

[Dr. Vasant Kumar Pandit]

Before the Kharif season started, there was a shortage of Urad pulse whole due to which the Government thought it wise to import the same to remove the pressing demands. However, the Kharif season is now over. The position obtaining indicates a very good crop of this commodity. Madhya Pradesh produces major quantity of Urad pulse. In the recent months, since August-September, the prices of Urad, one of the cash crops, in the district of Khandwa and many other parts of Madhya Pradesh, have crashed down more than Rs. 100 per quintal. The down trend is yet persisting. The Chamber of Commerce of Madhya Pradesh and various other trading organisations have suggested to the Export Advisory Committee that they should now permit export of Urad pulse whole or Urad Dal to countries like Ceylon and Middle-East. This would stabilise the price of Urad whole and remove the panic from the minds of the farmers who are suffering heavy losses due to low prices. Besides, the Dal Mill Industry will also get sufficient work in milling whole Urad. The Dal Mill Association of Khandwa have sent telegrams to the Government to review the policy regarding Urad whole and to allow exports as a stabilising factor to pep up the market in Madhya Pradesh. By allowing export of Urad pulse and Dal the Govt. will also earn good foreign exchange and balance of exchange spent for Urad pulse imports early this year. I hope the Government will act soon to prevent further loss to the Urad producers and avoid a likely crisis in other commodities. The announcement of Government decision to allow exports of Urad pulse and Dal immediately will be the timely action necessary in the present crisis.

13 hrs.

(viii) Demand for stopping circulation of the film "Meri Awaz Suno."

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD (Wahim): Under Rule 377, I would like

to draw the attention of the Union Home Minister and Information and Broadcasting Minister, to the Film captioned 'Meri Awaz Suno' screened in the country.

The story is that the Union Home Minister, Home Secretary and the I.G.P. are made as the heads of the gang of smugglers and anti-social elements.

This story is not only in bad taste, but it is also highly derogatory and defamatory in nature, casting aspersions on such personalities in public life.

I, therefore, request the Government to immediately stop the circulation of the Film and take action against the producer of the said Film.

13.02 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at seven minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[SHRI HARINATHA MISRA in the Chair]
STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE: APPROVAL OF PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO STATE OF KERALA AND

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (KERALA), 1981-82

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, the House will take up Items Nos. 10 and 11 for which 4 hours have been allotted. The hon. Minister will be replying at 5-30 P.M.

Motion moved:

"That the respective supplementary sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the third column of the Order Paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidated

Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1982, in respect of heads of demands entered in the second column thereof—

Demand Nos. V, XI, XII, XIII, XVII, XVIII, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVII, XVIII, XXX and XLI."

Statement

Supplementary Demands for Grants (KERALA), 1981-82 submitted to the vote of

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant submitted to the vote of the House.	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
V.	Agricultural Income-Tax and Sales-Tax	30,000	..
XI.	District Administration and Miscellaneous	660,000	..
XII.	Police	30,00	..
XIII.	Jails	56,000	..
XVII.	Education, Art and Culture	200	..
XVIII.	Medical	100	..
XXII.	Housing	4,50,000	1,00,00,000
XXIII.	Urban Development	..	50,00,000
XXV.	Labour and Employment	5,00,000	..
XXVII.	Famine	35,00,000	..
XXVIII.	Co-operation	..	100
XXX.	Agriculture	100	..
XLI.	Transport	..	3,00,00,000

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, the Minister to move the resolution.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA): I beg to move:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on 21st October, 1981 under Article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Kerala".

During October, 1981, in the wake of sudden political developments, the

coalition Government of the Left Democratic Front headed by Shri E. K. Nayanar was reduced to a minority and accordingly the Chief Minister of Kerala, submitted the resignation of his Ministry to the Governor of Kerala on the 20th October, 1981. In her report to the President dated the 20th October, 1981, copies of which were laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament and also circulated among the Members, the Governor recommended issue of a Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution in respect of the State of Kerala by

[Shri Yogendra Makwana]

the President. She also recommended that the State Assembly be kept under suspended animation.

The political situation in Kerala is still fluid. Accordingly, no Ministry may be able to assume office by 21st December, 1981, by which time the present "Proclamation" will expire unless approved by resolution by both the Houses of Parliament.

I would, therefore, request the House to accord its approval to the Proclamation issued by the President on 21st October, 1981, in relation to the State of Kerala.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Resolution moved:

"That this House approves of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 21st October, 1981 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Kerala."

SHRI M. M. LAWRENCE (Idukki): Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all, I would like to express my opposition to and opinion on the question of validity of discussing the Supplementary Grants in respect of the Budget for the State of Kerala in this House. The House has been kept in the dark till the presentation of Supplementary Demands about the proclamation of President's rule. Before giving consent to it, the Government have no right to come forward with Supplementary Demands for Grants. But the urgency shows the conspiracy of the Central Government with a view to impose a minority Government in Kerala through the backdoor under their party and avoid facing the Assembly. The theory of minority Government has been advocated by a Central Minister, in whom the Kerala people have no faith. He knows this fact very well. That is why he ran away from Kerala in the 1980 elections and stood as a candidate from Delhi, claiming if he had become a national leader....(Interrup-

tions), but the enlightened people of Delhi rejected him. From there he ran away to Karnataka State and then returned to this august House.

Shri Stephen has been quoting Ivor Jennings to establish his argument for a minority Government, but he has to keep one thing in mind that it is not Ivor Jennings, but the people of Kerala who are going to decide the fate for themselves. That he has to keep in mind. I have no doubt that the people of Kerala if they get a chance for a fair election will again give their clear verdict against that gentleman and his authoritarian party, and also if they form a minority Government by some arrangement—don't think that the people of Kerala are going to take it for granted lying low.

What are the reasons that led to President's rule? If anybody goes into the real facts, he will find that the Central Government for their own benefit and the benefit of their party have toppled the Kerala Government. (Interruptions). The two Central Ministers, Shri Stephen and Shri Makwana were incharge of the conspiracy. The day the popular Government under Nayanar came to power, these two gentlemen started their utterances against the State Government in the name of law and order. Sir, as far as the people in Kerala are concerned, for them, the State Home Minister, Shri Makwana, is known as the Minister of 'lawlessness'. Whenever he visited Kerala, it had become his habit to talk without any truth or basis about the law and order situation in Kerala. At the same time, may I ask the hon. Minister, Shri Makwana, what has happened in his own State of Gujarat. What has happened in Bihar, U.P. or in the capital of India? Even my hon. friend, Shri Arakal is crying with the bitter experience which he himself had in the capital....(Interruptions). Shri Makwana was blind to facts because Kerala was being ruled by the

left and democratic front. Whenever the 'master' of defection, Mr. Stephen goes to Kerala, he brings with him red carpet to Mr. Antony and Congress (S) people with a view to get defections. It was reported that the Congress (I) Central leadership had given a word of 22 Assembly seats to Kerala Congress, Mani Group, in the next election if they change their colour. That is why, I am telling this hon. House the immorality followed by the ruling party at the Centre in bringing down a popular Government in Kerala.

Whenever there is a possibility of the Congress Government coming to power in a crisis-ridden State ruled by non-Congress party or parties, the Central Government always keeps the Assembly of those States in suspended animation, otherwise they dissolve the assembly. In 1967, it was done in Manipur when Shri L. Thombos resigned. In 1968, in U.P. when Shri Charan Singh's S.V.D. Government resigned, the same thing was done. In 1969, when the SVD Government led by Shri Bhola Paswan Shastry fell, the Assembly was kept in animated suspension. In 1970, the Ajoy Mukherjee's Government in West Bengal resigned, then also, the Assembly was not dissolved. In 1970, another SVD Government of Shri Charan Singh was dismissed and the Assembly was kept alive in suspension. In 1971, the Government led by Shri Virendra Patil, Congress (U) collapsed and the Assembly was kept in suspended animation. All these Governments were non-Congress Governments. Now, the same is being repeated in Kerala.

In 1965, in Kerala the State Assembly was dissolved immediately after the elections, when the ruling party found that they could not form a Government by themselves, or in coalition with other groups. No one was called to try to form a Ministry, and the Assembly was dissolved. In 1971, just three months after the elections, the

West Bengal Assembly was dissolved. All this shows that the distinction between dissolution and the suspended animation is drawn purely and solely for partisan reasons.

In Kerala State and even before the birth of the State in 1956, in Travancore-Cochin State it has been the Congress Party that has solely been the destabilising factor. In no election, either in 1952 or since then could the Congress get a majority. After every election, it had started with coalition with other parties, then with horse-trading and defections formed their own one-party Government. But all of them collapsed under the weight of inner-party bickerings inside the Congress, itself. One Congress Chief Minister, who was later a Central Minister, Shri Panampilly Govinda Menon, had said in the Assembly before being forced to resign:

"It is not the Members of the Opposition who have done this cruel treachery to me, it is the members of my own party who are responsible."

This is what he said then.

The other side of the picture is that the Congress would not allow any non-Congress Government to function in the State. The first non-Congress Government formed in the State in 1957 was dismissed by the Central Government on the basis of a so-called liberation struggle led by Congress rallying all the reactionary and communal forces in the State.

The present Prime Minister was the Congress President and her father was the then Prime Minister. The next non-Congress Government formed in 1967 was toppled again by the Congress in 1969 through organising defections from the Ruling Front. The Congress cannot rule by itself. It will not allow any non-Congress Government and this has become the biggest destabilising factor in the State.

[Shri M. M. Lawrence]

If anybody argues that law and order situation in Kerala brought down Nayanar Ministry, the time has been lapsed to dismiss President's Rule itself. During the 54 days of President's Rule, 40 people were killed. Therein 23 are political murders; and out of that 18 people belonged to my party i.e. CPI(M). If a CPI(M) man is killed, whether the Government considers that it is a political murder? The Congress (I) even joins hands with RSS in attacking our activists.

Mr. Makwana, who is the so-called champion of law and order is keeping mum over what is happening in Kerala now. I wonder whether he has become blind too. I would like to tell him that please tell the truth at least once.

Another important question is whether the President has appointed Mr. Makwana as a superman in Kerala? If not, on what authority is he calling the high police and other administrative officers and giving them instructions. He is even conducting Press Conferences at the Governor's residence at Trivandrum. There is a Governor and advisers. They know their duty. What is the reason of bypassing these people by a Chhota Minister like Mr. Makwana. Here is another point. Mr. Stephen is propagating in Kerala that the President's Rule means the Congress(I) Rule. This kind of a propaganda by a Central Minister is encroachment on the President's rule itself.

Sir, the policies implemented by an elected Government should not be changed by an interim President's Rule. President's rule should keep the status quo. New elected government has the right to change, if it is not correct.

Take for example Agriculture workers' pension. Nayanar Ministry had

implemented the scheme with the full support of the people there and the coalition partners in the Ministry. Now the Report says, President's rule is moving towards stopping the pension scheme which is intended for the poor agricultural workers and majority of them are Harijans. The Nayanar Ministry before resigning had allowed a good amount for pension disbursement. It has not been utilised so far.

President's Rule is trying to induct Congress-I people in high posts. The Vice-Chairman of Kerala Planning Board, Mr. Thavaraj was sacked without any reason. What was wrong on his part? It only shows that you want only puppets of Congress-I in the high post. It is a dangerous game.

I want to say with all my force dissolve the Assembly and conduct elections their without going in for the shameful horsetrading and other business.

SHRI B. K. NAIR (Quilon): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Comrades in Kerala have done it for the third time in the last 24 years. In 1957, people of Kerala enamoured of the promises and their slogans; and their shoutings cast their votes in their favour; and they set up some sort of a Government. They could not go on for 20 months. What happened? The entire people rose in revolt and Namboodiripad was at the feet of Jawaharlal Nehru to save him. So, Nehruji accepted his resignation and relived him of the responsibility so the Namboodiripad could safely go home. Mr. V. R. Krishna Iyer, who was the Home Minister then and who was later Supreme Court Judge, could not go out of his House, because the entire people rose in revolt against this ugly regime. In 1967 again the same people were voted in power. And what happened? They quarrelled amongst themselves. There was accusation that the Marxist Party was playing the big brother role. CPI rose in revolt. They charged RSP Minister, Mr. Divakaran with corruption; Mr. T. V. Thomas was again charged of corruption. All for what? To save

their own skin. The Marxist Party has proved again that they are unfit to rule in a democratic system. That is what it means.

Now what happened the other day? Nobody pulled them down. A. K. Antony was their most devoted friend. Mr. Mani, Kerala Congressman, was also a devoted friend of this Party. And what happened? They just could not stay in power. They could not stay in their chairs because people revolted against them. They could not face the people in their constituencies. The entire area was full of murders, lootings. Will Mr. Lawrence tell me how many temples were looted during their regime? How much temple wealth was stolen by your people; and how many churches... (Interruptions)

Get your records and reply me.
(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You kindly listen to me. I am trying to help all concerned. Well, whenever a Member speaks, he should generally be allowed to speak without interruptions. And the Chairman is here to deal with the situation when an irregularity takes place.

SHRI B. K. NAIR: Allow me to talk sense in this House, not to be pulled down by shouting and lies.

Sir, temples were looted.

AN HON. MEMBER: Temples?

SHRI B. K. NAIR: Yes. Churches, mosques were looted. What happened was in May 1980 within a few months of his coming to power, Mr. Nayanar addressed a meeting at Alleppy, and by that time looting had started in several places. And what Mr. Nayanar said was why should we call the police to protect the temples? Gods should be able to defend themselves.

Gods' property should be defended by Gods themselves. Gods are Almighty. Why not they defend themselves? That was the challenge Mr. Nayanar posed to the Gods. And when he came to Delhi, he got special police from Kerala to protect him in the Kerala House. That was the bold man, Naya-

nar, telling the Gods to defend themselves.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think there is only one God.

SHRI SUDHIR GIRI (Contai): Mr. Nayanar is not a member of this House; he cannot defend himself.

SHRI B. K. NAIR: I am not making any accusation against him. He was only speaking out his faith?

Do they believe in a democratic system? Are they able to run a democratic Government themselves? They are not. What is their basic tenet? It is to bring down the established Governments by force. What does their manifesto say? Power flows from the barrel of a gun. They want to bring down the established Governments by force. Have you come across any communist government anywhere in the world which has come to power through democratic means and which has stayed in power through democratic means? Everywhere they have come to power through mass slaughter and stayed in power through mass slaughter. The Kerala leaders thought that their Government was an independent Government. They only knew the language of force and tactics of murder. They were trying the process of murders to remain in power in Kerala, but in India there is a democratic system and there is a Constitution functioning. So, the whole thing misfired. In 1980 nobody pulled them down. Can there be anyone more fervent than Mr. Antony in setting up the so called Left Democratic Front? But in reality there is with them nothing left, nothing democratic and nothing like a front about it. It is just a jumble of power-hungry politicians coming together for the sake of power. What is their record? They have tom-tommed about the agricultural workers' pension. Pension was granted, but who got it? Only their party people got the money. The party made use of this welfare business to amass money for themselves. Barbers, temple priests and Government pensioners have been awarded this pension! when other parties pointed out all these things, they stopped the pension. They

[Shri B. K. Nair]

did not continue it after one year. As a parting gift, Mr Nayanar had declared a Rs. 14 crore grant to continue payment of this pension. Why did he not declare it earlier? It was because he had no intention whatsoever to implement it. He wanted to put the burden on somebody else!

The entire business of the communist party was to a mamm funds. A concrete monument of their corruption in Kerala is the A.K.G. Memorial in Trivandrum, a huge building worth about Rs. 5 crores. Whose money was it? It was Government's money. (*Interruptions*), It is all** that they are telling.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Don't use that word. You may say, it is not true or it is not proper.

SHRI B. K. NAIR: It is all untrue, a mis-statement of truth.

Within a few months of coming to power, they passed a law relaxing the limit of donation so far as cooperative societies are concerned. What was the relaxation? Any cooperative society was allowed to donate up to Rs. 10,000 to the A. K. G. funds, their most sacred institution! Why was it done? It is not an honest means of making money. When the Government in power passes an order enabling a society to make donations, it is actually a command.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER: ((Durgapur) I challenge you. I will resign if you prove it. If you cannot prove it, you should resign! (*Interruptions*).

SHRI B. K. NAIR: You should be ashamed of it. If only shows you would be ashamed of it, if it has been done. It has been done.... (*Interruptions*) These people do not believe in orderly "Government. In fact, their slogan is Government and agitation". The Communist Government in Kerala want

side by side "Government and agitation". They want to have the rule of law and, at the same time, agitation. In 1957 the Ministers of the State Government called for a general strike... (*Interruptions*) Why do you want to be listening to your own voice all the time? Why not you listen to others also sometimes?

The people want a Government so that they can live in peace in an orderly way. But if the Government itself is violating order by agitation and creating chaos, how can they reconcile these two irreconcilables—Government and the agitation? Yet, that has been the slogan of the Communist Government. They have been asking from the house tops for agitation. Against whom? Against the Government. So, the Government of Kerala themselves, twice in their history, called for a general strike in the State. In 1957 and 1980 the Cabinet took a decision and the Ministers themselves announced the strike.

Shri Jyoti Bosu arranged for a general strike in West Bengal. Sitting in the Secretariat, he conferred with the IG of Police and other high officials for an orderly strike. Are they not ashamed of it that the Government themselves call for a strike, which results in violence, murder and so on, and yet call themselves a progressive Government?

Their only intention was to make money. They terrorised the people and kept them under control by the use of violence.... (*Interruptions*) People are murdered day in and day out. Of course, sometimes they get back in their own coin, with daggers and bombs, from the people belonging to the RSS.

