हुए भी बैंकों से उनको कर्जा नहीं मिलता है। अगर देश में सरकारी खजाने को बढ़ाना है तो जरूरी है कि सारे बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाए। केवल 14 बैंकों का ही अभी किया गया है। बाकी जो बैंक हैं उनका राष्ट्रीयकरण करने में क्या कठिनाई है? बाकी जो बैंक हैं उनका भी राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिये। सब बैंक पूंजीपतियों के हाथ में हैं। विदेशी जो बैंक हैं उनका भी राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिये। यह मांग हम बराबर करते आ रहे हैं। इसको पूरा नहीं किया गया है। देशी और विदेशी सभी बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण होना बहुत जरूरी है।

तेल उद्योग की बात भी घाती है। दुनियां के छोटे छोटे देशों ने तेल उद्योग को अपने हाथ में ले लिया है। लेकिन हमारी सरकार आज भी तेल उद्योग को प्राइवेट हाथों में रखे हुए हैं। आपने अपने टैन प्लांट प्रांग्राम में यह लिखा है कि तेल उद्योग का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो। लेकिन कोई बात अब तक इसके बारे में नहीं की गई है। यह भी कभी होगा या नहीं होगा? आपके दल और हम लोगों ने एक स्वर से मांग की थी कि तेल उद्योग का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाए। आप क्यों इसको नहीं करते हैं।

राजाओं की पैलियों की बात भी घाती है। मैं नहीं जानता हूं कि इन राजा लोगों ने हमारे देश पर क्या उपकार किया है। हमारे देश में ऐसे राजा भी हुए हैं जिन्होंने गदियां छोड़ दी थीं और जंगलों में चले गए थे। महात्मा बुद्ध भी उन में से एक थे। लेकिन ये वे राजा लोग हैं जिन्होंने अंग्रेजों की सहायता करके देश के लाखों लोगों को फांसी पर चढ़वाया था, करोड़ों की नहीं बल्कि धरबों रुपये की सम्पत्ति बनाई। आज भी उनको पसं देने की बात की जाती है। उनको मुमबाजा देने की बात कही जा रही है। उनको और अधिक धन देने की बात की जाती है। मैं नहीं जानता हूं कि इसके पीछे क्या राज है। आज भी राजा लोगों को मकान, बिजली, कार, तेल, पेट्रोल सब कुछ मुफ्त मिल रहा है...

एक माननीय सदस्य : मुफ्त नहीं मिलता पेट्रोल।

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय : पेट्रोल भी मुफ्त मिलता है। हम लोगों को एक रुपया तीस पैसे लिटर मिलता है और उनको 48 पैसे लिटर मिलता है। राजा लोगों के यहाँ इतने टेलीफोन लगे हुए हैं कि कोई हिसाब ही नहीं। उनके किचन में, उनके नहान खानों में टेलीफोन लगे हुए हैं। हजारों व्यापारी हमारे देश के ऐसे हैं जिनको टेलीफोन नहीं मिल पा रहा है। लेकिन राजा लोगों के किचन में और नहान खानों तक में टेलीफोन लगे हुए हैं। राजाओं की पैलियां बन्द होनी चाहिये। मैं यह इसलिए नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि उनसे मेरी कोई दुश्मनी है। बल्कि इसलिए मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि देश को धन की जरूरत है। एक तरफ तो हमारे देश में भूखे नंगे गरीब लोग हैं और दूसरी तरफ ये बड़े बड़े राजा और महाराजा लोग हैं। देश में 75 परिवार ऐसे हैं जो गरीब...

[श्री सरजू पाण्डेय]

चुम्बी घट्टालिकाओं में रहते हैं। ये सब वे लोग हैं जिन्होंने करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करके तमाम प्रगतिशील उम्मीदवारों को हराने की कोशिश की है। फिर भी हमारी सरकार उनकी तरफ से भाँखें बन्द किए बैठी है। उन पर रोक लगनी चाहिये।

बड़े बड़े व्यापारियों और महाजनों के पास जो पैसा और सम्पत्ति है, वह उन्होंने देश के मजदूरों का शोषण करके हासिल किया है। वह देश का धन है और इसलिये देश के काम में लगना चाहिए। सरकार को सारे उद्योगों को अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिए। बहुत से प्रान्तों में जमींदारियाँ तोड़ दी गई हैं और खेतों की सीमा बीस पच्चीस या चालिस एकड़ निश्चित कर दी गई है। लेकिन बिरसा या टाटा के पास जो सम्पत्ति है या जो घरबों रुपये हैं, क्या उनके लिए कोई लिमिट नहीं है।

12 hrs.

यहाँ पर कुछ सदस्य समाजवाद के नाम पर जीत कर भागे हैं, लेकिन वे पूँजीवाद के बकील हैं। उनको भी जाना चाहिए। उनकी यह नैतिक जिम्मेदारी है कि जिन्होंने देश के सामने जो वादे किये हैं, वे उन्हें पूरा करने का प्रयत्न करें, वरना देश उनके साथ भी वही बर्ताव करेगा, जो उस ने समाजवाद और प्रगति के दूसरे विरोधियों के साथ किया है। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि देश के सामने परिवर्तनकारी कार्यक्रम रखे जायें।

विदेशी व्यापार को भी सरकार को अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिए। आज जिन लोगों के हाथ में विदेशी व्यापार है, वे घरबों घरबों रुपयों की बोरी करते हैं, लेकिन सरकार उनके खिलाफ कार्यवाही करने की हिम्मत नहीं करती है। कहा गया है कि इस विषय में कुछ कानून बनाये जायेंगे। सरकार ने कानून बनायेगी और

वे उनको अपने हक में इस्तेमाल करेंगे।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा है, विदेशी व्यापार, तेल उद्योग और बैंकों आदि का राष्ट्रीयकरण करना चाहिए, ताकि देश का धन बड़े और जनता को टैक्सों से मुक्ति मिले। अगर सरकार टैक्स बढ़ायेगी, तो उपभोक्ता वस्तुओं के दाम बढ़ेंगे और उसका समाजवाद हवा में उड़ जायेगा। उस स्थिति में सारा देश निराशा में डूब जायेगा और फिर इस देश में जो कुछ होगा, उसकी कल्पना नहीं की जा सकती है। आज हमारा देश जागरूक है। आज हिमालय से कन्याकुमारी तक देश की जनता में परिवर्तन और देश की प्रगति की आशा जागी है। सब गरीब लोगों में एक विश्वास पैदा हुआ कि अब देश में कुछ होगा। सरकार की तरफ से वादे तो पिछले तेइस सालों से किये जाते रहें हैं। लेकिन अब उस में एकटब कदम उठाया तो देश ने उसका स्वागत किया। अब अगर सरकार टाल-मटोल की बातें करेगी और जनता को भूटे आश्वासन देगी, तो काम नहीं चलेगा।

यह भी बहुत जरूरी है कि देश के गरीब लोगों और माइनरिटी कम्युनिटी की प्रोटेक्शन के लिए नये कानून बनाये जाएँ। जो लोग गरीबों को मारते हैं, बसवे आगनाइज करते हैं, गन्दा प्रचार करते हैं, उनके खिलाफ सख्त कार्यवाही करने के लिए प्रशासन को पूरे अधिकार दिये जाने चाहिये। हम जानते हैं कि पिछले दिनों चुनाव के अवसर पर अलीगढ़ में क्या कुछ किया गया है। अलीगढ़ की दीवारों पर जो नारे लिखे गये हैं, उन को पढ़ कर शर्म से गर्दन झुक जाती है। ऐसे लोगों पर रोक लगाई जानी चाहिये। हमारे देश में ऐसे अकबारी भी हैं, जो गंदी बातें लिखने के लिये मशहूर हैं। यता नहीं सरकार का सेंसर विभाग कहीं रहता है। दूसरे लोगों को तो सरकार प्रिवेंटिव डिटेन्शन एक्ट के अन्तर्गत बन्द कर देती है, लेकिन

जिन लोगों ने अलीगढ़ में गण्डा प्रचार करने बलवा कराया, वे खुले आम घूम रहे हैं और पुलिस उनको नहीं पकड़ती है। सरकार को गरीब जनता को प्रोटेक्शन देनी चाहिये और इन मगरमच्छों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही करनी चाहिये।

अगर सरकार अपनी नीतियों में आंशूल परिवर्तन करेगी, तभी हिंसा से बचा जा सकता है। बिड़ला को प्रथम या सहायता देने से हिंसा को नहीं रोका जा सकता है। माननीय सदस्य बड़े क्रान्तिकारी रहे हैं, लेकिन उनका भाषण सुन कर बड़ी निराशा हुई। बिड़ला देश को नहीं बचा सकता है। देश के जो करोड़ों इन्सान आज भूखे, नंगे और गरीब हैं, जो सड़कों पर पैदा होते हैं और सड़कों पर ही मरते हैं, उनकी हालत अच्छी बनाने से ही देश आगे बढ़ेगा। सरकार को नई नीतियां अपनानी चाहिये, ताकि हमारे देश में एक नई आशा का उदय हो।

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमें अपनी कटमोशन भुव करने का मौका दिया जाये।

MR. SPEAKER : They are taken as moved.

So far as calling members is concerned, I have decided that one old member will be followed by one new member. If the whips send two names, the new member will have preference for some time.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI : I beg to move :

"That the demand for grant on Account under the head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to remove the R.S.S. office from the premises of Banaras Hindu University (1)]

"That the demand for grant on account under the head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to make proper arrangements for the development of Urdu language (2)]

"That the demand for grant on Account under the head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Step-motherly treatment towards Urdu (3)]

"That the demand for grant on account under the head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to nationalise education throughout the country (4)]

"That the demand for grant on account under the head Education be reduced by Rs. 100"

[Need to introduce uniform syllabi in all the schools and colleges in the country (5)]

"That the Demand for Grant on Account under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to accept the demands of the teachers of schools and colleges, (6)]

"That the demand for grant on Account under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to set up at least one central University in each State. (7)]

"That the Demand for Grant on Account under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to bring the Patna University under Centre's control in view of its deplorable condition. (8)]

[Shri Ramavatar Shastri]

"That the Demand for Grant on Account Under the Head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to institute an enquiry into the attitude of favouritism adopted by the officers and the police during the last elections to Lok Sabha (11)]

"That the Demand for Grant on Account under the Head Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to ban communal organisations and communal propaganda. (12)]

"That the demand for grant on Account under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check the High-handedness of Police. (13)]

"That the demand for grant on Account under the head Police be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to restore the facilities to suspended and discharged police personnel after their reinstatement, with effect from the date of their suspension and discharge from service. (14)]

"That the demand for grant on Account under the head Ministry of Irrigation and Power be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need of granting additional financial aid for the implementation of Kosi, Gandak and Sone River Projects in Bihar. (15)]

"That the Demand for grant on account under the head Ministry of Irrigation and Power be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide special assistance to Government of Bihar for the completion of Pun Pun River Scheme, Mokamah Tal Scheme and Barhia Tal Scheme. (16)]

"That the demand for grant on Account under the head Ministry of Irrigation and Power be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide more funds to Bihar Government for State tube-well schemes. (17)]

"That the demand for Grant on Account under the Head Ministry of Irrigation and Power be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to supply more power to Bihar and to reduce its rates (18)]

"That the Demand for Grant on Account under the Head Ministry of Irrigation and Power be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to provide irrigation facilities from Ganga in Patna, Shahbad, Gaya Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts of Bihar (19).]

"That the Demand for Grant on Account under the Head Ministry of Irrigation and Power be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need of not permitting Government of Madhya Pradesh to construct a dam on Sone river in the area falling under their Jurisdiction. (20)]

"That the Demand for Grant on Account under the Head Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to change the anti labour policy of Labour Department (21)]

"That the Demand for grant on Account under the Head Ministry of Labour Employment and Rehabilitation be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to accept the nine point demands of the employees working in Provident Fund Offices (22)]

"That the demand for grant on Account under Head Ministry of Labour Employment and Rehabilitation be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Anti-labour and arbitrary policy of officers of Provident Fund Officers. (23)]

"That the demand for grant on account under the Head Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to check increasing unemployment in the country" (24)]

"That the demand for grant on account under the Head Director General Mines Safety be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Unsatisfactory arrangement for mines security. (25)]

"That the demand for grant on account under the Head Director General Mines Safety be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to equip the mines with the latest devices of Security. (26)]

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

[Failure to implement strictly the awards of Labour Tribunals and Arbitration Boards. (27)]

"That the Demand for grant on account under the head Labour and Employment be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to pay special attention the welfare schemes for mine workers. (28)]

"That the demand for grant on account under the head Labour and Employment be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to provide wages to mine workers in accordance with the recommendation of the Pay Commission. (29)]

"That the demand for grant on account under the head Expenditure on Displaced Persons be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to improve the pitiable condition of displaced persons. (30)]

MR. SPEAKER : The cut Motions are also before the House.

श्री हरी सिंह (खुर्जा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने जो बजट पेश किया है, मैं उस का अनुमोदन करता हूँ और साथ ही उन को बधाई भी देता हूँ कि उन्होंने कोई नया टैक्स नहीं लगाया है। इस से आम लोगों में बड़ी आशा जगी है। लेकिन इस बजट में देश की आर्थिक हालत में सुधार करने के लिए कोई विशेष बात नहीं कही गई है। इस में राष्ट्र के आमदनी में साढ़े पाँच फीसदी वृद्धि का व्यौरा दिया गया है, लेकिन राष्ट्र की गरीबी को देखते हुए यह न के बराबर है। अगर राष्ट्र को खुशहाल बनाना है, अगर देश में तरक्की करनी है, तो हम को राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति और आय को बढ़ाने के लिए वार-फुटिंग पर काम करना पड़ेगा, वरना हमारे देश को अन्य राष्ट्रों के समकक्ष पहुँचने के लिए सदियों का वक्त लग जायेगा। इस लिए मैं वित्त मंत्री से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह देश को खुशहाल बनाने के लिए राष्ट्रीय आमदनी को बढ़ाने की रफ़्तार को तेज करें।

आज हमारे देश में एक तरफ़ तो गरीबी दिखाई देती है और दूसरी तरफ़ ऐसे बहुत से परिवार हैं, जिन के पास लाखों करोड़ों रूपयों की सम्पत्ति है, जिसका कोई हिसाब-किताब इस देश में किसी कागज़ या खाने में या बैंक में नहीं है—जिस को आप काला धन कह सकते हैं। इस काले धन को बाहर निकालने के लिए पहले फ़िक्र किया गया है, लेकिन मौजूदा बजट में इस सम्बन्ध में कोई नया प्रस्ताव नहीं रखा गया है। इससे मुझे निराशा हुई है। काला धन हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को बाँबा-होल करता है। इस चुनाव में राजा-महाराजा और

[श्री हरी सिंह]

सेठ-साहूकार और बड़े पूँजीपति चुनाव लड़े। इस में यह काला धन उन की मदद के लिये आया।

डा० कर्णो सिंह (बीकानेर) मैं माननीय सदस्य से एक सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ। इस चुनाव में कांग्रेस पार्टी ने करोड़ों रुपये खर्च किये। क्या वह सब सफेद धन था? मेरी कास्टीट्यूएन्सी में कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरफ से तीस लाख रुपया खर्च हुआ। वह कौनसी एकाउंट बुक में लिखा था? माननीय सदस्य न्याय की बात करें। वह दूसरी पर पत्थर फेंकते हैं, लेकिन वह अपनी तरफ भी देखें।

श्री हरी सिंह : सारा देश इन लोगों के काले-कारनामों को जानता है। (अवधान) इन को काले धन की बात से चिढ़ क्यों है?

DR. KARNI SINGH The Congress Party has spent crores of rupees if they can prove that it was all white money, I can accept it (Interruptions)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : वह नये मेम्बर हैं उन को बोलने दिया जाये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वाजपेयी जी ठीक कह रहे हैं। वह पहली दफा बोल रहे हैं उन को बोलने दीजिए।

श्री हरी सिंह अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति के बारे में कह रहा था। कुछ सचवाकों को और हमारे माननीय सदस्य को बहुत बुरा लगा। लेकिन सच्चाई को अपने से परे रखना मैं समझता हूँ कि अपने साथ विश्वासघात करना होगा। एक दिन आया जब आप को सच्चाई को मान कर के बसना होगा।

तो मैं अर्ज कर रहा था राज्य की आर्थिक उन्नति के सम्बन्ध में। आज मुल्क के अंदर बेरोजगारी है। हमारी सरकार इसके प्रति जागरूक और चेतन्य है। मैं इस ओके पर उन को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार बेरोजगारी अगर खत्म करना चाहती है तो आज देश के अन्दर बहुत से ऐसे आर्थिक संस्थान हैं जिन पर कि अब भी विदेशी लोगों का आधिपत्य जमा हुआ है। जैसे कि चाय के बागान हैं और जूट के बड़े बड़े कारखाने हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि वह जूट के कारखानों को राष्ट्रीयकरण करे जिससे कि राष्ट्र की आमदनी बढ़ेगी और देश के अन्दर सुशहाली भी आएगी। आज हमारी सरकार देश से गरीबी को मिटाना चाहती है और वह आर्थिक समानता लाने पर तुली हुई है। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि देश में आर्थिक समानता और इन्तानी बराबरी आएगी। लेकिन जो हमारी सरकार के कार्य करने में और जनता के बीच में मशीन है, जिस में उच्च अधिकारी आते हैं और हाएस्ट लेवल के अधिकारी आते हैं, मैं आपके माध्यम से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उनका जो तौर तरीका है वह हमारे प्रजातन्त्र को बदनाम करने वाला है। वह बराबर इसी कोशिश में लगे रहते हैं। हम जब जनता के पास बोट मांगने के लिए पहुँचते हैं तो अक्सर हमारी आलोचना कम होती है लेकिन सरकारी कर्मचारियों के माध्यम से हमको बहुत बुरी-बुरी बातें सुनने का शिकार होना पड़ता है। तो मैं आप के सामने सुझाव रखता हूँ कि यह जो हाएस्ट लेवल उच्च अधिकारी हैं जिनके पास आमदनी और खर्च वाले बड़े बड़े साधन योगी छिपे होते हैं उन से उन की आमदनी और खर्च का पूरा-पूरा धीरा लिया जाये। आज देश के अंदर आर्थिक अधिकार कुछ हाथों में जमा हुआ है जिस के डी-सेंट्रलाइजेशन की बहुत

आवश्यकता है जिससे कि धन कुछ हाथों में ही न रहे। दूसरे, जो तनख्वाहों के बीच एक कर्मचारी और दूसरे कर्मचारी की तनख्वाहों के बीच जमीन आसमान का फर्क है, आखिर जब हम इस भेद को मिटाने के लिए समाजवाद की तरफ चल पड़े हैं तो जितनी जल्दी से जल्दी हम इस असमानता को खाई को पाट सकें उतना ही अच्छा है। इस सरकार को इस के प्रति जागरूक होना चाहिए। आज देश के अंदर करोड़ों की ताबाद में हरीजन और बैकवर्ड लोग हैं। उनके पास गृहने के लिए मकान, सिर छिपाने के लिए झोंपड़ी नहीं हैं। मैं सरकार ने निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि युद्ध स्तर पर राज्य के अंदर ऐसी योजना चलाई जाय जिस से कि कोई भी आदमी जिसके पास सिर छिपाने की जगह नहीं है उसे जगह मिल सके और वह अपना जीवन निर्वाह कर सके। जो आदमी देश में इस प्रकार के है उन को सरकार की तरफ से प्रोत्साहन होना चाहिए। कमजोर वर्ग की हिमायत के लिए हम कहते हैं जब चुनाव होता है। लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि चुनाव के बाद लोगों के तौर तरीके बहुत बदल जाते हैं। हम मन में यह सोच कर आते हैं कि जो पिछड़ा वर्ग है, जो कमजोर वर्ग है उसको उठाएंगे। आज जमीन के संबंध में अनेक प्रश्न आते हैं। इस सदन में भी दो तीन दिनों के अंदर मैंने यह बात कई बार सुनी है। मेरा सुझाव है कि जिस आदमी की आर्थिक आय 3 हजार रुपये हो उस के नाम में कोई जमीन नहीं होनी चाहिए। अगर उस के नाम में जमीन है तो उस से वह जमीन सरकार को ले लेनी चाहिए। कई देशों में, इंग्लैंड में भी ऐसा है कि कोई आदमी बिजनेस में लगा है तो उस के नाम जमीन नहीं हो सकती है। इस तरह की प्रणाली हमारे देश में भी जायी होनी चाहिए। यह मैंने आप के सामने आर्थिक समता और स्वतन्त्रता की बात रखी।

अब मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे धर्मों में जो आज कल बोट के सिलसिले में भगड़े हो रहे हैं उन से अन्धकारों को पढ़ने वाले अच्छी तरह परिचित होंगे। हमारे प्रदेश में भारतीय क्रान्ति बल, जनसंघ और दूसरी पार्टियों की मिली हुई सरकार रही है। बी०के०डी० के लोग हमारे यहाँ प्रचुरता, हरिजनों बैकवर्ड जातियों और मुसलमानों पर बहुत भ्रष्टाचार कर रहे हैं। जेवर थाने में नेकपुर एक गांव है। वहाँ पर चमारों के घरों में घाग लगा दी गई और उन को मारा पीटा गया। उसकी बाकायदा रिपोर्ट थाने में हुई है। लेकिन अधिकारी वर्ग कुछ नहीं कर रहा है क्योंकि वहाँ बी०के०डी० दल सरकार में है। लेकिन खुशी की बात है कि बी०के०डी० का मसूबा कल परसों में उत्तर प्रदेश में खत्म हो जायगा। हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है और विशेषकर हमारा जिला कृषि प्रधान जिला है। मेरे जिले में सिंचाई और बिजली की दिक्कतें हैं, वह अभी तक दूर नहीं हो पाई हैं। अगर सरकार इस तरफ विशेष ध्यान दे तो थोड़े दिनों के अंदर उत्तर प्रदेश गेहूँ की समस्या को अवश्य हल कर सकता है। जय हिन्द।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यहाँ जय हिन्द कहने की परम्परा नहीं है। यह तो पब्लिक प्लेटफार्म पर कहने की चीज है।

श्री अन्निका प्रसाद (बलिया) : माननीय अध्यक्ष जी, मैं प्रस्तुत बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ। देश की आर्थिक और सामाजिक स्वतन्त्रता के लिए जो हम ने अखण्डतया का दायित्व लिया है उस को जोरदार शब्दों में पूरा करने के लिए इस बजट में कहा गया है। लेकिन दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि 23 वर्ष की आजादी के बाद भी आज जो हम को सामाजिक आजादी मिलनी चाहिए थी वह नहीं मिली

[श्री अन्विका प्रसाद]

है। अभी हमारे डटल बिहारी बाजपेयी जी कह रहे थे कि राजस्थान में हरिजनों पर जुल्म किया गया। मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहां संयुक्त मोर्चे के जो उम्मीदवार थे जिस में जनसंघ, स्वतंत्र पार्टी, एस.एस.पी. सब शामिल थे, उन्होंने हरिजनों को वोट देने के लिए जाने से रोका। उन को मारा पीटा। यहां तक कि हमारी कांस्टीट्यूएंस में तो गोली भी चली और 20-50 हजार हरिजनों को वोट नहीं देने दिया गया। मुसलमानों के ताजिये पर लाठियां चलाई गईं। इस मारपीट से दो भादमी हमारे यहाँ मर भी गए हैं। एलेक्शन कमिशनर को तार दिया गया। जहाँ पर सरकार हमारे खिलाफ थी वहाँ के अधिकारी हमारी बात सुनने को तैयार नहीं हुए। एलेक्शन कमिशनर को तार दिया गया उस की काफी प्रधान मंत्री और ग्रह मंत्री को भी भेजी गई। लेकिन भारत सरकार भी उन को न्याय दिलाने में सफल नहीं हो सकी। मेरा यह निवेदन है कि एक जांच बिठाई जाये और इस की जांच की जाय, मालूम किया जाय कि इस में कितना हमारा हाथ है और कितना सामन्ती प्रवृत्ति वाली पार्टियों का हाथ है। जो लोग भी ऐसा किए हैं उन के खिलाफ कार्यवाही की जानी चाहिए। साथ ही मेरा यह भी कहना है कि जो बीकर सेक्सन हैं, जो हरिजन इत्यादी हैं उनको वोट देने के लिए उन के गांव में ही मतदान केन्द्र बनाए जाय जिस से उन को वोट देने से कोई रोक न सके। एलेक्शन कमिशनर ने मोबाइल बूथ बनाने की बात कही थी लेकिन वह बनाए नहीं गए। मेरा एक यह भी सुझाव है कि एलेक्शन कमिशनर के पास एक फोर्स अपनी होनी चाहिए और उस को अधिकार होना चाहिए, जहाँ पर कि स्टेट की सरकार वोटर्स को सुरक्षा प्रदान करने में विफल रहे वहाँ पर एलेक्शन कमिशनर अपनी फोर्स चाहे वह सी.

