

भाग भी पाकिस्तान को नहीं दिया जाएगा । इतना तो वह कह सकती हैं । जाबूझ कर वह यह कहना नहीं चाहती हैं । आहिस्ता आहिस्ता वड़ देश को इसके लिए तैयार कर रही हैं । देश के साथ वह गद्दारी कर रही हैं ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I cannot give a verdict on this. How can I say anything about this? (*Interruption*) What I would say is, all this protest has been recorded and the feelings have been conveyed, and it would all be conveyed to the Prime Minister. After taking into consideration all the facts, either this evening, as he said, or—

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH: Just now we sent a note to the Lok Sabha Secretariat that she is making a statement tomorrow, but anyway, I am going to convey the feelings of the House to her. (*Interruption*.)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, order. What I suggest is, let us proceed with the debate on the President's Address. As has been suggested here, and as observed by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, let us all face the situation calmly and unitedly.

17.04 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मी का तम्बा (खम्मम) : उप.घाय सहैय । इस चर्चा में कई बातों पर सन में प्रश्न डाला गया है । आज हम ईरानी सन्धियों से से दो चर हैं कि समस्याओं की भीड़ में उनके सापेक्ष महत्व का मुन्नांकन करना की हो गया है ।

उलझनों की श्रृंखला ऐसे लगातार चल रही है कि हमारे मन में शायद वेदना शक्ति का लोप हो रहा है और हम कुछ सन्न से पड़ रहे हैं—

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur): Let her speak in her mother-tongue.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Nobody can dictate like that.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Under what rule can she read her speech? She is reading from a prepared speech

श्रीमती लक्ष्मी का तम्बा : मैं पेपर्स को जो मेरे हाथ में है उनको रीफर कर रही हूँ ।

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Sir, on a point of order. She says it is her right to read.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: She is referring to her notes.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: She herself just said that she is reading.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मी का तम्बा : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कहावत है कि जो प्रतिदिन मरता हो, उसके लिए कौन रोयेगा ?

हमें इन मूलभूत समस्याओं की छान-बीन करके इनका हल ढूँढना पड़ेगा । इन मूलभूत समस्याओं को हल करने के फलस्वरूप कई अन्य समस्याएँ या तो अपने आप सुलझ जायेंगी, या उनका हल बड़ी हद तक आसान हो जायेगा । मैं इस प्रकार की कुछ मूलभूत समस्याओं की ओर संकेत करना चाहती हूँ ।

मेरी समझ में आज भारत की सबसे बड़ी और मूलभूत समस्या हमारे जनतंत्र के अस्तित्व की बन गई है । आज देश भर में हिंसा और अराजकता की स्थिति पैदा करने के जो प्रयत्न हो रहे हैं । उनसे स्पष्ट होता है कि कुछ लोगों ने जनतंत्र की हत्या करने की ठान ली है । वे देश में ऐसी अस्तव्यस्त परिस्थिति उत्पन्न करना चाहते हैं कि यहाँ पर जनतंत्र का पनपना असम्भव हो जाये । वे किसी की समस्या को लेकर जन साधारण को भड़काना चाहते हैं चाहे वह समस्या गम्भीर हो या न हो, आवश्यक हो या न हो, देश के हित में महत्वपूर्ण हो या न हो ।

मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि आज एक ऐसी परिस्थिति आ गई है कि जनता बस इतना चाहती है कि देश के

### [श्रीमती लक्ष्मीबाई]

प्रशासन में स्थिरता और सामाजिक जीवन में शान्ति बनी रहे। परन्तु आज इन्हीं दोनों बातों के लाल पड़ गए हैं और देश तेजी से अराजकता की ओर बढ़ता दिखाई देता है। आज हमें गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिये कि ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है और इसका उपाय क्या है।

देश में हो रही कई घटनाओं की छानबीन करके मैं इस निश्चय पर पहुँची हूँ कि दुर्भाग्य से हमारे देश में जनतंत्र विरोधी दल अन्य राजनतिक दलों के समान ही अधिकार और सुविधायें रखते हैं, परन्तु उन अधिकारों और सुविधाओं का उपयोग वे जनतंत्र का गला घोटने के लिए कर रहे हैं। इन दलों का किसी भी समस्या पर कोई एक निश्चित मत या रवैया नहीं है। उनका एक मात्र रवैया यही है कि येन केन प्रकारेण जनतंत्र को इस देश में अमफल बना दिया जाये। जिन प्रश्नों को शान्तिपूर्वक संसद् और विधान सभाओं में सुलझाना चाहिये, उन्हें वे बाजारों या चौराहों में ल जाकर जन-मन को भड़काने का साधन बना रहे हैं।

