

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: When did you give notice of that?

Shri S. N. Chaturvedi: Here is a printed copy that has sent to me. Was the Bill re-introduced?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You tabled it during the last session. So, it has lapsed. You should have tabled it again in this session. There is no amendment.

The question is:

"That Clauses 2 and 3 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 2 and 3 were added to the Bill.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Long Title stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

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

Shri B. R. Bhagat: I move:

"That the Bill be passed."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

15.19 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE PROCLAMATION UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF KERALA

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hathi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 10th September, 1964, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Kerala."

Sir, I would not go into the earlier history of the State of Kerala earlier but would very briefly mention the facts and circumstances which necessitated the issue of the Proclamation which is already before the House. On 2nd September, 1964, two members of the Congress Legislature Party, Shri K. M. George and Shri R. Balkrishna Pillai, wrote to the Governor and presented a memorandum signed by 50 members of the Congress Legislature Party stating that they have lost confidence in the leadership of Shri Shankar, the Chief Minister and that they have withdrawn the support to the Ministry and that they wanted to function thereafter in a separate block in the Legislature. They had also informed the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Kerala for allotment of separate seats. On 3rd September, when the Legislative Assembly met, Shri P. K. Kunju, the leader of the Samyukta Socialist Party moved a motion of no-confidence against the Ministry. The strength of the Assembly was as follows. The strength of the Congress Party in the Assembly originally was 65 members, out of whom 15, as I mentioned earlier, wanted to withdraw their support and wanted to have a separate block in the Assembly. The Communist (Right Wing) Party had 19, the Communist (Left Wing) Party had 9, the Samyukta Socialist Party 15, the Muslim League 11, Independents 5, and RSP 1; and one seat was vacant; this comes to a total of 126, and including the Speaker, the total is 127.

When the motion of no-confidence was moved on the 3rd September, against the Ministry there, the 15 dissident Congressmen also supported it. The motion was taken up for discussion on September 7th and 8th.

Following the discussion on those two days, when the motion on no-confidence was put to vote, it obtained the support of 73 members; 50 voted against it, and 2 independent members were absent.....

The information that the motion of no-confidence had been voted upon and was carried was conveyed to the Governor by the Speaker on the same day. The Governor then invited the members of the Opposition groups, namely Shri P. K. Kunju, leader of the SSP, Shri Ahmed Kurikkal, leader of the Muslim League, Shri K. M. George, leader of the dissident Congressmen, Shri C. Achuta Menon, leader of the Communist Party (Right Wing) and Shri E. M. S. Namboodripad, leader of the Communist Left Wing. Shri Namboodripad was out of station on that day and could not come. The Governor, however, met all the others separately with a view to ascertaining whether an alternative government could be formed by any of them. But the leaders whom the Governor met said to the Governor unequivocally that they would not be in a position to form a Ministry either singly or as a United Legislature Party under a single leader. I may, however, mention that Shri Achuta Menon felt that if the SSP had joined them would have made an attempt to form a Government. But in view of what had been stated by the SSP leader, there was no possibility of any party having been in a position to form a government. Naturally, the position was that there was not any single party which could form a government. The Governor, having studied the entire situation and having come to the conclusion that no single party or united Legislature Party under a single leader could form a Government, had no alternative but to report to the President a political breakdown in the State of Kerala and to suggest the issue of a Presidential Proclamation. Accordingly, under article 356, the proclamation, which is already before the House, has been issued.

In coming to the House, I am approaching the House for the approval of the resolution as required under article 356 of the Constitution. It has to be approved by both the Houses within two months of the issue of the Proclamation.

The position, as it is, is rather unfortunate. But as it was not possible for any single party to form a government, there was no alternative for the Governor except to advise the President to issue the Proclamation. Accordingly, the Proclamation has been issued, and I would appeal to the House to give its approval to the resolution. So, I move and I comment this resolution to the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Resolution moved:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 10th September, 1964, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Kerala."

Shri Warrior (Trichur): One more Ministry has fallen. This is the eighth Congress Ministry which has fallen in Kerala.

Shri Nambiar: One more feather on the cap of the Congress Government.

Shri Warrior: It is a fitting retribution. Everybody knew that the Congress could not give a stable government for Kerala. The only party which could have given a stable government to Kerala was the Communist Party. But an unholy combination gave as an offspring the last Ministry and now that has fallen as it ought to, because the people did not want it and it was imposed upon the people. It was imposed from above, and, therefore, the people from below pulled it down. That was what happened. The reason was that the Congress hierarchy and the Congress High Command did not want the

[Shri Warior]

Communist Ministry there. The Communist Ministry alone was voted by the people to power in a constitutional and democratic way and they functioned democratically and constitutionally, whereas all the constitutional methods tried by the other Opposition groups had failed. They went in 6 as 65 and they came out as 65. Never before in the history of Kerala has such a thing happened, because all the others went inside with a majority but came out always with a minority. That has happened in Kerala from 1952 when the State's integration took place, that is, when Travancore and Cochin were integrated, and later on, after 1960 also the same thing has happened.

It is only if we have a stable government in a State that we can attempt to solve the various problems that the State is facing. During the rule of the Congress Ministries, on not a single occasion were they able to bring forward a single piece of original legislation, throughout the history of Kerala. It was only the Communist Ministry which had brought forward, to its credit, three original legislations which had given the people abundant relief, and of course, to the enemies of the people much harm and difficulty. Hence the Congress High Command had to combine with and encourage all the reactionary and vested interests in the State under its wing and fight by unconstitutional and undemocratic means. Anarchy was let loose, and chaos was the order of the day and that was blessed by the High Command from Jantar Mantar. I do not say that the Communist Ministry did not have its omissions and commissions; no doubt, they had. In any democratic functioning of government, that will happen. But there was no cause for action on the part of the authorities that be, in the Centre, to intervene and pull down the Ministry and impose upon the people a set-up which was not liked or wanted by them. When

recently the no-confidence motion was moved in the legislature, the very same people who had been heading the so-called liberation movement....

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (देवास) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हाउस में कोरम नहीं है ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The bell is being rung....

15.29 hrs.

[SHRI KHADILKAR in the Chair]

Mr. Chairman: Now, there is quorum. Shri Warior may now continue his speech.

Shri Warior: What has happened now? Some of the members of the Congress party themselves who were defending the Ministry in the Kerala legislature openly repented for what had happened in the so-called liberation struggle. The erstwhile KPCC Secretary, Shri Stephen, admitted that the liberation struggle was wrong, a mistake and a foul play. So also other members had occasion to say the same thing.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation (Shri B. S. Murthy): Where is the proof?

Shri Warior: Now the Ministry has fallen—unwept and unsung. The Ministry has fallen again and President's rule has come. But why has the Ministry fallen this time also? Is it because there was a constitutional deadlock? If so, how did it happen?