आर. पी. हो या भरत सरकार को कोई और कोर्स हो, उस को इस्तेमाल कर के, उस की सहायता ले कर फ्री ऐंड फेयर एलेक्शन करा सके। इस प्रकार का अधिकार उस को होना चाहिए।

इसी के साथ-साथ आर्थिक समानता की बात भी है। बेकारी की समस्या आज देश में सुश्रा की तरह मुंह बाये है। इस आम चुनाव में नीतियों के आधार पर लड़ाई रही है। गरीबी दूर करने और विषमता मिटाने के नाम पर हम जनता में गए हैं और जनता ने हमारा प्रबल समर्थन किया है। लेकिन जनता आज यह वादे सुनने के लिए तैयार नहीं है कि हम इस कार्य को पूरा करेंगे। बल्कि वह चाहती है कि हमारे बेकार युवकों को मंहगाई भत्ता देना आरम्भ किया जाय। यह घोषित किया जाय कि हम उन को बेकारो का भत्ता दे रहे हैं। अगर अभी आरम्भ नहीं किया जाय तो अगले बजट तक इस को आरम्भ किया जाना चाहिए ताकि जो कहा गया है उस को पूरा कर के दिखाया जा सके। नहीं तो अगर हम अपने वादे को पूरा करने में विफल होते हैं तो यह हमारे लिए कलंक की बात होगी। अगर कहेंगे रुपया कहां से आया। तो रुपया लाने के साधन मैं बताता हूँ। आप टैक्स लगाने की बात करते हैं, आप टैक्स लगाइए लेकिन टैक्स उन पर लगाइए जो टैक्सों की चोरी करते हैं। जो गरीब किसान मजदूर हैं उन पर टैक्स नहीं लगाना चाहिए। आप ने थोड़े से बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया है। जो और बैंक हैं उन का राष्ट्रीयकरण कीजिए। प्रिवी वर्क बन्द कीजिए। जूट और चाय के बागान को नेशनलाइज कीजिए। यह सारे वैसे लेने के जो सोर्स हैं उन पर कब्जा कीजिए और जनता से जो कहा है उस को पूरा कीजिए। अगर हम अपने वादों को पूरा नहीं करने हैं तो हवारी भी वही दशा होगी, जो इन पार्टियों की हुई है। एक तरह से हमारे ऊपर

सलवार लटकी हुई है, जनता को कहने के लिये अब हमारे पास बहुता नहीं रह गया है कि अर्थ के अभाव में पूरा नहीं कर रहे हैं।

जहाँ एक विषयता की बात है, पिछड़े हुए प्रदेशों की विषयता हटाने के लिये हमारे बजट में प्रायोरिटी मिलनी चाहिए। बजट में इस का जिक्र है और इस के लिये 95 करोड़ रुपया स्टेट्स की एसिस्टेंस के लिये रखा गया है, यह पर्याप्त नहीं है, इस को और ज्यादा बढ़ाना चाहिये। उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों को इसमें टाप-प्रायोरिटी मिलनी चाहिए। उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में आज कोई कल-कारखाना नहीं है। हम ने सुना था कि कोई एम्प्लॉ-इण्डस्ट्री खुलने वाली है और हम आशा करते थे कि इस बजट में उस का उल्लेख होगा, लेकिन मुझे यह देख कर दुख हुआ वहाँ कोई भी ऐसी इण्डस्ट्री नहीं लगाई जा रही है। बलिया में एक बुगर फैक्ट्री कोम्पापरेटिव बेसिस पर खुलने वाली थी, उस को लाईसेंस मिला हुआ है, उस के भेद्यर बेचने के लिये हम सरकार का सहयोग चाहते थे। वहाँ पर इस बार गन्ना बिल्कुल नहीं उठाया गया है, हर साल मील बालों की तरफ से वहाँ कांटा लगाया जाता था, लेकिन इस बार कांटा नहीं लगाया गया, जिस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि वहाँ के किसानों को अपना गन्ना जला देना पड़ा। अगर सरकार की ओर से कटि की व्यवस्था हो जाय और उन के गन्ने को ले लिया जाय, तो उस के दाम को भेद्यर के रूप में परिणित किया जा सकता है, लेकिन अभी तक इस मामले में कोई सुनवाई नहीं हुई।

कम्प्यूनिफिकेशन और बिजली के मामले में हमारा प्रदेश बिल्कुल पिछड़ा हुआ है। हम को एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का कारखाना देने का वायदा किया गया था, लेकिन वह भी पूरा नहीं हुआ। रिहन्द में पानी की कमी की वजह से जो बिजली

की कमी हुई, उस के कारण बिजली की सप्लाई में 25 प्रतिशत का कट कर दिया गया है, लेकिन हमारे पूर्वी जिलों में तो पहले ही बिजली नाम-मात्र की थी, वहाँ भी इस कट को लागू कर दिया गया। अगर इस कट को रोकना सम्भव नहीं था तो थर्मल-पावर-स्टेशन की, जो पहले थे, उन को चालू करना चाहिए था। रिहन्द में जो अधिक बिजली हम को मिलने वाली थी, वह भी नहीं मिली, उस को पूरा करना चाहिये और कट को समाप्त करना चाहिए।

कम्प्यूनिफिकेशन के मामले में भी हमारा प्रदेश बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है। ट्रांसपोर्ट मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से एक भगवती-कमेटी इस सिलसिले में बनाई गई थी, उस कमेटी ने भी हमारे क्षेत्र के लिये गंगा और घाघरा में जहाज चलाने का सुझाव दिया था, लेकिन अभी तक वह मामला अधिकारियों के पास दबा पड़ा है और उन से कोई सहयोग नहीं मिल रहा है। आज इस सरकार की स्पष्ट नीति है कि देश की गरीबी को दूर किया जाय, लेकिन अगर हम में अधिकारियों का सहयोग नहीं होगा, उन की तरफ से विलम्ब होगा तो हम से देश को निराशा होगी। तो देश में क्रान्ति आयेगी। इस लिए जरूरी है कि देश से विषयता को हटाने के लिए अधिकारियों का पूरा सहयोग मिलना चाहिये, जो भी अधिकारी जिस काम के लिए जिम्मेदार है, वह उस को पूरा कर के दिखावे, जितनी बातों के हम ने वायदे किये हैं, उन को तेजी से पूरा कर के दिखावे।

हमारा देश स्वतन्त्रता सेनानियों का देश है। सन 1942 के आन्दोलन में मेरे प्रवेश से प्रत्येक घर का एक लड़का मारा गया था, लेकिन जितना कम्पेन्सेशन वहाँ मिलना चाहिये, वह नहीं मिल रहा है। उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार से इस सम्बन्ध में जो सहायता मिलनी चाहिये वह नहीं

[श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद]

मिल रही है। इस लिये कम से कम देश की आजादी में जो नौजवान काम में आये, जिन की महिलायें आज बिलस रही हैं, उन को आर्थिक सहायता देकर उन की रक्षा करना चाहिये।

देश के अन्दर आज भी हम को बैंकों में उसनी सहायता नहीं मिल रही है, जितने हम ने वायदे किये थे। एक रिक्सा चलाने वाला अगर किसी बैंक के पास पैसा लेने जाता है, तो उस को कहा जाता है कि ऐसे किसी आदमी की जमानत लाभो जिस का उस बैंक में खाता हो, अगर वह इस तरह की सिक्क्योरिटी नहीं दे पाता है तो उसे कुछ नहीं मिलता। छोटे छोटे दुकानदार बैंक के पास जाते हैं, लेकिन उन्हें कोई सहायता नहीं मिलती। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन कानूनों को निम्न किया जाय ताकि परसनल सिक्क्योरिटी पर पैसा मिल सके। देश की जनता की सहायता के लिये इस तरह के कानून जो सहायता में रुकावट डालने हैं, उनको बदल डालने की जरूरत है। हम ने गरीबी मिटाने की आवाज उठाई, जनता ने हमें प्रबल समर्थन दिया, अब हमारे पास यह कहने को नहीं है कि कानून बाधक है, यह बहाना अब नहीं चल सकेगा। कानून को बदल कर, उस में परिवर्तन करके परसनल सिक्क्योरिटी पर लोगों को पैसा मिलना चाहिये।

हमारे क्षेत्र में बैंकों की दो-तीन ब्रान्च खोलने के लिए हमने कहा था, विशेषकर रतसड़ और गड़बड़ के लिए कहा था, लेकिन अभी तक बाँचें नहीं खुली हैं। समझ में नहीं आता, हमारे अधिकारियों की इस सम्बन्ध में क्या पालिसी है। अगर हम लोगों के कहने के बाद भी जनता के कहने के बाद भी काम नहीं होता है, तो हम नहीं समझते हैं कि हमारे पार्लियामेंट के सदस्य होने-न-होने का क्या अर्थ है ?

देश की गरीबी और बेकारी मिटाने के लिए जो कानून प्रसिद्ध सगाते हैं, उस कानून को बदलना चाहिए और गरीबी को हटाने में मदद करनी चाहिए।

SHRI C. C. DESAI (Sabarkantha): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we congratulate the Prime Minister on her outstanding victory and she has now got the opportunity of putting all the promises made in the manifesto as well as the promises made in the President's Address into effect. We give this credit to her ungrudgingly on behalf of the parent Congress which though badly beaten and completely emasculated, has taken up the challenge bravely. We recognise the prominent position of the Congress led by the Prime Minister variously known as Congress (N), then becoming Congress (R). For a short time it became Congress (J) and now it has become Congress (S). The Prime Minister is now in a position to put everybody in his proper place whether it is Babuji or Charapathiji, whether it is the young turks or old women in the party or whether they are her Communist friends or D.M.K. partners.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YASHWANTRAO CHAVAN): She has put you in proper place.

SHRI C. C. DESAI: I am in my place all right, I know my place; you have to know your place now.

However, I wish to say this that we shall extend to the Government our fullest cooperation in the fulfilment of the policies designed to eradicate poverty, to develop and build up industries, to prevent wastage of national resources and find a solution to the problem of the unemployed both educated and uneducated, rural as well as urban.

These are the policies which the Congress party inherited really from undivided Congress taking into consideration the 10-point programme of the AICC in Bangalore in 1969. We shall cooperate wherever we can, with forfeiting our right

to oppose wherever we must, in the interest of the nation, in the interests of the people and in the larger, interests of the weaker sections of the community.

It is necessary to remind the Prime Minister of the old adage--Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. We should not forget the foul and widespread corruption which existed in this country, which was witnessed on the eve of the elections, maybe for whatever purpose these might have been practised. But we must warn the Government that we shall not any longer tolerate the absolute corruption which may arise from absolute power.

We welcome the decision of the Government to go about the abolition of the privy purses in a constitutional manner. If only they had done this last year all this unseemly controversy which arose between the Government and the Supreme Court would have been avoided.

I believe I am correct in saying the then Law Minister was properly advised by the Law Ministry and even by the Home Ministry that it was unconstitutional to go about the derecognition order in the way in which they did. However, he thought of no end his own legal acumen, and he set aside the advice given by the Law Ministry and even the Attorney-General and advised the Government in favour of the derecognition with the result that we all know. We hope that the now Law Minister who is an eminent retired or former High Court judge will give due weight to the advice of his Ministry and will not project his own political opinions and views either in the interpretation of law or in the enunciation or administration of justice.

There is one more point which I would like to emphasise in this connection, and that is the desirability of consulting as often as possible the Attorney-General in matters relating to law. I know case after case in which committed advice may have been given by the Law Ministry to suit the whims and whimsicalities of the Minister in charge, but when the party has pointed out to Government that in a case like

this it would be better also to consult the Attorney-General, they have felt that they should not do so because they have felt that the opinion given by the Attorney-General may be adverse either to the views of the Minister or to the opinions of the Ministry. This is particularly so in matters relating to taxation and the provisions of the commercial laws such as the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, because the equation is uneven between the private party and the Government. Government have the legal opinion and the legal counsel free, whereas the poor private party has to spend from his own pocket to vindicate and obtain justice in law courts. Therefore, Government should be more careful and infact, government would be well advised to consult the Attorney-General wherever there is any violent difference of opinion between the Ministry and the private party concerned.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central): Now, my hon. friend belongs to Congress (O) and not to the Swatantra Party.

SHRI C. C. DESAI: For the information of the hon. Member, I may say that I am speaking now as a representative of Congress (O). He still seems to think and live in 1968 when I represented the Swatantra Party. He does seem to have changed with the times.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: I am only reminding him.

SHRI C. C. DESAI: I am fully aware of what I am doing. I am not one of those who do not know what they talk.

In the matter of foreign policy, while we support the principle of non-alignment we must warn Government that non-alignment must be real and true non-alignment and not the Non-alignment that we have witnessed during the last few years, that is, appeasing the so-called friends in the Arab world or in the African countries.

I have had the benefit of visiting both

[Shri C. C. Desai]

South Africa and the East African countries. I know the condition of the people there, particularly the people of Indian origin now resident as citizens in those countries, and I have no hesitation in saying that although countries like Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania are friends of India, the condition of the people of Indian origin in those countries is no better than that of the people of Indian origin resident as citizens of South Africa. In one country we call it apartheid, while in the other countries, we do not call it apartheid, but it is just as bad; this apartheid is undeclared, yet, in practice, it is just as bad as in South Africa. Our Foreign Office, however is partial to and almost afraid of those countries for reasons best known to themselves, and the same thing obtains in the matter of Arab countries. I am not taking up the question of Israel in this context. But the test of friendship of Arab countries is where we have any confrontation, even a minor confrontation, with our next-door neighbours Pakistan and China.

Take the case of the recent hijacking of the Indian airliner which was taken there and blown up. It was said the other day by the radio of Betar Kendra of Bangla Desh that Mr. Bhutto had a hand in this particular atrocity.

None of these Arab countries has said a word against Pakistan. If any such thing had happened in India, they would have been the most vocal and vociferous in condemning India and such incident. This is what I would call discrimination as between India and Pakistan in their approach. All these Arab countries are the same; whether it is UAR, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Jordone or Lebanon, they are all alike. We should take due note of this tendency on the part of the Arab countries and should not adopt a policy of appeasement which we present in are doing at present in the Arab countries.

Take, for instance, the Arab League. What justification has it to have an office

in this country? What is the justification for giving diplomatic recognition to the Arab League? Where else does this happen? Which other country has done such a thing? But in this country, we believe subservience to Arab interests in preference to our own. I hope that Government, strong as it is now, will be cured of this particular disease.

Now there is one other matter on which I would like to speak; this concerns what is happening in Pakistan today. Before long, may be in a day or two, East Pakistan or rather I would call it Bangla Desh, may well be an independent, sovereign country. We must do everything possible to assure the people of Bangla Desh that this country will never entertain the slightest feeling of animosity, hostility or unfriendliness towards the people and the problems of that country. They have nothing to fear from this country. We have a Deputy High Commission in Dacca. It should immediately be raised to the status of a full Embassy. Although continuing to be a Deputy High Commission, a senior officer of the rank, grade and status of ambassador should be posted in Dacca forthwith. The office should be strengthened because very soon we will have far more relationship with Dacca, particularly in the matter of liberalisation of issue of visas and resumption of trade between the two countries. There must be imaginative thinking on the part of our foreign office. They must look ahead and see what is happening in Bangla Desh. They must prepare themselves from now so that they may be up to the task which they will be called upon to discharge in the next few days.

Even in West Pakistan, a similar situation is likely to arise because with separation for all practical purposes—I do not say that Pakistan will be completely broken up, but it is as good as broken up—West Pakistan also will not retain its unity or integrity. There will be Punjab, there will be Sind, there will be Frontier or Pakhtoonistan and there will be Baluchistan.

I speak as one who spent the last four years of his service in Pakistan. I know the people there very well. I know Maulana Bhashani, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and others. I can assure you, this House and the people of the country that they have nothing but the friendliest feelings towards us. It is up to us to see that the same feelings are reciprocated when that country becomes independent. The relationship that will subsist between India and Bangla Desh will be what subsists between the US and Canada.

Now, what is happening in East Pakistan should have a lesson for us. It should be realised and recognised by Government that whatever may be the geographical and political conditions, no people can rule over another section of the community without its willing consent. I refer to the case of Jammu and Kashmir. Where was the necessity of banning the Plebiscite Front just on the eve of the elections except to prevent these people from contesting the election and showing where the interest or the opinions of the people of Jammu and Kashmir lay? What would have happened? Heavens would not have fallen if the Plebiscite Front was allowed to contest the elections.

There would have been one of two results. Either people like Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg would have fought the elections and lost them, in which case they would have been put in their proper place and we would have known that they do not enjoy the confidence of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, or, if they had won—which, I think, they would have done—they would have had to come before this very House and to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution whereby any question of challenging the inviolability or testing of accession would have gone by the board.

Once they have taken the oath of allegiance to the Constitution of India as it is today, there is no question of a plebiscite; there is no question of doubting or disputing the fact of accession. We should

have tested that. All this talk would have gone by the board. It would have looked democratic, that we were not afraid of an opposition party coming to power in any part of the country, and we would have killed this bogey of doubtful or disputed accession once and for all. But why did the Government do that? They had a purpose. They wanted to prop up that unpopular regime in Jammu and Kashmir known as the Sadiq Government.

This is where we object. This is where the party in power takes the law into its own hands, interferes with the normal events, interferes with even normal elections. Many examples of this have been seen latterly which will, I hope, come before the House in some form or other sooner or later. It must be realised that this country will not be in a position to maintain its rule in Jammu and Kashmir without the willing consent of its people, and it is up to us to obtain it, and it is possible to obtain the willing consent of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, even though they may belong to a different faith from the majority community in this country; but we must follow the correct principle, the correct practice. We must give those people a fair opportunity for free, fair and unfettered elections, of coming to power and forming the Government if they are in a majority. So long as we do not do that, discontent will spread. The suppressed feelings will fester and we shall have a problem like what President Yahya Khan is facing today in Bangla Desh.

SHRI MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : The Kashmir Constituent Assembly long ago took a decision.

SHRI C. C. DESAI : I know that, but these people seem to think that by allowing Sheikh Abdullah or others to come to power they would either be doing some damage or disservice to their own stooge, the Sadiq Government, or that they would be raising afresh the question of accession. Neither of these things is valid, and neither should be allowed to

[Shri C. C. Desai]

come in the way of the correct attitude of the Government, which should be to obtain the free and willing consent of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It should not be a matter of any botheration with this Government as to which party comes to power whether in Mysore, Kerala or Jammu and Kashmir. They must realise that honesty is the best policy, and that truth would survive all falsehoods and misdeeds.

There is an order of ban on Sheikh Abdulla. There is no justification to continue it now that the elections are over, now that you have got your own candidates elected except one who represents the constituency of Srinagar. At least now I hope the Government would not extend the period of the ban on Sheikh Abdulla and Mirza Afzal Beg and would allow complete freedom of expression within the country and within the four corners of the law.

While talking about Kashmir, I am reminded of the case of our Ambassador in the Soviet Union. That gentleman hails from Kashmir, and to the best of my knowledge—and I would like Government to verify it—during the last one year, he has spent far more time in Kashmir than in the Soviet Union. He has drawn all the salaries and allowances pertaining to the Ambassadorship in the Soviet Union. How does he spend all his time in India, and how does he enjoy all the privileges and benefits pertaining to the post of an Ambassador? Simply because he belongs to a particular community, he should not be exempt from rules of discipline and decorum or service conditions. All this requires an investigation, and I hope that the External Affairs Ministry will take due note of this comment made by me that during the last 12 months this particular gentleman has spent more time in India, has not foregone any of his salaries or allowances, and in addition has been dabbling in the election politics of the State.

Coming to constructive projects, I am most concerned about the Narbada project. A good friend of mine sitting there referred to it yesterday; he is even more concerned with that because he comes from the area affected by that river. But not only we in Gujarat but also the people of the whole country are interested in the Narbada project. I was horrified to hear the other day from the Chief Engineer attending the Tribunal proceedings that they would take about five years to complete its work and I hear that the M.P. State Government is to pay something like Rs. 8,000 per day to the Counsel. Imagine the cost of litigation in it has to continue for five years. Three judges are sitting on the tribunal; they will take another few years to write their judgment. The execution of the project will take not less than ten years. It is such a project that from the foodgrains that would be produced when the project is completed, we can feed the whole country and also export some foodgrains and we need not go round with a begging bowl to the Soviet Union or the United States under PL 480; we can also raise as many cash crops as we like such as cotton, oil-seeds or tobacco. The World Bank is prepared to finance the execution of this project but there is no settlement in this country. Now that the Government has got a massive majority and the Prime Minister's word is practically the law, I hope the case will be taken out of the hands of the tribunal. I say this as a Member of Parliament from Gujarat, not necessarily with the consent of the Government of Gujarat. I say, as a responsible Member of Parliament from Gujarat, even at this late stage I hope the Prime Minister will take courage in her hands and withdraw the case from the Tribunal and give a decision quickly, whatever height it may be, whatever areas it may submerge. We in Gujarat will accept that and I have no doubt that the people of M.P. will accept that. Rajasthan and Maharashtra have only marginal interest in the project. This action would ensure that the scheme is implemented quickly and the waters of the Narbada which now flow into the ocean will be conserved and utilised for

irrigation and generation of power benefiting the country as a whole. It does not matter if the dam is a few feet higher or lower so long as the scheme is sanctioned and it is taken up as one of the highest priority under the Prime Minister's own care and attention. I have every reason to believe that I can persuade my friends in Gujarat to take whatever decision is given by the Prime Minister as the best in the circumstances.

Once more we say that we recognise the massive majority of the splinter party ; we congratulate the Prime Minister ; we admire her and we salute her. I say on behalf of my colleagues in our party that we shall give her and her Government full co-operation and support that we can possibly give so long as we are not called upon to sacrifice any of the vital interests of the country.

*SHRI M.S. SIVASAMY (Tiruchendur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to introduce myself to the House. My name is M. S. Sivasamy, elected from Tiruchendur Constituency of Tamil Nadu as a Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam Member. Sir, I wish to speak in my mother tongue, Tamil.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the success in the Fifth General Elections cannot be considered as the victory of any individual political leader, however eminent he may be, or of any political party. The success in this General Election is that of the people who have voted for the progressive forces.

