

They do not show as much interest as I thought, the subject would evoke in this country. But I have requested the Gajendragadkar Committee to complete their labours as quickly as possible; in fact, I have told them that it is Shri Madhu Lsmaye's Bill and I cannot indefinitely tell him that the Committee's report is coming. I would like to inform Shri Madhu Lsmaye that it has created a distinct impression on Justice Gajendragadkar. I hope, the Committee's report would be available by the end of July after which the matter will be taken up.

I think, I have answered all the points and I do not want to make any general points. I want to conclude by saying that this University Grants Commission (Amendment) Bill, which will now become an Act, usher in a new era of academic development in the field of our education.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We now take up the Private Members' Business. We have encroached upon this Private Members' business which is a very precious right of the hon. Members, and, I think, we shall extend it by 15 minutes at the end. Shri Randhir Singh,

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA : Before this discussion begins, I may make a request to you. My Resolution comes next. I may be given two or three minutes at the end to move my Resolution.

15.15 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTION

SIXTY-THIRD REPORT

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak) : I beg to move :

"That this House do agree with the Sixty-third Report of the Committee on private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 13th May, 1970."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That this House do agree with the Sixty-third Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 13th May, 1970."

The motion was adopted.

15.16 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF WEST BENGAL—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We shall now take up further consideration of the Resolution moved by Shri Indrajit Gupta. Shri Indrajit Gupta to continue his speech.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOWDHURI (Krishtnager) : I have an amendment to the Resolution. It has been circulated also.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That you can move after his speech is over.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, although the Minister in charge is busy some other confabulations at the moment, for the benefit of the House, I would like to read out the text of the Resolution which I moved on the last occasion. It reads :

"This House is of opinion that, in the administration of West Bengal under President's rule, Government should give top priority to solution of urgent economic and social problems such as land reform, unemployment, refugee rehabilitation, development of Calcutta, etc."

Now, I wish to make it quite clear at the very outset that I do not harbour the slightest illusion that the problems which I propose to highlight can be tackled by the

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administration under President's rule. These problems could not be tackled by the Congress Government, successive Congress Ministries, during the last twenty years. In fact, these problems were aggravated throughout that period. Therefore, until another democratically-elected Government comes back to power in West Bengal, I do not feel that there is much likelihood of these problems being tackled in an effective or serious manner. Nevertheless, the reason for my bringing forward this Resolution is that we find, although it is now practically two months since the imposition of President's rule, the big bureaucrats who have been appointed as Advisers to the Governor and Governor himself seems to be more concerned with their own disputes, their own service disputes, jealousies, and their own rivalries regarding who should be promoted, who should be demoted, who should be transferred, who should be taken to task and so on and so fourth. They are more interested in these petty matters than in dealing with the problems which affect the lives of the vast majority of the people in West Bengal. Therefore, I have felt it necessary to bring this Resolution before the House in the hope that sufficient public opinion both inside this House and outside can be created to bring about pressure upon the administration so that they can at least be compelled to devote attention not to petty matters but to those matters upon which the future of the whole State depends.

These problems which I propose to mention in the brief time at my disposal are problems which are all very long-standing and they are problems which have accumulated over the last two decades. They have nothing to do specifically with the two brief periods of the United Front rule that we had in West Bengal. I would like to remind the House that in the last 22 years, except for a period of 22 months and that too in two instalments, there has only been the Government of one party and that is the Congress party. For 22 months out of the 22 years there were brief spells of non Congress

Rule. The problem that I wish to highlight here are problems which have been accumulating over the years and which are deep-rooted maladies and I hope that the other Members who will take part in this discussion will deal with this problem from that point of view and not try to make political capital out of it by saying that something has been created by the United Front or not created by the Congress because these are not those types of problems which I wish to deal with nor far that matter does the solution of these problems leave conditional on the question of law and order. Because this is the purpose of one amendment which I find the hon. Lady Member over here proposes to move. The purpose of that amendment is that until law and order is restored, until proper conditions of law and order return, nothing can be done. That is the pre-condition, but the maladies that I am pointing my finger at have been there for the last 20 years when there was perfect law and order under Congress dispensation and when there were no Naxalites. So why were not those problems tackled then? I would beg of you and beg of the Members of the House not to mix the issue. At the same time I do not want to belittle the importance of the law and order problem. But that would be a separate discussion. For a long time the idea was mooted round that the only way to keep law and order is to get rid of the United Front Government and bring about President's rule and every body would leave a sigh of relief. Now we can see all around what is happening there. The situation has become much worse. The President's rule and the bureaucratic advisers and the Governor are not *ipso facto* magicians to restore law and order. The problem is much more deep-rooted and if we do not look at that way, it will be like the ostrich burying its head in the sand.

Therefore, the main point of my resolution is: I wish to point out that it is the Central Government which cannot evade its overall responsibility for the neglect and for the decay of West Bengal which to-day is bursting forth in a sort of an accumulated crisis. The only way in which the Congress can come back to power in Bengal is through President's rule. The only way they can rule Bengal is President's rule. There is no other way for them to rule.

They are finished. Therefore, now, to-day, when they are ruling directly from Delhi through the Governor and his Advisers, I wish to focus their responsibility for the state of affairs under which West Bengal is groaning and the people are suffering unspeakable miseries.

First of all I would like to very briefly just narrate certain facts which are not disputed, but mainly for the benefit of hon. Members who do not come from my State. It is necessary to remind them what the overall picture is like.

A report of the United Nations has recently pointed out that 600,000 people live on the pavements of Calcutta. They have no shelter whatsoever and half of the total population of the city lives in slums. These slums, as everybody knows who has seen the conditions of these slums in Calcutta, are the breeding grounds not only of physical diseases of all kinds but also of various kinds of crimes and vices. The largest number of educated unemployed are to be found in West Bengal. We all know that the majority of the job-seekers, particularly, those who come from the educated middle class do not like to go and register their names at the employment exchanges. A very small fraction of them do it. On 31st December, 1969, it was found that 1,82,000 such people, that is educated people, were on the live registers of the Employment Exchange there. It is the highest for any State. Next in order comes U. P. Kerala, Maharashtra, Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and so on.

Out of these 1,82,000 people registered on the Employment Exchange registers 6,422 were engineering graduates or engineering diploma holders and 43,418 are classified as craftsmen or technicians or craftsmen of various kinds.

Then, Sir, as everybody knows, there has been a fresh influx recently of displaced persons from East Pakistan. Upto the 17th of last month, it was calculated that between 25,000 to 30,000 people at the minimum have crossed over the borders. The point I wish to make out is that it would be wrong to imagine that it is only the refugees from East Pakistan over

the years, have been swelling the population in Calcutta—West Bengal. If one takes the total figure of immigrants into West Bengal, then one finds that between 1951 and 1961, only 29% of these people came from East Pakistan as refugees. Out of 7.48,000 people who came into the State during those ten years, 50% came from the other States of India. I do not say this in any kind of parochial spirit. I am proud of the fact that in Bengal, no such movement, similar to the Shiv Sena in Bombay, has been started.

We are proud of the fact that our States—our great city of Calcutta—has the means of livelihood and is giving employment to people coming from all over the country. But, I must point this out that in a city of a population of 7.5 millions where there are 142 persons per acre in the metropolitan district and 300 persons per acre within the Calcutta Corporation area there, we do find that at least 50% of the people are from outside the State. In the textile industry, 58% of the workers are non-Bengalis; in the jute mills, 79% of the workers are non-Bengalis and in engineering industry, 47% of the workers are still non-Bengalis.

It has been calculated that in 1961 an amount of Rs. 28 crores was remitted from Calcutta by money orders to other States. That is the amount which the people from other States who are remitting money back to their homes came to Rs. 28 crores. What I wish to point out is that Calcutta city and the surrounding industrial area, can not in any sense be regarded as a peculiarly Bengali city or Bengali problem; it is a national problem; it is a national city and it has to be looked at and tackled in that way.

I regret very much to say that though I do not want to dilate on this at the moment that in recent years, there has been a tendency which has given great deal of bitterness and complaint in Bengal that while we are providing employment for so many lakhs of people from other States—it is their right that they should get employment there—there has been a growing tendency in recent years that in many concerns, particularly commercial and mercantile of ice concerns, which are owned and managed by

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non-Bengalis, to replace Bengali employees by non-Bengali employees. I am sure any body who lives and works in Calcutta knows that this causes a great deal of bitterness. You cannot do away with the human psychology. They feel that when they are giving employment to so many people from all over the country, at least these Bengalis who are in employment, should not be driven out and replaced by non-Bengalis.

Sir, between 1951 and 1961, the growth in population in West Bengal was of the order of 32.8%. Only one other State in India, that is, Assam, can show a higher figure. The all-Indian average of the growth of population in these ten years was 21.5%. In Bengal it was 32.8 per cent and precisely in this period, the employment in the factories in Bengal increased by less than 5 per cent whereas in the same period it increased in Maharashtra by 45 per cent and in Gujarat by 130 per cent. Up to the 31 March 1958, 41.17 lakhs of refugees had come over from E. Pakistan. As you know, there are schemes for settling them in various parts of the country. Despite, out of these 41 lakh refugees—the figure is of 1958—31 lakhs still remain in West Bengal.

Then I wish to point out that while we are all in favour of there being equitable distribution of growth of industry and balanced development in the country, backward areas should be brought up and so on. West Bengal has been wrongly described as being over-industrialised and developed. This is the language used and argument trotted out in the past to put forward the claims of certain other parts of the country. But I would like to remind you that at one time, many many decades ago, the great advantage West Bengal had was its proximity to the coal and iron ore bearing areas. This was the biggest advantage industry had in West Bengal. That advantage is lost now because subsidies on coal have been granted in every other State and at all railheads today there is a uniform price for iron and steel. Therefore, that advantage which once existed no longer exists. If one studies the question more deeply, one will find that it is only Calcutta and its immediate neighbourhood which can

be described as being developed areas, 58 per cent of the State's total income comes from Calcutta and the surrounding areas, 83 per cent of the factory employment is found in Calcutta and the surrounding areas 78.7 per cent of the industrial incomes comes from Calcutta and the surrounding areas. But the rest of West Bengal is backward, utterly backward, neglected and poverty-stricken. This must not be forgotten.

There is a big development potential in the whole of N. Bengal on the other side of the Ganga. But nothing has been done upto today to develop N. Bengal. Even I would say the people of N. Bengal are living under the perpetual menace of recurring floods and the havoc and devastation caused every year in some part or other of N. Bengal and this problem has not been seriously tackled on any long-term basis by the Central Government.