The people of Kerala are generally peace-loving people. They do not believe in violence or murder. The only party which has been inculcating violence all the time in Kerala was the Marxist Party... (*Interruptions*) When

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

the people found that these murders are continuing and they cannot stand it, they started hitting back and that is how the RSS came into the picture. So, the Marxist Party started getting back. In the early days, RSS was not a party to reckon with in Kerala. It started actually as a reaction to the style of functioning of the Marxist Party.

In the early days, there was no RSS. It is only a defence mechanism developed by the people of Kerala to fight back. Many peace-loving people have taken to RSS just for self-protection, because that is the only way to fight back the Marxists, in their own coin... (Interruptions) Do you not agree that RSS is the only party of which you are afraid? Your own ranks are afraid of them. If there are half a dozen RSS men, you cannot challenge them.

What is your record of administration? Nothing except creating chaos. You had a record of one murder a day when Shri Nayanar was in power. He would not be happy without reading a story of a murder a day in the newspapers. Now, even after the introduction of President's rule, some murders have taken place. But the Marxist Party has not condemned it.

In my own constituency an incident took place on the 5th of January this year. A young man by name Shri Sarasan has just disappeared. He was in the RSP, a junior brother of the Marxist Party. In the last elections he fought against me as a candidate. Then, within a few days of the election, he came over to our side. That is the only mistake he has committed. For that fault, on the 5th of January this year he just disappeared. No trace is left of him. An enquiry is going on. When a man was to be nabbed in connection with his disappearance, comes a message from Trivandrum 'do not proceed with it'. When murders are going on like this should the people not expect some sense of justice from the Government? According to the story, he was struck by a jeep, his body was crushed and

taken and thrown into the sea so that it may dissolve in the sea water and no trace may be left. This is the fate of the people who dare to oppose the Marxist Party and their allies... (Interruptions) You started the whole series of murders. It is your story. We do not believe in murder. The Congress Party does not believe in murder... (Interruptions) Sir, I am reminded of the story of King Midas, whose touch converted everything into gold. So far the Marxists are concerned, whatever they touch turns into filth and mud of blood. That was the Marxist Party's way of doing things. Except that they are making crores of money all right.

What is the development work which they have executed in Kerala? Nothing. In fact, many industries have closed down. There is a lot of unemployment because of strikes and agitations. The same thing is happening in West Bengal. The people of Calcutta have not seen electric lights for days since Shri Jyoti Bosu came to power. And now there is no supply of water also for days together... (Interruptions) They are interested only in murders, chaos and violence. They do not believe in the democratic system... (Interruptions) Why did the Congress Party part company with them within a few days of their coming to power? What was the result? They ransacked the office of the District Congress Committee in Trivandrum right at the nose of the Chief Minister... (Interruptions) How many clashes have taken place, how many party offices have been ransacked, how many people have been murdered by the goondas of the CITU, by the vegetable-bonds... (Interruptions) They were running amuck in the streets and doing whatever they wanted... (Interruptions) All the parties which were in the coalition parted company with them. Why? Once you join with them, you are finished. The same thing happened in West Bengal. Last time, when there was a United Front Government with the Marxist

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Party, what happened to the other parties. They all had to part company from the coalition.... (Interruptions) We are not afraid of the elections. We are quite confident of winning the elections... (Interruptions) They have to reform themselves. They have to come back to the democratic norm. They have got to keep their friends and allies together and not step on their toes. They have refrained from stabbing them behind their back.

We are not afraid of election. But immediately after the fall of the Government what were they doing? They were going after Janata and everybody else and saying let us join; come and join our ranks. Did they not do that? They were trailing behind all this. I support the Presidential Proclamation (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please resume your seat. Shri Indrajit Gupta.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) Thank you very much for giving me time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is because you requested me. It is on your request.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I was listening to this belligerent speech by an elderly Member from that side. I was thinking that it is at moments like this when one realises why the Congress Party now calling itself as Congress (I) which has been in power un-interruptedly except for a short interval has avoided all the time bringing in any kind of legislation to stop defections. It is at moments like this that, it becomes crystal clear. This company which is operating now—M/s Makwana and Stephen Ltd., who have been given special contract to deal with Kerala, they have been trying now for practically two months. I think Shri Nayanar resigned on the 20th of October...

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: For your information I have not visited Kerala after the President's rule.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: That is only because his throat is bad.

MR. CHAIRMAN: But I think his throat was clear yesterday.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: These gentlemen have been trying now for almost two months. On the 20th December it will be full two months. They have been desperately trying some how or the other to knock together some kind of combination which can now be installed as another Ministry. Two months have passed. Shri Stephen goes on making statements saying that by the end of December or by Christmas a new Ministry will be formed and I think his tally or the count has reached 68 or something like that. If it is so, I would like to remind him that the people on the other side who are opposed to him they have got more than 68, they have got 69 as it is now. You have been able to knock together 68. Therefore, now you are trying desperately to get another three or four people some how. My friends of the Janata Party have become a target for them. But I leave the Janata Party to speak for itself.

The question is not being answered if the Nayanar Ministry was guilty of these crimes—murder, dacoity amassing or wealth, violence and what not—according Shri Nair why do you not have the courage to let the people of Kerala pronounce judgment of all this? It is the simplest thing of all. (Interruptions)

All wisdom does not repose in you Shri Nair. If all these things have been happening, the people of Kerala, the majority of them would also share your point of view and would renounce the Marxist Party or their allies at another election. Why are you afraid of election?

SHRI B. K. NAIR: Why do you not recommend....

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Yes, he did not recommend.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: At the moment we are not discussing history. We are not reviewing why the Communist Ministry was overthrown in 1959 which was elected in 1957. The first Communist Ministry was elected in this country when there was united Communist Party.... (Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI C. M. STEPHEN): What about 1957?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: : I am pointing out your animosity or bitter hostility to any non-Congress Government and particularly to a Communist or Left Government which is not a new thing. It dates from 1957. At that time the present Prime Minister happened to be the President of the Indian National Congress. She took a leading part in seeing that that Ministry was overthrown in Kerala. So, this has got a long history behind it. If Nayanar Ministry is also responsible due to some weaknesses or failings for bringing about the fall of this Ministry, you can sit and review. We are not bothering about that just now. That does not justify why you should refuse to dissolve the Assembly and go to the people. In fact you should argue the other way—"Now we are confident because—of the horrible crimes committed by the Nayanar Ministry if we go to the polls, the people will reject them." But you do not have the courage because you know that you will not be elected. You will be defeated and in 1980 I know....

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Wait and see.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Come on. Let us see how long is this process to go on.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH): Shri Nayanar also did not recommend.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: What is the logic? (Interruptions)

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: He has not.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I wish to point out—this method which is being employed. I think I read in the Press and in the proceedings also of the other House—one Opposition Member has very effectively pointed out all the cases in our political history when an Assembly was kept suspended as it is being done in Kerala to-day simply for the purpose to suit some people, get some defections engineered to bring in some kind of make shift Ministry. In every case it was done only when the Ministry which had fallen or which has been removed happened to be non-Congress Ministry. Congress people thought that they have a chance of coming. The opposite never happened. It is only done in a case when a non-Congress Ministry either loses its Ministry or is dismissed, then suspended animation of the Assembly continues. Now it is upto the Government. Of course they can behave as they like. People are judging them also. There are four or five non-Congress Governments in this country. I think now they are four. That is too much for them to stomach. Whatever federal of spirit of the Constitution and all that may be, these Ministries did not fall from heaven. They were all elected from the people of those respective States—whether it is Tamil Nadu, or Kashmir or West Bengal or Tripura or as happened in Kerala. But they cannot stomach it. From the first day they are talking in this very House. Ministers of the Central Government are talking about throwing the West Bengal Government into the waters of Bay of Bengal and Kerala Government into the waters of the Arabian Sea. Here they talk about...

SHRI C.M. STEPHEN: Was it that threw you out?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: They do not wish to respect the judgment of the electorate to allow that Ministry to work.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: It was Mr. Gupta's party who kicked up Namboodripad and pulled down that Government. It was not we. It was his party that pulled down that in 1969. We kept away. To-day it was they who sacked. We kept away.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Now I have understood who is the senior partner of this contractor's firm?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North-East): Demolition.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Demolition or sapping and mining whatever is their activity, I would like to point out that President Rule has been imposed in Kerala overnight. The Governor to whom Shri Nayanar went with his letter of resignation took it from him. The same evening she sent a message to Delhi and the very next morning the proclamation was issued. Of course, there is nothing constitutionally wrong with it is you go by the text of the Constitution, but the Governor never made an attempt to call the leaders of any other party. For one day, two days or three days she could have waited to see whether it was possible for anybody to form the Ministry. Even the Congress (I) could have been called. But the point is everything had been pre-arranged from here and the moment the resignation came, the very moment, within a few hours, the President's proclamation was issued. And now the Assembly is kept in suspension. Two months are going to pass by. They cannot bring together that arithmetical number which they require and they do not tell anybody how long they are going to continue this kind of method. But what I wish to say is this is all very very subversive of the entire Federal spirit of our Constitution. Why should you not go to the elections? You are so confident

that the people will reject these persons who are criminals, murderers, thieves and robbers but you cannot face them at the polls. That is the trouble.

15 hrs.

Mr. Lawrence has referred to some murders and all that. According to my report, there are 15 political murders. There might have been other murders also but 15 political murders have occurred. In these 15 political murders, all the victims have been the people who were supporters of the Nayanar Ministry. That is the fact. Then who are the murderers? Who are the murderers? Of course, Mr. Nair justified it by saying that there is some reaction now. They have not done like that. If it is justified then somebody will go and kill them. That is your philosophy when you are supposed to be wedded to Gandhian non-violence and all that. So you can expound your philosophy?

In 1980, when the last elections were held in Kerala, everybody knows and the whole world knows and it was not made secret at that time that the Congress Party took the help of the R.S.S. in the elections.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: No.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: They had a compromise with them. Today the R.S.S. and the Congress (I) people are carrying out murders—it may be vendetta, it may be anything—right and left. This is happening. While Mr. Makwana and Giani Zail Singh are supposed to be looking after the law and order position in Kerala State, it is happening. Not only political murder but if you see some of the photographs that have been published of the corpses, gruesome murders have taken place. People's stomachs have been ripped open and entrails have come out. People including women heads have been battered to pulp. Just see the kind of murder that is taking place.

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL (Ernakulam): Is it at Trichur Party Office where skulls of human beings were found?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Not skulls. It takes a long time for a skull to become a skull. Then, they are doing some other thing which I will say. First of all, the Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Mr. Dorairaj has been removed. Why? We would like to know. Please tell us. When this political murder is going on, the whole police set up and administration is changed. Of course, that is natural that they will put their own people in that. I can understand that.

On the 15th or 16th of this month, the students of Trivandrum University were indiscriminately lathi charged by the police. If the other Ministry had done it, you would have made a big hullabaloo. But when you are doing it, you have nothing to say. In Trichur district, there have been labour strikes. It is not a political strike. It is a strike by workers, for economic demands. What happened, repression began and trade union activists have been arrested.

So what I wish to say is that while M/s. Stephen and Makwana are busy at their game of trying to knock together some how or other a majority, real power and uncontrolled power has been put in the hands of the bureaucracy and the police. They are running riot and allowing murders to take place and repressing the common people. I would like to say that if the Central Government continues in this way, I do not rule out that—politics in our country being what it is they may be able to get hold of three or more people to form a Government. It may be that they may not be able to get a majority but they may even decide to instal a minority government. Such things have happened before. There was a minority Government at the Centre for some time.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: The minority Government was in Kerala when Shri Achutha Menon was the Chief Minister.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The only difference is that this time if minority Government is formed in Kerala or sought to be foisted in Kerala, I am sure that it will not last for more than two months. No Government can last at all in Kerala. The political set up there is such that no Government, can last in Kerala for long time, which does not have the support of the Left Parties and Left Forces in Kerala. You should understand that. It is hundred times better that you be honest enough to go to the people and ask them to give their free choice. Let them decide. If they vote for you...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You may conclude now.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I am concluding Sir. But what I wish to say is that the process which they are following, at present, is thoroughly immoral and it is subversion of the spirit of the Constitution. It explains particularly that they are only paying lip-service to the need for Anti-Defection laws and measures but never bring that law in. Because, now they are banking on this process of engineering defection and seducing people from other Parties to their Party. Somebody may come and say that why should people allow themselves to be seduced.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: No answer for that. We do not want any defection.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: If you do not want any defection, you better ask the Governor to dissolve the Assembly or it is better you dissolve it. Because there is nothing left for you to do. Therefore, I will conclude by saying that we are thoroughly opposed to it. So this Presidential proclamation can either be withdrawn, revoked or amended. Let them at least say that if they fail by 31st of December, they will have the honesty to suggest that the Assembly be dissolved. Let fresh elections be held. Let the people give their verdict. I think, Mr. Stephen though he ran away from Kerala and stood somewhere else, he would be first to admit

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

that the people in Kerala are fairly politically conscious and enlightened people.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: So beware.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: That is why, you should have tested them. Let this politically enlightened people have their chance to give their judgment and vote for the Government of their own choice.

I am thoroughly opposed to the continuous suspension of the Assembly and my Party demands that this should be stopped and the Assembly should be dissolved and fresh elections should be held.

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL (Ernakulam): Thank you very much Mr. Chairman for giving this opportunity. The subject of today's debate relates to the statutory Resolution and the Supplementary Demands for Grants. But after listening the speeches of the Opposition, I was wondering as to why they were so desparate and despondant in presenting their case here. They were referring to Mr. C. M. Stephen and Mr. Makwana. No other point was high-lightened or spoken here. That shows how shallow and how timid this Opposition is. Sir, I am rather little disappointed in listening to the speech of Shri Indrajit Gupta. I expected a better performance from him. I hope the CPI honey-moon with the CPM is over or ought to be over. It is the end. The coffin is ready for the CPM and the CPI in Kerala, West Bengal and in some other States. Therefore, with due respect to Mr. Indrajit Gupta I would say that this is the time for him to think what should be his policy now.

Now, we have to take a balance sheet as to what has hapened since 1980. During that time the Central Government assumed power here and also the Left Front Government assumed power in Kerala.

Naturally, any sensible patriotic citizen will ask in Kerala specially what has the Lefist Government done in Kerala, for the people of Kerala.

You may ask why I am saying this. I am emphasizing the point because there is a reason for that. The political aspect was very much spoken by my hon. friend, Shri B. K. Nair. Now, after shrimati Indira Gandhi has come back to power, you will be surprised to hear that about 8 major projects have been sanctioned and given to my own constituency in Kerala. May I cite for the record of this House and for the knowledge and information of the people at large? They are: Phynol project; Container factory; Caprolactum unit; Aromatic unit;; Coastal railway; Cochin Shipyard—its expansion; Cochin Port, Cochin Rfinery and Cochin Airport.

May I ask the Opposition members here what has their Government done for the upliftment of the people of Kerala? (Interruptions) I am prepared for a reasonable argument with anybody on this point. I challenge them to come forward with facts and figures as to what they have done for the people of Kerala. The people of Kerala are not going to forgive them. They are grateful to Shrimati Indira Gandhi... (Interruptions) When they are very weak, they shout. I am not good at shouting. That is the only weapon they have. Let us have a sensible debate.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In a reasonable way, you explain your points.

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL: But they cannot take it. It hurts them very much.

Now, when the United Left Front Government came to power in Kerala, what were they doing? I do not have to give a certificate to them. I ask Mr. Indrajit Gupta to find out what his own two ex-Chief Ministers have said about the CPM Government in Kerala from 1980 onwards. What has Mr. Achuta Menon said about the Left Front Government of Kerala? What has Mr. P. K. Vasudevan Nair said in the Assembly of Kerala? You cannot shut your eyes to these facts. You cannot forget these things. Mr. Achuta Menon said that there are 17 Cabinets in Kerala—each Minister is a Cabinet. Have you ever heard of

such a situation in the history of Indian politics? Mr. Vasudevan Nair said on the floor of the Kerala Assembly that his own workers were butchered and murdered by CPM in Kottayam, Trichur and Quilon. And you people come here as angles and say that that Government was a perfect Government and that it was pushed out of power by Mr. Stephen and Mr. Makwana. Are you not ashamed to say that?

We are proud of our political heritage. We cherish the values of democratic principles. In Kerala, there have been more than 22 elections and bye-elections. Let us be pragmatic and sensible. How many times must the people of Kerala be forced to go to the polls? It is commonsense that there can be a democratic and stable Government in Kerala. What was the motive in not dissolving the Assembly there? It is simple. There was horse-trading. They were expecting some defections from the Congress (S) and other parties and they were hoping that they can form a Government in Kerala. Now, realising that they cannot achieve their object, they are blaming us. Is it not a ridiculous situation Hypocrisy, the name is CPM. I have no other word to say.

They said about political murders and what not. We have been consistently opposing blood-shed and violence, we have been consistently opposing RSS violence in Kerala. That is an accepted policy.

One point which I would like to stress before you is this. The para-military organisation of CPM the CITU, began to take the law in its own hand, began to resort to violence, the police was held to ransom by the CITU; the treasury was looted and depleted by the CPM Party in power. Is it not natural that there will be revolt by the people? The Kerala people are not RSS-minded. I hope Mr. Vajpayee will endorse my view on this proposition because he has better experience with the CPM. What I am saying is that when people realised that they could not have police protection from the Government, there was no protection of pro-

perty and persons in Kerala, they joined the RSS to resist the CITU, the para-military organisation of the CPM in Kerala. My friends from West Bengal must understand it. They know fully well what is happening there. Similarly it was happening in Kerala. There was a clash, two violent groups of anti-social elements were clashing for protection of property and persons.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who are they?

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL: There is a saying: 'He who sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed'. We do not agree with this proposition.

