

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर

सरकार को पेश की जाती। परन्तु श्री, मैथ्यू ने रिपोर्ट पर इसलिए दस्तखत तक नहीं किये; क्योंकि तीन-चार सदस्यों ने स्वतंत्र रूप से अपनी रिपोर्ट दी और खास तौर से उन बातों पर जो बातें रिपोर्ट के अंदर, इमरजेंसी के दौरान पत्रकारिता को दबाने के संबंध में थीं। उस पर उन्होंने हस्ताक्षर करने से मना कर दिया। इन लोगों ने डिसेंट नोट दिया, जिनमें छोटे-मोटे पत्रकार नहीं, बल्कि प्रमुख पत्रकार हैं, श्री गिरि लाल जैन, जो 'टाइम्स ग्राफ इंडिया' के हैं, श्री माथुर जो "नयी दुनिया" के हैं, ऐसे ही तीन-चार वरिष्ठ पत्रकार हैं, डाक्टर परांजपे हैं, इन लोगों ने अपने डिसेंट नोट को कि इमरजेंसी के अंदर पत्रकारिता के साथ क्या किया गया, वापस लेने से मना कर दिया है, इसलिए आज रिपोर्ट पर हस्ताक्षर नहीं हुए। मैथ्यू साहब ने कहा है, पत्रकारों से कि संभव है कि 4-5 अप्रैल को उस पर हस्ताक्षर हों। कल उनका जीवन समाप्त हो रहा है। जब तक उनका जीवन सरकार दुबारा बढ़ा न दे, तब तक चार-पांच तारीख तक हस्ताक्षर उस पर कैसे किये जा सकते हैं। हम जानते हैं कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने प्रेस कमीशन बनाया था, वह प्रेस कमीशन जब सरकार गिरी, तो बदल दिया गया। जहां तक मुझे स्मरण है, गोस्वामी साहब उसके चेयरमैन थे और अब श्री मैथ्यू को उसका चेयरमैन बनाया गया है। सबको पता है कि श्री मैथ्यू का दृष्टिकोण क्या है? श्री मैथ्यू ला कमीशन के भी चेयरमैन हैं और उस ला कमीशन ने एक ऐसा क्वेश्चनॉयर जारी किया था जिसको सब जानते हैं, जिसमें हिन्दुस्तान के आज के लोकतंत्रीय ढांचे को बदल कर किस प्रकार से राष्ट्रपति पद्धति को लागू किया जाये, यह क्वेश्चनॉयर

सरकुलेट किया था। वे ही मैथ्यू साहब चेयरमैन होंगे के नाते अपने सहयोगियों पर दबाव डाल रहे हैं कि तुम अपनी रिपोर्ट को, डिसेंट नोट को बदल दो; क्योंकि आपने उसमें इमरजेंसी के दिनों का जिक्र किया है। इसी भांति उनका दूसरा ऐतराज है कि सरकार किसप्रकार से आज वर्तमान पत्रकारिता को दबा सकती है, उस पर जो भी उन्होंने ऐतराज किये हैं, उन पर भी मैथ्यू साहब का कहना है कि नहीं, इस पर तुम्हें इजाजत नहीं दूंगा। जब कोई भी कमीशन बनाया जाता है तो हर सदस्य को अधिकार रहता है कि वह अपना डिसेंट नोट दे सकता है, बड़ा खेद है कि श्री मैथ्यू एक अपना विचार रखने के कारण दूसरे अपने सदस्यों पर दबाव डाल रहे हैं और सरकार यदि प्रेस कमीशन को इजाजत देती है कल के बाद पांच-सात दिन जितने दिन, जीवन बढ़ाने का तो यह कहने में मुझे संदेह नहीं होगा कि इसमें सरकार का हाथ है। वरना जैसी रिपोर्ट है वह हस्ताक्षरित होकर आज या कल पेश की जानी चाहिए। मैं मंत्री महोदय होते, तो पूछता, इसलिए श्रीमन्, मैं आपसे पूछाना चाहता हूँ कि क्या कल प्रेस कमीशन की जिदगी को बढ़ाया जायेगा, सिर्फ इसलिए कि मैथ्यू साहब अन्य सदस्यों के ऊपर दबाव डाल सकें।

**I. THE BUDGET (KERALA), 1982-83
 —GENERAL DISCUSSION**

**II. THE KERALA APPROPRIATION
 (VOTE ON ACCOUNT) BILL, 1982**

**III. THE KERALA APPROPRIATION
 BILL, 1982**

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
 MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI SA-
 WAJ SINGH SISODIA): Sir, on behalf
 of Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee, I
 beg to move:

"That the Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala for the services of a part of the financial year 1982-83, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, this Bill arises out of a sum of Rs. 479.41 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on the 27th March, 1982, and Rs. 73.50 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala as shown in the vote on account circulated along with the Budget papers on the 25th March, 1982.

Sir, these amounts have been sought to enable the Government of Kerala to meet its essential expenditure during the first six months of the next financial year, April to September 1982, pending approval of the whole year's Budget by the appropriate legislature.

Full details of these provisions are given in the Vote-on-Account pamphlet.

Sir, I also move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala for the services of the financial year 1981-82, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

This Bill arises out of a sum of Rs. 51.99 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on 27th March, 1982 and Rs. 435.95 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala. These amounts have been sought to cover the additional requirements for the current financial year. Full details of the provisions are available in the Supplementary Demands circulated to Members.

The questions were proposed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall take up The Budget (Kerala) 1982-83,

along with The Kerala Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1982 and The Kerala Appropriation Bill, 1982—all these three—together.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala): Sir, these demands, though clothed in very attractive terminology, are deceptive in appearance for the simple reason that the real programme that is meant for execution in the coming year is not reassuring to the common man in the street.

Sir, according to figures given here, the deficit for the next financial year is Rs. 1.28 crores and the cumulative deficit is Rs. 85.80 crores. This itself is enough testimony to the bad economic state of affairs of the State.

Kerala is an over-populated State with less area and more people to inhabit, creating its own problems. What is most revealing is, even in paragraph 7 at page 2 of the statement made in the Lok Sabha by the Finance Minister on 25th March, a copy of which is given here, it is mentioned: The approved Plan outlay for 1982-83 is Rs. 275 crores. The outlay will be met by the State's own resources—Rs. 146 crores, Central assistance—Rs. 94 crores and additional resource mobilisation by State Government and its enterprises will come to Rs. 35 crores. So, this small State is called upon to produce Rs. 146 crores by its own resources, and Rs. 35 crores by additional resource mobilisation. This is a very huge amount which the small State cannot bear. As a matter of fact, according to real sense of justice, taking into consideration the problems of Kerala, the Central contribution towards Plan expenditure should have been much higher, because Kerala is one State that fetches a lot of foreign exchange to the country. What is it that you give to Kerala? Kerala fetches more foreign exchange but gets very little return from the Central Government. The result is, to many people, Kerala appears to be a small State but with lot of its problems not known.

urgent public importance

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But it is a State which earns a lot of foreign exchange. At the same time, this foreign exchange is utilised for the development of some other parts of this country. It is well known that the manpower of Kerala exported to the Gulf countries sends, roughly, Rs. 700 crores a year by way of foreign remittance. What use is made of this? Nobody knows. There is no scheme by the Government to make use of this amount. Most of this money is spent on conspicuous expenditure. Whatever money is available from foreign remittances is not properly utilised for the development of this country. Last year, I suggested to the Government, to the hon. Minister who piloted the Export-import Bank Bill, that remittances from Indian nationals working in foreign countries should be channelled in an institutional manner so that it can be utilised for the developmental activities of this country. The hon. Minister at that time agreed that this was a very good suggestion. But this was never acted upon. It was not even accepted.

Coming to the Government Plan and the budgeted expenditure for this year, I may be permitted to go through the figures. The Central Government and the same Party Government in Kerala, which has just fallen, have always been clamouring that they stand by what is called a welfare society. What expenditure has been earmarked by them for this welfare society in Kerala? For other social and community services, the amount earmarked is only Rs. 46.76 lakhs. In a society, in a country, where the Government swears by a welfare State, for the formation of a welfare State, more money should have been earmarked, more amount should have been earmarked, for welfare measures like 'other social and community services'. Unfortunately, a paltry sum of Rs. 46.76 lakhs only is earmarked for this purpose. Is it an attempt at a welfare State? No. This is only a deceptive slogan to mislead the people, that they stand for,

the Central Government and their counterparts in Kerala, their party in Kerala, stand for a welfare State. From this Budget, this claim has been exploded.

Now, going through some other provisions, what is the amount provided for, for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes? In one of the papers, it has been mentioned that enhanced expenditure is because of the enhanced stipends and scholarships given to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe student. Actually, this itself is misleading. Recently, after the discredited Government, which has just fallen, took office, the Chief Minister, who headed a Cabinet, which never included a Harijan or a Scheduled Tribe, had the audacity and had the impunity to declare that his Government is cutting down the stipends given to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students. Here it is claimed that the Government is enhancing the amount. Actually, what he has done is, certain sections of the Scheduled Castes have been kept away, for the first time, in the history of Kerala, from the list of beneficiaries of the stipends and scholarships given to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students. This has been done for the first time in Kerala. Never before was there any discrimination between Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. For the first time, in the history of Kerala, the local leadership of the party which is headed by Shrimati Indira Gandhi at the Centre, had the impunity to cut down the expenditure in relation to the educational benefits given to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students. They say, they are the champions of the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. At the same time, they cut at the very roots of the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Moreover, the amount which has been set apart for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes includes a big portion meant for other backward communities also.

If one is under the impression that the entire amount is being spent for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, it is not so. More than 50 per cent of the amount is spent on the welfare of the backward communities other than the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This attempt of cutting down the educational concessions of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students has been there because the discredited Government that has fallen now, has yielded to the pressure tactics of the NDP which represents the dominant community in Kerala. This community has only 12 per cent people in the State, but they monopolise nearly 85 per cent of the government jobs, particularly, class I jobs. They have organised another communal political party known as the National Democratic Party. But actually it is a Nair Domination party. This party has been clamouring for monopoly of power. They never succeeded in the recent decades. But now they have been insisting that the reservation policy should be given up, that the roster point system should be abolished. Recently they have conducted a satyagraha just in front of the office of the Kerala State Public Service Commission demanding of abolition of the reservation policy. That is the party which is one of the constituents in your party, in your so-called democratic united front. It is an unholy front. They are conspiring against the down-trodden people and this dominant community which has organised a political party to take the country century backwards, has now succeeded, Sir.

The Chief Minister, Mr. Karunakaran, had the audacity to say, to mislead the people that he himself is a Harijan. He has been colluding with his own community men who got organised in the Nair society and the NDP and he has yielded to the pressure of the people of that community. What was that Government doing? This budget is a product of that Government doing? This budget is a product of that Government. That Gov-

ernment has fallen but the ghost of that government is still haunting the State. They have produced a budget which is anti-people, an anti-underdog budget. The budget is very surreptitiously woven to defeat the interests of the weaker sections in the State; that is what is reflected in the budget. I do not want to say much on that subject, there are certain other things also to be talked about.