In the Fourth Lok Sabha, after the split in the Congress Party, the ruling party was reduced to minority in this House. At that time, as the Ministers sitting opposite are well aware, being a progressive political party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, unhesitatingly and unreservedly supported all the progressive measures brought before the House by the Government. For instance, the Privy Purses Amendment Bill as also the Bank Nationalisation Bill received the solid support of

my Party. I am happy to state here that today, after the nationalisation of 14 big banks which were under the monopoly control of 75 families, the rickshaw-pullers, taxi-drivers, retail shop-keepers, small business people and artisans are able to avail of credit facilities at reduced rate of interest. We should not end our efforts here. I wish to suggest that insurance companies, all scheduled banks, and major industries must be nationalised.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Bank Nationalisation Act as also the President's Order abolishing the Privy Purses were declared *ultra vires* of the Constitution by the Supreme Court of India. The Constitution could not be amended in order to implement such progressive measures because the ruling party did not have two-thirds majority in this House. Now the ruling party has not only been returned to power with a massive majority but also with the requisite two-thirds majority for getting through any amendment of the Constitution. The Government cannot now take shelter under the plea they are unable to adopt progressive measure, if necessary even by amending the Constitution, because they have got the necessary two-thirds majority in this House to amend the Constitution wherever it is felt necessary. All the right reactionary forces have been completely routed in this General Election and the Prime Minister should take courage in her hands to amend the Constitution with a view to bringing upliftment to the poor and backward sections of our society.

As I pointed out earlier, this General Election has proved beyond doubt that the people have voted for progressive policies. The D.M.K. Party, which is the major partner in the Progressive Front of Tamil Nadu, has been returned to power with unprecedented majority. The D.M.K. is a State party and the party has reflected the hopes and aspirations of the poorer

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

[Shri M. S. Sivasamy]

sections of the society in its manifesto. The D.M.K. Party has given many assurances in its manifesto for the welfare of the downtrodden and backward sections of the society. Similarly, other State Parties in power have their own programmes and they have their own separate identity. All the revenue raising resources are concentrated in the hands of the Central Government. The financial institutions like the Industrial Credit and Development Corporation, the Industrial Finance Corporation, the Industrial Development Bank of India and such other credit institutions are under the control of the Central Government. If the State Parties like the D.M.K. are to implement the assurances given to the people, they must have adequate finances. I would like to suggest that when the Government come forward with a proposal to amend the Constitution, they must bear in mind the predicament in which the State parties are placed without adequate financial resources.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the power to issue industrial licences is in the hands of the Central Government. But, after the licences are given, the State Government have to provide land, water, electricity, State's share of finances, etc. to the industrial establishments. When the State Government have to face this heavy burden, the Corporation Tax from such industrial establishments goes to the Centre. I would like to suggest that the power to issue industrial licences should vest with the State Governments. The State Governments should also get the full financial benefit from the Corporation Tax.

Sir, the Planning Commission as also the National Development Council are headed by the Prime Minister. Even the Finance Commission is made to function under the Minister. These national bodies function now as ministerial services. I would like to suggest that they should be converted into autonomous institutions which will enable them to function impartially. I would also recommend that,

if necessary, the Constitution may be amended to constitute a State Planning Board, which should be autonomous in character.

Currency Printing, Foreign Aid and Foreign Loans, P.L. 480 Aid—all these are concentrated in the hands of Central Government. The State Government have to depend entirely on the Central Government for implementing any worthwhile programmes. I feel strongly that the Constitution should be even amended, enabling the State Governments to function independently and to stand on their own legs with financial autonomy.

The interim Budget for the year 1971-72 shows a deficit of Rs. 240.30 crores. The hon. Finance Minister has not shown his cards as to how this huge deficit is going to be bridged. One may naturally surmise that there will be further taxation in the General Budget to be presented in May. I would appeal to the hon. Finance Minister that he should so formulate his taxation proposals as not to affect the poor, middleclass and small merchants.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, onion is exported from our country to Ceylon, Singapore, Persian Gulf and to even European countries like France. From Tamil Nadu Ceylon gets 95% of its requirement of onion. Even here, the export of onion to Ceylon is to be routed through National Agricultural Federation—its Export Division—with the result the onion exporters of Tamil Nadu are affected, while onion is exported to other countries by exporters. I am unable to appreciate this kind of discrimination. The small farmers cultivating onion in Tamil Nadu are not able to derive the advantage from such exports. I would suggest that the Central Government may either take over the entire exports of the Country or the export of small commodities like onion may be left to the resources of the people involved in their production.

Before I conclude, I will reiterate that

the Government with their two-thirds majority in this House, should not be hesitant in amending the Constitution of India if they think it very essential to implement progressive measures for the welfare and upliftment of the poor and backward sections of our society.

13 hrs

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch Till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha Re-assembled after Lunch at four minutes past fourteen of the Clock.

[SHRI R. D. BHANDARI in the Chair]

Re. DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST BENGAL :

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) Sir I want to draw your attention to a very urgent matter. It is also a very important matter. Just now we have heard the radio news that civil war has started in Bangla Desh. After landing 60,000 troops from West Pakistan the army has taken position in almost all the big cities and in all key positions.

Yahya Khan declared the Martial Law. His Government have promulgated curfew in Dacca and in all other big cities. They have taken possession of the Dacca Betar Kendra. They have issued orders to shoot at sight all Bengali people there. Not only so. The East Pakistan Rifle is in the midst of a grim battle with the Pakistani Army there.

My report is that hundreds of people are being butchered and killed. An order has been issued to shoot at sight anybody in the street. There is another report that at the Karachi airport, hundreds and thousands of Bengali people have assembled to have passage to East Pakistan. There also hundreds of people have been killed.

I want to draw the attention of the Government that there is an apprehension that either Mujibur Rahman and other big leaders will be shot or they will be immediately arrested and flown to West Pakistan by using Colombo airport. Therefore, my immediate submission to you and, through you to the Prime Minister, is that the Government of India should write to the Government of Ceylon that no passage should be given either to the Pakistani Air Force plane or to Pakistani civilian plane to carry any military personnel from West Pakistan to East Bengal via Ceylon.

There is also another thing. The Dacca Betar Kendra has been forcibly closed. The All-India Radio is the only source of information from the people of Bengal. The All-India Radio should broadcast the news.....(Interruption) Let me finish. This is the first time that the Sangram Parishad of Bangla Desh has issued an appeal to India and to Ceylon to immediately mobilise international opinion in favour of the Liberation Movement. I would request the Government to raise this matter in the UNO in combination with other Asian countries.

I would also request the Government to give facilities for the movement of the Bengalis who have assembled at the Karachi airport.

Lastly, I have already given a Call Attention Notice on the subject and I have also given notice of a short duration discussion on it. The matter is very vital and urgent. I have said many times in this House that the Key to the solution of Indo-Pak problems lies in the success of the Liberation Movement of Bangla Desh. This is a very vital issue; this is a very crucial issue. We cannot sit quiet. Our Government should take serious note of it and do something in the matter.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Sir, not only the Martial law has been promulgated but orders have been issued to shoot people at sight. Even the press correspondents who wanted to know something

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

about it have been asked by the Army Colonels and Generals not to come out of the hotel and that they will be shot at if they come out. This reign of terror is going on and this conspiracy has been hatched up by all those who are agents of imperialist forces who never wanted Mujibur Rahman to thrive in East Pakistan. The victory of the common people in East Pakistan who defeated the communal forces and other reactionary forces is not to their liking.

The suggestion is this. Democracy is being murdered in East Pakistan by fascists. Let us pledge our support and say that we shall defend the right of the people in other countries also. We also believe in human rights. I would request you and through you the Prime Minister to uphold the banner of democracy and to give more support to Mujibur Rahman. If Mujibur Rahman is dead, naturally, again, Yahya Khan regime, fascist regime, will come into being. We are opposed to this. Let the people of Pakistan know that India stands solidly behind Mujibur Rahman and that we condemn any action of the Yahya Khan.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour): This is a matter involving the people who are the same flesh and blood. It was the conspiracy of the imperialists that the country was divided. On that pretext, we cannot shut our eyes and adopt an ostrich like policy. What is happening today in East Pakistan? Although we have repeatedly tried to get a statement from this Government about their attitude and policy in regard to that, we have failed in that. Neither the Chair has come forward to get this House this information to-day. After all that has been said on the radio and by different speakers in the House, will you be so good as to direct the Government immediately to make a statement forth with on the floor of the House giving fuller details through their own sources of information and also what they are going to do with regard to this merciless killing of people of Bangla Desh?

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJ BAHADUR): The Government naturally share the feelings of anxiety expressed by members opposite at the happenings in the Bangla Desh. We would collect all possible information from our own sources...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: You have not so far?

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: We are collecting and we will collect.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Let us have it.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: And we shall be watchful and a statement would be made as and when needed.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Right now.....(Interruptions).

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: At the earliest opportunity.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: If you do not make a statement forth with, our solidarity with the Liberation Movement there(Interruptions).

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: I am not yielding. You have interrupted me before I conclude. We shall certainly make a fuller statement at the earliest opportunity.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Why not to-day?

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: If it is to-day, then to-day, if it is at this moment, then at this moment....(Interruptions) We should not act in excitement or in haste. We have to weigh the situation carefully and consciously and then make a statement.

श्री इसहाक सम्भली (जनरोहा) : चेयरमैन साहब, मिनिस्टर साहब ने यह कहा है कि मुवासिब टाइम पर गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से स्टेटमेंट दिया जायेगा। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर वह टाइम कब आयेगा।

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : We want your ruling on this, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will convey your wish to the Minister.

श्री इसहाक सम्भली : हमें सुबहा है कि किसी भी वक्त वैंस्ट पाकिस्तान की फौजों के हाथों मुजीबुर्रहमान को किल कर दिया जायेगा।

MR. CHAIRMAN : Kindly resume your seat Mr. Sambhali.

श्री इसहाक सम्भली : इस वक्त सबाल नसल-कुशी का है। वैंस्ट पाकिस्तान की फौजों के हाथों बंगला देश को किल किया जा रहा है। इस वक्त बेर करने का मौका नहीं है।

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR : Sir, may I add that we have to collect all the facts and unless and until...

श्री इसहाक सम्भली : हम इस से पहले भी नसल-कुशी के बारे में और मुल्को के मुवालिफ सबाल उठाते रहे हैं। उसी तरह आज जब कि वैंस्ट पाकिस्तानी फौजों के हाथों बंगला देश की नसल-कुशी की जा रही है, हमको बगैर बेर किये इस सबाल को मुनाइतिज नेक्मज में उठाना चाहिए और बंगला देश के लोगों के साथ अपनी हमदर्दी का इजहार करना चाहिए।

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon Member may kindly resume his seat now.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : I only want to draw your attention to one important matter. The matter is very urgent for the

reason that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman may be shot dead any moment. Only international opinion and opinion from the neighbouring countries like India and Ceylon can save his life. The matter is very urgent. He may be shot dead any moment. I would like to make a submission. Does the Government consider the matter urgent and important or not?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Sir, you are unfair...

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have always been fair to you. You must be very careful in the use of your words. Don't accuse me that I have not been fair to you.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs has already taken notice of it and he will convey the matter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the necessary statement will be made in this House either to-day or tomorrow.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : This is a vital matter for Prime Minister also, not only to the External Affairs Minister.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Kindly resume your seat.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Sir, it is in your hands to direct the Government to make a statement to-day. If they are not in possession of the facts, they are not fit to sit on the Treasury Benches.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR : Even for making a statement, it requires to go before the Cabinet, then the Cabinet meets, considers all the facts and then only a statement can be made.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : But the House will rise tomorrow.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Only remember that the life of Sheikh Mujibur

[Shri Samar Guha]

Rahman is in the hands of the people of India and Ceylon.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR : We are second to none in regard to our anxiety about this situation.....[Interruptions]**

MR CHAIRMAN Nothing will go on record. Nothing that is being said now will go on record.....[Interruptions]**

The Minister has already taken note of what has been stated. He has told you categorically.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR : This is a sensitive issue in a sensitive region and for the sake of freedom and democracy, we would have to proceed with due care and caution. We will certainly make a statement, after going into all these things

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Narain Chand

14. 18 hrs

GENERAL BUDGET, 1971-72-GENERAL DISCUSSION AND DEMANDS FOR GRANTS ON ACCOUNT (GENERAL), 1971-72- *Contd.*

SHRI NARAIN CHAND (Hamirpur)
Sir, I want to congratulate the Finance Minister on the bold incentives he has offered in regard to the economic life of our country. There are certain new incentives. One significant thing is the awareness of the seriousness of the problem of the unemployed. A provision of Rs. 50 crores is being made for the programme of creating employment opportunities. This is a welcome step. There is an assurance of immediate implementation of this programme. The scheme will start in right earnest

from the next month. There is compassion for the poor, for the unemployed.

Certain elements in West Bengal have been whipping up regionalism and parochialism shouting

“आमार देश तोमार देश, बंगला देश,”

‘आमार नाम तोमार नाम, वियतनाम’

Whereas, it should have been

‘आमार देश तोमार देश भारत देश’

There is provision in the Budget for setting up a new industrial Corporation in Calcutta, for that Calcutta where the industry is withering away wherefrom the capital is flying to Haryana and Punjab, for that part of the country, there is a bold provision of an Industrial Corporation. I welcome this step, and I support the Finance Minister and the Government of India on this step. I am sure that this step will stay the flight of capital and check the outflow of money from the State of Bengal which has been reduced to an utter state of dejection and depression where there is economic depression because of regionalism and parochialism and a kind of ideology that cuts across the barriers and where some anti-national element draw inspiration from a country where even the telephone calls are answered in Chinese with the reply “Power flows out of the barrel of a gun” I have studied a few books in the Chinese language and literature and I know what sort of people they are. I know certain anti-national elements derive inspirations from them and following them, there are cries of

Amar Desh, Tomar Desh, Bangla Desh

—not Bharat Desh, but Bangla Desh—
‘Amar Naam, Tomar Naam, Viet Nam’

**Not recorded.

This is highly deplorable. I am grateful to the Government for having made some provision for setting up the Industrial Corporation there so that Bengal does not wither away, so that the Bengal of Subhas Bose does not wither away and the Bengal of C. R. Das does not die out and this Bengal comes into its own and stands on its own legs in the economic sphere.

Then, there is the problem of deficit financing. I am aware that deficit financing is going to be of the order of Rs. 240 crores and it is a realised fact that a country on the verge of economic development can absorb a dose of deficit financing because of the green revolution that is taking place in the country and because of the increased input in the industrial sphere. Therefore, deficit financing is not something which is to be abhorred, criticised and condemned. Rather, it is a step which should be welcomed.

Then, I come to bank nationalisation. from the figures available from the Finance Minister's speech, we find that during the period following July, 1969 when the banks were nationalised, 145 new branches per month have been opened in the rural areas, whereas the figure was 47 in 1968 and about 80 in the first six months of 1969. This shows that bank nationalisation has raised hopes for the vast millions who are living in the villages; where there are no roads, no post offices and no railway connections, the people are having banking facilities. This is a direct outcome of bank nationalisation which was introduced by the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. I hail this step, and I am sure that the benefits will accrue in the years to come, and will lead to legislative and other measures which would bring richness and better ways of life and some new hope for the people in those areas where there is darkness, for the cottages where there is no light and for the areas which are inaccessible now to the common man.

Sir, I am more concerned with my own State. Coming as I do from Himachal Pradesh which borders China, I would

like to highlight some serious problems which we are facing. I represent the Hamirpur constituency here and it has a voting population of 4.22 lakhs. But not even a single metre of railway track is there. There is the famous temple of Jwalamukhi of old and the modern temple of Bhakra Nangal dam. But the railway line just stops short of the Bhakra dam. I wish it could be brought to Una by extending it by just a few miles into Himachal Pradesh so that the people could be saved from the heavy octroi duties that they are obliged to pay when the trucks are unloaded near the railway station in Punjab and then the goods are brought into Himachal Pradesh.

There is also the famous place of Buddhist note, namely Reivalsar where Padmasambhava did his penance and wherefrom he carried the message of the Buddha, the Light of Asia to other countries. Lakhs of people from all over India come to visit that place, but there are no proper railway connections. Even in regard to the temple of the fire-eating Goddess Durga, Jwalamukhi; the railway station is actually 12 miles from the temple on the Kangra Valley railway. I hope the Railway Minister would take note of this and connect the Jwalamukhi temple with the Jwalamukhi Road railway station. Though the names are somewhat confusing, yet they are 12 miles apart. If this convenience could be given, people from Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, Bengal, U. P., Maharashtra etc. could visit that temple in comfort every year.

I am sure that as soon as the importance of Mahayana is accepted—Bodhi Gaya will have its own importance—Riwalser will have an equal importance for Europeans and Americans. I am aware that some missionaries are working there. I have visited some cave temples where Padma Sambhav prayed. People from Ladakh, Kinnaur, Lahaul, Spiti and other areas bordering China come there for praying and worshipping. I wish there are some facilities for them.

[Shri Narain Chand]

The most important problem there in the Himachal Pradesh is the acute scarcity of drinking water. It is an irony of fate that Himachal Pradesh which is a land of perennial snow and gushing rivers, which are responsible for the green revolution in Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan, should have within its fold many areas where people have to walk for miles for their drinking water. Ladies have to walk on naked foot for miles for bringing pitcher of drinking water. In Tehsil Hamirpur, which is my Native Tehsil, there are villages where water has to be stored during two months of the rainy season and with this supply they have to make do for the whole of the year. There is no water available anywhere else.

I request the Central Government to take this problem in their own hands, realising the gravity of the situation and take urgent steps and solve it, because the acute shortage of drinking water has reduced our life to one of misery and penury. People go to the border to shed their blood fighting the Pakistani and other elements. They go to the Wagah border where the Dogras rise, the Paharis-weave and the senas go. They shed their blood in the border lands, in NEFA and other places. But their wives, sisters and daughters have to walk for miles for a drop of drinking water. They shed their blood for the defence of the country, but there is no provision for this elementary need. I have visited these areas. For miles and miles there is not a single well or a fountain or a river or brooklet. There should be some provision for these people whose men are fighting in our forces, who are on the battle front for months and years together. Their wives, mothers, sons and daughters should at least have this relief.

The problem is so huge, the expenditure involved so large that the State Government, with its limited resources, is unable to tackle it. I would call upon the Central Government to take this in hand. The armed forces, and men who

in arms, require help not only on the front and in the barracks and in the cantonments, but their families have also to be helped, their wives, sons, daughters and mothers and helpless widows have also need our help. I wish some serious thought is given to this problem.

Then there is the problem of school-going children. They have to walk for miles carrying bottles of water, sometimes 5-6 or 7-8 miles. There is no jeep, railway or bus which they can use. If the boy drops the bottle on the way, he does not reach the school. If he reaches home, he is cursed by the parents. So he just loiters on his way and there gets the kind of education which we can call the education of nature, of which Wordsworth was so fond. But we do want of our children to have the proper type of education in order to enable them to take their place in society at the proper time. So immediate attention has to be paid to this acute problem of drinking water for which something has to be done immediately.

There are some other problems in our area which have to be taken up by us. Our area is an area from where people are going out. The brain-drain is the maximum in Himachal Pradesh. As soon as a boy does his matriculation, he goes out to another school or college in Punjab or somewhere else and then hankers after a job. I wish some sort of industries are set up there. Hamirpur is a place where we have enough of resin, pine and other resources. Paper mills can be set up there; cement factories can be established. I wish the Central Government in the next budget makes some provision for drinking water, for extension of railway connections and for the establishment of some industries in Himachal Pradesh.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL (Moradabad): At the outset, I congratulate the Finance Minister for displaying a sense of realism and pragmatism to the problems facing the country. The Finance Minister has reiterated the Government's resolute

for eradicating mass poverty and unemployment. His whole Budget speech is punctuated with emphasis on effectiveness, determination and speed. The common man is so much fed up with pledges and promises made during the last 23 years that he is no longer interested merely in reiteration of the Government's policies. He is now interested to judge every action by the performance in terms of exactly how it helps in raising his living standard. Therefore, the whole Budget is to be viewed from the common man's view point which remains to be the corner stone of any democratic functioning.

Mass poverty is directly linked up with the question of price stability. The Finance Minister has rightly laid greater emphasis on the economic policies having bold re-orientation towards growth with social justice. But to the common man social justice essentially implies price stability. As soon as Mr. Y. B. Chavan had assumed the charge of the Union Ministry of Finance, he had declared that he would give the top most priority to the stabilisation of prices. It is rather unfortunate that he has now learnt easy ways of explaining away the phenomenon with expert advice from his senior officers. As he has already conceded, that the prices are constantly rising though he has found consolation when he described it as a world phenomenon. What we need today is a definite policy for holding the price line. It is widely recognised that if we are genuinely interested to hold the price line, then there must be in evidence a significant improvement all round in production. Who can afford to disagree that higher production is the only solution to the problem of spiralling prices? Monetary and fiscal policies can have only a marginal impact on prices. It is a matter of gratification that our revered President has also conceded in his Presidential Address that all such obstacles placed for curbing the production should be removed in both public and private sectors. What we need today is a reassessment of policies and systems with a view to introducing selective controls aimed at stimulating develop-

ment rather than acting as 'drill sergeants' of the economy. So long we do not succeed in reviving the industrial investment activity we cannot ensure either price stability or social justice. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Finance Minister has conceded that the overall growth in money supply has also been larger than what is warranted by the growth in production. Deficit financing within certain limits, if employed for productive purposes, can also help in augmenting our resources.

The Finance Minister may be required to impose additional taxation when he presents his regular Budget in May. But I would like to assure him that any rise in tax rates will only help in raising prices. Certain Tax relief to the productive apparatus seems to be absolutely essential if the Government is genuinely interested to hold the price line. To neutralise the ill effects of rising prices on fixed and salaried income groups, I would suggest that the recommendation of Bhoothalingam Committee needs to be accepted for exempting the tax limit upto Rs. 7,500 so that the lowest income group could have a little sigh of relief and may appreciate that really a new era of socialism has commenced.

The Finance Minister has rightly emphasised that the problem of unemployment is too serious to be ignored or treated lightly. He has shown a greater realism when he made it clear that the twin problems of mass poverty and unemployment today remain as acute as ever. In large pockets, there has perhaps been a worsening of conditions. He has commended the fifty crores schemes for creating more employment opportunities with a productive bias. It is rather naive to assume that Employment is created by allocating funds in a Budget. Provision of dolls to unemployed will simply create a nation of beggars. The crucial question today is how to create large jobs which can absorb 28 million-unemployed persons at the end of the Fifth plan. There are already 15 to 16 million people who are unemployed in the country. The only way to increase employment is to increase the size of the cake so that more can partake of the slice. The employment

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must aim at increasing the production of goods and service of the maximum rate.

It is estimated that more than 25 million will be added to the existing labour force of 190 million during the Fourth Plan period. The Fourth Plan is expected to generate 18.5 to 19 million new job, unemployment will increase by a further six to seven million. Adding to the present backlog of 10 million, it will make a total unemployed force of about 16 to 17 millions. Another estimate is that the present backlog of 13 million will exceed 27.4 million by the end of 1971-72. According to the figures of registration with the employment exchanges there were 18.75 lacs matriculates, 1.86 lacs Graduates and 53,118 Engineers last year. When the Growth rate of productive employment falls far behind the national output, the process of planning is not only disturbed but becomes worsend for execution. It is a wrong assumption that a target out lay for meeting financial requirements of the Fourth Plan meant for expansion of basic industry in the public sector can either accelerate the growth rate or generate employment opportunities. There is no democratic Government in the world which can take upon itself the task of creating employment opportunities for the total unemployed. It is always the concept of self-employment which helps in solving this gigantic problem. Modern technology if applied to smaller units of production can convert every house into a workshop, but it needs close and effective coordination between the big and small sectors of industry. Japan Offers an inspiring example of a country surmounting every type of obstacle to industrial growth and having provided the right planning technique to suit one's own conditions. The situation has already become so explosive that if it is not tackled soon then the whole process of Parliamentary democracy may get endangered. The economic policies have already proved so faulty that it can never provide jobs for all the unemployed nor it allows the people to

engage themselves in gainful employment. This nation wide Rs. 50 crores programme can pay rich dividends if it is linked up with certain nation building activities as rural works, road construction etc. Public sector may expand but it is doubtful if it can ever absorb 48,000 frustrated, angry, unemployed engineers in the country.