Once the President assumed power there, once the CPM realised that they could not have police protection, there was no governmental interference, they began panicky; they are panicking now. The relatives of those who were the victims or who were murdered began to ask the CPM, the CITU: Why did you butcher my brother? Why did you rape my sister? Why did you commit stealing and robbery in temples, churches and mosques?' Now you are accountable before the people. You may remember, I have said a couple of times on the floor of the House, that, under the so-called 'Pepole's Court' of CITU, the Naxalites in Kerala were creating a war-like situation in Kerala; there is no People's Court...

AN HON. MEMBER: You are encouraging the Naxalites in Kerala.

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL: You are doing it; you are conniving with them. That is our accusation against the Marxist Party in Kerala. I challenge you on that point. Come forward and denounce it. Did you not let them off from the jail when they were imprisoned?

This is the position; this is the background under which we have to examine how far this Statutory Resolution and the Supplementary Demands are going to help Kerala. There is peace of mind among the people in Kerala now. I came from Kerala yesterday. I was in Kerala and I

[Shri Xavier Arakal]

have toured extensively in Kerala. There is a feeling now that there should be a popular democratic government before the election. No. 2—the law and order situation in Kerala is improving and going to be very good in the near future. The CITU and the Marxists are turning against the Government and Mr. Namboodiripad has stated very clearly, 'We will unleash a mass agitation in Kerala.' Is that a democratic concept... (*Interruptions*)—resort to violence and resort to lawlessness. This is alien to our culture. This is unknown to Indian culture especially in Kerala. This is what the Marxists are advocating...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You may bar that Satyagraha.

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL: But they do not believe in Satyagraha. Can they do a thing which they do not believe in? This is the proposition we have to ponder over now. Can the Central Government give sufficient protection to the people of Kerala, curtail the lawlessness, rowdyism and goondalism of the CITU and the Marxists in Kerala? Time and again in this House I have asked: what is the responsibility of the Central Government when the life and property of a citizen is in the danger? If I recollect, when I was speaking on Home Affairs, Shri Vajpayee stood up and told Mr. Zail Singh, 'You have to answer that point'. That is the position now. The Centre has a duty to see that life and property of any citizen in any part of the State are protected... (*Interruptions*) Actually that is happening in Kerala. Therefore, my submission is that this statutory resolution is well-timed and the animated suspension should be prolonged until a democratic form of government is established. The people of Kerala are tired of elections. Over 22 bye elections and general elections were held in Kerala. Whose money is that? Who is put to trouble? Is it proper that when a general election has given a verdict for five years, to

restrict it and go in for another election? We should explore all possibilities. Why does not the CPM come forward and say, 'We have the majority.' Mr. Indrajit Gupta said that he has 69 people. Does it not mean that rest of 141 belong to the other side? Don't they have a right to form a government if there is a possibility? That is what we are aiming it.

With these words, I support the Statutory Resolution as well as the Supplementary Demands.

श्री जगपाल सिंह (हरिद्वार) : सभापति महोदय, केरल राज्य के सम्बन्ध में जारी की गई राष्ट्रपति की उद्घोषणा और केरल के बजट के सम्बन्ध में अनुपूरक मांगों पर जो यहां पर विचार विमर्श हो रहा है उनके सम्बन्ध में मैं शुरू में ही एक बात कहना चाहूंगा। क्योंकि हमारे देश में जम्हूरियत को जो खतरा पैदा हो रहा है वह इस बात से हो रहा है कि इन्दिरा गांधी को जम्हूरियत के खून का चस्का लग चुका है। यह सब से खतरनाक बात है।

इस देश के संविधान में संघात्मकता का प्रावधान किया गया है। हमारा संविधान संघात्मक है। हम जब बचपन में पढ़ा करते थे तो हमें यह पढ़ाया जाता था कि हमारा संविधान संघात्मक है लेकिन इसकी आत्मा एकात्मक है। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने संघात्मक की बात तो छोड़ दी है और इसका एकात्मक पहलू ले लिया है। यह बात केरल के अन्दर ही नहीं, केरल से पहले हिन्दुस्तान के और राज्यों में भी राष्ट्रपति शासन की उद्घोषणा कर के बार-बार साबित हो चुकी है कि इन्दिरा गांधी को इस देश के अन्दर जीते-जी किसी राज्य में किसी दूसरी पार्टी की सरकार बरदाश्त नहीं होगी और अगर जन्तु गल्ली से दूसरी पार्टी की सरकार किसी राज्य में बनाती है तो इन्दिरा गांधी उसको बरदाश्त नहीं करेंगी और उसको

निलम्बित और बर्खास्त करेगी। लेकिन केरल की समस्या तो आज इससे भी ज्यादा आगे बढ़ गई है। इंदिरा गांधी का दूसरा नाम एक छत्र सत्ता प्राप्त करना है। इसके लिए हरियाणा में थोक में दलबदल करवाया गया। आज जो इस तरह की सत्ता की भूख पैदा हो गई है वह हमारे मुल्क और संविधान के लिए खतरनाक है। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि कल अगर किसी दूसरी पार्टी का राज्य आए और वह भी ऐसे ही कार्य करे तो उसके लिए भी सब से बड़ा दोष इंदिरा गांधी और उसकी पार्टी का ही होगा। आज अगर दल-बदल विरोधी कानून लाने के लिए विरोधी दल के लोग भी कहें, तब भी आप वह कानून नहीं लाएंगे, क्योंकि इंदिरा जी जानती हैं कि संकट के समय दल-बदल ही एक रास्ता है। . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

स्टीफन साहब, मकवाना साहब, आप लोग सरकार बना सकते हैं। नयनार के इस्तीफे के बाद आपने एसेम्बली को सस्पेंड कर दिया। सस्पेंशन की नीयत एक-एक नागरिक समझ रहा है कि दल-बदल कर के किसी भी प्रकार, ऐनी हाउ, हुक और क्रुक आप केरल में सरकार बनाना चाहते हैं। आपने आसाम में भी ऐसा ही किया। वहां पर अनवरा तैमूर का बहुमत नहीं है। आपको आसाम के अन्दर ऐसी सरकार नहीं बनानी चाहिए थी जबकि स्थिति इतनी खराब हो रही हो, रिफाइनरीज बंद की जा रही हों, सड़कें बन्द की जा रही हों, लाइनें बन्द की जा रही हों, लेकिन इंदिरा गांधी को इससे क्या, देश और राज्य भाड़ में जाए, किसी न किसी तरह से उनकी पार्टी की सरकार बननी चाहिए। इसी प्रकार केरल के अन्दर वे दल-बदल करके सरकार बनाना चाहती हैं।

सभापति महोदय, जब बहुमत नहीं रहा और ईमानदारी से इस्तीफा दे दिया गया तो आपको भी चुनाव की घोषणा ईमानदारी से कर देनी चाहिए थी। हम आपस मांग कर रहे हैं कि आपको चुनाव की घोषणा करनी चाहिए और इसके लिए एक निश्चित तिथि देनी चाहिए। अगर आप दल-बदल करना चाहते हैं तो भी आपको 10-20 दिन का समय दिया जा सकता है, लेकिन इस की एक सीमा तो होनी ही चाहिए। इसलिए मैं मांग करूंगा कि आप एक निश्चित तारीख देकर इस हाउस को एश्योर करें कि केरल के अंदर लोक-प्रिय सरकार बनाने के लिए जनता को मौका देंगे। हमारे संविधान के अंदर वोट देने का राइट है, उसको उपयोग करने दीजिए।

मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में इंदिरा गांधी का एक छत्र राज्य रहने वाला नहीं है और इंदिरा गांधी और उसके परिवार का नाम भी इस मुल्क में कोई नहीं लेगा। राजीव गांधी का चमचागिरी करके और उसके आगे पाँछे घूमकर या अखबारों में उनके फोटो छपने से कुछ नहीं होगा। एक ही दिन में दो दो सभाएं होती हैं। श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी की सभा रामलीला मैदान में...।

वित्त मंत्रालय में उप मंत्री (श्री मगन भाई बारोट) : यह इर्रेलीवेंट है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : गलत बात नहीं होनी चाहिए। . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

श्री जगपाल सिंह : श्री वाजपेयी की सभा रामलीला मैदान में हुई और उसी दिन श्री राजीव गांधी की सभा हुई, लेकिन अखबारों में श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी का फोटो नहीं, बल्कि राजीव गांधी का बड़ा-बड़ा फोटो आया।

सभापति महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि एक परिवार का राज्य बहुत

[श्री जगपाल सिंह]

खतरनाक है। यह इतना खतरनाक अपोजीशन के लिए नहीं है, क्योंकि सत्ता का इतना चस्का हमको नहीं है। जितना आप लोगों का है। यह चस्का आपको परेशान करेगा। बल जो हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान की स्थिति होने वाली है...। (व्यवधान)...

सभापति महोदय : मेरी बात सुनिये। किसी मੈम्बर का अखबार में फोटों छपता है और किसी का नहीं छपता है तो यह तो अखबार वालों पर निर्भर करता है--

श्री जगपाल सिंह : क्या टी० वी० सरकार का नहीं है, रेडियो सरकार का नहीं है? क्यों एक परिवार के लिए इस्तेमाल हो? मुल्क के लोग इसको बरदाश्त नहीं करेंगे।

सभापति महोदय : आप किसी मੈम्बर पर इस तरह आक्षेप नहीं लगा सकते हैं। केरल के सम्बन्ध में बोलिये।

श्री जयपाल सिंह कश्यप (ग्रांवा) : सरकारी खर्च पर टी० वी० और रेडियो चल रहे हैं। एक परिवार के लिए नहीं हो सकते हैं।

सभापति महोदय : नियमानुसार जब अध्यक्ष खड़ा हो जाए तो माननीय सदस्यों को बैठ जाना चाहिये। मैं आप से निवेदन कर रहा था कि केरल के सम्बन्ध में बहस हो रही है उस पर ही बोलें। बहस के क्षेत्र को व्यापक न बनाएं।

श्री जगपाल सिंह : मैं कांग्रेस पार्टी के अपने साथियों से कह रहा था कि भविष्य में जो खतरे पैदा हो सकते हैं उनकी बुनियाद आज पड़ रही है। इस देश की जम्हूरियत को खत्म किया जा सकता है। देश में एक परिवार, एक आदमी का राज्य कायम हो जाने का खतरा है। यह आप के लिए भी खतरे की निशानी है। आज आप इसको

महसूस नहीं कर रहे हैं। कल को आप इसको अवश्य महसूस करेंगे। वह दिन दूर नहीं जब आप इसको महसूस करेंगे स्टीफन साहब के भी जो राजीव गांधी नेता हो गए हैं यह उनको मन में भी अखरता होगा। लेकिन वह इसको कह नहीं सकते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आपकी पार्टी को भी डेमोक्रेटिक पार्टी के रूप में काम करना चाहिये और इसकी आंको कोशिश भी करनी चाहिये। केरल में आप दल बदल करवा करके अपनी सरकार बनाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं मैं समझता हूँ कि स्टीफन साहब की सबसे आगे बढ़ कर यह कहना चाहिये कि केरल के लोगों को वोट का अधिकार दिया जाना चाहिये और वहाँ पर चुनाव करवा कर फिर सरकार कायम की जानी चाहिये। यह सलाह उनको श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को देनी चाहिये। लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि वह ऐसी बात नहीं कहेंगे। यह डेमोक्रेसी का सवाल है।

जिन प्रदेशों में दूसरी पार्टियों की सरकारें हैं उनको तोड़ने की साजिश आपकी तरफ से लगातार होती है। मकदाना जी अक्सर कह देते हैं कि वहाँ ला एंड आर्डर की स्थिति खराब हो गई है, वहाँ मर्डर हो रहे हैं, वहाँ करप्शन है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सब से पहले अंतुले की सरकार को आप बरखास्त क्यों नहीं करते हैं जिस ने 85 करोड़ रुपया भ्रष्ट तरीकों से इकट्ठा कर लिया है? उत्तर प्रदेश में विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह की सरकार से ज्यादा बर्बर सरकार और किसी की क्या हो सकती है? उसको आप बरखास्त क्यों नहीं करते हैं। इतनी इनकम्पीटेंट सरकार उत्तर प्रदेश में इससे पहले कभी नहीं थी। क्या आप ने इस सरकार को बरखास्त किया है? गूंडू राव साहब की सरकार जिन से एक मंत्री पर भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप हैं, एक मिनिस्टर का लड़का वारों की ग्लक

में शामिल है, कांग्रेस पार्टी का एक संसद सदस्य बलात्कार को घटना में शामिल है, उस सरकार के खिलाफ आप कोई एक्शन क्यों नहीं लेते हैं। लेकिन उन प्रदेशों में आप हस्तक्षेप जरूर करेंगे जहाँ आपकी सरकार नहीं है। यह शर्म की बात है।

मैं मांग करता हूँ कि केरल में चुनाव कराने की निश्चित तिथि को घोषणा आप इस बहस के उत्तर में अवश्य करेंगे।

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have heard the crying voice of the Opposition. They were appealing now and then to Mr. Stephen and Mr. Makwana to help them. Sir, I never knew that Mr. Stephen and Mr. Makwana were so powerful that in spite of there being such a big Opposition they could topple the Government and instigate the CPI(M) Chief Minister to resign, without recommending an election. And now they are asking for election. I congratulate them; let them go ahead and do something. Sir, in politics..

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): He lost majority; so he cannot recommend the dissolution of the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let him have his say.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Let me give my analysis of the situation. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: My reading is that he might have recommended dissolution.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: I would appeal to our leadership that instead of 20 point programme there should be another programme, a 21 point programme. The 21st point is to help the opposition to form Ministries in certain States. That is what they are looking for. That will be the only chance for the opposition to come to power. They are asking for election.. (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur): Sir, shall we laugh? If you direct, we shall laugh at this joke..

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: If they do not want to laugh let them cry.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Only you should not weep; you can laugh.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: See the atmosphere here. We don't agree with what the opposition says; they are elected on CPM and other tickets from Kerala; here we have Congress(I). Sometimes they shout; sometimes we shout. The situation that is existing now justifies that there should not be any election in Kerala now. If the situation is so very heated now in the House you can well imagine what will be the situation in Kerala. The proclamation has been issued by the Governor of the State, not a Mr. Stephen's or Mr. Makwana's instance.

SHRI R. P. DAS (Krishnagar): Why don't you give us a true picture of the situation? (Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: If I am not allowed to speak, let me sit down. But I cannot speak something which will please them! (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Dev, I have been under the impression that you are a seasoned parliamentarian.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Why should they think as if it is their own monopoly to speak for the country? (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: One has to be a little thick-skinned. (Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: I am sorry; I can't hear you; somebody is speaking.

MR. CHAIRMAN: My advice is this: Kindly be a little more thick-skinned. Be methodical. Be persuasive and have your say.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: So, you also want, Sir, that I should speak for them? Let me speak what I feel like; not to please them. At least you be neutral sitting there..

MR. CHAIRMAN: Why do you think that they will not agree? They may also agree with you.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Mr. Lawrence narrated the fate of the various non-congress(I) Governments in various States. Now, Sir, that itself justified that the people should not elect any non-congress(I) Government in any State. Whenever we have come to power we have been able to stay on in power for our full term. They got themselves elected; they formed Government; they could not stay. How can this be our fault? How can you argue in that way? Mr. Indrajit Gupta is a good speaker; he studied in Oxford University. He said, anywhere, where the Government of opposition fell, Assembly has been kept in anomated suspension. What about Assam? Congress Government fell; Anwara Taimur Government fell. The Assembly is kept in suspended animation. The opposition is trying to form a Government. One list is prepared today; another list is prepared tomorrow. This is not our fault. All these things show that cannot carry the people with them. If people come to us out of their own free will, out of their affection, we cannot say 'No' to them; it is not defection.

If you kindly refer to the Oxford Dictionary for the word 'defection', you will not say this. When the whole party comes, you cannot call it a 'defection' because they believe in the leadership, idealism and the policy of the Government. In the case of CPM and CPI in the past, there were defections amongst themselves. That should be called defection. Why did they not pass the defection Bill? Why did they withdraw their support at that time? But they are now asking us to pass that Bill.

Sir, our Government has been in power for the last 33 years or so and in many States we do not have proper office building for our party purposes. In Calcutta and in two other States—Kerala and Tripura—you would be amazed to see the palatial building that they have built for their party office. They have built them in an honest way! I would like to learn the art so that we can also construct build-

ing for our party purposes (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. M. LAWRENCE: Sir, this is an allegation against our party. I may be allowed to reply to the allegation.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: I would like to know that art. I am interested in constructing office buildings for our party in various States. In West Bengal, the leaders address meetings in various places and in the meetings they make a show that a garland of rupees is given to the leader, by the common people. The garland would hardly contain Rs. 50 but they will say that the garland contained Rs. 50,000 which has come from the common people and thereby the money would be regularised. If that is the are, then I would not like to ask our leaders to adapt that art. (*Interruptions*)

Sir one of the hon. Members allegedly brought the name of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. We witness in the zero hours here that almost all the Opposition Members come with the papers their hands and show them to the Chair that the photograph of Rajiv Gandhi is appearing in every newspaper. Sir, it is well known that the Press in this country is very fair to everybody. If anything unfair is done by the Press, it is done to our party and it is the ruling party which is not getting fair treatment by the press. If the photograph of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi appears in all the newspapers, it means that he has been accepted as a national leader by our people and the press, not Mr. Vajpayee. They could go and make propoganda and have a better rapport with the Press. It is not our fault if the people of our country do not accept his leadership. We have seen it in the last election.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDAR: Then dissolve the Kerala Assembly.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DAV: The Kerala Chief Minister had submitted his resignation. He has asked the lady Governor to take care of the administration. Now, you are asking that

lady Governor to help. Today morning I told Mr. Lawrence that they should go to the people of Kerala and tell their views. We are also going to the people of Kerala and tell our views to them and the people will decide the correct thing.