What about development? If you go through the provisions made for the development of the State, the position is much worse. I was referring to the inadequate percentage of the Central contribution towards the Plan fund. Kerala has always been demanding that because of its special problems, because of the peculiar position. It should be given the highest percentage of the Central contribution towards the Plan fund. That is not there, that is not envisaged by the Central Government in this budget. Then, Sir, there is some sort of a wrong impression that Kerala has got a lot of water. I am happy that Kerala has fairly good quantity of water, but the impression in Tamil Nadu is that a lot of water is being wasted through the rivers of Kerala flowing into the Arabian Ocean. But, Sir, that is not the fact. The fact is that even in this month of March, some two weeks ago, there have been press reports that the periyar has been eroded by Saline waters of the sea very near Alwaye which is the source of drinking water for the Cochin city and nearby areas. At the point where we collect drinking water for distribution to the city, saline water is coming from the Arabian Sea and getting mixed with the fresh water of Periyar. The result is because of the high percentage of salinity of the water, the entire Cochin area and its suburbs were supplied with saline water. Moreover, all the industries—fertiliser and chemical—which are situated on the banks of Periyar river had to be closed down. This is a serious problem which cuts across the very developmental activities of the State. The impression in some other

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quarters is that Periyar water is being wasted. But what is the truth? All the recent reports indicate that that impression is wrong. The salinity of water has to be prevented and the Periyar river has to be given more water. Periyar river can be given more water by diverting water. The Idumalaiyar scheme which has been presented, can be implemented with hundred per cent success. The Idumalaiyar project can divert much more good, fresh water to the Periyar river. That will solve the problem of salinity of water in the Periyar river.

Sir, I am speaking about the Periyar river because I come from that area. But the other rivers are also in the same condition. Most of the rivers have been polluted by the factories sending their wastes into the channels.

One more thing I may be permitted to say. What about power? We have passed certain legislation last year or so preventing the undertaking of new projects—whether it is hydel or irrigation—without clearance from the Central Government. Kerala cannot undertake, earmark or prepare any new project because it has to get the previous sanction of the Central Government by way of safeguard for preservation of forests. If we have to prepare a blueprint of the project, we have to get clearance from the Central Government that the area is free for a project, otherwise they will say that we are simply destroying the forests. Actually, we are not destroying the forests. The forests are being destroyed by timber contractors, not by the projects. I suggest that the Central Government should have a liberal look towards the problems of Kerala which is capable of preparing so many projects—hydel projects, irrigation projects—but most of the projects we cannot undertake because of the Preservation of Forests Act.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I am concluding. What is the social attitude of this Government, as reflected in this Budget. We can divide the Budget into two halves—one part is the developmental part and the other is the social welfare part. Neither in the developmental part, nor in the social welfare part, this Government is doing justice to the people. In the developmental part, the Central Government does not give proper justice to the State Government. In the social welfare part, the State Government itself does not give justice to the poor people of that State. That is the signal State of affairs in that State. Kerala is a State which has gone far in advance in terms of implementation of land reforms. But a very small amount has been earmarked for that purpose. The real problem in the implementation of land reforms is the bottlenecks because of financial difficulties. If Central assistance is available in liberal terms, certainly Kerala will be able to implement much more land reforms with much faster speed. So, land reforms require higher priority which is not given here. Development activities like new projects are not given proper opportunities, social welfare schemes are not given proper importance. Then programmes for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, especially their education, are not given proper importance. Then, what else is there?

Sir, the Left Democratic Front Government can take the credit for implementing so many social welfare measures and so many pension schemes. But those pensions have been cut down. For instance, the agricultural workers' pension has been cut down. Mostly it is the Harijans—the Scheduled Castes—and the Scheduled Tribes, who constitute 75 per cent of the agricultural workers. The pension for agricultural workers is for those who have attained the age of sixty years, and for those people the pension itself has been cut down. What a merciless act of very cruel people who have come to occupy the seats of

ower! I can only feel sorry for the
malj men occupying big places.

That is why I oppose this measure
which has been necessitated because
of the artificial creation of a Govern-
ment which could not exist.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI C. HARIDAS (Kerala): Mr.
Deputy Chairman, Sir, I welcome the
Kerala Budget presented in this House.
In the Budget speech I would like to
say a few words on the political situa-
tion in Kerala.

I also welcome the action on the
Kerala Governor who recommended
the dissolution of the Ministry to the
President after it lost the majority.
When Mr. Karunakaran was Chief
Minister the Opposition, particularly
Marxists, said that his Government
was a Casting Vote Government. But
when it lost majority and the Ministry
was dissolved, on what account did
the Marxists demand that they should
be allowed to form a Government? If
they form a Government, will it have
the majority? The 21-month rule by
the Marxists proved that the Marxists
do not believe in democracy. Now a
strong United Democratic Front has
taken shape in Kerala which believes
in actual democracy and Gandhian
socialism. So, I request the Central
Government to hold elections in Kerala
soon. Marxists or their Left Front
will never rule Kerala. Their 21-
month rule proved this fact. If elec-
tion is held, the United Democratic
Front will come to power with thump-
ing majority.

Sir, the Kerala Budget has been
presented as a deficit budget. Kerala
is a small State but its literacy per-
centage is very high. Unemployment
is a major problem in Kerala. To
solve it, it is very essential to set up
industries in Kerala. Electricity, water
and other raw materials are available
in Kerala in plenty to set up indus-
tries. The Central Government should

consider setting up of industries in
Kerala for its overall development.

The Centre should consider setting
up of a coach factory in Olavakott.
The ports in Kerala, including smaller
and major ports like Cochin, should
be got developed for import-export
purposes. For the industrial develop-
ment of Malappuram, Palghat and
Trichur, it is all the more essential to
develop the Ponani Port. I also thank
the Central Government for the ap-
proval given for starting the Calicut
Airport. I request the Government
to start its work without any further
delay.

Kerala is a State where various pen-
sions such as unemployment allow-
ance, pension for agriculturists, pen-
sion for oldage, widow pension etc. etc.
are implemented. More fund should
be allotted in the Budget for the time-
ly disbursement of these pensions.
The economy of the State depends on
production of rubber, cashewnut, co-
conut, areconut, pepper, etc. Import of
these items should be stopped imme-
diately for the survival of this State.
The Central Government should con-
sider this issue.

Most of the persons working in Gulf
countries are Keralites. They work
there tirelessly for their bread and
butter. Every year Rs. 600 crores
reach Kerala from Gulf countries. The
Government should encourage them to
invest their money for setting up of
industries in Kerala. Provision should
be made in the Budget for this.

Sir, the communism of the Marxists
is entirely different now. The parties
and groups which support them are
Left Front and the parties and groups
which keep away from them are dis-
sident Right Front, as they say. Their
only intention is to split the United
Democratic Front in Kerala. As re-
gards CPI, they have got difference of
opinion within the party. Their think-
ing is whether they should part com-
pany with Marxists or should join
hands with Congress as they did from

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1970 to 1976 in Kerala. I feel that they should come out of the Marxists Front without any further loss of time. Sir, we have got sympathy towards the Congress (S)—Sarad Pawar group. Now they are in the hands of Marxists. They are now actors in the Marxists' drama. They should come out of the Marxist fold; otherwise, they will be in danger.

Sir, lastly, I once again support the Kerala Budget presented in this House.

Thank you.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I will not go into the political aspect about which yesterday in this House and previously in the other House critical speeches were made about the double standards of the Governor in asking one set of persons to form the Government and to send away another alliance when they latter are prepared to form the Government. A strange arithmetic is now operating in Kerala. We talk of modern mathematics, modern arithmetic in schools, but here is a modern political arithmetic in Kerala where a party and an alliance of 67 out of 141 is allowed to form the Government claiming that it is viable, whereas the Opposition with 71 out of 141, when they come forward, is considered to be not so viable. Sixty-seven out of 141 was considered more viable than 71 out of 141. This kind of double standard has been perpetrated by the Governor there. Sir, in this respect, I would state that not only has the double standard been now perpetrated there, but this has been going on in other states for a long time. It has crept into the Central Government also. What the hon. Home Minister says is not followed honestly by the Minister of Finance. What one hand gives, the other hand takes away, even though "Hand" is a symbol of that party.

Sir, yesterday, when the hon. Home Minister, Mani Zail Singh, was reply-

ing to the debate, he stated that the Government wanted to get this Resolution approved by the House so that elections could be held in due course of time, that is, within six months which was constitutionally and legally provided, but the Opposition wanted revocation of the Proclamation. He came forward with the plea that early elections will take place, and everyone who spoke from that side also said that early elections would take place in Kerala. I doubt very much. That may be opinion of the Home Minister. But what the Home Minister proposes, the Finance Minister seems to be disposing.

The annual financial statement is given to us with the Budget estimates for the year 1982-83. If it is true that elections are going to take place within six months or within this year, 1982-83, adequate provision should have been made on a realistic basis. As per accounts of the actuals for 1979-80, Rs. 220 lakhs, rupees two crores and twenty lakhs were spent for the conduct of the Assembly and the Parliamentary elections in the State of Kerala in January, 1980.

Though the Government claims that the prices have been controlled, I do not think that the prices have come to the level of slashing them further down. In the Budget estimates for 1982-83 they have allocated a sum of Rs. 24.32 lakhs for the conduct of elections. If they are very sincere, if they are very honest, if they mean business of holding elections in that year, not less than Rs. 250 lakhs would have been required. As per the past experience in the 1980 elections in January, Rs. 220 lakhs were spent. The actual for 1980-81 has been Rs. 79.72 lakhs. For revising the electoral rolls for the year 1981-82, the revised estimate was Rs. 32.53 lakhs. Everybody knows that there was no general election in Kerala in 1981-82. But for the year 1982-83 a paltry sum of Rs. 24 lakhs only has been given, which shows that the Government is not serious at this stage about conduct-

ing general elections in the State of Kerala. This goes contrary to the assurance given by the Minister.

As I said, the prices seem to have fallen so drastically in the State of Kerala that the Finance Minister has revised, slashed, the estimate about housing from Rs. 5.07 crores in 1981-82 to Rs. 3.76 crores in the present estimate for 1982-83; about the economic services, especially "Co-operation", from Rs. 12.97 crores to Rs. 6.80 crores; about soil conservation which is a grave problem in the State of Kerala, from Rs. 3.98 crores to Rs. 3.47 crores; about dairy development from Rs. 2.90 P.M. crores to Rs. 1.69 crores, Fisheries 12.40 crore last year; this year it is 12.27 crores Community Development—they spent Rs. 37.72 crores in 1981-82 now it is Rs. 35.51 crores; Village and small industries for which so much is being talked about, last year Rs. 7.83 crores (revised estimates for 1981-82); for 1982-83 because of the fall in the prices it has come down to Rs. 5.5 crores; Irrigation drainage—last year it was Rs. 14.06 crores, now it is Rs. 8.53 crores. Even on the capital account of social and community services the revised estimate for 1981-82 was Rs. 30.64 crores, and in the new Budget it has come down to Rs. 25.34 crores. This is the way in which the Government is allocating funds. On the one hand they promise. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will continue after lunch.