Then there is the question of Calcutta port. I have no time to go into details. On the 22nd of last month, the Chairman of the Calcutta Port Trust made a statement saying that the port's capacity is grossly under-utilised, an insufficient number of ships are coming in and the labour employed gets work for only 15 days a month. We all know the reason for this—the decline in the state of the port and the river. For that we have been told over years that steps are being taken. The question of Farrakka comes up in this House every now and then. But one must understand that the whole future of Calcutta, which means the future of Bengal—and the future of Calcutta also means the future of the hinterland—depends on speedy and efficient execution of the Farrakka Barrage Project. There we know we are lagging far behind schedule.

Not only that, I would remind the Central Government that one Farrakka Barrage is not going to cure the problem of the dying river. Along with that a matter which has been emphasised repeatedly by competent engineers is that a sufficiently large outlay must be provided for the training of the various rivers, tributaries flowing into the Hooghly. Unless those rivers are trained, deepened and widened, there is no possibility of this river being resuscitated.

I read a disturbing bit of news in the papers the other day. I do not know whether it is correct or not, that there are some schemes being mooted by the Bihar Government and the U. P. Government to develop certain projects in their territory, where the Ganga flows; and this report says that unless there is proper over-all planning and co-ordination there is a likelihood that such projects in U.P. and Bihar might tap the water of the Ganga and draw away so much water that the original purpose of the Farakka Barrage might be nullified and negated. I hope the Central Government will look into this matter. Otherwise, we might find ourselves in the end utterly frustrated even after the completion of the Barrage.

Everybody who has been to Calcutta knows the condition of the sewage, the drainage, the water supply and so on. During 1970-71, as far as I could find out a sum of Rs. 3 crores only has been allocated for these problems, while think that, at a conservative estimate, at least Rs. 10 crores is needed for this year. This is quite apart from the requirement of housing, transport and so on which are all in a chronic condition. The Calcutta Corporation have been pleading with the Central Government for some time, and recently also, for at least allowing them to have the advantage of an octroi, which Bombay enjoys. Bombay, I think makes Rs. 10 crores out of octroi, but up till now the Government of India has not conceded this request of the Calcutta Corporation.

Leading industrialists—the quotations are with me, but I do not want to take the time of the House—from Birla to Singhania, Bhaskar, Mitter and so many people, are continually say that at least an amount of Rs. 100 crores is required per annum for the all-round development of Calcutta. I do not know where this money is going to come from, but if Calcutta is to be considered a national city, every possible source must be tapped. After all, Calcutta is one of the biggest banking centres of this country. The banks have been nationalised and we are going to pay quite a sizeable amount as compensation to their shareholders. I would like to know from the Government whether they have at all given their mind to this question, whether the shareholders of the banks should be given compensation not in

cash immediately, but in bonds, so that at least a portion of this compensation money could be utilised for the development of Calcutta.

Thirteen of the textile mills in the State are lying closed out of 42. Fourteen thousand textile workers are out of work because of this. Thirty per cent of the capacity is lying idle. Many suggestions have been made for the re-opening of these mills, even by the Chairman of the Bengal Mill Owners' Association. One of the textile units, the Bengal-lakshmi Mills, could be opened at once if only the Central Government is interested in it. The United Front Ministry had sanctioned Rs. 28 lakhs towards the re-opening of this mill. What is required is the *pari passu* grant from the NIDC, but up till now we have been knocking at their door in vain. Nothing is forthcoming.

Even the State Textile Corporation in Bengal which was supposed to tackle the problem of re-opening these mills has not seen the light of day up till now.

These problems have accumulated over the years. West Bengal, I am bound to say, has been shabbily treated in the matter of plan out lays and plan allocations. Under the Fourth Plan outlay, West Bengal is given Rs. 322 crores compared with Rs. 898 crores for Maharashtra and Rs. 454 crores for Gujarat. I can quote many statistics to show that over the years, as investment, employment, number of factories, etc., in the Western part of the country have gone up at a rapid rate, there has been a corresponding decline in Calcutta and West Bengal.

Then, I came briefly to the question of Calcutta city itself. One of the important problem is regarding transport. I just want to remind the Minister about it, I do not want to go into detail as has been discussed recently in this House. As far as I have been able to understand the inscrutable working of Mr. Guzarilal Nanda's mind, the net outcome is going to be—it is my apprehension—we shall have neither a circular railway nor a suburban dispersal line nor what he calls mass rapid transport system. For the first time he has stated clearly what we never knew before that

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there never was a plan nor was there any approval for a circular railway. He says there was a plan for a suburban dispersal line and now he has come before the House to say : while making a survey for the purpose of a suburban dispersal line we have run into big difficulties and nobody knows whether they could be solved or not. That is the line from Dum Dum to Princep ghat ; that has a very limited purpose—to bring in people from the northern part of the city to the Centre. Even that is now in the melting pot. The mass rapid transport system may, according to him, be an underground tube or something like that. Feasibility studies and surveys have not yet been undertaken and it will take another 2-3 years. In the final event I am quite sure we shall be left with nothing.

The second Hooghly bridge for which the bridge commissioners had been appointed is my opinion going to be a big white elephant. Rs. 16 crores are to be spent out of the State's exchequer. The Central Government has refused to contribute anything except by way of loans. Yet this bridge, due to insistence of some bureaucrats, Port Commissioners, is being constructed at 120 feet high bridge which is totally unnecessary. The approach work for this bridge on both sides of the river is going to cost a big chunk and I doubt whether they will be able to solve the problem. Out of Rs. 16 crores only Rs. 4 or 5 crores will be spent on the bridge and the balance of Rs. 12 crores is to be spent on the approach roads, for acquiring land for making the roads and so on. Still the entire bill is to be footed by West Bengal.

There are many other problems. One is the burning question of land problems and land policies. Only today we read in the newspaper some policy announcement by the Government there. Mr. K. K. Sen one of the advisers in charge of this particular department has enunciated on behalf of the Government what they call a land policy. Anybody who reads this statement would think that it is a fairly progressive thing. I am sure the events of the last few months have brought home even to the bone-headed bureaucrats that if they tried to dispossess forcibly the peasants of the lands which

had been occupied by them, there will be havoc and bloodshed in every corner of West Bengal. (*Interruptions.*) You are bothered about the ceiling. We have read in the papers a report that there were differences among the advisers themselves and the new Chief Secretary Mr. Mullick is reported to have said that if forcible attempts are made to dispossess all this land the law and order problem which will arise will be something before which the present problem will pale into insignificance. No Government will be able to deal with it. I am glad that common sense and realism had prevailed to this extent at least. In the statement it has been said that all these lands which were benami lands or surplus lands or lands vested in the State which had been occupied—Mr. K. K. Sen is unhappy that they were forcibly occupied—will not be forcibly taken away from the peasants. But there is a difference between what is legal and what is legitimate. Many things are legal on paper and many legitimate things are supposed to follow from the implementation of those laws. But if those laws are not implemented for decades together the outcome is something which is illegitimate and the only way to make it legitimate is people's action.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, who I think is respected by all sections of the House and is certainly not a hidden Naxalite or a hidden Communist, has issued a statement on the 7th of this month from which I would like to read a few lines. He is expressing his concern that there should be also proposal "to return the lands forcibly occupied during the United Front regime by under-tanants, petty peasants and landless labourers to their so-called rightful owners." This is his language, not mine. I will explain the significance of that. He says that anybody who is acquainted with the agrarian situation in the ex-zamindari States knows "how ex-landlords and the bigger and dominant farmers have systematically defeated land reforms." Then he goes on to say :

"It is notorious how in these States ceiling laws have been checkmated by benami settlements ; how laws conferring upon share-croppers occupancy rights in their holdings have

been nullified by the simple expedient of not issuing rent receipts and resisting the recording of share-croppers' names in revenue records: how hundreds of thousands of acres of vested land, that is to say, the ex-landlords' uncultivated waste lands that were vested in the State Governments in the wake of zamindariabolition, have been unlawfully taken possession of by the stronger sections of the rural community."

Then, he goes on to say :

"Those in charge of the State's administrations should have discovered by now that it is impossible to implement some of the more progressive land reforms through administrative action alone. The reasons are : (a) absence of reliable and up-to-date records ; (b) the power of the civil courts to have the last word in such matters as title-suits ; (c) the time-and-money consuming produres of the civil courts ; (d) occurrence of rampant corruption at the lower levels of the revenue administration ; and (e) political influence of the landed interests."

Therefore, the point I wish to make out is, however well-meaning parts of this land policy which have been announced today—may sound on paper—these things can never be implemented by administrative measures alone, and certainly what the Congress Government in 20 years could not do to implement these laws and land reforms, are we to expect that Mr. Dhawan and Mr. K. K. Sen and Mr. B. B. Ghosh are going to do? Nobody but a lunatic could imagine such a thing. It cannot be done unless at every level and particularly at the thana level, representative committees are closely associated at every step with this process.

Now, under the United Front Government, land committees were set up at every thana level. Those committees have now been disbanded. It is my demand that

those committees should be revived. If necessary, they can be expanded. I do not mind. If the Congress people want to be in those committees, let them be. But such all-party committees at the thana level must be there, and the local peasant organisations must be closely associated at every step with these measures which are proposed to be carried out. If any attempt is made to do it purely by bureaucratic fiat with the help of the police, then there is going to be a heavy bloodshed because I can assure you that the peasants are in no mood to give up their land which they have occupied.

Just one or two more points, Sir, I have done. There are big loopholes in this policy statement coming from Calcutta. The first is that they say that the share-croppers will not be evicted. The share-croppers are being evicted today by the thousands in West Bengal. Let the Government know that ; they are being evicted on a mass scale, because most of these share-croppers do not succeed in getting any receipt from the land-owners. Therefore, what is now being done is, the police in many cases is directly helping the land-owners, and in some cases arresting those who resist the eviction. The police must be ordered not to assist eviction directly or indirectly. And if some owner complains that somebody who had never been his share-cropper is seeking to till the land, then, he must prove his complaint in the presence of those types of committees which I have stated. It is not enough to make an allegation for the police to rush there. It is not enough for somebody to say "I am a small owner. I hold land below the ceiling which is being unlawfully, illegally, illegitimately occupied and therefore it must be given back." If he is a *bona fide* small owner, certainly the land should be given back to him, but simply making that allegation would not do. He will have to prove before these committees what was the extent of his holding. If Mrs. Ila Palchoudhuri says, I am a small owner and a part of my land is being occupied.....

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUHURI :
I want to assure the House that I have no land to hold. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli) :
What about tea plantations in Assam ?

