

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now that an inquiry commission has been appointed, would all that not be a subject of the inquiry commission? Why should you make any more statements here now?

श्री ल० ना० मिश्र : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे दुःख है कि भाई जार्ज ने कुछ ऐसी बात कह दी है जिसका हमें खण्डन करना पड़ता है। मैं बिलिंगडन अस्पताल में जार्ज को दो बार देखने अवश्य गया था। मैंने उनसे उनके स्वास्थ्य की बात की और शरीर पर ध्यान देने का आग्रह किया। षडयन्त्र या और कोई बात मैंने उनसे नहीं की। मैं उनकी इस बात का खण्डन करता हूँ।

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA *rose*—

श्री मधु लिमये : अब यह काउन्टर रिप्लाई कब तक चलेगा? इन्होंने कहा, हम ने कहा, अब इस मामले को खत्म करिये। जो लोग जार्ज से मिलने गये और क्या-क्या कहा, सबके सामने है।

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I emphatically deny that I have said those words to Shri Madhu Limaye. I have not said those things.... (Interruption).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now that the inquiry commission has been appointed, let us close this matter.

18. 34 hrs.

WEST BENGAL STATE LEGISLATURE
(DELEGATION OF POWERS) BILL
THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI
VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA) : Mr. Deputy-
Speaker, Sir, I move* :

"That the Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of West Bengal to make laws, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The House will recall that under the Proclamation issued by the President, the President assumed the powers of the State Legislature. That would be exercised by and under the authority of Parliament. We know of the heavy schedule of Parliament and we also know that it will be impossible for Parliament to find time to undertake legislature for the State of West Bengal. Therefore, as has been done many times earlier whenever unfortunately President's rule had to be imposed on various States of the Union when popular governments could not function in those States for one reason or another, we have to move this Bill here to authorise the President to enact laws on behalf of the State Legislature of West Bengal.

We have also added a system by which a Consultative Committee is formed to advise the President on enactment of such laws to enable the hon. Members who serve on that Committee to raise various other points which are non-legislative in nature. We want as much of popular element associated with the administration even in President's rule so that we acquaint all hon. Members about the various problems that the State administration faces there during President's rule. Therefore, we also have a system by which the hon. Members can raise many points during the deliberations of this Committee and all these points, as far as possible, are answered in the session of the Committee itself and if the answers cannot be given in the session of the Committee, then the Members are sent information later on by the Government.

Sir, there is not much for me to say as far as this particular matter is concerned. I would commend this particular Bill to the acceptance of the House. Sir, before I sit down I would state that the membership of this Committee is proposed to be 60 as it was when the State of West Bengal came under President's rule earlier and I think this is a good size for the Committee in which we can get the representation of all the Groups and Parties that function in this House and the Upper House. Therefore, I hope the House will pass this Bill.

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Motion moved:

"That the Bill to confer on the President the Power of the Legislature of the State of West Bengal to make Laws, as passed by Rajya Sabha, be taken into consideration."

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : मैं इस कंसिडेरेशन मोशन का विरोध करना चाहता हूँ ।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You can oppose it when you speak on the subject.

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं दूसरे ग्राउन्ड पर विरोध करना चाहता हूँ । मैंने स्पीकर को लिखा है कि 377 के अन्दर विरोध करना चाहता हूँ । उन्होंने संदेश भेजा कि अभी कर दीजिए । ला मिनिस्टर के पास भी मेरा स्टेटमेंट भेजा गया है ।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now I thought that when a motion to take the Bill into consideration has been moved, it is open to discussion. At the time when you are called to speak—your name is there—you can raise all the issues, but not in this way.

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं इस बिल पर नहीं बोल रहा हूँ । मैं इस बिल पर विचार करने के प्रस्ताव के खिलाफ बोलना चाहता हूँ कि वह जाना ही नहीं चाहिये ।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Madhu Limaye, you know the rules much better than many of us. At this stage, the only thing you can do is to raise a point of order.

श्री मधु लिमये : प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर पर ही खड़ा हुआ हूँ ।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : What is the point of order? You are now talking on the merits of the Bill.

श्री मधु लिमये : फर्क यह है कि यह बिल राज्य सभा में पेश किया गया है । अगर यहां

पर पेश किया जाता तो उसी समय मैं इसका विरोध करता ।

मेरा मुद्दा यह है कि इस पार्लेमेन्ट के जो अधिकार कानून बनाने के हैं वह राष्ट्रपति को देने के लिए यह विधेयक है लेकिन इस पर विचार करने के पहले मैं मन्त्री महोदय से खुलासा चाहता हूँ—उस दिन भी मैंने सवाल उठाया था लेकिन उसका उन्होंने जवाब नहीं दिया कि जो राष्ट्रपति शासन की घोषणा यहां पर की गई और उस घोषणा की तहत राष्ट्रपति ने साफ शब्दों में कहा है कि गवर्नर के सारे अधिकार मेरे पास हैं और गवर्नर को मैं अपने अधिकार दे सकता हूँ लेकिन गवर्नर मेरी निगरानी में और मेरे आदेशानुसार काम करेगा । यह जो आर्डर जारी किया गया है, मेरे पास समय नहीं है लेकिन प्रेसिडेंशल प्रोक्लेमेशन में और साथ-साथ जो आर्डर पास किया गया है.. (ब्यवधान)

मैं कह रहा हूँ कि कांस्टीट्यूशन को यह लोग तोड़ रहे हैं ।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Are you opposing consideration at this Stage?—that is the main question. If you want to make any submission on the Bill, you may say that when you speak on the Bill.

श्री मधु लिमये : बिल पर मैं नहीं बोल रहा हूँ । मैं तो अपोज कर रहा हूँ कि इस पर विचार नहीं किया जाय जब तक सरकार का खुलासा नहीं आता । इंट्रिक्शन स्टेज पर आता तो उसी समय विरोध करता ।

मेरा कहना यह है कि राष्ट्रपति ने अनुच्छेद 356 में अधिकार लिये गवर्नर के सारे कार्यपालिका के अधिकार लिए, और इस विधेयक के द्वारा जो पार्लियामेंट का अधिकार है कानून बनाने का वह आप गवर्नर को दे रहे हैं । लेकिन मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति को वो अधिकार प्रेसिडेंशल

प्रोक्लेशन के साथ प्राप्त हो गये गवर्नर के सारे अधिकार। इन सारे अधिकारों के बारे में पश्चिम बंगाल का गवर्नर अतिक्रमण कर रहा है, और जब केन्द्र के द्वारा हिदायत दी गयी कि फलां फलां व्यक्ति को चीफ सेक्रेटरी नियुक्त करो तो 33 दिन तक राज्यपाल ने कोई निर्णय नहीं लिया। वह यहाँ पर आये, सात दिन के बाद चीफ सेक्रेटरी के बारे में निर्णय हुआ है। क्या मंत्री महोदय बता सकते हैं कि राष्ट्रपति शासन जारी होने के बाद क्या गवर्नर को कोई अधिकार रह गया था? गवर्नर सिर्फ प्रेसीडेंट का एक एजेंट बन गया था और प्रेसीडेंट के आदेशानुसार काम करना यह उनका काम है। लेकिन क्या-क्या यह घबन साहब नाटक कर रहे हैं। कल के हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स में निकला है, यह जो ऐडवाइजर हैं किसी राज्य में मैंने नहीं देखा जहाँ राष्ट्रपति शासन हुआ :

All the four advisers and the Governor will hold a cabinet type of meeting at the Writers' building on Saturday morning.