इस कारण हमारी जनतंत्र सम्बन्धी संस्थाओं का प्रभाव तथा प्रश्नों को सुलझाने की क्षमता दिन प्रतिदिन क्षीण पड़ती जा रही है। जनता के प्रतिनिधि सदनों के किसी भी निर्णय को कोई अन्तिमता, फाइनलिटो, या कम से कम आदर प्राप्त नहीं हो रहा है। सभी प्रश्नों पर आन्दोलन ही आन्दोलन जारी है और जनसांख्यिक गतिविधियों की स्थिति हाम्यास्पद होती जा रही है। साथ ही साथ हमारी सीमाओं पर नक्सलवाड़ी ढंग के कार्यक्रम बढ़ते जा रहे हैं।

यह निश्चित है कि इन सब घटनाओं का मूल स्रोत जनतंत्र-विरोधी और विदेशनिष्ठ दलों की कारस्तानी है। विशेषकर कहीं भाषा

को लेकर, कहीं मुलाजिमतों को लेकर और कहीं किसी अन्य प्रश्न को लेकर हमारे विद्यार्थियों और युवाजनों में जो बेचैनी फैलाई जा रही है, वह बेचैनी देश के जनतंत्र के अस्तित्व के लिए खतरनाक सिद्ध होगी, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है।

यह सच है कि पिछले कई वर्षों में हम कई समस्याओं को हल करने में असफल रहे हैं। इसमें कुछ हमारी त्रुटि रही और कुछ हमारे षस के बाहर के कारण रहे। जनतंत्र इसी ढंग से चलता है और जनता अपनी इच्छा के अनुसार नई नई सरकारें बना लती है। जनता को ऐसा अवसर मिल पाना ही जनतंत्र का निचोड़ है, चाहे इस भूल तथा सुधार, ट्रायल एंड एरर, प्रतिक्रिया में कितना ही समय क्यों न लग जाये।

जहाँ तक मेरा सम्बन्ध है, मैं केवल कांग्रेस पार्टी के भविष्य के बारे में चिन्तित नहीं हूँ। हमें तो आज समूचे जनतंत्र के भविष्य के बारे में चिन्तित होना है। जनतंत्र के अस्तित्व के लिये प्रशासन में दृढ़ता और देश में शान्ति, ये दो बातें अनिवार्य हैं और इनके लिये जो भी कीमत देनी पड़े, वह कम है। अन्यथा अराजकता के रूप में जो कीमत देनी पड़ेगी, वह बहुत महंगी पड़ेगी, यह चेतावनी मैं सरकार को देना चाहती हूँ।

मेरा यह मत नहीं है कि आज ही, इसी वक्त अमुक राजनैतिक दल को अवैध घोषित कर दिया जाये। मैं इतना ही कहूँगी कि किसी भी व्यक्ति अथवा राजनैतिक दल की अवैध कारस्तानियों को जनतंत्र के नाम पर दरगुजर न किया जाये।

हमारा दूसरा मूलभूत प्रश्न है आर्थिक स्थिति का। हम जितनी उन्नति करते जाते हैं, उतना ही देश में आर्थिक संकट बढ़ता;

दीखता है। पता नहीं, हम इस समय किसी पंच-वर्षीय योजना के दौरान में है, अथवा योजना से छुट्टी मना रहे हैं। कोई हमें बता दे कि दरअसल माजरा क्या है। हमारी वार्षिक योजनाएं कट-कटा कर केवल वेतन प्रदान कार्यक्रम रह गई है। उन्हें योजना कहना उस शब्द पर ज्यादाती है और आत्म-विभ्रम की पराकाष्ठा है।

हमसे कहा गया है कि डेफिसिट फिनांसिंग के कारण इन्फ्लेशन बहुत बढ़ा और कीमतें बहुत बढ़ गईं। इसी कारण हमने डेफिसिट फिनांसिंग को एक-बारगी बन्द कर दिया। यदि यह निर्णय ठीक था, तो डेफिसिट फिनांसिंग के बन्द होने पर कीमतों में मन्दी आनी चाहिये थी। परन्तु स्पष्ट रूप से लगता है कि कीमतें अब भी बढ़ती ही जा रही और हमारे कर्मचारियों का महंगाई भत्ता लगातार बढ़ता जा रहा है।

एक तरफ डेफिसिट फिनांसिंग को एक-दम बन्द करके हमने आर्थिक नि क्रियता उत्पन्न की, बेरोजगारी का दौर-दौरा कर दिया, लोगों में बेहद बेचैनी पैदा की और दूसरी तरफ हम कीमतों में स्थिरता नहीं ला पाये। जनता दोनों तरफ से पिट गई और हम भौंचक देख रह हैं। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि जब तक कीमतों के उतार-चढ़ाव वाले ममूचे ढांचे पर स्वतंत्र रूप से हमारा काबू नहीं रहता, तब तक डेफिसिट फिनांसिंग के करने या न करने द्वारा कीमतों का नियंत्रण नहीं हो सकता। पता नहीं, यह सीधी नादी बात कब हमारी समझ में आयेगी—यदि आयेगी, तो।