We must trace the history a bit. Charges were brought against the Ministers there also, just like we hear of charges being brought against State Ministers in so many other States. These charges were brought first by the Communist in the Assembly and outside. But then they were treated as just ordinary inner-party

affair by the Congress leadership. Instead of inquiring into those charges, the party leader at that time, the late revered Panditji, instead of handing over the matter to a judicial inquiry, instead of treating it above party politics, instead of treating it as a public affair, an affair of state, had the thing hushed up. The strange coincidence is that at that time all those Congress members who had supported these charges, are now defending them, and strangely, all those who opposed them at that time are now supporting these charges. So by and large, both groups have supported the charges. The only distinction is that the time is different. Now, the dissident Congressmen who had voted the Ministry and helped to pull it down, are the supporters of the charges against the Congress Ministry there.

It has a history of its own. After the mid-term elections, a Ministry was formed, I am sorry to say, with Shri Patten Thanu Pillai, a PSP leader as Chief Minister. But somehow one night he was whisked away. Of course, it was a promotion, a political promotion, and the PSP getting awake in the morning saw that the leader was not there. Where that leader escaped or was whisked away, nobody knew. But before that, in the elections, the Congress was supported by my friend, Shri Koya's party, the Muslim League.

The Ministry of Defence Production in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas): What is the relevancy of this to the present discussion?

Shri Warrior: The relevancy is that it should not be repeated in Kerala. It will come later on. I am unfolding a very, very bitter story. The Congress Benches, especially their Members from Kerala, will not relish it very much. But I have to say it.

If these charges had been looked into, just like they were when brought in the Punjab, at that time itself, things would not have come to this pass. There were people ready

to offer all sorts of evidence. But it was hushed up. Then one fine morning, the League was shed from the combination. Another fine morning, the PSP also was ousted, and Sankar and the Congress became the sole power of the Ministry. Their supporters had been ousted, one by one, first the League, then the PSP.

Now, what are the charges? They are very many. We demand that there should be an inquiry. If they are inquired into, they can be proved to the hilt—just as they have been before the Das Commission in connection with another inquiry. The first charge is of personal graft. I need not go into details. It is that the Chief Minister and other Ministers have taken so much advantage of their position to amass wealth in their names and in benami names. The second charge is that they shielded blackmarketeers and profiteers and even hoarders of food. 14 cases had been caught by the Collector of Alleppy, but discharged. Nobody knew how it was done. Then there is the case of issue of licences to favourities. Textile mill licences were given to certain favourities for *something*—I do not know what that *something* is. What *something* is itself has become now is something. The word 'something' means corruption, *duraachaar*. The word means that something is passed on. There were so many ill-reputed notorious charges brought against these people.

Shri B. S. Murthy: Who brought these charges?

Shri Warrior: Prices have been rising, and the price of a bag of rice was Rs. 72 in the State. Even at that black market price, rice is not available. In connection with the food problem, the Ministry bungled and people's food was stolen by black-marketeters and hoarders who were shielded and protected by the Ministry. That is another charge. And those who had voiced the

[Shri Warior]

people's feelings were arrested and prosecuted.

Now about corrupt officials. In February last, in the Legislative Assembly, people raised this question especially about the IG Police. But Shri Sankar wanted to shield him. He said that if concrete evidence was proffered, he would take action. We unearthed concrete evidence from the files of the Home Ministry of Kerala itself and published it. I am sorry to say I am one of the victims of that prosecution. We published photostat copies in our press about the activities of the IG Police there, whom the Ministry wanted to shield.

Shri Maniyangadan (Kottayam): On a point of order. He is referring to a case which is pending in a court in Kerala. He himself admits he is an accused in that case. Could such things be referred to here at this stage?

Shri Koya (Kozhikode): He is only saying that there is a case.

Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirapalli): He is not giving details.

Mr. Chairman: If any matter is *sub judice*, it should not be referred to.

Shri Nambiar: He is not giving details.

Shri Warior: I am thankful to Mr. Maniyangadan, who is a very able lawyer, for having pointed out and assisted me to know that this case is *sub judice*, but I did not refer to any evidence. There was a case, that is all I mentioned, and I will not proceed further. The point is that they shielded a corrupt official, and prosecuted these who brought that thing to the notice of the public. That is all.

In Kerala, the distribution of schools to the various communities is more an industrial or commercial proposition than an education proposition, and the charge is that Mr.

Sankar—he is the Education Minister also—distributed so many schools in a discriminatory way to his own favourites and to his community.

Another charge is that the Agrarian Relations Act which was passed by the Communist Ministry was mutilated, its spirit murdered, and in that process they did not heed even the advice given by the Central Government and the Planning Commission. The result is that numerous cases of evictions and objections of the peasantry are pending in all the courts, and there is no security for the possession or rights of the sharecroppers, the peasants, the tenants-at-will, and the entire tenantry is in turmoil.

There were strikes in the State lasting three months, four months, for getting the elementary right of workers to work and have their wages. In these strikes and labour disputes, the Ministry behaved in such a manner that it was always on the side of the employers and against the interests of the workers, and the workers had to suffer so much on account of that.

Even the teachers were on strike, or were about to launch a strike, the NGOs were on strike, and even the people closest to the Government, the Government employees, were also clamouring for their own rights and privileges.

Last but not the least, the biggest crime that this Ministry had committed was the enforcement of the police verification process. Hundreds and hundreds of young men were thrown out of employment, hundreds of people were thrown out of the military forces. Kerala is a place where there is so much of unemployment, so much of educated unemployment, and because the Kerala Government cannot provide employment, these boys and youths seek employment elsewhere. They go outside and when they join the military forces or the police force of other States, they are thrown out

from there by the reports of police verification sent from the State. Hundreds of cases have come to us from the armed forces, from the security forces. This thing is very reprehensible, and the people have represented to them that there should not be this political discrimination. Those who adhere to the views of the other Opposition parties, whether it be the Communist Party or any other party for that matter including the Muslim League, are considered not even second-rate citizens in the State of Kerala, in India. Is it constitutional, is it protecting the fundamental rights of the people? Are we not entitled to have our own political opinion? If they had done any mischievous act, anything wrong in handling their official duties, then they can be brought to book, but for simple conviction, for a simple understanding, for simply adhering to a particular political party or a political philosophy, these people are persecuted. Even their relations who do not at all subscribe to their political beliefs are hunted down and thrown out of employment, and there is so much of discontent among the youth, especially the educated youth in Kerala.

Thus, this Government is detested by all sections of the people, the labouring people, the toiling people of Kerala; excepting a few planters, hoarders and blackmarketeers, a few corrupt men, there is nobody to support such a Government, and everybody is so happy and relieved that such a Government has fallen.

