

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: Kindly lay the thing on the Table of the House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Since he has sent a communication, we should know what he has said. Mr. Sudhir Ghosh of all people has made all kinds of unkind remarks in this House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: May I inform the House that I will not permit this sort of questioning to go on in the House? If a letter has been received by the Chairman, the Chairman has replied to the letter and so, nothing further. We go on now to the Kerala Budget.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH (West Bengal): Madam, . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, Mr. Ghosh.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, yes. Mr. Sudhir Ghosh, get up. If he gets up the cat will be out of the bag.

THE BUDGET (KERALA), 1965-66— *continued*

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): On a point of order. Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: It is a point of order, Madam. It is on another matter, on the Kerala Budget.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): It is a point of order on the Kerala Budget.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: This is on a different matter, Madam.

We are now discussing the Kerala Budget framed under the old Proclamation dated the 10th September, 1964. Madam, this Proclamation was revoked by a new Proclamation dated the 24th March, 1965. The moment the old Proclamation was revoked all the Bills pending before the Parliament lapse. Therefore, Madam, I wonder how we can discuss the present Budget.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The discussion is on the Budget. It is not a point of order, only a constitutional point. Therefore, the discussion will go on. If it were a Bill I may have been prepared to concede . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): This is also important. The Budget was framed not by the present rule but by the Government under the old President's Proclamation which does not exist today.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): But the Governor is the same.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Governor may be the same. Even the Prime Minister may be the same but then the Government may have changed. We are discussing this constitutional point.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you have raised a constitutional point and that point the Chairman does not decide. The Kerala Budget. You are only repeating what Mr. Mari-swamy has said.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is an argument which might impress you. I have a genuine feeling.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes. I have heard your point.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The point is this: It is true the same Governor is there but what happens today is that the Governor is also leaving. It is said in the newspapers.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: But he has not left.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is leaving, that Governor has gone that way.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is leaving, not left.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is not a material point. Madam. Even if the same person happens to remain as the Prime Minister after an election, it does not alter the fact that the Government

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

that comes in is a different Government, constitutionally speaking. Now, the President's Order was revoked as well as the old Order; a new Order, a new Proclamation has been issued. They did not wait till the last date, the 30th of March for issuing the new Proclamation. How then can you take up the discussion of the Budget here when it comes from a Government which is no longer there; the old Proclamation is no longer there. So, I think something should come from that side. Here is a point for you to consider. I do not say what I am saying is absolutely valid. An anomaly has arisen. I have an open mind. I am not dogmatic.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please be brief.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have an open mind. Therefore, I request you to consider this matter and see the situation in which we are discussing the Budget.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The leader of the House is here.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION (SHRI M. C. CHAGLA): Madam, the answer is very simple. It cannot be suggested that whatever was done under the old Proclamation is invalidated because the new Proclamation has come into force. It is clear that all action taken under the old Proclamation, whether it is legislation or Budget, continues to be good and Menceforward, whatever action is taken will be under the new Proclamation. This Budget was framed under the old Proclamation which was a valid Proclamation and, therefore, I really do not see the force of Mr. Gupta's argument. I have great respect for Mr. Gupta who I know is a lawyer and is trained in law but I fail to appreciate the force behind the argument.

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS (Kerala): Madam Deputy Chairman, up to this time I have been hearing so many speeches here but nobody has dealt with the problems of Kerala or the budgetary revisions that are under discussion now. I would therefore like to utilise my time for that purpose.

Madam, Kerala has several special economic features as distinct from the rest of India. The State occupies only 2.7 per cent of the total area of the country but accounts for nearly 3.9 per cent of the population. This growth of population during the last fifty years without corresponding economic development, coupled with the high percentage of literacy, has led to severe unemployment, especially educated unemployment and under-employment and a very low *per capita* income and low standard of living. That accounts for the dissatisfaction, discontentment and frustration among the people and the consequent changes in the trial of governmental machinery often.

It is on this basis we have to consider the Budget proposals. Unfortunately within these ten or fifteen minutes allotted to me I cannot go through the details and consider the merits and demerits of the Budget proposals before us. In fact, we are not expected to do so. Now, this being the Budget for the last year of the Third Plan, and on the eve of launching the Fourth Plan, it is very important so far as the future prospects of the Kerala people are concerned. We have to focus our attention on the radical problems that are facing the economic structure of the State and the well-being of the people and chalk out ways and means to solve them at least by the Fourth Plan.

As I have already pointed out in my earlier speeches I would like to emphasize again that if we mean to give a uniform development to the whole country in all respects and we are serious to see that the problems of the problem State of Kerala, which is situated in a strategically very important position in the country, are solved, we have to apply our mind very seriously to solving the problems of educated unemployment, of utilising the educated and intelligent idle manpower resources available so abundantly there for the larger interests of the country. The need of Kerala today is more and more employment opportunities and for that purpose development in industrial sector by starting industries with employment potentialities, that is, industries capable of providing gainful employment, is the only

remedy if we have to solve all the problems facing that State and if we want to have a stabilised Government there. But *m.* the Budget I do not find any amount set apart for starting new industries there.