अध्यक्ष महोदय, क्या हो रहा है कि कैबिनेट के जो अधिकार हैं उनको यह लोग छीन रहे हैं और गवर्नर अपने को चीफ मिनिस्टर बना रहा है। गवर्नर को इस तरह का कोई अधिकार नहीं है कि जो प्रेसीडेंशियल घोषणा है और जो आर्डर है...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Point of order has amounted to a speech. It ceases to be a point of order if you make a long speech.

श्री मधु लिमये : प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर यह है कि राष्ट्रपति शासन के तहत गवर्नर को अपना कोई अधिकार नहीं है। उसको राष्ट्रपति के एजेंट के नाते काम करना चाहिए। लेकिन पश्चिम बंगाल का गवर्नर यह सारे अधिकार जैसे बह कोई स्वतंत्र राज्यपाल हो, मनमाने

ढंग से काम कर सकता है, इस तरह उसका सारा व्यवहार है। ऐडवोकेट जनरल के बारे में भी वह यही कह रहे थे। इसलिए मंत्री महोदय बतायें कि क्या पश्चिम बंगाल के राज्यपाल को हटाने के लिये वह कोई आदेश जारी करेंगे, क्योंकि राज्यपाल राष्ट्रपति के आदेशों का उल्लंघन कर रहा है।...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I don't see how what the Governor is said to have done or not done will stand in the way of consideration of the Bill here.

श्री मधु लिमये : उपाध्यक्ष जी, कार्यपालिका के अधिकारों को जब दुरुपयोग हो रहा है तो कानून बनाने के अधिकारों का दुरुपयोग नहीं होगा? यह मैं प्रश्न उठा रहा हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I don't think it is a Point of Order.

श्री मधु लिमये : इस बात को उठाया कैसे जाय, हमको समझाइये ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : It will be Point of Order only if you establish that this will stand in the way of consideration of the Bill here. I don't think that it stands in the way of this House considering this Bill.

श्री मधु लिमये : सदन को आश्वासन मिलना चाहिये कि राष्ट्रपति को जो अधिकार दिये उसका दुरुपयोग श्री घबन नहीं करेंगे।

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE (Ratnagiri) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, This Bill comes before us in pursuance of the Presidential Proclamation in regard to West Bengal promulgated on 19th March, 1970. The first thing which I would like to say is this, as to what it is that the Government proposes to do now. It is going to have a committee of 60 Members of Parliament, a nominated committee, with no powers whatever, and it is going

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

to take unto itself all the executive power, without having the control which would operate in a normal democracy of a legislature. Now, if the Legislature stands suspended and the Parliament is going to be entrusted with this democratic right, then, the least that we must insist is that this Committee of 60 should not be nominated.

But, Sir, this Committee need not even be consulted. The President can enact any legislation as he likes whether it be during Parliamentary session or not; and he may consult the Committee if he thinks it necessary.

To-day the position seems to be like this. As you see, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Council of Ministers are busy toppling government after government. If this becomes the pattern, then, very soon the President, under the direction of either the Home Minister or the Prime Minister will take over the dictatorial rights over 50 per cent of the States. In effect what the Government proposes to do is to proclaim democracy; to say that it is standing by the Constitution but it is trying to subvert the Constitution at every stage. What Shri Madhu Limaye has raised was not raised in a proper way. Of course, he has got the right to say what he says, namely, that this violates the very spirit of the Constitution. We have all been feeling that Shri Dhawan has not been acting as a Governor. He loses no opportunity whatsoever to use the public platform to say what he wants to say. He makes it a point with all the powers that are there and that are entrusted to him, to use them as though he is the Chief Minister. We saw a few days back some headlines in the papers that Shri Dhawan refused to make Shri Malik, the Chief Secretary. When he goes to Burdwan, he sees that all the publicity are concentrated at him. Do they want to make the Governor's office a political office? What is more extreme is that all the governors will be acting as only toppling agents. As they have done in the past, they will be acting directly under the executive head, namely, the Prime Minister. This is the position at present.

Therefore, I would like to say that if there is to be a Parliamentary Committee, then that

Committee must be given its due respect for considering whatever legislation that is to be passed for the State of Bengal.

There is then, a question of the Advocate General of Bengal. He is supposed to be advising on very important matters. Why is it that the Advocate General who is known to have had certain political affiliations continues to be the Advocate General?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): He has been changed and Shri Vanmalidas has taken his place.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE: Well I am glad to hear this. Even during the President's Rule in Bengal, the situation has not improved at all. We have had news the other day in the papers of violence of Naxalbari activities and so on and so forth. Government, I suppose, thinks that by using the military force or police force they can bring order in Bengal. Bengal requires a period of peace and stable administration. But, there is uncertainty in Bengal. Assembly stands suspended. Even those in charge of administration to-day do not know who their masters are going to be tomorrow? We hear all sorts of political machinations that are going on. We also hear of several combinations being explored. How do you expect either the police or the administration to function objectively because tomorrow the very people against whom they take action now may become their masters.

So the Central Government should take some decision in this matter. Let them take a decision that they want to have President's rule for a given time to give the State time to recover. Let them take a decision that they want fresh election as ~~Shri~~ Jyoti Basu wants. And we see that he enjoys the confidence of the Prime Minister. But I cannot understand this uncertainty, this sword of Democles' hanging over the people of the State. That is why you cannot expect any stability and success in curbing the persistent violent activities in the State.

What is at the back of this violence, turbulence and state of almost anarchy? We have

this border State of Bengal which has had the largest part of industrial investment. Some years ago when we postponed the Five Year Plan, we had the phenomenon of all these heavy industries with installed capacity lying idle. Unemployment grew and nothing was done about it. This is at the back of the situation. No amount of police or military force is going to help matters. To make matters worse, there has been, I am sorry to say, the most obvious type of political interference from the Centre.

The powers of the State Government in relation to the Centre are, if I may say so, more or less the same as those of the district or zila prishads in relation to the State. The Central Government can strangle the economy of the State by pulling strings as they want to. This is a fact of political life today. If timely investment had been made in Bengal, if employment opportunities had been created, and if we could have seen that this most vulnerable State had the required opportunities for people to work, we would not have made the foolish mistake we have. Here the population pressure is the second highest in the country. Therefore, people have to converge into the towns to get employment. We were saying even three or four years ago that over a lakh of people are unemployed. But unfortunately when plan projects are taken up, political considerations come in. They considered the Paradeep port because a certain Chief Minister happened to be their favourite at the time, whether it was economically justifiable or not. But they ignored the Haldia port. When it comes even to development of other things like oil, they have this carrot dangling before the nose of the Chief Ministers: 'You go along with me; then you will get your refinery'. This is the way the Centre has behaved.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central): The rule of relevancy should be applied to some extent at least.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE: Of course, it is relevant. I say categorically that the political conditions existing in Bengal today

will spread all over India unless Government follow some justice in the matter of operating their policies. This is a fact which cannot be denied. We have seen how purely political considerations, enter into allocation of resources. We see time and again that Chief Ministers can get away with something if they are the favourites of the Prime Minister. They could not get away with it in Bengal. That was the fact of the case. They tried it in many States, but they could not get away with it in Bengal. The result is what we see today. If they dabble in the internal politics of every State, they will have this conflagration growing and growing.

Finally, I would like to submit that if this Parliamentary Committee is going to be set up, let it not be the sort of Consultative Committee that we have on various Ministries. No-body will be interested, and it is not fair to make Members of Parliament responsible for something on which they cannot have a decisive vote.

This is, I am sorry to say, the result of the Government's misrule.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We have got only two hours for this debate, and I would request the Members to be very brief in their speeches.