श्री हुकम खन् कडवाय : सभापति महोदय, व्यवस्था का सवाल है। हाउस में क्वोरम नहीं है।

Mr. Chairman: Now, there is quorum.

Shri Koya: It is a pity we have to challenge quorum always. Something should be done.

Shri Warrior: It is unfortunate that the people of Kerala will not have a stable Government under democracy.

Is it history repeating? I say no. History is not repeating; it is only the misdeeds and misbehaviour of the ruling party that are repeating.

The people of Kerala, as the whole House knows, are highly enlightened politically. In literacy we stand first. We have as much tolerance as, if not more than, any other section of the people of India. The Christians, the Muslims, the Hindus, and even the Jews from Jerusalem all live together happily without any communal riots, without any bickering, but still it is most unfortunate, and at the same time paradoxical, that in Kerala alone we cannot have a stable Government. Why is it so? I charge that the Congress High Command and the Congress hierarchy are completely and fully responsible for these misdeeds, the state of affairs which is always hovering over our unfortunate State.

Now, President's rule has come. I wish to know how the Adviser's regime or Governor's regime is going to act, how they are going to tackle the problems which are still lingering there, which are still troubling the people, which are very important and urgent and have to be solved. For instance, I wish to know whether it is the intention of the Government to set the stage for fair and free elections in Kerala, and how they are proceeding to accomplish the holding of free and fair elections. If they want to do that—and that is a duty cast on the presidential rule imposed at present on Kerala State—the first thing they have to do is to institute a judicial enquiry into all the charges. It is good not only for the State, but also for those who are charged. If they are innocent, let the innocence come out, and that will only help them all the more, and remove the suspicion in the minds of people.

Shri Nambiar: And the chance for victory for them will be there.

Shri Warrior: On the other hand, they may be found guilty, as in so

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many other States. It has a climate of its own in India, and that is why the people are more insistent on having an enquiry. There is a particular climate in India, and that must be understood, and all these charges must be enquired into—charges of corruption, personal graft, favouritism, nepotism and all these things.

I want to know whether the Government will take steps to clean the administration, to have a cleaner administration for Kerala. It is a fact that under a corrupt Ministry, you cannot have anything but a corrupt administration. We had brought charges against the Inspector General of Police. Recently, the august leader of the Congress, Shri S. K. Patil, had been there, and the papers have reported that he also had experiences that the Inspector-General of Police was meddling in political affairs. If that is true, and if it is his conviction, I hope that that honoured leader will convey his feelings to the Government, and that some action will be taken. How do you expect to have free elections when the highest police official of a State is interfering in the day-to-day matters of election? Hence we expect that the Government will take some action against that IPS officer as he now comes directly under the Home Ministry and you may transfer him. After the elections, if the newly elected Government decides to have him, then let it decide. Until then this police officer should not be placed there.

The next thing is about the food problem. Stocks are hoarded and prices are increased. I want to know this. There are already those who are booked by the collectors; they are in the knowledge of the collectors. But the Ministry was intervening in all these things, sheltering and shielding them. Will the Government take prompt action against those who are already in the knowledge of the authorities, collectors and other people?

Another thing is about the Fourth Plan. It is also very unfortunate that whenever the Plan is on the anvil . . .

Shri Nambliar: It is a cycle.

Shri Warior: It is a vicious cycle, if it is a cycle and a broken cycle; we cannot drive on that cycle. On the eve of the Second Plan, of the Third Plan and the Fourth Plan, the Ministry fails and the Government fails.

Shri Hathi: Whose fault?

Shri Warior: It is because you foist something which the people do not want and after some experience the people pull them down.

Shri A. M. Thomas: Why did you pull the Ministry down?

Shri Warior: Mr. Thomas will have his time here. Because he had his time there, all the troubles are there now. I wish to know from the Government whether they will take some prompt action to take people's representatives into confidence and have a committee constituted in the State level which will help in devising formulations for the Fourth Plan. That must be done so that the absence of a legislature may not give room to the suspicion among the people that their prospects of development had gone by default.

I want not only the Government but also the Congress Party to take a lesson from the recent happenings. When the Home Minister read that prosaic report about what happened, we thought that nothing much has happened and that it was a simple routine course that has happened there and that it was so simple and so elementary, like any every day occurrence. It is not so. I wish that the Congress which is the ruling party in India, which is the premier political organisation in India will now at least . . .

Shri B. S. Murthy: Thank you . . . (Interruptions). He is not willing to take my thanks.

Shri Warrior: I wish that the Congress takes steps to see that the democratic feelings of the people are honoured. If they go in the old track just like in the previous period with all sorts of reactionary elements and vested interests, taking them together and creating a situation in which the ordinary, popular governments with a democratic mind and with nationalist mind cannot come together, it will not be stable. There will not be political stability in that State. I have my own fears. Nonetheless with all these things, the Congress High Command sent Shri Patil, our hon. Railway Minister to tackle the political problem in Kerala. If it is true—that is, if what I heard is true, then, it is a shameful not only for the Congress and the Congressmen now, but for the old Congressmen like me. He met the so-called leader of the liberation movement in Kerala and that leader pooh-poohed him; he did not recognise him. He said, "I have nothing to do with you; I will not speak to you; I will not discuss politics with you." Why should we go in for that humiliation, whether we are sitting in this side or that side? (Laughter). Shri Hathi, the hon. Minister of State, is now smiling and laughing. But in the end, he will be crying.

Shri Nambiar: Not till the elections are over.

Shri Warrior: I fervently appeal to the Congress, to their sense of nationalism, to their sense of democracy, to their sense of patriotism and to their sense of the glorious traditions which in our country the nationalist movement has brought forward and created; I appeal to them; do not repeat that mistake again and do not repeat that folly again. Once for all, if they do not settle accounts with the reactionaries and vested interests in this coun-

try, then the reactionaries and vested interests will settle accounts with the national organisation, the Congress and the Government. It is this lesson which we should learn from Kerala, and this is going to happen throughout India. Take it from me; this will be the death-knell of the entire edifice of our democracy and the Constitution. We will come to a stage where it will be a question of upholding the rights of the Constitution, the rights enshrined in the Constitution itself.

Hence, I conclude by hoping that better sense will prevail in the ruling party and the Congress High Command this time at least and that Kerala will have a free and fair election, and that the people of Kerala will have a chance to elect a Government of its own, to its own liking.

Shri Maniyangadan: Sir, I am also not very happy about the recent happenings in our State. But, while listening to the speech made by Shri Warrior, I was wondering whether they still hold the view that the Government,—the stability of which they make much of, that is, the communist government in Kerala from 1957 onwards, which they say is stable and for which they wish and desire—that such a stable government may come to power again. It is true that the communist governments in all countries, where they exist, are stable. Never could they be removed; the will of the people has no place there! I do not want to go into the details. Everybody knows them. But unfortunately in Kerala such things have happened. There was the Constitution of India which came to the rescue of the people. I do not want to mention any of these things.