SHRI M. M. LAWRENCE: We are prepared to get the verdict of the people. Are you prepared for that? (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not pay attention to what the Members from this side or that side say, address the Chair.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Some aspersions have been cast on the RSS as well as on the Congress(I) that they are creating havoc there and there are murders etc. Now, in this House we have heard many Members of Parliament mentioning the same grievance against the CPM many times. So far as I am concerned, I personally do not believe in these political murders. Whosoever is responsible for any murder, must be brought to book and these murders must be stopped. . . . (*Interruptions*).

I once again congratulate Mr. Stephen, Mr. Makwana and Company and I would only request them that they should include Shri Unnikrishnan and Shri Vajpayee, on a permanent or temporary basis in this Company for the safety of the people of Kerala.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR (Dindigul): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I support the Supplementary Demands for Grants for the Kerala State.

I have heard the speeches of my hon. friends from the opposition parties as also the ruling party. Our learned friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, has also made a very useful speech, he always does, but he has forgotten that while his party has extended its support to the Congress Government in the State of Assam, he is bringing charges against the Congress Party here, as if the Congress Party is responsible for the fall of the Kerala Government led by CPM party.

In July, or August, 1979, the Janata Government fell down automatically;

it fell down voluntarily. Nobody toppled it; we never did that; Dhanda-pani, Mayathevar, Karunanidhi or anybody else did not do that. It fell down itself and broke into pieces like a mud pot. As it happened with the Janata Government in 1979, the same thing happened with the Kerala Government. It fell down, because it had no majority to support the Government. Therefore, we cannot blame either our learned friend, Shri Makwana, or the hon. Finance Minister or the Prime Minister. Nobody is responsible for the fall of the Government led by CPM. It fell down naturally, automatically because it failed to maintain the majority.

In view of this, the Central Government has taken action according to the provisions of the Indian Constitution, Article 356. There is no illegality, no unconstitutionality in this action of the Central Government.

Those persons who are having no faith in democracy, socialism, socialistic pattern of society or sovereign democracy are talking of many principles. The same Janata Government supported by our learned friends, Hon. Members of the CPM and the CPI toppled down nine Congress State Governments in the year 1977—those nine State Governments led by Congress-I were toppled down, dismissed simultaneously within 24 hours. Is it a democracy? Are they fit to talk of democracy? Are they competent to comment on democracy? Therefore, Sir, they are disqualified, unqualified and not at all qualified to talk on democracy, much less to comment on actions taken by the Congress-I Central Government in the present state of affairs in Kerala.

Then the Assembly is only suspended. Our learned brothers were demanding the Assembly to be dismissed immediately as if they are going to come immediately to power in 48 hours. Sir, it is their duty to maintain status-quo, their might, their members. But their own colleagues are going away, they have lost faith in their Government in their principles and policies. They were the CPM and

[Shri Santosh Mohan Dev]

ADMK talking much on the platform at the time of elections. But when they assumed power, they did not implement anything in Kerala and in Tamil Nadu. They are sailing in the same boat. I must thank the State Government for not dismissing the Assembly. You did not dismiss the Assembly because you are more democratic. You have only suspended the Assembly. It does indicate that you are more democratic than these people. But I want the Central Government and the Congress Government there to form a popular Government in the interest of the people of Kerala very shortly. The interests of the people are more important than to form the Government by this party or by that party. Therefore we support you. Form the Government immediately or as soon as possible to safeguard the interests of the people of Kerala.

Now, why did they fall down? They were doing political murders. As per their own statistics provided to this House, 23 political murders took place; and out of these 23 political murders, 18 persons were murdered who belonged to their party. But at that time they were the ruling party. Was the DMK or the Congress-I ruling then? You were wielding all the power. What action did they take? Why were they sleeping and not performing their duties? Therefore, they failed in their duty by not taking legal action against the murderers under the Indian Penal Code, under the law of the land, to put down the crime committed by the criminals? They failed to protect the interests of the people of Kerala: They failed to maintain law and order. They were protecting the murders, dacoits and robbers.

My Hon. friend Arakal or somebody pointed out that their party has spacious palaces here and there, in Kerala and West Bengal. When the DMK Party was in power in Tamilnadu, it did not have any office of its own. But you are having power there consecutively, in West Bengal and Kerala, and amassed your wealth, not for the

individual interests, but for the interests of their Party throughout India. You are collecting money after money, amassing wealth for running your party throughout India. That is the charge against you by the Kerala people.

Now I will come to another point. So many crores of rupees of foreign money, foreign finance is pouring in your State. But did you develop your industry? Did you start any development scheme? Did you implement it? Did you provide employment opportunities for illiterate or literate people? You did not do it. You have absolutely forgotten it. Therefore, the people did not like you and you came down. Don't blame these people for that.

The CPM was talking about political honesty and purity in private and public life.**

He earned Rs. 35 crores and you did not take action.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SUNIL MAITRA (Calcutta North East): What do you mean by it? Sir,** is not a member of this House and he cannot defend himself. You should not allow such charges to be levelled against him.

MR. CHAIRMAN: These are serious allegations levelled against a person who is not present in the House. The proceedings will be examined. Don't level such serious charges. (Interruptions). I will examine the proceedings.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: Your Ministry was responsible for the scandal..

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: More Loyal than the Queen!

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: You are responsible for the purchase of 10 lakh litres of rectified spirit. (Interruptions). The Chief Minister of Kerala could not succeed in negotiating it, but ** the State Government appointed one Mr. Ahmed Khan and that man successfully negotiated the purchase of Rs. 35 crores

worth of rectified spirit from Tamilnadu and these people enjoyed the profit.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: There are three Commissions of Inquiry, one appointed by the Central Government, one by Kerala Government and one by Tamilnadu Government. What the hon. member is referring to in his exuberance is directly the subject-matter of these commissions of inquiry. These are judicial enquiries which have been ordered under a statute. Directly comments are being made about the merits of those matters which are pending before those commissions of inquiry.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have requested him to avoid it. Off-hand I cannot tell you with certainty whether it is a judicial enquiry. As far as I know, it is not a judicial enquiry.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Notices have been issued under the Commission of Inquiry Act.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will examine it.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Pollachi): You put a question with record to the Ray Commission and that was discussed in the very same House. Answer was given by the Government. When that question was allowed and a discussion was allowed by the Speaker, why cannot this be allowed now?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: He is on the merits.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Three Commissions of inquiry are seized of the issue. It is better to avoid referring to matters which form their terms of reference.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: The corrupt activities of the then Ministry were not looked into by the Chief Minister of Kerala. He did not take action against those Ministers who were corrupt, even though charges were levelled against them. He did not try to cleanse the administration. So, now they cannot say they are

above corruption, because they did not make any attempt earlier to remove corruption. They cannot talk of purity of administration now.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Cauvery waters flow nearby. Still, they were not able to purify themselves!

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: The State Government allowed the Manam Sugar Mills of Kerala to import 10 to 15 lakh litres of rectified spirit into Kerala from Tamil Nadu. Is it not an illegal activity? Was it enquired into by the State Government? The appointment of the Sadasivam Commission and the Velu Pillai Commission are to save their own skin. They should be dismissed or dissolved by the Central Government, after the appointment of the Ray Commission by the Centre, because both of them become unconstitutional and illegal. I am saying that both the Commissions should be dissolved because they were appointed by the State Governments to safeguard and protect the culprits, the accused, who have indulged in so many malpractices and earned crores of rupees from this spirit scandal.

What action has been taken against one Ahmed Khan, who committed all sorts of illegalities, in collusion with a beautiful lady named "Parrot" of Tamilnadu? No action has been taken against Ahmed Khan. One beautiful lady in Tamilnadu and Ahmed Khan, both colluded and connived with the Chief Minister of Madras for illegally permitting the transport of 10 to 15 lakh litres of rectified spirit.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: What is the relevance of this beautiful lady with this debate on Kerala?

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: The 'Parrot', which is called *Kili* in Tamil, colluded with Ahmed Khan.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: Sir, can we ask for the lady to be laid on the Table of the House?

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: Ask the Chief Minister; he will tell you where she is and will produce her; he is capable of doing that.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: The *kili* i.e. Parrot is now under the custody of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Shri M. G. Ramachandran. You can get the *kili* from him. Shri Ahmed Khan and the Parrot committed one murder in the course of the spirit scandal. One Shri Mahadevan was murdered brutally. Yet, it has not been investigated by the State Government.

Coming to the development aspect in my State, when the DMK Government was in power from 1969 to 1975...

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: In Kerala?

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: In Tamil Nadu. We negotiated with the Kerala Government for getting water from the west flowing rivers Kerala.

AN HON. MEMBER: Where were you then?

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: That is a different question. At that time, I was in the AIADMK. I would not be sincere to people as CPI(M) who have extra-territorial loyalties to the Chinese people. I am sincere to Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the national leaders. MGR cheated Tamil Nadu people. So, I left ADMK. I would not be faithful to China or some other country. I am a national-minded patriotic man. I respect every honest leader like Karunanidhi, who is not corrupt as MGR.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Times have changed. It is but natural that attitudes should also change.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: At the time of the DMK rule in Tamilnadu, in State Government negotiated with the Kerala Government for the supply of water from those rivers which are flowing towards the west, the Arabian Sea.

16 hrs.

Those waters are flowing there. We want all those waters to be diverted toward, Tamil Nadu. It will irrigate

a lot of area including my constituency, Ramanad District, Madurai District, Tirunelveli district, and Coimbatore district. So many districts will become completely fertile if waters are diverted to Tamil Nadu. Now, the Tamil Nadu Government is constantly sleeping. It is almost on its death bed. Therefore, that Government will not come to you to demand all those things for Tamil Nadu. So, I demand all those things for Tamil Nadu. The highly respected Finance Minister, Mr. Venkatraman, is here. He must take note of the demands of the people of Tamil Nadu that the flow of water should be diverted to Tamil Nadu.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Will the Finance Minister reply to this?

16.01 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]:

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Mayathevar, you have got to conclude now.

You should not take more than 2 minutes.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: Sir, the Periar Extension Scheme work was going on in Kerala and Tamil Nadu for which the International Bank granted Rs. 80 crores. In that the Kerala and Tamil Nadu Governments jointly committed the grave mistake of reducing the water level from 56 ft. to 46 ft. Previously the Periar water level was up to 56 ft. Now, some grave mistake has been committed by the Kerala Government in connivance with the Tamil Nadu Government with the result the water level was reduced to 46 ft. which affects the irrigation of about 15 lakh acres of paddy field including 5 lakhs of acres of paddy field in my constituency at Madurai and Ramanad districts.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Because of which, the President's rule was promulgated, I think.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: During the President's Rule, I request the Central Government to instruct the Governor of Kerala to set right the mistakes and misdeeds committed by the then Kerala Government and the present Tamil Nadu Government. The Tamil Nadu Government gave up the right of water supply from Kerala to Tamil Nadu as if the right is of the Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran and his company. The Tamil Nadu Government has given up the right of the people of Tamil Nadu to the Kerala Government. So, that right of the Tamil Nadu people should be restored to them. It will irrigate 15 lakhs of acres of paddy field.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have already taken more than 20 minutes. The time allotted to you is only 7 minutes.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR: Sir, the Sudarshan Chit Fund Company is the holder of black money. They cheated to the extent of Rs. 80 crores belonging to the people. The Kerala High Court directed them to close this company and disburse the money to all the customers and deposit holders. But the Kerala Government did not take any follow up action in this regard, nor has any action been taken by the Tamil Nadu Government and other State Governments where the branches of this Sudarshan Chit Fund Company are located. The managers of this Chit Fund company are international smugglers. Serious action should be taken against them and black money should be recovered from them and the deposit holders should get their money.

With this, I support the demands.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (नई दिल्ली): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, संविधान के निर्माता डा० अम्बेदकर ने कभी यह कल्पना भी नहीं की थी कि संविधान के अनुच्छेद 356 का इस तरह से दुरुपयोग किया जाएगा। यदि किसी प्रदेश में वहाँ का शासन संविधान के अनुच्छेदों के अनुसार नहीं चल सकता तो राष्ट्रपति

शासन लागू करने की बात तो मेरी समझ में आ सकती है और मैं मानता हूँ कि केरल में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने के अलावा कोई चारा नहीं थी, लेकिन अब विधान सभा को मूर्च्छित क्यों रखा जा रहा है?

मैंने संविधान परिषद की अनुच्छेद 356 के संबंध में हुई चर्चा को पढ़ा है। डा० अम्बेदकर ने यह आशा व्यक्त की थी कि इस अनुच्छेद का बहुत कम उपयोग किया जाएगा। उनके शब्द थे कि "मुझे उम्मीद है कि यह डैड लैटर रहेगा" लेकिन अब हम देख रहे हैं कि अनुच्छेद 356 का लाभ उठाकर भारत के संघात्मक ढाँचे पर प्रहार किया जा रहा है, शासन बनाने के, नई सरकार चुनने के जनता के अधिकार से उसके वंचित किया जा रहा है और अनैतिकता पर आधारित राजनीति को प्रोत्साहित किया जा रहा है।

केरल में एक ही रास्ता था कि नयनार मंत्रिमण्डल का त्याग पत्र स्वीकार करने के बाद केरल विधान सभा को भंग कर दिया जाता। अखिर केरल की जनता ने वामपंथी और लोकतांत्रिक मोर्चे के लिए वोट दिया था। जब कांग्रेस (एस) ने उस में से अलग होने का फैसला किया और वह मोर्चा अल्प मत में आ गया तो फिर केरल की जनता को मौका दिया जाना चाहिए था वह निर्णय करती कि किस एक पार्टी या गुट से उसका विश्वास है। लेकिन जानबूझ कर केरल की विधान सभा को निलंबित रखा गया है और उद्देश्य है कि येन-केन-प्रकारेण, जैसे भी हो, जोड़-तोड़ कर, सांठ गांठ से, खरीद कर, बेच कर केरल में एक सरकार बना दी जाए। ऐसी सरकार को जनता का समर्थन प्राप्त नहीं होगा।

समय सीमित है। मैं सारे उदाहरण इस सदन में उपस्थित करना नहीं चाहता। मणिपुर में क्या हुआ? जब

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकार मणिपुर में बन सकती थी तो गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकार बनाने वालों को मोता नहीं दिया गया जोड़-तोड़ को छूट दी गई। केन्द्र को उसे मूक समर्थन था। जब कांग्रेस (आई) फिर से बहुमत में आ गई तो मणिपुर में सरकार बना दी गई।

मैं तो आशाम के बारे में भी कहने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि आशाम की विधान सभा भंग कर दीजिए। वहाँ के विधायक जनता का विश्वास खो चुके हैं। आशाम में भी नए चुनाव होने चाहिए। मैं आशाम में किसी की सरकार बनाए जाने के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ, लेकिन केरल में इतनी छूट देने का क्या औचित्य है ?

सभापति महोदय, नयनार मंत्रिमण्डल स हमारे मतभेद थे। हम हत्या की राजनीति स्वीकार नहीं करते। जब कोचीन में भारतीय जनता पार्टी को राष्ट्रीय परिषद को बैठक हुई तब हमने आशा प्रकट की थी कि नयनार मंत्रिमण्डल में गृह विभाग किसी ऐसे व्यक्ति को दिया जाएगा जो विवाद का विषय नहीं होगा, लेकिन हमारे मार्क्सवादी मित्रों ने इस बात को नहीं सुना। यह बात भी समझ में नहीं आई कि त्याग-पत्र देने से पहले उन्होंने राज्यपाल को विधानसभा भंग करने की सलाह क्यों नहीं दी। कांग्रेस (एस) के निकल जाने के बाद भी उनका बहुमत था। बहुमत उस समय अल्पमत में बना जबकि केरल कांग्रेस भी चली गई। इस संबंध में नयनार सरकार से गलती हुई। मगर मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि नयनार सरकार ने अगर गलती की और गलती ऐसी की कि जिससे सत्ता उनके हाथ से चली गई, लेकिन आप जो गलती कर रहे हैं वह सत्ता हथियाने के लिए कर रहे हैं ?