industrially the State is very backward and the industrial sector there is only half as productive as the agricultural sector because of the predominance of the old types of cottage industries and small scale industries there. The first two Plans did very little to develop industries in the State and most of the major industries now existing are those started earlier. The Second Plan outlay was Rs- 6.84 crores which is only 7.9 per cent of the sum allotted for industries. In the Third Plan the amount allotted for industries is Rs. 17.20 crores. In the Economic Survey Report of Dr. Lokanathan it has been said that an investment of Rs. 1000 crores is necessary during the sixties to reach a *per capita* income of Rs. 400 by the end of the decade. Of this amount a sum of Rs. 206 crores is to be spent on industries. If we can invest at this rate, then only we can find that Kerala is developing on a par with the all-India level. The Central projects proposed in the public sector are a ship building yard at Cochin, a forms press at Korathi and a precision instrument factory but I am extremely sorry to say that the work on these projects is proceeding at a snail's pace. Another project, the phytochemical plant, has been dropped after incurring an expenditure of Rs. 17 lakhs by the State for acquiring land etc. I would request that a new project may be started on that plot that is available there; otherwise because land in Kerala is so dear people may occupy that land and it may be lost. We are still very anxious about the shipyard because of the way in which it moves. There was already a soil survey conducted in this connection and its report is available which says that the location is suitable. Then what is the necessity of conducting another soil survey spending again so many lakhs of rupees? At this rate we are afraid that this would not materialise before 1970. I would like to mention here that this shipyard was allotted in

the Central sector for Kerala by the Second Plan. As regards Central sector projects Kerala got only a negligible amount, that is, Rs. 79 lakhs in the 1st and 2nd Plans when the all India investment was Rs. 929 crores. In the Third Plan we got Rs. 25 crores as against Rs. 1325 crores in the all India level. From this it can be clearly seen that no regard is given to the backwardness and the intensive population of the area to be benefited by these projects. I am stressing so much CM Central sector projects because the level of capital formation in the State is so low that rapid industrialisation cannot be achieved with the resources that are available within the State.

If locations of industrial units continue to be decided on an *ad hoc* manner, the difficulties in bringing about dispersal of Industries and disparities in industrial development would also continue. Dispersal and balanced regional development have to be planned deliberately and in detail. We completely rely on the words of our Prime Minister that while allotting amounts and projects in the Fourth Plan backward and undeveloped regions are sure to get priority and as such we hope that Kerala is sure to get better understanding of its problems and better allotments. Now that the Kerala State is under the direct rule of the Centre I hope the Centre is duty bound to see that the State's problems are solved and that it develops in all directions.

Now, to achieve this end the licensing policies of the Government and the lending policy of the Central financing institutions like the L.I.C., the I.F.C. and the F.C.I.C.I. should be reviewed immediately; otherwise I am afraid the assurance may not be implemented. Thus we see that a systematic effort will have to be put forth for a period of at least fifteen years to bring the industry and the economy of Kerala to the all-India level.

Regarding food, the position in the State is far from satisfactory, even though it is stated in the statement by the Finance Minister that it is satisfactory. The food production there is hardly sufficient to feed her population for six months of the year. Kerala produces only 45 per cent

[Shrimati Devaki Gopidas.] of her requirements of food. She imports sunnally about Rs. 65 crores worth of foo'd from outside and this has put a severe strain on the economy of the State. Food scarcity and high prices have become ft permanent feature of the economic life of the" State even though the yield per acre there is far above the all India level. Now wo are having informal rationing under which we are getting 12 oz. per head, six ounces of wheat and six ounces of rice. May I ask whether the Government thinks that this ration of 12 oz. is sufficient for an adult? Even of this 6 oz. of wheat and 6 oz. of rice, there is no uniform distri-' ation throughout the State. On the eve . i the election we were getting the worst type of rice and I think that has affected the election very much. The rice that we were getting at that time when cooked formed into a gum-like substance. Our people's staple food is cooked boiled rice and fish curry but now they are not getting any boiled rice and the people are very much against us. Our people are half-starved and that is affecting their health. There are no subsidiary or protective food available there. Milk is very scarce and *per capita* availability including children is less than 2 oz. The prices of cereals are unbearable. We have diversified food habits of the people. To meet our requirements I would state that at least ft minimum quantity of cereals we will have to get at a reasonable price. There even low, in the main harvest season the price per bag of rice is Rs. 125. I shudder to think of the situation that we will have to face during the lean months of the year that is ahead. Now that is the duty of this Government entirely to feed the people, I would request you to see that there is enough of buffer stock to tide over the lean months without starvation and cala-I would like to suggest at this junc-nit if the Government could continue informal rationing and keep the market open without cordoning off the State as a separate zone, I am sure the whole problem will be solved.

A peculiar feature of Kerala is the important role played by cash crops in the agricultural economy of the State. The State has got a monopoly in respect of a

number of cash crops which, are the main source of monetary income to the people and foreign exchange to the whole country. In fact, exports from the Kerala State earn not less than one-third of the total dollar exchange that is earned by the whole country. Therefore, the people of Kerala feel that they are entitled to get more share from the Centre. Now, because of the limited land space in the State, increase in agricultural production has to be achieved mainly by intensive cultivation, through improved irrigation facilities, application of scientific fertilisers, use of improved seeds, adoption of advanced techniques of cultivation and control of pests and diseases. Now, I would like to say that we are losing annually due to pest diseases from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 crores and due to cocoanut 'diseases alone we are losing annually Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 crores. We will have to see that intensive cultivation is done with the help of the Centre, because the State being so poor it has not got adequate resources for investment.

