

tural production to the maximum extent possible, giving priority to quick-yielding schemes, strengthening of the infra-structure for economic growth, intensifying the family planning programme, utilization of capacities created in the fields of industry, irrigation and power. They have also been asked that expenditure on new construction be kept down to the minimum and that more intensive use be made of existing institutions and facilities. A series of meetings have been arranged during November-December, 1965 in which the Plans of the States and Union Territories would be discussed. Similar meetings are scheduled with the Central Ministries.

Similarly with regard to the current year the State Governments were requested to make adjustments in the Plan in keeping with the needs of Defence including Civil Defence; the maintenance of essential requirements and the need to conserve foreign exchange by import substitution and increased exports. The State Governments have been asked to report the adjustments made and these reports are awaited.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): What about the 10 per cent economy cut that the Finance Minister had agreed to recommend to the States as well as the spending Departments here? Has anything been done and is anything going to be done by the Planning Commission as well as the Government here in that regard?

Shri B. R. Bhagat: That is under the current programme. The Finance Minister has already directed that even during this year the maximum economies will be effected, and for the next year also steps have been taken.

Shri Ranga: The hon. Minister should have said about that in this statement.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: That is under the current programme.

12:38 hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE
FOURTIETH REPORT

Shri Rane (Buldana): I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Fortieth Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 4th November, 1965."

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Fortieth Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 4th November, 1965."

The motion was adopted.

12:38½ hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: CONTINUANCE
OF PROCLAMATION IN RESPECT
OF KERALA—contd.

Mr. Speaker: We shall now take up further consideration of the following resolution moved by Shri Hathi on the 3rd November, 1965, namely:—

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation dated 24th March, 1966 in respect of Kerala issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the Vice-President, discharging the functions of the President, for a further period of six months with effect from 11th November, 1965."

Shri Vasudevan Nair may now continue his speech.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapuzha): While introducing this resolution, the hon. Minister had stated in the course of his speech that the taking over of the administration of Kerala by the President was a kind of relief to the people of Kerala.

12:39 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]
To be very frank, I was really shocked and pained to hear a state-

[Shri Vasudevan Nair]

ment like that from a Minister who is presiding over a Ministry under a popularly elected democratic government. I think perhaps on second thoughts Shri Hathi himself would have felt that he had said something which was not warranted, and I hope that while replying to the debate he will clarify the position and get out of the statement that he had made in his opening speech. While we take objection to that statement, I should like to dilate a little on it. The hon. Minister also knows, as many of us do, that even today there are forces in our country who feel that this kind of set up is no good, this kind of popular set up is no good. There are forces like that; I do not say they are very powerful but they are lying low. May be that in a particular situation, there may be sections and elements here and there, may be in Kerala State also at that time, who may have felt the same way as the hon. Minister; I do not deny that. But we know that that is a very unhealthy sentiment, the result of a particular situation, and any responsible person who by his utterances tries to justify such a sentiment is, I am sure, not doing any good to the healthy development of parliamentary institutions in this country. It is from that point of view that we wanted to object to the statement made by the Minister.

Again, I should like to request the Minister to dispassionately look at the situation created to a great extent by the series of actions taken by his own government in the State as well as at the Centre which resulted in that kind of thinking among certain sections of people. I do not want to repeat what my leader, Prof. Mukerjee, has said. What had happened in 1959 was really, according to us, a blow at the roots of the development of parliamentary institutions. A government which enjoyed a majority in the legislature was deliberately pushed out, pulled down from authority to protect the interests of certain elements in Kerala State. That was one thing. Naturally, such behaviour on

the part of the central authority does not at all help people to believe in parliamentary institutions.

Secondly, what happened just on the eve of the last elections? Large-scale arrests of people. Even after people are elected to the legislature, they are being detained under this excuse or that excuse. Why even people like Shri Setalvad are today speaking against this constitutional dictatorship, according to him, is because such things have happened in our country, and the Central Government has contributed, in a great measure, in destroying the faith of people in parliamentary institutions. The present Resolution, according to us, is a continuation of that line which will only make people lose their faith in the development popularly elected governments and parliamentary institutions.

The hon. Minister was trying perhaps to soothe the feelings of people by saying so much about the parliamentary consultative committee. Again, I should like to request him to examine what kind of a state machine we have—he should know, as anyone else,—inherited from the British, a state machine, which I may characterise as a heartless steel-frame. Everybody knows that; I am sure the Congress Government also, including the Minister, might have their experience of trying to tackle the problem of taming this steel frame. I am sure that a conflict is going on right from 15 August, 1947 to this day. Even today we are always talking about administrative reforms, this and that, so that the state machine is given a new objective, a new orientation. Even today we have not succeeded to a great extent. That is our judgment of the matter. And in a State where there is not even that popular power over the steel frame, you will understand what the situation will be. Let it be Mr. Jain, Mr. Hathi or Mr. Nanda himself or even a god who is

sitting over a steel frame like this. I am not blaming any particular person, I am not even blaming a particular officer, but this is a set-up which we have inherited, and any person sitting over that set-up today, however much he wishes, must realise that he can do very little. I am sure that Mr. Jain will be now, in his heart of hearts, justifying this statement of mine by his experience of the last six months. And I want to point out a few cases for the benefit of the House, the Minister already knows them, where we see how this machinery is functioning today without a heart, without a soul, without any human feeling.