The Fourth Plan had emphasised the need for a 9 percent rate of growth in industry. But during the year as a whole the industrial production is expected to increase by roughly 6 percent. Let the Finance Minister ask why it is that despite this heavy investment and considerable industrial growth the problems of the common man have remained unsolved. Is the direction of our investment in tune with the needs of the Indian economy? It is often not realised that the nature of investment itself often serves the cause of growth and social justice. Unless the question of misdirected investment is tackled boldly, both the Government and the people will continue to witness economic stagnation leading to an atmosphere charged with social tension and violence.

Let us clearly understand that threats and name calling neither produce goods nor social justice. Every additional curb either on starting or expanding an industrial unit has direct repercussions on prices and employment. You are following exactly a contradictory policy but expect prices to be stabilised and employment potential to be increased. We have created so many hurdles to exports that the target of 7% which alone can sustain the Fourth Plan of the size already proposed, can never be achieved. If you increase the size of the plan then the gap in export earnings will widen further leading inevitably to another devaluation of the rupee. The public sector enterprises have claimed Rs. 30 crores more to cover their losses than the Budget provision. They have so awfully failed because they are not working according to their installed capacity and because of managerial inefficiency with the result the resources expected to be

generated are going down and will have to be made up by deficit financing. It is obvious that our economic policies can never succeed in stabilising the prices if you allow the nation's hard-earned resources to be squandered on such bottomless pits.

The Finance Minister has commended the functioning of the nationalised banks, that it has opened on an average as many as 145 new branches per month as against 80 per month during the first six months of 1969 and 46 per month during 1968. Is it not a fact that it has further added to the cost of administration while the record of the new branches opened in mobilising local deposits and utilising them for productive purposes has not yet shown satisfactory results? The aims of bank nationalisation such as to improve the living standards of the masses and to accelerate the country's economic growth by providing credit to the priority sectors such as agriculture, small industries, exports and self-employed people are laudable enough. But the crucial question today is whether the nationalised banks have been able to fulfil the expectation of their customers and whether they have succeeded in improving their services to them. The most essential thing to ponder over is how far bank credits have gone to finance productive schemes and have helped to augment production in both farms and factories. I understand that the nationalised banks are only accumulating bad debts. Let the Finance Minister take the House into confidence on the extent of the rise in the proportion of bad debts since nationalisation.

The Interim Union Budget at the moment is simply an accounting formality. The overall deficit of Rs. 230 crores in the current year inspite of the additional taxation last year, and the substantial shortfall in plan expenditure shows that in fiscal discipline, profession and practice are still far apart. The Finance Minister has not yet indicated whether the deficit is to be covered by additional taxation or deficit financing. It is widely known that

there is a point beyond which the "Deepening of the resource base" becomes a counter productive in term sof taxation. Our tax rates have reached a saturation point when they have begun paying diminishing return. Tax Rates are producing inhibiting effect on the investment and growth. High rates of tax with high rates of evasion ultimately result in a diversion of legitimate savings to speculation and consumption in a parallel blackmarket economy. What we need today is certain tax relief in the form of excise duties as well as on personal income so that the common man could have certain reserves for investing in industrial activity. Broad-based democratisation of industrial structure is absolutely essential if we are keen to accelerate the growth rate.

Presenting the Budget for 1970-71, the Prime Minister had raised the tax exemption limit on dividend incomes upto Rs. 1500 but this limit needs to be further raised to Rs. 3000 so that the lower middle class could participate rather effectively in the industrial activity of the country. This sense of belonging can go a long way in broadening the entire industrial structure.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Since it is his maiden speech, I did not want to ring the bell. But the hon. Member must remember that he has taken 15 minutes. Please conclude.

SHRI VIRENDRA AGARWAL : I shall conclude within a minute. Political stability and economic equality reasonably demand decentralisation of economic and political power in the state and a guarantee of national minimum by 1975-76. Democratic socialism will have little meaning if the consumption rate of the common man does not constantly rise. It is no use building false hopes that there would be better performance in the future. When we exhort the people for social justice and economic equality, it becomes our responsibility to see that they are not required to shoulder heavy burden in the form of punitive taxation structure and soaring prices. Otherwise the people will have no other choice but to believe that

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eradicating poverty and unemployment is merely a full proof slogan for befooling them. It is a challenge to the present Leadership, and the earlier they show definite results the better it is for their own future.

SHRI K.G. DESHMUKH (Amravati) : Sir, the budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister, though interim, gives us a clear indication of the progressive and socialistic policies of our Government. For instance, he said, there will be employment-oriented schemes, schemes for giving credit to relatively weaker sections of the community and special schemes for the benefit of small farmers and farmers in dry farming areas. It is a matter of great satisfaction that our Government has taken a decision to implement new employment oriented schemes with a view to provide employment to at least one member in each family. I am thankful to the Government for this scheme, but I have seen that in many families, two or three members are employed while in other families, even though there are girls and women who are educated and who have the potentiality of service, they are not able to get employment because there are some recruitment rules and systems which do not permit them to be given service. I would request the Finance Minister to make the rules in such a way that at least one member from each family would be given employment and families where more than two or three members are employed are discouraged from getting more employment. Care should be taken to give employment to people in rural areas where unemployment is prevalent on a large scale. I am very thankful to the minister because they have asked the State Governments to chalk out a scheme in each district and I am hopeful that within a few months, this type of scheme will be chalked out and employment provided to such families.

Another notable feature of the budget is about the nationalisation of banks, which has brought about a greater change in our banking credit system. The ag-

gregate number of borrowers has risen from 3 lakhs to 11 lakhs and the assistance given is also double. But much remains to be done in this sphere also. We find that the structure of the banking system and the machinery is the same. I have received many complaints that agriculturists are not getting credit and when they go to commercial banks for credit, they are asked to give another security. When the agriculturist possesses land in his name, credit should be given on the land itself. But in addition to mortgaging his land, he is asked to furnish security also for the loan. This is an anomaly. In the case of business, loans are given on the security of the shares. There additional security is not asked for. This anomaly should be removed.

Thirdly, coming to cotton, it is said in the budget speech by the Finance Minister -

"The production of commercial crops, notably cotton and oilseeds, has been inadequate and this had adverse effect on industrial production and prices."

In the case of cotton we are the sufferers for a long time. I have brought it to the notice of the Foreign Trade Minister many time and I have suggested the formation of the Cotton Corporation of India and the fixation of prices. I am thankful to him that two months back he has formed the Cotton Corporation of India. But except the formation of the Corporation nothing more has been done. Even though the import and export has been taken over by the Cotton Corporation, nothing has been done about the price of internal cotton and the purchase of internal cotton.

Though the target of cotton production was fixed at 80 lakhs bales it is worth noting that instead of achieving the target we are going down and down. In the year 1965-66 we achieved the figure of 86.6 lakhs of bales. Since then we are going down. Last year we produced 65

lakhs bales and this year we have gone down to 60 lakhs bales. So, we are short by 20 lakhs bales. That is why we are importing something like 15 lakhs to 20 lakhs bales from America, Egypt and Uganda by paying exorbitant prices. The price which we are paying for the American Cotton is Rs. 2,200 per two bales and its staple length is 33/32. We are producing the same variety of cotton in our country in Gujarat and parts of Maharashtra but for this our traders are paying only Rs. 800 to the growers. When this is the position, how can you expect our producers to produce more and achieve the target of 80 lakhs of bales

I will give one example to show how the cotton grower is harassed and exploited by our traders. At the beginning of the cotton season the cotton price in the market was Rs. 320 per quintal. During the busy season, when the season was in its full swing, the price began to decline. Now it is being said that in all the cotton markets of India they are receiving only Rs. 220 per quintal, that is, Rs. 100 less per quintal. In such conditions how can you expect the farmers to grow more cotton?

This year there is scarcity of cotton because of excessive rains in the cotton zone. At such a time, instead of giving him more price, instead of giving him atleast the cost of production we are giving him less than what we paid him last year, which was a better year for cotton, when we were paying Rs. 290. Though complaints have been made to the Minister of Foreign Trade many a time nothing has been done in this direction. So, I would take this opportunity to request the Minister of Foreign Trade through the Finance Minister to look into this matter.

The Finance Minister is also responsible, to some extent, for the decline in prices. The traders are saying that the credit which was given to the cotton purchasers has been reduced from 60 to 25 per cent. If that is so, if the reduction

is to such a great extent, then it will also result in decline in prices. I would request the Finance Minister to look into the matter.

Today there is a deadlock in the cotton market. When the cotton growers are going to the market there is nobody to purchase cotton. There are several complaints from the cotton merchants, co-operative societies and ginning factories that they have so much cotton and nobody is lifting them. At the same time, the mills are short of cotton and they are threatening to close the mills. The mills are also importing cotton from Uganda and other countries at high prices.

Something like 5-6 lakh bales of cotton have been imported during the last three to four months. This is an anomaly. So, I would request our Finance Minister and, through him, the Foreign Trade Minister to look into the matter and to do some justice to the cotton growers. Only by saying that he should grow more cotton will not solve the problem. This has brought in demoralisation and this has doomed the cotton grower this year and, next year, he will be thinking of growing other commercial crops rather than cotton. So, this will lead to serious conflict next year in the textile industry. So, I would request you to look into the matter and do justice to the cotton growers.

SHRI MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajpur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I quite realise that it is too early to assess the economic policies of the Government before a fullfledged Budget has been presented to the House. But even then I feel that the interim Budget also reflects the economic thinking of the Government and the party in power.

For sometime the cardinal principle of our economic development has been "growth with stability" and now it has been stressed that the guiding principle of our development will be "growth with social justice." In broader connotation,

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It cannot mean anything else but growth with a radical social change or a social transformation. If this is to be the perspective, the immediate by-product of this perspective will have to be the eradication of poverty and also the liberation of our economy from the strangle-hold of monopoly. If these twin objectives are to be fulfilled, it should be absolutely clear that within the framework of the present structure, it will not be possible for us to achieve these objectives at all. These objectives are quite laudable. In order to accomplish them through necessary measures, fiscal and others, it should be necessary to get rid of all the hurdles in our Constitution which might come in the way of implementation of progressive policies and programmes. It is with this constructive approach that I am myself seeking leave of the House to introduce the Constitution Amendment Bill and, I hope, the ruling party will consider all its aspects in order to speed up the economic programme, and enable this House to bring about necessary changes in the Constitution.

One of the most important aspects of development should be to socialise the commanding heights of our economy. If that is to be done, a radical approach to our economic planning will be required. The most urgent problem before our country is inadequacy of capital. It has been clearly established that private savings have not been able to provide the necessary capital. We will, therefore, have to rely more and more on institutional savings. Thus, the credit institutions, their pattern and their control pose problems of a very significant order.

We no doubt have the nationalisation of Banks. But mere nationalisation of banking will not be adequate. There are credit institutions like the general insurance which also will have to be socialised. Let me make it explicitly clear that socialisation does not mean mere statification of these institutions. We must see to it that these institutions are brought in public sector and the popular image of the public sector is improved. The opponents of

the philosophy of the public sector have made up their mind to undermine the prestige and popularity of the public sector in the eyes of the people. If the image of the public sector is destroyed, then, probably, people will persuade themselves to believe that in the interest of efficiency, we cannot have expansion of the public sector and that it is better to go back to the private sector. Therefore, in those fields and industries, where socialisation has been introduced, the experiment of socialisation must be made a success.

I would concretely point out to the nationalisation of the fourteen banks. I am not one of those who feel that the importance of nationalisation of banking becomes less because only fourteen banks were nationalised. In fact, the basic premise of nationalising only fourteen banks is that those banks were capital tends to accumulate to a very great extent, should be taken over first. I think that is the correct approach.

15 hrs.

Again we have to convince the country that the nationalised banks are run on a fairly sound basis and with a greater degree of efficiency and that the employees having a sense of participation in the management. The backward sections of our country must have the feeling that the norms of creditworthiness are being radically changed and the underprivileged sections will be able to get better benefit in terms of loans. Sir, I am constrained to remark that such situation has not been still created.

Again, reverting back to the problem of creating a better and popular image of the public sector, I feel that there should be an expansion of the public sector. Specially in the field like consumer goods industries. If the public sector functions very effectively and efficiently specially in the consumer goods industries, I think the popular image of the public sector industries will improve. It is in this connection that I would like to refer to one significant aspect of industrial development,

One of the most crucial points and crucial problems of industrialisation is the underutilised capacity of our industries, both in private and public sectors and one of the reasons for this phenomena is that there is no proper system of distribution of the raw materials to these industries. Therefore, I suggest that an autonomous corporation should be effectively built up which should take up the responsibility of procuring, stocking and also equitably distributing the raw materials. For instance, I would refer to the problem that was recently created in the textile industry. I may refer to the crisis that was created in the textile industry. To a certain extent, the crisis was artificial. Not that it was fully artificial, but, to a very great extent, it was so. The textile magnates thought that they should pressurise the Government, to have more import of cotton, and thereby see to it that they have wider margins of profits. To some extent they have already succeeded. There are problems of cotton-growers. There are also problems of the consumers who have to purchase cloth at very high prices. Obviously, these problems will have to be tackled. For instance, I would suggest that we should try to overhaul the entire apparatus of the National Cotton Corporation. We should widen its power, authority and scope and it should be possible for the Corporation to see that seeds are provided to the agriculturists, yarn is manufactured and a equitable distribution of the yarn is ensured. Then, on one side, there will be justice to the cotton-growers and on the other, we will be able to do justice to the consumers who are actually purchasing cloth at high prices.

Then, there is an urgent problem that is linked up with the price policy. That is the problem of socialisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains and other essential commodities. Sir, I am constrained to observe that this very Government which set up a number of years ago—of course, when I say, 'This Government', there is the continuity of Government, in that sense I am saying—they had adopted a particular policy and they appointed under the chairmanship of Mr. Asoka Mehta a Foodgrains Inquiry Committee. That

Committee went into the problem. They took evidence of experts and they have come forward with their valuable report. The Asoka Mehta Committee had recommended that in order to ensure that on the one side, the problems of the producers and on the other, the problems of the consumers are tackled, it is better that we socialise the wholesale trade in foodgrains and other essential commodities. Sir, I am sorry to say that even after these recommendations were made by the Asoka Mehta Committee, they were not implemented, at all. Very often that happens in regard to the reports and recommendations of various Commissions.

The Asoka Mehta Foodgrains Enquiry Committee recommended the socialisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains and essential commodities. It was not implemented. The tragic paradox of the situation is that Shri Asoka Mehta who pleaded for the socialisation of foodgrains and essential commodities has now joined the political lobby which is totally opposed to the socialisation. Probably if his recommendations were implemented in time, it would have prevented Shri Asoka Mehta from joining this lobby, which is putting forward a retrograde point of view.

Then I come to the problem of regional imbalances. This problem of regional imbalances has to be tackled at various levels. This imbalance arises out of the imbalance which exists in the infra-structure in various regions. To give a concrete illustration, I would say, it is necessary that the backward regions have to be developed with proper means of communications. We have to develop agro-industrial base in the backward regions. I represent a constituency from Konkan. Lot of agitation is going on there for the development of Konkan. It is a backward region. There is no agro-industrial base in this region of Konkan. Nobody wants to start industry in Konkan because the basic difficulty is that there are no proper means of communications like Railways. It is very difficult to bring about the necessary communication with other parts of

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the country for exports in the absence of proper communication facilities.

For this reason, capital is shy in Konkan region. If this attitude of shyness is to go, it is necessary for the Government to provide necessary communication facilities like Railways. Fortunately, due to pressure from various sections, the Government decided to have a survey of the Bombay-Mangalore Railway line. Unfortunately this scheme for Konkan railway line is not pursued effectively. In the Konkan region there are a number of villages where you see bullock carts. During the election campaign our Ministers went there in helicopters. Villagers in Konkan found a transition from "bullock cart age" to "helicopter age". The missing link is the Railways. This missing link should be introduced. It is said that Evolutionists know everything about the missing link except the fact that it is missing. That seems to be the position in Konkan also.

This particular aspect of extending the Railway line to Konkan has to be taken up speedily. Unless this is done, it is difficult to remove the economic imbalance of this region.

I now come to the question of equality. The keynote of a socialist policy is that there should be stress on equality. It is surprising that not a word of 'socialism' is mentioned in the speech of the Finance Minister. Of course, I don't go very much by external form; so long as the substance is there. But substance too is missing. To put socialist content in the economic development there must be greater equality.

Unless we are able to have measures like capital levy, wealth tax etc. we cannot remove the existing inequalities. Unless we take such steps we cannot remove the tapering peaks of property from our midst. Therefore, I would suggest that measures like capital levy and

wealth tax be firmly formulated and implemented.

Let me now make a reference to the policy regarding automation. I am a modernist and I am a socialist, and therefore, I would never totally oppose automation at all. In modern development and in rationalisation of industries at a certain stage, automation is inevitable. But, since our Planning Commission had accepted the approach that in a country like ours at the present stage of development, our entire technique of production should be labour-intensive and not capital-intensive, automation should not be introduced in those fields and industries where on a very large scale, the employees will be thrown out, without any prospects of alternative employment, and that too at the present level of wages. This should be the attitude in this regard.

I shall now refer very briefly to the policy regarding taxation. I am not one of those who feel that if socialists are in power, there will be no taxation at all. Only a quixotic attitude can lead to such thinking. I feel that taxation is bound to be there, no matter whoever be in power, whether Congress (R) or Congress (O) or Jan Sangh or PSP or SSP or communists of any variety. But the socialist approach to taxation is that the policy of taxation must be such that taxation must be according to the capacity of the people to bear the taxes, and, therefore, the higher echelons of society must be made to pay more taxes; and to that extent, the burden of taxation on the poor must be less. This type of socialist orientation must be there. I feel that if capital levy, wealth tax and such other measures are implemented effectively there will be no difficulty in narrowing down inequalities.

I shall now briefly refer to agriculture. I do not want to spell out my views on this matter in detail because I do not have enough time at my disposal. But one of the key-notes of our entire development will be our attitude to agriculture, our

attitude to problems of land reform etc. But I am afraid that in spite of such a massive mandate received by the Congress (R), or Congress (N) whatever you may call it, there seem to be internal contradictions in the Congress (R) itself. I was very happy to read some announcement by the Finance Minister of course, I read it through the papers, and, it may be wrong also. He is reported to have said that after the elections are over the richer sections of the peasantry will have to be attended to and we will have to do something to curb them. But in my own State of Maharashtra, quick came the comment from the Chief Minister of the State that all this slogan mongering must be ended and the rich peasant should not be frightened at all. Probably, there might be the dialectical approach to socialism. If internal contradictions develop, there might be progress, and hence there internal contradictions. I hope that a proper approach will be adopted and our entire policy will be so oriented, and our schemes of development will be so overhauled that it will not be the richer echelons in the field of agriculture and industry whose interests will be catered to but those of the underprivileged will be attended to. It is not the affluence of the rich, but really the needs and requirements of the poorer sections and backward sections which must be taken note of. If this is done, and socialist-oriented attitude is adopted, I, and my colleagues will always support that attitude on the floor of this House. Even if some people from among the ruling party fumble to support the socialist measures—if there are any socialist measures—the PSP and other socialists will continue to support them. But if we find any lacuna in the socialist measures, we shall vigorously raise our voice of opposition and fight for putting socialist content in the policies and programmes to be pursued by the Government.

SHRI C.M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): I thank you for giving me an opportunity to participate in this general discussion. At the outset, I would like to complement

the hon. Finance Minister for the speech that he has made, which is as every budget speech should be, a political document which has spelt out the policies and the and the ultimate objectives guiding the Government and the party which is running the Government and is behind the Government.

He has faithfully spelt out the main line of approach of the party on this side and the objectives we have in view. In the introductory part of his speech, he has pointed out what exactly are the main economic policies, growth with social justice and so on. He has also spelt out the ultimate objectives, namely, reduction of disparities in income, wealth and economic power, creation of mass employment, holding of the price line, keeping a safe balance of payments so that we depend less on foreign credit. These certainly are objectives which not only the party on this side but most of the parties opposite have also accepted.

But basically, the approaches and policies were not without controversy before the elections. Certain combinations on the other side calling themselves grandiloquently as the 'grand alliance' had materially differed from the policies we had accepted. But I suppose after the elections, after the massive mandate we have obtained, this is now beyond controversy and my friends opposite will not raise this issue any further.

But political policies and ultimate objective are not the main criteria, though they are, of course, deciding guidelines. The material thing is: what exactly are the programmes and how exactly can we implement them. Of course, these programmes will be spelt out only in May when the final Budget is before us. We are thankful to finance Minister for the forthright announcement he has made that whatever might have been the attitude and whatever might have been the experience in the past such programmes as are accepted will be implemented expeditiously and forthrightly.

[Shri C.M. Stephen]

According to me, this discussion will serve only one purpose, that is, to give suggestions to Government which may serve as guidelines for them when framing their ultimate programmes when preparing the coming budget.

At this point, I want to mention one thing. As my hon. friend who preceded me mentioned, I was also disappointed to see that in the President's Address and in the budget speech, the word 'socialism' has been left out. May be unintentionally, but it has been left out. Labels may not be important, but I do believe they have a significance, they have a psychological value.

DR. V. K. R. VARADURAJA RAO :
In elections.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN : Not only in elections, but afterwards too.

Economic growth with social justice is not the connotation of socialism. Socialism is something much more than that. It is a way of life. It is a complete transformation of the existing infrastructure, economic, social, political, everything.

Therefore, I would request the Finance Minister to see that this is not left aside in our pronouncements hereafter. When we passed a resolution in Avadi, we set for ourselves the goal of a socialist pattern of society. In Bhubneshwar, we moved forward in our march in that direction. We had a lot of controversy in the Congress itself for changing the preamble of the organisation itself and spell out socialism. Let us not shy away from that word. That word has become a by-word for the masses of the country, it has become very dear to them. It is on that word that the masses have been enthused and enamoured to give a massive verdict to the party on this side. Therefore, it has got to find a place in our connotations

and paraphrases. It has become a symbol which grips a word which grips the imagination of the people of this country, a word which means so much for the millions of this country in the lakhs of villages from Himalayas to Kanyakumari. So it must find a place in our pronouncements. This is only in passing.

There are one or two things which have not been stated sufficiently clearly to which I would like to make a reference. There can be programmes. Any intellectual can frame a programme. Attempts will certainly be made to enforce the programme. But are conditions such as to give us satisfaction and confidence that these programmes will be effectively implemented? The party on this side is certainly committed to that; the Government, by which I mean, the Ministry, is certainly pledged to that; the leadership on this side is certainly bound by it and Parliament as a whole is certainly a part to it.

But there we can only spell out the policies, tell the nation what should be done. There is another apparatus which has to implement the whole thing.

Looking back, we had our plans and the plans were marked by shortfalls in implementation. Even last year, after the Prime Minister made her Budget speech our targets were not fulfilled. We now find that in material terms, there have been considerable shortfalls. How do these take place? It has got to be investigated.