SHRI A. K. SEN (Calcutta-North-West): While I rise to support this Bill, I feel sorry that we are called upon to extend our support to President's Rule the second time in the course of two years. It is not a good thing that the normal constitutional machinery should be supplanted by the Presidential form of Government, because whatever may be the merits of Presidential Rule, one thing is certain that it is detached from the popular touch which a Government based on electoral support lawfully commands.

Coming as I do from West Bengal and particularly Calcutta, it is my duty to point out to the Government in particular that if the Presidential form of Government, following upon the Proclamation made under Article 365

[Shri A. K. Sen]

of the Constitution, is only going to another phase of governmental rule in West Bengal, the people of that State will be sorely frustrated.

Ever since the partition of the country, the most serious impact of the partition has been felt by this unfortunate State. There has been no transfer of population. It is to our credit that, unlike in the West, the entire minority population belonging to the Muslim community remained in Bengal. Though it is a matter of pride for us, it was at the same time a source of very great stress and strain for the State because from the other wing of Bengal came millions of refugees, from districts where the Hindus were in a majority like Khulna, driven out in thousands and thousands, and that flow still continues, so that in that truncated state you do not have enough land, you do not have enough schools, you do not have enough employment, you do not have hospitals to look after the diseased who are coming. In fact, the entire civic life of Bengal crumbled, and we were almost going to be destroyed but for the able leadership of our former Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy. Due to the great ability that he showed as an administrator and the stable Government which was formed under him, we succeeded in weathering to a certain extent this great avalanche which overwhelmed us, but during the last few years the problems have been ignored.

I remember I came to this House in 1957. I came at a time when millions of refugees were still coming, when the whole city of Calcutta was crumbling to pieces. The water works, drainage, every thing proved to be completely insufficient to cope with the population which had then swelled to six millions within the metropolitan area. I remember that I used to beg of successive Finance Ministers to extend a little sympathetic consideration to this problem not because we belonged to that particular State, but because we felt that it was a problem for the whole country, arising as it did from the partition of the country which every one undertook and the consequences of which every one has to bear. The whole of India bears that consequence. I remember that our former Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others gave

solemn promises year after year. Yet, what has happened? It is no use blaming people for the violence which we see today in Bengal; the out burst which we see every day. After all, when frustration comes, when it comes to a breaking-point which transcends all limits of tolerance and endurance, some how the effervescence is bound to be evident. This is human nature any where in the world. You cannot keep the people tied down to suffering for decades. It is one of the keys to the problem of Bengal today. It is no use blaming a particular party; it is no use blaming particular groups; it is no use blaming particular facets of violence or law-breaking or other forms of outbreak. The essential problem has been missed; if not missed, they discovered but not properly met and faced. This is the kind of sorrow in Bengal which now cries for redress, and if redress does not come, very soon we shall see a state of affairs which will bring possibly its impact on the whole country.

19 hrs.

Take, for instance, the city of Calcutta. What have we done for the last 20 years? Four million people have come from the other side of India, and sitting there all around as squatters, with no proper schools; no housing proper; no water; no proper toilet; no proper civic amenities. And as a result the whole city is now in ruins; go anywhere on the streets there; they are full of potholes; a ride in the car is more a torture than a pleasure. Everything has come to a breaking-point. What are we going to do? It is now recognised that at least Rs. 200 crores would be needed at least for the next ten years to start with a modicum, a beginning, which would be necessary to bring redress and hope to the suffering millions which now manifest themselves every day in the form of violence, in the shape of agitation and in various other forms.

I would, therefore, appeal to the Government that this Presidential form of rule will justify itself if it at least succeeds in bringing the initiative and at least starting the work for the reconstruction of the metropolitan area which now is the home of eight millions of almost suffering people, with no employment, no security of life, no proper education; nothing

to hope for eight millions of people, which is double the size of the Swiss population.

Therefore, this problem has to be faced. It is no use saying that there are no funds. We have to sit together; let us sit together, let us hear all the parties. Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri is here; Shri Samar Guha is here; Shri Jyotirmoy Basu is there; Prof. Mukerjee is there. All of us are together in this demand that we must sit together and make a beginning to end this great suffering which has been the lot of Bengal for over a decade.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamand Harbour): Not lip-service, but genuine service. (*Interruption.*)

SHRI A. K. SEN: Yes, genuine service; we want not merely the pretence of genuine service but a real, sincere, genuine service. I am very glad that he has mentioned genuine service.

As I said, you must now make a beginning. It does not brook any further delay, and all this fund has to be raised and, if necessary, we must appeal to the outside world, to all countries, for help to bring to an end this human problem. It is a human problem. I remember in the United Nations the debate on the refugee problem. About a million refugees had come from Palestine to Jordan. I remember in the United Nations in 1955, when the debate was going on, I asked Prof. Sukeri, who was then representing Jordan—he was a great Arab leader—“How many refugees have you got in Jordan?” He said about a million. I replied we have several millions in the corners of Calcutta, and yet we have not appealed to the United Nations. I know the difficulty of the Central Government having shortage of funds; but this problem has to be met. The Prime Minister, the other leaders of Government and the leaders of the Opposition all of us must sit together and the Calcutta problem has to be solved. Its transport, railways, employment, education and every thing has to be put on a proper footing.

The next problem is, we must immediately

initiate a proper machinery to start working forthwith all the block levels for the purpose of re-distribution of surplus land, either kept benami or kept over the ceilings without delay. Quasi-judicial authorities must be set up immediately at every block. A declaration must be made that there will be a speedy and forth right re-distribution of surplus land by these quasi-judicial authorities, so that the landless peasantry and landless labour may get land.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: What about facing the people in a mid-term poll?

SHRI A. K. SEN: At the moment, I am not thinking of electoral fights. We have had two elections in the last two years and that has not brought much job to the people who have voted.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Don't get cold feet.

SHRI A. K. SEN: It is not a question of cold feet, but it is a question of responsibility, a question of awakening to the problems and trying to solve them. I know it will not please many that the Government should start redistributing the land through the legal machinery, because some people think that the legal machinery is useless and it must be done by force. There are some people who do not believe in redistribution of land through law or legal machinery; they believe in rousing the people and asking them to squat on other people's land. We have known people who themselves possess acres and acres of land, who have gone and squatted on the land belonging to small peasants owning 4 or 5 bigas. I can name them. I know this idea of starting immediate work through quasi-judicial authorities to be set up forth with for redistribution of lands to the hundreds and thousands of landless labourers would not please many people and we may not be unanimous on that. But I am sure the Government is alive to the problem. I appeal to the Home Minister, Mr. Chavan and to Mr. Shukla, who is piloting this Bill to declare while replying to this motion that this will be done forthwith.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : Sir, we are all unhappy that West Bengal and her people should be going through the turmoil they have been suffering from during the past two years and more. I personally deplore the necessity that had arisen not once but twice for the imposition of President's rule there. We are also unhappy at the repeated failure of the usual democratic processes and democratic institutions to give satisfaction to the people of West Bengal and assure them security of person, of property, employment, movement from place to place, residence and education. Our friends have said that we should consider the problem of West Bengal as an all-India problem. We are all in favour of it. They said that we should do all that we possibly could for the social and economic upliftment of the West Bengal people, especially the refugees. My hon. friend, who had just spoken, who had experience of being a Cabinet Minister himself, said that he is aware of the paucity of funds. For 20 years, the Congress Party has been ruling this country and in spite of it, there have been these problems. They have come down to us with almost insoluble problems of water, drainage, education, health, railways, ordinary transport and distribution of surplus land. In addition to that, there is no security of life at all; everybody has admitted it. Neither is there any security of employment. Sources of employment in industries and factories are also getting less and less. How have all these problems arisen after twenty years of their administration? Did we not give West Bengal proportionately as much as we have given to Punjab? But you see the difference now. Why should it be so? It is no good telling that all these things have happened merely because India as a whole has not discharged her responsibility towards Bengal just as well as she discharged her responsibility towards the other refugees and areas which were loaded with refugees.