The hon. Minister knows that so many times in the consultative committee we have discussed the question of retrenchment of 510 workers from the Kerala Water Transport Corporation. It is not a question of one or two, it is a question of 510 workers who were working in the Kerala Water Transport Corporation for many years. They were just thrown out of employment one fine morning. The Minister himself knows that the committee took up the matter in all seriousness, and we are really very thankful to the Minister himself. He will remember that at the last meeting the Adviser to the Kerala Government promised the consultative committee that as soon as he went back to Trivandrum he would take steps to ameliorate the conditions of these 510 workers who were thrown out. The meeting was held on 13th August, but to this day the Kerala Government has not moved in the matter at all, they have not done anything in the matter.

I should like to recall that the issue of this Corporation, the retrenchment question, the liquidation of this Corporation, all these matters were considered by the Government, the Congress Government before it went out of office in September, 1964. In a conference attended by the Congress Minister and all the M.L.A.s elected

from a particular area, in the presence of certain officers, certain decisions were arrived at in which it was provided that the workers' interests, even if they were retrenched, would be fully protected. And what did the President's rule do? They went to court for the liquidation of this Corporation, just a week before the elections last time. They did not even wait for the elections, and the liquidation was effected in such a manner that all the guarantees given to the workers in the presence of a Congress Minister were just thrown to the winds. Not a single promise made in that conference is today respected by the Government, by this officers' Government, and the Minister might be informed for his benefit that the workers went to the High Court of Kerala recently, and the High Court gave more than one verdict against this action of the State Government. Now the State Government is in a soup, they do not know what to do, because the Division Bench of the High Court has now said that the principle adopted for retrenchment of 510 workers is wrong, and it should be revised.

Already the workers are on the streets. The High Court says they should revise it, that retrenchment should be strictly on the principle of seniority. The officers retrenched 510 people not on the basis of seniority and so many issues are involved. These poor workers, with nothing to fall back upon, have been suddenly thrown on the streets. I see their tears, their miseries, their worries. We try our best to help them, but somehow that help is not forthcoming. This is just one instance.

I can give many other instances. A very patent question is that of the banning of these books in the schools. You know what happened. Normally in the popular set-up I am sure that it will not be like that, that decisions will not be taken like that.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs and Minister of Defence Supplies in the Ministry of

Defence (Shri Hathi): That order has been withdrawn.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: I agree that it was withdrawn, but I am referring to the way the decision was taken. It was given as an instance to show how such things are taking place.

Even our Education Minister, Shri Chagla, in an interview to the representative of *Matru Bhumi* had to say that such things would happen only in a police State. The Central Minister in an interview commenting on this had to say that such things will happen in a police state. I do not want to say that it is just a police state.

Coming to the question of police itself, I am urging upon the Minister again to impress upon the advisers that they should keep the police under check. Especially in our State, police has a very notorious past tradition. I do not have time to go into it now. I have many instances of ordinary criminal cases, murder cases and the like and a lot of corruption charges are there and there is no popular government or anybody to look after it. So many murder cases are written off as suicides openly and I know many such cases.

In this time of emergency, I would like the Minister to enquire into what is happening in the university premises of the Kerala university. There are allegations that patent pro-Pakistan propaganda is going on under the auspices of the USIS in many colleges under the Kerala University; the allegations are that even the vice-chancellor and some of the branch managements have a hand in this propaganda. The congress students and student organisations led by the Congress Party say so. They issue open statements that such a propaganda is going on and the Government should look into the matter.

I should like the Minister to at least prepare the ground for an election as

early as possible and I may impress upon him that if a free and fair election is to be held in that State, he should correct the mistake of arresting so many leaders of the Marxist communist party; they should be released and a proper atmosphere should be created for popular elections so that a popular government may take care of the people's interests and take care of the future progress of the Kerala State.