Creating the transformation of this country is a huge and tremendous exercise. About 60 crores of people throughout this vast country changing their way of life and producing things in such a manner as to have plenty on an equal basis, is not a mean task. It is a major task. This major task can be accomplished in only two ways, by the democratic method or by the totalitarian method. The electorate has discarded the totalitarian

method, and so it has to be achieved by the democratic method. It is absolutely necessary that every sector of life, every fragment of life, every section which is connected with it must be informed by this yearning for democratic transformation on a socialist basis,

Here I have to make a special reference to our services. I am certainly prepared to pay a compliment to them to the extent that they have served, but let me tell the services through the House that there is an impression throughout the country that the services have not shared yearning for socialist transformation. There are pin-pricks and obstacles placed. The Government machinery is functioning not for facilitating this transformation, but for creating impediments and slowing down the whole thing. It is absolutely necessary that the services should also step up the pace. Otherwise, our efforts will be nullified. I do not know what exactly should be done. They have got protection under the Constitution, but large sections of the people have started thinking whether that protection must remain there in view of the indiscipline that we are finding, in view of the obstructions that we are meeting with and in view of the short falls in our targets. Therefore, if this socialist transformation is to take place, the services also must be attuned to the national will and that is a matter to which the Government will have to address themselves. Whatever steps are necessary must be taken. What matters is the ultimate objective and the achievement of that objective. The Government has been given a mandate to take whatever steps may be found necessary. It is only the ultimate objective that has to be achieved. For the non-achievement of this objective no excuse will be accepted by the people because the people have done what they were asked to do. We have been given a mandate and it has to be implemented, and any step which is absolutely necessary, whether it be with reference to the services or the judiciary, whether it be with respect of anybody, has got to be taken firmly and strongly, because the public of

this country has given this party and this Government a mandate for bringing about social transformation. I wanted to bring this to the notice of the finance Minister.

There are certain parties on the other side which decry the public sector, implying thereby that it will not be a success. That is a challenge to the workman engaged in the public sector, I am myself a trade unionist. The workers are being blamed, but would the story end there? That has to be examined. The parties on the other side, the trade unions and everybody will have to address themselves to this. According to my experience, it is not really the workers who have to be blamed. I have seen how the managerial cadre, how the supervisory cadre of the public sector functions, and I have asked the managers of the public sector when they are confronted with the question of the non-cooperation of the workers whether they want the job to be done. Mostly they are only concerned with their salary and not with the job to be done. There was a proposal at one time that an administrative cadre should be built up for the public sector. I do not know what has happened to it. Even now civil service officers are being inducted into public sector.

I do not know how far it will serve the purpose. With security of tenure completely established they can take things easy, and the public sector comes to ridicule. Unless we completely streamline the working of the public sector and make it a success, this experiment of socialism through democracy will stand self condemned even in the beginning. On the industrial side there must be a public sector; even on the agricultural side there will be a public sector pattern, it may be a co-operative or a collective form. We may have to proceed to the public sector pattern even in respect of small scale industries. Who knows? If the public sector does not get infused with the spirit of socialism and the spirit of service to the people on the basis of socialism, then the experiment cannot succeed. Therefore, if the public sector industries

[Shri C.M. Stephen]

are to succeed, from my experience as a trade unionist I can say that it is not merely the workers who have to address themselves to the task; but also the entire managerial and supervisory cadres have to get to address themselves to this task. Everyone of them must be given the task of redeeming it. Their duty must be to see that the public sector succeeds. If they fail it must be their funeral, they must get out. Security of tenure should not come in there. If they are entrusted with some task they should do it.

The question of regional imbalance has been mentioned in passing in the Budget speech. Coming as I do from the southernmost part of India where there is a cry that Kerala is being neglected I must bring it to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister that this matter should be given supreme importance. India is a vast country. Delhi is situated here and we are situated at the farthest end, two thousand miles away and it takes a long time before the cries of Kerala could be heard here. Our problems are not being attended to. That is the feeling in our State. It was said that there was political instability. I want to claim credit for myself and for my party colleagues in the State that the state of instability has gone and the people of Kerala have done their duty. They have restored democracy there; they restored stability there, and whoever stood against democracy had been given the place they deserve. Today they have sent a body of people here who have given a commitment to the people of Kerala about their belief in democracy and socialism and we should see that their grievances are redressed.

We are a small State and including the CP(M) members we are only 19. Elsewhere there are huge chunks of States. Our political pull is little. It will be difficult for us to make ourselves heard. This is a matter which has got to

be taken care of if regional imbalances are to be removed. Weaker sections should be looked after in spite of political pulls and there must be a sense of justice in our dealings. We have many schemes. There is a proposal for establishing ship building industry about which we have been hearing for the last ten years. Only some roads and buildings are coming up. It seems the Government of India have not made up their mind about this, or the persons who are charged with it are not able to implement the policies of the Government of India. Anyway it has become a laughing stock for the people of Kerala. There was also a proposal for a petro-chemical complex. One suspects that it has migrated to some other area where there was greater political pull. You must realise that Kerala is faced with a major problem, the problem of educated unemployed. Is it our fault that we send our boys to the schools? Is it our fault that our younger generation is sent to study in colleges? Is it our fault that we have got in our heads some grey matter and therefore we are able to study and come out of the colleges? But the people are without their jobs. No industry is coming up. And there is a material matter even those traditional industries which we had are dying. We have got the cashew industry. One and a half lakh people are employed in that industry. Now, the Government of India has introduced canalisation here in the importing of raw nuts. We wanted it for a social purpose. The social purpose was that the raw nuts must be allotted to the factories concerned, for the workers concerned, so that those workers may get jobs, not that the employers may take them anywhere and anybody may get jobs. That was not our purpose. But canalisation was introduced, and what is now happening? Their demand was not attended to. The reason is that the officers cannot see the social side of the whole thing. The imports were effected, and handed over to the employers; they migrate to some other

place. They start the industry where the wages are lower. We have got the minimum wage law. At some other place they are prepared to work without the minimum wage, where the wages are lower. Migration is taking place. Is it the racialist policy of the Government that the workers must be denied the minimum wages, that the workers must be denied their wages; or that the workers must be denied their jobs? I am telling you that for the last seven months, about a lakh and a quarter workers have been on the streets without their jobs, without their wages. 5,000 salaried employees are without jobs. I am saying this in order that the Government may attend to it. It is not enough that you canalise this. Canalisation must be done with a social purpose. When these employees challenge, the Government will have to come in, and take over and start running it.

Now, there is a Corporation, which is running six factories. The Corporation gave a profit. But they could not expand because they do not have enough finances. Rs. 50 crores are now reserved for this purpose. I would submit that substantial benefit must be given.

There is one thing more.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is now past 3.30. I have to call the Minister to make a statement. Therefore, I wanted to know how long would the hon. Member take. Now, he may continue his speech tomorrow.

Now, Dr. Karan Singh.

15.33 hrs.

STATEMENT RE. ACCIDENT AT DELHI AIRPORT

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): Sir, when Calling Attention motions are pending on this subject, a statement is made now *suo motu*. This is a new procedure, for evading cross-questions; because, on any *suo motu*

statement one cannot ask any questions. Formerly, the House has had the privilege of getting the facts through Calling Attention motions, so that the members would get a chance of asking questions. Now, the Government are concealing the facts from us. This is a discourtesy to the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will convey your feelings to the Speaker.

THE MINISTER OF TOURISM AND CIVIL AVIATION (DR. KARAN SINGH): It is with deep regret that I have to inform the House of a tragic accident that occurred yesterday morning at Delhi airport when a spare tyre of a Boeing 737 aircraft belonging to Indian Airlines burst while being inflated near hangar No. 4. Shri H. E. Braganza, Chief Engineer Indian Airlines, who was standing nearby was killed instantaneously while Shri Gupta, a Technical Officer, was pronounced dead on arrival at Willingdon Hospital. A chowkidar Shri Budhi Singh is in a precarious condition and a labourer received minor injuries. The Airport Health Officer and the Indian Airlines Medical officer rushed to the spot, and the injured persons were immediately taken to the Willingdon Hospital.

The incident is being investigated by the Controller of Aeronautical Inspection in the Civil Aviation Department, as well as by the Airlines. The service rules of Indian Airlines provide for payment of 36 months' salary last drawn to the families of each of the deceased, payment orders for which have been issued. Suitable payments will also be made to the injured.

The House, I am sure, will join me conveying to the families of the bereaved our deep sympathy.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): Will you please arrange, so that Members who wish to ask questions on this statement are permitted to do so tomorrow?

Shri Indrajit Gupta]

We want to know what those two officers were doing at that particular place ; what were the duties that they were performing and whether it was their normal duty or not etc.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have already spoken to Mr Jyotirmoy Basu. Since he had given the calling attention notice to the Speaker, I will convey his feelings to the Speaker. Now after the Minister's statement if questions are allowed, there will be a departure from the procedure and there will be no end to the cross-examination.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (राजापुर) :
सभापति महोदय, हमने ध्यान आकर्षण दिया है। मंत्री महोदय ने जो यह वक्तव्य दिया है उसी के आधार पर अगर वह अस्वीकार नहीं किया गया तो ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : You may discuss it with the Speaker.

DR. KARAN SINGH : I can give any clarification they may want.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : He knows what is in our minds. Let him clarify.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Is it a fact that the two engineers were over-worked round the clock and they were suffering from exhaustion due to which they could not read the meters and the tyre was over-inflated resulting in the accident ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not a clarification, This is an accusation.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : There are too many skeletons in the cupboard.

That is why *suo motu* statements are coming.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now Private Member's business.

15.37 hrs.

[Shri K. N. Tiwari in the Chair]

RESOLUTION RE : WITHDRAWAL OF CENTRAL FORCES FROM WEST BENGAL

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour) : I beg to move :

"This House, keeping in view the fact that in West Bengal the CRP and other Central Forces have been unlawfully acting beyond their jurisdiction causing serious resentment amongst the people there, demands immediate withdrawal of such forces from West Bengal."

Mr. Chairman, this is a very important issue involving 5 crores of people of West Bengal groaning under severe oppression and torture. You personally have been very much interested in the affairs of West Bengal after spending a good part of your life there. I shall expect you to do justice to the people of West Bengal.

This Mrs. Indira Gandhi Government is making a desperate bid to re-establish the Congress in West Bengal and then serve the jotedars and industrialists and as an outcome of this, law and order crisis and misery have been created. I will read out an extract from the *Times of India's* yesterday's issue. It is ~~no paper~~ of the CPM. On the contrary it is in the farthest corner from CPM. It says :

"It makes for an ungainly sight to watch teeny-weeny parties and men, rejected by the voters, struck back on the centre of the stage just because the Congress is desperately anxious to restore itself to power in West Bengal."

That is the reason and the outcome is there. Since President's rule, West Bengal has been treated as an occupied territory. I will quote from another paper, run by people more close to the Congress,

viz., the *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta, in which our friend, Mr. Ranjit Roy, an eminent journalist, has said :

"Never before the country has seen such mobilisation of troops and paramilitary forces to maintain law and order during election. The rural areas of the State will also see lots of them. It is during elections that the policies of a democratic country like ours find expression in the most impressive form. Troops employed in West Bengal will surely learn a lesson in politics from this election;"

This President's Rule, imposed under the pretext of maintenance of law and order and suppression of Naxalites, is nothing but untruth. They assumed enormous powers, summary powers, they hoodwinked this House and through the back door assumed powers like Prevention of Violent Activities Act and so many other powers.

They refuse an enquiry on police firings which even the foreign rulers thought was a justifiable one. When I asked the Prime Minister to tell me categorically whether it was done with the consent of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister she did not hesitate to write me something which is an unmixed untruth, I am sorry to say. She had stated something which had no relation to the truth.

The Commissioner in Calcutta have been repeatedly bettering and saying "PD Act or no PD Act, we shall shoot at sight". Police is still continuing is that, at sight. It is unparalleled repression on political opponents like CPM on the pretext of suppression of Naxalites.

The situation has much worsened after the imposition of President's Rule and the ultimate object, the main aim, is to suppress the peasants and workers' movement run and led by the CPM. As a result, my party, the CPM, has lost over 220 members of its cadre who have been

murdered mostly by plainclothed policemen. This is part of Operation Hooghly which is a part of the conspiracy which was hatched by Shri Ajoy Mukerjee and Shri Y. B. Chavan in 1967 after the first UF regime fell. After election they have arrested no less than 1,000 people. In spite of all that, we have gone through the workers' and peasants' struggles, waged the jute strike successfully and forced the owners to part with a part of the huge profits they make out of the sweat and tears of the workers. In spite of the fact that CRP was sent there to help the jotedars, the land could not be taken back from the burgedars because we have become quite conscious of our rights.

The forces of law are turning blind eyes on criminals when they are attacking us. But when we do fight back in self-defence, they appear on the scene to shoot us. Even the right of self-defence has been denied to us. The expenditure on Central Reserve Police of your Socialist Government has increased by Rs. 9.3 crores making a total of Rs. 76.5 crores, about fifteen times more than what it was 15 years ago. This is the growth of socialism you are bestowing on us. Now you have enough money in the Budget to raise three more CRP battalions and another Rs. 1.45 crores for the Industrial Security Force and Rs. 58 crores more for defence services. On top of all this, there are 64,000 West Bengal policemen, a part of which is struggling for your benefit.

I will now give a few examples of the atrocities committed by the CRP. In Malda a fourteen years old girl was raped. In Chanditala the same thing was repeated. Then, in Basanti six women were raped in a launch.

SHRI C.M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): Does he know that Shri A. K. Gopalan is always carrying a policeman with him?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : In a Basanti six girls who were under arrest were raped by the CRP men. In Durgapur during the last strike some women

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

were molested, and insulted. In Calcutta a nine year old girl was raped by nine persons belonging to the CRP.

This is what you are doing. You are artificially creating a law and order situation for re-entry into West Bengal politics. What is happening in other States? In Madhya Pradesh in three years there have been 1,300 dacoities and 6,200 murders and it is on the increase every day. Let us see what the Governor, Mr. Dhavan, sent from the Centre says...

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch Bihar). On a point of order, Sir. The resolution speaks about the C.R.P. in West Bengal and their withdrawal. Is he entitled to speak about what happened in Kerala, Madhya Pradesh and all that? Is it relevant or irrelevant?

MR. CHAIRMAN. There is no point of order.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: What does Mr. Dhavan say about Calcutta? He says that the city of Calcutta is safer than Delhi. Then, of course under pressure, Mr. Dhavan was made to make amends. He is, after all, a paid servant of the Centre and he is supposed to please them.

In West Bengal, in many places, the local police refused and the C.R.P. had to be used. In Bihala, 1400 houses were ransacked under the guise of searching the houses. What a pity and what a shame! And they talk of democracy. The C.P.M. workers were shot dead while putting posters on the wall in Bihala.

The police had shot them because the ultimate object was to stop the C.P.M. from coming to power.

In Naktala, in Tollygunj, the C.R.P. ransacked the whole locality. A retired judge, an old man, was given a slap on the face. This is what the C.R.P. is doing.

In Jadavpur University, in August, 1970, what did they do? This is from the *Amrita bazar Patrika*. I quote:

"About 150 students, teachers and employees of Jadavpur University were injured, some of them seriously, when police made a series of lathi charges inside the University campus....."

".....started beating out employees, students and teachers mercilessly in which 100 students and 60 office staff were injured..... The police action was absolutely unprovoked"

And the Home Secretary said that they had given no instructions to the police for taking such action or firing a single shot. The C.R.P. acted on its own. This is not a Central Reserve Police. This is a Criminal Reserve Police. It is a congregation of outlaws, if you ask me. You will understand better because one day you will realise what the character of this Government is.

In Jadavpur University, again on 1st March, what did they do? I quote:

"About 30 students of Jadavpur were injured eight of whom were admitted to the Police Case Hospital when police made a lathi-charge on borders in two hostels of the University during a search of the two hostels in the Jadavpur thana area..."

".....boarders of the hostel in the university premises had held atleast on Saturday evening. They had gone to sleep at about 10.30 p.m. At about 3 a.m. about 500 Central Reserve Police, he alleged in his statement, entered the hostel after breaking open the gate."

".....the police broke into students' rooms threatened them with revolvers and bayonets and forced the inmates, who had been sleeping to come out of their rooms. They also beat up students.....the police had taken away

the students' engineering instruments and personal belongings. He said that about 70 inmates of the hostel had been detained in the thana."

This is what you are doing. This is what you are sanctioning money for, for the C.R.P., and in the name of civilisation and democracy.

In Krishnagar, in Durgapur, in Siliguri, in Alipore Duar and other places, they have given beatings to Government employees. Mr. Nanda had given a categorical assurance that against those who had gone on strike no action will be taken. The railway officials and the police have completely thrown that piece of assurance into the waste paper basket. I feel sorry for Mr. Nanda. He is not in this House. Now, these gangsters went and chased out every employee in their houses at midnight. The Sub-Divisional Police Officer came to the colony in a drunken state at 2 A.M. molested the women, kicked the children, trespassed into the house and did what know civilised person could ever do. This is what you are doing with the CRP and near Diamond Harbour in Basulidanga they had arrested in one stroke, to help a Jotedar, 22 of them. They were given such a merciless beating that each and everybody of that group had to be admitted into the hospital. This is one side of the story. Now, they have gone into something much deeper.

There are planned murders by Police, *agent provocateurs* and procured and hired criminals. We have seen how the Vice-Chancellor of the Jadavpur University, Mr. Gopal Sen had been murdered and in Garden Reach how the eminent trade-union leader, Mr. Niresh Thakur was murdered under their very nose and in the main road and how Prof. Chakravarty was murdered in Belur Mutt College in his class room.

In Barasat, eleven young boys were shot and killed by the Police. The Prime Minister here gave an assurance that a CBI inquiry will be instituted and I have

written for a copy of the post-mortem report. That even, she was not willing to give. They appointed a Judge to inquire into the matter but he was stabbed by the Police agents and persuaded not to hold the inquiry. So, the whole thing has been dropped.

There have been numerous murders and hundreds and thousands have been murdered by the Police, by plain-clothed police men and the Government is sitting tight. I want to know what has happened to the Beliaghata CPI murder where Mr. Krishna Menon and other nine members of Parliament belonging to most of the Opposition Parties had gone and seen and heard themselves the atrocities of the police. The Deputy Commissioner of Police was shot dead with his own rifle. Four young boys were shot dead at 4 O'clock in the morning and one of the boys was a National Talent Scholarshipholder, Ashok Bose, who was getting a scholarship of Rs. 100 per month and he was shot and killed.

Only the other day, in *Ananda Bazar*—you have not to go very far.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : Is there any inquiry being made ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : No inquiry.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Is it *sub judic* ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Not at all.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : How can we know whether there is any inquiry or not ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : In this Beliaghata murder of 17th February, four young boys were shot in broad daylight under the very nose of hundreds of people and those who were nearby were told to shut their doors and windows on the hint of revolver. But some people saw

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

and the next day there was a big demonstration which went to the Writers Building which included many ladies among them. And among the signatories you will find two are even Congress MLAs. There is Mr. Arundendu Naskar a leader of the Congress and sitting MLA of the ruling Congress Smt. Ila Mitra of CPI and many other eminent people. Four young men shot dead in Calcutta and in broad daylight under the very nose of the people by the Police, under instructions of whom? Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Because that is the way she has chosen to rehabilitate herself and her Party in West Bengal. But nothing will happen and she will not be able to get in there.

Another method—this is a negative method of murder—in Dum Dum they derived the election benefit by murdering our candidate. Lastly, about our revered Leader, Mr. Hemanta Kumar Basu—May his soul rest in peace—I will quote the ECONOMIC TIMES. What does it say about Mr. Basu's murder? It says:

"The CPM, however, has long demanded fresh elections to the Assembly and it is strange that it should now want to endanger the holding of the poll so close to the event. The murder of so respected a person as Hemantada, as he was popularly known in the State, cannot but have a traumatic effect on the electorate. The chances that voters would recoil in horror and disgust from a crime of this magnitude are too real not to be taken into the calculations of a political party seriously aiming to capture power in the State, unless of course there has been some CPM rethinking..."

This is a clear analysis that Shri Hemanta Kumar Basu was murdered to malign the CPM, to create a sense of hatred amongst the minds of people, so that people who oppose the CPM get a few more votes and re-established themselves. You are only counting the chicken before they hatch; you are building only castles in the air. Never will you be

able to come back to West Bengal and form a Government and stay there. You have seen Dr. Profulla Ghosh taking lessons from what had happened.

Six Muslim boys were murdered and their dead bodies were found near Diamond Harbour. I rushed to the spot. Later on I found this: I was informed by very knowledgeable people about this. Then a police officer told me that the murderer is absconding, a man called Surya Ghosh. He has not been apprehended. And, I further learnt, he was brought to Delhi so that he is not apprehended. This Surya Ghosh happens to be a ruling Congress worker of Joy nagar. I am saying it on the floor of the House on my own responsibility. There have been attempts of murder on the Mayor of Calcutta and another councillor, Rothin Dev, and Jyoti Basu. There have been three attempts starting from Patna station, twice near Calcutta. What has happened to the Police? Why is it that they are not finding out the culprits? Because they feel, if they go into it, something might come out. That is why they cannot have an enquiry.

Regarding the repression that the CRP is conducting, I will quote from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's speech to show what the CRP had done, because Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is a friend of the Congress; we have seen him functioning before the election. So his utterance will perhaps be more acceptable to you and more acceptable to all of us. This is what happened in South Jambad colliery. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said in Rajya Sabha and I quote:

"These workers, about 250 of them, were demonstrating against the notice of lay-off by the employers. There was absolute peace prevailing there. The CRP appeared on the scene and started firing as a result of which two workers were killed and several others were injured. Later on Sec. 144 was imposed. I should like to

know from the Government whether it is the policy of the Government to go and intervene on the side of the employers..."

If you ask me, I will say, 'Yes, that is so.'

Then he says :

"...and use the CRP to suppress the workers in this manner as has been done in the case of the workers of the Jambad collieries."

And then he says :

"In the name of suppressing or dealing with the Naxalites, the whole State today has been given over to the CRP for CRP rule, the like of which was scarcely known even in the days of the British. I would ask the Government to remember that the people of West Bengal, young men and women, peasants and workers, cannot be silenced in this manner by violence and brutality."

So many things he has said. He has utterly condemned the CRP. How is this grand alliance of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the agent provocateurs and promoters, functioning? The most corrupt force in this country is the Indian Police Force. Can we forget Mr. Mulla's judgement? Mr. Anand Narain Mulla said it is nothing else but organised gangsterism. A man who had been drawing Rs. 400 salary gets another 3,000 at the end of the month. There were misuses of powers which were indulged in and, sadistic pleasure in fulfilment of that. Now, the United Front Government of Jyoti Basu applied the brake. Jyoti Basu said, we must put the police on the right lines. This Central Government after the fall of the UF Government there, and before that also, told those policemen: If the CPM again comes to power, there would be trouble for you. Temptations of rewards were granted, Liberal cash awards were given.

16 hrs.

The police today are making extractions from the parents of boys who are taken to police stations on the pretext of their alleged involvement in Naxalite activities. I know of a case personally where the sub-inspector had demanded a sum of one thousand rupees from a mother, saying 'if you give Rs. 1000, your son will be spared from being beaten up.' And what sort of beating was it? Shri K. C. Pant knows it. I have already referred to it once in this House. Samir Bhattacharyya, a boy of 17, was taken to Shyampur police station without any charge, without any warrant and without any reason, and he was given a beating-up by two jamadars in the presence of a sub-inspector and he died. There was haemorrhage from his mouth and through his rectum. The body was sent for *post-mortem*, and on *post-mortem* it was found that all his internal organs had ruptured, his spleen, lungs, liver and everything else had ruptured. This was what happened to a boy of 17. That is the socialism that my hon. friend opposite are trying to sell to this country and they want to hoodwink all of us. I hope they would not do this.

A section of the bureaucrats and the police are completely involved in this. Criminals are given the option 'Serve or get punished', and they were given the respectable garb of Naxalites. Shri B. M. Birla, who is not a friend of ours, but who is a great subscriber to the Congress election fund said on the 24th December, and he has said that repeatedly, that in Calcutta today, if you can spend Rs. 200 you can get a street urchin to come and throw a bomb. Hardend criminals are getting salary of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 per month for this purpose. He said that if Government wanted to restore peace, they could do it in three days. It was all the doing of Shrimati Indira Gandhi; she was creating all this havoc in West Bengal, and the people of Bengal and the people of India will judge it one day and will pay it back in her own coins.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Basu]

Again, 60 constables were murdered. Why? Just to confuse the people that Naxalites were killing constables, this was done. But we know that these constable had been involved in union activities during our regime, because we allowed them to practice trade union rights. So, they were sorted out and were murdered and are being murdered today one by one.