श्री निरधारी लाल व्यास (भोलवाडा):
उन्होंने भी सत्ता हथियाने के लिए की थी।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : केरल में विधान सभा को भंग करने की आवश्यकता है। राष्ट्रपति शासन को लागू हुए दो महीने हो गए। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस समय केरल में क्या स्थिति है ? क्या राजनीतिक हत्याएँ बन्द हो गई हैं ? नयनार मंत्रिमण्डल ने आवश्यक वस्तुओं के वितरण को बहुत अच्छी व्यवस्था की थी। मैं उसकी प्रशंसा करना चाहता हूँ। गाँव गाँव में स्टोर खोल कर आवश्यक वस्तुएँ उचित कीमत पर लोगों को उपलब्ध हों इस सम्बन्ध में केरल में जो काम हुआ है वह सारे देश के लिए आदर्श बन सकता है। क्या उसकी रक्षा की जा रही है, क्या उस व्यवस्था को मजबूत किया जा रहा है ? अगर धामपथी सरकार की गलतियों का आप लाभ उठाना चाहते हैं राजनीतिक दृष्टि से तो आपको तुरन्त चुनाव कराना चाहिये। अगर आप अपनी सरकार बनाने के चक्कर में फँस गए, मैं नहीं जानता जनता रोष में है या नहीं लेकिन अगर थोड़ा बहुत रोष आपने कहने के अनुसार है तो वह भी खत्म हो जाएगा और वही रोष आपके खिलाफ जाग जाएगा और फिर आपके लिए मुश्किल पैदा होगी।

इस वास्ते राजनीतिक नैतिकता का तकाजा यह है कि केरल की विधान सभा भंग की जाए। लोकतंत्र की माँग है कि केरल की जनता को आप नई सरकार चुनने का मौका दें। यह जोड़-तोड़ का खेल बन्द होना चाहिये। हम अगर दल बदल के खिलाफ कानून नहीं ला सके तो यह ताना दे कर आप अपनी जिम्मेदारी से बच नहीं सकते हैं। आप हम से अच्छे

हैं इसलिए तो लोग आपको लाए हैं। लेकिन आप हर बात में हम से तुलना करते हैं। अगर हर बात में हम से ही तुलना की जाएगी तो जरूर आपकी गति भी वही होगी जो हमारी हुई थी।

श्री जंजुलू बशर (गाजीपुर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, विरोधी पक्ष के साथियों की बातों को मैंने बड़े गौर से सुना है। मुझे सब से अधिक ताज्जुब श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी की बातों को सुन कर हुआ है। उन्होंने एक तरफ नयनार सरकार की पचास प्रातिशत आलोचना की और दूसरी तरफ यह सलाह भी दे दी कि विधान सभा को भंग कर देना चाहिये था। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर कोई दूसरी सरकार बन सकती है, उसके चांसिस हैं और उसकी अगर छानबीन हो रही है तो इससे जनतंत्र की कहां हत्या होती है। रोजाना देश में चुनाव ही होते रहेंगे, रोजाना चुनाव ही कराए जाएंगे तो राजनीतिक दलों और जनतंत्र से लोगों का विश्वास उठता चला जाएगा। केरल में विधान सभा पांच साल के लिए चुनी गई थी। कुछ पार्टियों का गठबन्धन हुआ और उन्होंने सरकार बनाई। उस सरकार को तोड़ने में हमारी पार्टी का कोई हाथ नहीं था। हमारी पार्टी का उस में कोई दखल नहीं था। हमारी पार्टी से ही गए हुए लोग जो हमारे सब से बड़े विरोधी थे, एंटनी साहब और जिन्होंने मुख्य मंत्री पद तक से त्यागपत्र केवल इसलिए दे दिया था कि उस समय उनकी पार्टी चिकमंगलूर में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी का साथ देना चाहती थी।

उन्होंने जब यह देखा कि मार्क्सवादियों के चंगुल में फंस कर वह बरबाद हो रहे हैं, उनकी पार्टी बरबाद हो रही है, सारी मान्यताएँ समाप्त हो रही हैं,

जनतंत्र की हत्या की जा रही है तो वह भी हट गए और उनकी पार्टी भी हट गई और उनके बाट और जो दूसरे उनके साथी थे मणि ग्रुप वाले, वे भी हट गए। आर एन पी के भी कुछ लोग उस सरकार से हट गए। जब उनका यह गठबन्धन समाप्त हो गया तो क्या किसी दूसरे गठबन्धन को सरकार बनाने का मौका नहीं मिलना चाहिये ?

इसके लिये क्या दूसरा गठबन्धन बनाने के लिये समय नहीं दिया जाना चाहिये ? तुरन्त विधान सभा भंग कर के चुनाव कराये जाने का औचित्य मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि माननीय वाजपेयी जो जैसे सीनियर नेता इस बात को कहें। यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। उनको मौका दिया जाना चाहिये। डिफेक्शन नहीं है, केरल की राजनीतिक परिस्थिति ही कुछ ऐसी है कि वहां गुटों और दलों का गठबन्धन ही सरकार चलाता आया है। और न जाने कब तक चलाता रहेगा ? वहां कांग्रेस (एस) तैयार है सरकार बनाने के लिये। गठबन्धन में जनता पार्टी के लोगों के जो विधायक हैं उन्हें फैसला करना है। वह भी फैसला कर रहे हैं। पता नहीं क्या फैसला करेंगे। क्या इसके लिये समय नहीं देना चाहिये ? जनता (एस) को समय नहीं देना चाहिये फैसला करने के लिये ? दूसरे ग्रुपों को समय नहीं देना चाहिये ? अगर यह लोग फैसला कर लेते हैं कि हम कांग्रेस (आई) के साथ सरकार नहीं बनायेंगे तो वहां की विधान सभा को तोड़ने के अलावा और कोई रास्ता नहीं रहेगा, और तब उसे तोड़ देना चाहिये। लेकिन इस बात की सम्भावनाओं का पता लगाना जरूरी है कि क्या कोई बैकल्पिक सरकार बनायी जा सकती है कि नहीं ? अगर बनायी जा

[श्री जैनुल बशर]

सकती है तो उस सरकार को बनाने के लिये जो भी समझ हो वह अवश्य देना चाहिये।

दूसरी बात यह है कि केरल ही चाहे वैंस्ट बंगाल ही सिर्फ विरोध के नाम पर माननीय वाजपेयी जी और माननीय दंडवते जी इन्दिरा सरकार का या कांग्रेस सरकार का विरोध करें यह हमारी समझ में जनहित में नहीं है। जनतांत्रिक राजनीति में सिद्धान्तों के ऊपर राजनीति होनी चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ जहाँ तक सिद्धान्तों का सवाल है माननीय दंडवते जी हमारे ज्यादा करीब हैं बनिस्वत सी०पी०एम०, और सी०पी०आई० के। मैं तो मानता हूँ कि सिद्धान्तों के आधार पर माननीय वाजपेयी जी हमारे ज्यादा करीब हैं बनिस्वत सी०पी०आई० और सी०पी०एम० के। और हम उनके ज्यादा करीब हैं।

आज बंगाल और केरल में क्या हो रहा है? जनतंत्र के पेट में जहर फैल रहा है। कौन नहीं जानता कि मार्क्सवादी दलों की क्या नीति है? वह जनतंत्र का सहारा ले कर उसको समाप्त करना चाहते हैं। वह उसकी पीठ में छुरा भोंकना चाहते हैं। यह बात किसी से छिपी हुई नहीं है। इस बात को हम भी जानते हैं और सर्वश्री वाजपेयी, दंडवते और स्वामी, सभी जानते हैं। आज केरल में क्या हुआ? क्यों वहाँ आर०एस०एस० और सी०पी०एम० के लोगों के बीच में राजनीतिक हत्यायें हुई हैं? 33 वर्ष के बाद राजनीतिक हत्यायों का दौर केरल और वैंस्ट बंगाल में शुरू हुआ जहाँ कांग्रेस (आई) के लोगों की हत्यायें शुरू की गयीं। यह हत्यायें बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश में नहीं शुरू हुईं। बल्कि जहाँ मार्क्सवादी शासन था वहीं यह हत्यायें शुरू हुईं। बाद में

इसका रीएक्शन चाहे भले ही कहीं हुआ हो। लेकिन शुरूआत मार्क्सवादी शासन में ही हुई। चाहे वह केरल हो या वैंस्ट बंगाल, यहीं से राजनीतिक हत्याओं का दौर शुरू हुआ। ऐसी राजनीतिक हत्याओं का दौर अगर जारी रहा तो माननीय वाजपेयी जी जनतंत्र ठीक रह सकेगा यहाँ? अगर राजनीतिक हत्याओं के जरिये फैसले होते रहेंगे, हम और आप वहाँ बोल कर अगर बाहर निकलते ही एक दूसरे पर गोली चलायेगे तो क्या जनतंत्र चल सकेगा? नहीं। तो केरल में एक हद हो गई थी। रोजाना सुनते थे सी०पी०एम० के लोग आर०एस०एस० वालों को मारते थे और आर०एस०एस० वाले सी०पी०एम० के लोगों को मारते थे। इस प्रकार राजनीतिक हत्याओं का दौर शुरू हो गया।

दूसरी बात जो मार्क्सवादी केरल में कर रहे थे और वैंस्ट बंगाल में भी कर रहे हैं वह यह कि वहाँ की वोटर्स लिस्ट को मॉनिपुलेट कर रहे हैं अपने पक्ष में।...

SHRI SUDHIR GIRI (Contai): He is misleading the House....(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He is not yielding.

श्री जैनुल बशर : प्रधान मंत्री ने इस बात को वैंस्ट बंगाल में कहा है कि लगभग 30 प्रतिशत वोटर्स वोटर्स लिस्ट में नहीं रखे गये हैं। प्रधान मंत्री को यह मालूम है ... (व्यवधान) ... मैं तो आप की बात सुन रहा था, आप भी मेरी बात सुनिए। ... (व्यवधान) ... जहाँ बंगाल का नाम आया खड़े हो गए। आप मेरी बात सुनिए।

जहाँ वोटर्स लिस्ट के साथ खिलवाड़ किया जायगा क्या वहाँ जनतंत्र चल सकेगा,

बताएं वाजपेयी जी और दण्डवते जी, क्या वहां जनतंत्र चल सकेगा ? कर्मा वहां जनतंत्र नहीं चल सकता । आज बंगाल में चुनाव होने वाला है । कैसे बंगाल के अंदर चुनाव होंगे ? बंगाल की वोटर्स लिस्ट गड़बड़ है । मैं तो कहता हूँ यह अवसर पा कर बंगाल की मार्क्सवादी सरकार को भंग करना चाहिए, राष्ट्रपति शासन वहां लागू करना चाहिए, वोटर्स लिस्ट में सुधार करना चाहिए और उस के बाद वहां चुनाव कराना चाहिए । तभी सही चुनाव होगा । इसी तरह से केरल में वोटर्स लिस्ट चीपट की गई है, वोटर्स लिस्ट मैनिपुलेट की गई है और ये लोग आज मांग कर रहे हैं कि उसी वोटर्स लिस्ट पर चुनाव हो जाय । इसीलिए जीत का दावा करते हैं । केरल में भी वोटर्स लिस्ट का सुधार होना चाहिए, उसे ठीक किया जाना चाहिए और उस के बाद वहां के चुनाव की बात होनी चाहिए । वोटर्स लिस्ट चाहे बंगाल की हो चाहे केरल की हो जब तक उस को ठीक नहीं किया जायगा तब तक चुनाव की बात नहीं की जानी चाहिए । ये लोग जो चुनाव की बात कर रहे हैं यह इन का आफ्टर-थाट है ।

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Zainul Basher, if you confine yourself to Kerala, the subject-proper under discussion, then there will be no difficulty.

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER: I am speaking about Kerala, Sir.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South): He is faithfully following his only leader Shri-mati Gandhi, who said all these.

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER: She is a demorcrat. I am following her. I am not following China as you do.

केरल में विधान सभा को भंग करने की मांग इन का आफ्टर-थाट है । इन

के मुख्य मंत्री श्री नयनार ने जब इस्तीफा दिया तो उन्होंने विधान सभा को भंग करने की बात नहीं की । कहते हैं कि वह माइनारिटी में थे । 1968 में चरण सिंह ने इस्तीफा दिया था और उन्होंने उत्तर प्रदेश में विधान सभा को भंग करने की सिफारिश की थी । उन की सिफारिश पर विधान सभा भंग हुई और उत्तर प्रदेश में 1969 में चुनाव हुआ । चरण सिंह यहां लोक सभा में माइनारिटी में थे, उन्होंने लोक सभा को भंग करने की सिफारिश की और लोक सभा भंग हुई । अगर विधान सभा को केरल में भंग करना था तो उन्होंने उस के लिए क्यों नहीं सिफारिश की ? उन का शायद मंशा यह रहा हो कि इस्तीफा देने के बाद हम किसी तरह से गठबन्धन को पूरा कर लेंगे और शायद कुछ दिनों के बाद फिर अपनी सरकार बनाने में कामयाब हो जाएंगे । लेकिन आज जब वह देख रहे हैं कि सरकार बनाना उन के बस की बात नहीं है । आज जनतांत्रिक शक्तियों ने चाहे वह केरल में कांग्रेस (एस) हो, चाहे जनता पार्टी हो, चाहे वह भारतीय जनता पार्टी हो, उन के राष्ट्रीय नेता कुछ भी कहते रहें, लेकिन उन्होंने आज इस बात को मान लिया है कि मार्क्सवादी के नेतृत्व में जनतंत्र नहीं चल सकता और जनतंत्र की हत्या हो रही है । आज केरल में मार्क्सवादी सरकार नहीं बन सकती, इसलिए वे विधान सभा को भंग करने की मांग कर रहे हैं और इसलिए जल्दी चुनाव कराने की बात कर रहे हैं ताकि उसी मैनिपुलेटेड वोटर्स लिस्ट पर चुनाव हो जो उन्होंने अपने पक्ष में तैयार करा ली है जिस में कांग्रेस और दूसरी पार्टियों के लोगों के नाम छोड़ रखे हैं, उन के नाम उस में दर्ज नहीं किए गए हैं । उस के बल पर वह चुनाव कराना चाहते हैं और उस के बल पर वह चुनाव जीतना चाहते हैं ।

[Shri Zainal Basher]

इसलिए जब तक बोटर्स लिस्ट का करेक्शन न हो तब तक चुनाव की बात केरल में नहीं होनी चाहिए और उसी तरह पश्चिमी बंगाल की सरकार को भंग करना चाहिए। वहाँ राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया जाना चाहिए, बोटर्स लिस्ट में सुधार होना चाहिए और तब वहाँ चुनाव होना चाहिए।

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North East): I am speaking here as a representative of the Janata Party and the importance of the Janata Party in Kerala to-day is recognised by everybody. We have 5 MLAs only, but it is better than zero. The thing is that the Left Front and the so-called Democratic Front, the UDF, both have 68 each in a 141 Member House. Since they have both 68 each, the remaining 5 belong to the Janata Party, and if they go here or there, the government can be formed. We have been wooed by both sides and they have not yet succeeded. There is an attempt to seduce us and with two powerful suitors, the Janata Party is not able to make up its mind in terms of who is worse...

AN HON. MEMBER: You are agreeable to seduction?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: Many people have realised that it is very difficult.

Before I proceed, I may tell the House my Party's stand. I would like to refute what St. Stephen thus spoke that the Janata Party is going to support Congress (I). We have not taken any such decision. The problem is that first of all President's rule is being used as an instrument of the ruling party. When you want to declare, you do it and when you want to, you do not do it. Today there is President's rule because that is inevitable as the Government there lost the majority. But the argument used by the ruling Party in the House to-day can equally apply to Bihar and

can equally apply to other States ruled by Congress (I). For example, in Biharsharief there was such a butchery. 12,000 CRP Jawans were there but they could not stop the butchery. They have been using the argument how the Police have not been able to do anything in Kerala. But today what is happening in Bihar? I would like to say that President's rule should not be used as an instrument to create conditions most favourable to the ruling Party.

Our Party, the Janata Party's stand in this respect is very clear. One of our most prestigious leaders, Shri Morarji Desai...

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT): Now he agrees that he is their Party's prestigious leader.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: There are not two opinions. Have you ever seen me, Sir, saying any harsh words about Morarji Desai?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That is your inner Party affair.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: Sir, his interruption has derailed me.

In Gujarat there was President's rule and they did not want to hold elections and then Morarji Desai went on a fast unto death and they had to yield after 1-1/2 years of President's rule. The election was held and they lost. So it was clear that President's rule is imposed whenever they feel that they have no chance of winning the elections. There should be a time limit as to how long President's rule is going to continue and there should be some objective criteria for imposing President's rule. Today they are opposing elections and they say that elections are not proper now. I would like to refer to what their Party leader has said. During the Budget he has said:

"The Nayanar Ministry has lost the confidence of the public. If he has got any guts, let him hold elections."

So, Nayanar's reply is also there. When they get an opportunity, let them hold the election.

Today, Sir, the time has come for you to think about it. After all, what is the use of criticising the CPM led front in Bengal? Don't do that. At that time when they had an opportunity, they did not do that. There should be a uniform standard in this. I am not going to hold any brief for the CPMs. Although they sit here, they can at any time go there and support them. In Assam they somersaulted in July 1971. All the time they are somersaulting, I am not going to hold any brief for them; nor am I convinced about their peaceful intention. Recently, I went to West Bengal to see our party MLA Mr. Jenni Ozai. You might have heard about him. I went to hospital to see him. He got stiches in his head because in Contai district he wanted to prevent the CPM workers from forcibly harvesting the paddy. So he was beaten. The police came but did nothing. He claimed on the police jeep and they entered the police jeep and beat him there. This Sir is the culture of violence which the CPM believes in. We have seen it. Our party workers have complained about it. Wherever the CPM is in power, they believe in collective authoritarianism. This is an individual authoritarianism, one and half times authoritarianism. I do not know what the technical word is for this. But, this is an organised authoritarianism. That is why the CPM foreign policy supports that kind of authoritarianism; they support the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan; they support the butchery in Kampuchea. They support the tanks running in Poland. Their policy is now out of date. Their policy is not pro-Chinese. They are now looking forward towards Soviet Union. Their foreign policy shows that. It is now out of date. Their party is not functioning properly. They should have study classes. The same thing is in Kerala.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE:
Let him give us lecture.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: I am prepared. Now, Sir, I would like to say this. I had been to Kerala a number of times; recently from Meenakshipuram I went to Cochin to catch a flight. I stopped on the way at Kaladi.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You are a Tamilian and you must pronounce it well.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: It is a place in Kerala. It means hitting the feet. I reached there at 4 A.M. I did not know where to stay. I went to police station to find out the best Lodge. When I went to police Station I saw the iron railings there. I shouted; there was no light there. All of a sudden the policeman came with a gun and struck at my throat and said 'Don't move. I will kill you', I asked: what is the matter? I am a Member of Parliament. You may kill me. You go ahead. But, tomorrow you will have a lot of questions to be answered. Then a sub-inspector came behind the Police Station. My name is known in various parts of the country. They did not recognise me there. Immediately they apologised me. What are you doing I asked. They said we are afraid. I said—you are the police officer and why are you afraid? In the morning hours, no police station is safe in Kerala. This is what the police told me. This is the kind of Government they were running. I asked them to vacate the jail and I stayed in the jail, I had my bath there and there was no problem. The police told me that we were not safe today inside the police station. Similarly, at Calicut a professor of orthopaedics was paraded in public with a placard that 'I am corrupt and you punish me' The people's court decided to punish him. The Government did nothing. The people complain like that. In Kerala they complained. I am not in favour at all of the Congress(I). I would like to see that party disappearing. I think it will be a great gift to the country if they disappear tomorrow. They are again putting us in great difficulty. Their ministry was functioning in a manner where the

[Dr. Subramaniam Swamy]

Ministers are there for some time. Sir, you will be surprised to know that out of 17 Cabinet Ministers 11 were office bearers of some trade unions. One Minister was President of thirty-three unions. How can a Minister hold an office in trade union as well! Did they know they are going out some time or the other and as such they thought it wise not to lose the trade union post. (*Interruptions*)

Sir, Kerala House in Delhi has been built at a cost of Rs. 1.12 crores. There is three-channel music in each room; it is air-conditioned and TV sets have been placed at strategic points. Sir, if Communists can live like that then, I am afraid, I should also like to become a Communist.