My hon. friend was saying that in Kerala a stable government could be formed only by the communist party; well, the people of Kerala would prefer the present state of affairs to a Government of the sort that we had from April, 1957 to July, 1959.

Shri Nambiar: We will see that soon!

Shri A. M. Thomas: Of the left or the right?

Shri Umanath (Pudukkottai): All the progressive forces.

Shri Maniyangadan: They speak of unholy alliances: the Peking group and the Moscow group—left and the right as they call it. They come to an understanding with the parties in the election—(interruption)—I do not know to which group Shri Warrior belongs. Whatever that be—

An Hon. Member: Right.

Shri Maniyangadan: I accept that. In their speeches, during the last few months, we were hearing the so-called rightists in the communists accusing the leftists including their previous Chief Minister, Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad. They said that he is a traitor to India. I am not saying that. They themselves are saying that. When the Chinese aggression took place these leftists were siding the Communist Chinese Government saying that aggression on India was not a fact and they went to the extent of saying that India is the aggressor. Shri Nambair says that they will form the Government. He may be with the group of Shri Namboodiripad and, of course, he may be able to welcome the Chinese through the southernmost part of India.

Shri Nambair: He is going out of Kerala now.

Shri Maniyangadan: They have no roots in India, what to speak of Kerala; their roots are in China.

An Hon. Member: He is not from Kerala?

Shri Maniyangadan: He is from Kerala. He happens to belong to Kerala.

Shri Umanath: Then how do you say he has no roots in India?

Shri Maniyangadan: Sir, I was hearing patiently when my hon. friend Shri Warrior was speaking. Why should they interrupt me now?

Shri Umanath: It is part of the game.

Shri Maniyangadan: Of course, I have no objection. I only want to mention about this so-called alliance between the parties. In their own words they are wooing the reactionary Muslim League people, the dissident Congressmen, the S.S.P. members and all sorts of people. We have seen the greatest reactionary, according to them, Mannath Padmanabhan. They were wooing him until 1957. They themselves have admitted that they came to power because they had the support of Mannath Padmanabhan. These are all facts. Now they are trying to take advantage of the dissensions within the Congress Party. Well, Sir, that is a matter for the party. Whatever be the results of the elections, the results of the elections are not very important when we consider certain other democratic values and relationship among human beings and in national affairs. From that aspect, elections are less important than the fundamental democratic ideas that we are intending to preserve.

16.00 hrs.

What happened during the Communist regime there. He was making much of it. It was not actually an agitation led by any political party; it was a movement of the people of Kerala. In pre-independence days the people of India were led by the Congress. It was a movement against the British regime. Since the Communist Party came into power in Kerala what happened there was that the security of property and security of life was denied to the people there. They were ruling for their party. Security was assured only for the adherents of their party. That was the state of affairs. Then the people rose as one. Political parties, if they

kept aloof, would have been thrown away. The political parties could not keep themselves aloof; otherwise there would have been terrible bloodshed and violence. As a matter of fact they had to choose between two evils and they chose the lesser evil. There was no question of any distinction regarding community, class or anything. Almost all municipalities, all panchayats, all bar associations and all kinds of organisations in Kerala demanded that the Communist Government should resign. This matter was discussed in this House for three or four days, and in the words of the late Prime Minister "there was a great upsurge of the people of Kerala". The Central Government could not keep quiet. The then Secretary of the Communist Party, Shri Ajay Ghosh and Shri A. K. Gopalan went to the Prime Minister and told him that the Centre should intervene and that they could not carry on.

Shri Umanath: It is false. It is not truth.

Shri Maniyangadan: It is recorded in the proceedings of this House.

Shri Umanath: It is not.

Shri Maniyangadan: It was in August, 1959.

Shri Umanath: Is it there on the record—let me make it clear—that Shri Gopalan and Shri Ghosh went and asked for the dismissal of the Kerala Ministry? He must talk truth. When he says something he must take the responsibility for it.

Shri Nambiar: Read out the extracts.

Shri Maniyangadan: The late Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, himself in his speech said that Shri Ajay Gosh and Shri A. K. Gopalan went to him and when they left, the impression left on him was that they wanted intervention.

Shri Umanath: Impression, says like that.

Shri Maniyangadan: I have not got the proceedings, I never thought that they would deny it, otherwise I would have brought it. He stated like that. The constitutional form of Government could not continue in the State. So the Governor sent a note, and reluctantly the Central Government intervened. That is what happened there.

This time what has happened? A no-confidence motion was moved by one of the opposition leaders, the leader of the SSP. If my information is correct, at the time when the notice was given on for the motion of no-confidence, neither the mover nor the other opposition members in the Assembly had any desire that this state of affairs should occur; they thought that the motion would not be accepted by the House. At that time the Congress Party was in the majority. The Chief Minister had the support of all the Congress Party members. But unfortunately certain things took place subsequently and fifteen members of the Congress Party changed sides.

Shri Nambiar: It was not a sudden occurrence. Nothing could happen within two or three days.

Shri Maniyangadan: That is what happened there, it took place within minutes, there was not much time.

Anyhow, what I am submitting is that the Chief Minister lost the confidence of a majority of the members including a section of his own party. This is not the forum for me to go into the merits or the demerits of the action of the Congress dissidents. I do not wish to go into that at all. The no-confidence motion was passed by the Assembly, and as a consequence the Chief Minister sent his resignation. The Governor, as provided in the Constitution, tried his best; he contacted the leaders of all groups and asked them whether they could

[Shri Maniyangadan]

form an alternative government. Nothing could be done. Well, Sir, Mr. Warrior was saying that a stable government could not be formed in Kerala. When a situation arises where they could not form a government either by themselves or in alliance or coalition with other parties, what is the meaning of their saying that they could not form a government? Was not the election in 1960 a very fair one, I am asking. It was as free as it could be. Why did the Communist Party get only thirty seats? Is it because the Central Government or the administration there did anything? It was a free election. The people had no-confidence in the Communist Party. And they said that there was an unholy alliance. I submitted how the agitation had its beginning. It was a people's agitation, an upsurge. And political parties had to come in. No political party, no leader having any status in the country could keep aloof. They had necessarily to join together. They joined together. And when once the Communist Government was out, that position continued. In the elections also there was an alliance between the democratic parties in the State, and as a result the government was formed. Well, Sir, at the time of the election there was no promise by the Congress to anybody. There was no promise by the SSP or the Muslim League to anybody that they will all be forming a coalition government where all the parties will be represented in the government. There was no such undertaking, there was no such propaganda anywhere. So the PSP and the Congress formed the Ministry and Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai, who has a status in Kerala as a national leader and who was the leader of the PSP was made the Chief Minister.