Now we are loaded with this President's raj. My hon. friend was saying that he was very unhappy. I am not so unhappy. It has become inevitable; it should have come much earlier. The people of West Bengal need not have been put through that terrible tortuous

regime over thirteen months. They should have been saved from that trouble by removing that Ministry. But they did not have that courage.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Self-imposed leaders.

SHRI RANGA : The Congress spokesmen were right in saying that it was this government which played politics there and it is playing politics even today. Otherwise, they could have come forward and said "yes, we are advising the President to take over the administration, not for six months, not for one year, but under the emergency powers of the Constitution, articles 358 to 360".

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : It is coming in Orissa also.

SHRI RANGA : It does not matter. In that case, the people of West Bengal would have enough time to achieve some stability, to enjoy some stability, some security, some law and order, some peace, peace for their person, for their families, for their community, for their society, for their cities and villages also. Today it is not there. In spite of that, this Government simply come forward with this limited proposition. Why? Because they are dependent on those parties for their votes. Otherwise, where are they? They must somehow carry on their show. Therefore, they are carrying on that show. We are opposed to that.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Money bags.

SHRI RANGA : I have never sold myself to money bags. So also Shri Jyotirmoy Basu. Both of us are above money bags. The only thing is that we happen to disagree in our political approach. He approaches problems in one way and I approach them in another way. Yet, in this democracy we are able to coexist.

My point is this. There has been political thuggery there in West Bengal. For how many years? For all these years. I used to complain to my late friend, Dr. B. C. Roy, who has the leader in the State and to Pandit Nehru here, from the Congress Working Committee right to the opposition benches. They

were playing with fire, as Shri Sen has said. Certainly, they played with fire in Bengal. They played politics all the time. Did they talk democracy to the people? No, not at all. Did they not try to carry on their administration by simply bribing the so-called leaders of the people, so-called guides of the people in all political parties? Not only the Congress Party enjoyed the patronage but the other parties in the opposition also enjoyed the patronage of my late friend, Dr. B. C. Roy. In this way, they had demoralised the political life of West Bengal.

It is no wonder that our party is not functioning in Bengal. I confess it, I tried my best through my friends to establish my party there because I have plenty of friends there. But though there are friends for Ranga, there are no friends for the party of freedom, the Swatantra Party. They ask: what is this freedom, we do not want this kind of freedom, we want the freedom which our friends, the Communists and socialists have been telling us about, what prevails in Soviet Russia and China. However much I try to tell them "look here, there is no such freedom in those countries, not even the freedom of speech", they would not believe because for years their ears have been plugged by the propoganda that my friends have been carrying on. While this propoganda was going on these friends of the Congress Party and my friends also on this side when they were on that side they were deaf to our warnings. They would not carry the message of Mahatma Gandhi of India's freedom, India's chapter on fundamental rights in this Constitution to the people of Bengal. Instead of that they played politics all the time with the people of Bengal. That is why we are faced with this.

Therefore, I would like to make one or two suggestions to my hon. friends. I am glad that they are going to increase the strength of this Committee—I speak, subject to correction—so that all the elected MPs from Bengal in this House would be included in that Committee in addition to quite a number of us. I have already indicated it is not going to be merely a nominated committee as my hon. friend

Mrs. Mukerjee has said. It is a committee that is going to be fixed up in consultation with all the political parties and nominated certainly but named by the Speaker. Therefore, it is not going to be a nominated committee. If it is a nominated committee I would be the last person to join.

I have joined similar committees. I have had some experience. Therefore, I would like to warn my hon. friends, Sir, they bring from time to time when these committees meet huge Bills to pass which takes their House several weeks but unfortunately when it comes to these advisory committees they give us only one or two days. They want us to make some observations. We make some observations and thereafter they reserve for themselves the final decision as to the final shape the proposed Bill is to take before it receives the assent of the Governor. That procedure has got to be altered. They have got to give more time to these advisory committees in order to enable them to give detailed consideration, scrupulous consideration, honest consideration for the problem that is placed before them and let me warn them also West Bengal is not like any other State, not even like Kerala. West Bengal is an entity by itself. Therefore, West Bengal's problems have got to be dealt with special care and consideration and a tremendous lot of statesmanship and more than that with so much more of foresight.

Further, Mr. Dhavan is a wrong man. We have already said it earlier too. We do not like his political antecedents. We protested also against his appointment there to London and now to Bengal. He is a wrong man and the sooner they replace him by another more sensible, wiser and more patriotic person than him—I would not say he is not patriotic—better it would be for this Government and West Bengal. Unfortunately, during the last 13 months they have tried to introduce politics into the administration, into police and all these places. Now they have introduced it in the Government's bhavan also. I want this Government to try and see that the administration, the police and the Governor's bhavan

[Shri Ranga]

the whole atmosphere of West Bengal is freed from party politics, from ideological predilections and prejudices and West Bengal is given a good and decent Government and honest and efficient Government.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA (Rai-ganj) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when Shri Ajoy Kumar Mukerjee described his own Government as an "uncivilised and barbarous Government" everybody understood that its end was near. So, if the Government has fallen today the credit should go to those who constituted the Government itself and should not be attempted to foisted upon this or the other party. I am sure either the whole group should bear it or at least one of the constituent units to which all fingers have been pointed even amongst the united front. They should bear the credit of having brought down their own Government. It is neither the Home Minister here nor Smt. Indira Gandhi nor the Congress is responsible none except themselves.

There should be a realisation of that. Now the President's rule has come. A new Bill is introduced. We support this Bill ; that under the President's rule an attempt could made now to reconstruct the life of the people and the life of the State where the life has been completely damaged during the last 1½ years' rule under the UF Government. Everybody knows and it has been realised on all hands that law and order has been the first casualty under that Government. I am not going into that question. It has been discussed already in this House.

The second casualty has been education. I will take up this education question only. The educational atmosphere has been so much polluted that the entire educational structure and life of the students have been disrupted. What is necessary now is that the educational administration should be restored to its proper status and the student life should be rehabilitated on the usual intellectual basis. What I am deeply distressed to find is that the way the student life has been disrupted, Bengal which gives India the cream of intellect will fall back intellectually at least for two generations to come.

Everyone knows how the Jadavpur University has been disrupted. The Presidency College which used to be called the leading institution in the east is disrupted. The Calcutta University is disrupted. What does it all lead to ? It leads to one conclusion that the intellectual life of the people of the State has been so much damaged that it will require a lot of time and a lot of care to bring it back to its own normal functioning. That is what I want to emphasize when I refer to these things.

What has been done in the educational sphere is nothing short of a scandal. The CPM Minister who was in charge of education tried to see to it that their own men were put at every key post, everywhere beginning from primary education upto university stage.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : That was your tactics. We never did it.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA : I will give you examples. As many as 300 Managing Committees of secondary schools have been scrapped and their administration handed over to C. A. N. men. About 50 Headmasters have been compelled to resign either by gheraos or by threats or by any other means.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti) : Now replace them back.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA : That is so in the Primary Schools. Only two days back it has appeared in the papers that in a conflict between CPM and another constituent of the UF over the election of the Managing Committee of a school in Narkaldanga there was one murder. It is happening even under President's rule because old habits die hard. That is the position in educational world and that worries me most. I would ask those in-charge of the new arrangement that has been contemplated in this Bill to see to it that we get back the normal functioning of our own educational system.