सदन की कार्यवाही दो बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है

The House then adjourned for lunch at one minute past one of the clock.

The House then adjourned for lunch at three minutes past two of the clock. The Vice-Chairman, (Shri Dinesh Goswami) in the Chair

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: As I was explaining just before the lunch recess,

there has been a tendency on the part of the Government to reduce the allotment to various sectors. The Government has been reducing the budget estimates for 1982-83 from what they were in the revised estimates for 1981-82, in respect of housing, cooperation, soil conservation, dairy development, fisheries, community development, village and small industries, irrigation and drainage, and capital account for social and community services. If this Government had been very honest and sincere about conducting elections in Kerala in the coming year, they should have allocated more funds for the purpose. As I explained earlier, for 1980 January elections they had shown an amount of about Rs. 220 lakhs. The Government have been saying that they are going to conduct elections in the coming year, within six months. But the amount allotted is only Rs. 24.32 lakhs. This itself shows that the Government do not mean business or, otherwise the assurance that the hon. Home Minister has given is not correct.

There has been another aspect about elections to the Rajya Sabha. The elections had been announced and even nomination papers had been filed. Subsequently, quite suddenly they dissolved the State Assembly disabling the State of Kerala to send their representatives to the Rajya Sabha. In adopting this procedure, the Central Government have followed a double standard. I will recall to the House what happened in 1968 when the then elected Government in Uttar Pradesh lost its majority. At that time, the Governor sent a report to the Central Government on February 22, 1968, wherein he said:

"There is also the consideration that as many as 12 Members of the Rajya Sabha will be retiring shortly and the State Legislature has to elect new Members in their place. If the Legislative Assembly is dissolved now, new elections may not be pos-

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sible till such time after the next rainy season and until then the 12 seats in the Rajya Sabha will remain unfilled. Leaving such a large number of seats from UP unfilled in Rajya Sabha will not be in the interest of the State and for that reason also, I do not think it desirable to dissolve the Assembly at this juncture. But I feel that it would be in the best interest of the State if the functioning of the Legislative Assembly is merely suspended."

Therefore, what happened in UP in 1968, when the Government there fell, when the Ministry there did not have the majority, is revealed by this. This Governor, in his wisdom, said that there was the biennial election coming in ten or fifteen days and, therefore, he thought he should not let the State go unrepresented in the Rajya Sabha and, in the larger interest of the State, it was only suspended. Ironically, the elections were held after fifteen days after which the Assembly was dissolved. In April 1968 it was dissolved and on the 22nd February, the Governor had written stating that the House need not be dissolved, but be kept in suspended animation. So, what is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander also. So, what they allowed in UP in 1968, should have been allowed in 1982 in Kerala also and in Assam also, if they have any care for these things. Therefore, I say that a double standard has been adopted.

Sir, as I explained to you, even though this Government has been uniformly reducing the allocations for various things, there is one department for which sufficient encouragement has been given. The Budget Estimates for 1982-83 show an enormous increase, an increase by leaps and bounds, for the police department. The Revised Estimates for the year 1981-82 show a figure of Rs. 31.07 crores whereas the Budget Estimates for 1982-83 indicate that the allocation has been escalated to Rs. 43.37 crores, that is a sum of

Rs. 12 crores more has been added for police department. For jails also, it has been increased from Rs. 160 lakhs to Rs. 181 lakhs. Therefore, there is a huge increase in respect of police department and there is a huge increase in respect of the jail department, but not sufficient provision has been made for conducting the election! I do not know what Mr. Zail Singh is going to say and what role he is going to play, whether it is going to be a tragedy or a comedy, whether he is going to play the role of Adolf Hitler there or of Adoor Basi. I think persons from Kerala will understand what I mean by Adoor Basi. Adoor Basi is a comedian there. I do not know whether he would assume the rule of Adolf Hitler, the role of a dictator, or the role of Adoor Basi, the role of a comedian in the political drama there.

Regarding the Supplementary Budget, Demands for Grants, I want to draw the pointed attention of the Minister to the very many lapses that are there, to the very many errors and to the very omissions which by themselves will preclude consideration in this House as well as in the other House. Whenever they come to Parliament, they cannot simply throw some documents on the Table and say that the Members should approve them. Sir, this is the third Supplementary Budget and in the case of Assam also it has been put as the second Supplementary Budget here. Nothing has been given. But I can tell you that earlier there were two Supplementary Budgets, one in July 1981 and another in December 1981. So, this the third Supplementary Budget.

I see that there are many items which should have been included in the earlier Supplementary Budget itself. For example, in Demand No. 2, against Item No. (k) and (l), a foot-note has been given like this: "As per G. O. No. 279 of 1981, GAD, dated 20th August 1981, the number of Members of the Commission has been enhanced from six to eight and, consequently, certain additional posts have been created and Supplementary Grant for

expenditure is now asked for." They had one Supplementary Budget in December and this was the decision taken in August. Why could not this have been included in the December one, I do not know. More peculiar is that in this Supplementary Budget, some expenditure incurred in 1981 in respect of the Republic Day ceremony has been included. I think you follow my argument. The Republic Day comes in January 1981. That means, the expenditure should have been correctly included in the 1980-81 Supplementary Budget. They did not do that one. They did not take note of it in the 1981-82 Budget, not in the first Supplementary Budget in July. It was not included in the Second Supplementary Budget of December. Now they come to rectify the expenditure incurred for the Independence Day and Republic Day celebrations of 1981. They have put it up. Sir, in these things the House is being taken for a ride.

One more point, a very important one relates the amounts withdrawn from the Contingency Fund, to regularised for New Services by a taken grant here. Sir, as you are aware, there is a Financial Rule in respect of the Contingency Fund that whenever an amount is withdrawn from the Contingency Fund, Supplementary Estimates for all expenses met out of withdrawal from the Contingency Fund shall be presented to the Legislature in the first Session immediately after the advance is sanctioned. This is a regular one applicable here as to most of the States. I was not able to get the Financial Rules for Kerala. I do not think there would be any difference, subject to the one that if they have not taken that into consideration, that should have been included. In many items they have not followed this one. For example, Demand No. VIII page 9. They said that on 6-7-81 sanction was accorded for the creation of 101 posts of peons, simultaneously abolishing equal number of posts of Excise guards. It is a new service. That means, if it is a new service that cannot be taken out of the Consolidated Fund or out of the already allocated

demands. They have necessarily to go to the Contingency Fund and come up for a Supplementary one. A sanction was given on 6-1-81. There was a demand in July, again there has been another supplementary in December. In both the supplementaries they have miserably missed this one.

Certain things are intriguing to me. Take for instance, Demand No. XV. I think Mr. Zaij Singh will be better than anybody else to explain this. Under capital section an item 11 Police, a sum of Rs. 100 has been the demand. In the foot-note they say that it is a token grant for a non-budget item. What does it mean? For a new service when they come to the House they should indicate the full extent of the expenditure on that. Unless they tell us, about the total cost, what is the basis on which House can give you the vote?

Suppose it is going to cost Rs. 2 lakhs and you ask a token grant of Rs. 100/-, in that case, the House should be made aware that it will cost Rs. 2 lakhs and that you have a demand of Rs. 100/- and balance to be met from savings. In Demand No. XXV-Labour and Employment — in the foot-note under (an) they have stated that in October 1981, the Government sanctioned the scheme for financial aid to construction and quarry workers. As it constituted a new service, a supplementary grant is sought. They have provided only Rs. 100/-. Now, we do not know what is the total amount that is going to be spent. It means that you are taking approval only for Rs. 100/- and not for the entire amount. The entire cost of the new service should have been intimated in this item. There are many other similar cases. In very many places they are silent about the actual expenditure and they are taking this House for a ride by providing only Rs. 100/ here and there. This shows that the Government either in their hurry or in their complacency or in their attempt to take the House for granted, have put

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some figures which do not follow any financial rules. It is a very illegal and unconstitutional way of drawing amounts. In one place, an advance has been taken for construction of schools. They have put the expenditure as Rs. 100/-. Probably it may cost several lakhs. They may take a balance from savings. When they come for allocation, they should indicate the total expenditure on the new services. The whole thing has been done in a hurried way both politically and financially. They are taking this House for granted. I appreciate the hurry with which the Finance Minister comes to the House. There is a Department here, that is the Finance Ministry. Why are they not going through these details? When a person like me, by spending a few hours, is able to point out so many financial inconsistencies and irregularities against the financial rules, why cannot they find out these things? If you want, I can give a note on this one and he should try to explain as to how these things have been allowed to happen.

The Home Ministries doing everything in a way which is not proper. The Finance Ministry is at loggerheads. State elections are to be held, that is what they say. But no adequate provision for elections has been made. That means that they want to convert Kerala as a Police raj. They do not want to run it as a democratic State as per the constitutional provisions.

श्री नरसिंह नारायण पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस अप्रोप्रिएशन बिलों पर जो दोनों इस सदन के समक्ष रखे गये हैं, अपने विचारों को व्यक्त करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। वैसे, श्रीमन्, मैं इस अवसर को अपने अंतिम भाषण के रूप में इस्तेमाल करना चाहता हूँ। श्रीमन्, मैंने बड़े ढ़य नपूर्वक माननीय सदस्यों के भाषणों को सुना है और बड़े गौर से उनके अदर

जाने की कोशिश की है। श्रीमन्, कोई भी प्रदेश, कोई भी देश, राजनैतिक तौर से मजबूत नहीं हो सकता यदि उस में राजनैतिक विचार न हों और राजनैतिक सूझबूझ न हो और देश को राजनैतिक तौर पर चलाने की क्षमता न हो। श्रीमन्, मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जिस प्रकार का प्रजातन्त्र चल रहा है और जिस तरह से पार्टी सिस्टम चल रहा है और जिस तरह से हर प्रदेश में पार्टियों का अलग-अलग स्तर बनता चला जा रहा है विचारों के स्तर पर नहीं बल्कि केवल शासन में आने के स्तर पर— आज प्रदेशों में रीजनल पार्टियां बन रही हैं और देश के स्तर पर जो पार्टियां हैं उन में काफी बिखराव आ रहा है, विचारों का बिखराव, विचारों की समता दिखाई नहीं देती। श्रीमन्, यह बहुत खतरनाक स्थिति पैदा हो गयी है हमारे देश में और इस खतरनाक स्थिति के ऊपर, चाहे उधर के बैठने वाले हों, चाहे उधर के बैठने वाले हों, बड़ी गम्भीरता से विचार करना होगा। यदि आप प्रजातन्त्र को सुरक्षित रखना चाहते हैं, पवित्र रखना चाहते हैं, यदि आप फ़ैडरल स्ट्रक्चर को मजबूत रखना चाहते हैं, मजबूत देखना चाहते हैं, यदि आप के अन्दर राष्ट्रीय भावनाओं का जरा भी कहीं पर दर्द है तो आप को यह देखना पड़ेगा, कोई भी आर्थिक समता, आर्थिक एकता का कोई भी कार्यक्रम जो गरीब, शोषित के लिए आप बनाना चाहते हैं वह मुमकिन नहीं हो पायेगा यदि उस का कोई राजनैतिक आधार नहीं होगा।