Sir, I would not like to talk about the general decline in morale that has taken place in Kerala due to the existence of a Communist government over there. I would only like to say what is to be done now. Sixty-eight are there and sixty-eight are here and we five are in the middle. What is our policy? We have deliberated on this issue at length and we have come to the conclusion that: (a) we will do nothing ever to promote the cause of Congress(I) or any Government which is either led by Congress(I) or in which Congress(I) is a participant we shall not support that Government. (b) we shall function in Kerala as a democratic Opposition. This decision has been taken on the merits of the situation. This is our policy.

Sir, it is very clear that President's rule in Kerala is being deliberately extended because of the incompetence of the Congress(I) party there to form a Government. Sir, I would like to make it very clear that we are not going to support Congress(I) as Mr. Stephen chose to speak on this aspect. We will not support because of their policies. It is not that the CPI(M) policies were better. (*Interruptions*) We shall not support a Government led

by Congress(I) or in which Congress(I) is a participant.

SHRI P. M. SAYEED (Lakshadweep): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was very attentatively hearing Mr. Vajpayee's speech as well as that of Dr. Subramaniam's speech. Both of them happen to be good friends of mine. Sir, I have great respect for Vajpayeeji. He said there were instances where, whenever the majority party lost majority, they used to advise the President or the Government to impose President's rule. May I ask him this? He was a member of the ruling party at the Centre. One of the sections of the then ruling party broke away: so they were reduced to a minority. What was then the Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai's advice to the President of India?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): We were claiming majority.

SHRI P. M. SAYEED: You cannot have a double standard in political morality. There cannot be one standard for the Centre and another standard for the State. Sir, whenever it is advantageous they hold something good; then whenever it is not advantageous to them, they hold it bad. This is really strange. Regarding Marxist's rule in Kerala, Dr. Swamy was telling us certain things. He talked about certain ghastly incidents which took place in Bihar; and so it was an apt time to introduce President's rule. Well, Dr. Swamy, it is not somebody's action; it is their own action which brought them down. I am reminded of a passage in Quoran; It says God changes people when they themselves change. This is exactly the position of the Communist party today.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: Let the people give the verdict. You say that Marxist party will get the reward for its deeds; well, why don't you go to the people

and see what they want; why are you afraid of facing the people?

SHRI P.M. SAYEED: Let him put his hand on his heart; let him say whether he seriously believes in democracy? Let him say that. Does he believe in democracy? It is hypocrisy. You have the statistics of political murders when they are ruling. You have the record of the political murders when they were ruling in Kerala. Their own colleagues were there. There were political murders, 18 in number. (Interruption) I don't know why they are interrupting like this.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER: You contested the election in 1980 as Congress(U) candidate.
(Interruption)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He is not yielding. Don't interrupt when he is not yielding.

SHRI P. M. SAYEED: When they do not relish what I say, they get angry. They interrupt. We know about these statistics of political murders. Everybody knows these. The plight of Dr. Subramaniam Swamy was also narrated a little while ago. It is not only in Kerala. Wherever Marxist party ruled, you find the same thing. Take West Bengal. Take Tripura. The same thing happened in Kerala also. It is not due to the Central Government's action or somebody else's action. It is not these which brought them down. It is their own action which brought them down. Why did they not take action under the National Security Act? Is Kerala not part of India? Why did you not take action against them under COFFPOSA? These two Acts have been put in cold storage. The ex-Chief Minister of Kerala wanted to isolate Kerala State from the rest of the country. The people of Kerala will never accept that.

Now, in order to divert the attention of Kerala people the erstwhile

ruling party Minister Mr. T. K. Ramakrishnan had fabricated a sort of story that Congress-S people were going to be murdered by the hired people in connivance with the C.B.I.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:
R.A.W.

SHRI P.M. SAYEED: Can anybody believe that? It is their own action that brought the Government a downfall. The law and order situation was the prime responsibility for the downfall of Nayanar Government. Secondly, so many corruption charges and the spirit scandal accelerated their downfall. Mr. Somnath Chatterjee was saying that the Commissions have already been appointed to go into these charges and therefore nobody should discuss these matters. But what about the corruption charges and allegations made by different political parties in Kerala, about the distribution of cement, sanction of the licences, etc? Are they prepared for an enquiry Committee to go into the charges of corruptions as alleged by the various political parties, by the Nayanar Government? I would request the Union Government to appoint a Commission to go into the charges of the Nayanar Government.

Lastly, the people of Kerala should not be given punishment for all acts of omissions and commissions of the Marxist Party regime. Dr. Swamy has already mentioned about the stand taken by his party. But I am not bothered whether he goes to the Marxist party or any other party. But the people of Kerala should be given an opportunity to see that an alternative democratic Government is installed immediately in Kerala.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You are speaking on the subject of proclamation of President's rule in Kerala.

श्री जयपाल सिंह कश्यप (भांडवा) :
डिप्टी स्पीकर महोदय, जहाँ तबतक किसी भी प्रदेश की जनता का अपना एक अधिकार है, अपने मन को सरकार बनाने

[श्री जयपाल सिंह कश्यप]

का, अगर यह अधिकार केरल के लोगों को भी दिया जाए तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह प्रजातंत्र के हित में होगा। लेकिन हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार चुनावों के नाम से घबराती है, कतराती है। गढ़वाल हमारे सिर पर है। असम में बहुत दिनों से तोड़ मरोड़ कर अपनी सरकार बनाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं लेकिन बन नहीं पा रही है। बनती है तो टूटती है। वहाँ की जनता नहीं चाहती है लेकिन सरकार थोपने की आदत पड़ गयी है। केरल में भी आपको साहस नहीं है। आप जानते हैं कि चाहे असम हो, चाहे गढ़वाल हो, चाहे केरल हो, आपको जनता का वोट नहीं चाहिए। आपको हरियाणा के भजनलाल जैसे आदमी चाहिए। इस की जोड़तोड़ में लगे हुए हैं और आपको जो बीमारी लग गई है, उसके परिणाम ठीक नहीं होंगे। आज जनता आपको चाहती नहीं है। चुनाव के अखाड़े में आप उतरना नहीं चाहते हैं और जानते हैं कि नतीजा क्या होगा। मैं तो उन सब दलों से भी कहूँगा कि जो सत्ता के लालच में आपसे हाथ मिलाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं वे भी डूब जाएंगे। "हम तो डूबेंगे सनम, तुमको भी ले डूबेंगे।" आज देश की जनता देख रही है कि आपसे कौन हाथ मिला रहा है। जो आपसे हाथ मिलाएगा वह बरवाद हो जाएगा। आपका दल जिस तरह से कगार पर खड़ा हुआ है, उसे सब जानते हैं।

केरल को प्राकृतिक सौंदर्य, वहाँ की हरियाली, वहाँ के नारियल और काजू और जितना अच्छा इस प्रदेश का सौंदर्य है उतने ही भद्दे ढंगसे वहाँ पर आप प्रजातंत्र का हनन कर रहे हैं। पूरा देश उसे देख रहा है और सोच रहा है। आपकी हिम्मत टक्कर लेने की नहीं है।

श्री गिरधारी लाल व्यास : पता है कितने चुनाव जीते हैं ?

श्री जयपाल सिंह कश्यप : पता है, गढ़वाल का चुनाव आप जीत कर आ रहे हैं, जिनके नाम से आपको कंपकपी आती है। आपकी आदत है और आप प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली को समाप्त करने के लिए सोच रहे हैं, ताकि हमेशा-हमेशा के लिए इस देश में चुनाव न हों और सत्ता एक वंश के हाथ में बनी रहे। आपका मुँह बंद हो चुका है, आप कुछ बोल नहीं सकते हैं। आज इस देश के अंदर जो तानाशाही है उसके सामने आप झुकते हैं। जिस माँ ने अपने बेटे को आप सब से ऊपर लाकर सत्ता में खड़ा किया है, क्या उसका विरोध आप कभी कर सकते हैं? आज इस देश में प्रजातंत्र का किस तरह से हनन हो रहा है, इसके लिए क्या आपका कोई भी बड़े से बड़ा नेता हिम्मत कर सकता है विरोध करने की? टेलीवीजन में हमारे सुपुत्र जी के दर्शन करवाए जाएं, उनको मालाएं पहनाई जाएं और उनकी ही जय-जयकार दिखाई जाए— आप बोल नहीं सकते हैं, बंधुआ मजदूरों से ज्यादा बुरी हालत हो गई है।

मैं तो कहूँगा कि आप आसाम में भी चुनाव करवाइए, गढ़वाल में भी चुनाव करवाइए और केरल में भी चुनाव करवाइए। आज इस देश में इस बात का फैसला कर लीजिए कि अगर केरल में ला एण्ड आर्डर की हालत खराब है तो मैं कहूँगा कि उत्तर-प्रदेश और बिहार में या तो पुलिस का राज्य है या डाकुओं का राज्य है। वहाँ पर कोई सरकार नहीं है। मैं माननीय मकवाना जी को चेलेंज करता हूँ कि मेरे साथ चलो और यह न बताएं कि वे गृह राज्य मंत्री हैं तो उत्तर प्रदेश का कोई भी

थानेदार 10 हजार रुपये लेकर आपका भी एनकाउंटर कर सकता है और फर्जी मुठभेड़ दिखा कर आपको भी डाकू डिकलेयर कर सकता है। (व्यवधान)
आज अकेले उत्तर प्रदेश में 25 हजार लोगों को झूठी मुठभेड़ों में मार दिया गया है। डाकूओं का इतना आतंक है कि रेल में नहीं जा सकते हैं बस में नहीं जा सकते और जिस तरह से हत्याएं हो रही हैं और ला एण्ड आर्डर की स्थिति है, उनको देखते हुए विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह को तो आप बख्श देंगे, लेकिन दूसरी जगह ला एण्ड आर्डर का नाम लेकर वहां की जनता को वोट देने का अधिकार नहीं दिया जा रहा है। मेरा कहना है कि विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह की सरकार भी बर्खास्त होनी चाहिए और जगन्नाथ मिश्र की सरकार भी बर्खास्त होनी चाहिए। कहीं पर भी ला एण्ड आर्डर की हालत ठीक नहीं है। आपका तो देखने का चश्मा ही दूसरा है। एक मां को अपने बेटे की तो शराब पीने की आदत भी अच्छी लगती है और दूसरे का बेटा गुड़ खाए तब भी बुरा लगता है। आपकी तो आदत पड़ गई है। (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You are speaking on the subject of proclamation of President's rule in Kerala.

श्री जयपाल सिंह कश्यप: मैं तो इतना ही कहूंगा कि जहाँ-जहाँ भी चुनाव होंगे वहाँ-वहाँ कांग्रेस (आई) का दीवाला पिटेंगा, जमानतें जप्त होंगी और इसलिए आप चुनाव नहीं करा रहे हैं और पूरे देश में नहीं करवाएंगे। कभी राष्ट्रपति प्रणाली का तमाशा करेंगे, कहीं बेटे को सिंहासन पर बैठाने की कोशिश होगी।

यही कह कर मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM (Trichendur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to say a few words on the Kerala Supplementary Demands for Grant 1981-82. Kindly see page 18, Demands 27 under the head—"Famine". Flood relief measures were sanctioned by the State Government in June 1981 for the areas affected by heavy rains, floods etc. The amount is about Rs. 2/- crores. Kindly correct this demand suitably. It cannot be "Famine". And money is asked for flood relief. Kindly go through this and amend this suitably.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): The head is called Famine.

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM: It cannot be "Famine". It is a flood relief. So, how can it be?

The plenty of water is going waste. Not only waste, it is damaging the Kerala State. So, on this basis in 1975 when Mrs. Gandhi was Prime Minister of India, she appointed a technical committee to go into the question of how much water is available and how much of water can be diverted to Tamil Nadu. Sir, in 1977 when Shri Morarji Desai was the Prime Minister, he got the concurrence from the Kerala Government. Then the High Power Irrigation Commission has reported that so much of water is available. One of the Ministers of the Nayanars Cabinet in Kerala said: We would not give a drop of water. We can waste water in the Arabian Sea, but we would not give to Tamil Nadu. That kind of attitude has already been narrated by my Hon. friend Mr. Swamy. He has also narrated the commissions and omissions of Mr. Nayanar's Government. I need not go into that controversy. But one of the Ministers categorically said: we would not give a drop of water to the Tamil Nadu Government. That is the attitude

[Shri K. T. Kosalram]

taken by them, I would like my CPM friends here to know that we are living in India.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is wrongly reported.

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM: It is in the Assembly proceedings. It is not in any political platform outside. It was openly said in the Assembly itself.

Then the damage that surplus water has caused to cultivable land in Kerala is clearly shown in the Budget. Two crores they want for repairing the damage in various places in Kerala. The water that goes waste into the sea can be used for the drought affected three districts of Tamil Nadu adjacent to Kerala. The Rivers originate in Tamil Nadu, and go to that side and finally they go into the Arabian Sea. So water starts from Tamil Nadu. So, that water they are not prepared to give. They are also telling we are living in India.

AN HON. MEMBER: That water goes to the Arabian Sea.

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM: It is good you are accepting it. The people are starving for want of water on this side of Hills in Tamil Nadu and crores of rupees are spent to contain the flood havoc on the other side. The Report of the Irrigation Commission says that one thousand CMT of water available there is going waste. But we do not want the whole of their water going waste. If they give only 250 CMT we can irrigate three lakh acres of land in Coimbatore, Tirunelveli and Ramnad Districts. Worst affected area is in Ramnad District. We are also human beings and you are also human beings.

17 hrs.

AN HON. MEMBER: They are communists.

SHRI K. T. KOSALRAM: I think they are also human beings. The Government must take up that com-

mittee report which has already been submitted. It was a Technical Committee and their Chief Engineer was there. So, this committee report should be implemented as early as possible.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Sir, I rise to oppose the statutory resolution because it seeks to extend the President's rule in Kerala. This step is nothing but immoral and politically motivated and it takes away the inalienable right of the people of Kerala to give their own verdict as to the nature of the Government they like. It seeks to impose a Government of a party which has been rejected only a year ago. These are the broad reasons for which I stand to oppose this statutory resolution.

In this connection, I would like to raise a very important and fundamental question. Is article 356 of our Constitution at all necessary? My answer is, it is not at all necessary. I do not like to repeat the arguments, but would only quote from a book produced by the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies regarding this particular articles 356:

"The provision which was included as a life-saving device by the framers of the Constitution has become too poisonous for our political system. Hence the Rajamannar Committee rightly recommended its deletion and sooner it is done, the better, because it has been used as a wonder drug to cure maladies from defection to law and order, from agitation to voluntary resignation and from political instability to mal-administration. Though this provision in the Constitution was made as an emergency life-saving drug, because of its too frequent use it has become an addiction and is now killing the patient."

He has rightly described that the application of article 356, which was devised as a life-saving drug, has now become an addiction for those

power-hungry man. Therefore, I take this opportunity to demand the deletion of this provision from the Constitution itself. Article 356 does not provide for suspended animation of a legislature, but the ruling party at the Centre—Cong. (I)—has made an extraordinary innovation—suspended animation. I do not like to give the whole history during the last 30 years as to the methods, the manner, the time and the circumstances under which article 356 was applied and suspended animation for the legislature was resorted to. But, after a close study, this analyst has come to the conclusion that suspended animation has been taken resort to always, keeping only one factor in view—and this is, unfortunately, not what I say but what this authority says—and that is the interest of the Congress Party.

Having regard to these basic postulates, let us come to the Governor's Report, on the basis of which the Presidential Proclamation was issued. Here it says:

"I further recommend that the legislature need not, however, be dissolved but be kept under suspended animation."

There it has stopped. No reason has been adduced as to how the Governor came to the conclusion that the legislature should be kept in suspended animation. On earlier occasions, I have seen that the Governor's Report contains the reasons for resorting to suspended animation. But here it was not done. Why was it not done?

Here I do not want to maintain any name, "company" "limited" or "unlimited" but I will say that people in authority at Delhi wanted to bring down the Government of Kerala. There are many instances, many proofs that the Government of Nayanar did not fall under its own weight. It is the Centre which conspired to wean away a section of the Congress, and that behind the scene manoeuvre-

ing, wire-pulling, is as clear as daylight. For instance, the President of the party and the high-ups in the party declare that there will be no selective process of admitting anybody from Congress (S) into Congress (I), whereas Shri Chavan was kept waiting behind the wings for a long period of time, he was kept waiting for months together until he was allowed to choose a place there. Therefore, my allegation is that this invitation to Congress (I) from Congress (S) was done with a particular political motive, namely, to bring down the Government of Kerala. Why? What is the reason? Let it be put on record that the left democratic Government of Kerala, which undertook a series of progressive measures, which corresponded with the interests of agricultural labour and the working class population of that State, worked for the development of Kerala State, not as a surrogate but as a unit of the federal India. Therefore, the Government at the Centre did not want that the Kerala left democratic front Government should continue, so that it can produce a new example for the people of other States in the country in which case their role will get exposed in a proper way and in a proper perspective. So, I say that unless the Congress (I) here changes its attitude towards non-Congress (I) Governments, danger lies ahead for West Bengal and Tripura also. It is not only a question of the people of Kerala, it relates to the democratic interests of the entire democratic people of the country as a whole. If they were to prove that the Kerala Government lost the confidence of the people, why don't they accept the demand of the Kerala people for holding immediate elections? If they have taken his step of resorting to 'vimochan Samaram', why don't they rely on the ballot, why don't they give the opportunity to the people to give their verdict? Why are they afraid of the verdict? Are they afraid because the verdict will go against them? The verdict will certainly go against them, there is no doubt about it.