Dr. Sarojini Mahishi (Dharwar North): It is really a misfortune that Kerala has been the State where the application of the emergency provisions of our Constitution had been made use of. Now, there is no other alternative and hence this was resorted to. Members of the Opposition are keen in criticising very severely the imposition of this rule to say that the President's rule, with which I do not agree, has been done only in the interests of preserving certain vested interests, which I think is a very wrong statement. In Kerala of course where there was a breakdown of the administrative machinery and it could not be carried on according to the provisions of the Constitution, peace and order was threatened by external aggression, and internally too I agree that there is no doubt provision for the application of the emergency provisions of the Constitution. These conditions were fulfilled and then only President's rule had been imposed. Neither the President nor this House has any interest or pleasure in imposing this rule in Kerala. Why should Kerala be made the victim, out of all the States? Sometimes administrative powers were taken away from the other States also, long back. Why is it that Kerala State is again a victim? Unless we enter deep into the matter and try to solve the problem, I do not think the problem will be solved. It is no use saying superficially all kinds of things that the Congress Party was interested and so on and so the President's rule was imposed. I differ from the Opposition

Members. The President assumes certain powers in case of emergency. They are saying that it is unconstitutional and it is a mockery of democracy. Every problem has got two sides and you should not look to only one side of the problem. Unless a person looks to both sides, he could not come to any wise conclusion and Members of the Opposition are looking to only one side of the problem. Some Members from the Congress are looking also at only one side of the problem, that is the other side. So, we must look at both sides of the problem. Mr. Warior is nodding and I hope he appreciates what I say. Nobody is interested in enforcing the emergency provisions unless one is forced to do so by circumstances that demand the application of some such emergency powers. The Opposition says that this could not be continued. We may see the circumstances under which the proclamation of emergency was declared and also see exactly if those very circumstances are not continuing. The same conditions are there and hence the continuation of the proclamation of emergency has been made necessary. Prof. Ranga remarked that the Kerala government can be run on the Swiss model. It is easy to advise. When any experiment is made and no results are arrived it, one cannot say with confidence that it will be a success because Kerala has been made the ground for experiment of a number of such governments also; there was the coalition government, government also by a party other than the Congress. The people of Kerala were not happy with any one of these. My friends of the Opposition know that the people of Kerala never appreciated the so-called rule of the coalition parties. Why is it then that Members are making such suggestions, when they know these things? When Members make certain suggestions, they make them with all their responsibility and they must try to give certain proof also that it will turn out to be a success. I have heard many Members criticising the Centre for certain other things also, than Kerala. Mr. Kamath

was keen to say that he felt extremely sorry that the PSP was maligned with the left communists. Is it the main issue under consideration? Many members referred to the governor's document, so-called document. It is only a report under article 356 of the Constitution. That article makes it explicit; it says:

"If the President, on receipt of a report from the Governor of a State or otherwise, is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, the President may by Proclamation (a) assume to himself all or any of the functions of the State and all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor or any body or authority in the State other than the Legislature of the State; (b) declare that the powers of the Legislature of the State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament . . ."

Therefore, it is only on receipt of a report from the Governor that the President can decide whether to assume all the powers or any of the powers vested in that government. Shri G. S. Kakkar, an advocate of repute suggested that this report cannot be the basis for the continuance of the proclamation. Is it wrong or unconstitutional? We may not agree on the basic fact that there should be a proclamation of emergency under such circumstances and that the powers vested in the State government should be assumed by the Governor; we may not agree on this factor. But as far as the present problem under consideration today is concerned, it is the continuance of the proclamation of emergency. The very factors which led to the proclamation, the proclamation of the continuance of the emergency, may not

[Dr. Sarojini Mahishi]

be in existence today, but other circumstances which were never thought of at that period are in existence such as the continuance of the emergency as a necessity. Therefore, the people in the country, right from Himachal Pradesh to Cape Comorin, agree and are willing to brush aside their own problems, the problems of individuals, the problems of institutions and the problems of the particular areas, with a view to concentrating all their efforts on the defence of our borders.

13 hrs.

What is it that has actuated the Members of the Opposition to say that the elections must be held in Kerala and the continuance of the proclamation of emergency should not be carried on? Even in the municipal elections, the panchayat elections and the taluk development board elections, the members who are not in power—I do not refer to the members who are in power, because some friends may jump up and say that when they are in power, they would like to continue in power—are keen to see that the elections are postponed and that all our efforts should be concentrated on the developmental activities and defence activities. Hence, the necessity to issue the proclamation of emergency. But is it only because that the Members of the Opposition are required to oppose all the measures brought by the Government that they are putting forth these grounds to oppose the continuance of the proclamation of emergency? If the Members of the Opposition think twice before they speak out, I hope they will not venture to speak out such things again.