After President's rule there is sudden eruption of Naxalite activities in the State here and there. I have my own doubts whether all these are genuine naxalite activities or whether they are covers and cloaks for other interests

which are using them as shields in order to bring the President's rule into discredit. There are suggestions made about probes and enquiries. The point of view I am now putting before the House may also be examined whether Nexalite activities which have erupted after the President's rule are being used by interested elements as cloaks and covers for their own purposes.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : 4 C. I. D. officers have been sent from the Centre and they are working as agents provocateurs and creating all this trouble.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA : If I had my way, Sir, I would suggest that the People's Representation Act should have an amendment that a garrulous person may not become a Member of the Lok Sabha. An amendment may be brought by the Law Minister so that Members can speak without interruption.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi) : Shri Jyotirmoy Basu should not indulge in such things. He must be pulled up. He may be asked to go out.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Mind your own business. You have no right to speak about West Bengal.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : You have in business to behave like this in the House. We cannot tolerate it. (Interruption). We know how to deal with you.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : You have no right to speak here about West Bengal.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : This kind of behaviour should not be tolerated.

SHRI RANGA : We want the whole of India to think of West Bengal. But this gentleman says, he has no right.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I would appeal to Mr. Basu to check himself. Let the hon. Member finish his speech.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA : Sir, I am prepared to plead with you on behalf of Shri Jyotirmoy Basu. I do not at all feel

disturbed by what he says. On the other hand, I enjoy it.

By referring to the Central C. I. D. Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu reminds me of another point. The CPM took particular care to put their own men at every key post in the police department. And that is how the Police Administration was utilised for a particular purpose to the detriment of the Administration, to the detriment of the Chief Minister, and to the detriment of the people of the State. (Interruption) I do not want to go into examples now. Everybody knows the incident in which irritated policemen raided the assembly, chased the Speaker and compelled the Speaker to fly out of the window. When the irritated policemen met the Home Minister Shri Jyoti Basu suddenly the roaring lions became bleating lambs. They became very good boys and quietly took with bent heads whatever rebuke Jyoti Basu gave them—What is the conclusion? There is only one conclusion which occur to every body. I did not want to digress ; but I have been distracted.

Under Jyoti Basu's rule the Police Karmachari Samiti was formed. When the Police Karmachari Samiti saw that the UF Government was going to fall they said they were not going to tolerate the ousting of the U. F. Government by any force and they said that "we shall see to it that any one who brings it down cannot rule. These 40,000 police officials will not remain as silent spectators if the U. F. Government is ousted out of office." Under the President's rule I suggested regeneration of education. But, along with the administrative improvement developmental work should also be undertaken. I can mention three things—one is this. Employment should be provided to the people. About 170 factories are either closed or are under lock-up. What is the condition of the lives of the people? Because of unemployment, the families of these people are affected. So these factories must be brought back to the normal working and there should be other developmental works. I should suggest that there should be a North Bengal Development Board which should look to the improvement of North Bengal. Already there is a proposal for such a Board. There

[Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya]

is provision in the budget and the Planning Commission has also approved of it. There is another proposal. That is with regard to Teesta Mahanandi Irrigation Scheme. This should be taken up. And youths who are getting distracted should be persuaded to come under the system of national social service. And if they can be persuaded and if they are brought under the national social service, I believe much of the malady which we suffer from and which is affecting their career in education will go. And these may be taken up now.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi) :
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, having imposed President's Rule in Bengal, this Bill had to come and there is no question of opposing it. The only thing that I want to say about this Bill is this. We are going to set up a Committee of Parliament for helping the President or the Governor as its agent to make legislation for West Bengal. I have some experience of such Committees. They are only consultative committees. They meet for one day in six months. As such there is no use of appointing such committees. If this Committee is to be real, it must have all elected Members from Bengal and some others and it should sit for longer periods and it should meet more often so that it can do the job that is entrusted to it properly. If there is no legislature it does not matter. The Parliament is the Legislature for the whole country and Parliament or the Committee of Parliament is competent to make laws for the whole country and for Bengal also. Therefore, from that point of view, it does not matter whether there is a Committee of this House or the other House or both put together; or there is a separate Legislature for Bengal. But it must be given proper time and facilities to legislate for Bengal after full consideration of the measures that are before us.

One more thing that I want to say is this. Unfortunately, the Governor who has to carry out the work of the Government there on behalf of the President has become a controversial figure. I have nothing against Shri Dhawan personally. He is a nice man as also a very well travelled and well-read man. Somehow he has got himself involved too much with one of the political parties and has therefore, become a very controversial man. It is too

much to expect of him to establish the conditions which are needed there and if things are not to go on like this in that troubled part of the country. Therefore, it would be in the interest of Shri Dhawan himself if he is transferred from there. I would request the Central Government to take early decision to transfer him to some other State and some other really competent and non-controversial man is sent there as Governor who may set things right there. The third thing I would like to bring to your notice is this. In some parts of Bengal, there are some people who want to make West Bengal Indian Yennan from where they might extend the Chinese type of revolution and bring India under the Communist control. They have made no secret of it and I pay my tribute to them for their frankness. They have made no secret of their intentions. People are going about declaring Shri Mao-Tse-Tung as their leader and they want India to be annexed by China. In effect they are taking advantage of the freedom and liberty that is granted to them by our Constitution to destroy it, to wreck it. I stand for democracy; I stand for liberty and freedom of every individual. But no party or individual can be given freedom to use that freedom to destroy the freedom itself. Therefore, the time has come when not only this Government but all the nationalist and democratic parties in the country should seriously think that whether we can allow such elements to go on doing what they are doing to-day.

Shri Jyoti Basu is already talking of having a 'blood bath'. Our Home Minister and Government say, 'We do not want to ban any party'. Let them not. But how are they going to tackle this problem. It cannot be tackled just by appeals. They have to be firm with them. If they cannot, tomorrow a situation may arise when even if they want to be firm with them, they will not be able to be firm. Therefore, time is a very important factor in this situation. I would like Government not to sleep over it, not to have a complacent view, but take serious and strong action against the Naxalites, Marxists and all other elements who have extra-territorial loyalty, who want to subvert Indian democracy and freedom. Whatever the dangers, odds and difficulties may be, Government

must do their duty and come out firmly. Whatever difference we may have with the Government, on this question of preserving the unity, Constitution and democracy in the country, they will have our backing. Therefore, let them not develop cold feet but deal with these elements in the only language they understand, because the language of democracy does not suit them.

I am happy that Shri A. K. Sen referred to the question of minorities. He said there was no transfer of population in 1947; as it happened in the case of East and West Punjab. It is too late now to weep over it; it cannot be done now. It is not a practical proposition. But Government must realise that if they do a thing, they must also pursue it to its logical end. Dr. Ambedkar, our great law-giver had said: "If you accept partition, you will have to accept its logical corollary, exchange of population." It happened in the western side and so we were saved there. But unfortunately, at that time there were no leaders in Bengal who had foresight to visualise these things. The Congress leaders at that time thought the Muslim votes would be in their pockets. So they kept quiet over it. Now because those votes have slipped out of their hands and fallen into the lap of the Communists, Shri A. K. Sen also thinks the same way as we do.

I am not against any body, not the least against Muslims who are my own country men. They are only converts, they are not foreigners. But I do feel that if they want to be in India, they should behave as Indians. Now Shri A. K. Sen has come out openly with tongue in cheek. He did not have the courage to say what he has said today before. We have to do something to Indianise them so that they come into the mainstream of our national life and do not play the game of the communists. We must remember that when the Muslim League demanded the partition of the country, the only organised group which supported them was the Communist Party of India. Therefore, alliance of the Communists with pro-Pak elements is not new. It was there in 1945, 1946, 1947 and now again.