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI :
I have no tea plantations in Assam. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I am very gratified to know that she owns no land, that she is in fact a landless peasant and she may qualify for getting some land when it will be distributed. I do not know.

Sir, already some serious clashes have taken place. In Nadia district, in Humnāpota an incident took place leading to police firing, killing two women precisely because of this. Without any proof or verification, the landlords went and filed a false complaint with the police. The police rushed to their assistance. The peasants there who resisted the eviction were fired upon and killed. This kind of thing has already happened in three or four places in West Bengal on a big scale. The only way to avoid this is that they should not depend simply on their bureaucratic machinery, but should be willing even during President's rule to associate themselves closely with all these all-party committees at every level, and should set up thana level committees and in their presence see that all these claims and counter-claims are properly verified before any action is taken. But I find indiscriminate and large-scale arrests of peasants are still going on. I am sorry to find that people who indulge in some other type of violent activities are very often arrested and bailed out immediately. But these persons in villages who are arrested for resisting eviction and clinging on to the land are never bailed out. People who throw bombs and crackers manage to get bail within 12 or 24 hours.

In conclusion, I must refer to another very important thing concerning the rural countryside. In Purulia, Bankura and Murshidabad, where there are acute drought conditions, people are starving and dying, I am sorry to say that up till now the Central Government has not done anything coherently to rush relief to these areas on the scale required to start relief works and so on. Some miserable dole is given on a very restricted scale. That is all,

These are some of the problems I would like to point out. There is a theory abroad that, "Of course, such matters must be dealt with if we are to prevent the Naxalite menace from going", as if, if there were no Naxalites, these problems would not be there and they have come to limelight only because of the Naxalites. This is a thing which I wish completely to contradict. These are problems vital to the life and future of the people of West Bengal. Therefore, they must be tackled. If you are bothered about Naxalites, let me remind you of the report of the World Bank Mission—I am not a devotee of the World Bank—which came out in 1960, ten years ago. It says :

"There is hardly any aspect of community development"

—they are talking about Calcutta—

"that is keeping pace with the growth of Calcutta's population or with the requirements of its hinterland. The condition likewise nurtures feelings of unrest and malaise in the population which are likely to boil over from time to time in ways that are both destructive and inimical to orderly economic development. The Government of India tends to regard these problems as the concern of the Government of West Bengal alone, which in its turn is struggling with many other difficulties and must respond to a legislature that inadequately represents the interests of the urban areas. ...Everybody admits that more ought to be done about it. Nobody is ready to do it."

This was the warning given more than ten years ago by the World Bank mission, on whose words they put more credence than my words, I suppose. That warning went unheeded. Now people come forward and say that law and order is disturbed and until that is first settled nothing else can be done. This is also an excuse for continued neglect and allowing these problems to go on mounting till there will be completed destruction and complete wipe out of the whole of this part of the country. Therefore, certainly, deal with the law and

order, if you can deal with it; I doubt very much if you can. But there is no excuse for shelving these problems. The two must go hand in hand. The Centre has prime responsibility for this state of affairs for the last twenty years and it is for that reason that I have brought this resolution to focus the attention on it and I hope all sections of the House will support it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"This House is of opinion that, in the administration of West Bengal under President's rule, Government should give top priority to solution of urgent economic and social problems such as land reform, unemployment, refugee rehabilitation, development of Calcutta, etc."

SHRI DEVEN SEN (Asansole) : I beg to move : That in the resolution—

add at the end—

"including construction of circular railway and underground railway in Calcutta." (1)

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : I beg to move : That in the resolution—

for "solution of urgent economic and social problems such as land reform, unemployment, refugee rehabilitation, development of Calcutta, etc."

substitute—

"creation of peaceful conditions by eliminating the menace of violence and destruction so that urgent economic and social problems such as land reform, unemployment, refugee rehabilitation, rehabilitation of those who have suffered as a result of violent disturbances and destruction of properties, and development of Calcutta, could be quickly solved and confidence reintroduced among business-

men and trade and commerce begin to flourish once again."(2)

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contal) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me a chance and I am also grateful to the House for permitting me to speak earlier. I congratulate Shri Indrajit Gupta for the very constructive resolution that he has brought forward in this House and, although it may sound strange to many, I agree with almost all the constructive suggestions that he has made. Because, a wrong impression has been created outside Bengal as if Bengal is a land of vandals and anti-social criminals. But the people outside who are crying hoarse forget that the terrible socio-economic misery of the people of West Bengal is a good breeding ground for vandals and anti-social elements.

15.57 hrs.

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

I want to draw the attention of the government to the fact that if by imposing President's rule just by bureaucrats or by improvement of the law and order method they will be able to bring about a change in the whole context of West Bengal, I should say that they are miserably mistaken. There is the responsibility of the government. I will come to that next. But I have a point to make to the main mover of the resolution. I have found in West Bengal that there is lack of confidence in the minds of the people, lack of confidence in the minds of the officers. Therefore, unless you can tone up the morale of the people and also the confidence of the officers, nothing constructive can be done at the present moment.

SHRI J.M. BISWAS (Bankura) : Do you agree with the resolution or not? Come to the point.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Don't be silly.

For that reason, it is now the responsibility of all left parties to come together, availing that which has created the present condition, which has scuttled the this Government and which has created UF

[Shri Samar Guha]

condition during the thirteen-month rule. It is now time when the CPI should take the initiative in mobilising all the leftist democratic forces. Unfortunately, I do not know why they are running after the restoration of the United Front and having the Communist Marxist Party, whom they have called a set of gangsters, with them. This is the opportune movement and yet they are not talking even with Ajoy Basu.

16 hrs.

Whenever Ajoy Babu goes anywhere, thousands of people give him a heroic welcome but whenever Marxist Communist Party leaders go anywhere, hartals, strikes and black flag demonstrations are occurring. They are occurring almost every day. This is a phenomenon which the CPI friends should take notice of. Unless a broad united democratic people's movement can be started in West Bengal, law and order cannot be restored, confidence in the officers and in the minds of the people cannot be restored and nothing constructive can be done. Therefore it is absolutely essential that the CPI friends should change their outlook and without the CP (M) they should come and develop a broad united front of the democratic forces.

Shri Indrajit Gupta has almost touched all the points. I shall, in a nutshell, say that one of the major causes of the misery of West Bengal today is the refugee influx. I have exhaustively dealt, in an half-an-hour discussion with the problem of refugees from East and West Pakistan. To the West Pakistan refugees Rs. 400 crores in the shape of compensation has been paid but not a single farthing has been given in the shape of compensation to the refugees coming from East Pakistan. Though Rs. 160 crores have been spent on them, two-thirds or 80 per cent of it has been spent on relief and similar works and not on rehabilitation works. Therefore if really the Government to tackle that problem, it should spend at least Rs. 300 crores, if not in the form of compensation at least as capital investment for giving employment to the refugees and for developing small-scale industries in West Bengal,

The problem of Calcutta also I have exhaustively dealt with in an half-an-hour discussion, giving fact, figures and data. I find that they express good will about the development of Calcutta but the question is how the funds can be found. Certainly the Central Government has the responsibility for it but there are two other sources also. In this House I have been trying to draw the attention of Government as to why at least a part of the PL-480 funds cannot be spent for slum improvement and similar other works and also, when the President of the World Bank in his recent statement as also while he visited Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi had categorically said that if the Government of India wanted funds from international monetary sources for the development of Calcutta and other urban areas they would not be lacking, why the Government is hesitating to get the help from these international sources. That is the main point, because funds are the main or crucial trouble because of which the implementation of the project for the development of Calcutta is halting.

About the land problem, I would also say that those lands which have been forcibly occupied by Harijans, landless peasants and the Tribals, should not be touched; they should be regularised. If it happens that the lands of the legal owners have been occupied, compensation should be given to them.

About the share-cropper, I welcome the suggestion that three-fourths of the share should go to the peasants. But there is a proviso that they have to provide their own implements of agriculture. How will they get the implements? Will the Government of India, therefore, consider giving them credit or opening branches of banks in rural areas for that purpose? Until then the sharecropper problem cannot be effectively tackled.

Then, many fishery lands have been occupied illegally. They should not be restored to the *benamidars*.

I will also congratulate the advisers for saying that the ceiling will be on the basis of the family. But if the ceiling is fixed on the basis of the family, will the

Government constitute the committee to find out the surplus land as a result of the new ceiling within three months and distribute the surplus and *benami* lands to the landless peasants? Only then you can say that you are doing something.

Then, the harvests of poor peasants having two or three acres of land have been looted. Compensation must be given to those poor peasants whose harvests have been looted and whose lands have been forcibly occupied. The Government has completely failed to give them protection. In the names of land seizure, those poor peasants should not be penalised. In that way the land problem has to be tackled.

The United Front Government with the C.P.I. (M) have done terrible damage to West Bengal which could not have been done in the last 22 years by any destructive agency. The capital is flying away from West Bengal; the factories are being shifted from West Bengal. No new investment is there; no new factories are coming up there. Even Bengal Industrialists numbering more than a dozen are shifting their factories from there. I would ask this new Government to immediately check this flying away of the capital. The shifting of the factories must be stopped.

Coming to labour, they should develop effective machinery for speedy solution of labour disputes. It takes one year, two years and all that. Supposing 100 workers have a problem, a dispute, and they go to a tribunal, it takes one year, two years and so on. It drags on for years. There should be more effective labour machinery for solving their disputes. Only in that way it can be done. I would say, there should be more investment in small industries sector and ancillary sector. Both these sectors should be developed.

About fisheries, it is a very important thing in West Bengal. It supplies proteins; it supplies rich food for the people. There is ample scope for developing fisheries in Sunderbans area and in other areas. Also

deep-sea fishing has to be developed in West Bengal.

About rural electrification, we have now been told by Dr. K. L. Rao that there is enough fund from PL 480. Rural electrification is essential in West Bengal. My hon. friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, has given a figure for Calcutta. Calcutta has taken all the blood from the rest of West Bengal. If you want to develop self-employment process in West Bengal, rural electrification is necessary. Rural electrification will give irrigation facilities; rural electrification will give scope for expansion of cottage and village industries. Therefore, rural electrification should get utmost priority in West Bengal.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI (Krishnagar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have moved my amendment to Shri Indrajit Gupta's Resolution. He has left it with "etc.". But I have spelt it out. My amendment has been circulated. So, I will not take the time of the House to read it out.

There are one or two points that I would like to answer. Shri Indrajit Gupta has been saying that the Congress Government had contributed to all these ills all this time and the U. F. Government has not done anything to further these ills. I do not disagree that there have been many ills in West Bengal and yet exist in West Bengal. But the U. F. Government has certainly intensified those ills and in 375 days of their stay in power there, they have had 668 murders, 900 dacoities and 714 industries have closed down.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: (Diamond Harbour): Out of these political murders, 68 persons murdered belonged to my party.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI: I do not know the break-up. I will not take the time of the House on that. You will have your say also.