I would like to refer to the speech of Shri Ranga, who referred to the Swiss model and said that the loyalty of the people in this country is to the democratic values. Who challenges his statement that the loyalties of the people of this country are

towards preserving democratic values? It is because of the need for paying some importance to these democratic values themselves that such things are to be resorted to. It is in the interests of maintaining peace and order within the country itself. Therefore, taking into consideration these circumstances prevailing in the State and the desire of the people of Kerala, this has been done. The desire of the people of Kerala cannot be ventilated by having some vested interest in this direction or in that direction. I am quite sure that the people of Kerala may not express their full satisfaction at the President assuming the powers in the State, but the point is, there is no other alternative, and hence, whether you call it a good thing or an evil thing, in the absence of any other alternative, this is the thing that has to be resorted to.

What is it that the Home Ministry, under the present circumstances, has done in reviewing the situation existing in the Kerala State after the assumption of powers by the President? Only today, a review made by the Union Home Ministry of the affairs of Kerala State after the State came under President's rule in September last notes that the Kerala Government has been mainly concentrating its work on improving the efficiency of administration and increasing the tempo of developmental activity. According to the review, the 14-months' period of Governor's administration was not marked by any significant changes in policies followed by the predecessor Government of the popular Ministry. However, every effort had been made during the period to see not only that the development of the State is accelerated but that the people are associated at various levels with the developmental activities of the Government, through local leaders of public opinion. The Board was appointed to review the development activities and the progress made in the Kerala State during the 14-months Governor's rule, administra-

tion, and that Board has made this remark clearly, that there is no marked progress in Kerala. Do you think that any other government, not based on democratic principles and rules, could have gone to the extent of making this remark and admitting that no marked progress has been made, and that the Government is making every effort to concentrate on the developmental activities and also upon the general progress of the Kerala State? Of course, certain things might have been neglected no doubt in Kerala. Kerala is a very beautiful State, full of natural resources and it has a very long coastline also. The fisheries in the State can be developed to a very great extent; as Shri Kappen said yesterday, 75 per cent of the people there eat fish, and the fisheries industry can be developed to a very great extent. Since fish is a very substantial, prime food of the people of the Kerala State, it could be developed to a very great extent. All these things are to be properly attended to, and the Home Minister made a remark in his statement yesterday that all these things are being attended to. I do not agree with him when he says that a special committee which is appointed to look into the Kerala affairs can be called a miniature parliament; because there are members from different parts of the country also, that cannot be a miniature parliament. I do not know whether he wants to raise the status of that committee to the status of parliament or to bring down the status of parliament to that level. Anyway, that cannot be a miniature parliament, but in the absence of any other alternative, the committee has been appointed to advise the Kerala administration to go deeper into the matter of development and progress of the people of Kerala. In the absence of any other alternative, if this has to continue, I do not see any harm.

Shri Mukerjee went to the extent of saying certain things about the Governor's report. He referred to minor things in the Governor's report

and referred to its inadequacy. I do not know why Members of the Opposition are concentrating on petty matters, inaccuracies and grammatical mistakes in the Governor's report, instead of concentrating their attention on primary things of importance which have led the Government to continue the period of proclamation of emergency. Therefore, when the whole country has stood up to the occasion, when the whole country has risen to the occasion, as one unit, to meet the emergency, I do not understand why the Members of the Opposition should raise a hue and cry to discontinue the proclamation of emergency. The people of Kerala are equally patriotic. They are part and parcel of this great country. Even though they are not affected by the Pakistani aggression to such an extent as others, they have risen to the occasion, irrespective of any party politics and so on. I think they continue to support this continuance of the President's rule in the time of emergency, and I hope they will appreciate and take the highest advantage of being under the Central rule.

There are many other parts in this country which are now under Central administration, and they continue to be so, because if they come under the State rule, they know that neither their interests nor the country's interests could be safeguarded, in respect of the development of the State. Therefore, they wish to continue as it is. The instance of Goa is there; I do not wish to mention. If Kerala, though under different circumstances, is under the Central administration for the time being, then, I hope the utmost advantage of this position will be taken by the people of Kerala and full development will be achieved during this period.

Shri Seshiyam (Perambalur): The present resolution that has been brought forward by the Home Minister for continuance in force of the proclamation of the President in respect of Kerala is a sad commentary on the working of Indian Constitution and Indian democracy. This is a perpetuation of the political tragedy en-

[Shri Sezhiyan]

acted eight months ago, when the parliamentary institution that was duly elected, was not called upon to fulfil its duty and when the elected representatives were not allowed to function for the purpose for which they were elected by the people.