Now, I would like to speak about the hydel projects there. Regarding power supply the position is one of acute shortage and it cannot but have a crippling effect on the industrial and economic advancement of the State. Kerala has no coal deposits or mineral oil fields, but it is endowed with fairly large hydro-electric potentialities. The hydro-electric potential of this State, when put to use, will support an industrial structure with a gross investment to the tune of Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 2,500 crores. This, gives us an idea of the dimensions up to which we have to rise in the years to come.

A special feature of Kerala's hydro-electric power is its relative cheapness. Still, power generation in the State has not so far kept pace even with the requirements of the poorly developed industrial sector in the State- In summer months we have to depend upon the power supply from the Neyveli thermal plant at Madras. I would like to state that the hydel projects in Kerala have not developed because the whole scheme is left to the internal resources of the State. Now, I would request that this has to be taken up on a national basis, as a national asset and then

only it can be developed and the industrialisation programme could be achieved.

I would like to say one or two words about non-Plan projects. Our State is a welfare State from a long time and we are spending so much on education, health and such items. For that also we have to find enough funds in the Budget. We find that there is no provision in the Budget for starting new schools or colleges in the coming years. I would like to say that it will affect the education of the children. As it is, it is virtually compulsory primary education for all the children. To the other States you are allotting so much money for that. Now, we have to continue those activities of the State. Without retracing our steps, we have to find enough funds. We have to find money for starting new schools and colleges.

Regarding NGOs also I would like to say one word. The NGOs of our State, who are doing the main bulk of the work in the Government offices, are paid very low. They are getting the minimum throughout the whole country. Now, when the Central NGOs are getting Rs. 135, in Kerala they are getting Rs. 82.50, in spite of such high cost of living. The primary school teachers also are paid very low. If we do not have enough funds to provide for increased salaries for them, I feel that it will retard the progress of the State and they may go on strike. So, I would request the Government and the Finance Minister to provide funds for the welfare of these people also.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन, केरल के बजट के ऊपर बहस तो चल रही है, लेकिन केरल में जो जनतंत्र का गला घोट दिया गया है, उसके बारे में मैं कुछ कहना चाहूंगा। अभी परसों यह एलान किया गया है कि वहां पर राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू हो गया। लेकिन इस शासन को लागू करने से पहले, सारे कांस्टीट्यूशनल प्राविज़न्स को मद्दे नज़र रखते हुये जो कार्रवाई होनी चाहिये, वह हुई या नहीं, इसके बारे में सरकार को पुनः सोचना पड़ेगा; क्योंकि मेरा यह कहना है कि जो असेम्बली के सदस्य

चुने गये हैं, वे अभी भी असेम्बली के सदस्य हैं; क्योंकि जब तक असेम्बली की बैठक नहीं होती है, तब तक वह प्रापरली कांस्टीट्यूटेड असेम्बली नहीं होती है और वह डिज़ाल्व भी नहीं हो सकती है। एलेक्शन कमीशन ने वहां की असेम्बली का एलेक्शन कराया और कुछ एम० एल० एज० का चुनाव हुआ, लेकिन जब तक असेम्बली की बैठक नहीं होती है, तब तक वह असेम्बली कांस्टीट्यूटेड नहीं होती है। इसलिये अभी स्थिति यह है कि चाहे जब भी राष्ट्रपति का शासन आप खत्म करना चाहें, तब उसी असेम्बली को, उन्हीं मेम्बरों को बुला कर के असेम्बली बनानी पड़ेगी। तो फिर क्या बात है कि . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): On a point of order. Will you yield? My learned friend has raised a legal point That is not true. Unless the the Government is formed, the procedure is that the Assembly is not called. Who will answer to the Assembly?

"At the commencement of the first ses-

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : मैंने सब देख लिया है और मैंने संविधान भी देख लिया है। कहीं पर भी यह लिखा नहीं है कि जब गवर्नमेंट फार्म होती है, तब असेम्बली कांस्टीट्यूटेड होगी। मैं आर्टिकल 176 पढ़ता हूं और आप देख लीजिये कि उसमें क्या है :

sion after each general election to the Legislative Assembly and at the commencement of the first session of the year the Governor shall address the Legislative Assembly or, in the case of a State having a Legislative Council, both Houses assembled together and inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons."

लेकिन साथ साथ अब आर्टिकल 175 को भी देख लीजिये। उसमें यह कहा गया है :

"The Governor may address the Legislative Assembly or, in the case of a State having a Legislative Council,

[Shri G. Murahari.] either House of the Legislature of the State, or both Houses assembled together, and may for that purpose require the attendance of members."

Saw AKBAR ALI KHAN: Who will request the Governor?

SHRI G. MURAHARI: The Constitu-tioa is there.