Secondly, Shri Indrajit Gupta pleaded for a committee consisting of all parties at the *thana* level where everybody will have

[Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri]

to go and prove, "This is my land and this should not be taken from me or this is my land which has been taken from me." This is going to be prove to these wonderful committees like this ones suggested by Shri Gupta which during the U.F. regime, in very many places whereby existed, stood by and had the harvest looted ! So, to a committee like that, there is need to prove that "this land is mine" when, without any proof, they can go and occupy that land by killing the poor peasant. If that is the idea of law and order, I have nothing more to say. I think the House can judge for itself.

I am glad that Mr. Gupta has brought forward this resolution. One thing I would like to bring to the notice of this House is that land reforms certainly must go on apace and we are very glad to hear the announcement in to-day's papers. Certainly *benmi* lands and also the *khas* lands that are with the Government may be distributed as soon as possible to the landless people. But the land that has been taken from the poor peasant whose harvests have been taken and also the people have been told that 'We shall take the blood-soaked paddy home', let that paddy that was soaked with the blood of the peasant... (*Interruptions*) That is what Mr. Konar and his associates have said 'We shall take the blood-soaked paddy home'. That has come out in the papers. That is not my quotation. So I say that any harvest that has been looted by the United Front Government or whoever it was...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : How can that be allowed to go on record that Government has looted the paddy ?

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI: Certainly your Government allowed it. Any paddy that has been looted, any harvest that has been looted, any land that has been occupied unlawfully by the peasants occupying 2 or 3 bighas of land, must be restored to the people to whom they belonged and if that could not be done, Government *khas* land of equal productive capacity as has been taken away be atonce given to the landless people.

I would also say that Mr. Gupta had a very great pessimism in a saying that we can never get this, we can never get that, we shall never get the bridges. etc. I am not such a pessimist. I am sure that the Central Government will come forward in getting the circular railway and the tube railway for Calcutta and also another bridge over Hooghly will become a reality in the near future. I hope the Central Government will look into it.

Thirdly, I would like to point out that the situation prevailing to-day should not be confused with the economic question. It is not only an economic question. It is due to a certain kind of indoctrination that has been rampant in West Bengal and it is already also in force in many places in India. I say that sort of indoctrination is a lobby of China and nothing more. If we allow that indoctrination and try to confuse it with the economic development in West Bengal, that would only further that indoctrination. The National flag is burnt and trampled upon. It is not as if the economic need makes them do that. I don't agree with you. Wherever Gandhiji's pictures have been burnt, it is not economic need that makes them burn Gandhiji's pictures. Is it economic need that makes them burn Gandhiji's literature and Tagore's literature ? These are the precious heritages of India which they have left for the future generation of the country. It is said that their circulation will be stopped in West Bengal because they are burnt. Sir, I demand that wherever the national flag has been dishonoured, burnt or trampled upon in educational institutions or anywhere else and where foreign flags have been put up, the country's flag should be restored, no matter where this has been done. Gandhiji's pictures must be restored wherever they have been burnt or mutilated. I hope that Gandhiji's literature will surely be distributed in West Bengal so that the minds of the people are kept away from violence and destruction.

If we are to solve the question in West Bengal, the first thing that must be done is that confidence must be created and industries must flourish. Gheraos must be stopped and declared as illegal. Money must be

made available to the entrepreneurs. If industry has to grow in West Bengal, it is absolutely necessary that many of the financial institutions like the L.I.C., I.C.I.C.A. and I.F.C. etc. should give loans etc. on reasonable terms to these entrepreneurs. The L.I.C. should be split into four parts and one of the branches should be situated in West Bengal where the small industries and entrepreneurs can get loan and can also put up small-scale industries in West Bengal. Refugee problems are certainly there. I agree with Shri Samar Guha who just spoke that the refugee problems must be tackled and for that we need at least Rs. 400 crores. The problem of East Pakistan refugees is not tackled as that of West Pakistan refugees. For East Pakistan refugees Rs. 175 crores have been spent. But, they have to return this to the Central Government with interest. Now the time has come when more and more refugees are coming in, something must be done for them. It is not correct that there are only 41 lakhs of refugees there are at least 51 lakhs of refugees. More are coming in. I can assure you that the minorities will be squeezed out of East Pakistan in the next few years. The Central Government should certainly see that P. L. 480 funds be diverted for the development of Calcutta and for the development of industries.

May I just give you the figures for the refugees which have been allotted? what has been allotted is really unsatisfactory. The hon. Minister for Work and housing has himself said that for the development of Calcutta, provision was made as follows :—

Water supply	Rs. 11 crores
Sewerage	„ 11 Crores
Slum development	„ 1 crore

What can you do with Rs. 1 crore for the development of slums where the conditions of people are unthinkable? Of the 7 million people who live in Calcutta and West Bengal, 66% have no bath rooms; 90% live in one room and they have no kitchen. 50% of them have no drinking water supply. On top of that 16 municipal towns and 14 non-municipal towns around

Calcutta within 100 to 150 miles and all over Bengal have no drinking water.

When you look at the colossal problems I am glad that this Resolution has been brought in. I do hope that as Mr. McNamara said, P. L. 480 funds can be diverted to West Bengal in many ways as the Government may deem fit. I would demand that Rs. 350 crores or Rs. 400 crores which will be needed for the purpose can be get from P. L. 480 funds and the same may be diverted to West Bengal to look to her needs. I am very glad to note that we have this opportunity to discuss this matter. I just want to say one thing about the bridge over the Hooghly. Calcutta is the largest town. It has only two bridges—one is yet to be brought of—whereas the other places like New York and London which have not so much of population as Calcutta have 16 bridges across the rivers.

SHRI D.N. PATODIA (Jalore) : Where is the other bridge ?

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : One is being thought of. Panditji said, "Calcutta is biggest city in the country. It has national problems. Something special has to be done in West Bengal. I hope that something special will be done for Calcutta and the menace of law and order problems will be put right. I have every hope that Calcutta will rise to its pristine glory and every body is going to help West Bengal. There is a terrible influx of indoctrination and violence going on in West Bengal. I have no doubt that the Central Government will come to our help.

SHRI S. S. KOTHARI (Mandsaur) : What West Bengal needs today's strong and stable administration, which would maintain law and order, an administration that would act objectively and without political motivations. If the Governor needs any certificate about, the efficiency and efficacy of his rule, it is not from one political party or the other but from the average citizen, the common man of the State; and what the common wants is, firstly, peace and security, and secondly, an

[Shri S. S. Kothari]

attempt under President's rule to help in solving the deeprooted socio-economic problems of the State.

It is necessary that the politics of violence must be eschewed. It has no place in democracy and whatever measures are necessary for this purpose, must be taken. The Governor must either govern efficiently or abdicate. The administration and the police must be cleansed of persons who have political commitments. This much for law and order. Although I agree with the Mover that both the problems have to be tackled together, law and order as well as economic problems, I believe you cannot have genuine economic progress if everyday, as one reads in newspapers, there is some violence or other in some part of Calcutta or the rest of West Bengal. I think this is not healthy or satisfactory either for the people of West Bengal or for its economic growth. Therefore, I would suggest that law and order has to be maintained and under President's rule immediate steps must be taken to expedite the implementation of economic measures.

There has been a surfeit of thinking and planning. What are now required are not thinking and planning, but action and implementation. That is what is called for, if the administration is to make a dent into the maladies that have bedevilled this problem-state.

Why is there violence and disturbance? Why are the young men of West Bengal so angry? Underlying these disturbances and frequent recourse to violence is deep-rooted frustration due to unemployment, sub-standard living conditions, economic want and poverty. Such conditions can drive even a normal person to frustration and desperation, and when there is frustration and desperation, it leads to explosive situations. This must be appreciated.

In my opinion, there is a vicious circle operating, in the sense that disturbances occur because of unemployment and poverty, but unemployment and poverty are there because insufficient investment and economic growth

are not taking place. But then investment and economic growth do not take place under disturbed conditions, particularly, if proper investment climate is not there. Therefore, the vicious circle is there.

The question arises, what should be done to break this vicious circle. I will come to private investors a little later. If the private investor is hesitant to invest, it is for the Central Government and the West Bengal Government to take the initiative and start a large number of large-scale and employment-oriented, employment-intensive medium and small-scale industries in West Bengal. I have always wondered why the previous Congress Governments and even the UF Government did not take action on this front in a concerted manner with great initiative and determination. No efforts have been made to increase employment opportunities in the State. This is a fundamental and vital point. Why should we depend only on the private investor? He is welcome and must be there. His difficulties must be solved—I will come to it later. But it is for the State Government to take the initiative at this juncture and see that every possible effort is made to increase industries in West Bengal.

Besides, housing is another sector which, in my opinion, is employment-intensive. Housing also has good socio-economic effects in that it provides shelter to people and gives them a feeling of possession and contentment. It helps in reducing the frustration. Besides, the investment made in housing will not only provide direct employment, but also have a multiplier effect as we call it in economics, and that multiplier effect would also help in bringing about economic growth. Therefore, great attention must be paid to housing. That is another constructive measure which I think will have beneficial effects.

Public works should be undertaken on a large scale. It again would help to solve the unemployment problem. It is a very difficult problem to obtain loans from LIC. Red-tapism is there, and that aspect must also be looked into. I do not have time to go into that.

I would like to know from the hon. Minister how many of the public sector projects in the Fourth Plan are scheduled to be located in West Bengal. I am afraid that the public sector is also becoming shy of investing in West Bengal, and that is one of the tragic features of the situation. Let the Central Government boldly and with determination plan out a large number of industries and this vicious circle would be broken.

Even industrial licensing policies tend to militate against the expansion and establishment of industries in West Bengal. I think that industrial licensing policies should actually assist West Bengal in solving these deep-rooted problems.

One unfortunate fact which has been observed in the last two or three years is the flight of capital from West Bengal as it is called, or the closure of some offices in West Bengal. Some of the offices which have been closed are rather important offices, and that is having an adverse effect upon the employment situation. There have been cases where certain Bengali friends, clerks and typists, have come to me to help them find jobs. As far as I am concerned, it makes no difference to me whether a person is a Bengali or anyone else. He is an Indian for me, and I try to help him if I can. I do my best for him. But when I see that they have been reduced to this state of unemployment because of the faulty policies of certain political leaders who have misgilded these employees, which have resulted in the closure of offices, I really feel that these political leaders have not done a service either to West Bengal or to the white collar workers or the labourers in West Bengal.