अब देश की आर्थिक स्थिति इतनी चिन्ताजनक बन गई है कि मूलभूत प्रश्नों को टालने से काम नहीं चलेगा। मैं आशा करती हूँ कि तुरन्त ही ये मूलभूत निर्णय लिये जावेंगे। मैं चाहती हूँ कि इस विषय पर प्रधान मंत्री स्पष्ट नीति की घोषणा करें।

इसी सन्दर्भ में मैं आंध्र प्रदेश की वर्तमान आर्थिक स्थिति की ओर संकेत करना चाहती हूँ। मुझे मालूम हुआ है कि आंध्र प्रदेश को दी जाने वाली रकम में इस साल की अपेक्षा आने वाले आर्थिक वर्ष में बीस करोड़ रुपये की कमी कर दी गई है। इन कारण आंध्र प्रदेश की जो आर्थिक दुस्स्थिति होगी, उस से आन्ध्र प्रदेश में बेचैनी होना स्वाभाविक है। जो राज्य सारे देश को अन्न पेश कर देता है, उसको आर्थिक दुस्स्थिति से बचाना सारे देश का धर्म है।

नागार्जुन सागर जैसे ऐरावत के बोज से दब कर आंध्र प्रदेश की ऐसी बुरी दशा हुई है कि निकट भविष्य में उसका सुधार सम्भव नहीं दीखता। कई क्षेत्रों में विशेषकर औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में आन्ध्र प्रदेश बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है। आगामी आर्थिक वर्ष में आंध्र प्रदेश की योजना घिस घिस कर नगण्य रह गई है, गत वर्षों से भी कम रह गई है। जिस राज्य से अन्न मिलता है उसकी यह आर्थिक दुःस्थिति सारे देश के लिए ध्यान देने योग्य है। इस सदन और भारत सरकार से मेरी सानुरोध विनती है कि आंध्र प्रदेश की विशेष स्थिति को ध्यान में रखे।

आर्थिक मामलों के सम्बन्ध में अब मूल्यन का भी उल्लेख आवश्यक है। भारतीय रुपये का अब मूल्यन किए लगभग डेढ़ बरस हुआ है। अतः इस बात का मूल्यांकन होना चाहिये कि जिस उद्देश्य से अब मूल्यन का निर्णय लिया गया था, वह कहां तक पूरा हुआ है। हमारे एक्सपोर्ट कहां तक बढ़े हैं; और विदेशी मुद्रा के मामले में हमारी स्थिति कहां तक सुधरी है, इन प्रश्नों पर समाधान-कारक विवरण की हम अपेक्षा करेंगे। सरकार जो नीति किसी मामले में अपनाती है, उसके परिणामस्वरूप देश को होने वाले हानि लाभ का ध्यौरा सदन के सम्मुख आना चाहिये ताकि हमारी नीतियों

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा]

का वास्तविक मूल्यांकन संभव हो सके।

हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना के डांडोल होने का शायद एक और कारण यह है कि विदेशी सहायता की जित मात्रा में हम आशा कर रहे थे, उस मात्रा में वह नहीं भिला और उसके मिलने का सम्भावना भी नहीं रही। इस स्थिति से निपटने के लिए हम क्या उपाय सोच रहे हैं? इतका ब्योरा भी आशा है सदन के सम्मुख रखा जायगा। एक प्रकार से यह अच्छा ही हुआ कि हमें विदेशों पर निर्भर रहने की अब सुविधा नहीं रही। किन्तु इस सुविधा से हम लाभ उठा कर चुनौती को स्वीकार कर रहे हैं या हताश होकर निस्सहायता की दशा में योजनाबद्ध प्रगति के रास्ते को ही खैरबाद कह रहे हैं? आज हमने अपनी निस्सहायता और निरक्षयता का सबूत दिया तो न केवल हमें सहायता ही नहीं मिलेगी बल्कि हमारी जगहेंताई भी होगी। अतएव सरकार से मेरा सुझाव है कि आत्म निर्भरता के ठोस आधार पर हमारी योजना की पुनर्रचना करे और भारत के औरव को द्वाले।