Therefore, I would warn the Government to beware of them. This alliance is not confined

to Bengal or Kerala; it can attain all-India proportions when it will spell disaster for the country, for our democracy and all that we have stood for, for ages. Hence it is the duty of all nationalist forces to do something to check mate this unholy, dangerous, anti-national and anti-democratic alliance, which is out to destroy the unity, integrity and democracy of the country.

Lastly, the problems of Bengal are difficult. There are a crore of refugees. The population pressure is very great. While dealing with the anti-national elements strongly, something will also have to be done to ameliorate the lot of the people there. The discontent among the refugees is quite natural. Unfortunately, in Bengal Jan Sangh is weak. In the western region, the discontent of the refugees was projected by the Jan Sangh. Therefore, they did not fall into the hands of the anti-national elements, the communists. But in Bengal, because the Congress policies were wrong and the refugees had to find some platform from which they could voice their feelings, they have gone to the camp of the Communists who are exploiting them. The Communists are only exploiting them, they do not want to solve their problems. If they wanted to solve their problems, they would have done something. According to their ideology and methodology they want to increase discontent, so that people become frustrated and lose faith in the democratic order, because then only can they play their game of bringing about an armed revolution which they dream. Therefore, it becomes the duty of the nationalist forces to try to redeem the people of Bengal, the unfortunate displaced people from East Pakistan from their clutches. That can be done firstly by inculcating a strong spirit of nationalism into them, secondly by economic steps through which they can be properly resettled,—unemployment is removed and young men are given jobs—and thirdly by following an effective policy, reciprocal policy, towards Pakistan, so that Pakistan may not keep on pushing more and more refugees from there. Even today there are ten million Hindus in Pakistan. They are being pushed out. Every day thousands of them are coming, and this will make the problem of West Bengal more acute. Therefore,

[Shri Balraj Madhok]

steps should be taken to see that this influx stops and that they are able to lead an honourable life in that area which is also their homeland. They never wanted partition. They have been left there inspite of themselves, and therefore, the Government of India also has some responsibility to see that they are given equal treatment, human treatment, in Pakistan.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch-Bihar) : On a point of order. Further discussion on this Bill cannot be proceeded with because there is a serious defect.

Kindly look at rule 69 of the Rules of Procedure. It is very clear and it reads :

"A Bill involving expenditure shall be accompanied by a financial memorandum which shall invite particular attention to the clauses involving expenditure and shall also give an estimate of the recurring and non-recurring expenditure involved in case the Bill is passed into law."

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : The Bill has a Financial Memorandum attached to it.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I find there is a Financial Memorandum.

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY : In my copy there is no such thing.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Bill as introduced in the Rajya Sabha has got the Financial Memorandum.

SHRI TRIDIB KUMAR CHAUDHURI (Berhampore) : That hardly meets the objection. We are not concerned with the Bill as it was introduced in the Rajya Sabha. We are concerned with the Bill as it has been presented for consideration in this House, and the Bill as it has been presented in this House has no Financial Memorandum, and till a Financial Memorandum is supplied, we cannot proceed with the consideration of the Bill. You cannot help it by any amount of explanation that it was introduced in the other House. This is a serious lacuna.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central) : There are two stages so far as this Bill is concerned. When the Bill was moved in the Rajya Sabha, it was moved along with the Financial Memorandum. That Bill was also circulated so far as this House is concerned, and the Members had the copy of the original Bill along with the Financial Memorandum. Now, so far as the Bill which is in our hands is concerned, it is as passed by the Rajya Sabha. Therefore, the Bill does not attract rule 69 of the Rules of Procedure.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I think that is the correct position, as stated by Shri Bhandare.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI (Bilhaur) : Within the short span of two years, President's rule has been imposed in Bengal twice, and the sigh of welcome with which the people of Bengal received the news of the termination of the popular Government only shows what a nightmare the public of West Bengal have been through. The reign of terror which was unleashed there only shows that, inspite of the statements of Mr. Jyoti Basu, the service rendered by him and his party was not a genuine service, but only lip service.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Face the people.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : We have faced the people. The verdict is clear. So, at the same time, I would say that what has originated as a minor incident in Naxalbari about three years back has now become a widespread issue, and I think there is hardly a State in our country where the Naxalbari issue is not present : it is only a matter of degree, variation and extent. I wish that the step which has been taken by the Central Government should have been taken much earlier, and I think I was one of those on the Congress Benches who had advocated the banning of left Communist party. Not only that. When the posters were distributed in the University campus at the Calcutta university, and also when all the McNamara anti-demonstrations had taken place, what happened ? I am afraid what has happened in the meantime

is torture, murder, loot, rapine and all the things which have been most humiliating and a disgrace to the people of Bengal. We said all this should be stopped altogether.

Now, the malady has become too deep. I do not think the banning of any party can help the solution of the problem at all. No matter what shade, what complexion the Communist party may have; whatever their nomenclature, they all work with the same plans with the same objective, and the objective is to disrupt democracy, to hit at the very fundamental fabric of our life, to hit at our non-violent way of thinking and to hit at the basic freedoms which we should enjoy and which have been enshrined in our Constitution.

In today's *Times of India*, on the front page, we find that Mr. Jyoti Basu has said that there should be a revolution, a blood-bath. I do not understand how those who subscribe to democracy here, those who take the oath in this House can, at the same time, preach for a blood-bath. What is there to prevent the Central Government today to prevent such provocative speeches?

19.47 hrs.

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

I would like to know what is there to prevent the Central Government from taking full note of the issue. I am afraid that this matter is not only the concern of the Home Ministry; it is a matter which concerns the Minister of Industries, the Minister of Defence and the Prime Minister above all. I think this is a matter which vitally affects every State of India especially because Bengal is the State where the major key industries of the country are located: steel, coal, jute, tea and the engineering goods. But one after the other, we find that they are languishing. Except the engineering goods, all the other industries are languishing, because there is no political climate; there is no healthy climate and because there are gheraos and intimidation and pressure tactics, and those people are leaving Calcutta and Bengal, which happen to be our old commercial centre; we now find that there

is flight of capital from there. There is no stability; no security and the people are going away from there. This has to be halted.

At the same time, we find that Bengal has a special stake because of the fact that nearly half of our export trade and half the foreign trade of our country goes through the Calcutta port, and therefore, the Central Government ought to give it the importance that it primarily deserves. I feel that whatever the people are doing in Calcutta is not only preparing or paving the ground for infiltration of those ideas with the assistance of foreign arms, with the assistance of foreign literature, with the assistance of foreign money, but, at the same time, they are also paving the way for indoctrination of those ideas, and they are also paving the way for complete subversion of the democratic structure and fabric of Indian life. It is a very serious situation.

I would like to say that when the Governor took over the administration of West Bengal, there was a certain basic thing that was taken for granted. The first thing was to restore normalcy in the State, to make the people, the citizens of West Bengal, to feel that they would not be denied the basic, fundamental right to security of life; that the women of Bengal will not be denied the very basic right to live and their chastity would be protected, and, at the same time, to make them feel that the citizens of West Bengal would be given the same protection of life and property and protection of their profession to which any citizen of India in any part of the country is entitled.