You can make efforts to increase their wages. In the textile industry, the engineering industry and the jute industry, wages have been increased. I welcome it as it is necessary and desirable. Labour must also get its due share out of the profits if they have to work and if productivity is to increase. It is a good thing, but then if offices are closed and they are shifted elsewhere, I think it adds to the unemployment problem. I would suggest that the

politicians should not try to spread their tentacles over these white collar workers as far as possible and should leave them alone to solve their problems. Let them themselves man the trade unions, and let not the politicians interfere there.

Calcutta has been dubbed the city of processions. Its problems have been long neglected. Neither the Congress which held an absolute majority for two decades nor the United Front, which was busy with its internal contradictions and inter-party rivalries, have devoted their time to solve the multifarious problems of Calcutta.

During summer in certain parts of Calcutta no water is available; during the rains certain parts of Calcutta are flooded. The traffic congestion has become chronic. As regards the state of the roads in Calcutta, I think it defies description.

One has to go there and see for one self. Various civic problems are there. Shri Indrajit Gupta gave an excellent and graphic account of the problems of Calcutta. I would only say that it is high time that the transport problem was solved. An additional bridge has become absolutely imperative. It is no use having grandiose underground projects. It would be like the revolving tower in Ashoka Hotel. When it was proposed, we said it would not go through. Such a scheme is bound to fail. These people in the Government can never put it through. Let them have reasonable projects over the ground which they can build. If they could not build a proper circular railway or the suburban dispersal line during the last two decades, can we expect them to build an underground metro as in Paris? They are incapable of it. Let them think of reasonable measures which they can implement immediately and which would be effective. I have already referred to housing. Slum clearance is to be given great importance (Interruptions). Though the stadium may have less priority it is also necessary. In regard to land reform they must have a progressive policy to distribute surplus lands. I do not think it would be possible, even if they wanted, to disturb the possession of land that has come about in recent times. You cannot drive out the peasants from the land they have occupied. That is my feeling.

[Shri S. S. Kothari]

In conclusion I should say that a tremendous amount of investment is necessary for West Bengal's economic regeneration. I suggest that the Government must set apart about Rs. 80-100 crores every year for Calcutta. Let us put a figure of 80 crores of Rupees every year. That money must be found and invested constructively on good projects which are capable of being implemented. I have always felt that the Bengali mind is progressive and reasonable and we can have progress in West Bengal. The destructive and violent activities do not help anybody, least of all the people of Bengal. They do not also help the nation. These activities must be stopped and the energies of the people must be directed into constructive channels.

SHRI S. R. DAMANI (Sholapur) :

About one and a half months ago the House had an opportunity of discussing West Bengal when President's rule was approved and the Budget of West Bengal was presented to this House. This time my hon. friend Mr. Indrajit Gupta has given us an opportunity to discuss this matter again. I have listened very carefully to his speech. He is a very good orator and a shrewd politician also. Therefore he has presented his case well made it appear as if what he said was correct. I do not agree with him.

Firstly he said that the problems of West Bengal, especially Calcutta had been accumulating during the last twenty years of Congress rule. It is not correct. During those years Calcutta and West Bengal had been developing. How many industries were there in Calcutta and in West Bengal in 1950 and how many are there in 1967? How many persons were getting employment in 1950 and how many were getting employment in 1967? A large number of industries had been established in West Bengal, especially in Calcutta. There has been an investment of Rs. 450 crores in public sector projects. What is the present condition of those projects? I shall tell you afterwards.

During its twenty years regime the Congress Government tried its best to give

all possible facilities for the development of West Bengal and Calcutta in particular. The allegations of my friend are not correct. The second thing he had said is that the Congress has come to power through the President's rule. I should like to say that the Central Government had given ample opportunity to run the United Front Government and only after it broke up under the force of circumstances the Centre had to impose the President's rule. When the United Front Government was formed about a year back with so many parties in it—the majority party was the CPM—after two or three months, they drew a common programme as to how they were going to implement the laws and improve the conditions of the people, the citizens, and remove all their difficulties. It was very good to do so. After two months, however, they started quarrelling; they gradually began to quarrel. The differences among them increased, with the CPM which was the major party, having a bigger say, and the CPM started dictating to the rest, because they had the Home portfolio. Every day, there were muders, fighting and quarrels. Ultimately what happened was...it is a record not only in the history of our country but in the history of the world the Chief Minister of the same Government had to go on a hunger-strike against his own government. It is a novel thing. It has been done. What did he say? I quote his words. He said that the Government of West Bengal under the United Front was uncivilised and barbarous." These were the words which he used; he said that "only the law of the jungle prevails." These were his words stated by the Chief Minister of the United Front Government of West Bengal. All the other partners or most of the other partners also had to say that they were dissatisfied and they could not continue. In such circumstances, the Central Government had no alternative; they gave them a long rope, and they wanted to see that that government should continue. But when they failed, when the Chief Minister said what I just now quoted, when he himself went on a hunger-strike, then President's rule was imposed. So, it is not the policy of the Congress to impose President's rule just to have control. Therefore, I do not agree with what the hon. Member over there said. I contradict it and say that it was not the intention of the Central Government,

the Congress Government, to impose President's rule just to have power.

After President's rule, what is happening? They want the President to do this and to do that. They say that it is the responsibility of the Central Government; everything is its responsibility. But let us see in 22 months' rule of the United Front Government, what damage they have done, and what progress they have achieved. Shri Indrajit Gupta asked what the Congress Government have done in the last 22 years. I would like to ask what the United Front regime has done in 22 months; what is the progress that they made what kind of law and order they maintained. The hon. Member has not said any thing about that; they say everything has been done by Congress. Everybody knows how law and order broke down during the 22 months how many industries closed down and how many people became unemployed and why further industries could not be established there. What had they done? It is the duty of the State Government to maintain law and order and to promote industrialisation and also see that people are attracted to go to those places and start industries. It is the duty of the State Government and not the Central Government. The Central Government chalks out the plan, gives financial assistance, but to implement it and attract the people to the State, it is the duty of the State Government. I want to know what the State Government has done during the 22 months for the establishment of industries, for creating employment and increasing production. During their regime, everything was destroyed and law and order was greatly affected and the life of the public became difficult, dangerous and risky. This is what happened in 22 months under the reign of the United Front Government with the CPM as its major partner.

They want the establishment of industries and economic development. I agree; every part of the country should develop. Every State should be developed, but they should create circumstances for development. I will give you the comparative figures of strikes and man-days lost in West Bengal and in other State. That will give a picture as to who are responsible for bringing about this situation. In West Bengal, the number of

workmen involved in strikes and lock-outs 6,55,040. The number of man-days lost in West Bengal is 97,92,036 out of 166 lakhs, which is the total man-days lost in the whole country. That means, 60 per cent of the total man-days have been lost in West Bengal alone. Maharashtra is the second industrial State in the country. There the number of man-days lost is only 12 lakhs, as compared to 97 lakhs in West Bengal, which is Seven times more than in Maharashtra. In Mysore, the total number of man-days lost is only 5.48 lakhs. In West Bengal, they started instigating the workers. I have no objection to workers getting reasonable pay. They should get reasonable pay but they should also give enough production, maintain discipline and also take care of the plant and machinery. The Durgapur steel plant is protected by the armed forces, because the workers damage the plant and machinery. If this is the fate of a public sector project, you can imagine what will happen in the private sector. The private sector cannot have the military to protect their plant and machinery.

This condition was created because the workers were instigated. Everything was done to see that there was loss in production. Most of the industries, whether in the private sector or public sector, have started suffering losses and establishment of new industries in that region is stopped. It is the duty of the trade unions and the politicians not only to see that the workers get reasonable wages but also to see that they give enough production, look after the plant and machinery and maintain discipline and obey the management. Then only the country and the State can prosper. Otherwise, the State and the country cannot progress. It is useless to blame the Central Government for all these things.

The Central Government has imposed President's rule to take care of law and order. Still things are alarming there. Every day we read in the papers that bombs are thrown and people are killed. This is not only due to unemployment, but this is intentionally done to disturb the law and order. On the one hand they disturb the law and order on the other they accuse the Central Government for all these things. They want that the Central Government

[Shri S. R. Daman]

should help in the development of the economy of that State. This cannot be done unless they cooperate and restore law and order there. During these four or five years, many new industries have come up in Maharashtra in Poona and Nashik region and also in Mysore. What are they doing in Calcutta? There is no safety and there is no discipline. These are the conditions created by them. Unless they improve the conditions, unless they co-operate in restoring normalcy, the problem cannot be solved. I would say that at least for the benefit of the public they should change their attitude and allow the maintenance of law and order and advise the workers to increase production so that they can get higher wages.

SHRI D.N. PATODIA : Sir, the mover of the Resolution, Shri Indrajit Gupta, has highlighted and well-argued some of the economic problems of West Bengal, for which he deserved to be congratulated. But I do not know how we can ever talk of any growth or development until we are able to create the necessary climate which is conducive to growth and development. To that extent, I do feel that the arguments given by Shri Indrajit Gupta were inconclusive and were somewhat incomplete.

As you know, right from the days of partition the condition in the state of west Bengal has been somewhat unfortunate but from 1967 onwards the conditions have particularly been very bad. In the course of the short space of three years this state had presidential rule on three occasions. There has been one mid-term election and there might be another mid term election, we do not know when.

In 1970, in the month of March, when for the second time president's rule was imposed in west Bengal, it was a rare occasion and the people of west Bengal, all of them welcomed it as if by the imposition of president's Rule law and order will be restored, the rule of law will be established, violence would be curbed and the people would be able to live in peace. But, unfortunately, within a short period of three months, all such hopes appear to have been completely belied. Lawlessness

has not, by any stretch of imagination, been reduced and the way the Governor is functioning, the way he is interfering with the working of his officials, and the way law and order is still continuing in the same manner as it was previously, the people of West Bengal have started losing hope, and I am afraid that unless things improve very shortly, unless some effective measures taken for improving the administration, for curbing the violence and lawlessness, ultimately the people of West Bengal may lose faith even in President's rule for ever.