एलेक्शन कमीशन ने वहां पर एलेक्शन करवाया और कुछ मेम्बर्स चुने गये हैं। जब तक उन मेम्बर जो सम्मान देकर के गवर्नर नहीं बुलाता और जब तक एक बैठक नहीं होती, वह असेम्बली कास्टोडियन हुई है, ऐसा नहीं कहा जा सकता और उसको डिजाल्व करने का भी किसी को अधिकार नहीं है। मेरा तो यही कहना है कि जो आज हुआ है, वह इस तरीके से हुआ है कि जो असेम्बली के चुनाव हुये हैं और उसमें जो मेम्बर चुने गये हैं, वे मेम्बर तो अब भी हैं और जब भी वहां प्रेसिडेंट रूल खत्म होगा, उस वक्त उन्हीं असेम्बली के मेम्बरों को आप को बुला कर के फिर असेम्बली की बैठक करनी पड़ेगी। तो फिर क्या वजह है कि आज गृह-मन्त्री आकर के यह कहते हैं कि वहां पर कास्टोडियनल प्राविजंस के मूताबिक लोग वहां पर कोई असेम्बली नहीं बना पाये? सब से पहले अगर संविधान के अनुसार काम होता, तो असेम्बली की बैठक बुलाई जाती, लेकिन वह नहीं हुआ। तो इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि आज जो परिस्थिति गृह-मन्त्रालय ने वहां उत्पन्न की है उसकी कहीं पर कोई बुनियाद नहीं है, न संविधान में है और न कोई जनतंत्र के तरीके में है। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि इतनी जल्दबाजी क्यों की गई? ये सारी चीजें आप देखेंगे तो मेरा यही कहना है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी के अन्दर जो गन्दगी है उसको बाहर ला कर के वह देश के ऊपर लागू कर रही है। इसकी और कोई वजह नहीं है। कांग्रेस पार्टी को, श्री कामराज नाडर को अच्छा नहीं लगा

होगा कि केरल कांग्रेस वाले वहां सरकार बनाएं या कामराज नाडर यह चाहते होंगे कि केरल कांग्रेस को किसी तरह तोड़ा जाये। तो यह कोई सबब नहीं है कि देश में जनतंत्र का गला घोट कर के इस तरह की चीज की जाये।

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): I want to know the exact procedure. Does the Governor form a Ministry at the instruction of the President or does he act on his own? I think the Constitution contemplates that *he should act on his own, because here we have a quasi-federal structure, and I think the President does not come into the picture.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: He should act on his own . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: He has acted. You consider the report.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : . . . लेकिन उन्होंने एक्ट नहीं किया है, असेम्बली का गठन उन्होंने वहां नहीं किया है, इसलिए उसके डिजोल्यूशन का कोई सवाल उठता नहीं। आज की जो परिस्थिति है कि जो प्रेसिडेंट रूल पहले से लागू था उसी को पुनः चालू किया गया है बस। लेकिन जो केरल असेम्बली के लिए एलेक्शन हुआ है वह कायम है, जब तक एक एक मेम्बर को डिसक्वालीफाई कर के बाईएलेक्शंस नहीं करायेगे तो जो एलेक्ट हुए हैं वे जब भी असेम्बली बुलाना चाहेंगे वे बने रहेंगे और पांच साल तक बने रहेंगे। और कास्टोडियन में कहा गया है कि तीन साल के बाद प्रेसिडेंट रूल चलेगा नहीं, ज्यादा से ज्यादा मैक्सिमम पीरियड तीन साल का है। तो यह प्रश्न आज नहीं तो कल आएंगे और इनका सामना करना पड़ेगा। नन्दा जी को यह जल्दबाजी क्यों हुई और क्यों ऐसी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न की? तो मैंने कहा कि कांग्रेस के अन्दर जो गुटबाजी है, उनका जो मकसद है कि केरल कांग्रेस को या किसी को खत्म करना है, इन मकसदों को ले कर ही केरल की जनता के ऊपर ऐसा शासन लागू

किया गया है जो वह नहीं चाहती हैं। केरल की जनता ने यह साफ जाहिर कर दिया है कि वह कौन सी पार्टियों को चाहती है और इन पार्टियों को मौका देना चाहिये था कि वे अपनी सरकार बनाते। गवर्नर का यह कहना, वह प्रिसपोज करना, कि इनका शासन नहीं चलेगा, बिल्कुल गलत है। अगर श्री नम्बूदरी-पाद को कहा जाता कि अपनी सरकार बनाओ और उनकी मेजारिटी असेम्बली में नहीं होती, पहले दिन असेम्बली में आते और वोट आफ कांफिडेंस लेते तो पता चल जाता कि मेजारिटी है या नहीं, फिर उसके बाद दूसरे नम्बर की जो पार्टी है उसको बनाने को कहा जाता, कांग्रेस को कहा जाता, अगर वह तैयार नहीं है तो केरल कांग्रेस को कहा जाता, कोई न कोई पार्टी को बुला कर एक बार सरकार बनाने का मौका देते, तो फिर यह आरोप गृह-मंत्रालय पर नहीं आता कि इस तरह का काम क्यों किया है। कल भी मैं बोलना चाहता था, यह जो लेफ्ट कम्प्यूनिस्टों के बारे में जो रवैया सरकार ने अपनाया है उसके बारे में। 29 लोगों को जेल में रख कर के जो केरल के एलेक्ट्रेड रेप्रेजेंटेटिव्स हैं उनको रख कर के, आप सारी दुनिया को क्या बता रहे हैं? अगर आप उन को प्रो-पेकिंग-कम्प्यूनिस्ट कहेंगे तो सारी दुनिया को यह जाहिर कर रहे हैं कि केरल की जो जनता है, जिसने कि उन को वोट दिया है, वह सारी प्रो-पेकिंग है। इस तरह की बात मानने को हम तैयार नहीं हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ कि ये प्रो-पेकिंग हैं, कुछ लोग लेफ्ट-कम्प्यूनिस्टों के अन्दर प्रो-पेकिंग हो सकते हैं, यह मैं मानता हूँ कि कुछ लोग हैं ज़रूर, यह मुझे मालूम है, मैं यह नहीं कहता कि लेफ्ट कम्प्यूनिस्ट पार्टी में, मार्क्स-लिस्ट कम्प्यूनिस्ट पार्टी में, सब के सब साफ हैं, दूध के घुले हुए हैं, यह मैं नहीं कहता, लेकिन गृह-मंत्रालय को चाहिए था कि जो जो सबूत थे, उन को सामने लाते, देश के