Shri Nambiar: Then why was he made the Governor? They started playing the trick.

Shri Maniyangadan: When he was the Chief Minister, everything was

proceeding smoothly. There was no trouble with the Muslim League at that time and they were prepared to accept the situation as it was. Subsequently, during the 1962 Parliament elections, the Congress was not prepared to support the Muslim League or vice versa. It was an All India election and the previous administration had changed. The Congress did not want the support of the Muslim League and they were not prepared for a coalition with the Muslim League. The Muslim League left the coalition. After that Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai was made the Governor.

Shri Nambiar: Why?

Shri Maniyangadan: Here in India Governors are appointed from among men of status, reputable people who have a glorious past. Shri Thanu Pillai had a glorious past and so he was honoured by appointment as Governor. The Central Government did not care to see to which party he belonged. Even though he was a PSP leader, he was made the Governor of a State. There were two other PSP members in the State cabinet, but were not asked to quit. All the same, they took it in a different light and left the Cabinet.

That is all that has happened in Kerala and the Government was functioning smoothly. My hon. friend, Shri Warrior, was saying that Government has done nothing. If social security measures have been adopted by any State, it was done first in Kerala and that too by the present Government. Then the Opposition Members were saying that nothing was done in the matter of legislation. They were saying that no original legislation was introduced by the Present Government in Kerala. It is no doubt true that the Communist Government brought forward the Land Reforms Act and the Education Act. So far as the Education Act is concerned, it was referred by the President to the Supreme Court for advice and the Court advised against

certain provisions of that Act. So far as the Land Reforms Act is concerned, it was set aside both by the High Court and also the Supreme Court. This is the sort of legislation that regime has passed.

Subsequently, the last Government in Kerala passed a legislation with regard to land reforms. Now, whatever may be the failings of the last Government in Kerala, it is a fact that people had regained their sense of security and they felt their life and property were safe.

As regards developmental activities, I can challenge anybody to disprove it that during the last four and a half years the developmental activities in Kerala under the Five Year Plan had been much greater than during the previous period. It is to the credit of the Government which has now fallen that Kerala has advanced and reached a stage where it can stand on its own.

Then, certain charges were levelled against the Ministers. I was hoping that Shri Warior as a spokesman of the Opposition parties, would be bringing in some new charges or some cogent arguments. But he levelled charges which were repeatedly made and repeatedly denied, which have been enquired into also. Certain charges were brought forward against the Chief Minister, Shri R. Shankar and the Industries Minister by the Communist Party and they were published in their papers. Those papers were prosecuted. When the accused in those cases were charge-sheeted and the cases were pending, came the Chinese aggression followed by the declaration of emergency.

Then, all the newspaper editors in Kerala met together and demanded that in order that there may be a cordial atmosphere and there may be co-operation between the Government and the press, the prosecutions should be withdrawn. That was the demand of the press. That was acceded to and the prosecutions were withdrawn.

For a number of months there was no agitation anywhere. These charges were not made at all. But subsequently there was some statement by somebody that these charges were still there and that they had not withdrawn these charges. A section of Congressmen at that time demanded that this matter should be enquired into. No Congressman said that these charges were true. All that was demanded by a section of Congressmen was that since the parties who brought forward those charges allege that they have not withdrawn those charges, they should be enquired into. That was the opinion of a section of the Congressmen.

The matter was taken to the late Prime Minister and he gave it to legal experts. The editor of the Communist paper where these charges were published was called to Delhi and he gave all the evidence that he could give, the late Prime Minister took all the evidence not by himself but through legal experts. After a thorough enquiry he issued a verdict saying that those charges were baseless.

Shri Umanath: He said that about Kairon also.

Shri Maniyangadan: Kairon is not the subject matter here. Anyhow, the late Prime Minister said that in a long statement. In an erudite judgment he discussed the evidence and said that these charges were unfounded.

Shri Nambiar: It is no alibi.

Shri Maniyangadan: I think the editor of *Deshabhimani* was here as a witness and on two or three days he gave evidence. It is after all that that this matter was decided by the late Prime Minister. As regards those Congressmen who wanted that an enquiry should be conducted, they were satisfied and there was no further allegation against him. That was the position.

There was this allegation that one section of the Congress at that time

[Shri Maniyangadan]

supported the Chief Minister and another section did not. That is to some extent true. It is, of course, a matter of human frailty. Even amongst parties they may change their opinions subsequently. That is a different thing. Some of those who were at that time when a section of Congressmen wanted that those charges should be enquired into opposed to that, subsequently came forward with the very same charges after the late Prime Minister had given a verdict. That is true and I do not know the reasons for that.

Another allegation made by Shri Warrior was that the Ministry is protecting blackmarketers. This is the first time that I hear such an allegation. He mentioned some instances. He said that the Collector of Alleppey had a list of blackmarketers and that the Ministers were protecting them. I have not heard of that.

Shri Warrior: When he does not know a thing, why should he refute me?

Shri Nambiar: Ignorance is no excuse.

Shri Maniyangadan: I am also conversant with things happening in Kerala. I am also conversant with the affairs in Kerala. I am reading several of the newspapers in Kerala. I have consistently been following the statements of Communist Party leaders, but I have not come across such an allegation. Now he says, "If he does not know" etc. That is a very good argument. They can make wild allegations and if one says that this is not heard of until recently, he says, "If my friend has not heard of it, why should he refute it?" I challenge him that there is no basis for that allegation. Who are those blackmarketers?

Shri Warrior: On a point of personal explanation, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: You had your say.

Shri Warrior: May I explain it?

Mr. Chairman: He refuses to yield.

Shri Warrior: I did not want to bring in those names.

Shri Nambiar: We have got the list ready.

Shri Maniyangadan: Then, Sir, some mention was made about the textile mills also. He said, there were several charges against the Industry Minister. After sometime, he said that there was corruption in the matter of issuing licences for textile mills. All these are the same things. An allegation regarding textile mills was made against the Industry Minister and that is the one allegation about which the Prime Minister made an enquiry also. His speech would indicate that there were 5 to 6 allegations against the Industry Minister.

Shri Nambiar: Why only 5 or 6 allegations? More have to come.

Shri Warrior: Mr. Kamaraj knows.

Shri Nambiar: Diamond necklace. Every boy, girl and child knows it.

Shri Balakrishnan: Why are they unnecessarily interrupting?

Shri Warrior: Some intelligent interruptions must be allowed.

Shri Maniyangadan: The matter had been enquired into by the Prime Minister. About that diamond necklace, I do not know which Minister...

Shri Umanath: Industry Minister's wife.

Shri Maniyangadan: There you are. It is Industry Minister's wife, not the Minister. I do not know whether the necklace of a Minister's wife was of diamonds or gold or anything else. All these matters are not within my power.