The speaker who preceded me put it very correctly that there are two sides for every problem. The Opposition presents one side of the problem, while the ruling party presents the other side, probably in glowing colours. In a democracy, who is to be the judge? When two parties contend and give a different picture of the same problem in two different lights, the judges should be the people. Here, when a proclamation is made, when the parliamentary institution is dissolved, when the elected representatives are not given the chance to function, then, it is not the people who are having the say. It is the Governor who is having the say. It is not the elected representatives, but a selected person from the hierarchy from Delhi; he is a staunch Congressman and he was so till the day previous to his taking up office. He goes there and gives a report, and on that report the decision is taken by the Government here. There are two kinds of emergencies which should not be confused. One emergency was caused in Kerala about a year ago when the Shankar Ministry fell due to want of confidence from its own members. The ministry was defeated when votes were taken in the Assembly. That was the emergency in Kerala which gave rise to President's rule. That should not be confused with the emergency now being spoken of caused by the Pak aggression and hostilities on the Indo-Pak borders. We have to draw a line of distinction between them. When we say there is an emergency and all political parties should be one in repelling the Pak aggression and maintaining the security of the country, in that we are all one. But that should not be a guise or subterfuge to maintain something else.

Though there is mention of emergency by others, the Governor in his conclusion does not make any reference to the emergency, caused by the Pak aggression. He refers to the instability of the political situation there. He does not visualise political stability even after a poll and he says no political party will have sufficient majority to form a government. Probably these things can be attributed to the sphere of astrology, not to a Governor. We were under the impression that Ministers in Delhi and Governors at other places were consulting astrologers. Each has a royal astrologer to predict the political events. But now the Governor himself has become an astrologer, prejudging future developments, because he opines that "if elections are held now, the results would be much the same as they were in the mid-term elections." Therefore, he has not only given the political situation now—the strength of the various political parties in the State now—but he has predicted that in future also, if you hold an election, no party is going to get a majority. If the Government has come to that determined conclusion that there will be no change in the election results and there is no use in getting the public opinion through the ballot boxes, in each State we can appoint one Governor—an eminent astrologer like Mr. Jain—to forecast the political situation without holding any election. You can save lots of money; there will be no preparation and expenditure by political parties, no appeal to voters, etc. They can simply appeal to the astrologer and get the results. Government can function on the astrological data, not on the logical or political data.

The Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri Tyagi): He has given his assessment

Shri Sezhiyan: Assessment not about the present situation but a projection into the future, which is the

act of a nastrologer, not a politician. He says:

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

Therefore, the general opinion is hearsay. It has been shared by Mr. R. Sankar, the last Chief Minister. It is put here as "last Chief Minister", but I think in more than one sense he is a "lost Chief Minister", because when the votes were taken in the Assembly, he lost the confidence of his own party members and of the Assembly. Then, when he stood for the election, he lost his seat at the poll also. He lost the confidence of the Assembly, later on lost the confidence of the people also.

13:13 hrs.

(SHRI SONAVANE in the Chair)

Therefore, instead of making political assessments, as our learned friend, Shri Tyagi pointed out, and as we would like them to do in a democratic set-up, they project into the future and try to forecast the future results also. That is why I say astrological predictions should not enter into political assessments.

To say that there is no alternative to President's rule is to accept the defeat of democracy itself. Whether it is the Congress or any other party, we should allow the normal course of democracy to run. My view is in Kerala democracy was not allowed to function. I do not accept the defeat of democracy there. When the elected representatives were there, it would have been wiser and constitutionally correct to allow a ministry to be formed and the Assembly to meet. Then if somebody brings forward a no-confidence motion and the ministry fails, you can say that such and such party

claimed that it could run the government but it has not got the full confidence of the Assembly. Without going through all that democratic process, we cut short the way by hasty assessments and astrological predictions and we rushed to the conclusion that there is no other go but to usher in President's rule.

I can quote Mr. K. Santhanam, whose sobriety nobody can doubt and who certainly does not belong to any opposition party, because members from the other side were saying that all the opposition parties had been trying to put the blame on the Government and because there was no other alternative, Government had to extend the President's rule. In an article in the *Hindustan Times* dated 9-3-1965 just after the Kerala debacle—the heading of the article also was "Kerala Debacle"—he said:

"It is foolish to rush to the conclusion that President's rule is the only alternative. If every-time there is no majority Presidential rule is to become automatic, the Constitution must be deemed to have broken down and all those who are against democracy in India will rejoice."

So, putting in President's rule whenever something is not working as per your expectations means it will come handy in so many places. In 1952, when the general elections took place in Madras, the Congress was in a minority. It did not have absolute majority. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari was not an elected representative. At that time the combined opposition under Mr. T. Prakasam had a majority inside the House, though in a combined manner. At that time, the Governor called the Congress Party, though a minority party, to form the government. A government was formed and it proved stable later on. So, whether a single party is able to command a majority inside the House, whether the largest party, though in a minority, should be allowed to form a government and whether that gov-

[Shri Sezhian]

ernment will be stable are all matters which should have been left to the legislature to decide and not to be decided by the predictions of astrologers like Mr. Jain. Simply because the Constitution provides for President's rule, it does not mean that it should be applied again and again. Various powers are given to the President, to the Judges, to the police and others. If everybody thinks that because he has got powers, he can act, where will it end? It is not that because powers have been given, they should act. So, just because he has been given the powers, he should not go on applying this measure of President's rule.