[Shri Chitta Basu]

Before I conclude, I would only urge upon the hon. Minister: Prove your *bona fides*, prove that the Kerala Government fell under its own weight. All that proof can be given only by ordering a fresh poll in Kerala. If you have that courage, accept this challenge and if you don't have that courage, then accept my charge.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. G. M. Banatwalla may speak.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Government is going to reply, and you belong to the Treasury Benches.

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL VYAS: I will speak now.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have told you, I will call you.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise in support of the motion and also in support of the Supplementary Demands for Grants in respect of Kerala.

Sir, it was on the 20th of October 1981 that the so-called Left Front Chief Minister submitted his resignation and the next day, that is, on the 21st of October, the President's Rule was imposed. I am constrained to remark that the exit of the so-called Left Front Government was long overdue. Kerala was moaning under the weight of this unfortunate Government that we had there. If some constituents of this Front withdrew from the Front, it was nothing but their positive response to the building situation in Kerala and the reflection of public opinion and sentiments.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we have just heard the hon. Member, Shri Chitta Basu. He was in his wisdom pleased to remark that Article 356 of the Constitution does not provide for suspended animation of Assembly. I am surprised at this remark. He may have his opinions about the misuse or

abuse of the Article, that is a different thing. He is entitled to his opinion. But the provisions are there in the Constitution itself and in the present situation in Kerala the Governor was left with no other choice but to exercise the powers given under Article 356 itself. Nobody can seriously say that the Government in Kerala was pulled down by anybody. It is grotesque to say so and it is such a grotesque statement that one need not even take any notice of it.

Now, the Governor suggested President's Rule and also suggested that the Assembly should be kept in animated suspension.

I would like to draw your attention to Article 356(1)(c). It clearly lays down that while the President is making proclamation, he may:

"(c) make such incidental and consequential provisions as appear to the President to be necessary or desirable for giving effect to the objects of the Proclamation, including provisions for suspending in whole or in part the operation of any provisions of this Constitution relating to any body or authority in the State."

Certainly, the legislature is a "body". It is an "authority". According to the provisions there is a clear cut authority with the President to keep that body or that authority under animated suspension in the interest of the State. I am also very much surprised... (Interruptions).

You should know how to take the remarks in the proper spirit.

I was also quite disappointed by some of other callous remarks that have been made here in the House. There is a double standard that has been sought to be projected by some of the hon. Members of the opposition. A complaint was made and our hon. Member Shri Indrajit Gupta whom I hold in high esteem, complained that everything was done in a great haste. On the 20th of October the resignation was submitted by the

Chief Minister and by 21st of October the President Rule had been imposed. He was saying that some more time ought to have been given before the imposition of the President Rule in order to explore the possibilities of an alternative Government. On the one hand, they say that so long as his Chief Minister was there in power as a caretaker Government, then in that case there ought to have been an exploration of possibilities for the alternative Government. But now when the President rule is there and the assembly is in animated suspension there should be no such exercise. You can realise the contradiction that is there. On the one hand they say that there should be immediate elections in Kerala and the Assembly should be dissolved, but on the other hand, while the Chief Minister submitted or before he submitted his resignation, he gave no advice for the dissolution of the Assembly and the hon. Member Shri Indrajit Gupta said that attempt ought to have been allowed for the formation of alternative Ministry. This is contradiction. This is blowing hot and cold. They do not know things in the context of the situation in Kerala. They have been talking about elections—dissolve the Assembly, face the people, take the popular verdict! It is all false bravado. We know and I need hardly remind them that this United Front did not have the courage to go to the people and hold elections for District Councils. At one point even the programme for election of District Councils was announced and then hastily they withdrew everything and did not go to the people. And then we are being told as if to say we are avoiding. The programme for District Council elections was announced. They said census work had to be done and therefore, it was not feasible. Census work was also over and thereafter months went by. They did not have the courage to go. With what face? With what record they would have gone to the people? Come with me, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, to Kerala.

You will find that the remarks of many of the hon. Members, here in the Opposition are nothing but wailings of the politically frustrated. I need not point out that it is they who have been fighting shy of going to the people because of the record—political murders. Yes, Sir. The Government, that is the Nayanar Government had started with the general pardon to the convicted serving their term in prisons. What could be expected? We warned them; we pleaded that there would be a deterioration in law and order position. Between January 25, 1980, the day when the Government assumed power and October, 1981, according to one estimate, there were as many as 92 political murders. I need not give a detailed list because time does not permit me. When boy was murdered in a Police Station in Trivandrum, the Chief Minister had the callousness and the audacity to say, "The dead body can be claimed by you". This was the situation in Kerala. Well, it has gone and we thank Allah that we are rid of them.

Even looking at the economy, the economy during this period was brought to an unprecedented state of ruin. An amount of Rs. 20 crore resources was to be raised under the current Plan. But not even one-tenth could be raised by the Government, while during the last Plan, Kerala had raised double the resources it had promised. When I talk about the performance of the Kerala Government they get hurt. I will, therefore, not take much of the time but I would remind them of the verdict that was given by Shri Achutha Menon himself, the former Chief Minister and a Member of CPI Party, which is the constituent of that Left Front.

Because of the paucity of time, I will read out only a few remarks from the article that was published.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: With that you conclude.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: Shri Achutha Menon challengingly says:

"Can even the staunchest supporters of the present State Government say truthfully that it is fulfilling the people's expectations?"

Please explain. He goes on to say;

"People are getting suffocated by the rampant, all round corruption."

Shri Achutha Menon further says when he was referring to such schemes as pension for agricultural workers, welfare schemes for fishermen and others:

"But today even these schemes and programmes are not carried out satisfactorily."

In this Article, he further says:

"Disorganised functioning in administrative sphere is now spreading to the political sphere."

"Though it is the opponents of the Ministry who say that unity is now confined only to clinging to power, is it not a fact that there is an element of truth in it?"

This is the verdict not given by us but that of Shri Achutha Menon in the Article reproduced in *Onlooker* of October 16 to November 1. I only quoted some of the excerpts from this Article. I would not take much time of the House. I am drawing the attention of this Government to one or two important points.

They are interested in only political power game. But then there are certain urgent problems of the people of Kerala that await to be solved. One of them is the problem of sea erosion. About 320 km. of coastline in Kerala is vulnerable to sea erosion. Of this, 253 km. have been protected. But the balance of 67 km. also requires immediate protection. Further 70 km. of the initially protected coastline requires re-modelling and re-strengthening. I

urge upon the Government to see to it that this work is taken up... In the State, for this purpose, there has been a further allocation of Rs. 90 lakhs. There should be a Central assistance of additional Rs. 180 lakhs according to the pattern of assistance.

Further more allocations are necessary for the housing programme.

The Kerala Government had also set up a commission to inquire into the spirit scandal. I urge upon the Government to scrap that commission and let the commission appointed by the Government of India go fully into the whole matter.

With these words, only because you are asking me to conclude whereas I wanted to hold a whole mirror before them, in deference to you, I conclude supporting the Statutory Resolution moved by the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Supplementary Demands.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it is really very unfortunate that the Kerala State has gone under the President's rule once again.

The outgoing Kerala Government was one of the best administered State Governments which was ruling the State. It was one Government which at least did something. I am not going to list the entire achievements of that Government. But at least on the question of unemployment this was one Government which gave 1,10,000 unemployed youth Rs. 50 per month as unemployment allowance. They recommended to the Central Government also to provide Rs. 50 as a matching grant.

AN HON. MEMBER: It was given only for one month.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: Whatever it is. The decision was taken and they were giving it. You have not given even for a day.

It was one Government which for the first time. I think, in the history of this country, for the landless labourers made a provision for the old-age pension... (Interruptions) Please don't interrupt me. For the last 10 years, they have been ruling Kerala. I am mentioning some of the achievements of the United Left Front in Kerala, including the last outgoing Government.

The Finance Minister yesterday, very rightly, emphasized that public distribution system is the only answer to check the price rise. Even the Prime Minister has been saying time and again that the State Governments must do something about it. It was one Government which did the best so far as the public distribution system is concerned. Every village had a fair price shop. All the essential goods which were available were given to the common people at a fixed price—it was either high or low, but everybody was given equal share. I know, it is not the ruling Party which is responsible for the imposition of the President's rule. The situation was created; one of the partners of the Left Democratic Front fell out and, therefore, the situation was created. It was not the Congress-I which created the situation. That is why I said, 'it is unfortunate'. But what we are saying is this. We are not blaming you that you broke the Government; we are not blaming you on that account. We are only saying this: today, you say, there is an upsurge in the masses against the CPM Party and the CPM-led Government. If you say that there is a mass upsurge against them, then why are you frightened to go to polls? The CPM and their partners are saying, 'Let us go to the polls'. After all, people are the final masters in this country.

As has been very rightly said, if President's rule is used as an instrument to destroy democracy or to gain political power, it will weaken democracy. (Interruptions) It is time that we should think of agreeing on certain norms. Unless there is a very extra-

ordinary situation where election cannot be held, elections should be held. For example, in the case of Assam I can understand; the situation is really extraordinary; you cannot have polls there immediately. But there should be a time limit. You give, say, one month for exploration for alternative govt. We are not saying that you should rush to the polls. Have a reasonable time for exploration for alternative Government. Now this is more than one month...

AN HON. MEMBER: More than two months.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV:..and the desire seems to be that they want to prolong it. This is with a political motive. Therefore, I would say that they must accept this popular demand that we should go to polls.

If political murders and political fights can be the criteria for President's rule, then U.P. and Bihar deserve to be brought under President's rule immediately; there is no law, there is no government there; at least there will be a Government under President's rule.

Therefore, I would demand that Government should accept the demand for going to polls; the Kerala people must be given an opportunity; the Government should not use this as an instrument for its own political advantage.

श्री गिरधारी लाल व्यास (भीलवाड़ा):
माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रोक्लामेशन ऑफ प्रेसीडेंट रूल के सम्बन्ध में जो रेजोल्यूशन माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने प्रस्तुत किया है, उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि ये जो पंचमैले लोग, पांच-छः पार्टियों के मिल कर, जिस प्रकार से इन्होंने जनता पार्टी बनाई और जिस तरीके की हालत जनता पार्टी की हुई, उसी प्रकार की हालत इस

[श्री गिरधारी लाल व्यास:]

लैफ्ट कन्ट की हुई है। अलग-अलग विचाराधारा के लोगों ने वहां इकट्ठा होकर अपनी सरकार बनाई और वह सरकार चलने वाली नहीं थी, निश्चित तरीके से चलने वाली नहीं थी और उसका जो अंजाम हुआ, वह होता ही था। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की सरकार कभी चल नहीं सकती।

मैं आप से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इन लोगों ने किस प्रकार से वहां पर गड़बड़ की। अभी ये कह रहे थे कि इलैक्शन कराना चाहिए। इलैक्शन कराने की इनकी नीयत होती, तो चीफ मिनिस्टर श्री नयनार ने जब अपना रेजिमेंशन दिया, तो उस वक्त वे स्वयं कहते कि यहां पर चुनाव होने चाहिए और एसेम्बली भंग होनी चाहिए। यह उन्होंने नहीं कहा। उन की नीयत क्या थी? उन की नीयत थी कि दल-बदल करा कर वहां पर अपनी नई सरकार बना लें। इस प्रकार की स्थिति वे पैदा करना चाहते थे और दूसरी तरफ ये हम को बदनाम करते हैं। कांग्रेस ने तो आज तक कोई दखल नहीं दिया और आप को राज्य करने दिया चाहे आप ने वहां पर कितना ही भ्रष्टाचार किया हो, चाहे स्पिट का घोटाला किया हो, जिस में 35 करोड़ रुपया इन के मिनिस्टर खा गए और चाहे अन्य प्रकार के घंटाले किए हों, चाहे सरकारी समितियों से 10-10 हजार रुपया चन्दा ले कर इन्होंने अपनी पार्टी की मजबूत और सशक्त बनाने की कार्यवाही की है, और चाहे चिट फंड कम्पनियों से पैसा ले कर अपनी राजनीतिक व्यवस्था को मजबूत बनाने का काम किया हो। मगर उस में सरकार ने कभी दखल नहीं दिया।

ए० आई० सी० सी का एक अखबार 'डेमोक्रेसी' निकलता है उस में कहा गया है कि जो केरल और वेस्ट बंगाल की गवर्नमेंट्स हैं ये किस प्रकार का व्यवहार करती हैं। जो वहां पर नेशनलाइज्ड बैंक्स हैं उनसे बन्दूक की नोक के जरिए से पैसा लेते हैं और उस काम में बड़े बड़े चीफ मिनिस्टर्स, मिनिस्टर्स, बड़े-बड़े अन्य प्रकार के लोग और उनके लड़के इन्वाल्व्ड हैं। इस प्रकार की वहां व्यवस्था है। (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will go through the record.

श्री गिरधारी लाल व्यास : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वेस्ट बंगाल में, त्रिपुरा में हजारों लोगों के साथ क्या हुआ? (व्यवधान)

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: **It is the Congress(I) which is doing it.

श्री गिरधारी लाल व्यास : ये जो चुनावों के बारे में कहते हैं, वे इसलिए कहते हैं कि ये कि वहां लोगों से फर्जी तरीके से, चुनावों के जरिए से वोट ले कर सत्ता प्राप्त कर सकें और अपनी सरकार बना सकें। इस स्थिति को कभी वर्दाशत नहीं किया जा सकता। जब जनता ने पांच साल के लिए मेम्बरों की चुनकर भेजा है तो उन्हें निश्चित तरीके से वहां काम करने दिया जाना चाहिए और जिस पार्टी का भी बहुमत हो उसे सरकार बनाने देनी चाहिए। यह जो आपने असेम्बली सस्पेंड की है, यह ठीक किया है। यह बिल्कुल डेमोक्रेटिक है। (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will go through the record and if there is any

thing derogatory or unparliamentary, I will remove it.

श्री गिरधारी लाल व्यास : जी सरकार वहाँ थी, उसको निश्चित तरीके से खत्म कर देना चाहिए था। यह मेरा निवेदन है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर राजनीतिक लोगों की हत्याएं करायी गयीं। इनके लोग वहाँ लोगों को आपस में लड़ाते हैं। इनके लोग दूसरे सूबों में भी काम करते हैं और बन्दूक डंडे और तलवार के जरिए से लोगों में आतंक फैला कर काम करते हैं और अपना वर्चस्व कायम करते हैं। इस प्रकार के लोगों को निश्चित तरीके से समाप्त किया जाना चाहिए। इन लोगों ने लोगों के दिलों में डरा कर, उन्हें धमका कर भय भर रखा है और उसी भय के सहारे यह सी० पी० एम० के लोग वहाँ पर इलेक्शन जीतना चाहते हैं। इसीलिए ये चाहते हैं कि वहाँ इलेक्शन कराये जाएं। वरना क्या होगा? लोगों के दिलों से अगर भय समाप्त हो जाएगा तो ये नहीं जीत सकेंगे जिस प्रकार से इन्होंने पहले डंडे और तलवार के जरिए से सत्ता हथियाई थी, उसी प्रकार से ये फिर हथियानों का कोशिश करेंगे। ये तलवार और बन्दूक के जरिए से लोगों में भय पैदा करते हैं। इस तरह से ये अपने आपको स्थापित करना चाहते हैं। ऐसे प्रजातंत्र के घातक लोगों को प्रजातंत्र की हत्या नहीं करने देना चाहिए। देश के अन्दर ऐसे लोगों को निश्चित तरीके से खत्म किया जाना चाहिए।

मैं इन शब्दों के साथ इस उद्धोषणा का समर्थन करता हूँ।

*SHRI E. K. IMBICHIBAVA (Calicut) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Mr. Nair while speaking—I don't see him there—referred to the situation which led to the dismissal of the Government which came to power in Kerala in 1957. He said that the people of Kerala rose in revolt against that Government. While addressing a press conference at that time Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the then Prime Minister of India, while referring to the agitation in 1958 had said that his own people, that is to say, the Congress people were afflicted by political hysteria and he expressed his helplessness in the matter. No leader in the world has ever characterised an agitation led by his own followers as the manifestation of political hysteria. Jawaharlal Nehru's first instinct was always correct. It was proved so in this case too. However, he had to dismiss that Government under pressure from some madcaps. When that Government went out of office it had a clear majority in the assembly. I would like to ask these weeping and wailing Congressmen one very important question. You ask whether it is not necessary to allow those who have been elected to rule for a period of five years. Are you honestly asking this question? You are not at all honest about it and it has been proved beyond any shadow of doubt. Before Nayanar Ministry tendered resignation, when only the Congress-S had pulled out of the Government, your Minister Shri Venkatasubbiah contacted Shri Mani on telephone from Madras and threatened him. You should know why was it done. A political party which was completely cornered during the last elections is being sought to be installed in office by hook or crook. All kinds of manipulative tricks are being played and in fact a conspiracy is being hatched to knock together a Government with the help of small groups and parties. This proclamation is the illegitimate child of that high level conspiracy and that is why I oppose it with all vehemence at my commands.

[Shri E. K. Imbichibava]

Shri Banatwalla, the hon'ble Member said that elections to the local bodies were not held because we were afraid of elections. We were never afraid of elections. But I would remind him that when his party was in power along with the Congress they did not hold election to these bodies for full 12 years. That is a crowning example of your own cowardies. But I am not talking about that now. (Interruptions) Sir, I usually do not speak in the House so give me a little more time.

