

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have not allowed out of that. I shall count the time when you begin.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated): I would only suggest that these ten minutes may be added by you to the other debate.

SHRI OM MEHTA (Jammu and Kashmir): I would like to know on what date we wrote to neutral countries that ships containing Indian cargo should not touch Pakistani ports and, also, I would like to know how many countries, after receiving this communication from us, actually allowed their ships to touch Pakistani ports. What are their names?

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: I will not be able to give the exact date, but perhaps it was the 8th September when first of all we asked that Indian cargo should be booked in Indian ships or other non-Pakistani ships and Pakistani cargo should be shipped in Pakistani vessels or other ships, which did not come to India. I am sorry I will not be able to give a firm date. That is my recollection. So far as countries abiding by it are concerned, all countries gave us their assurance and most of their ships came to our points directly without touching Karachi. (*Interruption.*) There are three types of cargo, viz., bulk cargo, oil cargo and general cargo. The bulk cargo and oil cargo were not at all affected. The only cargo which was affected was general cargo. In that also, India-Australia, India-USSR and India-Japan Conferences were not affected. Only India-UK and India-USA Conferences were affected. We can say broadly ships belonging to these countries were in difficulty. As many as 38 ships out of 49 that came after the starting of the war came directly to India and thereby we were able to save as much as about 1,00,000 tonnes or 1,50,000 tonnes of our cargo valued at about fifty million pounds.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): The hon. Minister stated and rightly so that since war was not declared the establishment of the prize court is *ab initio* void and illegal. But Pakistan has already established a prize court and they have gone ahead with the prize court. May we know what action we intend to take against illegal action of Pakistan namely, the establishment of the prize court and the decision that will be taken by the prize court and its execution?

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: The first step that we have taken is to declare that we shall not recognise that these courts are valid or any orders passed by them are legal or valid or binding. We have also declared that anybody who takes any property by purchase, sale or otherwise, as a result of the action or the proceedings of these courts, shall not be binding on us. We shall not recognise the transfer of ownership and it shall be dealt with as stolen property. About other actions to be taken by us *vis-a-vis* Pakistan, I need not detail them.

RESOLUTION RE CONTINUANCE OF PROCLAMATION UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF KERALA—*continued.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Govindan Nair may continue his speech. The time will run from now.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Madam, while we were adjourning I was referring to the letter of the Governor recommending to extend the President's rule in Kerala. The reasons he has brought forth are two. Firstly, he says that he consulted many of the opposition party leaders in Kerala and from that he was convinced that there was no possibility

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.]

of forming a stable Ministry even if elections were conducted. The second reason he had given was that because of the emergency, many people felt that there should be no elections now. I could quite understand a Governor after an election consulting the opposition leaders about the possibility or otherwise of forming a Ministry. But I can never understand why the Governor has taken this trouble of calling the opposition party leaders and discussing with them whether there will be a Ministry, whether there will be a united front between this party and that party, and all that. I cannot understand that, because here it is not a question of coming to some understanding between the Governor and the leaders of political parties. It is a question which has to be left to the people. That is why we should have elections. Election is an opportunity given to the people to give their verdict as to which party should rule or which party should not rule. Why should you deny that to them? This is a most undemocratic step you are taking, and you should also remember that it is not only for six months just before the last election we had President's rule; the President's rule is continuing for the last one year, and by this proclamation you want to extend it to another six months. Secondly, the question of emergency also should not stand in the way of conducting an election, because in a democratic system an elected Government in Kerala would be able to serve the cause of the emergency much better than a rule by the President. So, on those two grounds I oppose the resolution, and the Government should leave it to the people. Why should you trouble about whether after the election there will be a stable Ministry or not? Election is an opportunity for the people to decide. So, to deny the people of that opportunity is wrong, undemocratic, and it should not be done. In the situation of an emergency an elected Government in Kerala would be much more helpful.

So, on these two grounds I strongly oppose this.

Then during the speech made by the hon. Deputy Minister . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Minister of State.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR:.. Minister of State, that document which was read—it was an attempt on the part of the Minister of State to convince this House. . . .

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): I have not read anything.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: All right. It was Mr. Mishra. I said Deputy Minister. Somebody said Minister of State. There are innumerable Ministers. So it is very difficult for people like us to know it exactly. In that speech he tried to enumerate many things that had been done there and to show that everything was well in Kerala. He spoke about the Consultative Committee, he spoke about the Cabinet Committee. I am pointing out all this to show that this plan of extending President's rule in Kerala was not something which emerged after they have received the letter of the Governor. The way in which they have started to present the affairs in Kerala shows that they wanted to continue the President's rule for some time. That is why immediately a Cabinet Committee was formed, and the Consultative Committee was given at least informal powers to discuss other things. So from all this it is clear that the ruling party was thinking in terms of extending the President's rule in Kerala as far as possible. This also is a very undemocratic attitude. Whenever there is an occasion, you

always speak in terms of democracy. But when some crucial questions come, you prove yourself not very faithful to the idea of democracy. That has been our experience. So I want the House to consider this question more seriously, and I think those who are democratic will support my stand in this debate.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: If I understand right, the rightist Communists are not so keen for election.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Who says? People like you advocate some causes.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh): The Governor has written like that.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Mr. Akbar Ali Khan always interrupts me. He likes me so much that he likes to interrupt whenever I speak. So do not bother. Let my time be not wasted.

Coming to the contents of the letter wherein he deals with how questions were tackled, there I have to draw your attention to some of the things he has said. He has spoken about food. He has said that the Consultative Committee decided to increase the quantum of rice that was given to Kerala, and it was given for a month or so. He has mentioned that. At two meetings repeated decisions were taken that the rice quantum in Kerala should be increased. But with great difficulty for one month or so it was increased, and again it has been brought down; and during that period when the rice quantum was increased, the wheat quantum was reduced. Now in the name of emergency both the quantum have been reduced and we are getting a lesser ration than in some other places. Why does it happen? Here I want to draw your attention to certain developments that are happening outside Kerala, because as far as the question of food is concerned Kerala has to depend on other parts of the country, especially the surplus States, and

whether we starve or live depends upon a correct policy followed by the Food Ministry. There is going to be a shortage of food for at least a decade. That is admitted, but all the same under such a situation it is necessary that the entire food resources of the country should be mobilised and pooled and it should be equitably distributed. Now what is happening? We have been always clamouring that there should be State trading, that the wholesale trade should be monopolised by the State. All that we were raising. Government had taken certain half-hearted measures. And what are those measures? They have a Food Corporation now. I have been following how the Food Corporation which has the responsibility of procuring and distributing foodgrains has been functioning. Now, Andhra Pradesh is one of the surplus States. And the Food Corporation contains a number of officers from Andhra Pradesh. Andhra Pradesh has decided that the Food Corporation shall not make any purchase from the surplus districts of Godavari and Krishna, that the Food Corporation can purchase only from Rayalaseema which itself is a deficit district. In Punjab, the State Government refuses to allow the Food Corporation to buy food from there. So is Orissa doing.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Is the hon. Member advocating that...

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Kerala is 50 per cent deficit in food. If you follow this policy, if the Food Corporation which is expected to buy food from the surplus areas cannot purchase, we will be starving. That is why I am raising this question. So even though the Food Corporation has been formed, the surplus States are refusing to allow it to buy foodstuffs from them; the Food Corporation cannot buy foodstuffs from those States. And Shri Subramaniam or Shri Hathi

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair]
cannot perform any miracle and give food to us. So we are very anxious to see that a proper food policy is followed. If the Centre feels that it cannot enforce its decisions on the States, if we are going to allow these States to follow their own policies, then I tell you—emergency or no emergency—this country is going to disintegrate. It is a very serious matter. I think Government have to take a serious stand on this matter and see that the extra food, the surplus food, available in other States is procured and distributed equitably among the deficit States. Unless that policy is followed, there will be difficulty for us. And it is not only difficulty for a particular State, it is going to disintegrate this country. If you want to prevent it, you have to take serious note of the situation and assert your rights and you have to tell the States to be in their places.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: But the State Ministers do not want to do away with their source of income.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: That is another matter; whether they want to finish off the country, that is the question. This is with regard to the all-India policy.

Now, coming to the States, Kerala is a State which has many rivers. It will be criminal if because of drought the crops are allowed to fail in our State. Now, I want a categorical answer from the Minister. I do not want to know about the amount of money spent on irrigation there during the last one year; I want from him an answer clearly as to how many additional acres of land have been irrigated in Kerala during the last one year. The rivers of Kerala flow into the Arabian Sea. Now, the Madras Government say, "Why do you allow these rivers to flow into the Arabian Sea? Why don't you divert them to Madras?" You may

divert them to Madras or you may divert them to the Arabian Sea, that is not my concern. When you are short of food, when there is this facility of irrigation, lift irrigation, should not Government apply their mind and see that the lands in Kerala are irrigated? Are you going to leave the farmers of Kerala to the vagarious behaviour of the monsoon? I want to get a categorical answer from the Minister on this point as to how many new schemes have been worked out during the past 1½ years to bring more acres of land under irrigation.

Now, coming to the question of industries, Kerala is a State which has, unfortunately, no iron ore or coal mines. Our strong point is the cheap electricity which we can produce. Compared with any scheme in any part of India, Kerala and Mysore can provide the country with the cheapest electricity. Unfortunately, the state of affairs in Kerala is such that we have to depend on the neighbouring States for the working of our industries, for electricity. So we—a State which can produce electricity—are going with begging bowls before Mysore and before Madras for electricity.