सामने रखते और कोर्ट के अन्दर उन्हें पेश कर के फिर बन्द कर के रखते और डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स को, इमरजेंसी रूल्स को, लागू कर के इनको अन्दर करना में समझता हूँ कि देश में डिक्टेटरशिप लाने का सब से पहला कदम है। यह खाली लेफ्ट कम्प्यूनिस्टों के ऊपर ही इस्तेमाल नहीं किया गया, मैं आप को कहना चाहूंगा कि संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के भी कुछ लोग हैं जिन को डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स में दस दस महीनों से बन्द रखा गया है। दिनेश मिश्रा जोकि एक विद्यार्थी नेता हैं इलाहाबाद के, उनको भी बन्द किया गया। वह कोई कम्प्यूनिस्ट नहीं हैं और न प्रो-पेकिंग कम्प्यूनिस्ट हैं।

श्री ए० बी० बाजपेयी : जनसंघ के लोगों को भी किया है।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : यह कह रहे हैं कि जनसंघ के लोगों को भी पकड़ा है।

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDⁱ
(Mysore): P.S.P. people are also there.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : पी० एस० पी० के लोगों को भी पकड़ा है। तो इस प्रकार से डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स का इस्तेमाल किया जाता है और फिर हमारे सामने आ कर के केवल एक खिताब दे देना—जोकि लेफ्ट कम्प्यूनिस्ट के लिए दी गई थी—और उसको सामने रख कर के यह कह देना कि लेफ्ट कम्प्यूनिस्ट सब गद्दार हैं, वह राष्ट्रद्रोही कार्य कर रहे हैं, वह षड्यंत्र कर रहे हैं कि देश में कोई बगावत हो, यह सब हम मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। आप साफ सबूत लाइए हमारे सामने। सारी किताब पढ़ेंगे तो कोई सबूत नहीं है। मैं यह कहूंगा कि ऐसा ही नहीं सकता कि कम से कम कुछ ऐसे नहीं होते जिनके खिलाफ सबूत होता, लेकिन गृह-मंत्रालय उन चार-पांच कम्प्यूनिस्टों के खिलाफ भी ऐसे सबूत नहीं ला पाया, तो मैं कहूंगा कि यह गृह-मंत्रालय

[श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

काम करने के काबिल नहीं है। यह कहना कि चार-पांच लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्टों के ऊपर भी सबूत नहीं ला सकता है, तो यह गृह-मंत्रालय के ऊपर एक बहुत बड़ा कलंक होगा कि वह इस तरह का एक सबूत नहीं ला पाया क्योंकि अगर यह किताब ला कर के आप कहते हैं तो इस किताब में क्या है, क्या एविडेंस है? सारी किताब पढ़ डालिए, किसी का एना-निमस लेटर है, किसी का एनानिमस पम्फलेट है, किसी ने कौटिल्य नाम से कोई पम्फलेट जारी किया, किसी ने और कोई नाम से किया, किसी ने "टू फ्रेंड्स" के नाम से एक पम्फलेट जारी किया, और इन का कोटेशन दे कर के हम को कहा जाता है कि इन को गद्दार कहो। अगर इस तरीके से किसी को गद्दार ठहराने लगेंगे देश में, तो फिर क्या यह नहीं हो सकता कि कल किसी और पार्टी को, आदमी को, इसी तरह के एनानिमस पम्फलेट ला कर के, इररेस्पॉन्सिबिल चीजें ला कर के, आप गद्दार ठहराएं। क्योंकि मैं आज देख रहा हूँ कि जिस रास्ते से यह सरकारी पार्टी जा रही है वह बिल्कुल फासिस्ट रास्ते से जा रही है। आज जिस बंस से जनतंत्र का गला घोट कर के केरल में यह प्रेसिडेंट क्लम लागू किया गया है, यह एक सबूत है कि यह पार्टी आज हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर अपना काबू नहीं रख पा रही है और अपनी कमजोरी को छिपाने के लिए और अपनी कमजोरी को बजह से चाहती है कि फासिस्टी तरीका इस्तेमाल कर के हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर राज करे। इसलिए जब यह सरकार इस फासिस्ट रास्ते पर चल रही है तो मेरे मन में कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि आज लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट है तो कल जनसंघ होगा, परसों एस० एस० पी० होगा और इस तरह सभी पार्टियों के ऊपर इस तरह के आरोप लगाए जावेंगे। इसलिए जनतंत्र को अगर देश में बचाना है तो सबूत ठीक से लाओ, कोर्ट में ले जाओ, इन सब लोगों को वहां