Only the other day, at the Barasat police station, a sub-inspector told one criminal 'if you go and kill the CPM candidate for this election, I shall let you go and set you free'. We have also information regarding the flow of arms and ammunitions and explosives and protective equipment. I warn the Prime Minister that these policemen and officials will not go unpunished as soon as the people can instal their own elected representatives to power; these criminals of police and civil servants who have been involved in these misdeeds and murders and tortures will be taught a lesson for life. We have carefully noted down their names and particulars. But how nice stories they cook up. They said that Sushital Ray Chaudhary died in a nursing home, and his wife came to see him the other day. But the police did not know. We knew that the police had brought him to the nursing home and kept him there. This is what they are doing in regard to many others also, because unless they can maintain this Naxalite bogey...

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

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: I would request you to give me five more minutes. After all, it is one ballot in a lifetime that we get, and, therefore, there should be some reward for this.

Then, again, take the case of guns being snatched away. Who believes that guns could be snatched away without the consent of the person? Nine guns were snatched away from the watchmen at the

Behala airport, but not a round was fired. My hon. friend Shri Shah Nawaz Khan is sitting there and he has been a soldier, and he would confirm me when I say that nothing could happen unless there is mutual consent. But then often the plea was 'What about the size of the ammunition?' Again, I would refer this to Shri Shah Nawaz Khan, that a weapon of a bigger bore can always take an ammunition of a slightly smaller bore provided there is an adapter. This is what the police are doing. They are just telling stories and murdering the people. There are many methods. There are *agent provocateurs*, plainclothesmen who go and create trouble. Then our people come out, and then the CRP comes out and shoots and kills the people.

In regard to the Army, what is happening? Gen. Manekshaw had said repeatedly that the use of the army for political purposes should not be encouraged. But what is happening today? There are two divisions of the Army deployed in West Bengal. Under curfew all this killing takes place, so that others cannot come in and get the correct information.

Shri Samar Guha and his party had been crying hoarse for an election with the military. Well, he has had it, what is the outcome? I shall tell you the outcome in just a minute.

In remote, peaceful, villages, there were thousands of army men...

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Since he has mentioned my name, I would like to say that those areas were under the physical control of the CPI (M) and even the voters could not go to vote. If anybody can take any credit for some kind of election with a semblance of fairness and freedom in West Bengal, it is Samar Guha. He had the courage to speak out on this as a result of which there was at least the semblance of a free election.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: The army was there all over the place with camouflaged costumes, with nets ready for

jungle warfare, with automatic weapons on the ready, pointed at the starving, perplexed villagers. This is a real 'Gandhivad', but there is a slight modification, this is 'Indira Gandhivad'.

What have the army done in Calcutta? They have insulted women; they have snatched handbags from ladies in Shyam bazar and other places.

Under what law is the army functioning there and who is going to pay for it? Combing and harassment continue unabated. Daily about 200 columns of troops with about 100 per column are combing CPI (M)-dominated areas. In March, 1971 alone, in ten days, 4000 persons were tortured and harassed. But the criminals have remained untouched. Life has been made unbearable. Young men are running away from their homes. Jyoti Basu has written a letter to the Prime Minister to call a halt to this. But what is coming? Under the PD Act, 2,035 arrests have been made after the elections. What is the outcome of the election? What is the alignment? In 1967, we were 44 in the Assembly and 5 in Parliament. Today, under the same alignment and under most difficult conditions, we are 111 plus 12 in the Assembly and 20 in Parliament. In Baranagar, you tried all possible methods. You shut out 16 polling booths; you engaged goondas to stifle the expression of the will of the voters. In spite of that, Jyoti Basu is Jyoti Basu and he has been elected with a comfortable margin over that stooge of yours of 11,000 votes. So do not talk about this.

I would request hon. members to kindly read the analysis given by the *Times of India* which said that with all the misuse of government machinery and other malpractices they lost the votes. They should take a lesson from what is happening in elsewhere. In East Pakistan, the writings on the wall are there for every one to see. The people of West Bengal have chosen us. We are strong, we are fit enough, to form a Government. Withdraw all central forces from the State,

give up all trickery and horse-trading, resort to democracy. The situation will then normalise and then let us decide the issue on the floor of the house. I say that the presence of the central forces in West Bengal is illegal and without jurisdiction. They should be withdrawn at once and the majority party should be called upon to form the government. If they fail on the floor of the House, you shall have the right to say so. The verdict of the people given in the election should be respected.

I move.

MR. CHAIRMAN Resolution moved:

"This House, keeping in view the fact that in West Bengal the CRP and other Central Forces have been unlawfully acting beyond their jurisdiction causing serious resentment amongst the people there, demands immediate withdrawal of such Force from West Bengal."

There is an amendment by Dr. Ranen Sen.

DR. RANEN SEN (Barasat): I move:

That is in resolution, for:

"In West Bengal the CRP and other Central Forces have been unlawfully acting beyond their jurisdiction causing serious resentment amongst the people there, demands immediate withdrawal of such Forces from West Bengal."

substitute "though in West Bengal the C.R.P. and other Central Forces have been deployed, they have failed to bring peace and tranquility in West Bengal, on the contrary have sometimes caused harassment to innocent common man, considers that deployment of these forces must be made judiciously so as to bring back peace and tranquility in the State and bring to

[Dr. Ranen Sen]

the real culprits disturbing the State without harassing and repressing the common innocent men."

MR. CHAIRMAN : Both the Resolution and the amendment are before the House. How much time shall we devote to this ?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Let us have 2 hours 20 minutes, leaving 10 minutes for the next Resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There are many speakers wanting to speak.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI (Bilhaur) : The hon. Mover who waxed eloquent on the torture which Bengal is facing now sees nothing in its proper perspective. He has a jaundiced and biased eye - I do not mean it in the physical sense ; I mean only the political eye. With that he is not able to do justice to the issue. For him, there is a skeleton in every cupboard. I would tell him what he has described so vividly is really his soul speaking, if there is a soul in the CPI (M) at all today.

What has happened today has been happening for the last one year. Bengal has been bleeding and bleeding profusely. The same horrors have been perpetrated there, the same atrocities, the same torture, the same humiliation, and we find that it did not hurt them then, it did not insult and humiliate them then, but now it hurts them since the Centre has come into the picture. These are two yardsticks for measuring the same justice.

There is a question that I would like to ask the hon. Member sitting opposite. He says that he expects justice from the Chair, especially from you because of your old association with the State. I would like to know how he and his party

who have never shown any justice to any individual in their State ask for justice.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Chair has to give justice to all.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : She does not understand that.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I would not ask for justice from the Chair because I expect the Chair to have an equal eye for all without discrimination, I would expect the same amount of justice for every individual in the House. But how can his party expect justice for itself, for its individuals, when it has destroyed justice, destroyed equanimity, destroyed everything which is vital and read to human nature and humanity in general for the last three or four years ?

He says that Bengal has been treated as an occupied territory. It is better that it is treated as an occupied territory than as a no-man's land. I would like to say that there has been a reign of terror let loose ; loot, arson, rape and everything which the tongue cannot pronounce have been perpetrated there. He is feeling sorry for the women whose honour has been sullied, and we share that, but I would like to ask him what happened when the House rose as one man when the same thing happened at the Rabindra Sarovar tragedy.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : On a point of order. May I inform the House through you that the Rabindra Sarovar affairs was enquired into by a High Court Judge and he has said that there was not an iota of truth in that. Don't tell all untruths. You are a lady and we want to be respectful, but do not try to tell things which are not true.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : Your threats will not carry any weight in the House. If what he has said is correct, I would be the first person to welcome that report if it is stated in it

that nobody's honour was sullied. We do not know the facts.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN (Palghat) : There was an enquiry and there is a report. What you have said today is against the enquiry and you have to correct it at least afterwards.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He has said a lot of things of which I am not aware.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contal) : It was not an enquiry at all. It was a farce of an enquiry. Even the witnesses were not allowed to appear.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE, DEPTT. OF ELECTRONICS, DEPTT. OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND DEPTT. OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRI K.C. PANT) : I appreciate the sentiments that have been expressed by Mr. Gopalan, but may I point out that in the past I have contradicted on the floor of the House certain things which Shri Jyotirmoy Basu referred to today. He said the Prime Minister told an untruth. I have contradicted this times without number in the last Parliament.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I have got documents in black and white. I have written documents to show that the Prime Minister had told an unmixed untruth:

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. member must be careful in what he says. To bring a charge against the Prime Minister like this is not fair.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : If I do not succeed in establishing what I have said, you send me to the Privileges Committee. I am prepared to face it and let Mr. Pant do the same thing.

SHRI K. C. PANT : One can only contradict what one knows to be wrong,

but I was standing in appreciation of the sentiment of Shri Gopalan and hoping that it would influence Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu is now a leader of his party and should not behave like this.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : May I remind Shri Gopalan of his own words which he used five minutes before. How are the hon. Members to know if there is any enquiry? I would like to know if there has been an enquiry, and if so what are the details of the enquiry which went about the Rabindra Sarovar incidents?

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : If it was that the finding in the enquiry report was against the police, will you express your regret about it.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I shall be the first person to be happy if it was established that the women's honour had been sullied...*(Interruptions.)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record if hon. Members get up whenever they like and begin to make speeches.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : On a point of order, I want to submit that there has been no proper enquiry at all into those happenings in Rabindrasarovar.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no point of order in this.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu lamented the loss of 200 cadres of the CP(M). I appreciate what he says; I sympathise with him. But may I ask him what has happened to thousands of people who had been butchered? They may belong to no party or different parties; but all the same they were the sons of some mothers and fathers. Why does he make this discrimination between the CPM cadres and other people?

[Shrimati Sushila Rohatgi]

He referred to the jute strike as being very successful. Personally I think that no strike can be a successful strike as what the country needs is production and development. Jute strike is something closely associated with foreign exchange earnings and as such it was a loss to the exchequer. Any loss to the exchequer can be replenished only by taxation of the poor. How can it be a successful strike then?

He has been saying that no civilised man would say this or would do that. I wish he remembered that Bengal was at one time the home of fine civilisation, the land of soulful bliss, music, drama and theatre; it consisted of people who could rise about certain things and give us a lead in so many matters. What has happened in Bengal during the last four years when there was organised violence does not reflect that civilisation; it was a different civilisation then and we as Indians are not proud of that civilisation which has been seen in West Bengal during the last four years.

What surprises me most is this Shri Jyotirmoy Basu said that the police are frightened to do something since if something is found out the people are taken to task. I should like to ask him why this particular incident happened. Is it not because the police were thoroughly demoralised under the CP(M) rule during the last four years; they were not only threatened but they had laid down their lives also. They had been threatened, intimidated and were made to act under tension and pressure. I have seen people there; in Bengal the police had also undergone torture. What has happened in the police and other services? The entire responsibility for that goes to the CP(M). They cannot be absolved of it or exonerated from that.

Above all he has stated that it was not Gandhivad, but Gandhivad and with a slight modification and said that it was Indira Gandhivad. I say it is the dreams of Gandhi which Indira Gandhi is trying to

translate into action and which the people have approved. (*Interruptions.*)

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : There is no connection whatever between the two—either family or otherwise.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : Yes, the Swatantra Party is thinking only in terms of families and family connections whereas the Congress (R) thinks of this family of 50 crores of people. Gandhi said is slightly different from what Indira Gandhi has in mind—that is what he says.

Now, I come to the basic resolution. There are three things which I would like to highlight. First, he says that they were unlawfully acting beyond their jurisdiction. I would like to know precisely what is the periphery, what is the jurisdiction of the CRP. The CRP is not deployed in normal times. It has a jurisdiction to maintain law and order. It is only when we find that the civil forces are not sufficient that the armed forces are called for, and it is the duty incumbent upon the Union of India under article 355 of the Constitution to guarantee that the State is run according to the Constitutional Provisions. (*Interruption*)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : The case is pending before the high court.

It is *sub-judice*. Let us not analyse it.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : If it is *sub-judice*, why is it brought in this resolution? If that is so, why are these words used in the resolution itself?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I did not go into the legal side of it.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I think the resolution goes into that aspect. You have been concerned too much with the skeleton and the illegal side of the picture. (*Interruption*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : No interruption please.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I would not be very long. I shall not provoke you any further.

Now, the second part of it is this. It is the serious resentment among the people there. What is the serious resentment due to? The serious resentment of the people is due to a few factors. If I may point out, it is due simply to the fact that the normal life of the people has been disrupted. People find that their families have been disunited. Business and trade have been dislocated, and normal life as a whole has been paralysed. The sanctity of the universities has been violated. People have been taken out from their schools and colleges and butchered and murdered. We find that there is nothing sacred there. The statues of all those whom we have learned to worship and honour are being broken and truncated, and the names that are living in our history and in our minds have been violated and they have been washed out of the earth for nothing. People are resenting because bombs are sold for a song in Bengal. That was the condition when violence became the creed of the day. People have been repenting and so all these things have happened in the last four years; nothing stood sacred; nothing was inviolable, and the very Constitution by which he and his party swears—(Interruption) Mr. Basu will you give me kindly the courtesy of listening to me? (Interruption) I was listening to him; and so I expect him to give me the courtesy of listening back.

MR. CHAIRMAN : She is particular that you should listen to her.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : I give special attention especially to leaders of parties. Now there is a particular reference to threat; even in his speech on the floor of the House, he has uttered a tone of threat. I would like to

quote from the *Times of India* of the 15th February which says: "The test of revenge by Jyoti Basu; attack on CPM would be met by counter-attacks; death by death." It said that the CPM was preparing a list of those policemen who had been conspiring against the party and others would be treated accordingly.

Now, if this is the justice that his party contemplated, God forbid, this is no justice which we under our Constitution contemplated.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Do not misquote. Your sins are full.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No running commentary please.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Those policemen and officials who had done mischief, we have made note of their names and particulars. They will be punished.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : We hate the sin and not the sinner. That is all that we can say in this context. (Interruption) Even at the time when they were in power, What did they do? They believed in violence; they believed in secessionist tendencies and in extra-territorial loyalties, being loyal to Mao. The red colour which is extremely good for married women especially in Bengal has become an allergy to West Bengal now. We associate red colour with Mao's posters, stencilled slogans, banners and with blood. It is not only that they see jaundice; it is jaundiced eyes everywhere.

I would like to say that such conditions still prevail in Bengal now. If Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu had really wanted the removal of the CRP, he as the leader of a very important party, should have seen that the normal life was restored, that the popular regime was restored and that the people could choose whom they liked and the conditions were such that the normal rule of law was restored.

[Shrimati Sushila Rohatgi]

Then only we would have been in a position to ask for the removal of the CRP. In the absence of that, are we to forfeit our security and honour guaranteed to us by the Constitution into the hands of people who are not in a position to protect them? The crux of the matter is that the Union Government cannot allow the CMP to dictate to it without abdicating its responsibility. With these words, I very strongly and stoutly oppose the resolution brought forward by Mr. Basu.

DR. RANEN SEN (Barasat) : Sir, my amendment reads :

That in the resolution--

"for in West Bengal the C.R.P. and other Central Forces have been unlawfully acting beyond their jurisdiction causing serious resentment amongst the people there, demands immediate withdrawal of such Forces from West Bengal"

substitute "though in West Bengal the C. R. P. and other Central Forces have been deployed they have failed to bring peace and tranquillity in West Bengal, on the contrary have sometimes caused harassment to innocent common man, considers that deployment of these forces must be made judiciously so as to bring back peace and tranquillity in the State and bring to book the real culprits disturbing the State without harassing and repressing the common innocent men."

Mr. Basu's resolution speaks about CRP and other central forces, but in the course of his speech, he drew in all the police forces including the State police force also. It means he wants to withdraw not only the CRP but also the State police from West Bengal. One must be logical in his arguments. I will go in to some details because Mr. Basu has gone into very many details. Deployment of

paramilitary organisations like CRP is no doubt undesirable and unnatural but in our State, this is not the first time they are used against the people. It was in 1959 the then Home Minister of West Bengal in the UF Government posted the Eastern Frontier Rifles a paramilitary organisation and equipped it with hand-grenades and light machine guns against the so-called Naxalites in Debra and Gopillabpur, in Midnapore, etc. A storm was then raised in the West Bengal Assembly and it was withdrawn. The same CRP was first introduced by the then Home Minister of West Bengal in 1969 in Durgapur, Farakka and some other places. These are all historical facts proved on the floor of the West Bengal Assembly and this House. It is known to everybody. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MANORANJAN HAZRA (Arambagh) Sir, on a point of order. I was a member of the West Bengal legislature at that time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is an explanation ; not a point of order.

SHRI MANORAJAN AAZRA : Let me complete it. Shri Jyoti Basu never did any such things. I know it for a fact. Because of pressure from opposition groups, he deployed State police, but not the CRP.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is not a point of order. If he says anything more it will not go on record.

DR. RANEN SEN : When Shri Jyotirmoy Basu was speaking no body from our side interrupted him. We expect this much of decency from the hon. Members sitting on our right also. Also, Shri Jyotirmoy Basu will have a chance to reply when he can rebut all the arguments that I am making. So, he will have that opportunity. Therefore, why be so intolerant and impatient?

. When he was making eloquent on the omissions and commissions made

by the police, CRP and other forces, I was reminded of one thing. For the last one and a half years, even today, the leader of that party, Shri Jyoti Basu, keeps himself surrounded by the police who are denounced here by Shri Jyotirmoy Basu. There should be one yardstick.

AN HON. MEMBER : He did not say anything about the police.

DR. RANEN SEN : He has spoken about the police also. There should be some decency in public life. If their leader was so much brave as to be protected, it should be by their own volunteers. It should not be by police force for which the West Bengal Government have to spend Rs. 82,000 per year.

As I have said earlier, it is very undesirable, very unwarranted and very unnatural to post and deploy Central forces in a State. Nobody wants it. Everybody wants the withdrawal of such forces. But who paved the way for these forces to come and stay in West Bengal ? That is a point which we cannot ignore.

Here I would like to give a few instances, I will refer to some newspapers, the very papers which he quoted, *Hindustan Standard*, *Jugantar* and *Ananda Bazar Patrika*. In Cossipore a particular union office run by the CPM was searched by police along with CRP and other personnel. Plastic bombs of a high explosive nature were found there, pictures of which appeared in all the newspapers in Calcutta. In Noapara of Barrackpore subdivision of 24 Parganas district a search was made in CPM house by the police and military and sack-loads of bombs were found. Again, there is a report that during the election in Katwa constituency the CPM houses were surrounded by the police and in one instance three sack-loads of high explosive bombs were found. For the benefit of the hon. Members here, I will just mention one newspaper report published only yesterday in the *Hindustan Standard*. They cannot say that every newspaper has written

against them. The only newspaper in favour of that party is *Economic Times* run by big business. Only that paper writes in favour of that party ; all other papers are writing against them. They are hand in glove with Mr. Birla. I make this open statement.

There is a newspaper report with photographs which I would like to refer to.

It says :

"A primary school teacher from whose house two ballot boxes and one seal for marking ballot papers were recovered by police at Hatgobindpur about five kilometres..."

Let them say if Hatgobindpur is not their strong-hold

This is what is stated below the photograph :

"Combing operation at Hatgobindpur village, 12 km. from Burdwan town. Four guns, 200 cartridges, other arms, two ballot boxes and a seal were seized."

While saying this, I never underestimate and never minimise certain things that had been done by the police or the C.R.P. or the military or is being done today by them in West Bengal.

What was the situation ? A section of the police remained as silent spectator. It was the C.P.M. who brought the politics of individual terrorism and murders in West Bengal. Such action paved the way for the introduction of the C.R.P., the military and other forces in West Bengal. It is because a section of the police either as opportunists or in sympathy with the C.P.M. party remained inactive.

The various dens were searched by the C.R.P. and the military. Cossipore trade

[Dr. Ranen Sen]

union office run by the C.P.M., Noapara C.P.M. office and Katwa C.P.M. office were searched and sack-loads of bombs and other weapons were unearthed

In the name of fighting Naxalism, the C.P.M. were helping the police, Mr. Jyotirmoy was speaking about police attacks against Naxalites. It is known to everybody in West Bengal that it was the C.P.M. which helped the police in capturing the Naxalites and illegally procured arms could not be unearthed because a section of the police was inactive for some reason or other. The C.P.M. was responsible for that. Therefore when the C.R.P. and other forces operated, they went beyond all bounds. That is also a fact. He will agree with me that when the curfew was imposed not only in areas where the C.P.M. had strong-hold but everywhere that the area was surrounded by the police and the military and house to-house searches were made. There were curfew orders for 24 hours. Innocent boys and girls were arrested, beaten up in the police lock-ups and in the streets. If anybody stands on facts, I will support him. But I am not going to believe in cock-and-bull stories.

It is a most unnatural situation that exists today in West Bengal. In my constituency, I have seen the things happening during the President's Rule and at the end of the United Front rule, when the United Front was breaking up—thanks to the C.P.M. leadership in those days—in late 1969 and early 1970, the same things happened and today also these things are happening in West Bengal. Therefore, the only thing to do is to stop this police, the C.R.P. and all that, and to install a representative Government in West Bengal. That is the only way.

Today, unfortunately, in West Bengal, bureaucracy rules the State with the help of police and military. In a State like West Bengal it is an impossible situation. Bureaucracy cannot rule the country for long. Unfortunately, in these elections, no single party or a group of parties

has come out in an absolute majority. But it should be the attempt of honest citizens, of the people who have been elected by the people, those MLAs, to form a Government so that the rule of bureaucracy, the rule of police, the C.R.P. and all that is stopped. It is time that the military should be sent to the borders of West Bengal.

Our State has a common border with Bangla Desh—East Bengal. That is also Bangla Desh and ours is also Bangla Desh. Therefore, our military should be present not in the streets of Calcutta or in the Bengal villages, but on the borders. A government is needed, a Government that can run the State properly. The first task of that Government would be to bring peace and tranquility in the State. I do not say law and order. There is a difference between law and order and peace and tranquility. It is the citizens of West Bengal who want peace and tranquility and progressive measures to eradicate poverty and to take West Bengal forward. Therefore, I would ask Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu to ponder over things and not to go at tangent at things which have not happened and try to conceal their own role and their own contribution for the situation created by their Party.

With these words, I move my amendment.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil) : Sir, I feel, after hearing Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu's speech, that more CRP forces should be sent to West Bengal because he himself was giving a picture of a cult of violence prevailing in the air of Calcutta and West Bengal.

Sir, Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu who belongs to CPM and his leader, Mr. Jyoti Basu are under Police protection all the time... (Interruption)...

I can challenge Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu, I can tell you, sir, that in his own house in Calcutta Mr. Jyoti Basu is staying under Police protection and CRP is guarding his

house. I can prove it. While in Kerala, I read report in the Press that in the last Parliament information was given on the floor of the House that Government of India is spending Rs. 2 lakhs every year for his protection. Such a thing is happening in West Bengal because of the Naxalites who are the illegitimate children of the CPM ... (Interruptions)...

Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu said that the Police is doing all kinds of violent acts on the people. He is complaining only about the C.R.P. and the Military. He is not complaining about the State Police. Does it mean that the State Police can commit all atrocities on the people? If he was really and genuinely against the atrocities of the Police, he should condemn all violent acts committed either by the Police or by the C.R.P. or the military.

During the regime of Mr. Jyoti Basu as Home Minister, CPM sympathisers have infiltrated into the Police force and he wanted to take advantage of that position and use that force against the people of West Bengal. Now he thinks that the presence of the CRP comes in the way of their activities. Shall I ask Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu who killed Mr. Hemanta Kumar Basu? Can he deny the rumour and the people's belief that it was the CPM which is behind his murder? Another Mr. N. Ganguli, R.C.P.I leader who killed him?