श्रीमन् सन् '56, से ले कर 82 तक केरल प्रदेश में कितनी बार सरकारें बदलीं। केरल हमारे देश का ऐसा प्रदेश है जिस में सब से ज्यादा पढ़े-लिखे लोग हैं और यदि पढ़े-लिखे लोग, जिन के ऊपर हमारे देश का भविष्य है, सन् '56 से ले कर आज '82 तक 12 बार सरका:

का बदलाव कर सकते हैं किसी विचार पर नहीं, किसी सिद्धान्त पर नहीं, किसी आर्थिक प्रोग्राम पर नहीं बल्कि कुर्सी हम को मिले और उन कुर्सी के लिए हम किसी तरीके से एक ऐसा सामंजस्य स्थापित करें कि हम उस पर बैठे रहें। श्रीमन्, आप ने देखा कि इस देश की राजनीति में '77 से '80 तक क्या परम्परा चली देश की राजनीति में। सारी पार्टियों ने मिल कर, जो विभिन्न विचारों की थीं, जिन का मान-सम्मान, जिन का घोषणापत्र और जिन की मर्यादाएं भिन्न-भिन्न थीं, उन्होंने कोशिश की कि देश की राजनीति को चलावें? क्या चला पायीं? टूट-फूट हो गयी। सारे धागे टूट गये, जितनी गांठें थीं सब अलग-अलग हो गयीं। और आज भी उन से सबक नहीं लिया गया, हमारी राजनीतिक पार्टियां ने उस से सबक नहीं सीखा। मार्क्सिज्म के आधार पर आज आधा दर्जन मार्क्सिस्ट पार्टियां बनी हुई हैं—सी० पी० एम० सी० पी० आई० फारवर्ड ब्लाक, मार्क्सिस्ट। क्या-क्या नाम धर कर नाना प्रकार की पार्टियां बनी हुई हैं! कोई एक बड़े देश की तरफ देख रहा है तो कोई दूसरे बड़े देश की तरफ देख रहा है, कोई कहीं से प्रेरणा प्राप्त करता है तो कोई कहीं से प्रेरणा प्राप्त करता है। मार्क्सिस्ट पार्टी जो एक विचार मार्क्सिज्म के आधार पर इस देश में चलना चाहता है और देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को धागे ले जाना चाहती है वह भी एक नहीं हो पायी। उस के बाद हमारे देश में इंडिस्ट पार्टियों की क्या हालत है। सोशलिस्ट डेमोक्रेट्स की क्या हालत है! नाना प्रकार की पार्टियां आज रीजनल पार्टियों के नाम पर पैदा हो गयी हैं। और पावर को, शक्ति को प्राप्त करने के लिए हर प्रदेश में नाना प्रकार की तिकड़म शुरू हो गयी। अब इंसान के बढ़ाव की बात नहीं रह गयी।

इंसान की तरक्की की बात नहीं रह गयी। कुर्सी कैसे प्राप्त हो इस की बात हो गयी। समाज कैसे बनेगा, समाजवाद कैसे आयेगा, विचार इस देश में कैसे मजबूत होगा, प्रजातंत्र कैसे मजबूत होगा, इस को आप बहुत गहराई से देखें और आज भी प्रजातंत्र न टूटने पाये इस के लिये आवश्यक है कि आप विचारों की समानता को लाइये और विचारों की समानता को लाकर प्रजातंत्र को मजबूत कीजिए। यदि आप विचारों की समानता को लायेंगे और प्रजातंत्र तभी मजबूत होगा जब देश की राजनीतिक पार्टियों के अंदर कम से कम प्रदेश स्तर पर नहीं, देश के स्तर पर एकरूपता होगी, एक विचार होगा, एक कार्यक्रम होगा, एक आधार होगा और इस को आप ने नहीं बनाया। आप कहते हैं कि जब हम खड़े होते हैं तो हमारे कांस्टीट्यूशन में गवर्नर्स को कुछ अधिकार हैं और गवर्नर अपने अधिकारों का प्रयोग करता है। क्यों प्रयोग करता है इसी लिये कि उस को यह अधिकार दिये गये हैं। प्रदेशों में वह स्थायित्व नहीं देख पाते, हम नहीं देख पाते कि वहां सरकारें चल सकती हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में क्या आप स्वीकार करते हैं कि वहां डेमोक्रेटिक फ्रंट बनाया जाय। दो दो चार चार पार्टियों का मजमुआ बना कर क्या आप प्रदेश की राजनीति को आगे बढ़ायेंगे? अभी हमारे एक दोस्त कह रहे थे कि 275 करोड़ का प्लान बना था। यह बहुत कम है। पिछली सरकार ने भी तो 275 करोड़ का प्लान बनाया था केरल के लिये और इस के साथ ही वे मानते हैं कि बजट की भावना अच्छी है। तो फिर बजट का विरोध क्यों? कार्यक्रमों को आप आगे बढ़ाइये, लेकिन कार्यक्रमों के आधार पर जो भी बजट बना है उस को स्वीकार तो कीजिए। आखिर आप नहीं

[श्री नरसिंह नारायण पाण्डेय]

स्वीकार करेंगे तो आप उस प्रदेश की कैसे तरक्की करना चाहते हैं जिस में रबर का उद्योग होता है, जिस में कोकोनट का उद्योग होता है। जिस प्रदेश में इतनी बड़ी आर्थिक सम्पदा है कि जिन चीजों को हम बाहर से मंगाते हैं, इंपोर्ट करते हैं वे यहां पायी जाती हैं, चाहे वे कोकोनट आयल के रूप में हों या रबर के रूप में हों, हम उन को बढ़ा कर सेल्फ सफीशियेंट हो सकते हैं जब कि हम अपने कार्यक्रमों को उन के लिये बनायें और प्रदेश सरकार का यह धर्म है, यह कर्त्तव्य है कि वह अपने प्लान को उस के कार्यक्रमों को इस तरह का बनाये कि हम जिन चीजों को विदेशों से मंगाते हैं उन को यहीं बना कर उन को यहीं पैदा कर उन में आत्मनिर्भर हो कर अपने लोगों को यही काम दे सकें और अपने लोगों को, अपने उद्योग को आगे बढ़ा सकें, यहां के लोगों को रोजीरोटी दे सकें और इसी के साथ इम्पोर्ट पर जो हम निर्भर करते हैं उस को कम कर सकें। यह तभी मुमकिन होगा जब हम इस दशा में प्रयत्न करेंगे और आज मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हम 30 हजार टन कोकोनट आयल बाहर से मंगा रहे हैं और दूसरे सामान भी बाहर से मंगा रहे हैं जिन को हम यहां पैदा करते हैं। तो इस में कोई समन्वय होना चाहिए। आप को मैं चेतावनी देता हूं और हर पार्टी को चेतावनी देता हूं और आप इस बात को अच्छी तरह से समझ लें कि आप प्रजातन्त्र प्रजातंत्र चिल्लाते रह जायेंगे और प्रजातंत्र की चिड़िया उड़ जायगी यदि आपने प्रजातंत्र के मूल पर ध्यान नहीं दिया। प्रजातंत्र के मूल में जो चीज है वह है देश की राजनीतिक पार्टियां। यदि राजनीतिक पार्टियां सही राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रमों के आधार पर, अपने राष्ट्रीय स्तर के कार्यक्रमों के आधार पर

एकता नहीं करती तो यह प्रजातंत्र रहने वाला नहीं है। इन छोटी छोटी पार्टियों से प्रजातंत्र नहीं चलेगा। बेस्ट बंगाल में एक डेमोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट, केरल में दूसरी डेमोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट और त्रिपुरा में तीसरी डेमोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट और सारे देश में एक दूसरी गवर्नमेंट, तो कैसे चलेगा प्रजातंत्र? क्या केवल जोड़ घटाने से प्रजातंत्र चला करता है? यह देश में एक बहुत बड़ा एक्सपेरीमेंट हो रहा है। दुनिया में कहीं नहीं हुआ है। अकेले हमारे देश में हमारे नेता आजादी के बाद एक्सपेरीमेंट किये। इस एक्सपेरीमेंट का आप माहोल मत बदलिये। सही रूप में इसका मूल्यांकन कीजिये। इसको दिशा दीजिये। ऐसी जगह पर खड़े होकर राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रमों पर एक राय होकर एक दृष्टि बनाइये और अपनी पोलिटिकल पार्टियों को फिर सुधारने की चेष्टा कीजिये जिससे देश में कम से कम पोलिटिकल पार्टियां हों जो देश की शासनसत्ता को अपने कार्यक्रमों के आधार पर और अपने विचारों के आधार पर चला सकें। छोटी छोटी पार्टियों से चल करके गठजोड़ करके, डेमोक्रेटिक फ्रण्ट बना करके आप डिसइंटिग्रेशन के रास्ते पर जाएंगे और इससे प्रजातंत्र भी डिसइंटिग्रेट हो जाएगा। मैं इसलिए कहना चाहता हूं कि यह हमारी और आपकी जिम्मेवारी है। हम इस सदन के सदस्य हैं जिसको राज्य सभा कहते हैं। हम मेच्योर लोग हैं। हमारे दिमाग में मेच्योरिटी है। हमारे ऐसे कार्यकर्ता यहां पर आए हैं जिनके अन्दर मेच्योरिटी है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आप देश को इस मेच्योरिटी का लाभ दीजिए। अगर यह लाभ नहीं दिया तो इतिहास आपको माफ नहीं कर सकता है और आपको आज प्रजातंत्र की दुहाई देने का जो हक और अधिकार है वह भी कहां रह जाएगा? श्रीमन, मैं तो आज अपने