Now, a thermal plant had been given to us. It was said that they were going to establish a thermal plant. But the latest report is that Government have decided to stop it. I do not know why. Now, Dr. K. L. Rao is a Minister because he is an expert on these affairs of power, irrigation and all that; he did not come into Parliament like Shri Akbar Ali Khan; he was not a politician. . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Do you mean to say that . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: But he is really an expert and a very good man.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: A technical committee of his Ministry had decided upon allotting a thermal plant to Kerala. So the Minister himself, an expert, and then also a technical committee of his Ministry, they have approved of the scheme. But suddenly comes a new expert committee. Why? This new expert committee was formed to sabotage the whole thing, and it was done. I expected him to be here. That is why in the morning I said that I would like to have some Ministers here. Shri Hathi will take notes and say that he will convey these things to him. But Dr. K. L. Rao should have been there. Why did he appoint that expert committee? (*Interruptions.*) And he got somebody from our State also to agree to be on it. When the Minister wants it—he is the boss—an Under Secretary or a Secretary will okay anything. Now, I give you another example. You know about the Idikki Project. It was decided here that it should be put off. And he got the agreement of the Chairman of the Electricity Board in our State. When the question became public and it was raised, he said, "I did not sign, I kept quiet." This was what happened. It may not be unusual for all these things to happen. But unfortunately the burden falls upon our poor State.

Then, I want to know what is the position about this thermal plant. Finally, because I was in the Consultative Committee, the question was raised and then it was assured that the Idikki Scheme would be taken up. Now, I raise this question. I want a categorical answer from the Minister whether we are going to get a thermal plant or not.

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: Idikki is not a thermal scheme.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I thought you remember

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: Idikki is not a thermal scheme.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I was telling you how the Idikki Project was thrown out. There was an attempt here to slow it down in some manner. With regard to this thermal plant also some attempt is being made here to see that it does not come to Kerala. Now, a Technical Committee of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power has approved of it. The expert himself, Dr. Rao himself, said it.

(*Time bell rings.*)

I think that I have got some more time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are only three hours and there are many speakers.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I am taking a loan of a few minutes from Shri Kumaran.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is all right. Even so . . .

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Speaking about the backwardness of Kerala, everyone says that employment is the only solution for the problems of Kerala. But when the question of industries comes up, when the question of starting of new industries comes up here, we are not in the picture. But since there is no time now, I will not elaborate on that point. Now, under the Commerce Ministry, in the name of export promotion, factories are going to be started, textile mills are going to be started, in different parts of India. I want to know whether in an area which is so backward in industry we can have at least one. I am waiting to hear a positive reply on this question from the hon. Minister.

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.]

3 P.M.

Then with regard to the excellent rule that is there, I have to point out one or two things. Recently there was a Pay Commission appointed to look into the scale of pay which the grade IV officers are having. A report has been submitted. What I want to point out is this. When the cost of living has gone up so high, when dearness allowance has to be increased, definitely the income of the lower group must go up. But they used even this emergency as an opportunity to see that the higher bosses get a much higher pay. Now from the amount that has been given to the lower section, 50 per cent. has to be given towards Defence Bonds. The Secretaries and Under Secretaries need not pay anything out of the money which they get because they do not receive any dearness allowance. So even during the time of emergency when such problems arise it has always been the habit of top-ranking officials to try to grab the maximum out of every situation.

I will go to another instance. In Kerala even from the time of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar transport was nationalised: it was functioning as a department of the Kerala Government. Recently it was made into a Corporation under the advice of the Centre. Here I want a categorical answer from the Minister. Before taking over this industry how many of the top ranking officers were receiving more than Rs. 1,000? My understanding is that even the top-most man received only Rs. 800. Now not one more but has been added. Nothing has been done to improve the conditions of travel or amenities to passengers. Yet to my understanding there are three or four top ranking officers drawing Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken nearly 25 minutes. You

must wind up now. You must give a chance to others also.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: We do.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is all right.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Should I not say something about the Sadachar Samiti?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up with the Sadachar Samiti.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: You gave Sadachar Samiti to Kerala to do away with corruption. But you are not releasing the report. Excuse me, you are not looking into the functioning of the Sadachar Samiti. Out of the nine districts of Kerala, you have introduced the Sadachar Samiti in six districts.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Only six.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Yes. In the annual report that has been submitted they cover only two thirds of Kerala, not the whole of it. Total complaints registered were 1,143, highest record. There is no other State which can compete in this with Kerala. Even though only two-thirds of Kerala was brought within the orbit of the functioning of the Sadachar Samiti, the number has gone up to 1,143. And I think in the matter of pending cases also we top the list, we have 293 cases still left. That shows that not only there is not much improvement in administration about which the Minister made claim; things are going from bad to worse.

Let me give you another example. Mr. Jain, the Governor, is very anxious to see that things are speeded up. He issued an order saying that within such and such a date all the old files should be disposed of, something like that. But our Secre-

taries are extremely clever. They did it. On that particular day the file was closed. It was pasted and sent.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh): They knew all these things. That is now they dealt with it.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: And then what happened? They sent the files written there as "closed". Does it mean they were really closed? It meant that new papers and new queries that come would be treated as fresh cases. That is how they are managing. So in the toning up of the administration or in the general situation there is no change.

Then there is discrimination. When you formed a sub-committee, I thought you would at least have some consideration for Kerala. We do not want any special consideration, but at least we wanted a fair treatment from you. But unfortunately we find that things are proceeding in the same way as they were before. I think this attitude of the Centre must change and the Government should take immediate steps to see that a democratic form of Government is established.

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS (Kerala): Madam Deputy Chairman a very simple question raised in the Resolution before the House is whether the President's Rule in Kerala should be extended for six months more. It is a very simple question and the Governor has given his assessment of the situation in Kerala. He has consulted all the political leaders and drawn the conclusion that in the situation as it stands now there is no chance for a fresh election there. So no political party can come to power and form a Ministry.

Madam, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel from the Opposition criticising the proce-

dure of approaching Parliament for agreeing to the extension of time said that it is unconstitutional. Madam, the proviso to clause (4) of article 356 of the Constitution says:—

"Provided that if and so often as a resolution approving the continuance in force of such a Proclamation is passed by both Houses of Parliament, the Proclamation shall, unless revoked, continue in force for a further period of six months from the date on which under this clause it would otherwise have ceased to operate, but no such Proclamation shall in any case remain in force for more than three years;"

So up to three years it can be extended if the situation so warrants. This is provided by the Constitution. Then how can we say that it is unconstitutional? It is all according to the Constitution. It is according to the democratic principles that we are providing the protection of Parliament to a State which has no possibility of having a democratic institution. Now I have gathered that there is a trend of thought among a section of our Members and people in other States that the Kerala State is an unruly one where no form of constitutional machinery is allowed to be run and that it is an orphan and always a liability for the Union Government. I do not blame those who are being led to think on those lines because it is the third time that we are experiencing President's Rule in that small State. But anybody could find how law-abiding, educated, cultured and intelligent the people are. There are ample instances of people who have been Governors there. There is a Member of this House who was a former Governor of Kerala, I would suggest that you get the opinion of the Governors who have come closely into contact with the people there to find out what sort of people we have in Kerala, whether they are intelligent and law-abiding.

[Shrimati Devaki Gopidas.]

We have so many instances to show that they are very much law-abiding and intelligent as well as sound people. Very recently the Kerala State experienced a very severe food crisis. I know of instances where so many children in the schools fell unconscious without having anything to eat. In spite of that there was no raid, or lawlessness, no killing or shooting. There was no unruly situation created in the State as we have seen already in other parts of the country if there is a two-day scarcity, as we have for instance, in Bihar. In Kerala the people were able to keep their balance of judgment. But I would like to point out that there is a limit to patience. If it is tested so severely, if we poke our hand into the mouth of a dog which has no intention to bite, I am sure it will bite. Just like that, the patience of the people of Kerala is tested so severely. Their problems are not cared for by the Centre whereas they think that their problems will be solved by President's Rule at least. That is why we find that there is a situation where we are not having any constitutional Government and the people are not voting for any party. As Mr. Mathen has pointed out, they have lost their faith in any of the parties because no party has been able to solve the problems of Kerala. Therefore we have to analyse the reasons for shutting the gate to the functioning of any democratic popular Government there. After seventeen years of freedom and on the eve of launching the Fourth Plan, when all the States in this vast country have experienced some economic development, the people of Kerala have found out to their dismay that they are almost starting at the same place where they were during the pre-independent days. I may be permitted to point out that even the industries that are existing in that State had been started during the pre-independence times. No tangible industries have come up even though educated unemployment is the

problem that is facing that part of the country. Unless that problem is solved, I am sure we are not going to solve the problem of constitutional form of Government and it is going to be a perpetual worry to the Centre—unless all these problems are studied carefully and remedied.

As I have spoken on several occasions, here again I may repeat the major problems confronting that State, with the added hope that by repetition at least, they may receive the regard that they deserve. I wish and hope that this august House may give due consideration to them and find out remedies so that again the Home Ministry may not have any occasion to come to invoke emergency powers under Article 356 of the Constitution and abrogate democracy there.