पेश कर के सबूत के साथ इन सब को जेल भेजो। मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है, अगर आप के पास सबूत हों। लेकिन मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप उन को गद्दार ठहराते हो तो फिर आप अपना मुंह भी देख लें। हिन्दुस्तान की इतनी हजारों वर्ग मील भूमि चीन और पाकिस्तान के हाथ में दे कर के आज कौन गद्दार है? हिन्दुस्तान की जो सरकार है वह गद्दार है, मेरा यह कहना है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Pleas* be careful of the words you use.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि: हिन्दुस्तान की जो सरकार हिन्दुस्तान की जमीन को बचा नहीं सकती, जिस जमीन को औरों ने हड़प लिया है उस को अगर वह वापिस नहीं ले सकती, तो मेरा कहना है कि उस को पहले दोष देना होगा, लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्टों को दोष देने से पहले।

इसलिए एक चीज को और मैं आप के ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ। चीन के साथ आप हर एक रिश्ता रखे हैं, डिप्लोमैटिक रिलेशंस कायम हैं, आप चाउ-एन-लाई और माओ-त्से-तुंग को मैसेज आफ गुडविल, फ्रास-पैरिटी और क्या क्या सब भेजेंगे और साथ साथ जब चाउ-एन-लाई बिना किसी इजाजत को मांगे हुए कलकत्ता के ऊपर से उड़ जाते हैं बुखारेस्ट या कहीं को, तो चुपचाप लास-बहादुर शास्त्री उनकी मैसेज रिसीव करेंगे। आपको शरम आनी चाहिए इस तरह की चीज . . .

पं० श्याम सुन्दर नारायण तन्ना (उत्तर प्रदेश): अगर इजाजत के कोई फलाई नहीं कर सकता है। इजाजत गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इन्डिया ने दी होगी, तब ही गए होंगे।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि: बिना इजाजत फलाई किया, आप मखबार देख लीजिए।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Mr. Chou-En-lai sent a telegram of thanks to the Prime Minister.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : अगर इजाजत दिये हैं, तो आप को और भी शर्म आनी चाहिए ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I think my learned friend should know when he says that permission was not granted. When we confront him with the point that permission had been granted, he says that even if permission had been granted, it was not right. He has got the authority to argue that but let us be one over the fact.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: My information is that no permission was given.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Permission was given.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: I am quoting Ike 'Amrita Bazar Patrika'.

पंडित श्याम सुन्दर नारायण तन्हा : मैं आनरेबल मेम्बर का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ इस बात के ऊपर कि . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Murahari, please take your seat.

पंडित श्याम सुन्दर नारायण तन्हा : उनका ख्याल होगा कि पिछले प्राइम मिनिस्टर जब ज़िन्दा थे, उनके जमाने में चाऊ-एन्-लाई साहब ने इन्डिया के ऊपर से फ्लाई किया था, जब वह वेस्ट पाकिस्तान से ईस्ट पाकिस्तान गए थे, और उस वक्त भी परमिशन मांगी गई थी और उन को हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने इजाजत दी थी । इजाजत लिये बगैर कोई इन्डिया के ऊपर फ्लाई नहीं कर सकता है ।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : आप कैसे कह सकते हैं, इजाजत दी गई है ? अगर आपके पास इन्फार्मेशन नहीं है तो फिर आप इन्फॉर्म न कीजिए । मेरी जो कुछ इन्फार्मेशन है . . .

श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह (बिहार) : जो मन में आए बोलिए ।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : अमृत बाजार पत्रिका जो कलकत्ता से निकलता है उसमें यही लिखा है कि इजाजत नहीं लिया चाऊ-एन्-लाई ने और उन्होंने डमडम एयरपोर्ट के ऊपर से फ्लाई किया और चेतावनी के लिये उन्होंने मैसेज भेज दिया । इसलिये आप लोगों को शर्म आनी चाहिये । एक तरफ तो आप उन को मैसेज भेजते हैं, आप उन की प्रासपेरेटी चाहते हैं और डिप्लोमैटिक रिलेशन्स कायम करते हैं और साथ-साथ लेफ्ट कम्प्यूनिस्ट्स के बारे में एक बेसबूत किताब ला कर उन को अन्दर कर देते हैं । सारी चीजों में आप ने गड़बड़ की है । केरल इलेक्शन के एक महीने पहले यह सब करते हैं । यह तो किसी भी आदमी को साफ हो जाता है कि जो सरकार तीन साल तक माक्सिस्ट कम्प्यूनिस्टों के देशद्रोही व्यवहार का पता नहीं लगा सकी वह सरकार रहने के काबिल नहीं है । अगर वे सबूत के साथ भी जाते हैं, अगर वे कहते हैं माक्सिस्ट कम्प्यूनिस्टों ने इस तरह का देशद्रोह किया है, तो भी मेरा कहना है : तीन साल तक आप क्या करते रहे, तीन साल तक क्या आप सोते रहे ? और आज आप आकर कहते हैं वे देशद्रोही हैं, तो हम कैसे मानेंगे ? तो मेरा तो साफ कहना है कि यह देशद्रोहिता का कोई सबाल ही नहीं है, यह तो सिर्फ एक राजनैतिक कुकर्म है, केरल इलेक्शन को जीतने के लिये । लेकिन तन्हा साहब की सारी करसूतों के बावजूद भी उन की हार हुई और उस हार पर लीपापोती करने के लिये आज प्रेसीडेंट रूल लागू किया जा रहा है और वह भी अजनतांत्रिक तरीके से लागू कर रहे हैं । इसलिये मेरा कहना है कि जब तक यह सरकार अपना रवैया नहीं बदलेगी और हिन्दुस्तान में जनतंत्र की जो मामूली से मामूली कार्यवाही है, उसके बारे में नहीं सोचेगी, तब तक हिन्दुस्तान में आप