Sir, in my own State of Kerala, Mr. A. K. Gopalan—he is an old veteran of my State—he is himself having police protection. His comrade, Mr. Sankaran Namboodiripad, is also moving under Police protection. Why do you people who claim to be the leaders of the masses want this police protection? If you are leaders of people, why do the people of West Bengal force you to accept Police protection? Now, the Government of India is worried about the life of Mr. Jyoti Basu. So, I feel that the present action of the Government of India to send CRP and other forces to West Bengal to restore peace and to restore law and order is correct and should be continued.

May I ask you one question? In the city of Calcutta can you say as to what is the collection of the cinema houses in the second show? I can tell you, sir, it is hardly Rs. 10.

People are afraid to go to cinemas that is an example to show how much of violence is there in the streets of Calcutta. There are free zones of different parties dominating themselves. The CPM wanted certain areas to be their own zones, and oust out other people. Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu and his boss Mr. Jyoti Basu want to have pockets of their own to dominate themselves, and kill the people who are against them.

Sir, we must stop this kind of a cult of violence. We must put an end to violence prevailing in West Bengal. More troops should be sent; more CRP battalions should be sent there to ensure peaceful life of the people. Let them compare their position with what obtained in 1967. They aligned themselves with Ajoy Mukerjee in 1967 and fought the election. Now they have got 65 seats because there were three cornered fights and four-cornered fight. In this House also they have got 12 seats more because of this kind of three-cornered and four-cornered fights. If there had been straight fight they would have got 6 or 7 seats only.

Congress has emerged as the biggest group in this House. We have not aligned ourselves with anybody but fought on our own. That shows that the people of West Bengal want that Mrs. Gandhi must be their leader and that only Mrs. Gandhi can provide security of their lives and property, only she can stop the cult of violence created by the CPM and their leader Mr. Jyoti Basu. Sir, I strongly oppose this resolution.

श्री राम रतन शर्मा (बांदा) : भावस्थायी समापति महोदय, मैं जनसंघ की तरफ से श्री ज्योतिमय बसु के इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। सबसे बड़ा

[श्री राम रतन शर्मा]

आश्चर्य यह है कि इस प्रस्ताव पर इतनी देर के चर्चा हो रही है, ला एण्ड आर्डर के मेन्टीनेन्स की बात को लेकर इस तरह से छीना-फूटी हो आश्चर्य इसमें अधिक है। कौन ऐसा आदमी है जो अपने देश में शान्ति और व्यवस्था नहीं चाहता। हम सब लोग शान्ति और सुव्यवस्था बनाये रखने के लिये, अपने देश के भविष्य के डेटरमेंट के लिये यहां पर बैठे हुये हैं और उस पर यह बात कही जाय। आप देखिये - पिछले तीन बार सालों में बंगाल की क्या हालत रही है कितने कत्ल हुए हैं, कितने पुलिसजन मारे गये, कितने प्रिन्सिपल पारे गये, कितनी बकेतियां खुले घाम हुई, कितनी बसों जलाई गई, कितनी कारें जलाई गई और कितने स्कूलों के नन्हें मुन्ने बच्चों पर बम फेंके गये? क्या प्रस्तावक महोदय इस बात पर विचार करेंगे कि आखिर यह कौन से भविष्य के लिये, देश के किस भविष्य के लिये ये सब बातें की गई थी, आखिर वह कौन सी अक्लमंदी थी, जो नन्हें मुन्ने बच्चों को मारा गया, माताओं बहनों की इज्जत सूटी गई? कौन इस का जिम्मेदार है, क्या कारण है जिसकी वजह से ये सब काम किये गये और किये जा रहे हैं? आज बड़ी परेशानी हुई जब ला एण्ड आर्डर के कन्ट्रोल का प्रश्न सामने आया, हमारी सी०पी०-एम० पार्टी को आज इससे बड़ी परेशानी अनुभव हो रही है। इसके पहले जब वहां पर बारदातें होती थीं, तब कोई प्रश्न नहीं उठाया गया।

सबसे पहला प्रश्न यह उठता है कि इतने हथियार और बन्दूकों, बंब, हैन्ड-ग्रेनेट्स कहाँ से आते हैं, इसके पीछे किसका हाथ है? इस का जवाब कौन देगा, क्या प्रस्तावक महोदय बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि आखिर यह कहाँ से आते हैं, कौन हथियार सप्लाई करता है, इस के पीछे कौन है? इसके पीछे बड़ी दल हैं जो आज वर्ग-संघर्ष की भूमिका पर खड़ा हुआ है, इस के

अच्छे प्रस्ताव की उससे हम कभी सम्भावना कर सकते थे और न कभी अच्छी बात की हम उन से कल्पना कर सकते हैं जो दल चाहता है कि देश में वर्ग-संघर्ष बना रहे, लोग आपस में लड़ते रहे और हमारा काम निकलता रहे, यह प्रस्ताव उसी की एक भूमिका है, जो एंटेन्शन को उस तरफ ले जाना चाहते हैं।

मैं अपने घासक दल से भी कहूंगा कि उनकी भी इसमें अभी तक बराबर भूमिका रही है। अभी तक श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का दल उनके सामने झुकता चला जा रहा था। मैं कहूंगा कि उनको अब झुकने की जरूरत नहीं है ला एण्ड-आर्डर की मेन्टीनेन्स के लिये हर तरह का सम्भव प्रत्यन किया जाना चाहिये ताकि वहां पर भविष्य में हर आदमी की रक्षा हो सके।

बंगाल की उपेक्षा हुई है, इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं हो सकती। बंगाल के विकास के लिए विशेष योजनाएँ बना करके आगे बढ़ना होगा। यदि बंगाल की उपेक्षा नहीं हुई होती तो एक बात यह आवश्यक है कि वहां पर इतनी परेशानी नहीं होती। इस लिए उस ओर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। वहां के शिक्षित बेकारों के लिए रोजगार का प्रबन्ध होना आवश्यक है। किन्तु जो "माधो जिन्दावाद" के नारे लगाते हैं उन्हें दुइता के साथ दबाना होगा या श्री संविधान की कसम लेकर संविधान की तोहीन करते हैं उनके साथ किसी तरह का कोई समझौता नहीं हो सकता है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का दुइता के साथ विरोध करता हूँ।

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHARY (Cooch-Bihar) : My hon. friend Shri Jyotirmoy Basu has moved this resolution and in the course of his opening speech, he has dished out figures about how many

murders had been committed. He had the good fortune to refer to only some of the cases and say that these were the murders committed by the CRP, but in most of the cases he could not make such a statement. The reason behind this was that most of the murders had been committed by the CPM people and their partymen. That was why he could not deal with them so very bravely.

He also referred in the course of his speech to the unfortunate and untimely death of the respected leader Shri Hemant Kumar Basu and he said that had been committed in order to malign the CPM and to create hatred among the people for the CPM. But he had forgotten one thing, namely that at the Shaheed Minar, almost all the people of Calcutta, and all the political parties, except the CPM had assembled to pass a resolution condemning the activities of the CPM and indirectly and directly putting the responsibility on the shoulders of the CPM for that atrocious murder of the respected leader Shri Hemant Kumar Basu. That is a fact, and the world knows it by this time. So, what was the force behind his argument in this regard, which he read out from his script? He has pleaded in his resolution that the CRP force should be withdrawn. If we are to analyse this resolution and speak for or against it, then I think we must go into the very depth of the law and order problem or situation of West Bengal.

I shall give you some brief figures in this regard. During the four years from 1967, from the first day of the installation of the UF Government upto the 31st December, 1970, according to official reports, there were 1237 political murders in the State of West Bengal. May I have a clarification from the hon. mover of the Resolution about who the persons responsible for these 1237 political murders committed by them during this four-year period were?

16.54 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the chair*]

Is it not a fact that it was the CPM had started all this game and all this process

of terror tactics and the tactics terrorism and creating some areas at least as some "Free Zones" where they could have a sort of people's court of their own? Innumerable such instances are there. I had cited several instances in this House during the last session in this regard.

In several places in West Bengal, they had these people's courts known as '*Jana adalat*' as if there was no law and order, as if there was no administration, and as if the police authorities had failed to control the situation in those particular zones. They had their own people as judges and they had their own prosecutors or prosecuting agents. What about this? My hon. friend Shri Jyotirmoy Basu had failed to say anything about this.

In order to have a proper picture about the state of affairs in West Bengal about which we should all have known by this time, I would like to mention some of the instances. I would quote from *The Indian Express* of 5 March, 1971 in which a veteran journalist, V. B. Kulkarni, wrote in an article, 'Why Blame the Police Today' as follows :—

"Many of these public utterances of Mr. Jyoti Basu as Deputy Chief Minister in the UF Government of West Bengal were little short of an incitement to violence and disorder".

So it is quite clear who preached violence and incited disorder. This is what has brought about the situation in West Bengal today posing a danger to law and order.

Then speaking on December 3, 1969, the Chief Minister of the State minced no words in accusing his deputy of being instrumental in creating lawlessness conditions in West Bengal. He accused him of shouldering the Home portfolio, with which he was entrusted, with utter incompetence and failure. The then Chief Minister observed that—

[Shri B. K. Daschowdhary]

"Today the administration has failed and has proved to be a failure. Today it should be asked whether there is any 'civilised Government in West Bengal'."

All of us know who are responsible for creating this lawlessness, who are the persons to be blamed for creating this state of affairs.

Very rightly, my colleague, Dr. Ranen Sen, said that it was the UP Government which in 1969 invited the police from the Centre. He referred only to the Eastern Frontier Rifles. I can cite other examples. The UP Armed Constabulary was also invited by the then Home Minister of West Bengal, Shri Jyoti Basu, a CPI (M) leader.

What about the CRP? The then Home Minister at the Centre, Shri Y.B. Chavan said that 'it was the IG, of West Bengal who sought the help of the CRP from the Centre. Then the CRP was deployed. This was specifically stated on the floor of this House on 26th March 1969 in these terms.

"The position is that the CRP battalions or companies were sent to West Bengal after the IG of West Bengal requisitioned certain forces from us".

Thus the CRP forces were sent as also the UP Armed Constabulary companies.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : What a discovery !

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : "Immediately after that, the Deputy Chief Minister suggested that the CRP be withdrawn. That amounted to saying that the State Government did not want the CRP for their work. But initially they wanted it from us. Immediately, we ordered the CRP to withdraw and to give assistance only when the State Government needed",

That was the position as clarified in answer to a call attention motion tabled by my colleague, Shri S. M. Banerjee, in regard to the Durgapur incidents. I hope the Mover knows quite well that it was the Home Minister of West Bengal belonging to his party who wanted the CRP and other police forces in the first instance.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Now they do not want ; withdraw them.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : What is the state of affairs now? Everywhere you find lawlessness rampant. As soon as you open the morning paper, you read : '7 killed in West Bengal', '12 killed in West Bengal', '8 killed in West Bengal' and so on. There is no respect for life and liberty in the State. The whole State seems to have been passing since the last four years through a state of emergency.

What is the legal position? Shri Jyotirmoy Basu did not have the courage to explain it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : I have no courage to be a turncoat.

17 hrs.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : Let him at least see Article 355 of the Constitution of India.

I must say that under Article 355 of the Constitution the Centre has got the responsibility and the duty too to send the CRP and other forces at least to keep control and give relief to the local people in case of internal disturbances. In the State of West Bengal lawlessness is there. If not an emergency, at least an undeclared emergency is there. Even during the election time, just before and even after the elections, there were so many murders. Who were the persons responsible for the attack on the Deputy Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation? Who was responsible for creating a serious of incidents in Burdwan? The CPM was very proud of it. How can it now cry that girls are

raped and women are assaulted? They were the persons who started these things and wanted this state of affairs in West Bengal.

In Cooch Behar alone on the 11th March, the day after the elections were over in West Bengal, two persons were assaulted and one was murdered. His name was Anil Bhattacharya. His only fault was that he did not comply with the wishes of the CPM workers and he worked for the Congress. On the 17th March I got a report from my District that another person named Sashadhar Modak, an old man of 62 years, a medical man by profession was killed, and it was done by the CPM.

During the days of the Home Minister-ship of Mr. Jyoti Basu of the CPM, he not only reorganised the whole police administration, but also changed it in such a way that the entire police force would serve only their party. CPM workers threatened local police officers that unless their orders were carried out, they would be transferred and penalised. They said, "You do this or we have got our man at the top to teach you a good lesson." This is what they said, and this is how the entire police administration had been changed.

As a matter of fact what happened in Cooch Behar District is that when the murder of Anil Bhattacharya was reported at the local police station, the officer there, I think his name is Ajit Chatterjee, did not care to arrest the culprit because he was a CPM man. The police officer was probably thinking that the CPM would come to power.

On the 11th I telephoned Shri Dhavan, the Governor of West Bengal from Cooch Behar and gave him this information, but so far nobody has been arrested. In the matter of the murder of Shri Sashadhar Modak also the local police are not taking any action against the CPM people.

The people of West Bengal are feeling absolutely helpless and in their heart of

hearts and everyone in West Bengal except the CPM people, feels that there should be some force at least to give protection in case of disturbances, and disturbance is there everywhere. They are not free to move, to go to the market. Even the boys and girls are not free to attend schools. Everywhere they have started miniature bomb manufacturing factories and even in Cooch Behar, a small mofussil town. Only the other day I saw in the newspapers that in the CPM office itself there were bomb bursts because there were some bombs stored there.

It was published in the papers. You should enquire. We should like to know about it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU . Bombers are bombbursts ?

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : Whatever you like to have. Take it as you like ; the choice is yours. I shall give you some more figures. These are all facts established beyond doubt' I do not want to say more because they are undec- trial prisoners. In Cooch Behar district one C.R.P. Commandant was murdered. Unfortunately one of the district leaders of the CPM group Shiben Choudaury and another leader or deputy leader Gopal Saha, both of whom were candidates in the Assembly elections are under-trial prisoners. I do not want to comment on that now. The case will be committed to the session very soon. Who is killing whom ? It will be proved very soon further.

So, as I said earlier, it is necessary to have some of the C.R.P. forces from the Centre atleast to give some relief to the people of West Bengal who were not free to move to do their daily work.

Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu said that it had been proved in the recent elections, particularly Assembly elections, that the CPM people have come in large numbers. My short reply is that it was only because they have started the game of terrorising people either to vote in their favour or not to vote at all, it is only by this process

[*Shri B.K. Daschowdury*]

that they have come in larger numbers. When peace is restored and normalcy is allowed to prevail, when the effect of the terrorisation settles down, definitely the people of West Bengal will see that the CPM has no place in West Bengal, as they have no place in Kerala. It is going to be very soon, perhaps in the course of another twelve months you will see that if not earlier.

In connection with the question posed in this resolution by Mr. Joytirmoy Basu and others about the posting of the CRP in Bengal, I would earnestly appeal to the Government of India to see that the CRP is retained there as long as normalcy is not restored in that part of the country and also to see that it is not made subservient to the local police administration. Some of the local police officials are still working under guidance and mandate and behest of the CPM leaders. If the CRP are simply to assist local police administration it will not do. In some places they are not arresting the CPM people. Certain special measures and special powers should be given to them. At the same time the CRP should be told not to indulge in any unjust activities so that the people of West Bengal may not form an adverse opinion about them. With these words I strongly oppose this resolution and I request this House to oppose it with all its might for the sake of the people of West Bengal.

डा० कैलाश (बम्बई दक्षिण) अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने जब श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु के प्रस्ताव को पढ़ा तो मैं ऐसा जानता था कि श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु उस प्रस्ताव को रखने के बाद वह कहानी सबन् को बतलावेंगे जिसके कारण सी० आर० पी० को पश्चिम बंगाल में रखा गया मैं वह भी कहानी जानना चाहता था कि सी० आर० पी० का जन्म जंगल में क्यों हुआ ?

मैं यह इतिहास भी जानना चाहता था कि बार साल पूर्व जब वहाँ पर ज्योति बसु राज्य

नहीं कर रहे थे तब सी० आर० पी० का नाम लेने वाला कोई व्यक्ति था भी या नहीं था। लेकिन जब से वहाँ पर उस पार्टी का राज्य चला जा पार्टी वायोलेंस में विश्वास करती है, जो पार्टी कलकत्ता में ही नहीं बल्कि सारे पश्चिम बंगाल इस प्रकार के हालात पैदा कर रही हो जिससे वहाँ पर लोगों की रहने में असुविधा हो, लोगों की जान और लोगो का माल सुरक्षित न हो, तब से इसके निवारण उपाय ही क्या था कि लोगो को सुरक्षा प्रदान करने के लिए समुचित उपाय किये जायें। श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु जैसे मानवीय मदस्य ने इस सदन में इस प्रस्ताव द्वारा राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने की कोशिश की है। जिन बातों को उन्होंने बयान किया है जिनको हम असत्य कह सकते हैं, जिनका कोई नामो-निशान इस समय नहीं है। या उन्होंने जो बातें कही हैं बहुत कुछ बढ़ा चढ़ा कर कही हैं। मैं उन्हीं से पूछना हूँ कि ये काण्ड वहाँ पर क्यों होने लगे हैं ? भारत में जो सबसे बड़ी समस्या हमारे सामने है और खासकर बंगाल के सामने है वह गरीबी और बेरोजगारी की है, उसको हल करने की है। इन समस्याओं को अगर हमें हल करना है तो यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि वहाँ हम सम्पन्नता लाएं व कि हम इस प्रकार के राजनीतिक दाँव पेंच खेलें जिससे वहाँ और भी अव्यवस्था पैदा ही जाए। हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि हमारे मौजवान उस रास्ते को छोड़ें जिस रास्ते पर चलने से मुल्क के सामने खतरे पैदा हो सकते हैं।

मैं चाहता था कि श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु इस बात को यहाँ पर रखने का प्रयत्न करें कि बंगाल में इस तरह के हालात इलैकश के बाद पैदा हो कि हम उस राज्य में राष्ट्रपति शासन को हटा कर लोकप्रिय सरकार की स्थापना कर, अर्थात् जनता का राज्य लायू हो। पर उसकी

मांग न करने हुए उन्होंने इस प्रकार की कहानियाँ इस सदन में बयान करनी शुरू की जिससे इस सदन का वातावरण भी कुछ ऐसा होता चला गया कि जिसको सुन कर कोई भी भ्रान्तित नहीं होंगे। उन्होंने ऐसी-ऐसी कहानियाँ यहाँ पर बयान की हैं जिन पर विश्वास करना किसी भी राजनीतिक नेता के लिए सम्भव नहीं है। उन कहानियों पर जनता भी विश्वास नहीं कर सकती।

माननीय सदस्य ने जो सवाल यहाँ पर उठाया है वह शायद इस कारण उठाया है कि वहाँ पर अव्यवस्था बनी रहे। ऐसा भी मालूम होता है कि माननीय सक्ष्य इन्दिरा जी को वह एक हौआ ममकते हैं, जिसको अंग्रेजी में "एलर्जी" कहते हैं या उनके नाम से उनके एलर्जी से हो गई है। हर चार वाक्यों के बाद वह यही दोहराते रहे कि इन्दिरा जी ने इस प्रकार के वहाँ हालात पैदा कर दिये हैं, अव्यवस्था पैदा कर दी है। सत्य तो यह है कि अगर इन्दिरा जी ने समय पर ये कदम न उठाये होते तो ये मध्याह्न चूनाब भी वहाँ न हो पाते या बे ठीक प्रकार न हो पाते। जिस प्रकार के हालात वहाँ पैदा थे अगर उनको न रोका जाता या लोगों के जान और माल की रक्षा की व्यवस्था न की गई होती तो देश के माथे पर एक कलंक लग जाता पर उस कलंक को लगाने के प्रयत्न को सी. पी. एम. करते जा रहे थे। उसी कलंक को लगने से रोकने का प्रयत्न केन्द्रीय सरकार सी. आर. पी. इत्यादि के द्वारा कर रही हैं।

जो कुछ भी दोष उन्होंने सी. आर. पी. पर लगाने का प्रयत्न किया है, वह सत्य लागू होता है सी. पी. एम. पर। श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने अक्सर से जो कुछ बंध पड़े, ठीक उसके विरुद्ध दूसरे आक्षेपक सदस्यों ने इस सदन में पढ़ कर

सुनाया जो उत्तर काफ़ी है। इस सदन में श्री वाई. बी. चट्टाण ने जो कुछ कहा था और जो कुछ अक्सरों में प्रकाशित हुआ था और तो कुछ दूसरे माननीय सदस्यों ने यहाँ पर पढ़ कर बताया है उससे यह साफ बाहिर होता है कि जो भी मर्डर हो रहे हैं, जितने भी अत्याचार हो रहे हैं वह सब पुलिस को उलट-सुलट कर गलत रास्ते पर ले जाने की कोशिश का नतीजा है और उसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी सी. पी. एम. पर है।

मैं समझता था कि श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु यह कहेंगे कि हमने अब रक्त क्रान्ति का जो रास्ता अपनाया है, उसे हम छोड़ने के लिए तैयार हैं, हमने जो मारने और बमकाने और मर्डर करने का रास्ता अपनाया है, उस तरीके को हम वापिस लेते हैं और आशा करते हैं कि अब सी. आर. पी. को वहाँ स्थापित कर रखा है, उसको अब वापिस बुला लिया जाय। मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस प्रकार के हालात आज पश्चिमी बंगाल में विद्यमान है और जिनको सी. पी. एम. ने पैदा कर रखा है, तब तक सी. आर. पी. बनी रहेगी अर्थात् सी. आर. पी. को किसी भी अवस्था में वहाँ से हटाया न जाय। अगर सी. आर. पी. को हटाया जाता है तो जो हालात आज बंगाल में कुछ शान्ति के हम देख रहे हैं, वे समाप्त हो जायेंगे और वहाँ फिर से अशांति पैदा हो जाएगी।

मैं चाहता था कि श्री बसु हमें यह बतायें कि बंगाल में 1947 में कितनी इन्डस्ट्री थी और 1967 में कितनी थी और वहाँ से इन्डस्ट्रीज क्यों हटती चली जा रही है और इसका कारण क्या है? मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर वहाँ से इन्डस्ट्री हटी है तो इसका एक मात्र कारण वहाँ अशांति है। अगर इस तरह से ही काम चलता रहा और ऐसे ही हालात बने रहे तो जो पार्सी ग्रेडों और मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों का रक्षक होने

[डा. कैलाश]

का दावा करती है, उसके बिल्कुल खिलाफ काम करती हुई वह समझी जाएगी। अगर यही हालात बना रहें और टगो प्रकार से इन्डस्ट्री वहाँ से बाहर जाती रही और इसी प्रकार गे कारखाने और मिलें बन्द होती रही तो इसकी सारी जिम्मेदारों श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु और उनकी पार्टी पर होगी। जब इस प्रकार से लेकारी वहाँ पर बढ़ती है, वहाँ का वातावरण गंदा होता है, वहाँ लोगों की जान और माल को धोखा होता है, उसके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार वहाँ पर सी. आर. पी. बो बनाए रखे और इसलिए बनाए रखे ताकि सी. पी. एम. और उसके साथियों से लोगों की रक्षा हो सके और सी. आर. पी. वहाँ की पुलिस की मदद कर सके और कानून और व्यवस्था का राज्य वहाँ लागू हो सके। ऐसे तत्व जो वहाँ पर बदमाशी फैलाना चाहते हैं, वे अपने इस लक्ष्य में कामयाब न हो सकें, इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि वहाँ सी. आर. पी. पुलिस की मदद के लिए तैनात रहे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं माननीय सदस्य से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह अपने प्रस्ताव को वापिस ले लें। जिस प्रकार का इस सदन में वातावरण बना है, जिस प्रकार के यज्ञ भ्रमण हुए हैं, उस सब को देखते हुए बेहतर तो यही है कि वह अपना प्रस्ताव वापिस ले लें लेकिन अगर वह ऐसा नहीं करते हैं तो मेरे पास इसके सिवा कोई रास्ता नहीं है कि मैं इसका विरोध करूँ।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : Sir, I think everybody in this House having any faith in democracy will agree that calling of a paramilitary body like the CRP in defence of the democratic rights of the people or for the protection of the civil rights of the people or for restoration of

law and order in any part of the country is a matter of disgrace. I hope soon after the installation of the new Government in West Bengal the CRP would not be continued there more than it is required. I know that whenever any paramilitary body like CRP is employed, such a body is bound to create excesses. I know many instances where CRP really indulged in serious excesses. Many innocent people were beaten up whenever there was curfew and unnecessary harassment was caused, particularly in Jadavpur University, where a hell of terror was created by the CRP inside the campus and many students and teachers were manhandled. Such excesses occurred as a result of lack of coordination between the control of CRP by the central agency and the West Bengal Government. In many cases, there was no coordination and that resulted in lack of discipline and lack of control. Therefore, the CRP could not be employed in the way it should have been employed, i.e., as a disciplined force. It was employed where there was the least necessity for their interference.