Going through the newspapers over the last few weeks you will observe that not a day passes without your seeing something or other which is disturbing with regard to West Bengal on the front page of it. In fact, West Bengal has become a morning irritant for all the people living in Delhi. Sometimes educational institutions are attacked. On one particular occasion as many as eleven examination centres were attacked. A handful of lawless students can hold the entire educational institutions to ransom and can paralyse the entire educational system of West Bengal. The other day in the Presidency College even the national flag was burnt and yet it took 24 hours for the government to discover that the national flag has been burnt and the red flag has been hoisted in its place and after another 24 hours they ultimately changed the flag. Recently, a police picket, an army of police officers who were travelling in a jeep were attacked and in the course of the attack one subinspector was killed and many others were injured. The situation there is such that even 5 employees out of 100 can paralyse the work of the factory; even 20 workers out of 1,000 can stop the work in a factory; a handful of lawless students can paralyse the work of the educational institutions. The same is the condition with regard to offices and factories.

Then, you must have come across this report in the newspapers that an officer was confined to one particular room and his head was shaved. Recently, again, a son of Shri Bhuvalka who was previously a member of Rajya Sabha was dragged out of his office room and was beaten. When he approached the police, instead of arresting

and taking action against the lawless element, the police arrested Shri Bhuvalka himself. It was at about midnight that with great difficulty he was released on bail.

Private sector and public sector is no more a discrimination in West Bengal. Nobody wants to continue to live there. No officer wants to stay there. Take the case of Durgapur and all other public sector projects there. Each and every one of the officers—the Minister will bear me out—has expressed the desire that he is no more willing to stay in West Bengal and has sought a transfer.

Why is this condition prevailing? Why are people trying to get away from West Bengal? Nobody would like to get away but nobody would like to work, trade or invest in a humiliating and insulting situation. It is precisely this condition, this atmosphere, this lawlessness, this lack of confidence which compels a man to get away from West Bengal. What is needed precisely needed to be done is that you have to restore the confidence, the climate by maintaining the law and removing lawlessness. Unless that is done, I am afraid, nothing is going to happen.

In this climate of uncertainty in West Bengal, the Governor had been functioning in a very, very peculiar manner. I think, it is necessary to make a small reference with regard to his functioning. Right from the very first day he started creating trouble with regard to the appointment of Secretaries and Advisers. Even a few days back when the Cabinet Secretary and the Home Secretary had an occasion of going to Calcutta, he again created so many difficulties. He would not allow any officer to function as the officer want to function. He would involve himself into all sorts of arguments and petty matters and would see that the administration does not function. He starts flirting with all sorts of people in West Bengal. The administration in West Bengal has to be permitted to function in the proper manner without much of interference from and involvement of the Governor. It is not going to function in that manner so long as this Governor functions there.

SHRI NAMBIAR: After the CP(M) is over now it is an attack on the Governor.

SHRI D.N. PATODIA: About the industrial development of West Bengal. all of us know that until the year 1966 West Bengal was the top industrial State of India. According to the figures compiled by the Government, in the year 1966 West Bengal had the total productive capital employment of the tune of Rs. 1,383 crores in factories employing more than 50 persons and Maharashtra came next with a total capital employed of Rs. 1,240 crores. But after 1966 what has happened to the State which was at the top and to the city of Calcutta which was at the top handling the largest volume of export and imports? From 1967 onwards due to the political uncertainty, lawlessness, the atmosphere of lack of confidence prevailing there, the entire industrial and production climate has completely been distorted. You will be surprised to know that in the whole year of 1968 only five industrial licences had been granted in the State of West Bengal because there was nobody to apply for licences and to work for industrial growth and commerce there.

With regard to unemployment, on account of these very factors every year the incidence of unemployment in West Bengal is increasing by 5 lakhs to 6 lakhs of persons.

The city of Calcutta is a city of shambles today. It is a Shameful situation, with regard to sewage, water supply, electric supply and the condition of roads. If you move on the roads, you will find that none of the roads is under repairs today.

Then, what about the Calcutta Corporation? It is a bunch of inefficient, corrupt and self-seeking persons who are frittering away the money and the taxpayer's wealth. The sooner the Calcutta Corporation is liquidated the better it will be for the city of Calcutta and for West Bengal. No taxpayer should pay taxes to the Calcutta Corporation. No corporation has a right to demand tax from the people when such is the state of the efficiency of the Calcutta Corporation.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta North East) : Such is your gratitude.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA : I stand by whatever I say. The Calcutta Corporation functioning is the most shameful.

SHRI NAMBIAR : The Calcutta Corporation is one of the biggest Corporations in India and that Corporation should not be treated by the hon. Member in the way he did now.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA : The Calcutta Corporation is an institution of which there is no parallel in India. I had the personal privilege of going to the Calcutta Corporation one round day about 3 O'Clock in the afternoon and I found 70 per cent of the chairs were empty in the Calcutta Corporation. You could get anything done by bribing the officers and the people there. The Calcutta Corporation never cares to maintain and develop the city of Calcutta, whether it is sewage or water supply or electricity. This is the whole picture of the Calcutta Corporation. So long as the functioning of the Corporation continues to be as it is now, there is no hope of developing the city of Calcutta. This is the condition of the Calcutta Corporation. Whatever my friends on my left may say about it, it does not make any difference.

With regard to the development of the city of Calcutta, I agree with most of the points stated by my hon. friend, Shri Inderjit Gupta. But let me say that the development of the city of Calcutta will not be possible by merely passing slogans. It needs a huge investment. If we really are serious about the development of Calcutta, if we really are serious about solving the problem of unemployment, if we really are serious about solving the problem of lawlessness for ever, then the city of Calcutta will need a minimum investment of Rs. 1000 crores in the course of next three years. Are we going to get this amount of Rs. 1000 crores from our own sources? It is possible for us to mobilise our own resources to put in that much amount? Once we are sure

within our minds that such a huge amount is needed for the development of Calcutta, should we not seek cooperation from other countries who are prepared to cooperate? What is wrong in that. If on the one hand the World Bank is prepared to offer help, they just shake their heads and sag, "We are not prepared to take help." I know the manner in which Japan developed; I know the manner in which Germany developed under the Marshal Plan and various Plans. You can see the fruits of that today. If you are really serious to develop Calcutta, to develop West Bengal, we have not only to mobilise our own resources but from the world over, from wherever they are available. If we only pass slogans and we say, we do not want the World Bank help, this money, or that money then we are not serious about it. It is just a political slogan-mongering, only making political gains, nothing beyond that.

The problem of Calcutta, the problem of West Bengal, is very serious. I want to offer two suggestions, before I close, for the development of industries there. You know, the industrial climate is very bad there. The industrialists are no more willing to go there and invest their money. The industrial climate has got to improve. Before that, you are not going to achieve anything whatsoever. After doing that, firstly, if we are going to treat the problem of Calcutta the problem of West Bengal, as a national problem, let a direction be given to all the nationalised banks that for five years to come, with regard to any investment made in West Bengal, the banks will offer loan at a lower rate of interest. My second suggestion is that with regard to the setting up of industries in West Bengal, let the Government give instructions that all regulations, all prohibitory regulations, all control regulations, that apply will not apply in West Bengal. Let anybody who is willing to go and set up an industry there be given a free hand to set up an industry there. Let anybody who wants to go there and set up an industry there be given a free hand to provide employment and increase production.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is a very important Resolution that we are discussing. Everybody will get a chance, if not in this

session, then in the next session. Shri K. K. Chatterji.

SHRI C.K. BHATTACHARYYA (Rajani) : I make a request to you to give me just two minutes to move my Resolution.

17 hrs.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI (Howrah) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, sandwiched in between unscrupulous capitalists and still more unscrupulous power-hunting political parties, West Bengal lies prostrate and is gasping for the life. (*Interruptions*) I will remind my friend who are shouting at me that when the Congress party was ruling there for twenty years, we gave law and order to the State of West Bengal, we allowed the people of West Bengal to live in peace, and we gave prosperity and progress to the people there. Can anybody deny it in this House that we could not provide a Government to West Bengal which was civilised? We provided West Bengal with a Government which can be called civilised and not like the U.F. government which the Chief Minister described the other day as an uncivilised State that he was running. He said, that he was ruling over a 'barbarous and uncivilised State'. Who brought this about? Can he generate any growth and development in an atmosphere of violence? I ask my friend who has brought this resolution. As soon as the President's rule was there, the demand comes that all kinds of socio-economic developments should be there, schemes should be taken up and executed. How is that when the United Front Government was functioning there, my friend, Mr. Gupta, did not come before this House with such a resolution to create some kind of inspiration here in Parliament so that we could have our say ask West Bengal State to go ahead with all its progressive land reforms and tackle the refugee problems, unemployment and thus remove hunger and sorrow? The tragic Partition brought about this situation in this truncated State of West Bengal. It is certainly the very cruel gift of history from which West Bengal suffers to-day. Under these conditions we expected that having accepted Parliamentary democracy as political weapons for the development of India, the

Opposition Parties would behave in a responsible manner. You will agree with me, Sir, that no parliamentary democracy can thrive or can do anything to serve the country unless the Opposition Parties behave in a responsible manner. After an Election when a Congress Government was formed from the next day there were mass processions and all kinds of, I should say, unlawful activities under the patronage of all the political Parties who also fought elections and got defeated in the elections. In such condition can you expect that Bengal could progress and Bengalees could have a normal and peaceful? The logical end is to day the Naxalite philosophy, who preached in Bengal violence? Can my friend from the CPI, Mr Gupta or CPM friend, Mr Nambiar, deny that the cult of violence was preached by both these parties and other parties too? I am sorry that the party which is functioning under the name of forward Bloc hallowed by the sanctified memory of the great Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is also indulging in not only bomb-throwing arson and loot what other atrocities and I do not mention more because it may be very jarring to our friends there. This cult of violence has been preached by them, the logical conclusion is this; that you subvert West Bengal and uproot the people from their traditional moorings we all cherished so long in Bengal. You will recall, Sir, West Bengal was a prosperous state in industry and commerce when Britisher were there and people were living in quite abundance and plenty. Even then Bengal would not tolerate deprivation of India of its freedom and Bengalees rose as a whole motion as one man against the British rule and died on the gallows and took cullets on their chests.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : What has his speech got to do with this resolution?

SHRI D. N. PATODIA : It is no point of order.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI : I am just giving the background so that the whole motive behind this resolution will be exposed before the House. I am quite sure—I know my sober friend, Mr. Gupta will agree with me—that this resolution some PSI political motivation. Now that we have got President rule why should not bring about socio-econ-

[Shri Krishna Kumar Chatterjee]

omic developments quickly? As if by a magic wand one can create a condition so that everybody can live in peace! On the other hand there will be bombs, crackers, arms and ammunition used in different places in the name of agrarian revolution.