श्री अजयचंकर प्रसाद सिंह : ये जो कुछ अनपारिवारिक शब्द बोले हैं, उन्हें एक्सप्रेस कर देना चाहिये। पारिवारिक में बोलने का जरूर भी नहीं है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish his speech. He is entitled to have his opinion.

श्री बीबे बुराहुरि : अगर इस तरह का इन्ट्रप्शन करेंगे तो ऐसा हो होगा।

तो, डिप्टी चैरमैन महोदया, मैं यही कह रहा था कि केरल के बजट पर विचार करने समय इन सब चीजों के बारे में भी सोचना पड़ेगा। जब तक वहां पर आप जनतांत्रिक ढंग में काम नहीं चलायेंगे तब तक वहां के लोगों को विश्वास नहीं दिला गेगा कि आप वहां जनतांत्रिक सरकार स्थापित करना चाहते हैं। आपके रवैये से वहां जनतांत्रिक ढंग से कोई वहां की सरकार नहीं बदल सकती। और अगर ऐसी व्यवस्था आप केरल में पैदा करेंगे तो परिस्थिति की शायद और बुराब करेंगे और अगर द्वारा इलेक्शन करेंगे तो और भी ज्यादा बुराब करेंगे। तब केरल ही नहीं और भी स्टेट के बारे में मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि कल हो सकता है कि अगले जनरल इलेक्शन के बाद कुछ और राज्यों में भी यही स्थिति पैदा हो जाये—वहां पर शायद लेफ्ट कम्यूनिस्ट नहीं होंगे, और पार्टियां हो सकती हैं—लेकिन अगर इन ढंग से, जिस ढंग से प्रेसिडेंट रूल केरल में लागू किया गया है, उसी ढंग से काम करेंगे तो हर स्टेट में प्रेसिडेंट रूल लागू करने से ऐसी स्थिति हिन्दुस्तान में पैदा करेंगे कि जिस से जनतंत्र का फायदा होने वाला नहीं है।

SHBI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): Madam Deputy Chairman, we are discussing the Budget for the year 1965-66 of the unfortunate State of Kerala. I say 'unfortunate', Madam, because when all the other States in the country are discussing their own Budgets, the Kerala Budget has to K a in the Central Legislature-

As it is stated in the statement of the Finance Minister, under article 356 the responsibility of the administration of the State has been taken over by the President and that administration still continues CTCH after the election that has taken place after six months after the proclamation of the President's rule.

Madam, however much the Opposition may try, I say that they cannot escape the responsibility for the President's rule to the State of Kerala because by clandestine means, and by having a conspiracy with some fifteen unprincipled members of the Congress Party, the Opposition had taken the opportunity to pull down the well-established Congress Ministry there. And after having pulled down the Ministry, the Opposition found it impossible to form a Ministry, to provide a popular Ministry, in the State. It was even then predicted that because of the special situation and the split in the democratic forces in the State, it would be impossible to have a popular government even after the elections. But still the opposition parties, the communal forces and all the vested interests had joined together to nullify the attempts of the democratic forces to have a popular government in the State. Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair while explaining the possibility of forming a government had pointed out that in 1952 the Congress formed a Ministry in the State with a minority of the members of the Assembly. What happened there was that the Congress formed a Ministry with the understanding of the Tamil Nad Congress and it gave majority support for that Ministry in the Assembly in 1952. He again pointed out that in 1954 the minority party had formed the Ministry in the State. Madam, in that case also the P.S.P., which had 19 members, had the support of some 50 members of the Congress which formed the majority in the House of 112 or so. With a clear majority a popular government could then be formed with the co-operation and sacrifice of the Congress Party which really wanted a popular Ministry for the State. Madam, these are the instances which were pointed out by Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair for showing reasons that there was a possibility of the formation of a popular government in the State.

[Shri Joseph Mathen.]

Madam, analysing what has happened after the election, you will be thoroughly convinced that it was impossible to have a popular government established in the State after the general elections in 1965. Madam, the party position was 40 for the Left Communists, 36 for the Congress Party, 24 for the so-called Kerala Congress and 13 for the S.S.P. which had the condescension to express their willingness to form the Government if others would join them. Mr. Murahari has gone away. His Party with 13 members would be prepared to form the Ministry. There were 12 Muslim Leaguers and a few Independents. Mr. Namboodiripad was all the time claiming that he would be able to form the Ministry in the State provided he was given the opportunity to do so. He said that his 29 colleagues in detention should be released so that he should get a majority in the House. Taking for granted that Mr. Namboodiripad was treated as the leader of the 40 members of the Assembly, would it be correct to say that *he* had the additional support of 27 other members of the Assembly to have a clear majority in the House, and without showing a clear majority has he the right to claim that he had the right to form the Ministry in the State? That is the question. Mr. Namboodiripad, in spite of his incessant statements and his extreme efforts, could not find support except from the 61 members of the Assembly. He has clearly stated that if these 29 members would be released, he would find some other persons to support him. Madam, by the release of these 29 members if he can gain the support of another additional 7 members, does he require physical force to bring in this support? So, Madam, it was found impossible for Mr. Namboodiripad to find the support of the majority of the members.