Speaking on Kerala affairs I am sure by this time you are all aware of the present economic problems that are the root causes of our major difficulties. I would like to emphasise that one of the main problems facing the State is educated unemployment. It is this intelligent manpower which is always dissatisfied and frustrated that creates an unstable situation there. This we are emphasising for so many years and I would like to say that we are pointing out the problems of Kerala every time and so many times here in this House and we are getting the same reply from the Home Minister. That shows that our problems are always remaining the same and no remedy is being achieved. I am sure we are going to get the same reply even now. For remedying the educated unemployment and finding out a solution for the same, industrialisation is the only remedy. For industrialisation we have to find out means. There is no mineral wealth or oil-fields there but the only wealth that is abundant there is the capacity to produce more

hydro-electric power. Regarding the generation of that power I am very sorry to say that even now in spite of enough potentialities for producing cheap electricity there, we are depending on Madras—till now. At 8.30 P.M. we switch on to Madras electricity. Madras is experiencing drought and now we have to go to Mysore. Mysore, I am told, has asked for permission from Madras to give electricity to Kerala. I feel so ashamed about such an anomalous position that Mysore has to get the permission of Madras to give electricity to Kerala. That is the position we are faced with.

Regarding the Fourth Plan, the Plan will begin with a backlog of 8.45 lakhs of unemployed persons and it is expected to increase to 17.56 lakhs of persons by the end of the Fourth Plan. The outlay suggested will create 12.41 lakhs additional jobs and the remaining 5.14 lakhs will be unemployed and we have to find a solution even if the programme as envisaged by the Government proceeds on the same lines but as I have already pointed out, I do not think it is going to proceed on the same lines because, as I have already stated, the Central projects proposed in the public sector are the Shipping Yard at Cochin, the Forms Press at Korathi and a Precision Instruments Factory. Now, after so much of fighting we got one oil refinery. About the report received of the progress made by our Central Sector projects, really we feel very sorry. About the Ship-building Yard I do not know whether we are going to get it by the end of the Fourth Plan. This was sanctioned as a central sector project in the Second Plan. Now this is not going to be started even at the end of the Fourth Plan. Then this will be calculated as our quota for the Fourth Plan. When this is so, what is going to be the economic progress?

Regarding Oil Refinery, I would like to say that we have received in-

formation that this Oil Refinery is going to be of small pipes conforming to the size of the State. We are only 1.2 per cent. of the whole size of the country and so this Oil Refinery will conform to that size. There is every hindrance created to real progress. Even in laying the pipes, it was to be four lines originally but it is only two lines now. So that is the situation there in Cochin. We know that it is the nearest place to Arabia from where we are getting crude oil and consequently the cost will be less. In spite of that this is going to be made the smallest so that it can cater to Kerala State only. That is the perspective. The petro-complex industries on which we were counting very much is kept apart, we are informed, to be given to some other places so that they may prosper. People in Kerala feel that, when we think of South, we think only up to Madras. Even the rickshaw puller knows that, and he knows the main problems facing Kerala; I can tell you that even a labourer or a coolie or a rickshaw-puller knows everything about Kerala. Yet we are not agitating for a quick solution to our problems as is being done in other parts of the country by demonstrations and so on. It is because in Kerala, everybody is enlightened. I can tell you that even a biri-maker in Kerala reads two or three papers on making biris and hearing the fifth of them sitting together, four going on making biris and hearing the fifth man reading aloud all the papers of the day. Although the fifth man does all the reading for a day—it goes on by rotation day after day—and makes no biris yet in the evening, they will have the proceeds divided equally among all the five people. In that manner they get enlightened on the problems of Kerala, in particular, and on the problems in general of India. So we have to see that the problems of Kerala are solved, that Kerala is not discriminated against in the matter of its development. But the peo-

[Shrimati Devaki Gopidas.]

ple there feel that they are being discriminated against, and we won't be able to dupe them. So we have to find tangible solutions to the burning problems facing Kerala and seek ways and means to provide employment opportunities for the well educated but unemployed Keralites.

Then regarding the coir industry; it is one of the oldest cottage industries we were monopolising. In that also there is the Coir Board and we are trying to make some progress. But still we are not in a position to find tangible employment to those who are engaged in the coir industry. Then regarding power projects; unless the hydel projects are developed, we won't be able to have industries. In that connection a thermal plant, as was mentioned by Mr. Govindan Nair is absolutely essential; we have to get it; otherwise the progress of the State will be crippled. Now during June-July this year when we were expecting so much of monsoon rain, the monsoon failed us, and so there was a 50 to 70 per cent cut in electricity supply. Now this happens at a time when we are faced with food scarcity and more production is our aim, and the factory—FACT—producing the fertilisers, going to step up food production, now that factory had to practically close down for want of power. Every year for want of adequate power supply, the factory has to slow down the production of fertilisers for four months in a year. Now that means a national loss. So we should view this in the national perspective. Other factories also suffer likewise.

There are so many points I would like to raise to show how Kerala's programmes are discriminated against, and I would now refer to our hydel projects, to the Idikki project, which was mentioned by the Home Minister a little while ago. The Idikki

project is in collaboration with Canada. Now this was to run parallel to the Kundah project of Madras State. The Kundah project was finished in no time, but regarding this Idikki project, to look into this, a meeting was held in the Finance Minister's room on 6-2-1965 and it was ultimately decided to slow down the progress on this project, a project where no foreign exchange was involved. So that is the sort of attitude adopted in our case. And as soon as we got the news of its progress being slowed down, we took the matter before the Consultative Committee and before Dr. K. L. Rao, and then only we got one crore of rupees for this year, for the last year of the Third Plan. Now if that be the attitude shown to Kerala, I would like to say that it is going to be a perpetual worry and misery to Kerala and it will affect in some way or the other the whole of the Indian Union.

Now regarding the Central sector; regarding the Central institutes also I would like to say a word. There are so many Central institutes under the Health Ministry, under the Education Ministry and so on, but none of the Central institutes have been located in Kerala even though . . .

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRIMATI SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN): There are five Central schools in Kerala, out of all proportion to the size of Kerala . . .

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS: My information is that there is no Central institute located in Kerala, coming under the Education Ministry or the Health Ministry.

SHRIMATI SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN: The Member is making a wrong statement. Anyway, as far as we are concerned, it is an absolutely wrong statement.

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS: I am informed that under the auspices of the Health Ministry no institutes have been set up in Kerala. Also I am told that we have no research stations set up in Kerala under the auspices of the Central Government. So nothing has come to Kerala that way. Even in the matter of family planning a Central institute is not coming to Kerala—that is what I am informed.

SHRIMATI SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN: Allotments have already been made; two institutes are already allotted to Kerala State; the places have been selected and the staff are undergoing the training. In fact, Kerala will be starting a training institute ahead of other States.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You better wind up your speech now.

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS: Now I come to food and I would like to say a word. Kerala State is having foodgrains only to suffice for a period of six months of the year, and for the rest of the year we have to depend upon other States, especially on Andhra. In the old days we used to have Burma rice also and we were pulling on very well then. Now, during this emergency our ration is reduced; we were getting six ounces of rice and six ounces of wheat formerly; now we are getting six ounces of rice and four ounces of wheat, a reduced quota. That is the position now, and this six ounces of rice, I would like to say, is only one-eighth of the Madras measure, and it is not sufficient even for a child but this is what we are getting. Our people are accustomed to eating boiled rice and fish curry. Otherwise they cannot work; they cannot pull on. So as far as possible we must get all the ration in rice only and that boiled rice.

Then I would like to point out to one constitutional lacuna that exists

now, a lacuna we are faced with. Now, when the President and the Parliament have taken charge of our State, when there is no legislature there, Parliament is duty bound to find a solution to this lacuna, and the lacuna is this. Here in the Rajya Sabha we are having one seat already vacant, a seat assigned to Kerala, and by the end of this year or so three more Members of this House are going to retire, and we have no electorate to elect the Members to fill the vacant seats. It means that we have no popular Government in our State nor a popular body at the Central level nor even enough Members in Parliament to represent the State. I would therefore like to request the Home Minister to find out a solution for this constitutional lacuna that we are faced with. I think we may have some provision by which this lacuna could be filled up; there must be some provision somewhere to fill the void caused; it may perhaps be necessary to amend the Constitution even.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is up and you must conclude now.

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS: So I would request the Home Minister and the concerned other Ministers to see that all our burning problems are solved, so that our educated unemployed people can be provided with jobs and employed usefully for the welfare of our State.

In the defence sphere also we have not lagged behind other States with all our handicaps; we have not lagged behind any in our duty during this Emergency. 74.8 per cent of the girls working in the army hospitals are from Kerala, and there are so many people in the fighting ranks also, officers and men. So there also we have not lagged behind.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken far too much time.

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS: We have donated about Rs. 68 lakhs to the National Defence Fund and have contributed to the National Loans raised. So we have not lagged behind other people in any respect, and therefore our problems have to be solved satisfactorily by you.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated): Madam Deputy Chairman, I speak both as a person coming from Kerala, and also as a person belonging to the Republic of India. I have great affection for my own State, if I may say so, and I know my State quite as well as anybody sitting on the floor of this House. This resolution which has now come before this House is a major policy resolution, and it is a major political policy resolution. We have had Governor's rule for six months and we are now asked to extend it for another six months. I have not the slightest doubt that at the end of this six months, the Government will come forward asking for a further extension of six months, and so on, till the general elections are reached.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Kerala): Have they already decided upon it?