In the statement submitted by the Governor he has said to the effect that no political party has any chance of winning a majority. This is his opinion; not a prediction about the future elections, because in a parliamentary democracy there is nothing as an absolute majority and an absolute minority. What I mean to say is, there is nothing like a permanent majority or a permanent minority. The party that is the ruling party now may be defeated at the polls and it may become the opposition party. The party that is in the opposition now may emerge as the ruling party next time. There is no chance in democracy for various parties to function if there is to be a hierarchical order or an order of descendancy where the son of a king becomes the next king of the country. That is not the order which we are following. In a democracy every party has got full rights to express its views, to place its views before the public and become the ruling party or the majority party. Only on that assumption of a possibility to attain majority at the polls so many parties are functioning. There is nothing as a permanent majority party or a permanent minority party. It is all a temporary one. In a democracy unless that aspect is given full weight of, you cannot easily presume to predict what should be the outcome next time. In 1944, if there had been any

prediction in England everybody would have said that the Conservative Party led by Mr. Churchill was the party to rule the country. But what happened when the elections took place? The Conservative Party was defeated and the Labour Party which was in the Opposition was ushered into power. Therefore, instead of making these undemocratic assumptions that no party can win the majority and form a government, these things should have been left to the people for decision and not to the Governor or to the presiding authority.

This President's Rule which was brought in on the 10th September 1964 was renewed in March, 1965. Again it has come for renewal now. That is to say, one year has passed and another six months time is asked for by this present resolution. Therefore, those who are in the Cabinet, those who are in authority, they can as well celebrate the first anniversary of the President's Rule in Kerala. Whether it is the death anniversary of democracy or the birth anniversary of a constitutional dictatorship, anyhow an anniversary can be celebrated by those who are in power, by those who are asking for extension of this President's Rule.

Mr. Hathi and others were speaking in terms of laudation about the miniature Parliament that has been created, that is, the parliamentary Consultative Committee that has been set up to assist the Government in carrying on the administration in Kerala. But it is no substitute for a parliamentary institution. A properly elected representative institution is nowhere to be compared to these parliamentary committees. In the same stretch of imagination we can as well dissolve all the State assemblies throughout the country and appoint so many parliamentary committees to function in each State and nullify the whole system of federal government that we have got now under the Constitution. Therefore, we cannot stretch these

things too far and try to impose the President's Rule as a permanent feature of Kerala politics.

I can understand one thing. We had made a distinction between the emergency in Kerala and the emergency in the country. If it is said that because of the emergency situation created by the Pak aggression and the hostilities on our borders there should be no political rancour, there should be no party differentiations or bickerings and that, we should present a united front and therefore the elections should not take place for a considerable time until the situation attains normalcy, I can understand that position. On that ground you can say that we must not hold elections now, but it should not be to perpetuate a wrong decision taken previously in an undemocratic manner, in an unconstitutional manner, in an autocratic way where you put aside the elected representatives, where you did throw to winds all canons of democratic justice. What happened in Kerala was in fact a pre-natal strangulation. You did not allow the Assembly to function and the elected representatives to form the Government. As I said, if the plea is that there is an emergency situation created by the Pak aggression on our borders and until the situation comes to normalcy we should not have any elections, I can accept that. But the argument presented by the Governor and others so far is that no party is in a position to form a government and that no party will be able to form a stable ministry even after the elections. These arguments I object to. These astrological studies which are like the vagaries of weather should not be allowed to take the place of astute political decisions of democratic institutions. That is what I want to impress upon this House.

Shri P. G. Menon (Mukundapuram): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not wish to introduce any element of political polemics in my observations on this resolution.

श्री हुक्म चन्द बख्शवय : (देवास)
समापति महोदय, हाउस में गणपूर्ति नहीं है।

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may resume his seat. Quorum has been challenged. The Bell is being rung.

Now there is quorum. Shri Menon may continue his speech.

Shri P. G. Menon: Sir, I wish to confine myself to the very narrow question raised in this resolution, as to whether the President's Rule now in force in Kerala should be extended for another six months. That is the only question. And, the material before us to come to a decision on that matter is contained, firstly, in the Report of the Governor on the situation in Kerala and, secondly, in the reaction of the Government, the Home Ministry, towards that report. The President is not bound to act on the report, because that is, after all, only recommendatory.