Then, he mentioned about the distribution of schools. I do not know

what the allegation is. According to Mr. Warrior, it seems that the Chief Minister allocated schools to his community people.

Shri Warrior: Favourites.

Shri Maniyangadan: Well, Sir, this year more than 400 schools were sanctioned. I do not know who are those favourites to whom the schools were given. Maybe, some of his friends were there. (*Interruption*).

Shri Warrior: The favourites of the Chief Minister.

Shri Maniyangadan: All these matters were thoroughly discussed in the Legislative Assembly and those members who brought these allegations were so to say silent. That is the actual situation.

Then, it was mentioned that teachers were striking; the NGOs were striking. Yes, teachers had certain grievances. But they did not go on strike. They issued a notice for strike. The matter was settled by the Government. That is what happened there. The Government did not allow the situation to go bad. They did not allow the teachers to go on strike. Before that, things were negotiated and settled. That is what they would not do. If there is an agitation, they will be shouting. That is what happens.

Again, he was saying that the Congress should behave in this way and that way. Of course, I am grateful to him for the advice as to the way in which the Congress should behave in facing the next elections. Well, that is a matter for the Party to consider as to in what way they behave and what they are doing. Are they wooing out? These are matters which everybody knows. I do not want to go into those affairs.

He also mentioned about the rise in prices of foodgrains. It is true that in Kerala, as in other parts of India, the prices of foodgrains have

increased and in Kerala they have increased more. That is true. Since the fall of the Ministry, the prices have increased further. The reports of yesterday and day before yesterday are that rice is not available in several areas of the State of Kerala.

That is a matter that has to be gone into. But to bring this forward as an argument or as a charge against the late Ministry is the funniest thing. That is an all-India issue, and the Kerala Ministry by themselves could not do anything in the matter. That is a matter known to everybody. Moreover, Kerala is a deficit State as regards foodgrains, and it has to get rice from Madras and Andhra Pradesh. And the people have been getting rice from those States all along. Now, the situation has become very critical. I am taking this opportunity to request the Central Government to look into this matter very seriously and see that the people of Kerala are given the food materials that they require.

Shri Warrior: The collectors have the lists of blackmarketeers with them.

Shri Maniyangadan: My hon. friend says that the collectors have the list of blackmarketeers with them. Since they are going to face an election they want to say that the collectors are very nice people and the Ministries alone were corrupt.

Shri A. M. Thomas: That is their tactics.

Shri Maniyangadan: During their regime also, they used the same tactics. They used to say that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was a very nice man but all the other Congressmen were very bad and so on. They may have succeeded sometimes by this tactics, but they would not succeed hereafter with that kind of tactics, because the people have come to know these things by now.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has taken nearly half an hour, he should try to conclude now.

Shri Maniyangadan: So, this proclamation had to be issued in the circumstances mentioned by hon. Minister there was no escape from it. Of course, I am not very happy over this fact that this kind of situation has arisen, but I have to support what has been done, and, therefore, I support the resolution.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): I am obliged to you for this opportunity that you have given me. We were all thinking for a long time about some effective thing that should take place about a government which was found to be corrupt and which was accused of corruption and which could not mend its ways. That long-awaited thing has now come to pass. The thanks for this are not due to the Opposition, but to some honest Congressmen who have still remained honest. It is a very difficult task in these days to remain honest, when there are temptations and temptations of a hundred and one things by which men are led astray. With all these temptations surrounding us, it is all the more admirable that 15 Congressmen in Kerala could buck up courage and dethrone the corrupt government. It is a shame that even after seeing this corruption all round, still my hon. friends opposite persist in keeping these people as show-boys in the picture.

In season and out of season, for nearly two years, the people were crying hoarse over Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, and they wanted that Government to topple over, but somehow or other, the Marathans worked its way, and people could not achieve what they wanted. Only after a good deal of hesitation and a good deal of pressure, it was decided to hold an inquiry, and the inquiry exposed the Chief Minister of Punjab in no uncertain terms, but that is not enough. We have the picture of Orissa before us. After all the pressure that we had put, it had been decided that the Chief Minister of

Orissa would go. I do not have enough time at my disposal to narrate all the things and evil deeds done by Shri Biren Mitra, but they are all on record before the Election Commission. They are matters of affidavit and matters of common knowledge. It was decided ultimately that gracefully he would go. And when he decided gracefully to go, all those who had axes to grind gathered together and wanted him there. It reflects sadly on the capacity of the Congress party as such to control those who have lost their faith in honesty and morality.

16.30 hrs.

[SHRI SONAVANE in the Chair]

On one side, we have this picture in Kerala; on the north, we have the picture in the Punjab.

Shri Bade (Khargone): Madhya Pradesh.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Here on the eastern coast, we have the picture of Orissa before us. Then in my own State, the great pillar of the Congress Party, the great pillar who wanted to shunt out educated Congressmen from becoming Ministers or from becoming M.Ps, a man who had studied upto the third standard, he dictated terms—I refer to Shri Khadiwala. And a Judge of the High Court had the courage of his own convictions to hold him and to picture him in the true picture which he deserved. This is not an isolated picture of corruption before us. The picture of Madhya Pradesh has for a long been a picture of corruption. We are not getting a stable Government, Bureaucracy has got a complete hold on it. No work for the public can be got done. The Secretaries have realised this position and they care a tuppence for the Ministers or their orders.

Shri Bade: There are two groups, Deshpikra and Mishra groups.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: It is good for us that there are two groups, each

one cutting the throat of the other. Both will go, the way they did in Kerala. But then we want that one of these groups must be honest. But our greatest difficulty is that both of them are not. There is nothing for us to choose between the two groups that are there.

The downfall of the Kerala Ministry does not make anybody shed tears. It only shows that all is not well in—I do not want to say Denmark—India. We are in a liquid state. We have not yet stabilised in the democratic process which we have envisaged, which we have in view.

On the one hand, we have got some attempts made by some well-meaning Ministers probably to root out corruption. But these attempts appear to me to be merely puerile, an infant's attempts to reach a tree 100 feet high from which he wants to pluck the wood apples, which he cannot. It is this story before us which saddens us. It is a curse to have these mid-term elections. Our country cannot afford to spend and waste, so much money. But nobody seems to care. Everytime we have mid-term elections in Kerala; we have mid-term elections in Orissa; we have mid-term elections envisaged elsewhere also. If that is the situation instead of its being brought to a head and their being forcibly evicted by a process of law, why should not these Governments get out gracefully? Why not save themselves the mental agony and the disgrace of being thrown out? Why should the Orissa Ministers not take a lesson? But this temptation of being a Minister is so great that Shri Sanjiva Reddy, who got out very nicely and gracefully from Andhra Pradesh, has not hesitated to become a Minister here. Naturally, the temptation is such, the greatness, the glamour that is attached, attracts anybody. That attraction is there, and because of that attraction, whether you do the right thing or the wrong thing, you want to remain a Minister. How graceful it would have been on the part of Shri Pratap Singh Kairon, when all

these things were hurled against him, to have gone out. He could have simply said, "I am being told so many things, so many black marks are against me, I do not deserve to be a Minister, here I walk out". He could have gone out, and the people would have praised him; his name would have remained in history, and all the bad things that have been said would have remained in darkness. Why should he not have done it?