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: Pardon?

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Have they already decided upon that I ask.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I consider this a very disquieting and discreditable matter in the Republic of India, and looking at it from a non-party point of view, looking at it from the national point of view, without attaching one's mind to party politics, I think every party must share in the discredit of this thing which is happening in Kerala. Supposing a thing like this had happened in Uttar Pradesh, that there is six months of Governor's rule and somebody comes

again saying, let us have another six months of this rule, there would have been a terrible hullabaloo in this country. If this had happened in Maharashtra, there would have been an equally big hullabaloo. But Kerala is far away, a small state in one corner of India.

AN HON. MEMBER: Its sound does not reach here.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: And the Congress has made such a perfect muddle of the situation in Kerala . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Not only there, but everywhere.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: that they do not know how to get out of it. What was my hon. friend asking me?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I said they have made a muddle not only there but everywhere.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I will join issue with you on that when we deal with other matters. But at the moment I am saying that they have made a great muddle in Kerala. I have said that on two occasions before in this House and I am thoroughly unrepentant. We fought for the freedom of India and my major share in that battle was fought in Kerala. My hon. friend Shri Govindan Nair and a number of others sitting here fought ruthless tyranny in that part of Kerala called Travancore. We had a man there to fight with, a . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: Who was the man?

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: A very big man, a very strong man. Mr. Mani knows him.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR (Madras): He is a close relation of Mr. Mani.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I don't know. I congratulate Mr. Mani on that relationship. But Madam, for us who fought for the freedom of Kerala along with the freedom of the whole of India, it is very difficult to tolerate this President's rule in that part of India. President's rule is as bad as bureaucratic rule. It is not a question of who is the Governor. The Governor may be a good man or a bad man, a party man or a non-party man, though it is very unfortunate that the present Governor is a party man also.

AN HON. MEMBER: No, no.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: And he has his official advisers. I know Shri A. P. Jain and he is a very estimable gentleman. But he belongs to the ruling party and in a situation like the one in Kerala, when no party could form a government, and we had to send out a Governor, we could have sent out a non-party Governor. But all that is wishing after the event.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA (Andhra Pradesh): How does it help?

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I only say this to stress my main point.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA (Madhya Pradesh): The local circumstances are like that.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I say that people supporting Governor's rule, voting for this six months extension and then bringing up all these catalogues of grievances, are contradicting themselves. If you have Governor's rule and the three Advisers ruling Kerala, they are not going to deal with these matters raised by my hon. friends from Kerala in the long list of grievances. If they say that Governor's rule should end as quickly as possible and democratic government is restored, then they have some ground for saying that here are these grievances and if the Government

goes back to the democratic limits, then we can solve them. Now what interest has the Governor, who knows so little of Kerala, in understanding every aspect of the problems in Kerala? It is a very very complex problem in Kerala. Even with a full democratic government there, it would be difficult to manage the situations that arise in that part of India. So I go back to the original theme that it is not Kerala that is so much to blame as the ruling party which is to blame for the muddle in Kerala.

I have long been in the Congress, Madam, and I have great respect and affection for that party. But that does not blind me to the mistakes that it commits from time to time.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: You suggest any solution.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: More than one ruling party is there in Kerala.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I am coming to that. I am shortly coming to that. Now, after having thoroughly mismanaged the elections, the Congress is again playing the dog in the manger policy. There are two sections of the Congress in Kerala. I do not believe for a moment that it is impossible to unite these two sections of the Congress. If there is imagination, if there is sympathy, if there is more understanding than we have had till now, both the wings of the Congress can be joined together. In fact, if I remember aright—I may be wrong—when Mr. S. K. Patil went to Kerala, he had almost pulled through an agreement. I am not sure and I can be corrected. But then some big man said that these two parties shall not work together. And they themselves have fallen into the trap now. Once it was thought, Madam, that the Communists would remain united. But they have also shown that they

[Shri G. Ramachandran.]

are as fragile as any other party, and they have also broken up into two groups and they are at each other's throat. This is the trouble in Kerala. The Congress could have managed to find a solution and managed it in a better way if they really wanted to. But this is how the Congress did it and it is the proof of the dog in the manger policy. The Congress will not rule and the Congress will not let anybody else to rule. If the leaders of the Congress would care more for the good of Kerala and less for the advancement of their own party, the problem could be solved tomorrow.

Now, we have the Governor's Statement. I have read it with great care. I find there is nothing new in the Governor's Report. It is a complete rehash of everything that has been said over and over again, and I do not think the Governor's Report is worth the steel of a real debate in this House. Let us not take it for granted that nothing can be done in this Kerala situation. We have now the Kerala Consultative Committee and I have the honour of being a member on that Committee. But that Committee can by no stretch of imagination be considered a substitute for the democratic processes in Kerala. My hon. friend Mr. Nanda and my hon. friend Mr. Hathi are very estimable people. But when they sit on that Consultative Committee, they are not going to face up to the major problems in Kerala. Indeed, every time we sit on that Consultative Committee, our thoughts are: "Let us wait till the democratic government again returns here." So they are attending to routine matters. They are attending to things which cannot be put away. Is this a solution of the problems of Kerala? Is this the way to do justice to the people of Kerala? This Consultative Committee is by no means a substitute.

I am tempted like many other friends, to refer to the innumerable other problems in Kerala. I sometimes remember, Madam, wistfully, that I was once a member of the Cabinet in Trivandrum and I had charge of many of the nation-building activities like rural development, local self-government and so on. I went into every part of the country studying the problems of the people. There are innumerable problems shouting for solution. Many of them have been stated and restated on the floor of the House. Educated unemployment is a major issue, and if you do not attend to it, there is going to be an explosion which is going to shake the whole country one of these days. But today when speaking upon this Resolution I resist the temptation to refer to any of these problems. Maybe there will be some other occasion. In my opinion, the Kerala problem today is a political problem and the extension of Governor's rule is the purpose of this Resolution. I do not want an extension of this Governor's rule even by twenty four hours if I can help it. Do not follow a dog in the manger policy. You will not rule and you will not allow others to rule. You have ruled out any coalition. There was once a coalition which worked very well. Sir, Pattom Thanu Pillai had only seventeen Members in the Socialist Party and the Congress had forty and yet he ran the Government much better than this Governor is running the affairs in the State today. The Governor may be very quick about doing things but it is not a question of being quick about anything. It is a question of understanding the basic problems. If nothing else is possible we should strive for a coalition Government. I venture to make a challenge on the floor of this House, Madam. If two or three well-meaning and esteemable leaders from all parties go to Kerala, and not leave it to the Governor, but call a conference of all political parties, consult with them to find out how best we can solve the problem, a solution can still be found.

SHRI A. D. MANI: What happens to the Governor?

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: The Governor will go as soon as a solution is found and as long as a solution is not found he will be where he is. So, let us go back to this root problem. Everything else is awaiting the solution of this root problem, the restoration of the democratic process in Kerala. If you now allow a six month's extension you will have to allow another six months and another till the next General Elections come and by that time the situation would have become so thoroughly bad that probably even God will not be able to solve the problem.

Thank you, Madam.

SHRI PALAT KUNHI KOYA (Kerala): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support this Resolution. I too am not very much pleased with this idea of giving another extension but I think this is the only solution now and so I have to support it. I am not a constitutional pandit and so I cannot go into all the details but as a Member coming from Kerala I wish to have some of my opinions expressed here. The problems of Kerala are many and on several occasions they have been expressed here by many Members from Kerala and outside. As some of the Members have said, there is a Consultative Committee on Kerala functioning now. We had hoped that in the absence of a duly constituted Assembly there this Committee could function as such to a certain extent. I do believe that we can do quite a lot. I am glad to say that the Members of that Committee, the Home Ministry and our own Governor there are taking whatever action is possible but the point is this. We took this for a real gun. But unfortunately you hear the noise, the explosion but nothing comes out. It has become a pop gun now and so our people are asking us who are here. It is not because of absence of plans

or anything like that but there is something wrong somewhere which we cannot find out or do not want to find out. I cannot say what it is. Mr. Ramachandran said that there is a quick solution for the problems of Kerala. It is well and good and we are happy to have that but what is the solution and who is to bell the cat? You talk about the beautiful scenery of Kerala, the green lands, our forests, the cleanliness of our people, the educated masses and all that. There is a lot of stress about the high percentage of literacy there and we are very proud of it but if what is happening in Kerala today is the result of high literacy then we will have to think whether we should go in for this rate of literacy in other parts of India. Some people say that the problem is due to communal and caste considerations while some say that it is purely political. I stress that it is political but communalism and casteism have also a hand. You will find it existing there, existing with politics, something like a *burqa* covering it. They attain some results with this and some of the people are utilising it to the maximum without being questioned. People know the bad effects of this but they close their eyes, for what reason, I do not know. Everybody wants to hug this, including my Party. My party committed the first mistake which was followed by the others. They did this because instead of looking forward towards the betterment of the State and this country, they wanted quick results.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Did they resort to communalism?