विचारों को देने के लिए और मेरे दिल में जो कुण्डली थी और आज जिस तरह से देश में विरोधी दल वाले चल रहे हैं, जिस तरह से देश की व्यवस्था चल रही है, जिस तरह से राजनैतिक पार्टियां चल रही हैं, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम बड़े डेन्जरस रास्ते से चल रहे हैं। यह रास्ता बहुत खतरनाक रास्ता है और इस खतरनाक रास्ते पर चल करके हम बड़े डेन्जर देश के सामने पैदा कर रहे हैं। यह रास्ता बहुत खतरनाक रास्ता है। इस खतरनाक रास्ते पर चल करके हम देश को एक सूत्र में नहीं बांध सकते हैं। इससे देश कमजोर होगा, देश खंडित होगा। देश के अन्दर ऐसी शक्तियां जो विदेशी शक्तियों से सह लेकर हमारे देश के प्रजातंत्र को निर्मूल करना चाहती हैं उन ताकतों को बल दे रहे हैं। ऐसी ही ताकतें गठजोड़ करके इस देश में प्रजातंत्र को निर्मूल करना चाहती हैं। इतिहास आपको माफ नहीं करेगा, भविष्य माफ नहीं करेगा। लेकिन अगर आप सही तरीके से, ठंडे दिमाग से, इन सब चीजों पर सोच करके और अपनी राजनीति को और राजनैतिक व्याख्या को और रचना को इस देश में सही तरीके से ले जाने की कोशिश नहीं करेंगे तो यह ठीक नहीं होगा। इन शब्दों के साथ, श्रीमान, मैं आपका अनुग्रहीत हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया। मैं इन दोनों डिमान्ड्स का समर्थन करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि यह सदन इनको स्वीकार करेगा।

श्री हरी शंकर भाभड़ा (राजस्थान) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, केरल की स्थिति वास्तव में एक बहुत ही विशेष स्थिति है और इसकी जो सबसे महत्वपूर्ण बात है वह यह है कि जिन-जिन पार्टियों ने केरल में शासन किया है उन सारी

पार्टियों के मुंह से केरल ने नकाब उतार दी है और उनकी असली सूरत हिन्दुस्तान की जनता के सामने पेश कर दी है। जहाँ तक हमारी पार्टी का सवाल है, केरल में हमारी स्थिति बड़ी अजीब है। हमारे एक तरफ तो कुंभ्रा है और दूसरी तरफ खाई है। सी.पी.एम. की सरकार जब वहाँ पर बनी थी तो राजनैतिक हत्याओं का दौर-दौरा वहाँ पर चला। वह दौर-दौरा हिन्दुस्तान में अपने आप में एक मिसाल है। उन दिनों लगभग सभी राजनैतिक पार्टियों के कार्यकर्ताओं की हत्या की गई और नयनार सरकार उन हत्याओं और उन हिंसात्मक कार्यों को रोक नहीं पाई। हम उसकी प्रशंसा नहीं कर सकते हैं। यद्यपि विरोध के नाते जहाँ तक संवैधानिक उपबन्धों का सवाल है, हमारा नजरिया दूसरा हो सकता है। लेकिन नयनार सरकार भी केरल में शांति और व्यवस्था कायम करने में कामयाब नहीं हो सकी, यह एक बहुत बड़ा सत्य है। इसी प्रकार से मार्क्सवादियों की असली नीयत क्या थी, उनके असली इरादे क्या हैं, यह भी केरल में स्पष्ट हो गया है। दूसरी ओर कांग्रेस सरकार भी सत्ता में बैठ कर धर्मनिरपेक्षता की बात करती है। मैं अपने बन्धुओं से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस हिन्दुस्तान का जिस मुस्लिम लीग ने बंटवारा किया था उस मुस्लिम लीग का पालन-पोषण और संवर्धन कहाँ हो रहा है? क्या यह काबू केरल में नहीं हो रहा है? कौन इसके लिए जिम्मेवार है? मुस्लिम लीग एक साम्प्रदायिक पार्टी है, इसमें कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकती हैं। इस देश के बंटवारे को हम भुगत चुके हैं।

इसलिये कांग्रेस ने धागे बढ़कर उस मुस्लिम लीग से समझौता करके साम्प्रदायिकता को बढ़ावा दिया। इस तरह से

[श्री हरी शंकर भाभड़ा]

कांग्रेस भी जनता के सामने वहां पर नग्न हो चुकी है। जब जब भी कांग्रेस की अपनी सुविधा के लिये इन गलत नीतियों की जरूरत पड़ती है तो वह उसका उपयोग करती है। अभी-अभी हमारे मित्र पांडेय जी कह रहे थे कि बड़ी पार्टियां कार्यक्रमों के आधार पर बननी चाहिए। बिल्कुल ठीक है। लेकिन किस की जिम्मेदारी है इन पार्टियों को तोड़ने के लिए ? केरल में किसने पार्टियों का विभाजन कराया स्वयं कांग्रेस (आई) ने कांग्रेस (अस) के टुकड़े करवा दिये और एक बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा तोड़कर अपने साथ मिला लिया, सत्ता के लिये तो सत्ता के लिये ही राजनीतिक चल रही है। इसलिये केरल में जिन जिन पार्टियों ने भी शासन किया वे साफतौर से नग्न हो चुकी हैं।

मान्यवर यह बजट यहां पर आया। होना तो यह चाहिए था कि सम्पूर्ण बजट डिटेल में यहां पर पेश होता और फिर उस पर लेखा अनुदान लिया जाता। लेकिन केवल बजट के मोटे आंकड़ों को पेश किया गया है। डिटेल में बजट आया नहीं है। चूंकि लेखा अनुदानों का आधार भी बजट ही होता है और जो परसेंटज लेखा-अनुदानों में निकाला जाता है वह डिटेल बजट का हिस्सा है। लेकिन डिटेल बजट हमारे सामने है नहीं इसलिये हम इस पर डिटेल में चर्चा नहीं कर सकते। मान्यवर सरकार तो संविधान के साथ खिल-वाड़ करने पर तुली हुई है और प्रजातंत्र पर प्रहार पर प्रहार किये जा रहे हैं, यह बात भी केरल ने साबित कर दी। मान्यवर जिस समय नायकर सरकार ने इस्तीफा दिया और करुणाकरण को वहां के गवर्नर ने मंत्रिमंडल बनाने के लिये बुलाया 28 दिसम्बर, 1981 की बात है उस समय करुणाकरण के पास ल० 67 एम० एल० ए० का सहयोग प्राप्त था और गवर्नर ने उनको

बहुमत में मानकर मुख्य मंत्री बनने का निमंत्रण दे दिया और अल्प मत की सरकार को केरल पर थोप दिया। उसका विरोध यहां हुआ। लेकिन सरकार ने सुना नहीं। 80 दिन तक वह सरकार चली बार बार स्पीकर ने कार्स्टिंग वोट से उसको बचाया, यह सब बातें हमारे सामने आईं, लेकिन सरकार ने संविधान का पालन नहीं किया। गवर्नर ने, जब करुणाकरण ने इस्तीफा दिया और विरोधी विरोधी पार्टियों ने कहा कि हमारे पास 71 लोग हैं, हमको सरकार बनाने का अवसर दिया जाय तो यह रिपोर्ट पेश कर दी कि असेम्बली भंग कर दी जाये, विधान सभा को भंग कर दिया जाय। यह दोहरा माप-दंड है। वास्तव में होना यह चाहिए था कि अक्टूबर, में ही जब नायकर सरकार ने इस्तीफा दिया विधान सभा भंग करके चुनाव करा लिये जाते। यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रही है कि तत्कालीन मुख्य मंत्री नायकर ने कैसे भूल कर दी, उन्होंने क्यों नहीं इस बात की सिफारिश की असेम्बली को भंग कर दिया जाय, यह वही जानते हैं। जो कुछ भी हो, केन्द्र ने वहां के गवर्नर ने दोहरा माप-दंडों से काम लिया, सफाई से काम नहीं लिया, नीति से काम नहीं लिया और संविधान की जो प्रोपराइटी है उसको भंग किया। मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि संविधान की आत्मा की बार-बार हत्या की जा रही है योजना-बद्ध तरीके से की जा रही है। प्रजातंत्र का उपयोग सत्तारूढ़ दल अपने हित में करना चाहता है, कर रहा है। उसके जो हित में है वह प्रजातंत्रीय है और जो उसके हित में नहीं है वह प्रजातंत्र के विरुद्ध है। उसके जो हित में है वह धर्म निरपेक्ष है और जो उसके हित में नहीं है वह धर्म निरपेक्ष नहीं है। इस प्रकार इन शब्दों को परिभाषित करके आप अपना शासन तंत्र चलाना चाहते हैं। जब कोई बड़ी पार्टी बनती है तो उसको तोड़ने

में कांग्रेस बहुत बड़ भाग लिया करती है। जनता पार्टी को तोड़ने में आप कौन से पीछे रहे सबसे अगुवा रहे। उसको तोड़ा जब कि देश में दो पार्टियां बन रही थी। कन्सल्टेशन हुआ पोलाराइजेशन हो रहा था, मगर आपको अच्छा नहीं लगा। आज भी जब विरोधी बैठकर बात करना शुरू करते हैं तो उसके पहले ही उन पर आक्रमण शुरू कर देते हैं हमला किया जाता है कि विनाधी एक होकर हमको हटाना चाहते हैं। अगर वह कोई कार्यक्रम बनाते हैं, कोई आर्थिक कार्यक्रम बनाते हैं तो उसको सुना नहीं जाता। इस प्रकार से जहां तक राजनीति का सवाल है सत्ता दल प्रजातंत्र संविधान और जो राजनीति माप-दंड है, उन सब को छोड़ रहा है।

श्रीमन् में केरल के बारे में दो तीन बातों की आरंभित मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। केरल में नारियल और नारियल के रेशे के लिए एक कोयल बोर्ड बना है यह वहां का एक ऐसा उद्योग है जहां लाखों लोग काम में लगे हुए हैं। जो चीजें वहां पर बनती है यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि उन सारी चीजों को बिकाने के लिये मार्केटिंग कैंसिडिटीज उनको अभी तक नहीं दी गई है। हिन्दुस्तान में इन तमाम चीजों की मांग सर्वाधिक है और हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भी प्रान्त में वह अधिकतम मात्रा में खपाया जा सकता है। किन्तु उसको बेचने की व्यवस्था हो इसके लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से त्रिलकुल अपना मुंह फेरे हुए हैं। मैं समझता हूँ यह उसकी उपेक्षा करना है। कोयल उद्योग की तरफ भी केन्द्रीय सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिये। वहां इस उद्योग में लाखों मजदूर लगे हुए हैं उनका हित साधन ही उनके द्वारा बनाए हुए माल को हिन्दुस्तान में बेचा जा सके इसके लिए बाजार की उपलब्धि करा जानी चाहिये। यह

हालत वहां है। वहां पर नारियल तेल और रबड़ का उत्पादन भी अधिक मात्रा में होता है मगर दोनों चीजें आयात की जा रही हैं जिससे देश में इसका बहुत बुरा असर पड़ता है, उद्योगों पर बुरा असर पड़ रहा है। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि सरकार को अपनी आयात नीति में भी परिवर्तन करना चाहिये ताकि जो चीजें यहां पैदा होती हैं उनके लिए बाजार मिल सके और किसान परेशान न हो, किसान जो पैदा करता है उसका उसको उचित मूल्य मिले। इसलिए आयात करते समय इस बात का हम ध्यान रखें कि यहां जो किसान हैं उसको किसी अहित का सामना न करना पड़े। इस संबंध में वित्त मंत्री जी को ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