The whole position, the real position today in our country is that before 1947 the Congress was in the service of the public, but today no man in the Congress Party is in the service of the public, he is the master of the public. Wherever you go, wherever a calamity befalls, wherever help has to be rushed, wherever a rescue party is to be sent, you will find workers of other parties always available and rendering service. We have examples of so many heroic deeds done by my party men in U.P., in Punjab and in Assam, but at no place our friends of the Congress Party appear.

The P.S.P., the S.P., even the Communist did it, but no man from the Congress Party.

Mr. Chairman: Why even?

Shri U. M. Trivedi: I am thankful to you for pointing it out. My difficulty is that I have developed a sort of nausea on account of the extra-territorial relations that the Communist Party have got. I cannot get out of it. There might be good men in that party, I know best of them, for twelve years I have been working with them, some of them are very nice people, but these are individuals.

I would suggest that in Kerala, the policy of the Government, the mistake that it committed of hobnobbing with the Muslim League, must be given up for all time to come. This Government must realise that if India was partitioned into two countries, India and Pakistan, it was based on the theory that there were only two nations, that one nation wanted Pak-

[Shri U. M. Trivedi]

istan and the other wanted India; there cannot be a third nation, India, that is Bharat, is the country of those who have lived here, and that is the nation that is there. So, why you recognise the position of the Muslim League, I fail to understand.

Not only that. By recognising this Muslim League, we are creating trouble in our country. That trouble is brooding in our country. Only day before yesterday I heard that Sheikh Abdullah said—and Afzal Beg also said the same thing—"let the four crores of Mohammedans go to dogs in India, we want to save the 39 lakhs of Kashmiri Muslims." Even amongst Muslims, this theory is being created, a sort of dissension between Muslim and Muslim.

An Hon. Member: Bakshi has been arrested.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: He is not the man who has said it. It is Sheikh Abdullah who has said that, it is most unfortunate.

Government must shed itself of all communalism. The most unfortunate position is that every time the Congress shouts that they will make a law banning communal parties, Can it dare to do so? A continuing effort is made by the Congress Party to keep this communalism alive by keeping and showing to the people: here is a Mohammedan. They say, "Mohamadan will be killed by a Hindu, if the Hindu rules! Our great men who happen to be Mohamadan by religion are mere showboys; that is what Pakistan tells other countries. Are they showboys? We are not able to give replies even to Pakistan in a proper manner. We have never differentiated between one community and another. All services are open to all communities. In every service you can find a Mohamadan not because he

is a Mohamadan but because he happened to come up. We have never differentiated. Yet it is an unfortunate fact that we have pampered the Muslim League and while pampering the Muslim League we have brought down the downfall of the State Government in Kerala. How long can this state of affairs continue? It should be for the Congress Party and this Government to realise that now is the time for them to open their eyes and cry a halt to all its efforts at creating dissensions. Colonialism has gone in our country. We are not colonialists. If we are not colonialists it does not behove us to divide and rule the country. We must rule the country as a whole, as a union. In ruling the country as a union we must strive for national integration. We must have it as our object in view and we must proceed for the well developed democratic form of Government in our country. It is good that the Government in Kerala has been dissolved and let it remain dissolved for sometime to come.

Shri Khadilkar (Khed): Mr. Chairman, I have listened to the two speeches of hon. Members from Kerala and also a Jan Sangh Member from the Opposition. I am sorry to say that this occasion is utilised to rake up the past without applying an objective mind. We must try to analyse what happened in Kerala and why there were three constitutional breakdowns and what is likely to happen in the future? Taking the past experience into account and applying our mind, we should think afresh about the whole parliamentary apparatus that we have adopted in this country. We have seen in Kerala somehow or the other political parties have adopted certain very rigid attitudes which are not helpful for running parliamentary government. In a parliamentary institution the attitude must be of give and take. Unfortunately in Kerala, parties are today pitted against each other; they are so

rigid, as rigid as the Indian caste system.

I do not want to discuss this issue from a party angle. There are three groups in Kerala. Each one is as good as a caste. Christians form one group; another group is that of Nairs and the third is the Ezvas. Among these three groups there is rivalry for getting into the seat of power or manoeuvring the party in power in such a manner that the party must carry the dictates of some group or the combination of two groups. I am trying to analyse it from a socio-political point of view. In such an atmosphere, what is going to happen in Kerala? Let us consider the past experience: the first failure came when a few individuals from the ruling group withdrew and the resignation came forward. The second was when the elected communist government which had an opportunity to form a Ministry within the framework of this democratic Constitution—it was a great experiment no doubt—made certain mistakes, unfortunately—

An Hon. Member: Why unfortunately? (*Interruption*).

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Shri Khadilkar: Because I feel that if the communist government had shown the capacity to function in a democratic manner within the parliamentary framework, without giving cause to the Opposition to create conditions wherein the Communist party found it very difficult to run the administration, things would not have come to such a pass: for, only in this country and nowhere in the world, the communist party came to power in a State within this Union through the ballot-box. That is a great thing, and though the Congress has the majority in almost all the States and the Centre was in the hands of the Congress, the Congress permitted the communist party to form the Government. It proved its democratic *bona fides*, its faith in the parliamentary institutions in this country: once the elected majority is there—

Shri Warrior: Why permission? When the people elect, why should they give the sanction?

Shri Khadilkar: Please listen to me; it is not a propaganda speech: I do not want to do it.

Shri Nambiar: Just like other permits, it is also a permit!

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Shri Khadilkar: The Centre and the ruling party in this country, with a definite programme, with the national sanction behind it, and with the basic difference between the communists and the Congress, allowed the communists to form a Government. I say this because—(*interruption*)—I have studied the Constitution. At that stage, there were voices raised: look here; in this problem State, in the extreme South, internal caste imbalance is there. From the very beginning, political rigidity and political rivalry has reached a pitch and in such an atmosphere, if the Congress at that time after allowing the government to be formed, found this—(*Interruption*)—I know the Constitution and under it they had a right—

Shri Warrior: And unconstitutional no right.