You know, Sir the tribal problem of West Bengal. The tribal people are very simple people. They are not educated. They are not even literate and you go to them and preach to them certain things, they do not know the consequences of that they do not know how West Bengal suffers and you spread the Naxalite philosophy among the tribal throughout West Bengal you have also seen how the students are behaving there. Who brought the teachers into politics. May I ask who brought the teachers in the political turmoil of West Bengal? Certainly, the gentleman who has brought this resolution is also responsible for that. Who brought the students in the political field. Certainly, the gentleman who has brought this resolutions also responsible for that. I am not blaming anybody. I belong to a political party.

I understand that having ousted the Congress, every role is good enough for them. I understand all this. May I appeal to all political parties that if they have any goodness left in them for the time being let these political rivalries be stopped so that it is possible to bring conditions of peace in West Bengal? I know that the problem of West Bengal is huge. Late Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy once gave a clarion call to all the political parties there that he would see that West Bengal was developed well. Durgapur is his creation. He wanted to see that West Bengal prospered, but nothing could be done. It is because of the irresponsible actions of opposition parties. We know that the present condition is due to socio-economic tension. We also know that 40 to 50 lakhs people all-refugees-are homeless and they are without food and they live like beasts in this state. Explosive conditions are easy to create there. All these 40 lakhs or 50 lakhs of refugees have no homes and they have no stakes at all, they are being utilised by these political

parties for their own ends. The result is that West Bengal is in fire and turmoil.

I thank you for giving me time. I cannot end my speech without referring to some printed material about Calcutta. This is a material printed in 1968 wherein it is stated :

"The deadly resignation about Calcutta that the politicians seem to share with the intellectuals and businessmen was reflected last year when the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization, a body of professional optimist, presented a carefully drawn master plan for saving and developing the city. Not many people in Calcutta thought the plan had a chance of ever being implemented. Our commentator went so far as to dismiss it as "a cruel and unsofly joke."

I can assure my hon. friend, Shri Gupta and others that even under the President's Rule, if they can maintain peace and tranquillity in West Bengal, we shall take steps to see that the land reforms are undertaken for the benefit of the landless—the poorer sections of the peasantry—in quick time. I can also assure them that the refugees will be rehabilitated and that they will get shelter, food and employment. Give us time and we shall see that employment potential is increased. Give us enough time—at least two years' time—for this purpose provided you maintain peace and tranquillity and provided there is no encouragement to Naxalites. We have some of the brilliant students in Calcutta. But their minds are being vitiated. The result is that some confidence has to be created among them. These Naxalites are born out of the C.P.I. (M). They have lost their faith in their leadership. The Naxalites are there not because they are angry with the progress made in the country but they are angry because of these politicians who, in their power hunting, have demolished all the human values which we cherished so long.

It is not just for sentimental reasons that we want the development of Calcutta.

It is a matter of national importance. Look at the rich hinterland served by Calcutta, Durgapur, Jamshedpur, Burapur, the iron and steel belt; then the industrial belt round about; then the jute and tea plantations. All these make Calcutta a city and port of great importance catering to a vast hinterland. Therefore, the development of Calcutta is a national problem and must be taken up on a war footing. It can be done provided my friends assure us that they will not create conditions where no growth and development becomes possible. This problem must be approached in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual satisfaction.

So I appeal to all opposition parties that they should co-operate with the Consultative Committee for the State. I appeal to the CPM to reconsider their decision not to serve on the Consultative Committee. Let us see that all this programme that the Mover has placed before us is implemented with everybody's co-operation.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE : I have been long enough in this House to have lost all illusions about the outcome of this kind of debate and I have been thoroughly accustomed, if not entirely reconciled, to the indifference of Government; particularly when problems of West Bengal and Calcutta are concerned, I find Ministers sitting with morose bewilderment, not knowing what else to do because they have been commissioned...

MR. CHAIRMAN : They are there.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE : I know somebody is there. That you know just as well as I do.

THE MINISTER OF SUPPLY AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI R.K. KHADILKAR) : I am sorry that a senior member like Prof. Mukerjee should speak so disparagingly about the parliamentary institution.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta-North-East) : I am not entering into a controversy. I do not waste my time nor

the Minister's time. My point is that this is based on my experience in this House for a long number of years that when subjects of this description are discussed, Government shows the utterest kind of indifference, and I am not going to stomach the idea of a Deputy Minister and an indifferent Minister of State for Finance coming in from time to time to listen to this kind of discussion. I am not reconciled to it, but am accustomed to it.

But I was not prepared to listen to the kind of speeches made by members of the ruling party as well as by Shri Samar Guha and Shri Patodia, and when I listened to them, I got an impression—and I was communicating it to my friend behind, Shri Pilo Mody, who I consider a Naxalite in reverse—that if I was a younger man listening to Shri Patodia and Shri K. K. Chatterji—I would not mention other names—it is a waste of time—I would feel like joining the Naxalite party straightway.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Not at his age.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE : I share with you that handicap, but I wish I could. I wish members of this House have some sense of responsibility. I wish the kind of petty, senseless, idiotic law-and-order mentality which has been displayed by certain members in this House in this debate was discarded. I wish they realise that in the world of today that mentality just would not work. I wish them to remember that the Naxalite stir is a protest against the paralysis which has overtaken our society. I wish this Government to take to heart the lesson of what happened in the Ashoka Hotel. You cannot even revolve a restaurant in a tower and you talk about revolution in society. You cannot have a revolution unless you have some will for something like a revolution in this country. But you cannot go on playing with the patience of the people for ever. You have to be ready for something in comparison with which the Russian Revolution would look like a tea party. This is an old country, but if this old country becomes angry and indignant, you do not know where things might go.

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

I am provoked into making these remarks by things which have been said here on that side by Shri Damani and on this side by Shri Patodia. They tried to explain away the fact of Congress responsibility. That is plain, plain as anything. After all, the figures in regard to the decline of the West Bengal economy refer to 1967, and the United Front Government did not get into operation till the middle of 1967. West Bengal's contribution to Indian industrial production fell from 28 to 14 per cent, its industrial growth rate fell to 2.7 per cent as against the all-India average of five per cent, and its growth of income fell to 18 per cent as against 26 per cent for the whole of India.

Mr. Damani talks about nothing having happened under the United Front Government. He should go and talk to the jute workers, tea workers, engineering workers and the peasantry of West Bengal who would tell him what has happened during the administration of the United Front Government. Mr. Damani says that nearly 10 million man-days were lost in West Bengal out of 16 million man-days lost over the whole of India in 1969, but Mr. Damani chooses to forget that wages in Bengal are a third less than in the rest of India.

Mr. Patodia went on talking, but no part of India has been so thoroughly exploited by callous outsiders, foreign as well as Indian outsiders. Mr. Patodia would not be here but for the fact that he and his tribe had sucked dry much of the prosperity of my part of the country. The Birlas are there. They have been gold-digging in West Bengal, and they are now trying to threaten and blackmail the people of not only West Bengal but the whole of India, by threatening to go out, to take away their assets. This kind of thing is going on and you expect people to behave very gently, to observe all the rules of law and order.

In this House we see how law and order is observed, and if you have any kind of sensibility, if Members of this House can behave under provocation in the way that they do, what is the expectation in regard to our people who are suffering from day-to-day, who live in Calcutta in sub-human

conditions, not only in Calcutta. It is not a purely Calcutta or West Bengal matter. Everywhere in India our people live in sub-human conditions.

When I was looking at my hon. friend Shri Bajaj, I thought of Gandhiji. Gandhiji had said that after all there is no crime in history equal to the crime of Imperialist exploitation to which assistance is given by those who live in the towns and are comfortable. He did not use the word bourgeois. He said that the British and the town-dwellers who sucked dry the resources of India were committing a crime to which there was no parallel in history. That crime continues, and that crime has got to be controlled, checked and eradicated.

The advantage of my State of West Bengal is that we are not moved by the narrow loyalties of religion, caste or community. We are the only area where organisations like the Jana Sangh, the Proutists and God knows what other organisations are emerging, have no quarter whatsoever. They are entirely eliminated. The Swatantra Party loses its deposit. Communal parties are no where in the picture. That is our advantage. If you want democracy—and the ruling party talks so hypocritically about their devotion to democracy for the people—if you really mean something, go and look after an area like West Bengal where political consciousness has advanced to that extent, where we have political disturbances, but not the disturbances of the sort that are disgracing our country's civilisation in Bhiwandi and so many other places which I need not name.

This is the background in which we have to discuss this matter, but we find petty, trivial political advantage being sought to be taken by some people, so many people. From Mr. Samar Guha onwards, a tremendous combination of people is trying to take advantage of this motion.

The West Bengal people will look after themselves. They will have their own democratic movement, and in that democratic movement we are all together. We may be fighting from time to time, but we fight for ideological reasons, not for picking each other's pocket. We are fighting for something much more fundamental than

that, but we shall combine because the interests of the people demand that we have to combine. That is why the interests of West Bengal coincide entirely with the interests of India.

Calcutta is India's city and so many unfulfilled promises are there. My hon. friend Shri Khadiikar is there, I think he has something to do with Finance. There is this string of unfulfilled promises over West Bengal. The decision was taken in 1966 about the second bridge in Calcutta. It has been hanging fire; nothing has been done. I have no time to explain in detail I think, Sir, that you were a Member of Parliament when Mr. S. K. Patil was the Railway Minister and there was a talk of a circular Railway. It still circulates. We are told it is not circular, but it is zig-zag and that the scheme may not come up. Shri S. K. Patil told years ago when he was the Transport Minister—Mr. Bhattacharyya would remember—that there would be a Calcutta—Asansol express way. That is no where to be seen. Only a part of it was constructed and thrown to the dogs or whoever it might be. You are going to see what is going to happen to Farraka barrage. There is no river training scheme in operation. Nothing is being done. Farraka would not supply water enough to save the Calcutta port. Mr. Patodia and other should know all about it. They are playing with fire; They are playing with the patience of the people. In regard to smaller things which the people want—the stadium in Calcutta has become a joke. there are such things as the utilisation of city, waste and refuse in the open drains for making fertilizers. As you go from the airport to any city in India you get a stench because of the open drains. You can utilise that city waste for the purpose of manufacturing fertilizer and so on. This has been before the Planning Commission for as long as I can remember. I have been a member of some sort of Consultative committee of the planning Commission and have heard about the project *Pankajalakshmi*, so that they could get something out of this *Panka* which is mud nothing happened. There are unemployed engineers in West Bengal. If you get the electrification scheme working you can have the employed engineers working in Bengal. Mr. Patodia has the gumpiton to say that

the Calcutta Corporation is a rotten institution and so on and therefore some busy body from his community of experts or God knows what some busy body from Delhi should go and take over the Calcutta Corporation... Is that the idea? What is the idea?...