But, and this is a very big "but", I want to ask one question of Shri Jyotirmoy Basu. What is the political compulsion that created the situation which forced the Hand of the West Bengal Government for bringing the CRP for the restoration of an atmosphere of normality in the State of West Bengal? What is the compulsion, I want to know from Shri Jyotirmoy Basu, the leader of his party, Shri Jyotirmoy Basu, other leaders, members of Parliament and members of the legislature are now taking protection, not only of the CRP but of other security forces also in the circumstances which have been created by whom?

AN HON. MEMBER : American Lobby.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : It has been created by whom? Shri Jyotirmoy Basu should answer that question. The situation that they have created, the psychosis of horror and violence that they have engendered in the minds of their cadets,

that is now recoiling as a boomerang on them and, as a result, they themselves have to ask for protection by CRP for the withdrawal of whom they are now advocating in this House ... (*Interruption*). You are here because of the left-handed complement or co-operation of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Otherwise, your number might have been reduced to 3, 4 or 5. You are elected by getting a minority of votes.

MR. SPEAKER : I would request the hon. Member to Address me. When he starts addressing them, they reply. That is the difficulty.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Now, what is the picture in West Bengal ? Bombs are being showered like rains, fire-arms are being manufactured everywhere, pistols can be had of in any part of Calcutta or even the whole of West Bengal. Sten guns and Bren guns and explosives can be found in the dens of many political parties. Could one imagine that during the thirteen months' regime of U.F. Government, not one or two or hundred but more than 5,000 lives were lost ? They included political cadres, political leaders, teachers, students, women, children, parents and government employees who have nothing to do with politics. Even during President's Rule, of which one year is now completed, according to my calculation nearly 3,000 additional lives have become the victims of horror and violence in West Bengal. Today there is a press report that yesterday was a comparatively quiet but day four people were killed. When four innocent lives are taken by force of violence that is considered as something more or less normal. Before the installation of the U.F. Government in West Bengal, could one imagine, such a thing can happen ? Lives have become so cheap that during road day-light murder, arson, loot and killing are going on unchecked; bombs are still thrown at people, buses burnt and trains stopped. Could anyone imagine elected representatives of the people, Members of Parliament and members of the legislature being given protection ? All elected Members of Parliament and members of the State

legislature have been told by Police "We cannot assure the security of your lives; therefore, you are requested to take police security for the protection of your life". Democratic freedom of our country has degenerated to such a level, to such a level to such a dimension of degradation that even the elected representatives of the people have not the freedom to move about freely.

Mr. Hemant Kumar Bose, one of the greatest patriots of Bengal, a close associate of Netaji, who devoted more than 60 years of his life to the service of the country continuously, was murdered in broad day-light. In what manner ? We could not believe that he had any enemy. It was known that he was an *ajitshatru*. In political life, he was known as *ajitshatru*. He never used any word of anger at any moment. When some 7 or 8 young men pounced upon him with an open sword, he raised his hand and said, "Why are you killing me ? What will you benefit by killing me ? When he said that, fingers of his two hands were chopped off. Then, his neck was half disconnected and he fell down. Then, one of them cut his throat and another person pierced a pipe gun and shot him dead.

I have a friend who came to me with tears rolling down his eyes. He had the only son, a student of Class X. His fault was that sometimes he used to mix up with C.P.M. friends. When he decided not to mix up with any political party, suddenly, in broad day-light, some people entered the school and held the boy in the presence of his teacher and cut his throat. Then, a pipe gun was pierced into it and he was shot.

I can cite innumerable instances of brutality, savagery, which cannot be compared even with the savagery of the beasts living in jungle.

There is one pertinent question. We are committing these ghastly sins ? Are they habitual offenders ? Are they known

[Shri Samar Guha]

criminals? Are they hooligans? Are they goondas? These hundreds of people are being killed in a brutal manner, in a savage manner, which surpasses the imagination of any human comprehension. Those people who are indulging in this killing, murders, etc., in this brutality, are doing it with political purpose, as a matter of political tactics.

I want to impress upon you that this psychosis that has developed in West Bengal, the politics of violence, has degenerated the finest delicate mind of the youngmen in West Bengal to such a level that this savagery, this brutality, is being equated with political tactics. Therefore the problem is not only of killing, murders, loot or arson. But this is a problem of indoctrination of the politics of violence, into the mind of the youngmen of West Bengal. Here lies the problem and also, if that politics can be tackled adequately and properly, there lies the solution of the present ills of West Bengal today.

I do not want to indulge into the instances of brutality committed during the U.F. regime as also during the President's Rule in West Bengal. I would only ask Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu whether it is not a fact that his party introduced the politics of violence, insurrection, into the democratic political atmosphere of West Bengal? Was there any single instance of calculated political murder of the ghastly type that are now being committed every day in West Bengal at any time before the U.F. Government came into power?

Sir, I will support the resolution of Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu if he agrees to the principle of democratic politics, if he agrees to the principle of democratic mass movement, if he agrees that they will not pursue the path of horror and violence as they are committing to-day. Sir, I have laid down a few conditions. If he agrees to that, I will support him. Sir, I have said that it is repugnant to me to invite or to ask the CRP or the military

to take hold of the civil administration for bringing about the restoration of normal life in a State. But, Sir, again I ask the question, 'What is the alternative?' The Only alternative is that the response of the people, their faith in democratic principles, their faith in the civil administration to be restored. Can any Police, can any CRP, can any military really bring about normalcy in any State? It is only the political Parties that can really restore the rule of law. It is only the people, the united will of the people, united initiative, united response of the people, united faith of the people in determination and democratic rights of the people that can restore the democratic atmosphere in West Bengal.

I will wholeheartedly support Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu's resolution provided he and his Party denounce forthwith in the open and broad daylight that his Party does not subscribe to the politics of violence, horror and intimidation. Let his party give up the politics of terrorisation in the field of labour and trade union movement. It is his party that tries to capture rival unions with the help of bombs, with the help of swords, with the help of pistols, with the help of pipeguns by destroying all the rival unions. It is his party which has introduced the politics of killing and murder in the rural areas by introducing the politics of forcible seizure of land and forcible seizure of harvest with arms and ammunition. It is his Party that creates an atmosphere of horror there.

I would again say, let them adjure, let them denounce the politics of violence let them agree that in the trade union field democratic principles would be followed. Let them say that in the mass movement for land reforms and for securing the legitimate rights of the share-croppers only peaceful and democratic means should be adopted and let them stop the present violent methods. It is his Party that tries to infiltrate into the Police force and from party cells in the Police. Sir, in a democracy the position of the

Government employees and Police is non-partisan in character.

They do not belong to any political Party.

SHRI JYOTIRMAY BASU : Friends of Congress

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : may remind you that I made the Ruling Congress candidate forfeit his deposit... (*Interruptions*). I was suggesting that it was their Party which has set up a Paschim Bengal Police Karmachari Sangh in the regime of the United Front Government. Sir, the forty-years old West Bengal Police Association was disbanded. Party Talukdar was elected as a CPM MLA. He formed the Paschim Bengal Police Karmachari Sangh and that Sangh was given recognition after disbanding the forty-year old Police Association. Sir, it is they who tried to infiltrate into Police administration. Do they believe in democracy? Who believes in constitutional forms of Government? Do they try to infiltrate into the Police force? Do they try to make the Police a partisan? Do they try to bring the Police into the fold of a political party?

The Police and the Government employees are the instruments for the implementation of the measures of the Government, whatever Government may be in power with the will of the people.

Now, what they are trying to do is to create a partisan cell amongst the Government employees, amongst the Police, amongst, I should say, in all Security Services, even in the Intelligence Services. They have introduced their elements so that they can sabotage from within.

I request them this. If they believe in the principles of democracy, if they believe in the principles of the ballot, not in the bullet, they should adjure this policy of violence, this policy of infiltration, this policy of indoctrinating the Police and the Government employees and make them comparatively neutral, non-partisan as servants of the people, not of any party.

Is it not a fact that Hare Krishan Konar announced during the regime of the United Front Government that they have formed a people's militia of a strength of 1,10,000?

Is it not a fact that these people's militia was armed?

It is not a fact that Hare Krishan Konar and other leaders publicly stated that there will be a time, a time is coming when this people's militia will have to play the role of a Liberation Army, as is the case in South Viet-Nam? Sir, if any party believes in democracy, if any party believes in Constitutional forms of Government, can they form such types of people's militia? Can they ask them to play the role of a liberation army as we are witnessing today in some of these South-East Asian countries?

Sir, this shows what type of politics of violence they are believing in. This also shows how they have indoctrinated the minds of younger cadres in West Bengal today. If they agree to disband the mobile squad of terror they have let loose in West Bengal, then really peace will come in West Bengal.

I am astonished at the strange observation made by Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu. He shed tears for Sushital Roy Chowdhary; he shed tears for the Naxalites; is it not a fact that hundreds of young Naxalites were brutally killed by them? They were taking revenge against them. Is it not a fact that Sushital Roy Chowdhary and others were hauled up with the help of the Police? Is it not a fact that the CPM acted as the advance guards of the CRP for hauling up the Naxalite friends? Is it not a fact, Sir? If it is so, how it is that today they are shedding tears for the Naxalites and for Sushital Roy Chowdhary?

Lastly I would say this. Will they agree to surrender all arms, ammunition, explosives, pipe-guns, pistols etc?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : We have none.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : We have having it in huge quantities in their party-field. If they agree to give up the cult of violence and surrender arms, ammunitions, explosive etc., which are in their possession; and publicly declare that they denounce the policies of insurrection, of violence and horror, I will support them. I subscribe to the politics of democracy and democratic national life. If they agree to do so, we will join hands with them here and now with other parties. I subscribe to democracy, to peaceful means, to rule of law, and to democratic methods. Will they agree to restoration of peace and normally in West Bengal, to ensure civil rights to the people, restoration of the rule of law and form peace squads, to develop the people's initiative for resistance against the manifestations of horror, violence and intimidation?

Sir, only then, and then only can the alternative of removal of the Central Reserve Police from West Bengal be not only accepted, but worked out really and effectively, giving confidence and assurance in the minds of the people and regenerating faith in democracy in West Bengal today.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, Shri Bhattacharyas.

AN HON. MEMBER : How much time has been allotted for this resolution?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : We have taken about 2 hours 20 minutes already. The other resolution is also equally important.

MR. SPEAKER : There are more hon. Members who still want to speak on this resolution itself.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I fully realise your position,

SHRI C. E. BHATTACHARYA (Giridih) : Normally, I would not have liked at this stage to intervene in the debate on the resolution moved by Jyotirmoy Basu, but for a certain evasive statement made by him as well as certain threats held out.

I know from my own experience of not so long ago, just about a year and a half ago, during the regime of the UF days, how I found the body of a murdered person hanging from a tree on the road between Nawadwip and Krishnagar, a distance of eight miles. I was told that the body had been hanging there from the previous night. Processions of men were going there to have a look at that body. I was on my way to the Krishnagar court at 10 a.m., and when I returned at about 4 p.m. I found that the body was still there hanging from the tree and processions of men were still going to see that body. At the Ganges front, there was one sub-inspector of police, and I asked him 'what is the matter with the police administration here? A dead body has been hanging from a tree I am told that the person had been murdered more than about 12 hours ago. Why is it that the body had not been brought down?'. The sub-inspector of police said, 'Yes' I also heard there was a dead body hanging somewhere.

Even he asked me my name and cross-examined about my antecedents, and learning that I was going to Nabadwip, he said, 'Since you are going to Nabadwip, you can make a report to the police officer in charge of the police station there'. The officer in charge was asleep, and it was just 4.30 p.m. When I got him out, rather than taking down my statements, he took a long time in getting particulars about my name, my parentage, the place I had come from and so on, and then casually, he said, 'Well' we would be on wireless communication with Krishnagar and we shall report'. That was the state of law and order which I saw for myself in a particular incident. I do not go there often. But this has been so sharp in my memory, and that spoke a volume by itself,

The other story which I was told was a pathetic one related by an old priest owning $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres of paddy land. He asked : 'Would you people kill us?' I asked: What is the matter? Why do you make this strange request? He said : 'I have $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres of paddy land just bordering Nabadwip. That paddy has been looted. My subsistence is Rs. 20 which I get from Sanskrit teaching. I get just a little extra income by doing some poojas'.

This happened in Nabadwip during the HF regime. This is a breakdown of all values that I know of. The question is : Is what is happening in Calcutta, in West Bengal, a fore-runner of a general breakdown? Must we wait sit silent and watch and hear double-talk? We know it is part of revolutionary activity to combine parliamentary activity with extra-parliamentary operations. There is one set of discussions and statements on the floor of the Lok Sabha and another sort of activity in the field. These have to be combined. This is, we are told, part of the process of double-think. The result is that this boomerangs, recedes. This is precisely what has happened. We have seen in history that 'Danton gets killed by Mirabeau and Mirabeau always gets killed by Robespierre in turn'. This is what is happening in this so-called revolutionary movement. The more extremist section is trying to seize control. I hope the less extremist and more reasonable ones would give some food for thought to our friends, the CPI (M). After all from CPI to CPI (M) and from CPI (M) to CPI (M-L) is just a step. In the process of the leap from pink to red, we will be seeing the ruination of a tract of land whose contribution in language, literature, art and in the struggle of India's liberation has not been less than any other's.

Must this area be the starting point of India's disintegration? Very recently, the electorate has given a thundering answer to the point of view posed by Shri Jyotirmoy Bose. That answer is clear. The struggle will be on. But for once could we not subordinate our political aims to the major aim of the economic development

and succour to the under-privilege sections of the people? I suppose on the point, in the changed context, there is room for adjustment.

श्री सुधाकर पांडे (चंदौली) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु द्वारा प्रस्तुत प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हूँ और वह इस लिए करता हूँ कि जो कुछ भी इन्होंने चर्चा की है, यद्यपि उस में कल्पना और नाटक के भाव के पीछे संजीदगी थी, लेकिन इसका सारा उत्तरदायित्व उन के दल के ऊपर है जिसने बंगाल की उज्ज्वल परम्पराओं के ऊपर न केवल कलंक का टीका लगाया, अपितु देश के प्रभुदय और जनवादी परम्पराओं की गर्ति के रथ को रोका। जनता का जो निर्णय हुआ, जिस के बारे में उन्हें बड़ा अभिमान है कि बंगाल में उन्हें सबसे अधिक स्थान मिले, मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि बंगाल की खाड़ी में भगले चुनाव तक उन के दल को स्थान मिलेगा, परन्तु देश में उनका स्थान नहीं रह जायगा। क्योंकि बहुत से राज्य ऐसे हैं, जहाँ पर उनका पना ठिकाना भी मिट गया है और बहुत से स्थानों पर उनके लिए रोनेवाला भी कोई नहीं रह गया है। बंगाल में जो कुछ हुआ है, उस का सारा उत्तरदायित्व श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु के दल के ऊपर है.... (अवधान).... हिन्दी में एक कहावत है—उन्टा चोर कोतवाल को डांटे। लगता है कि उन का जो नाटक चल रहा था, इनके जो ध्वंसात्मक कृत्य चल रहे थे, उनके लिये अब कोई स्थान नहीं रह गया है। इस लिये वे चाहते हैं कि सी० प्रार० पी० को वहाँ से हटा लिया जाय ताकि उन को छुल कर लेलने का अवसर मिले। यह प्रतिष्ठा की बात नहीं है, बल्कि लज्जा की बात है चार छः दिन के बाद वहाँ पर जनता की सरकार बनेगी और वह शान्ति व्यवस्था तथा प्रशासन चलाने की स्थिति में होगी, इस लिये अब श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु देख रहे हैं कि उन के लिये बंगाल में कोई स्थान नहीं रह गया है। इस लिये अब वे इस प्रस्ताव

[श्री सुधाकर पाण्डेय]

के माध्यम से चाहते हैं कि वहाँ पर उनकी अत-कवादी कार्यवाहियाँ जारी रहे, विध्वंस तोड़-फोड़ और ध्वंसे मचा रहे। इसी दृष्टि से इस प्रस्ताव के माध्यम से उन्होंने यह रास्ता अपनाया है। मेरा कहना है कि बंगाल में या किसी भी भू-भाग में यदि आवश्यकता हो तो वहाँ फौज भी भेजी जाय। जो लोग अहिंसा में विश्वास नहीं रखते, बल्कि तोड़-फोड़ में विश्वास रखते हैं और जो इस देश की हजारों बर्षों की परम्पराओं में विश्वास नहीं रखते हैं, क्योंकि इस देश की परम्परा अहिंसा की रही है, उन के कुरूपों को इस देश में बढने न दिया जाय, अन्यथा जो गरीबों और पिछड़े हुए लोगों और बेकारों को काम देकर हम आगे बढाना चाहते हैं, उस की गति में अवरोध डालेंगे और फिर उम का उत्तरदायित्व भी हमारे ऊपर पड़ेगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हूँ और जैसा कि प्रो० समर गुह ने कहा है यदि वे अहिंसा में विश्वास करें, जनतन्त्र की परम्पराओं में विश्वास करें तो निश्चय ही वहाँ पर सी० आर० पी० की ज़रूरत नहीं पड़ेगी, बल्कि देश में पुनित्व की भी ज़रूरत नहीं रह जाएगी।

श्री ए० पी० शर्मा (बक्सर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बहुत गौर से दो माननीय सदस्यों के विचार जो उन्होंने इस प्रस्ताव के ऊपर व्यक्त किये, सुन रहा था। एक तो प्रस्तावक महोदय—श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु और दूसरे हमारे मित्र—डा० रानेन सेन। दोनों ही पश्चिमी बंगाल से आते हैं और किसी समय दोनों एक साथ थे। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वे दोनों अब क्यों अलग हो गये। अगर हमारे मित्र ज्योतिर्मय बसु सिर्फ इसी बात का ख्याल रखते कि इन दोनों में क्यों झड़ना हुआ, क्यों अलग अलग हुए, तो मेरा समझ है कि उन को यह प्रस्ताव इस सत्र में प्रस्तुत करने की आवश्यकता नहीं होती। मैं यह

इस लिये कह रहा था कि अपने देश के किसी भी हिस्से में हमें पुलिस भेजनी पड़े, दूसरी जगह से सेंट्रल रिजर्व पुलिस भेजनी पड़े और उस के आगे चल कर जैसा कि हमारे भाई पाण्डे जी ने कहा, फौज भी भेजनी पड़े तो इस का कारण क्या है? इसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है? क्या कांग्रेस पार्टी जिम्मेदार है वह जिम्मेदार है उस सूत्र के अन्दर जो राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ खास तौर से सी० पी० एम० जो पुराना कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का एक हिस्सा है, जिस ने इस नीति से अपना विश्वास हटा लिया और अहिंसा के रास्ते से नहीं बल्कि अमानि के रास्ते से हँस अपना काम चलाया—क्या वह जिम्मेदार नहीं है? मैं क्या पूछ सकता हूँ—श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु यहाँ पर नहीं हैं? लेकिन उनके दोस्त लोग यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं, तथा वे बतला सकते हैं कि अप्रैल, 1970 से लेकर आज मार्च की इस तारीख तक इस तरह के एक्सट्रीमिस्ट एन्टीमेन्ट्स जो हिंसा में विश्वास करने हैं जो लोगों के जन जीवन को वहाँ पर बिल्कुल बर्बाद कर देना चाहते हैं, जो हिंसा के रास्ते से लोगों पर काबू करना चाहते हैं, जहाँ लोगों का जीवन बिल्कुल दुखमय हो गया है, उन को मालूम है, कभी कभी वे कहते हैं कि बंगाल में इन्डस्ट्रीयलिस्ट्स आगे चले जा रहे हैं, वे क्यों चले जा रहे हैं—क्या इस प्रश्न का वे उत्तर दे सकते हैं? जिस वक्त बंगाल में आपकी हुकूमत थी, आपके डिप्टी चीफ मिनिस्टर होम मिनिस्टर थे आप के अम मंत्री थे और आप की सरकार थी, उस समय भी आपकी यही हालत थी और नतीजा यह हुआ... (स्वबोधन)... मेरा सारा जीवन ट्रेड यूनियन में ही बीता है, और मैं आप की हरकतों को खूब अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ इस लिये मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि बजाय इस के कि आप इस सदन में यह प्रस्ताव लाते कि बंगाल से सी० आर० पी० हटा दी जाय, अगर यह प्रस्ताव आप लाते और उसका सर्टीफिकेट

जी इस हाइस और इस देश की देते कि आप ने प्रान्ति का राज्य बंगाल में कायम कर दिया है तो मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि मैं और हमारी पार्टी के लोग ही सब से पहले होते जो कहते कि सी० प्रार० पी० वापस ले ली जाय। लेकिन बंगाल में सी० प्रार० पी० मेजने के लिये जिम्मेदार आप हैं क्योंकि आप ने वहाँ पर जन जीवन को दूषित बना दिया है, प्रान्ति का राज्य कायम कर दिया है, जिसमें कोई भी सभ्य नागरिक अपना जीवन निर्वाह नहीं कर सकता है।

18.00 hrs.

मैं एक दूसरा प्रश्न भी करना चाहता हूँ। क्या आप यह बतला सकते हैं कि उसी पीरियड यानि अप्रैल, 1970 सेले कर इस मार्च के महीने तक कितने लोगों के घर से कितने हजार बम बरामद हुए हैं? इस तरह की हिंसात्मक चीजें वे क्यों अपने घरों में रखते हैं, क्यों वे वहाँ पर प्रान्ति फैलाना चाहते हैं। इतना ही नहीं मैं एक और बात कहना चाहता हूँ—अगर सी० प्रार० पी० के किसी अफसर या सिपाही को लाठी चार्ज करना पड़ता है, गोली चलानी पड़ती है या कोई और सख्त कदम उठाना पड़ता है तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ—क्या वह उस काम की अपने

आप सूझो-मोटो करता है या उस का कोई कारण होता है? आप बहुत लम्बी चौड़ी बातें करते हैं, मजदूर संघटनों की बातें करते हैं छात्रों की बात करते हैं, लेकिन मैं पूछता हूँ दुनिया के किसी भी देश में ऐसी बातें हो सकती हैं? चीन में ऐसा होता होगा, जहाँ से ये लोग प्रेरणा लेते हैं, लेकिन दुनिया के किसी और देश में इस तरह से अहिंसा के रास्ते से लोगों को दबा कर के अपनी पार्टी की हुकूमत करने का रास्ता किसी ने नहीं अपनाया है... (व्यवधान)... मैं यह कह रहा था कि जब दोनों व्यक्तियों की बातों को मैंने सुना तो मैं नहीं समझता था कि हम लोगों को इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना पड़ेगा, लेकिन... मैं एक मिनट में समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।...

Do you want me to continue the next day ?

MR. SPEAKER : Yes. He may continue his speech on the next day.

18.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday March 27, 1971|Chaitra 6, 1893 (Saka),