Shri Khadilkar: Please listen to me. The Centre gave all encouragement and they wanted to follow the constitutional procedure and give their blessings, saying, "You carry on within this framework." In that period of crisis, I was in Kerala, they were thinking, 'to be or not to be.' That was the time when the Communists were thinking whether they should resign and save their face or face the allegations and practise shooting to kill the agitators. That was the dilemma, and at that hour, the Communist Party was in two minds; they admitted their mistakes, particularly their mistake regarding the Education Bill. They admitted in private. I do not know whether they admitted it publicly. But that created a situation, a hornet's nest, wherein they could not find an escape route, and ultimately they began blam-

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ing the Congress at the Centre, blaming that agitators were implanted, that the agitation was created or instigated from outside. The people were in revolt. I have seen that myself. Right or wrong, they were in revolt. In such an atmosphere, they had to quit. This is the third time, when 15 Congressmen withdrew their support and the Government has come down.

It is not a question of the Congress or the Opposition party. We have to run this Constitution and democracy in this country, not only at the Centre but even in the States, and after the taking over by the President, we are responsible. Let us apply our mind from that angle. I am trying to analyse it from that angle without apportioning blame at the present juncture because it will not lead us anywhere.

Therefore, a new situation has been created. In such an atmosphere, I feel, in a small State like Kerala all these rigidities have been there. We know it from our own experience that political rigidity is there. Because that rigidity is there there is no possibility of a stable government emerging, a stable government within the parliamentary framework, where there is give and take and some understanding is possible. In such a situation, is it not our duty, this sovereign Parliament, to apply our mind, after 17 years of this experiment, as to what we should do about it?

We, in this country, during these 17 years, particularly since we adopted the national plan, whatever may be the differences, let us admit, excluding the Swatantra Party, have accepted it as a national programme. If you analyse the manifestos of different parties including the major parties in Kerala—the Congress and the Communists—I have analysed their manifestos last time and this time there would not be any difference except that there may be a little emphasis on some aspects—it will be the same. From their published docu-

ments, both of the left, as well as of the right, the character of the present Congress Government, according to them, is a national bourgeois character where a democratic revolution is to be completed. There is no question of a class government at the present juncture. Both the parties admit it. I have gone through their published and unpublished documents.

In such a situation, what solution is there for Kerala. Inevitably, when there is a constitutional breakdown the President and this Parliament has got to accept the responsibility. Is it possible—there are several solutions—in a small State, as I have described, with this composition, both social and political, to run that State in a simple manner and implement the national plan? What happens to the voters, I ask the Communist and Congress representatives of Kerala? Are they not responsible to the people? Who suffers in this party strife in Kerala? The people, the common men in Kerala are suffering. Shri Warior said that his is an enlightened State. Certainly, in education they are very much advanced. When I went on a visit to that State during the period of crisis I was surprised to find that the railway porter at the station where I got down was more engrossed in reading a newspaper rather than looking after his custom. There is general advancement not only in education but also in culture and other aspects of life. It is a much advanced society. Do we think that this small State is not viable and therefore it must join either with Madras or with Mysore?

Shri Nambiar: No possibility.

Shri Khadiikar: If you suggest that solution the Communists and Congress will both join hands—I am not sure about Swatantra because they are a different category altogether in this country. Why I call it a different category is that they are the only people who have challenged the basis

of our plan, no other party has challenged.

Shri Alvares (Panjim): Why are you provoking the Swatantra Party?

Shri Khadilkar: I am not provoking it. Acharya Ranga is there to look after himself and his party. But that is the only party in this country which has challenged the basis of the Plan, no other party has challenged it,—there might be egocentric persons like Dr. Lohia, but they are a misfit in any party. So from a party point of view, even in a situation....

An Hon. Member: Dr. Lohia is not here.

Shri Khadilkar: So in such a situation if they merge with any State they will create problem in Mysore as well as in Madras. Mysore and Madras in a joint memorandum will say, for heaven's sake we do not want Kerala. This is just possible. Then what is the solution?

Shri Koya: When we get a great leader like Mr. Khadilkar we can join Maharashtra!

Shri Khadilkar: We will welcome you. In such a situation, I am appealing to this House, we have adopted a Constitution. When we adopted that Constitution, let us admit very plainly that the major thought behind the Constitution was a traditional, liberal, classical, democratic thought. And there was an attempt to frame a super-structure in this country, not so much taking into consideration the background like caste and class systems of this country, and we adopted a Constitution. But to my mind this Constitution, this classical type of democracy or parliamentary democracy....

Shri P. Venkatasubbalah (Adoni): What is that classical?

Shri Khadilkar: Yes, classical type. If we try to imitate Britain

where one party comes into power and another party's business is just to attack them, whatever it is, good or bad, never try to understand and co-operate with them, is that the type of democracy to follow in this country which is in a state of development? There is a general ethos, of progress and advancement in this country. And in such an atmosphere....

Shri Kashi Ram Gupta (Alwar): In U. K. they co-operate with the ruling party.

Shri Khadilkar: In such an atmosphere, would it be right to say, unless we think of some modification, because as I said.....

Shri Alvares (Panjim): One party.

Shri Khadilkar: I am coming to that.

Shri Alvares: You are gravitating towards that theory.

Shri Khadilkar: I want to utilise the opportunity, and you apply your mind, and let the House also apply its mind. It is one party.

Shri Nambiar: Same in Kerala.

Shri Khadilkar: Recently there was an article in the *Political Quarterly*—I had quoted it once on the floor of the House—and there the writer has analysed what happened in Britain. But for two short periods and one full period of Labour rule, practically one party is ruling in Britain. In this country—you may not like it—who is ruling this country? The Congress Party, with a Plan as its programme, is ruling this country; it may not be accepted by Acharya Ranga. But all other parties admit that at the present stage of development, if we want to make an advance on the minimum basis, we must try to secure co-operation. If we apply our mind in this direction I would suggest that the time has come when we have to think

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of this seriously. If you see, whenever these experiments were made they are not successful. A two-party system can work on the basis of certain minimum where adjustment or slow adjustment is possible. In our country, because of the economic, social and other backwardness it is not possible to move with that slow speed. We want to advance fast. And to advance fast a certain broad sanction of parties of similar nature is necessary. Parties which accept the basic minimum of a programme, they will have to come together and form a government.

Shri Warior: What is the content of his speech?

Mr. Chairman: He will explain it.

Shri Khadilkar: For instance, I feel that within a democratic framework as we have adopted, at the present juncture we sit on this side and the opposition has a supreme irresponsibility to criticise the Govern-

ment, whether right or wrong; and they have the privilege.

Shri Koya: You have the irresponsibility of supporting the Congress.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Remember, you have remained with the Opposition for some time.

Shri Khadilkar: Therefore, my suggestion is this. I am coming to the main question.

Mr. Chairman: Look at the time.

Shri Khadilkar: I will take a little more time.

Mr. Chairman: In that case, he might continue his speech tomorrow.

17.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, September 23, 1964/Asvina 1, 1886 (Saka)