Sir, the late Shri A. K. Gopalan was a venerated national leader. He was a member of this House for more than two decades. He was a leader who fought heroically people's battles. We wanted to honour his memory by building a suitable memorial. But, for that purpose we did not collect any donation from the capitalists and money bags as was done by Shri Antulay in Maharashtra or some body somewhere else. We collected money from the poorest of the poor. Rather the people who could not afford to have one time one meal a day contributed willingly towards building up this memorial. We are proud of that. The people love us and they are prepared to render us any service. Mr. Arackal knows that very well. He cannot deny that. Of course, when we come to power we will carry on governance and at the same time we will agitate against the wrong policies of the Centre. But may I ask Shri Arackal whether there is no need for agitation under any circumstance? Does not Mr. Arackal feel that there is no need for an agitation or should not be feel so? May I ask him and his colleagues there has to who are the farmers in Kerala? Sir, all of them are coconut cultivators. When the Central Government adopts a policy of importing coconut oil which results in decline of coconut price and thereby brings about a situation where the Government of Kerala suffers loss of crores of rupees does he suggest that we should keep quiet. We cannot remain idle in such a situation. We will have to agitate

against it. We have done that and we are proud of that. You are only interested in the loaves and fishes of office. We do not want that.

From the speeches I heard from the opposite side I could detect a kind of allergy against the CITU. It is quite natural because our policy is opposed to the interests of capitalists. We stand for protecting the interests of agricultural workers and other working people. Our policy is to bring them up as human beings. Our policy is not to allow the landlords, the feudal gentry and the police to ride roughshod over the workers. This was indeed the policy of the United Left Front Government of which Shri Anthony and his party was a part. When we go ahead with that policy there is no use getting allergic about it.

Sir, I am concluding. Once again I oppose this resolution tooth and nail.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, eighteen hon. Members have participated in the discussion. Eleven were from the Opposition and seven from my party. The trend of the discussion was that nine opposed the Resolution whereas nine favoured it.

Sir, my burden is lessened by my colleagues Sarvashri B. K. Nair, Xavier Arackal, Sontosh Mohan Dev, P. M. Sayeed and others including Shri Banatwalla and Mayathevar although both of them do not belong to my party. They have replied on my behalf and, as such, my burden is lessened.

Sir, so far as the constitutionality of the provision is concerned Mr. Banatwalla has made it amply clear that it is the discretion of the Governor and the President either to continue the House or suspend it or keep it in animation. It is very clearly stated in Article 356 C. Sir, Mr. Chitta Basu said that it is politically motivated. It is not politically motivated. It is

the constitutional obligation on the part of the Governor.

Sir, all the nine hon. Members who have opposed it have made many allegations against the Government and particularly against me and my colleague, Shri C. M. Stephen alleging that both of us are responsible. Shri Chitta Basu went to the extent of challenging me to prove whether the Government fell of its own burden or there was an attempt on the part of the Central Minister. Sir, I would like to say that it fell on its own burden and there was no attempt on the part of any Central Minister. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have already put across your point of view. Now, you must hear the Government point of view.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Sir, the Marxist Party was interested in horse trading. I have every reason to say like that. Mr. Anthony withdrew his support. After 5 years he resigned. So, during these 5 days what happened? Mr. Nayanar was in majority. He could have submitted his resignation. He could have asked for the dissolution of the Assembly. Nobody could have prevented him.....

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He is making a statement of fact. Why everytime you are opposing everything?

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: But because he was interested, he did not recommend dissolution of the Assembly. Now, I will narrate to you, how this Government fell of its own burden; not because of the efforts of anybody else. You know this; you come from a neighbouring State. You know the extent of the menace by these Attimari workers which prevails in Kerala. It went even to this

extent that every trader was afraid of them. A man who was passing through the street with some bag was also afraid of these Attimari CITU labourers. These Attimari workers were extorting money from the common people. One man purchased a safe from Bombay. He landed at Trivandrum. The safe which he had purchased at Bombay cost him Rs. 800. But when he landed at Trivandrum, this CITU worker asked him to pay Rs. 900. A safe is costing only Rs. 800. But he has to pay Rs. 900 for what? For just carrying the safe from the Airport to the car. This was the situation in Kerala. (Interruptions) After the President's rule, I had occasion to visit Kerala. I went to Kerala; I had a discussion with the officers about law and order situation. I had discussion with the Inspector General of Police. Now he is the Director General of Police. He told me how these Attimari workers were behaving; how everybody was afraid of them. On one day, the police wanted to purchase rice for the Police Mess. They purchased the rice. They loaded it in the police truck. The loading was done by the Police themselves; the constables loaded it. Then the workers of the CITU came. They said: 'Give us Rs. 500; it is our right; you must pay'.

(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Don't record the interruption. Nothing is going on record.

(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You please hear him. He also told the House as to who had told him: He said Director General of Police. You did not hear. Please listen to him. Why should you want to hear only one point of view? Why cannot you hear other points of view?

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: The police refused first. Then the

[Shri Yogendra Makwana]

Collector came. He asked them to pay Rs. 500 to CITU workers and the police had to pay. This actually happened. Now you can understand how they were behaving. One businessman from Kerala met me. These are not stories; I will give you names also. He told me this. (*Interruptions*). His neighbour wanted to send a buffalo from one place to another place. So, the man managed to take it in the truck by putting some grass on a wooden plank on it. Then the workers came and said that it was their right to have it, otherwise they demanded Rs. 500. But the person said "I have myself done it and why should I pay you money for this?" Then the workers said "you pay us Rs. 409/-". Now, they came down. (*Interruptions*) So, this kind of terror was created by the workers and the CPI Government had taken a decision that if the workers demanded anything, nobody can refuse that and the Police should not take cognisance of that because in the dispute of labours they should be given their right. This is the reason why people in Kerala were tired of them.

Then public trial is another aspect. It had become the order of the day. Everywhere they tried the innocent people. Somebody was tried in Idukki District. In Wayanad once they tried one man, that is, Mr. Mathai's son and he was killed. (*Interruptions*). Then after 15 days, they tried Mr. Mathai and they said that Mr. Mathai was a bad man and he should be killed. So, police protection was denied to him. Now, even in the presence of the Police, Mr. Mathai was also killed. All these things have appeared in the newspapers. Everybody in Kerala knows it and my friends also know it very well. (*Interruptions*) Sir, this kind of public trial was going on there.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: One clarification. Can the people be

hanged on the basis of the decision of the public courts?

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: It was like that. So, Mr. Mathai was a bad man and he was ordered to be killed. So, he was killed and his son was also killed. This was the public court. (*Interruptions*).

I visited Kozhikode district to address a public meeting. After the meeting was over, some people came and told me that the CPM workers and the Communist Party workers had looted the paddy crops and the coconut groves of the farmers and the Police said "we are unable to take cognisance of hat". (*Interruptions*).

The other thing is street dramas. In street dramas they try to malign a particular individual. After street dramas come the public trial. This was the process. In this way, one doctor was humiliated. He was called out of his hospital and he was asked to walk with a board in his neck that he was a corrupt man....

(*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: Who did it?.. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Marxists.....(*Interruptions*)**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No interruptions; do not record all these interruptions.

On the one side, you say that these are all stories, then why are you afraid of these stories so much? The people are hearing these things; it is for them to decide.

Please do not record any interruptions.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: The taxi drivers and auto-rickshaw drivers belonging to CITU were extracting money from the public; they never adhered to the prescribed

rates.....(Interruptions). This doctor was humiliated by Chanakya Sanskriti Front organisation of the Naxalites....(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please do not record any interruptions.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: These Naxalites are not Congress (I) men; they are their child, their offshoot.

Recently, in the Trichur office of the Communist Party, human skulls and bones were found out. In Cannanore district party office, bones were found out by the Joint Superintendent of Police and he was immediately transferred because he detected the human bones from the Communist Party office....(Interruptions)**.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Do not record anything; they are speaking without my permission.

The Minister is not yielding; you cannot interrupt.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is already more than six O'clock.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It has already been announced in the morning by me as also by the Chairman that we will complete this item today.

Is it the sense of the House that we will sit till this item is over?

MANY HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The sense of the House is that we continue till this item is over.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: When it was pointed out in the Assembly by Mr. Karunakaran, the Marxist Government said that they were crackers: but recently, when I visited, I asked the officers what is the report of the explosive experts? They told me that the explosive ex-

perts have said that they were bombs and not crackers. Now this is what was going on in Kerala.

(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Any remark or any interruption without my permission, should not be recorded. Don't record anything.

(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Bhagvan Dev, that also will not go on record. Only Minister's reply will go on record.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Sir, I can narrate hundreds of instances, but I don't want to.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBIAH: They want to say why we did not recommend to the Governor for dissolution of the Assembly. They are saying this because this does not suit them.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is the only argument you have got.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBIAH: Six Assembly Members who toppled them, they want to woo them so that you can form Ministry there.

(Interruptions)**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, order, please. Yes, Mr. Makwana, you continue.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Sir, because of this Mr. K. C. Joseph, President of the State Unit of the Congress (S), whose party was a partner in the Government came out with a statement that the Home portfolio should be taken away from the Marxist Minister and that it should be given to somebody else. And then Mr. A. K. Anthony came out with a statement. Thereafter, Mr. Unnikrishnan, who is not here, said that we have to withdraw if this is the process and the law and order has totally collapsed in the State. He

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warned that the Congress (S) would not hesitate to leave the UDF if the situation did not improve. He said this at the two-day meeting of the coordination Committee of the UDF held on September 24 and 25.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There is some statement of facts, why do you interrupt. This is not the way.

(Interruptions)

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Because of all these statements from the Congress (S), the Marxists wanted to cow down the Congress (S) and, therefore, their mouthpiece Swabhimani, a daily newspaper, published by the Marxists, came out with a news item with big banner headline. I was in Kerala. It was read out to me as translated.

They came out with a news item, saying, there is a conspiracy hatched by the Government of India to kill the Congress(S) workers and leaders in Kerala. So, in my public meeting, I challenged it and I said, if this is a fact, they should come out with the evidence. After coming over here, we asked the Chief Minister to explain, because the State Minister also made a statement. He regretted for it. This is the communist government!

Because of this, the communist government was not supported by Congress(I) first and then by the Kerala Congress also and they withdrew their support. Because they were reduced to a minority, the Chief Minister submitted another resignation. It was neither Mr. Stephen nor Mr. Makwana who asked Mr. Nayanar to resign. We never wanted it. On the contrary in all my public meetings. I said in Parliament also I said—several times that this Government has no intention to topple

the communist governments in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. We are not at all interested in it, but they always lived in fear psychosis because of their own action. All this is very correctly described by Dr. Subramaniam Swamy. Sometimes he gives very good information and analysis to this House.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: His name itself is Swamy!

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: He has rightly said:

“CPM has a culture of violence. They believe in violence and organised authoritarianism.”

This is collective and organised authoritarianism. He gave an instance of himself, how he was cornered by the police constables in a police station. This all proves that the Marxist Government themselves were heading towards this situation and ultimately it came.

One hon. member said that the allocation of money for the economic development of Harijans by the Nayanar Government is not used during President's rule. This is nothing but** because in Kerala I have pointed out in my public meetings, in a convention of the Harijans, “Here is a Government which talks day in and day out about the poor people, but which is not committed to the poor people and, therefore, even the money given by the Central Government is not used by them.” (Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He is not yielding.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: When I returned from Kerala, the concerned Minister to whom Mr. Lawrence referred, made a statement in the Assembly saying, “No; we have used all the money given to us and nothing has lapsed.”

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI M. M. LAWRENCE: He has written to you with facts and figures.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: Why are you not tolerant? You will not be happy to hear it. Again when I went, I made a specific statement that this Government has not used at least Rs. 1 crore. Then he wrote a letter regretting and I have got that letter with me. (Interruptions).

SHRI A. K. BALAN (Ottapalam): Is the Minister prepared to lay it on the Table of the House?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is not necessary that he should lay it on the Table of the House. It is not necessary.

SHRI A. K. BALAN: But is the Minister ready?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He is not yielding. Why are you not tolerant? You must be tolerant. When we are meeting in this House you must be tolerant to the criticism from the other side. Otherwise, it is not democracy. I would request Shri Balan to please sit down. About 11 Members from the opposition have spoken. On no occasion did the Minister intervene. Now when he is replying, not only to your point but also to the other points, you must hear him patiently. That is the purpose of our bringing it here. If you cannot understand this fundamental thing, I cannot help it. This discussion goes to the people of our country. Therefore, you must allow him to have his own point of view. Then you can oppose it and then go to the people. Why are you so much intolerant.

SHRI M. M. LAWRENCE: From the Chair why should you clarify every point that he is replying?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: am only saying that he has got the right of replying without interruptions.

SHRI M. M. LAWRENCE: You ought to be impartial. You are not a party man.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is necessary that this should go not only to the people of Kerala but to the people of India. Because, we must go out with our own ideas when we go to the people. If every now and then you are interrupting, there is a lot of trouble for reporting and other things. It is not correct.

SHRI M. M. LAWRENCE: I want to point out..

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No, the Minister is not yielding.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: One of the State Ministers Shri Krishnan said in his letter that there was some mistake about accounting, mistake about spending and mistake about giving figures to the House. This is nothing but implying regret on his part, because he has admitted.. (Interruptions)

The law and order position was deteriorating. In fact, it had totally collapsed. There were constant political murders. Shri Achutha Menon has written an article in *Mainstream*, which Shri Banatwalla referred to. In that article he has stated that Kerala has, not one Chief Minister (Shri Nayanar), but 17 Chief Ministers. Shri Menon was of the opinion that there were 17 Chief Ministers functioning in that State. That is the functioning in that State. That is the certificate given by Shri Menon.

Many of the Members have stated that even after the imposition of President's Rule, there was lot of violence and political murders. So, I will give some figures. From 21st October 1981, when President's Rule came into force, to 25th of November, there were 7 murders. In the corresponding period of the previous year, the number was 14, that is, double. So, the situation is improving. But because they have spoiled the situation

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to such an extent, it will take us some more time to put it in order. During the entire period of their rule of one year, there were 94 political murders, whereas in 1979 it was only 27. So far as inter-party clashes are concerned, in 1979 the number was 319, which went up to 1,200. In the case of murders the involvement of the CPM was 50 per cent; in the case of inter-party clashes, the involvement of the CPM was 80 per cent. So, from this it is clear that the political parties in Kerala, all political parties and even the Front partners came to the conclusion that if they want to survive and to maintain their identify, they have to withdraw from the Government. There was no other alternative for them. If they remain with them, then one after the other they can finish them. This fact was realised by the political parties and therefore, they withdrew from the coalition Ministry and the Nayanar Ministry fell and therefore, it fell because of its own burden, as I have said earlier, and as I say now. (*Interruptions*). Because of this I have to come with this Resolution which is obligatory on the part of the Government and... (*Interruptions*).

Sir, some hon. Members have mentioned about the spirit scandal Commission which is appointed by the State Government. I am going to consider it. I will consider about withdrawal and scrapping of that Commission.

Sir, as I have said, this is a constitutional obligation on our part, on the part of the Government. I have come before this House with this Resolution and as I have said, a majority of the Members have favoured this Resolution. I request the entire House and the hon. Members to pass this Resolution.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE
(SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, to conform to the parliamentary procedure I have

to say a few words about the Supplementary Demands even though none of the Members have referred to them.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Only Mr. Kosalram recorded.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: And even that, he has done wrongly.

The major provision included in these Supplementary Demands relates to Rs. 3 crores for loans to State Transport Corporation for undertaking developmental activities, etc. Rs. one crore for rural workers under the scheme of construction of houses, Rs. 50 lakhs for loans for Greater Cochin Development Authority and Rs. 35 lakhs for covering the expenditure on relief measures sanctioned by the State Government in June 1981 for the areas affected by rains, floods etc.

My hon. friend, Shri Kosalram, said that it has been described wrongly. He has only read the caption, he did not read the whole thing. On page 18 it was specifically mentioned:

"Relief measures were sanctioned by the State Government in June 1981, for the areas affected by heavy rains, floods, etc."

Therefore, it is a head of demand and he did not read the whole thing and he thinks the other thing is wrong.

I have nothing more to say.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I shall now put the Statutory Resolution moved by Shri Yogendra Makwana to the vote of the House. The question is:

"That this House proves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 21st October, 1981, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Kerala."

The motion was adopted.

SHRI M. M. LAWRENCE: In protest, we walk out of this House. We want you to face the people.

(Shri M. M. Lawrence and some other hon. Members then left the House).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I shall now put the Supplementary Demands for Grants in respect of the Budget for the State of Kerala for 1981-82 to the vote of the House.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I have to move first.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have already moved. It is not Appropriation Bill.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: No, no. I have to move.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Venkataraman, I will come to the Appropriation Bill later.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: All right.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I shall now put the Supplementary Demands for Grants (Kerala) for 1981-82 to the vote of the House. The question is:

"That the respective Supplementary sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the third column of the Order Paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1982, in respect of heads of demands entered in the second column thereof—

Demand Nos. V, XI, XII, XIII, XVII, XVIII, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX and XLI."

The motion was adopted.

KERALA APPROPRIATION (No. 4) BILL,* 1981

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala for the Services of the financial year 1981-82.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala for the services of the financial year 1981-82."

The motion was adopted.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: I introduce† the Bill.

I beg to move that the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala for the services of the financial year 1981-82, be taken into consideration.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

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

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now we shall take up clause by clause.

The question is:

"That clauses 2, 3 and the Schedule stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 2, 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

*Published in Gazette of India Extraordinary, Part II, section 2, dated 17-12-81 Introduced with the recommendation of the President.