(Interruption). Our people are our people with their faults and their virtues. Therefore something has to be done and done by and for them. If you mobilise the enthusiasm of the the people, if you get the resources of the people together if you call upon all the unemployed engineers to form cooperatives, you can improve Calcutta in no time, provided you had imagination. But there is no imagination anywhere to be seen in the horizon as far as this country is concerned. The way in which the Members of the ruling party have spoken in this debate—it is peculiar thing and I am not going to stomach this sort of thing merely because we consider them to be the lesser evil compared to the exorcence on this side... *(Interruption)*. If this is the attitude in regard to the problem of West Bengal and the problem of Calcutta it is a different matter. You talk about law and order; go and settle the law and order problem. You do not settle the problems of the people but to talk about the law and order problem. You go and try to live with the people; day by day and hour by hour you can go through the psychological disturbance which everybody in Calcutta and West Bengal is experiencing. It is more or less the same experience else where too. But Calcutta has become the world's worst urban conglomeration. It has become a blot on the world's landscape. It is a city of which we have been proud; Calcutta is a city which many of us love even now with all its faults. Could we allow it to fall to pieces? The fall of Calcutta would mean the fall of the entire country and if this Government does not wake up to that fact to hell with this Government; people would then know you. If a forest is burnt down a new forest will come up. People would know how to set about it. But if that is the contingency that you think of, adopt all your law and order mechanism that you can think of; go a head with it; and declare war on the people and their interests. If that is the Government's policy, if that is the deduction to be made from the speeches of the spokesman belonging to the Govern-

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

ment party, I tremble for the future of my country. That is why I feel so muuh about this kind of speech by the Patodias and other people who have not even a sense of gratitude to an area of this country on which they have been dependent for their sustenance, for the kind of affluence and luxury in which they are flaunting their virtues today. If they have not even this measure of human decency, then people will rise; they will know who their enemies are; People are recognising now their enemies a great deal better. The Naxalites will have no better recruiting sergeants than the Patodias and K. K. Chatterjees. I would advise them to address meetings in Calcutta, and I hope to get largh crowds and let them talk the way they did today; they will recruit members for the Naxalite party. If this is the way this Government wants to go, nobody can help them. That is why I support the resolution but as I said I have no illusions about what is going to happen. Nothing is going to happen. Nothing is meant seriously in this country. No attempt is made to improve matters;—I am concluding;—I wish they had the imagination to do something better. That is why I say this is a very serious matter requiring a kind of consideration which has not been given. This Government from the speeches of its spokesmen, is in capable of doing anything good. That is why I support the resolution of my hon. friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, and I wish some thing good comes out of it; but I am doubtful. (*Interruption*)

SHRI D. N. PATODIA : Sir, I only wish that the old man would not have lost his balance of mind.

SOME HON. MEMBERS *rose*—

SHRI NAMBIAR : Sir, the Speaker said that there will be a statement about the strike in the Southern Railway, and it was intended to be done today. The hon. Deputy Minister here. He should tell us what is happening.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I cannot at this stage interrupt the proceedings.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : I do not understand why he considers us to be greater evils than they.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAGHU RAMAIAH) : Because we are smarter.

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI (Basirhat) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak a few words on the resolution moved by my Hon'ble friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta. At this time of my maiden speech, although I cannot paint a very good picture of my State, yet I feel it a great pride for me that in this august House of our democracy. in this august House of our great nation, I am trying to impress upon the Government of India the problems, the deficiencies, and the deformities from which my State is now suffering. At the same time, it is matter of pride for me to express our sincere hope, our sincere desire, that we should at least have the mercy, and pity, from the Government here, in order that our State may from its present stagnant State, make headway in the economic and social sphere and also in the political atmosphere and life.

Sir, at this time, we were having so many discussions and all of them from the side of the ruling Congress said very loudly that the deformities of West Bengal were because of the United Front regime. Mr. K. K. Chatterji was impressing upon this House that in the last 22 months of the united front regime, the total economy of West Bengal has been completely ruined. Sir, at this hour we have the opportunity to have the report of the Fifth Finance Commission before us. Having gone into that report, and the allocation made by the Fifth Finance Commission, let us discuss and try to see as to who is responsible for the deficiencies and deformities and under-development of that particular State.

I appeal to the Government of India to look into the non-Plan revenue gap of the State of West Bengal. As per the recommendations of the Fifth Finance Commission, West Bengal would get during 1969-70 to 1974-75 a total sum of Rs. 296.64 crores as its share of the central taxes. In addition, according to article 275 (1) of the Conmi-

tution, this State is getting another sum of Rs. 72.62 crores. In all, it gets Rs. 369.26 crores for its development.

17.31 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the chair*]

The Finance Commission has dealt with this point and said that the additional sum paid would go to bridge up the non-plan revenue gap of the State. The total financial assistance as recommended by the Fifth Finance Commission is not certainly going to bridge up the non-plan revenue gap of the State, because the Fifth Finance Commission has taken into consideration that it is giving an additional grant-in-aid Rs. 34 crores per month more than what had been granted by the Fourth Finance Commission. As the same time, it has to be seen that the liability of the West Bengal Government has now increased to the extent of Rs. 53 crores per year only because of the enhanced dearness allowances, etc. given to the Government employees. Therefore, this argument of the Finance Commission that they are giving Rs. 34 crores per month as additional sum more than what was granted by the Fourth Finance Commission and this would bridge the non-plan revenue gap of the State is not correct.

We talk of development. Definitely development is a criterion that can be taken only when there is adequate assistance from the Union Government. We must admit that in a federal structure, it is the duty of the centre to consider the financial position and the problems of the States and give adequate financial assistance to the States to develop their economy. But we do not find that the same treatment has been given by the Finance Commission with regard to the problems of West Bengal. After the Finance Commission's devolution, let us compare the position of West Bengal with other states. Bihar is getting Rs. 199.46 crores of surplus, Gujarat Rs. 158.99, Haryana Rs. 79.88 crores, Madhya Pradesh Rs. 15.09 crores, Maharashtra Rs. 419.29 crores, Punjab Rs. 117.22 crores and U. P. Rs. 280.87 crores. In all, these seven States are having a surplus of Rs. 1270.80 crores while certain other States including West Bengal are left with a large deficit. How can this State make any

headway and solve its problems if its non plan revenue gap is not bridged? Only those States which are left with surplus can augment their planning outlays. They alone can augment their plan outlays during the Fourth Plan. But in respect of West Bengal this picture is not there.

Let us see what has been the effect of the recommendations of the Fifth Finance Commission. It appears from Table No. 2 of the booklet published by the Planning Commission about the revised outlay of the Five Year Plan that West Bengal will have a total plan outlay of Rs. 322.50 crores. The following are the comparative figures for the other States—Bihar Rs. 441.60 crores, Gujarat Rs. 450.20 crores, Madhya Pradesh Rs. 356.00 crores, Maharashtra Rs. 811.80 crores and so on. We know that the Finance Minister will give us a reply that only those States which can have mobilisation of their own resources will be able to augment outlays in their Plans. But experience shows, facts show that the States which have been given much more financial assistance from the Centre could alone augment their plans. But in the case of West Bengal we find a completely different picture.

Then, again, what is the position of industries in West Bengal? I can give you the statistics. In recent years, only in one district, Howrah district 321 engineering factories have been closed, and they have been closed not because there was any restless agitation by the labourers, not because there were gherraos, but the bare and naked fact is that these factories were closed for want of raw materials, for want of iron, copper, brass or tin. If 321 factories were closed in one district alone, as my hon. friend, Shri Chatterjee says, how can we expect that the law and order problem would be solved? If your young friends have nothing to look to their future, if they have no hope of getting employment in the near future, they become restless and commit certain things in their youthful exuberance. Due to their mental reaction to their frustration, they may commit certain nefarious and anti-social activities. I think we should condemn it. At the same time, we should try to see that their problems are solved.

[Shri Sardar Amjad Ali]

Then, let us see what is the policy of the government in the matter of granting licences to the industries in my State. In 1967 we find 8.32 lakhs of people were working in 5,658 registered companies. In 1968 the corresponding figures were 8.17 lakhs and 5,737. Although the number of registered companies has increased, the employment has decreased. It is in this perspective we have to judge the agitation that we are now witnessing in West Bengal.

I think in this matter a solution by way of police administration is not an adequate solution. If we cannot develop the State, if we cannot make any provision for the employment of these youths, in that event, whatever good we may say will not have any effect upon them.

Regarding the issuing of licences, while in 1967-68, 48 licences were issued for new industries, in 1968-69 only 34 licences were given for the State of West Bengal. In agriculture, again, we find that out of 1.35 crore acres only 35 lakh acres are irrigated. Irrigation is another problem in West Bengal. We had an opportunity of meeting the Irrigation Minister in a conference of all the MPs representing West Bengal summoned by him the other day. Being the chairman of that conference the Irrigation Minister issued a statement from which we find that in 13 months they have dug only nine deep tubewells. Where you have dug tubewells you could not reach electricity and where you have given electricity, the necessary velocity of electricity is not there. These are the kinds of things now prevailing in West Bengal.

The problem of the landless peasantry has been very much thrashed in this House on different occasions and I am not going to say anything about it. But from these aspects I must say that the State of West Bengal is on the verge of an explosion. It has been said many times in this House that West Bengal is a problem State. But only for the sake of argument we should not say that it is a problem State. The problems have got to be analysed and judged with due sincerity if we want to save the State, because it is a strategic State

where any explosion would cause a serious reaction all through the federation and the Union. That is way at the outset, at the very first moment of my speech, with a sincere heart and desire I must expect of the Union Government that the problem would be judged. Let West Bengal live so that the Union of India will live.

With these words, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I must thank and congratulate the House, the Members, the Chair and my noble Friends in the Treasury Benches, for giving me an opportunity to disclose my heart.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This discussion will continue on the next occasion.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Not one of us belonging to the CP (M) has had a change. That puts us in a very awkward position.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I know but there are the limitations of time.

SHRI J. M. BISWAS : In the Purulia and Bankura Districts of West Bengal 14 people have died for want of food. There is a severe famine and drought in that area. We are discussing West Bengal when in that part of West Bengal people are dying. Therefore I want one minute of your time. If the House is kept in the dark on this point, it will be an injustice to me. I am a representative from that area.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You will have your chance next time.

SHRI J. M. BISWAS : Thank you very much but I wanted to bring to the notice of Government through you that on the 18th I along with two other Members of Parliament are resorting to a *dharna* at the house of the Prime Minister regarding our demands for alleviating the condition of people in Purulia and Bankura.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We will now take up the Half-an-hour Discussion,