SHRI PALAT KUNHI KOYA: Yes, I do not deny that. I am sorry I have to explain so many things here which is not a suitable place and this is not the correct time. I do not think many of the hon. Members here know about the Muslim League and its old history and the part it was playing in my part of the country, Malabar. I was

[Shri Palat Kunhi Koya.]

fighting against it tooth and nail from the beginning, in 1937 and 1938. During our fight for independence that Party came out with this two-nation theory. As a Muslim I could not agree with that and so we had so many troubles from all parts, including the then Government. The Muslims of India were told that after Partition they would not be safe here. M.A. Jinnah was a lawyer and he had no heart. There are so many reports available even today in the old records, including that infamous Pirpur Report, which said that the Muslims would be finished when the Britishers left India. We said that this would never happen, that we would remain united, that every community would be safe here after the attainment of independence but all that fell on deaf ears.

But now you find the things are coming. We were telling them but we could not again back the followers of the Muslim League. Why? Because our leaders, our Government themselves for their immediate needs wanted to have help from these people. They even went so far as to say that they are not communal parties but they are only political parties. That was the certificate they gave. With the aid of this certificate these people were parading there. I ought not to have raised this point here but I had to do so because an hon. Member of the Muslim League Party in the Lok Sabha when speaking on Kerala has brought out some charges against the Congress and the Muslims who are in the Congress. I do not know why they are against us. The Muslim Leaguers are more against the other Muslims who are in the Congress than they are against the other communities in India. I do not know why. Whenever they get a chance they want to bring out some charges against us. For everything they say it is the nationalist Muslims. We do not like to be called nationalist

Muslims. It is a name bestowed on us by the Muslim Leaguers. If one party is national, who are the others? While conferring a name they said Pakistan which means a holy place. If it is a holy place it means all others are unholy places. I ask then this. If they say we are nationalist Muslims, what are they? But whatever it is, during the emergency we are glad that these people are coming and standing with us and saying 'we are with you; we are for India'. That is very good; we like it but when they are questioned about their fidelity they get angry. Why should they get angry? They get angry because of what they have done in the olden days. It is still with them. There is a saying in Malayalam:

Pasu sattalum morin puli Pokukayilla

It means that even after the cow dies the sourness of the buttermilk will not disappear. So it is still there. They have not told the ordinary masses that their two-nation theory is not correct. They have not opened their mouth about that. Now they just wait for some statement from Pakistan and immediately the first thing they do is to come out with a statement repudiating that. By that they can save their skin but not the other millions of Muslims who are in India. Here there is a Constitution and constitutionally we are provided with some help and all that but as a member of the minority community I believe and I tell my countrymen of the minority community that instead of depending upon these constitutional rights and methods we want the closest relation with and love of the other communities here. Even your Supreme Court protection cannot be better than that. We are working for that and we want to see that this is established. But unfortunately in Kerala this is not the case. Even the masses are in the dark. They do not know this and

whenever these people get a chance they hit at us. Now what happened there? He was speaking about the duly constituted Kerala State Wakf Board and his complaint was that the K.P.C.C. President and some of the nationalist Muslims who have no right over the Muslim masses have entered into this. They are trying to create this sort of picture. There are eleven members in all of which three of us are there and one Muslim Leaguer, that is, himself. The hon. Member himself is a member. There are seven other people without any party. He is not going to gain anything out of this; yet this is for propaganda in his constituency and in our parts where we have to work for our party. There the people say that these people are always saying these things and the Congressmen are not saying anything against them. So I want to see that these people are kept aloof and I request every political party to shun them and keep them aloof like lepers; otherwise they will also get this disease. I am not telling this only to my people but I request all of you. But unfortunately when an election comes you find a tendency among everyone including the Communists who are dead against this communalism. We hear long talks, tall talks from all these people but when actually the time comes we find them hugging these people. What beauty this so many times divorced girl has I do not know but still there are so many suitors. I say we must keep them aloof without giving them any encouragement. I am speaking only about the Muslim League, not about the Muslim masses. There is confusion in thinking as to what the Muslim League is and what the Muslim masses are. I am very much worried about this. There is misunderstanding among the people. They say Muslim League means Muslims. That has been their demand. Even in that speech he was questioning about the nationalist Muslims because it is a completely Muslim body; all the eleven members are Muslims. It is a religious thing and that is why

he is worried about that. Now I am a Muslim; but no; they have believed and they do still believe that unless and until a man comes out as a Muslim Leaguer he is not a Muslim and that is where we differ. That has been their demand and that was the foundation for the two-nation theory and the unfortunate division of the country. Still they are holding on to this and some are duped by their statements. We must therefore be very careful. They have not acted against the contention of other people because they cannot do that. What can they do against India? Nothing, but I am speaking on behalf of the other Muslims who want to live here happily as brothers as we do and as our tradition is. In Kerala we did not come there with weapons; we came as merchants and traders. Only eleven persons came; we are 38 to 40 lakhs today and how did it come about? It was not with sword or gun; as in northern India no Mohammad Ghori or anybody else came to Kerala. The same blood flows in all of us but let me ask the Muslim Leaguer whether he will say that his blood and the blood running in the veins of other people in Kerala are the same. He may tell it on the platform but not to his people. So we must go all out and keep them aloof; treat them as lepers and keep them aloof, whether our party wins or not. We can afford to lose and forget about this. If you want to strengthen the Congress which is not communal we must act accordingly. But you have done that mistake and others are repeating it. You cannot understand this handful of people. They are playing the valets; they can shatter anybody. History has shown how they supported the P.S.P., how they supported the Congress, how they supported the Communist Party. They are supporting the D.M.K. They will support even the devil: they don't care. The only thing they want is somehow they must be there. And this is the trouble in Kerala. When they think in that way, the communal hatred comes up and naturally

[Shri Palat Kunhi Koya.]

others also retaliate. The Ezhaya trouble may come up; the Christian Muslim trouble may come up; very many other troubles may crop up. If you can eradicate this mischief from our State then the State will be free of all these things. I appeal to the people and the Government to see that their communal hatred, their communalism, must be purged for ever from this country. Otherwise, we will never have happiness here. God willing, we have come to that stage and I think it will continue, and I ask the Government and the people to ask the leaders of the Muslim League to say openly that this two-nation theory is not Islamic. It was wrong and we do not want that. Only when they say that, the people will fully understand it.

4 P.M.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (SHRI 'M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.]

They have infused so much hatred towards all the other communities and the Government and the Congress Party that the older generation has not forgotten it as yet. That is the trouble, even though he was complaining about some arrests which took place in Kerala, of Muslim Leaguers. He further goes and says in Bombay, Calcutta and in other places the Muslim League is functioning. I do not know why it is called the All India Muslim League. Its only all-India character is in geography. It will be in the atlas. It will be very good. It comes only at Madras. That is their all-India character. It starts from Kasaragode and ends with it. They call it 'all-India'. Where is this Party anywhere else. There the Muslims are in a large number. They can infuse this thing and take some

immediate things for the top people who have been monopolising in all these things. I am not concerned with that. Let them come out. Let them throw away this garb and come out openly. We will receive them, but not with these apologies and statements. They must really come out. I ask the Home Minister to come and enquire about the number of Muslim Leaguers and Left Communists who were taking part in the organisations and all these 'jathas' arranged by the State Government in these districts and find out the position. I tell you that it is very few. Only fellows who could be counted on one's fingers will be there. Even they are in trouble. They have been taught. I was told about the arrests which took place at Kundoti. The All India Radio was broadcasting news about the progress of our Army. It seems one fellow came out and said: "Oh, your Indian tanks are made of steel and the others are of paper." Can any Indian who hears it keep quiet and close his eyes and ears? That fellow might have said it without knowing anything. They are not to be blamed. These people who are leading them and who led them to this end must be taken to task. It is a sin and it is improper for us to go and arrest one of these poor fellows who have been misled like that. We must do some research and find out how this happened. If you are going to give some medicine, that medicine should be given to such persons and not to these people. They are poor and I can assure you that my people are good. The Muslims of Kerala are reliable. I tell you, only they have been misled. Give us some time. Then, this political trouble will stop. Keep them away from all these committees. He is complaining about not putting them on committees. I ask the Home Minister to enquire and find out the number of Muslim Leaguers and Congress Muslim who are on the committees in Kerala. You will find that they are only one of the five fingers and yet they want all these things.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Kunhi Koya, please wind up.

SHRI PALAT KUNHI KOYA: I do not want to go further into it. These are the things.

About the other matters, my friends have already explained—what things we were getting and what we want to have. About electric power, it has been an established fact that for industrial purposes, agriculture and all that, Kerala needs electricity. Another thing is this. There is another saying in Malayalam, i.e., when somebody is sleeping, you call him in the night and tell him: You have no dinner tonight. They saying in Malayalam is.

Vrangunnavanai Vilichu Unarti Attazhamillennu Paryuka

You have been calling us and telling us that we will have thermal plants, that we will have a shipyard or we will have some of these things immediately. We go to our people and tell them: You will have a shipyard very soon. You will have thermal plant and you will have things like that. After some time we hear that nothing is going to happen. It is going on at a snail's pace. So, please do something. When the Government of Kerala is fortunately or unfortunately now under the Central Government, it is the duty of the Central Government to see that something is done to them. Of course, it is just like a daughter who is married to everybody and it is divorced again and again. She again comes back to her parents' house. We have come under the Centre so many times. I think Kerala is your daughter. The Centre must be kind to it. Otherwise we will have to go and commit suicide. Please do not allow us to do that. I again request you to take special care and take pity on this poor girl. Give the people some work. They are experts and can do anything. Somewhere

they are reading the papers and fighting politics without any job. Let them have some work. Give them anything and they can handle it. They are good experts at work. Find jobs for them. That is the only way to get some relief.