The second condition which would have been normally expected was to restore confidence in the business community. There is a crisis of confidence. I have been to Bengal four or five times last year and I have had the pleasure—I am afraid it is not a pleasure; it is something disturbing—I have had the privilege of meeting some people from those quarters and I have found that there is a crisis of confidence. That faith in the business community must be restored. Thirdly, above all, we find that the police, whose vital role is to protect the people and to be the custodian of the rights of the people, is infiltrated by the communist

[Shrimati Sushila Rohatgi]

elements in West Bengal. That is why we find that daily incidents are taking place. What we are seeing today is not just a few bombing incidents or the explosion of the secretariat building or burning of trains and other public property. What we are seeing and what we are going to see is the explosion, which Mr. Jyoti Basu wants to see in future, the bombing and explosion of the very fabric of our democratic life. It is on this basis that I appeal to all the parties in the House—of course, I do not expect you to cooperate in this process of self-abnegation or self-annihilation—out I do certainly expect cooperation from all the other sane sections of the House. What concerns us today is a matter of vital interest.

I personally feel that there are three phases. The first phase is terrorising the public and demoralising the police and demoralising the business community. That is over and is also continuing. The second phase is, guerilla infiltration is already on. The saboteurs attack one place and while our intelligence is absolutely at a loss to locate which is the next target, we find the people are active in some other place. This hide and seek is going on permanently. These guerilla tactics have been imbibed from the other country. The third phase is being prepared and is going on—that is shock tactics, which is very common with the communist countries. They are attacking our altars of learning and the finest universities that the country can be proud of. Figures of people like Gandhi and Tagore have been attacked. These things react on the public mind psychologically. This is the shock tactics, the third phase of the communist attack. This is all going to be a prelude to the last and final stage of the drama, that is to over-run, create chaos and subvert democracy. My appeal to the House is, are we going to be mute spectators of this? May I expect that the Governor who is acting on behalf of the President will take his duty seriously? I am sure he has improved the situation, but what prevents Parliament from giving all the powers to the Governor? Even if it comes to military rule, I will be the first to say that the citizens of West Bengal should not be denied their fundamental rights,

even if protection is to be granted by military rule. The Governor must be armed with all the powers to curb anti-social and anti-national elements within a certain stipulated time. At the same time, all the sections of the people must be approached. Their faith must be restored.

Then, there is the long-term policy also. The issues in Bengal are extremely deep. The problem of refugees is a very serious problem. The refugee population which stood at 6 million sometime back has shot up to 10 million now. This new generation of people who have swelled up in numbers have no social or ethical legacy.

I would like to know one thing. In 1964 Government of India took a decision that all the property which was left behind by the Muslims who went to Pakistan could only be given to the refugees from West Pakistan. Why was not the same amenity or facility given to the refugees who have come from East Bengal? If the Government could not do that, they should compensate the refugees in some other form; it can be in cash, kind, job or in some other way.

All I have to say today is that this matter must be viewed from a very wide perspective. Though Shri Jyoti Basu and some of his followers are very good people by themselves, when it comes to some matters they are prepared to hold the whole House to ransom. We cannot allow these things to happen. We must ensure that the rights enshrined in our Constitution are preserved and the people of Bengal are given the safety and security which they deserve. With these words, I endorse the Bill.

19.57 hrs.

POINT OF PERSONAL EXPLANATION

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): Sir, I rise on a matter of personal explanation. Just now I got a message that two of our colleagues, Shri George Fernandes and Shri Madhu Limaye have stated that in the course of my visit to

them in the hospital—of course, I visited Shri Fernandes in the hospital and Shri Madhu Limaye in his house when they were injured in that unfortunate lathi charge—I told them that there was some conspiracy involved in this. This is absolutely wrong and I deny this. I am surprised and shocked how this very entirely wrong impression could have been carried by the two hon. Members. They are very distinguished Members of Parliament and if they were going to make a reference to me they should have informed me according to the parliamentary procedure in which case I would have been present and this unfortunate practice of adjourning the proceedings of the House and giving me an opportunity would not have arisen. I once again say that I said no such thing, there was no conspiracy or anything of that kind, as stated by those two hon. Members.

19.59 hrs.

WEST BENGAL STATE LEGISLATURE
(DELEGATION OF POWERS) BILL—*Contd.*

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : Mr. Chairman, Sir, after hearing many members here it seems to me that the problem of West Bengal is formidable and impossible of any solution. All the same, we have got to find some solutions for the problem.

First of all, I feel very much concerned with the set back which the United Front Government received in Bengal and earlier in some other States too. Because, after the 1967 elections there is a certain trend in this country. People have increasingly realised and tried to assert their democratic rights; they wanted some alternative to the Congress monolithic rule that prevailed for the past twenty years. That was a healthy trend and I am sure that healthy trend will continue. I am sure by making the observations here I am not going to help the parties that have fallen out to come together. But still it is our duty to analyse as to why this situation has arisen.

20 hrs.

I was rather surprised and a little amused to hear Shri Bal Raj Madhok when he accused the Communist Party of being responsible for partition and creation of Pakistan by supporting that proposal. In fact, I am reminded of the good old octogenarian who is still alive in my State—I mean Rajaji—who was the first man who came in favour of the bifurcation of India and the creation of Pakistan. But this sort of allegations are being made because of the extreme views and allergies. I do not mean to argue that there cannot be any difference and the parties could forget the differences but a time has come in the country and I am sure Delhi is not far from the period when we have got to live with coalitions and united fronts. It makes me feel sorry that this situation could have arisen in Bengal simply as some Members have pointed out out of the failure of the partners in the united front. I do not want to apportion blame on anybody but one thing that distresses me very much because it happened in Kerala and more or less the same method was repeated in Bengal too. I would like to quote a sentence from hon. Member Shri A. P. Chatterjee who spoke the other day in the Rajya Sabha when this particular issue was discussed: "We say that legislation is a mechanism through which no land reforms can take place anywhere in the world." He went on to enumerate in stronger words as to how they feel about this rule of law. This is a thing which has distressed me very much because after all in this country there may be political differences, there may be economic differences, social differences, cultural differences but there is one thing the luxury of which we cannot afford, namely, the basic democratic fundamental right of the rule of law. Even in authoritarian countries we know there is some pretence as to the rule of law but if we are not going to stick to that phase I am afraid either the C. P. (M) or any other party can take the people along with them. According to me that has happened in Kerala. That is what is happening in Bengal. There is the acute problem of unemployment; the problem of poverty and other things due to various reasons that have

[Shri S. Kandappan]

been enumerated by other Members were accentuated by this method and the approach. That is how I look at this problem. It is for that party to mend matters but unless this sort of approach is eschewed and avoided and unless we try to think in the larger interest and accommodate the thinking of the other groups and also in tune with the feeling of the public it is really impossible to deliver the goods and rise up to the expectations of the people—what they expect from the Opposition parties in this country.

Then, Sir, secondly I would like to concentrate on the other aspect, namely, as to how the President's rule is going to solve the problems that are there in the State. Many points were made but nobody was in a position to suggest in concrete terms as to how the Centre should proceed. It is rather a difficult task and I do not propose to suggest those lines. But I would like to indicate broadly that the Government should try to avoid certain things which they indulged in doing in the past four or five weeks. They should try to see that the implementation of some of the policies of the united front government—as has even been accepted by Shri A. K. Sen and other Members—as very progressive and good do not receive a set back. Say, for example, their approach to land reforms, not their method of seizing land but their approach and initiation of doing something with regard to the settlement of landless labourers. And then whether the Government is going to be vindictive; whether the Central Government is going to behave in a manner which is vindictive and try to reverse the whole trend or they are going to appreciate some of the trends created during the period when the united front was in power and try to see that the basic problems that very much concern the masses there are attended to. Though the method or the approach may be different, the Centre should see to it that the progressive policies are given a fillip and the matter is expedited.