करुणाकरण सरकार ने वहां पर दो घोषणाएं की थीं। शिक्षित बेकारों को भत्ता सरकार दिलाती थी उसकी भी आपने बन्द कर दिया। एवम् छेतिहर मजदूरों की पेंशन योजना को समाप्त कर दिया। यह कौन सा प्रगतिवादी काम हुआ। इसलिए जो अच्छा काम चल रहा था उसको भी आपने बन्द कर दिया। मैं समझता हूँ कि चूंकि अब वहां पर आप का केन्द्रीय सरकार का शासन है इसलिए केन्द्र को इस संबंध में विचार कर के बजट में प्रावधान करना चाहिए और यह दोनों चीजें जो वहां की जनता के लिए हितकर हैं उनको लागू करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। इस संबंध में योजना बनानी चाहिये। मान्यवर, केरल एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण प्रदेश है लेकिन केरल जुड़ता है एक ट्रेन से। केरलवासी सब जानते हैं कि के० के० एक्सप्रेस नहीं मिले तो केरल जाने वालों को कितनी परेशानी होती है जिस केरल में इतने उद्योग हैं जिनमें इतनी पोर्टेथियल्टीज हैं उसको केवल एक ट्रेन जाती है के० के० एक्सप्रेस और इसके

[श्री हरी शंकर भाभड़ा]

सिवाय वहाँ पर कोई दूसरा साधन नहीं। दूसरी ट्रेन भी नहीं है। यही हालत वहाँ पर सामान ढोने के बारे में भी है। मैं समझता हूँ कि केरल जैसे उपजाऊ और केरल जैसे प्रदेश को जिसका हमारे यहाँ का स्वर्ग कहा जा सकता है वहाँ कम से कम मीन्स आफ कम्युनिकेशन सुगम हो, आने जाने की लोगों को सुगमता मिले। इस संबंध में केन्द्रीय सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिये। मैं इतना कह कर जो आपने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया उसके लिए आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

*SHRI O. J. JOSEPH (Kerala):

Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, I am sorry to point out that nothing has been mentioned about the economy of Kerala in this bill. It could not be expected of them either. Therefore, I would just want to mention a few things in general.

My friend who spoke just before me has mentioned about the Coir industry. Therefore, I would like to start with the coir industry. There are several lakhs who are depending on this industry. In 1969 when Mr. T. V. Thomas was the Minister for Industries he had demanded an amount of Rs. 15 crores for the revival and revitalisation of this industry. The Central Government had granted only Rs. 4.5 crores. It is not possible for these 5 lakhs of workers to survive without the revitalisation of this industry. We had pointed out that such a major export industry should not be neglected and therefore the export trade should be taken over by the Central Government. But they are not prepared to take it over. The raw material for the industry is the coconut husk which is available in Kerala. The Central Government is not even willing to empower the State Government to arm itself with monopoly procurement rights to procure the raw coconut husks. This is sea-

son for procurement of husks. But when the Karunakaran Ministry came to power they dispensed with the services of officials who were engaged in procurement. Not only that; he had given the procurement in the hands of hoarders and blackmarketeers. There will be mass starvation deaths among the workers after two or three months as they have no work already. About 28 deaths have already taken place among the children of workers in the coastal areas. Therefore, this industry is facing a very serious crisis.

They had granted Rs. 4.5 crores for purchasing coir products glutting in the market during the Nayanar regime. The State government gave Rs. 2 crores. Rs. 1 crore was given to the welfare fund. But these gentlemen who talk about democracy and the common people did not give a single paisa for the welfare of these workers. On the other hand they have been making all kinds of concessions to the big capitalists.

Sir, I would deal with politics, democracy and all that later. When this is the plight of coir industry let us examine the plight of another important industry of the State—the cashewnut industry. About 1.5 lakhs of people are engaged in this industry. Five lakhs people are depending on that industry for their livelihood. This is the season for procurement of cashewnuts. On the basis of last year's experience we need Rs. 40 crores for procurement. The annual income of a worker on the average is of fifty to sixty days work. Now they have started giving all kinds of facilities and concessions to private industrialists for procurement. The government and the Banks have advanced only Rs. 10 crores to the Public Sector. Last year when a farmer fetched nearly Rs. 9 per Kg. this year he is getting only Rs. 4.50 per Kg. for raw cashewnut. For monopoly procurement the actual need is Rs. 40 crores, and this sector is not

*English translation of the original speech delivered in Malayalam.

getting sufficient funds. Therefore, there are no prospects for employment in this field either. Who was ruling the State? Mr. Karunakaran. Now the Governor is ruling the State.

Another important industry is the handloom industry. There is a crisis in this industry not only in Kerala; but in other States also. There is a glut in the market of handloom products worth Rs. 100 crores. Where these products are to be sold out? How the workers will survive this crisis? Another thing which I want to point out is about the plight of fishermen. Village societies were formed to give some relief to the fishermen from the clutches of middle men. Now, all those societies have been rendered ineffective.

In the field of Bidi industry also a Society was formed by us earlier. Their products are now being exported to countries like Switzerland. As it is done by a Society they could not indulge in any malpractices in that industry. But now the Central Government had imposed exorbitant excise duty on that Bidi also and as a result, that industry is also on the verge of ruin. Thus it has been proved beyond doubt that the Central Government has always been trying to ruin the 50 lakhs of people out of a total population of 2.5 crores of the State of Kerala who are depending on these industries. That is their class character. They are not bothered about the plight of the common people. They talk about democracy. Whose democracy it is? Their democracy is for the rich people. I would come to that later.

What is the plight of the farmers? The question of rubber was mentioned here. They are importing rubber now. Why they are importing rubber now? They are importing it for the benefit of the big monopoly capitalists; not for anybody else. Why cannot they make arrangements for

the development of the rubber industry? I would like to ask them whether it is not a fact that all of us from Kerala including Mr. Karunakaran had come here to request them not to import rubber. Still they are importing rubber because they want to ruin the rubber cultivators in Kerala. I know that the Finance Minister would reply that they are importing 30,000 tons of rubber simply because there is shortage of rubber.

Then what about coconut oil? There is plenty of coconut oil for the consumption of the entire country. In spite of that coconut oil also is being imported. What for they are importing coconut oil? It is like the import of stainless steel sheets which was discussed here yesterday. Coconut oil is stealthily being imported into the country. The Prime Minister even entered into an agreement also for importing coconut oil while she went abroad. Everybody protested against this import. Sir, this is how they are helping the coconut cultivators.

Now let us take the case of pepper. I have never heard about the import of pepper in my life. Foreigners came to Kerala in the past for spices like pepper. Now, pepper, copra and all that are being imported. This policy of importing rubber, coconut, pepper etc. would completely ruin the cultivators in Kerala. This is what has been happening here. In whoever has been power. Are they conscious of the problems of farmers?

Now I would like to mention one or two things more. This budget would ruin the common people and the farmers. Many people are relentlessly talking about the problems of farmers. Last year when crops were damaged due to flood the Nayanar Government decided to pay Rs. 165 per acre as compensation to farmers. The Karunakaran Government reduced it to Rs. 35 per acre.

Now what is the plight of the agricultural workers and the weaker sections.

(Shri O. J. Joseph)

The Nayanar Government introduced the pension scheme for the agriculture workers. My friend Mr. Haridas said so many things here. Now they have stopped payment of the agricultural workers' pension. Why they are not paying it?

Similarly it was decided to give Rs. 50/- as unemployment allowance to the unemployed youths. Our Finance Minister said in the other House that if it is given in Kerala it would have to be given in other States also. So they have stopped that also. Is there any justification for that? Out of Rs. 12 crores set apart for that purpose only Rs. 2 crores has been disbursed. They have failed to utilize this Rs. 10 crores for the purpose for which it was earmarked. What was the policy of the Central Government in this regard. They were making all kinds of excuses that it is counter productive and all that. Let me ask these gentlemen how much concessions they were making to Birlas and Tatas. How much is being paid as Daily Allowance. How much money advanced to industries as loans has been written off? Now they cannot provide employment to the unemployed youth. Then why cannot they at least give an unemployment allowance. If they cannot give it I can only say that it is an anti-people policy. This Budget also reflects the policy of the Government.

Mr. Mani claims now that he was to present a more progressive budget. It was then Mr. Nambadan withdrew his support. I do not know what was wrong in our budget whether it be the write off of loans to farmers, pension to Agricultural workers or allowance to unemployed youth. I do not find anything like that in their budget. But I find something about the police. After the exits the Nayanar Ministry about 100 murders have taken place. It was the members of the party of the honorable Member who spoke before me, who beheaded members of my party and threw their heads on the culverts. But

after the installation of the Karnataka Ministry people are committing suicide in lock-ups. They could not rule for 3 months. But hundreds of murders have taken place. It was a Congress(I) member in Bihar who said that attempts were being made by a Congress Minister to assassinate him. This is the type of things that are taking place in Bihar and U.P. Therefore, we must be glad that things did not go that far here, under Mr. Karunakaran.

Now I do not want to speak much about politics. My friend Mr. Haridas expressed the hope that the C.P.I. would join them shortly. I have only one thing to say. He might be dreaming. He is an youngman. He is also a friend of mine. Let him go on hoping. My C.P.I. friends are unfortunately not here to reply to him.

Another thing I want to say is that all trouble in Kerala are solely due to the Indian National Congress. They were creating troubles all along. Now people are resigning from their party in Andhra. I do not want to say anything about the quarrel between the mother and the daughter. It is such a party which is how coming to advise us to what we should or should not do. Out of the 40 per cent voters who exercised their franchise they had secured the mandate of 25 per cent. Out of the 250 members of this House, how many are present and how many would raise their hands. That is why I say that they need not preach democracy to us. This is all that I have to say. Thank you.

श्री सदाशिव दामाईतकर (महाराष्ट्र):
श्रीमन्, जो यह अप्रोप्रिएशन बिल सदन के सामने मंत्री जी ने रखा है उसका विरोध करने के लिए मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। अभी- अभी मेरे मित्र श्री पाण्डेय जी जो अभी यहाँ हैं नहीं अपनी जगह पर, लोकतंत्र के बारे में चिन्ता व्यक्त कर रहे थे, कार्यक्रम के आधार पर, लोकतांत्रिक परंपराओं को लेकर। राजनैतिक दलों का चलना आवश्यक है, यह

भी उन्होंने कहा । उनकी व्याकुलता को और पीड़ा को मैं समझ सकता हूँ, लेकिन सवाल यह उत्पन्न होता है कि जिस शासक दल में वह बैठे हैं, या कल तक बैठेंगे . . .