Now, many harsh words have been spoken on the floor of this House regarding the report of the Governor of Kerala on the Kerala situation today. Yesterday and today we heard statements made on the floor of the House, not very serious statements I believe, that the Kerala Governor in his report was trying to be an astrologer. Now, as Governor it is his constitutional duty to make an assessment of the situation in the State and to make a report to the Home Ministry or to the President. It is that assessment, any objective assessment if you would care to look at it in an objective manner, that is contained in Shri Jain's report. The Kerala Governor proceeds on this premise that if even after the election there is no possibility of the formation of a stable government, it is not proper to conduct an election today and terminate President's rule. Now, this is not the first time that such a situation has arisen. Ever after the promulgation of the Constitution, several

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times this House has adopted the convention.....

श्री हुसैन अहमद खान : सभापति महोदय, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का सवाल है। हाउस में इस समय गणपूर्ति नहीं है।

Mr. Chairman: He might resume his seat. The bell is being rung.... Now there is quorum. He might continue his speech.

Shri P. G. Menon: After the promulgation of the Constitution President's rule has been introduced in various States in India and I think the powers under article 356 have been exercised 9 or 10 time before. If you look at the circumstances in which the exercise of power under that article took place on previous occasions, it would be seen that wherever the Governor's report indicated that no stable government could be formed or continued and the President was satisfied about it, article 356 was invoked and President's rule was introduced. Is it for the Governor of Kerala today to adopt a new policy? Therefore, he presumed that if in his assessment no stable government could be formed even after the election, then there should be continuation of President's rule. It is not his opinion that he has communicated to the President. He did consult public men, leaders of all political parties in Kerala, and he has stated in his report that no leader was in a position to state that if election is conducted today there would be a majority for his party. I do not think that statement has been questioned on the floor of the House.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Yes, it was questioned.

Shri P. G. Menon: He also stated that nobody was in a position to say, except the leader of the Marxist Communist Party, that parties would join together and run the government if after the election there would be

no majority for any single party. The only gentleman who said that he could run the Government was Shri Nambudiripad.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): One great man.

Shri P. G. Menon: He said that he had 61 people in the last elections who had lost their membership on account of the dissolution of the House.

Therefore, if the Governor's assessment is correct and if the President's rule is not extended and an election is conducted what would happen? After the election article 356 should be invoked again. The question before the House is what should be the choice. Should we pass a resolution and extend President rule or should we terminate President's rule, conduct election and create a situation again when President's rule would have been introduced by invoking afresh the powers under article 356? If the assessment of the Governor is correct, I think the Government of India was correct in deciding to approach this House with a motion that there should be an extension of President's rule.

The question is whether that assessment is correct. I do not think there is anybody here in this House who knows anything about the conditions in Kerala who would say that that assessment is incorrect. For political purposes, for purposes of argumentation, for purposes of running down the government, for purposes of criticising the Governor you may say that that assessment is incorrect; you may say that it is astrology that he is indulging in. My friends from Kerala in this House know, anybody who has any knowledge about the conditions in Kerala knows, that if elections are conducted in the near future, that is, next month or the month after, the situation would be probably the same—I do not say the same but probably be the same—the picture would probably be the

same which emerged after the elections earlier this year, in which case we would again have to introduce President's rule.

The question then is whether during the emergency the elections should be conducted. The leader of SSP in Kerala is reported to have told the Governor that in the district of Palghat local self-government elections should be postponed on account of the emergency. We see that in the report of Shri Chandrasekharan. When that is so, should we conduct general elections to the Legislative Assembly when as a matter of fact we do not conscientiously believe that as a result thereof political stability could be introduced in Kerala? We should particularly remember that the leader of one of the political parties who was not called by the Governor and in fact a charge is levelled against the Governor and the Government on that account—is Shri Namboodiripad who is going about saying that the Government of India should concede certain territory to China, that the Government of India should not fight Pakistan to recover territory which has gone to Pakistan, that war hysteria is attempted to be developed in this country to secure the interests of the ruling party, that unless the Government of India, the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister declare the war aims of India the people should not....

Shri D. C. Sharma: When all the Left Communists have been put behind the bars why Shri Namboodiripad has been allowed to go on making such statements?

Shri P. G. Menon: Because he may condemn himself.

He has been saying that the war aims have not been declared, as if he has not understood the repeated statements of our Prime Minister and our Defence Minister. He has been asking why recourse to arms was adopted by India against Pakistan

during the last few weeks. In self-defence we did it.

I heard Shri Vasudevan Nair, my good friend, saying that an election should be conducted so that the representatives of the people could marshal the enthusiasm of the people for the prosecution of the war effort. It is just like entrusting chicken to the guardianship of foxes. Do you think that the people could be enthused to war effort by men like the leaders of the Marxist-Communist Party, for whom I heard voices raised in this House?