If the previous consultative committees of a similar nature are any indication, I am afraid, the committee that the Government is going to form is not going to serve any purpose.

What I would rather like to emphasize and impress upon the Government is that this committee should meet often and should do its work in a serious way as proposed by other Members earlier. The committee should rather have more powers. They should have the discussion in an open and candid way without trying to outdo each other and without trying to indulge in politics. What West Bengal most needs at this juncture is the mitigation, if not the elimination, of the suffering, the poverty and other accumulated ills that are there. This is a serious problem as pointed out by other Members and in the larger interest of the nation the Centre should take it seriously and try to implement those policies.

When you were in the Chair earlier today there was some exchange of words when a reference was made to the Governor wanting to meet Birla and Birla not meeting the Governor and you expunged that. But this is a serious point. I do not think this is going to solve the problem at all. When there is already the problem of poverty, of unemployment and underemployment, when the people are very much worried about their day-to-day living, if they hear that industries are going to be shifted from their areas, naturally they will feel angry to whichever group they may belong or whatever political ideology they have. The way they behaved when the Governor wanted to discuss this problem with the industrialist, it provokes even me sitting in a distant place. This sort of thing must be set right. The Centre should act very strongly in situations of this type. They should not try to think in terms of politics; they should rather try to think in terms of situations and conditions that prevail there and should seriously try to tackle them.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta-North-East): Sir, it is sad that West Bengal, which perhaps we can claim without arrogance has one of the most conscious and advanced electorates in our country, has to go through the unhappy experience of President's rule and the consequential Bill on the declaration of President's rule is now before us.

I have heard a good few adjectives about the United Front regime having been "terri-

ble, "an expression of political thuggery" and all that. I have a vocabulary of vituperation on which I can draw easily in answer to this kind of accusation but I shall desist. I shall only ask this House to remember that the United Front has been and continues to be a political concept which alone can solve the country's problems. The United Front has temporarily failed but there is no need at the present moment of acrimonious fault-finding about which we have had enough already. We in West Bengal are trying for a restoration of the United Front. Whatever be the intransigence of one or the other Party, we want to get it back and the effort continues. If that does not happen, if we cannot successfully restore the United Front, we wish that as soon as ever it is possible, elections take place in West Bengal and the present stage of the President's rule is not continued a moment longer than is absolutely necessary.

I shall emphasize that the interim administration and the President's rule must make up its mind that there must not be, because there cannot be, any going back on the gains won by the people during the United Front administration. The working class of West Bengal and the peasantry, the Government employees, the teachers and so many other sections of the population have made certain gains which on no account should be sought to be taken away from them. In the name of the law, land which has been taken over by the peasantry, must not be restored to the Jotdars and others who have been exploiting them for generations. The prolonged non-implementation of land ceiling laws has created a situation where rectifications sought to be done by people's action almost inevitably entail a certain amount of excess. People's spirit has been aroused in such a manner that as against that the excesses are like dust in the balance. And I warn the Government not ever to try to take away the benefits which have been won by the people during the United Front regime. Any attempt of that sort must not be made.

Sir, I am rather diverted by the gestures. Mr. Chairman, I do not know this kind of diversion.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : There should not be any diversion.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I tell you. There are so many people. Sometimes they go a little bit this way or that way. You also do. Others also do.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE : Even Ministers of this country beckon to you from their seats when you are in the Chair. You are not a person to be beckoned. This is a peculiar thing which should not happen. Out of deference and dignity to the Chair I am constrained to suggest that this kind of intervention of proceedings on account of what I rather think to be misconduct should not take place. It takes away from the gravity and dignity of the debate. We do our best to maintain the debate at a high level. The Minister and the Chair do come into the picture. It is a very peculiar thing. I was saying... Sir, the Minister was not at all listening and the Home Minister is here. Nobody is here.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have allowed the State Minister to go for five minutes. He has gone. But other Ministers are here. They are taking notes and he will reply to you.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE : If I am not mistaken, there is a Deputy Minister of Home Affairs who is paid by this country. There is the Minister of Home Affairs Mr. Chavan. There are three of them. If one man is given leave, others can be present. I cannot understand this sort of thing.

Sir, there can be no going back on the gains made by the United Front. If you do, you will have to pay the price. The spirit of the people has been roused. If you talk about excesses which have taken place and which might have taken place when the people take back their rights which have been restricted for so many years, naturally, you have to do something which is naturally against the democratic desires of our people.

Mr. Bhattacharyya talked about education and degeneration. There is a lot of Naxalite destructionism. Must we not remember at the same time that things are so dismal, that

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

corruption is so corrosive, that humbug is so widely propagated and idealism has been so much of an obvious illusion in this country, that our youth revolts and excesses take place and if a section of the youth comes to think that there should be a forest fire in this country and after the fire goes new life would sprout, would not there be something of that spirit which we ought to respect? Let us not merely talk about Naxalites or any other kind of destruction.

My friend, Mr. Bal Raj Madhok, has been talking in an infantile fashion about extra-territorial loyalties and that sort of thing. But the caravan of Communism will go on whatever be the barking all around it.

Ideas belong to every country and all this talk about extra-territoriality is something which shows a complete illiteracy in regard to political matters. Sir, our job however is for the time being to do something to repair the damage which West Bengal economy and West Bengal life has been receiving for over two decades now; and for that purpose the interim administration agencies must do certain things. The problems of Calcutta have accumulated and Calcutta is not merely one city among many; it is India's city just as much as Bombay if not more. From Calcutta you get more than half of the money you earn by way of foreign exchange. But Calcutta is a shambles today; unemployment is a problem there which has been stressed by so many others. But in the face of all this, the Birlas for example, have the gumption to shift their offices from Calcutta. 60,000 workers in the Birla establishment are on strike. They talk about the flight of capital. My friend over there talks sympathetically about capitalist friends who are prosecuting that flight. Let capital fly away from the face of this world—and the time will come when the flight of capital would have actually taken place—but we are not going to let them go just like that; they have done enough damage; and for the time being they must be held to their responsibilities and the things like what the Birlas are trying to do at the moment, must stop.

I am just concluding and I would suggest that the Consultative Committee which is proposed has got to be rather different from what it has been so far. Every body has asked for it. Even Mr. Madhok has asked for it to be somewhat different. We want all the Members from West Bengal to be on this body. We want some other friends also from other places to be there and we want it to meet more often. We want for a change that the Members of this Consultative Committee will get a chance of working properly in order to solve the problems of West Bengal, which has been so sorely stricken for such a long period of time.

This morning we heard about the Calcutta Circular Railway, which Mr. Nanda said is not a circular railway but a zig-zag railway. All this zig-zag has got to be rectified; something has got to be done. All these problems have accumulated. I am sure, if the Consultative Committee, consisting of 60 or a few more Members sits down coolly to its job, if it keeps away from many of these unnecessary confrontations in this peculiar chamber, if we go and sit some where else and do some solid good work for the country, may be, some good turn will take place in the history of our country's politics. Perhaps even out of this President's rule some good might emerge. But, as I said earlier, West Bengal does not deserve to be under President's rule. West Bengal requires to be under the rule of their elected representatives. That is why in West Bengal we are asking, and we trying, to the fullest extent possible, for the restoration of the United Front. I know that will be laughed at by many people but we are not deterred by the laughter and the ridicule of certain sections of our population. We want restoration of the United Front; but if it does not happen in a few months time then surely there ought to be mid-term elections ordered so that the people can express their verdict through the ballot in regard to West Bengal.

20.19 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: THIRD PAY COMMISSION

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. P. C. Sethi will make a statement.