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peer-made): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, within the short time that is available to me I should like to deal with only two points which are referred to in the President's Address. The President's Address makes it very clear that this government is not capable of clear thinking on any major issue that confronts this country or confronts the world today. For example, let us see what the government is thinking about the most burning international problem i.e., the war that is going on in Vietnam. I will not take much time to deal with it but I will say that it is very clear, as clear as daylight, that in South Vietnam the so-called government at Saigon does not represent the people of that country. I am sorry to see the so-called Foreign Minister of the so-called Saigon Gov-

ernment stricting about in New Delhi, even getting an audience with the Prime Minister of this country and trying to explain to her how the Viet Congs are being beaten back. All sort of cock and bull stories are being told by that particular gentleman in the capital of India. It is a shame for our country to treat such a gentleman as the representative of a heroic people who are giving a rebuff, a fitting rebuff, to the greatest military power in the world today, to the supposed to be greatest military power today. On that question, we would suggest that at least, at this stage, when things are very clear and the writing on the wall is so clear, as clear as day light, let this Government come to some firm decisions on the matter. We would suggest that they should recognise the real authority, the real Government that represents the people of South Vietnam, that is, the National Liberation Front. They cannot get away from that reality however much they should try to close their eyes to that reality. The recognition of the National Liberation Front by the Governments of various countries will help the solution of the tragic war that is going on in that country. But, unfortunately, our Government is even now equivocating and they are not able to take a clear position. Although the Prime Minister, in reply to a question, the other day, tried to tell us that our position is very clear, as far as we know, there is only one position for this Government that the bombing in North Vietnam should stop. Our feeling is that the Government has to come forward to take a very clear position and ask the aggressors to get out of that country and avoid a world holo caust that may follow in the wake of what is happening in that unfortunate land.

17.20 hrs.

(SHRIMATI LAKSHMIKANTHANA in the Chair.)

Now, I should like to deal with yet another problem, that is, perhaps, the most important question that faces

the people of our country in the post-election period, that is, the question of Centre-State relations in the wake of the collapse of the Congress in the majority of the States in India in the last General Elections. For the last 20 years, they had the privilege of the monopoly of power all over the country except, perhaps, in one particular State, for 28 months in 1957, and we, very clearly, remember what the ruling Party, at the Centre, did in those days against the people of Kerala who had the privilege to throw out the Congress for the first time in this country. We recall what kind of crisis and what kind of pains we went through at that time because of the anti-democratic, anti-constitutional, attitude taken by the Government at that time. We recall the exist of two famous ladies in this country, that is, Indira Gandhi-Sucheta Kripalani axis, who happened to be the President of Indian National Congress and the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress. Two women were sufficient in those days to topple a Government, to dismiss a Government, and one of them now happens to be the Prime Minister of this country. During the last few months, we were witnessing what kind of efforts they were making, by hook or crook; to reestablish their hegemony, their political hegemony, their administrative hegemony, over the whole of the country. I do not want to deal with what has happened in the States of north India. What is happening now in the strategic State of West Bengal, we are all witnessing the sight of a minority Government continuing shamelessly in the face of a very clear fact that they do not have a majority.

17.23 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

I would like to take this opportunity to recount what experience we are going through in Kerala. Of course, the Congress Government cannot hope to purchase the people, to have defections and then topple

that Government because the position of the Congress is so weak in an Assembly of 133 that they have only 9 Members. During the last session of the Assembly, they could not even manage to get the leave of the House for a No-Confidence motion because they could not muster the necessary strength of 20 in the House of 133. So, their position is really very pitiable in that State from that point of view. Actually, the Kerala people gave such a rebuff to them, they came together in such a magnificent way that by constitutional means, even by the method of defections and all that, they could not manage to come back to power. They cannot even manage to topple the Government and have President's rule. So they were making use of various other methods, and the most important of that was this. You perhaps know—you had also occasion to know it from us, from our complaints here—how they are treating us on the question of food. We have to repeat it again and again, because our State is so far away from the centre that we in the south have to shout at the top of our voices. Even then people may not hear it in the capital. Therefore, we have to repeat it over and over again.

I want to recount also what happened in 1964. We had then the southern zone. You were perhaps the Chief Minister of Andhra at that time. One fine morning, this food zone was scrapped without even a reference to that State which has a deficit of 50 per cent. It was entirely depending upon outside sources of supply. The zone was scrapped. The Food Ministry at that time under the ministership of Shri C. Subramaniam felt helpless. Then their officers rushed to our State to assure us: 'Do not worry. We are there to help you'. We were, as I said, depending for 50 per cent of our supplies from outside. There was a fence put up not by us, but by others, round our State. Nothing was given to us. Then the

[Shri Vasudevan Nair]

Central Government promised after taking into account the annual supplies of rice from outside for the last 15 years that they would supply 9 lakh tonnes of rice to Kerala to fill up the gap. The average of ten years' supplies from other States was 10 lakh tonnes. The Centre said: 'These are difficult days. We cannot supply the entire 10 lakh tonnes. But we will supply you 9 lakh tonnes; please take one lakh tonnes of wheat'. That was the promise.