Thank you.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Mr. Vice-Chairman the hon. Home Minister has come once again before this House seeking approval for the extension of President's Rule for another six months. Before I go into the discussion and express my opinion on the Resolution which is before this august House, I would with all responsibility refute all the allegations that have been made by my friend, Mr. Palat Kunhi Koya, against my Party, the Indian Union Muslim League. The Indian Union Muslim League, as you all know, and as the Government of India and the Government of Kerala understand, is a perfectly well national organisation of the Muslim Minority of this country. We believe that we all are one nation and, therefore, today we see that at this time of emergency all the people of this country, be it Hindus, Muslims, Christians or Sikhs, have stood as one man to repel Pakistani aggression. I am very sorry that Mr. Palat Kunhi Koya has, at this hour of trial during this time of emergency when the whole nation stands united tried to create dissensions amongst us and has tried to shatter the unity and the solidarity of the people of this country. I am very sorry to say that this is the most condemnable and most criminal act which a responsible Member of Parliament can commit. You know, Sir, that there was an alliance, an understanding, a coalition with the Muslim League organisation in Kerala in 1960 and who was the man responsible for that? Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the present Prime Minister of India. Is there a man who understands men and matters better than Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri? It was he who came down to Kerala and who

[Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

entered into an understanding with the Muslim League of Kerala which resulted in the success of the United Front comprising of the Congress, the PSP and Muslim League. This is the position. Now, there is a man from U.P., Mr. Jain, who has gone to Kerala as Governor. He has tried to understand the conditions existing in Kerala. He has studied the situation there. He knows what the Muslim League organisation is and what the ideology and the policy of the Muslim League organisation is and has come to the conclusion that the Muslim League is an organisation of the Muslim minority, which is giving all possible help in the war effort to repel Pakistani aggression. Mr. Jain, the Governor of Kerala, in his press conferences, in his public speeches has praised the Muslim League for the role that it has played during this emergency. I am grateful to him. Now here is a gentleman, Mr. Palat Kunhi Koya, a man who has been shunned by the electorate. I would like to ask him how many times he has contested for the Assembly and Parliament. Not once or twice or thrice but half a dozen times he has contested. Never once he has won. The Muslims of Kerala have shunned him. They have defeated him. They have no confidence in him. He has no right to represent the people of Kerala. Now for him to come and say as a 'nominated' Member of the Rajya Sabha that the Muslim League is doing such and such things is not only wrong but is absurd. He cannot speak on behalf of the Muslims of Kerala. It is impossible for a man who has been defeated so many times, half a dozen times, to come and say here

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR
He is an elected Member

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT
that he represents Muslims

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN What about you?

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT
I have not lost any election there. If I am going to contest, I am sure I am going to win.

SHRI PALAT KUNHI KOYA This will never happen.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT
I was very calm and quiet in listening to him. Therefore, Sir, I seek your protection and I would like the House to give me a patient hearing. So, this is the position. A man who has been defeated by the electorate, a man whom the Muslims of Kerala did not accept to be their representative in the Assembly, or in Parliament how can he speak on behalf of the Muslims of Kerala? This is what I ask. I do not want to differentiate between Muslims and Muslims. This is not my practice. That is not what I do. I would like to be friendly with all. But if others speak like this here, there is no other go for me except to reply to them. We have to hit back in case we are attacked.

Now what is the position actually? For true Nationalist Muslims, I have all respect. But nationalist Muslims were nationalist Muslims before independence—when they were fighting against a foreign rule, and against foreign domination. Today they are 'Sarkar' Muslims. (Interruption) Today they want to create gulf between Muslims and Muslims and try to take advantage of this for their own selfish ends. This is the position. The Muslims of Kerala support the Muslim League and stand solidly behind this organisation. Mr. Jain, the Governor, understands quite well this position. The Citizens' Council was constituted in Kerala on the proclamation of emergency. There were so many other Muslims present there in the first meeting of the Council but the Governor of Kerala called upon Sayyed Abdur Rahman, Bafakhey Thangal, the President of the Kerala State Muslim League, to move the resolution condemning the aggression.

of Pakistan. We are thus united in struggle against Pakistan aggression. When the honour and the integrity of the people of India are threatened, we all stand together. But here attempts are being made, criminal attempts are being made, even on the floor of this House to create dissensions and create misunderstanding between brothers and brothers. Is it not disgraceful and criminal, Sir, that at such a time when we are fighting for our honour, for our integrity and for our freedom, and when our Jawans are engaged in heroically defending our frontiers, we are raising such controversies? Now at this stage when the country is threatened by the enemies, when we have to stand together, why should Mr. Koya come forward and speak like this?

I would like to bring to your attention one more point. The constitution of the Indian Muslim League is here, and the aims and objects laid down are to create communal harmony in this country and to live as brothers with Hindus, Christians, Sikhs and all others. This is our object. With all responsibility let me say that nobody will be able to point out a single instance when the Muslim League organisation or the Muslim League leadership has acted against the interests of the country or the people of this country. This is our record, Sir. We Muslims are a minority people. What we want is to safe guard the minority rights. It is a parliamentary democracy that we are having in this country. We are a minority, and therefore, being a minority, we must have an organisation to protect our rights and privileges as guaranteed by the Constitution. Now there is the Penal Code. In spite of the Penal Code they have the Police establishment to see that these provisions of the Penal Code are implemented. Can anybody argue that just because the Penal Code is there robbers will not commit theft and we can go about leaving our houses and holdings open? So also we should have an institution to see that the rights guaranteed by

the Constitution to the minorities are properly implemented. We are loyal to this country, we are loyal to the Constitution, and we want to see that the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to the Muslim minority are implemented. This is what we want. Is it criminal? Is it acting like a traitor to try to safeguard our own interests as guaranteed by the Constitution? If you say it is criminal . . .

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: It is criminal to organise communal parties.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: The Constitution guarantees that who are you to call it criminal? The Constitution of India which I hold sacred, which I respect, what does it say? It says that every Minority community has got the right to organise for the protection of its rights. That is the Constitution of this country. If you say you have no right, you are doing an injustice, your utterances are against the Constitution. We want to protect our rights and live as citizens of this country with equal rights and with equal honour together with our brother Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, and all others. This is all that we desire and nothing more. If anybody says anything against this motive we will refute it with all our might and we will say that it is criminal to deny the rights to the minorities.

Sir, now coming to the resolution before the House, I feel that it is really very unfortunate that Kerala has been denied the parliamentary system of Government for the last one year. Every time the Government has come forward with a new excuse for the extension of the President's Rule. One year ago it was a constitutional breakdown when the Sankar Ministry was voted out of power. Then we had President's rule. After six months we had mid-term elections. Elections were held but I am sorry to say, as Mr. Ramachandran, our eminent friend, has pointed out, Congress muddled. Congress was not able to carry out things properly. Election was held, members of the Assembly

[Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait.]
were elected, but these elected members were not given a chance to perform their duties. They were not summoned so that they could come together and discuss the possibility of formation of a Government in Kerala. This is why last time when this motion came up before the House to approve the President's rule once again I opposed it. I said that it was a fraud against the Constitution, a fraud against the democracy of this country. The Parties there must have been given a chance to see whether any Democratic Government could be established there. Such a chance was never given to the various parties and it was unprecedented, Sir, that the members who were elected never saw the Assembly Hall.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: Never deserved.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: And again, for the third time the Government has come forward asking for approval of the extension of the President's rule in Kerala. This time the reasons given by the Governor are different. The Governor says that we are having an emergency. It is a national emergency, a time when our frontiers are threatened, when our integrity is threatened and when our honour is threatened. Therefore, this is a time when we must forget all our differences and not enter into election propaganda and bickerings and therefore we must not have elections. To a certain extent, this seems to me to be a justifiable argument. But at the same time the Governor further says in his Report:—

"The general opinion in the State is that if elections are held now the results will be much the same as they were in the mid-term elections. Shri R. Shankar, the last Minister, shares this view. I fully endorse this view."

If the Governor had just given one cause of national emergency and pleaded for the extension of the Pre-

sident's rule, it is something that one can understand. But to give this reason that because no party majority could be had there, the elections should not be held, is irrelevant.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who is Shri Shankar?

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Here it is said the 'last Minister', but he was the last Chief Minister and lost the election also. This man is being consulted and the Governor agrees with his view about the situation. Two things arise out of this. One is, suppose the emergency continues and the Governor is satisfied that there can be a comfortable majority for a single party, are the elections going to be held? If that is so, there is a contradiction. Then again, suppose the emergency ends, and if the Governor finds out that there cannot be a single party majority, is the President's rule to continue for ever? This is also another contradiction. So, Sir, I feel that this portion of the Governor's Report is irrelevant. It is for the people to decide who should rule and who should not rule. We cannot predict elections, we cannot enter into political astrology. As you know, in England, after the Great War in 1944, when the elections were held, everybody thought that the Conservative Party would come to power, and that Sir Winston Churchill, the national hero of Britain, would become the Prime Minister. But what was the results. It was the Labour Party that won the elections; and the Conservatives lost. We cannot predict what will be the result of elections. To say that only when we know that we can have a single party majority we will conduct election, is undemocratic. Therefore, I say that this portion of the Governor's Report is irrelevant.