एक माननीय सदस्य : हमेशा बैठे रहेंगे ।

श्री सदाशिव बा. आईतकर : खैर, हमेशा बैठे रहेंगे, जैसी आपकी इच्छा है, तो उस शासक दल की तरफ से लोकतंत्र के लिए क्या परंपराएं बनायीं जा रही हैं, यह सबसे पहला सवाल मैं उठाना चाहूंगा । बहुत दूर की बात छोड़िए, इतिहास की बात छोड़िए, आज के अखबारों में आप ने यह खबर पढ़ी है कि हिमाचल प्रदेश की विधान सभा में एक एन्टी डिफेक्शन बिल किसी प्राइवेट मेम्बर द्वारा लाया गया था, जैसा यहां मैं भी एक बिल लाया था जिसको आपने हराया. उसके प्रिंसिपल को भी आप ने कबूल नहीं किया, तो हिमाचल प्रदेश की विधान सभा में जो प्राइवेट मेम्बर का बिल एन्टी डिफेक्शन के बारे में लाया गया था उसको यहां की मजूरिटी पार्टी, जो आप के ही दल की है, उस ने हरा दिया तो क्या आप लोकतंत्र की चिंता व्यक्त करते हुए इस बात को भी ध्यान में रखेंगे कि लोकतंत्र चलाना है, उसूल की राजनीति, विचारों की राजनीति चलानी है, शासक दल जो मन में आए उसको करता रहेगा कोई बन्धन, कोई मर्यादा, कोई उसूल मानने के लिये या उन पर खुद का बांधकर रखना नहीं चाहेंगे और विरोधी दल उस पर टीका टिप्पणी करते समय इन सब बातों की दुहाई देते रहेंगे, यही अगर आपकी राजनीति का भूमिका रही तो मैं नहीं मानता कि आपको, श्री पांडे जी या और सदस्यों को लोकदल के बारे में जो चिन्ता है, उसका कोई रास्ता निकाल सकता है ।

4 P.M.

श्रीमन्, यह जा सदन में केरल का बिल आया है, केरल पर न जाने हम कितनी बार बहस कर चुके हैं । केरल दक्षिण का एक इलाका है । उसके बजट की चर्चा और उसके लिये प्रावधान की चर्चा हम लोग यहां पर कर रहे हैं । हुकीकत में केरल में क्या हो, क्या न हो, इसके बारे में अधिकृत रूप से हम क्या कह सकते हैं । लेकिन अब यह परम्परा चल पड़ती है कि जब शासक दल नहीं चाहेगा, केन्द्र से जब केरल की विधान सभा बर्खास्त होगी, असम में जब ऐसा होगा, जहां भी आप चाहेंगे वहां आप ऐसा ही करते रहेंगे, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि लोकतंत्र और इस बारे में ज्यादा कहना बेमतलब है । सरकार की आस्था नहीं है, कांग्रेस पार्टी की आस्था नहीं है । न लोकतंत्र में आस्था है, न विकेन्द्रीकरण में आस्था है । इस लिये वह कोई चोज गलत नहीं समझ रहे हैं कि नविधान में जो कुछ भी हो, केन्द्र से, दिल्ली में राज्य को चलाने में उनको कोई हिचक नहीं है क्योंकि धीरे धीरे उनका विश्वास संघ राज्य का जो संविधान है उस पर से उठता जा रहा है, विकेन्द्रीकरण से उठ गया है और वह समझते हैं कि किसी राज्य के लिये क्या अच्छा है, क्या बुरा है, इसका फैसला करने के लिये वह सक्षम हैं और इसी को समझकर वह देश को चला रहे हैं ।

श्रीमन्, अभी-अभी सैजियान साहब ने बिल में जो खांभियां हैं, तांत्रिक या टैक्नीकल खांभियां हैं वह बताईं । केरल के मेरे मित्र ने फरमाया कि वहां जो अच्छा काम पहले की सरकार ने किया था, उसके बारे में सरकार ने यह रवैया लिया है कि चाहे अनइंफ्लायमेंट बेनिफिट्स, बेरोजगारों को भत्ता देने की बात हो, या किसान के लिये जो पेंशन का प्रावधान रखा गया है वह सब ही, उसे

[श्री सदाशिव बागाईतकर]

तोड़ दिया गया है, । इसलिये मैं यह समझता हूँ कि सरकार की जो यह प्रवृत्ति है, केन्द्रीयकरण की, सेंट्रलाइजेशन की जो प्रवृत्ति है, सत्ता ज्यादा से ज्यादा अपने हाथ में लेकर राज्यों को चलाने की जो उत्सुकता है, उस में संविधान बनाने के वक्त केन्द्र और राज्यों के संबंधों के बारे में जो कुछ सोचा गया और किया गया, उसका खुले आम हनन हो रहा है। पहली बार 1987 में यह स्थिति देश में आई थी जब देश में बड़े पैमाने पर केन्द्र में एक दल का राज्य था और कई राज्यों में और दलों की मजोरिटी थी, संविद जिसको नाम दिया गया था, उनकी मजोरिटी थी। वह 7-8 राज्यों में बन गई थी। यह उम्मीद की गई थी कि देश में यह जरूरी नहीं है कि केन्द्र में जिसका शासन हो, उसका शासन राज्यों में होना चाहिए। संविधान का जो ढांचा है वह संघ राज्य, फेडरेशन राज्य का है तो इस तरह की उम्मीद करना या इसके लिये कोशिश करना विधान के साथ खिलवाड़ करना है। लेकिन धीरे धीरे स्थिति यह बन गई है कि आज का शासक दल जो कि कांग्रेस आई पार्टी है अपने सिवाय किसी और को सत्ता में देखना पसंद नहीं करती है और उसके लिये जो चाहे तरीका अपनाने के लिये हिचकिचाती नहीं है। इसलिये श्रीमन्, अगर देश इसी तरह से चलेगा या उसकी चलाने का प्रयास होता रहेगा, तो मैं नहीं समझता कि देश का प्रशासन तो छोड़िये, देश की अखंडता के लिये भी मैं इसे खतरा समझता हूँ। इतने विशाल देश में कोई दल इस बात का दावा नहीं कर सकता कि उस भूभाग की समस्याओं को, वहाँ की सामाजिक स्थिति को और आर्थिक आवश्यकताओं को हम भी तय करेंगे, इसके मुताबिक हल किया जा सकेगा और जो राजनीतिक दल सत्ता में होगा उसी के अनुसार उस

समाज का कल्याण होगा, उस राज्य का कल्याण होगा। यह अगर कोई मानकर चलेगा तो मैं नहीं समझता कि इससे देश का पूरी यूनिटी, इंटिग्रिटी का हम कायम रख सकेंगे। ऐसी स्थिति नहीं रहेगी। इस लिये श्रीमन्, मेरा यह कहना कि जब बार बार यह स्थिति आने लगी है कि हम केन्द्र में पार्लियामेंट में बैठकर राज्यों के लिये बजट, राज्यों के लिये जो अनुदान पारित करना है उस को करते रहें तब मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जरूरी है कि संविधान में जो हम लोगों ने रखा है उस के बारे में भी हम लोगों को ज्यादा सचेत रहना चाहिए। कानून को दृष्टि से उस को पारित करना है वरना खर्चा नहीं चलेगा यह तो हम समझते हैं, लेकिन इस स्थिति को बराबर हम बढ़ाते जा रहे हैं। हम समझते हैं कि जो चीज एक्सीडेंटल समझी गयी संविधान में वह आप ने रोज मरी की बना दी है, हमेशा की बना दी है। इसीलिये यह संविधान पर झुला आघात है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ख सकर राज्य सभा को इसके बारे में ज्यादा चिंतित इसीलिए होना होगा, क्योंकि राज्यों अधिकारों की रक्षा, राज्यों के हितों की रक्षा, हमारी जिम्मेदारी में से एक है। इस को अगर निभाना है तो सरकार की इस प्रवृत्ति पर लगाम लगाने के लिये कभी कभी हम को सरकार जब इस तरह का प्रस्ताव लाती है तब उस को ठुकराना आवश्यक है। इस लिये मैं नहीं मानता कि यह केरल राज्य के हित में होगा, वहाँ की जनता के हित में होगा कि हम केन्द्रीय सरकार को इस की खुली छूट दें कि जो पैसा या कानून वह वहाँ की सरकार चलाने के लिये चाहे उस को हम मंजूर करें। यह बिना सोच हम करेंगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रवृत्ति को हम बढ़ावा देंगे। इस लिये मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ। इस के साथ ही मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Budget that we are discussing today or rather the Vote-on-Account, for Kerala, has been necessitated by the imposition of President's rule in Kerala. Just yesterday we stood up to protest against the imposition of President's rule in Kerala. Yesterday in the course of his reply to the Assam debate the Home Minister made a remark in his characteristic fashion in emphasising the virtue that is the ruling party. He said, "we could have kept the Ministry as an interim Government on the analogy of what happened in 1979 when at the Centre the Charan Singh Ministry which could not face the Lok Sabha, was continued as an interim Government by the President." I do not know whether the Home Minister of the country was competent to voice this implicit criticism of the action of the President on the floor of the House. I took it like that, that a criticism of the President's action at that time was implicit in it. That is one point which seemed very significant to me. I may be in sympathy with the point of view that the action of the President was criticised at that time. But I am not sure whether the Home Minister is in a position or he was in such a desperate state in defending the action of the Central Government that he could not devise any better argument. What happened in Kerala? The question was discussed even yesterday. The Home Minister repeated the argument which was given earlier also. The Speaker did no wrong by voting for stability. Stability of what? Stability of one particular government.

We have come across another fact. During the President's rule in Kerala, Advisers were appointed and there was a news item in yesterday's papers that the Adviser met the outgoing Chief Minister, Mr. Karunakaran. He was not meeting all the political leaders. But he met particularly the outgoing Chief Minister. Perhaps this lends to the belief that it was

the rule of the Congress (I) by proxy. If that is the object, then the dissolution of the Assembly was in order to prevent election to the Rajya Sabha. Did they not impose a minority Government in Kerala? If this is not denigrating the Constitution, if that is not denigrating the office of the Governor and, in the bargain, the office of the Speaker, what else is it? He who commits errors and mistakes shout, most and perhaps that may be the best summary of the arguments advanced by the Home Minister yesterday.

The presentation of the vote on Account today is the consequence of the imposition of the President's rule in Kerala after the minority Government which was installed there could not be sustained. There was no question of impartial conduct either on the part of the Governor or the Speaker. Both of them are supposed to act impartially and objectively. But objectivity was totally missing in their conduct.