How they are keeping up that promise the entire world knows. From September 1964 to March 1967, the Central Government more or less kept up their promise, of sending 75,000 tonnes of rice to Kerala every month. But from March 1967 began another story. What is the significance of that? What happened in February-March 1967? From 1967, we see that they do not even send 50 per cent of their promised quota. Is it accidental or is there any particular reason? Our people read a reason behind it. Because in February, there took place an election, and in March a new Government came into power in Kerala. From March onwards up till now, this is the position, even when Shri Jagjivan Ram and all these Ministers at the Centre have been talking of a bumper crop of 95 million tonnes. Never in the history of this country they had such a crop, but even when they have a bumper crop, in Kerala we do not even have 50 per cent of what was promised. Three ounces of ration are being distributed to our people. That is one side of the story.

There is another aspect to it. The Central Government were subsidising supplies of rice and wheat. They have removed that subsidy now. What is the result? Whereas we were getting rice at Rs. 69 per quintal 10 months ago when the present UF Government came to power, today the position is that we have to pay Rs. 96 per quintal. You will be surprised to

see that in Andhra and Madras the peasants are being cheated by this Government. They are engaging in shameless profiteering as far as we are concerned, because what do they pay the Andhra peasant and the Madras peasant? They pay much less than they take from us. The rice that is supplied to us from Madras or from Andhra by the Central Government is given to us at Rs. 96 per quintal. In Madras they pay Rs. 72.50 total, including transport charges, and in Andhra they pay Rs. 77, total, all-inclusive, while they take Rs. 96 from us. So, per quintal of Andhra rice they take a profit of Rs. 19, and from Madras they take a profit of Rs. 23.50.

Then they say they have to cut down the subsidy, because the Central Government is running bankrupt—of course, they are running bankrupt on many accounts, we know the tragic story of what is happening in the economic field—and the people who are to take this coarse rice, this is as far as coarse rice is concerned, who were paying Rs. 69 have now to pay Rs. 96. We know this is the game, but the Kerala Government had to decide, had to take a painful decision as to what they should do. Either they have to impose this burden on the people, or they have to continue the subsidy in spite of the Central Government's betrayal, but then they will have to go without much of planning. This was the choice before them, and for the time being they have taken a decision to continue the subsidy on their own. It comes to Rs. 19 crores per year, and on the basis of that subsidy the State Budget presented to the legislature has shown a deficit of Rs. 18 crores. The people of my State would like to have the support of all the hon. members of this House and the people of this country to compel the Central Government to continue the subsidy that they were giving for the supply of rice.

Our State is proud to claim that we produce cash crops that bring the

foreign exchange. Out of nearly Rs. 700 crores, the total foreign exchange earnings for the whole of India, this small State is contributing nearly Rs. 200 crores of foreign exchange. Our people are working hard, they are producing all sorts of cash crops. It is not their fault that they do not produce all the rice that they need. I do not think any man in his senses will say that the people of Kerala should cut down their rubber, tea and cardamom and have rice in their place. That will be a national loss. So, that is a question that should engage the attention of this hon. House and the entire people of this country.

Apart from the stopping of the subsidy and the failure on the part of the Government to supply the promised quantity of rice, on many other counts we can place almost a charge-sheet against the Central Government as far as their failures are concerned, but I do not have the time to go into it. This being the most important question, I should like the House to consider this matter.

But the Government is formulating this policy, is resorting to this kind of policy with a purpose. They think that a Government which cannot be toppled by defections or by other methods can be strangled by economic sanctions, by putting them in a corner as far as their finances are concerned, and then they think that the Government can be brought down. Perhaps some provisions of the Constitution can be made use of for dismissing the Government. I remember the day, 31st July, 1959, when the Government was dismissed even when they had a majority in the legislature. If the Central leaders, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Shri Chavan and others perhaps imagine that they can resort to the same method of dismissal, even when the Government has got a majority in the legislature, as far as Kerala is concerned I can tell them even now that our people are not going to take that lying down, and the entire responsibility for sub-

verting democracy and subverting the very Constitution and which they say is very sacred, will be on the shoulders of the Central Government.

In the light of the developments that have taken place after the elections, all of us will have to put our heads together and find out ways and means straightening out the relations between the Centre and the States. A strict adherence to the federal principle is needed and some amendments to our Constitution are called for. Without these, no sermons by the Central leaders or the President will help resolve the deadlock in the country. I wanted to illustrate the point and showed how the Central leadership was adopting a vindictive attitude towards the non-Congress Governments in the States and though they have tall claims of treating all State Governments at par, they are all hollow and without substance. Unless this practice stops, the 'toppling' that takes place in the States will ultimately take place in the Centre.

**SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI (Howrah):** I rise to support the motion of thanks moved by one who is very often described as the young Turk in the Congress side. He is a Member of this House noted for his bold and imaginative ideas. It is gratifying to note that our President has highlighted certain aspects of our national life and pinpointed certain complications in the social, political and economic spheres of our national existence. We are passing through times in which the President's Address may not prove to be a very inspiring document either for this House or for the public. Even then he has tried to cheer us up by pointing out that we have turned the corner this year and there has been a good harvest in the country. Twenty million tonnes more of foodgrains will be produced this year. But much will depend upon our procurement and distribution machinery if the benefit of this bumper harvest is to go to the poor people. Otherwise, in spite of this bumper crop millions of people will be starving. When I

[Shri Krishna Kumar Chatterji]

left my State on the 8th of this month, rice was selling at Rs. 2.60 a kilo. Procurement was so poor that people have a feeling that it would not be possible for our people to be fed on rice any more. It is a pity that the Central Government has not taken any decision to remove the instability prevailing in the political field. I do not know why there is so much hesitation and indecision on the part of the Centre about it. West Bengal had been facing a critical time when lawlessness prevailed there on a large scale and procurement was negligible. It has also to be noted that our agriculture had been neglected from the beginning of our planning in my state and elsewhere. We have had to pay a heavy price for this neglect. Even now, if we want to turn the corner actually, we have to see that we do not repeat our past mistake but devote more time and thought to agriculture. What is happening now? Procurement in various surplus States is not on a large enough scale. Proper and rational attempts should be made to procure the grains in various deficit States where so far procurement has not been a success. We have failed to do so in my State. From the Centre also we cannot get sufficient rice to feed our rural people. There has been complete starvation in certain parts of West Bengal and unless we do something, West Bengal will be on fire.

Some of us have been talking of bank nationalisation and the nationalisation of general insurance and have been pleading for the export-import trade being taken over by the State in entirety. I would request our Deputy Prime Minister to excuse us, and not to think that we are faddists and are asking for the moon. We feel that unless banks nationalisation is brought into being and unless the general insurance companies are nationalised promptly and unless the export-import trade is also brought completely under State control, we cannot harness our internal resources to any appreciable extent. We cannot

any longer depend on foreign financial aids—foreign financial aids like those which we are having today—giving opportunity to foreign powers to dabble in our internal policies, which is derogatory to our national honour and self-respect.

We have seen that in the past, all our attempts to pinpoint this issue have failed and the question of social control has been raised by our Prime Minister to counteract our demands. Will anybody believe in this country that with industrial magnates like Sir Biren Mukerjee—I am mentioning only one name—and certain commercial magnates in the National Credit Council, it is possible to bring about that social control which will bring justice to our rural population or the rural peasantry? Our purpose is to suggest that there should be a reorientation of our credit structure in the country, so that we can harness all our internal resources and see that money flows to the rural areas through an energetic banking system run on commercial lines. This will also help in bringing about a condition of improvement in rural areas and probably we shall be able to turn the corner in the matter of employment. Therefore, I would humbly suggest that although we are committed to give social control a chance in this country yet, we should not give much time to this kind of experimentation, when we know that to harness the resources of our country it is not possible to carry on like this for any length of time. Time is the essence of the matter. Unless we take prompt decisions, it may happen that we shall very soon come to a position when all our internal resources will be exhausted and we shall have to go with a beggar's bowl again to foreign countries, which is very detrimental to our national safety.

I have to point out one other matter, and that is the question of our profession and practice as rulers. After all these 20 years of preaching socialism to enliven our masses to fight against the exploitation of capi-

talist economy, we have seen that the disparity in wealth has grown to such an extent that the rich has become so rich that they are power-med and are politically ambitious now. We have also seen that not only poverty as also disparity in this country continue but the same has been increasing. Poverty has grown to such an extent that millions of people are living in misery and on empty stomachs. Abject misery will create a situation which may become explosive at any moment in this country.

We have to point out also to the President that although he has been able to focus before this country certain important aspects, he has perhaps disintegration have started because of certain faulty steps taken by us in the past. We are to be blamed for what has taken place in this country. Who started these disruptive and disintegrating forces in the country? We have. On the language issue we, bungled, and we have not been able to solve the link language question for the last 20 years. And those who come forward and say and persist in saying that a link language should soon be introduced in this country, we call them Hindi chauvinists, and the we accuse those who, for historical reasons, cannot give up English, as disruptionists. Let us pause and think for a while. Unless we bring about some kind of consensus at a national level on this language issue, we shall be creating a condition which will lead to the liquidation of India. I read that at Madurai in a conference the students passed a resolution saying that they are thinking of getting out of the Indian Union and that they will no longer celebrate the Independence Day or unfurl the National Flag in this area. If that is the condition in the country, it is high time we take some positive steps so that the language issue may be solved very quickly and to the satisfaction of all sections of our people.

Coming to the problem of unemployment, it is standing shame on us that after so many years of develop-

ment, 19,000 of our technical hands, including qualified engineers, roam about begging for services. Still we claim that we have followed a course of planned technological and scientific development in this country! Long before, we should have thought about providing employment and guaranteeing jobs to the technical hands and engineering talents who are there to serve the country, but alas we cannot provide them with that opportunity.