Sir, regarding the position in Kerala, I know that the Governor of

Kerala, Shri Jain, has taken keen interest in the affairs of Kerala. He has presented Kerala's case very ably before the Finance Commission and I know that he has also implemented the recommendations of the Pay Commission. But these things alone will not improve matters. There are many more things, many more burning problems, which are shouting for solution, as my learned friend, Shri Ramachandran has put it. There is an acute shortage of food; there is chronic unemployment of the educated class and there is a deplorable lack of industries. These are the burning problems of Kerala. Attempts have not been made to solve these very basic and chronic problems. Kerala has been let down always. In the First Five Year Plan it was let down; in the Second Five Year Plan it was let down and in the Third Five Year Plan it has been let down. Kerala did not have any major industries in all these three Plan periods. One ship-building project was sanctioned. It is still in the air and nothing has come out of it. Then again, the oil refinery project is running into difficulty because the Central Government wants to cut down the size and investment. The Phyto-chemical project has disappeared. A thermal power plant was sanctioned but nothing has come out of it. This is the situation. And as for the food shortage, which is not only acute but tragic, a lot can be done if there is sincerity and earnestness. We can improve the food situation by intensive cultivation of tapioca. For this Government must go all out to help the farmers by giving them fertilisers and providing irrigation facilities. As for fisheries, I have to say that 75 per cent of sea fishing throughout India is being carried out in Kerala and 60 per cent of it in Malabar area. But I am very sorry to point out that the fishing areas in Malabar, particularly Pon-nani, Thanur, Parapanangadi and such other places, have been neglected. If these places are improved by providing better communication faci-

lities and giving the fishermen incentives and helping them with subsidies, with trawlers and such other things, not only will the food situation improve but the earnings of foreign exchange also will improve.

Finally, I would like to suggest that the Governor should constitute an Advisory Council consisting of the prominent members of the Assembly who were elected in the last mid-term elections. By nomination he could have all the party leaders on the Advisory Council and the Governor could consult these members of the Advisory Council on all important matters relating to Kerala. This will be a sort of miniature Assembly.

Thank you.

SHRI D. THENGARI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, the plea put forward by the Government in favour of such extension of the President's rule for a period of another six months in Kerala is not quite convincing. Matters would have been different had it been argued by the Government that because of the national emergency, because we are in an armed conflict with Pakistan instigated by China, it has become impossible or difficult to hold elections in any part of the country. As a matter of fact, if I remember aright, a responsible, leading member of the ruling party had the audacity to suggest that elections should be brought out earlier. For what reason, we do not know. And in the face of such a statement from a leading member of the ruling party, just to suggest that because of national emergency the elections should not be held, is not convincing. I should have liked the Government to establish beyond all doubt that in order to augment, to reinforce, our defence efforts, it was necessary to extend the President's rule there for another six months. But that argument has not been put forth. The extension has been based upon the Report of the Governor of Kerala which states—

[Shri D. Thengari.]

"The general opinion in the State is that if elections are held now, the results will be much the same as they were in the mid-term elections."

Here, the Government has tried to predict the election results—I do not know with the help of which astrologer—because when he mentions 'general opinion', whose opinion it is? Is it the opinion of a few vested interests who surround him? As a matter of fact, this extension involves the question of principle. Even otherwise, to say that even after six months of President's rule, the situation in Kerala has not improved, does no credit to the Government. But that apart, even if the President's rule would have been beneficial to the State, it would not have been in the interests of the State and in the interests of democracy to continue to extend such a rule because as Burke said—"For form of government, let fools contest; that is best which administers best. We know, as the votaries of democracy, that inefficient democracy is preferable to benevolent despotism. Again, this is not the case of Kerala alone. This trick of imposing the President's rule can be repeated in the case of any other State which is likely to have a non-Congress majority. So, in the interests of democracy it becomes necessary to oppose this extension. Of course there is a provision in the Constitution and it can be resorted to for imposing the President's rule. Article 356 of the Constitution says:—

"If the President, on receipt of a report from the Governor of a State or otherwise, is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, the President may by Proclamation—

(a) assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the State and . . ." etc. etc.

Now this has been given. But the satisfaction must be objective not merely subjective. And it is difficult to say that in case of Kerala the satisfaction has been objective. There were five other earlier instances of the President's Rule being imposed. In the first place in June 1951, Dr. Gopichand Bhargava's Ministry resigned and on 28th June, 1951 the first Proclamation under this article was signed by the President. Secondly, when the Prakasam Ministry was defeated on 15th November, 1956, the President signed a Proclamation under this article. Again, on 23rd March, 1955 when the Travancore-Cochin Ministry resigned and no other Ministry could be immediately formed, powers under this article were invoked. Again the power was invoked when on the 31st July, 1959 the Namboodirapad Ministry was dismissed and lastly on 25th January, 1961 when the Mehtab Coalition Ministry resigned and no other Ministry could be formed, the President's Rule was imposed on Orissa. But in every one of these cases a Ministry was already there. It was functioning but there was a political breakdown. The existing Ministry simply could not continue to function and the President's Rule became inevitable. These are genuine cases of subjective satisfaction. But in the present case no Ministry was allowed to be formed. The Legislature was not allowed to meet. No party leader was called upon to try to constitute a Coalition Ministry. The normal machinery of the Government was not allowed to function. It would be ridiculous to assert that the Government of the State of Kerala cannot be carried on in accordance with the articles or provisions of the Constitution when such a trial has not been given. Merely party position cannot be a deciding factor.

Sir, to say that since there is no absolute majority of any party in the general elections President's Rule becomes inevitable would not be correct because there are cases of

coalition Ministries being formed and functioning properly and there is no reason why in any other State of India such a coalition Ministry should not be given a trial. Against this background I am led to agree with the observation of an eminent, impartial and independent person like Mr. M. C. Setalvad who remarked in his article in the Indian Advocate of 2nd November:

"What is more reprehensible is the use of arbitrary and extensive powers obtained by the executive in the name of emergency, not for the real purpose of the emergency, but for the ordinary purposes of government."

Again I want to insist upon the point that if it is established beyond all doubt that for national emergency and for augmenting defence efforts postponement of elections is inevitable, we would support the measure. But in the absence of such an argument and a categorical statement from the side of the Government it is difficult to support such an extension. Thank you.

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I do not wish to repeat what I said when the President's Rule was first promulgated. I had then, in brief, pointed out that it would have been possible to avoid the President's Rule if the two wings of the Congress had not cared to stand on their prestige, had taken into consideration the vital interests of the country, and had consented to patch up their differences. I am sorry to note, sir, that even in six months they have failed to patch up their differences and this is one of the reasons given by the Governor for the continuance of the President's Rule. I am sure the party which claims to command the confidence of a great majority of the people owes to itself and to the nation to rise above minor differences, to merge internal dissensions and to see that parliamentary democracy functions properly. I do feel, Sir, that the people of Kerala should have been given an opportunity to have their say in the future political set-up of

their State. When the Constitution laid down that the President's Proclamation would be valid for six months, the makers of the Constitution felt that the situation needed to be reviewed at least after six months. And I am sure in a democracy the situation is not to be reviewed by the Governor or by those who work on behalf of the President but it is to be reviewed by the people of the State concerned. It is just possible that the people of the State might have felt the need of a stable government and might have compelled certain parties to commit themselves to a coalition government or, finding that impossible, might have thrown their weight in favour of any particular party and resolved the tension, the deadlock. In a democracy, the people, I feel should have been given that opportunity. Now, I know that in spite of my opposition this proposition that is placed before the House by the Government will be passed as it has been passed in the other House.

Sir, I would endorse the suggestion made by a representative of the Muslim League. If it is not possible for us to hold new elections and to have a properly constituted Legislative Assembly in Kerala, let us constitute an advisory body comprised of the leaders and certain other important persons of the various parties of the State duly elected by the people themselves. If in India, faced with an emergency, we are calling leaders of the different political parties for consultations and even evolving the machinery of representative advisory committees, I see no reason why it should not be possible in the State of Kerala. In the end I wish to say a few words more about the admirable speech delivered by the representative of the Muslim League just now. We are all proud of the part played by the Muslim citizens of India in this great emergency. They have no doubt, by their act, proved that they are as much concerned with the integrity and welfare of the nation as any other section of the Indian nation. Nations are born in periods of such suffer-

[Prof. M. B. Lal.]

ings and undoubtedly the part played by the different sections of the Indian nation in this emergency surely indicates that our unity is more vital, and more solid than the differences that tended to disturb our Indian policy some time ago and yet I do agree with him that the safeguards that are provided to the citizens of India under the Indian Constitution are to be duly guaranteed. It is the right of the citizens belonging to the minorities to claim from the nation that these rights are duly protected. But I wish to point out that the Muslim community is not the only minority community. There are other minority communities also and if members of the Muslim Community are afraid that all members of the minority Community are not as secure as they should be with regard to the protection of the rights of the minority Communities, I am sure they would believe at least a section of the majority community also feels that the rights guaranteed under the Constitution should be a reality to all citizens of the country. Will it not be proper for the members of the Muslim community to organise a party or a political organisation that may comprehend all those that are as much concerned with the protection of the rights of minorities and with the protection of the rights of citizenship as my friend the representative of the Muslim League is? I am sure if an attempt in that direction would be made, he would be able to have a greater impact on Indian politics than he has been able to have to-day. That is all that I have to say.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): At the outset I may submit that there can be no doubt from the views expressed by various Members here that President's Rule is by no way, a substitute for a democratic set-up. We would all wish that in every State there should be a democratic set-up but it is only when circumstances so exist that there is no other

alternative to govern the State according to the provisions of the Constitution, that article 356 has to come into play. An argument was made that under article 356 it is only when the Government cannot be carried on according to the provisions of the Constitution, then only this article comes into play and Mr. Thengari cited several instances where it was only when the Ministry resigned that the President's Rule was imposed on the State. These arguments were also made at the time when first we had this Resolution. Now we are proceeding under sub-clause (4) and it is for the extension or further continuance of the Proclamation but even then the Government has to take into consideration whether there is a possibility of having a stable Government

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: So unless you are convinced, there will be no elections in Kerala? Wonderful.