Again, the Kerala Congress offered to support the Congress. But after having reaped the consequences of having an understanding with the communal and sectarian forces, the Congress refused to accept that support from the Kerala Congress and the Muslim League which is a communal organisation, and since the Congress believed in the secular nature of political activities, they never wanted to

have any understanding with those forces and refused to form the Ministry and they were prepared to accept the verdict of the people to remain in the Opposition. Is it not correct, Madam, that the Congress had taken the correct view of the verdict of the people which should be respected in democracy? They never wanted to form the Ministry when it had only been a minority. And with 36, is it the responsibility of the Congress to see that some other political party forms the Government for the State so that democracy may exist? Even that the other democracy may exist? Even that the Congress would have done but for the ideological differences with the Left Communists and for the opposition to the sectarian and communal developments <a the political front in the State.

After having studied all this situation, the Congress adopted a resolution and in formed the Governor that it never wanted to form the Ministry. So it never started any effort to form the Ministry. Now S.S.P. with only 13 seats, its members have come forward to form the Ministry, they have the guts to form the Ministry! I ask them one question. Some time back, the P.S.P. had the opportunity of forming the Ministry with 19. And thinking every time this would happen, the S.S.P. came with the offer to form the Ministry. Is it not shameful, Madam, for a party, having the support of only 13 members, offering to form the Ministry? That means, as Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair had pointed out, 11 Ministers, one Speaker and one Deputy Speaker and all the others to support. In a democracy after *ured* only a few seats, is it not shameful that they offer to form the Ministry? And after having found that no settlement could be arrived at between the various forces that exist in the State, after the Governor had come to the conclusion that it was not possible for a popular government to function, when the Governor was consulting each and every party leader to explore the possibility to have a popular Government in the State, S.S.P. said "Barkis « willing". The Governor found it impossible because of the variance of the tendencies and the variance of the programme of the parties. That was the reason why he re-

commended the President's Rule in spite of our wish. Actually the Congress Party never wanted it. In order to avoid the President's Rule some time back the Congress had allowed a Party of 19 to form the Ministry sacrificing its rights to form the Ministry when it had 50. That was the position. So, Madam, it is entirely the responsibility of the Opposition which have created this confusion in the State in the political arena and they are the forces who invited this President's Rule. Whatever they might say, I am quite sure the Opposition will not escape the guilt of having invited the President's Rule in the State, and I am quite confident that the people of the State will thoroughly teach (hem a lesson when the opportunity comes in the immediate future.

Madam, we are discussing the Budget of the State. I may take a few minutes to express my views on some of the items. In his speech the Finance Minister started with saying that the Central Government immediately after taking over the administration of the State under article 356, had to face the food crisis in the State and he was quite sure that the Central Government had been doing the best to solve the problem. But until they solve it perfectly, they cannot say that they have done something to solve the problems of the State. What was happening? By introducing informal rationing, they gave 12 ounces of rice. We were able to provide to a certain extent sufficient food for these people. But can the Government claim that they have solved the problem unless the entire people of the country, whether it is in Kerala or in other places, are placed on the same footing with regard to the availability of food. In some places you find excess of food—they are surplus areas—while we find scarcity in certain other areas. Kerala is considered to be a scarcity area. Are we to continue as scarcity and surplus areas even in the State when it is the responsibility of the Central Government to provide food for the people? I request the Central Government to see that every effort is made so that procurement may be made from the surplus areas to be given to the deficit areas so that every man in this country is placed on the same footing with regard to the availability of food.

In his statement the Minister said that they are doing everything to provide subsidiary food. Then he said that poultry, piggery and fishery, all these items were improving., But are they, actually doing any work to develop these things with regard to poultry? You find empty cages in most of the N.E.S. Hocks. Similarly piggery is also there. It is a small beginning. But what about fisheries? Madam, the Kerala State is gifted with 450 miles of coastal area. And if you do your bit to develop fishery, I am quite sure we will be able to solve at least 25 per cent, of the food problem. As my friend has just pointed out, it was rice and fish that were needed. (*Time bell rings*) Madam. I require another five to ten minutes.

Tire DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have another three minutes.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: I require tea minutes more.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, three minutes.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: Madw*, with regard to this development of fishery, we have to pay much attention. We have to give more implements. Mechanised boats have to be given and modera methods are to be introduced. Now lakhs and lakhs of people who are employed...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may give way now and continue after recess. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs has to announce the Business-

ANNOUNCEMENT *RE* GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SATYA NARAIN SINHA): With your permission Madam, I rise to announce that Government Business in this House for the week commencing 29th of March, 1965. will consist of—

- (1) Consideration of any item of Government Business carried over from today's Order Paper.