In the present circumstances of high prices and rising cost of living, we have to consider whether the Government employees are paid the need-based wages which are necessary for their living. I suggest that even for the higher cadre services, the emoluments and pay-scales are not commensurate with the need of the hour. To get efficient, honest and energetic services from the Government employees to implement all our programmes, the scales of pay should be commensurate with the cost of living.

It has to be remembered that we have to create such conditions in the country that the factories may not close down at the sweet-will of the management. In my State, about 1.50 lakh workers remain out of employment, in spite of the promise given by the present Chief Minister that the factories will be opened soon and they will be given work. Only a few factories have opened so far out of 300 and the plight of most of the workers is such that most of them are starving and are almost on the point of explosion in West Bengal. Therefore, I would remind the Government that they must come forward with suitable steps in no time. The Labour Minister is not here. Otherwise, I would have told him that in one factory, N.I.S. Co., alone, where 6,000 workers are employed, they have not been paid their wages for two months and no action could be taken under the existing law to bring the management to book due to some loopholes. It is high time the Labour Ministry thought of enacting certain

[Shri Krishna Kumar Chatterji.]

laws so that such high-handedness on the part of the management may not be there in the Industrial field.

With these words I support the motion of thanks to the President for his Address.

श्री शिंदरे (पंजिम) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जिस वक्तव्य का निदेश मैं कर रहा हूँ अपने भाषण के शुरू में वह वक्तव्य है एक हुक्मशाह का, एक साम्राज्यवादी का। वह वक्तव्य है सालाजार का जो पुर्तगाल का हुक्मशाह है। जब गोभ्रा में हम लोगों ने गोभ्रा की आजादी के लिए आन्दोलन शुरू किया था उस वक्त सालाजार पर बहुत से प्रेशर पाश्चात्य राज्य-कर्त्ताओं के आते थे। उस वक्त में उन्होंने कहा कि भारत एक उपखंड है लेकिन वह राष्ट्र नहीं है और पुर्तगाल 900 साल से एक राष्ट्र है। उस समय बहुत से राष्ट्रों से पुर्तगाल पर प्रेशर आते थे कि वह गोभ्रा छोड़े लेकिन वह कहते थे कि पुर्तगाल का राष्ट्रवाद ऐसा है कि अपने प्रदेश का दान किसी को भी कर ने को तैयार नहीं है। वह कहते थे कि पुर्तगाल का गोभ्रा एक प्रदेश या विभाग है और गोभ्रा छोड़ने को वह तैयार नहीं है। वह कटु सत्य था उस समय। शैतान भी कभी कभी बायबल की भाषा बोलता है। लेकिन उस कटु सत्य में जो एक शल्य है उसका आज हमें विचार करना जरूरी है। भारत के बहुत से विभाग आज भारत से छीने जाते हैं। कच्छ के बारे में भी आज अभी अभी ऐसा वक्तव्य आया है कि कच्छ का दस प्रतिशत विभाग पाकिस्तान को दिया गया है और इस सदन में उस विषय पर जब चर्चा हो रही थी तो उस समय यहां सरकारी बेंचों पर, क्लिंग पार्टी की जगह पर प्रधान मंत्री या गृह मंत्री कोई नहीं था लोगों को दिलासा देने के लिये कि कच्छ के बारे में क्या होगा। सालाजार के वक्तव्य का जो उल्लेख मैंने किया था उसमें वह सत्य है कि राष्ट्रवाद की कल्पना अभी तक भारत स्वतन्त्र होने के बाद भी, 20 साल स्वतंत्रता के हो जाने के बाद भी,

इस देश में नहीं आ पाई है। जितनी दखल उसमें हमें लेना चाहिए या वह हम ले नहीं सके हैं।

प्रेसिडेंट के एड्रेस पर बहुत कुछ बोला गया है। अन्न समस्या के बारे में बोला गया है और परराष्ट्र विषय में जो बहुत से हैं उस बारे में भी बोला गया है। लेकिन मैं एक ही बात का उल्लेख यहां करना चाहता हूँ। वह एही है राष्ट्रवाद का और उस बारे में जो कुछ टिप्पणियाँ पिछले तीन चार महीनों में हो गई हैं उनके बारे में मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। 26 जनवरी को रिपब्लिक डे का समारोह कुर्ग में मकरा में होता था। उस समय वहां के जो छात्र थे एन० सी० सी० के उन्होंने भारतीय तिरंगा जो है उसे सैल्यूट करने से रोक्युक्त किया। मद्रास में भी केवल इसलिये कि जो एन० सी० सी० और ए० सी० सी० की घोषणाएं हैं वे हिन्दी में हैं इसलिये इन्कार किया गया। एन० सी० सी० और ए० सी० सी० की ऐक्टिविटीज को वहां चालू रखने में और वहां के जो मुख्य मंत्री हैं उन्होंने बयान किया है कि जब तक वह कमांड आर्डर्स, वह घोषणाएं हिन्दी से बदल न जाएं तब तक उस राज्य में एन० सी० सी० और ए० सी० सी० की ऐक्टिविटीज नहीं शुरू होंगी.....