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: and whether the circumstances exist which would show a possibility of forming a stable Government. It was also argued that the emergency, although we talked of it, did not come in the way of a Congress leader, to whom the statement is attributed, advocating fresh elections but the Member forgot that the idea was very soon dismissed. In the first place the Congress Leader or the President did not make such a statement and if somebody had made, the Prime Minister, the very next day, said that there would be no general elections during this period of emergency. The emergency does exist, there is no doubt about it and if an election had to be held in Kerala, with the conditions there—we saw how passions arose even between the Members of Kerala itself earlier, and it would unleash all those passions on a much wider and bigger scale. The country cannot afford to lose this unity which my respected friend Prof. Lal just mentioned. We have to maintain at all costs the unity.

PROF M B LAL Not at the cost of democracy

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI I would even say that if the unity of the country at this stage is lost and if we lose the country, what is democracy? Democracy will survive if India survives and we are fighting for democracy, survival of democracy. So we must try to see that we do nothing whereby our democracy is in any way demolished or injured. That is one thing.

The other points that Members raised were that several plans and development projects suffered because there was not a democratic set-up. I may however say that the Government of India has taken great care to see that the projects do not suffer for want of funds or any other thing. If I may mention to the House in the last year of the Third Plan the Central assistance available was only Rs 23 crores and the State could have given Rs 13 crores and it would have come to Rs 36 crores available. But looking to the progress of the power projects, irrigation projects and other industrial projects we sanctioned Rs 475 crores more. Even a couple of months back we still thought that the power projects the Idiki and others had to be expedited, and although it was once decided because of the financial resources being limited that the Idiki project should be slowed down, we sanctioned another Rs 562 crores. So for this year we have sanctioned Rs 10 crores for these Plan projects, mainly irrigation power, fisheries and agriculture, because we know that when the State abounded in educated unemployment the unemployment problem could be solved if industries came up. Industries can come if power comes, and power would only come when the projects are finalised quickly. Now the question of thermal power, a plant for the purpose was raised. Now let us first of all see that if the existing power projects are completed quicker, we will get quick-

ker benefits. Technically, a power project may be sound and it can be feasible also but it is really the benefits that are accruing quickly that should be the guiding factor and therefore, rather than start another power project afresh, if we can complete the existing power projects, that would be much better and therefore we have sanctioned about Rs five crores. Though they said that Dr Rao himself had said that there was need for a thermal power project they also said that the Central Government was indifferent to Kerala. Now these two things do not go together. Dr Rao is a representative of the Government of India, and if he says that there should be thermal power, it means that the Irrigation and Power Ministry in the Government of India is not indifferent to Kerala. But first things must be done first. Also I would like to say that I am yet to see the representative of any State who comes forward and says that all that he wants in the Plan is being given to him. Whenever we discuss their Plans, there is bound to be a complaint from each State that whatever a State wanted has not been given to it. And it is because the finances are limited, are restricted and we have to cut our Plans according to the finances available.

SHRI M N GOVINDAN NAIR Finally it comes to this that we are not going to have a thermal plant.

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI It may be in the Fourth Plan, but not in this year. What I mean is that we have given Rs ten crores for completion of the existing projects. In the next Plan you may get it, it is not that you will not get it, but whether we have to start a project today and keep it lingering or to complete the existing projects is the only thing to consider now. But nobody is indifferent to Kerala. One Member referred to the Phyto-Chemical project and said that it was already sanctioned but that the Central Government gave it up because of indifference to Kerala. There also

[Shri Jaisukhlal Hathi.]

I may explain that there was no indifference on the part of the Government of India. The Government of India tried its best to go ahead with the project. What happened was that the project report was prepared by the Russian experts. Then, when it was calculated, it was found that the caffeine manufactured from the prunings was so costly that one ton of this product would cost a lakh of rupees, one lakh as compared to Rs. 18,000, at which it can be had from abroad, and as compared to Rs. 50,000 at which the Bengal Chemicals are marketing the caffeine manufactured by them. Now would it have been economical for such a project, or for the Kerala people to produce an item which would cost Rs. one lakh in place of Rs. 18,000, the price of a ton of imported caffeine? But still we did not let it go. We then said, "Well, let us find some other way and see whether it would be possible? And we examined the alternative suggested of manufacture of caffeine from tea waste alone, a suggestion made by the Soviet experts. And there too, the examination made by the Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Ltd. revealed that that also would be very costly. Therefore there was no other alternative but to let go that. Still we have not let it go and we have suggested to the State Government that if a smaller plant is possible, we can go ahead. Therefore it is not a question of our being indifferent to Kerala.

Then they referred to the Kerala Consultative Committee and Shri Ramachandran . . .

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: What about a ship-building yard please?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: That is coming now. Then they referred to the irrigation projects. As I said, we have given Rs. two crores extra for irrigation projects.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Can you give some figures regarding acreage?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: In the First Plan it was 75,290 additional acres irrigated. In the Second Plan it was, 108,150 additional acres irrigated. You said that not a single acre of area has been irrigated. But it is there.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I did not . . .

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: And 59,500 acres will be irrigated by the end of the Third Plan, and that is why we have given additional money, and the additional funds will enable earlier utilisation of the benefits, which you will now get, of the Neyyar, Chitturpuzha, Gayathri, Pothundi, Periyar valley and Pamba Irrigation projects. Of course we have only recently done that. Therefore what I mean to say is this that, whatever questions you have raised in the Consultative Committee, we have appreciated your difficulties and we have tried to grapple with the problems. Now they mentioned about the Water Transport Board. There also we have tried to find out a solution, as to what could be done for the employees who are discharged. The difficulty is that it is under an Official Liquidator, who had only to act under the instructions of the High Court. So he cannot give money according to his own wish; he has to go to the High Court. But even there we have discussed it and we have said that we should take a very lenient view of those persons who are discharged and help them out.

Then there was also the question raised about food and about the food policy. Complaint was made that the ration supplied in Kerala was not adequate. May I recall for the benefit of the Members of the Consultative Committee that this question was discussed when the Home Minister was present? Did the Home Minister not say that he himself will take up this question with the Food Minister? May I recall to the Members of that Committee that the Home Minister requested the Food Minister to be present there and all that all the Members of Parliament

from Kerala, and other Members who were present there, discussed it for three hours, and the Home Minister, after giving a hearing to the discussion, again pleaded that something should be done? Now the question is this that, after all, even supposing there had been a democratic set-up, food had to be obtained from the Food Ministry, and the Food Ministry had to look to the overall position of availability in the country and do it. Therefore it is wrong to say that in the absence of a democratic set-up Kerala has suffered. For example, take the Fourth Plan. Now, normally, I am sure that no Members of Parliament as such, that no Member of Parliament from Kerala would have had a chance to discuss their State's Fourth Plan with the Planning Commission. But we specially requested the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission to come to this Committee, and all the Members of the Committee expressed their views on the Fourth Plan. I do not think that in any State where there is a democratic set-up the Members of Parliament would have come there. Naturally the Minister would have come. Here you have got the Minister himself, the Home Minister and also the Members.

5 P.M.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Then why not have the same pattern everywhere?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: But I started by saying at the very beginning that I would never say that, and I share the view that President's rule is no substitute for a democratic set-up. There should be a popular ministry and I started with that admission. But the only thing is, if it is not there, or if it could not be there because of certain circumstances or conditions, then it becomes all the more the responsibility of the Centre to see that on this account the people there do not suffer. That is why we are taking this keen interest.

There are a number of industries there. I have given the instance of one—the phyto-chemical industry. There are also other industries which have been sanctioned and some four major industrial units are going ahead. I quite appreciate that whatever may be the anxiety of the Centre, whatever may be the efforts on the part of the Centre, the people would feel the absence of a democratic set-up. I have nothing to say about it. The only point is whether that is possible now; and if it is not possible, how can we administer the State in the best possible manner in the circumstances? I am not for a moment going to suggest that it is the only way, or that there is no better way. I am not for it and I would not say so and nobody who is wedded to democracy and who wants democracy to function, would say so. But this is something here which has to be done under the provisions in the Constitution, when you cannot otherwise have a democratic set-up. That is the reason why I have moved this Resolution for the approval of the House. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation (G.S.R. No. 490) issued by the Vice-President of India, discharging the functions of the President, on the 24th March, 1965, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Kerala, for a further period of six months with effect from November 11, 1965."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. the day after tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at three minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 10th November, 1965.