The independence of the Governor was emphasized. She did not wait for the direction of the Centre. She dissolved the Assembly outright and later communicated the matter to the Central Government. This independence of the Governor could have been appreciated had her objectivity been acceptable to others in the light of her other actions.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, from side of the Congress (I), hon. Member Shri Pandey advanced arguments about small parties and other things and asked whether rule of one type of front in Tripura, in Kerala or in West Bengal and another type of rule at the Centre were conducive to the unity of the country. This is just putting in another form the slogan of one party, one leader and one flag. This betrays the authoritarian mind of the ruling party. He emphasized differences between these parties. What about differences

[Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee]

within his own party? In spite of being one party, how much acute differences and conflicts come to the surface every day? How many splits have occurred in that party and whether any other split is in the offing is not known considering the fact that family interests have been equated with party interests and national interests. In the current episode of trouble, nobody knows what is in the offing. It would have been better for Mr. Pandey not to throw stones at others while living in a glass house himself. He ought to have been careful. The idea underlying his argument is dangerous and the same slogan was echoed during the dark days of emergency and it is still lurking behind their minds all the time.

So far as the budget is concerned, Mr. Era Sezhiyan pointed out certain significant points. In brief, I can say that the allocations for police, for jails, etc.—perhaps they are correlated things—have been increased and the expenditure on account of police has been increased by more than ten crores of rupees in one year. It is but natural that perhaps the expenses on account of jails under the head “Jails” should also increase because one would lead to the other and it is of a piece with the approach of the Government. Our only appeal to the ruling party would be that they should try to realise the serious misgivings that are being created by following double standards or standards which are different in imposing the President's Rule. We are opposed to article 356, our party and all the left parties. But even then it is in the Constitution, it is on the Statute Book. But anything done under that article should conform to the spirit of the Constitution. Even in imposing the President's Rule under this article—I am not here going to quote Dr. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar is dead; long live Dr. Ambedkar—the spirit of the Constitution should be borne in mind and it should be ap-

plied because those who are entrusted with the responsibility of upholding the Constitution are supposed to be the Government at the Centre and it has the greatest responsibility in this regard. Let them heed to the criticism of the Opposition, that it is their conviction that the ruling party at the Centre is playing with the Constitution, whereas they have the greatest responsibility in instilling confidence. The Centre is playing with the Constitution. But, by following double standards by subverting all the underlying principles, by subverting the spirit of the Constitution, by subverting almost everything in the Constitution, by denigrating almost all the offices which are supposed to be above controversy and which are supposed to exercise some amount of balance, they are doing just the reverse. This brings into disrepute the system of parliamentary democracy which is otherwise also subjected to criticism. They claim, at least on the face of it they claim, that they are the greatest upholders of parliamentary democracy. Let them prove it by their action. Even now there is time for atonement. Let them atone for the gross crimes they have committed during all these years, including the latest step they have taken in denigrating the Constitution. So, let the beginning of the process of reversal start. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA: Sir, there are two Bills under consideration now which are being discussed together. One is the Kerala Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1982, and the other is the Kerala Appropriation Bill, 1982.

Sir, as many as eight honourable Members have taken part in this discussion, Shri Madhavan, Shri Haridas, Shri Sezhiyan, Shri Pande, Shri Bhabhra, Shri Joseph, Shri Bagaitkar and Shri Bhattacharjee. As you will remember very well, Sir, only yesterday the discussion on the Resolution moved by the Home Minister and the Proclamation regarding the State of Kerala took place at length and all the political aspects of the problem

were replied to by the honourable Home Minister. I will not and need not take the valuable time of the House in replying to the political aspects in general. But even then, Sir, there are one or two points which I would like to touch upon and with regard to the general observations made by the honourable Members in regard to the economic situation, the Appropriation Bills and the other related matters, I will have to put the position in clear terms before the House.

First of all, I am very much thankful to all the honourable Members who have participated in the debate for giving valuable suggestions, for their very valid observations and for the relevant points which they have raised. Sir, in the beginning, Mr. Madhavan and other hon. Members raised the question of over-draft. Sir, in regard to adjustment of the over-draft, a decision was taken that a part of the overdraft would be adjusted towards the plan outlay of 1978-79. That formula was applied to each and every State, irrespective of the political character of the Government in that State. But with the application of this formula in respect of three States, their actual plan would be reduced even compared to the plan outlay of 1981-82, of these three States. One is Kerala. We had to take the decision to protect the State's Plan outlay at least at the level of the last year. If we were to apply that formula which had been applied in respect of the other States, then the actual plan outlay as far as Kerala was concerned would have been much less. Therefore, it is of no use pointing out why the plan size has not been increased.

In regard to Central assistance, there is a set formula. Today we are discussing Kerala (Appropriation) Bill. Somebody may say that you should give more allocation to Kerala. According to the standard practice, the Central assistance was increased by ten per cent in respect of each State. That ten per cent increment

was made in respect of Kerala also. Except for maintaining the plan size at the current year's level, it was not possible for us to increase it substantially.

Sir, the other point which was raised by hon. Members was regarding foreign exchange. Sir, I do agree that these are areas where we are earning a lot of foreign exchange and it is not in our interest to see that those are affected in any way.

Regarding pension schemes, Sir, just now Mr. Bagaitkar and other hon. Members have touched on that point. In this connection, some of the Members have suggested certain things and referred to two schemes. One was about pension to agricultural workers and the other was the scheme of giving pension to the unemployed. None of these schemes has been given up. If the hon. Members had taken the trouble to go through the connected papers, they might have found out that this scheme is very well in those documents.

Sir, the other point was regarding the holding of Assembly elections. Sir as the Home Minister has already mentioned yesterday, there is no intention to delay the elections. We would like to hold the elections as early as possible. There is no intention of prolonging the President's rule.

Regarding expenses allotment in regard to this, it has been stated that a small amount has been given in the Budget. In regard to this, I would like to make it clear, Sir, this will not be allowed to become a hurdle in any way and necessary allotment that is actually required for elections in the State will be made in a proper manner. Lack of funds will not in any way come in the way of holding the elections.

Dr. Joseph and others have raised a point regarding the import bill of rubber. Sir, in this connection the actual position is that the total production is about 150 or 155 thousand

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tonnes. The total requirement for the industries is about 175 thousand tonnes. If we import about 20,000 tonnes, it is not going to affect the economy of Kerala. If we import more than the required quantity, then it may have adverse effect and it may be a cause for anxiety.

Mr. Era Sezhiyan raised two points. One is regarding inadequate provisions for elections. I have already explained this point. The other point is regarding higher provision for police. Regarding the second point, the higher provision for police is because of additional dearness allowance amounting to Rs. 2.38 crores and for repairing of vehicles and replacement of vehicles for which an amount of Rs. 2.75 crores has been included. The Budgetary provision is not for increasing the police force but it is for necessary and consequential expenses which are necessary to maintain the police force in proper order. Therefore, the objection that more allotment has been kept for ulterior motives is not correct.

One more point raised by another hon. Member is regarding the import of coconut oil. In this connection, I would like to request that there was some snag in the import policy earlier and some importers held that coconut oil was being used for industrial purposes and therefore it could be imported under OGL. The present policy is that no edible oil, for industrial purposes or for other purposes can be imported under O.G.L. It can be imported through cannalised sources. Some quantity was in the pipelines and it may be coming. But in future the policy has been revised and there is no cause for anxiety or concern as far as the policy regarding the coconut oil is concerned.

These are the main points raised by the hon. Members. The House has already gone in detail and discussed all the items regarding the President's rule and the questions arising out of it. I have explained the position regarding these two Bills. Now, I would

request the House to accept the proposals and return the Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I shall put the motion regarding consideration of the Kerala Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1982, to vote.

The question is:

"That the Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala for the services of a part of the financial year 1982-83, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now, we shall take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill. There are no amendments.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was proposed.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (बिहार) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, केरल पर कल मैं बहुत बोल चुका हूँ, पोलिटिकल एस्पेक्ट्स पर, जिसको इन्होंने छुआ नहीं है। आज इकनामिक एस्पेक्ट के मुतल्लिक दो बातें रखना चाहता हूँ। बिहार और केरल का बहुत पुराना संबंध रहा है, ऐतिहासिक संबंध रहा है। कहना नहीं होगा कि वह महापुरुष केरल का जो अपनी विद्वता की पताका हर जगह फहराता हुआ बिहार पहुंचा और बिहार में उत्तरी बिहार पहुंचा, जहां तर्क के मैदान, दर्शन के मैदान और विद्वता के मैदान पर उन्हें शिकस्त खानी पड़ी और वह महापुरुष शंकराचार्य थे। मिथिला तक शिकस्त दी। हम बिहार वाले,

उत्तर बिहार वाले केरल को कभी नहीं भुला सकते। वह ऐतिहासिक सम्मान और मजबूत हो इसीलिए मैं मंत्री जी के सामने यह बात रख रहा हूँ कि वहाँ से गाड़ी का सीधा संबंध त्रिवेन्द्रम से हो। अभी वह संबंध पटना या समस्तीपुर से नहीं है। एक बोगी हो पटना से, नहीं तो समस्तीपुर या मुजफ्फरपुर से जो आगे जाकर के० के० में जोड़ दी जाए तब वह त्रिवेन्द्रम और कन्याकुमारी तक चली जाए। मैं चाहता हूँ, विस मंत्री इसका ख्याल रखें कि बिहार से कन्याकुमारी को रेल लाइन से जोड़ा जाए। का मी० से कन्याकुमारी तक गाड़ी है, इसमें हमें बहुत श्रुती है...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री दिनेश गोस्वामी) : यह तो रेलवे मिनिसट्री का सब्जेक्ट हो गया।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : हाँ, लेकिन यहाँ रेलवे की बात उठी है और मंत्री महोदय बड़ा सकते हैं। उनका भी बहुत बड़ा हाथ रहा है उस में।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय केरल के विकास के संबंध में एक बात बहनी है कि कोचीन बंदरगाह से बाहर के लिए, खास कर लक्षद्वीप की ओर कोई जहाज नहीं है। मैं गया था कोचीन और वहाँ की जनता की मांग है, एक ही जहाज—माल वेदर शिपकोरती जाता है। मैं चाहता हूँ मंत्री जी इस बात का ख्याल रखें कि कोचीन से औरती ट्रांसपोर्ट सर्विस हो, केवल जहाज नहीं क्योंकि जहाज एक वाटर ट्रांसपोर्ट है। केरल का माल राउंड डेवलपमेंट हो यह मैं माहता हूँ लेकिन इस सरकार की नीति जैसे और बातों में गड़बड़ है वैसे ही केरल के विकास के संबंध में भी गड़बड़ है।

श्री सवाई सिंह ससोबिया : माननीय शिवचन्द्र झा ने केरल के अप्रॉप्रिएशन बिल पर बहस में भाग लेते हुए बड़े बुद्धिमत्तापूर्ण सुझाव रखे हैं लेकिन मुझे दुख है कि वे असंगत हैं। इस विषय से वह संबंधित नहीं हैं।

इसलिए मेरे ख्याल से इसका विशेष उत्तर देने की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : कैसे असंगत है ?

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): The question is:

"That the Bill be returned."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now, I shall put the motion regarding the Kerala Appropriation Bill, 1982, to vote.

The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala for the services of the financial year 1981-82, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now, we shall take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA: I move:

"That the Bill be returned.."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.