SHRI KANDAPPAN (Mettur): It was not a statement, it was an unanimous resolution passed by the House.

श्री शिंदरे : वह तो बहुत इससे भी ज्यादा खतरनाक है।

एक ऐसा भी उदाहरण आया है कि मदुराई के स्कूलों में जो छात्र हैं उन्होंने एक यूनियन किया है और उन्होंने ऐसा निर्णय लिया है कि वे भारतीय तिरंगे को सैल्यूट न करेंगे और भारत का जो राष्ट्रीय गीत है। उसको भी वह मान देने को तैयार नहीं हैं। मैं एक शिक्षक था। गोभ्रा की आजादी के

पहले मैंने शिक्षक का ही पेशा किया। मेरे समझ में नहीं आता कि मदुराई के वे शिक्षक कैसे हैं जो अपने छात्रों को नहीं कह सकते कि भारत के तिरंगे का, भारत के राष्ट्र गीत का राष्ट्र भाषा का मान करना सीखें। सब राज्यों की अलग अलग भाषायें हैं, आखिर कितने राष्ट्रगीत बनाये जायेंगे? इतना ही नहीं, कमाण्ड आर्डरजं जो पिछले 20 वर्षों से हिन्दी में दिये जाते हैं, वे अब चाहते हैं कि उनको रीजनल लैंग्वेज में दिये जायें। वह नहीं चाहते कि हिन्दी में, जो हमारी राष्ट्र भाषा है, जिसको संविधान ने माना है, जिसको हमारी संसद के रेजोल्यूशन में माना गया, उस राष्ट्रभाषा में यदि उनको घोषणायें दी जाती हैं, तो उसको मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं, लेकिन वहाँ अंग्रेजी चलती है। मैं उनको कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले जमाने में हमारे भारतीय लश्कर में अलग अलग रेजीमेंट्स होती थीं, जैसे महार रेजीमेंट थी, उसमें महारों को रखा जाता था, मद्रास रेजीमेंट थी, उसमें मद्रासियों को रखा जाता था, जाट रेजीमेंट थी, उसमें जाटों को रखा जाता था, डोगरा रेजीमेंट थी, उसमें डोगरों को रखा जाता था, लेकिन अब वैसा नहीं है . . .

थो: शांति भूषण बाजपेयी (खारगोन) :  
अभी भी ऐसे ही रखते हैं।

श्री शिक्षक: नहीं ऐसा नहीं है, सब को मिला कर रखते हैं। उन रेजीमेंटों के नाम तो अभी रह गये हैं, लेकिन उनमें देश के सभी लोग हैं, जाति के आधार पर नहीं हैं। अब जब एक रेजीमेंट में देश के सब भागों के लोग रहते हैं, तो उनको किस भाषा में आर्डर देंगे। जब मुकाबला करने का समय आता है,

जब चीन या पाकिस्तान या कोई दूसरा आक्रामक देश भारत पर आक्रमण करेगा, तब क्या माड़ीर पलटन को माहौर अधिकारी आर्डर देंगे, मद्रासी पलटन को तामिल में आर्डर देंगे—यह कैसे हो सकता है ?

जहाँ तक अध्यक्ष महोदय, अन्न का प्रश्न है, मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार इस समस्या को अवश्य दूर करेगी। मैं ऐसा नहीं समझता हूँ कि हमारी केन्द्र सरकार केरल के साथ अन्याय करती है, बंगाल के साथ अन्याय करती है या हमारे गोआ के साथ अन्याय करती है; मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि वह किसी तरह का अन्याय करेगी, क्योंकि वे भी भारतीय हैं। जो भी भारतीय आदमी है, मानव है, उस के सुख दुःख के द्रव्य करने की जिम्मेदारी उन पर है और वे जरूर उसका पालन करेंगे। परन्तु प्रारम्भ में मैंने जिस हुक्मशाह के वक्तव्य का निदेश किया था, वह कोई मामूली बात नहीं है, उसको ध्यान में रख कर हमें आज भारत की एकात्मता रखने की तैयारी करनी है। क्योंकि आज भी हमारे कई सदस्य बोल रहे थे कि पाकिस्तान को कच्छ के एवार्ड से जो 10 प्रतिशत जमीन मिल गई है, वे उसको फोर्स से आक्यूपाई करेंगे इसलिये उनका आक्रमण नष्ट करना जरूरी होगा

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया, इसके लिये मैं आपका शुक्रिया अर्पण करता हूँ।

18 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, February 20, 1968/Phalgun 1, 1889 (Saka).