I am not for a moment contending that President's rule is good for us. I am not contending that elections should be postponed indefinitely. I am only stating that on the narrow question which is raised before this House as to whether President's rule which is already there should be extended for another six months, there could be no controversy. An objective assessment made by the Governor of Kerala is before us.

I would say, the report of the Governor is a mirror in which you could see the image of the political situation in the country today. That image is not an attractive image. That image is something about which all of us are unhappy—an image about which I, coming from Kerala, feel ashamed—that we could not run the elections and get a majority or a stable arrangement in order to run the government. But, because the image is bad, why do you strike at the mirror? That is what is happening here.

The speakers, yesterday and today, wanted to attack the Governor who mirrored in his report the situation in Kerala today. It is well known that some people.....

Shri Warrior: Is it the fault of the mirror or of the image?

Shri P. G. Menon: It is the fault of the image. It is my fault and your

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fault. The mirror only mirrors what is contained there and we are attempting to strike at the mirror because the image is ugly. That is the situation.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Shri Warior is a good-looking man.

Shri P. G. Menon: Shri Warior is good-looking but not his politics. That is the position. I am not for a moment contending that President's rule should continue; but, let us give Shri Jain his dues.

Shri Warior: He got it.

Shri P. G. Menon: He has been there for six months. Has the administration during these six months been something which could be condemned outright? It was during this period that the Government of Kerala, under the leadership of Shri Jain, presented the Kerala case before the Finance Commission and I am glad to state that Shri Jain took the initiative to marshal up all facts before the Finance Commission and the award of the Finance Commission, in my opinion, is something which is rather fair—an experience which, we in Kerala, rarely had previously.

It was during this time that the report of the Pay Commission was adopted and implemented. There are complaints regarding the report of the Pay Commission. There are complaints that justice has not been done to all sections of Government servants. That is a different matter; but, additional revenue expenditure of Rs. 8 crores to Rs. 10 crores every year in order to give better emoluments to the Government servants is being incurred.

It was during this period that a committee had been appointed under the chairmanship of Shri M. K. Velodi with two other very competent members to look into the administrative machinery to avoid delays and to improve the administration.

Something was stated here yesterday regarding the mishandling of the food situation. The food situation is very bad in Kerala.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: By your own colleagues.

Shri P. G. Menon: If you look into the question of the availability of foodgrains per head of population in the various States in India, you will find that in Kerala it is the lowest. What I mean by "availability" is the quantity of foodgrains sold through the ration shops by the Government; plus the quantity of foodgrains available in the country. When that is looked into, you will find that in Kerala the average availability is 8 to 9 ounces—what you get from the shop, what you get from the farmers and what is available in the state. The average availability in India would be 14 to 16 ounces. I am not speaking of the ration given; I am taking into account the full availability and dividing it by the number of people in the State. That is the situation. The Kerala Government, even after it was taken over by the Governor, has been complaining regarding the availability of foodgrains there. But if the Government of India would not act in that matter, what can poor Shri Jain do? I do feel that in the matter of food, Kerala is not being given the justice which is due to it.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: But we are examining the President's rule, the Central Government including.

Shri P. G. Menon: That is all right. The real remedy for the situation is in our hands, mine, of Shri Vasudevan Nair's and Shri Warior's and other public men of the State. The time has come for the public men of Kerala to think furiously about what to do in order to re-establish democratic rule in the country. That alone will get the people there their democratic rights.

Can we go on endlessly like this? Can we take up the rigid attitudes that we have been taking up all along? Should we not also have—that is, Kerala; I am speaking for Kerala now—representative institutions in a constitution working there? We are not able to do it and then when the Home Ministry is doing the next best thing, we are pelting stones at the hon. Minister. We should rather look inwards and see where the difficulty is. No government in Kerala will be able to remove the frustration of the Kerala people on account of which these things are happening. The people there are frustrated. Unless and until the Government of India become alive to the problems of the people of Kerala, no amount of catechism administered to the Kerala people would be of any avail.

Yesterday I got a circular letter from Shri Raghunath Singh, Chairman of the Shipping Board, who paid a visit to Kerala. I think, he sent it only to Kerala Members of Parliament. He concludes that letter with the statement 'Wherever I went I saw unemployment staring at me'.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor) That is the case all over India.

Shri P. G. Menon: He spoke of Kerala, and I am speaking of Kerala.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Shri Ranga is thinking of Andhra Pradesh.

Shri P. G. Menon: He says "wherever I went I saw unemployment staring at me; there are no industries; therefore, industrialisation should come". That is what he has said. If the Government of India would have that realisation, then the Kerala people would become happy and this unfortunate and unhappy State would be able to come to its own.

There was some reference to the consultative committee. We have attended many of its meetings. Dr. K. L. Rao, the Minister of Irrigation and Power repeatedly stated to us, and I think he stated it on the floor of the House also, that in order to alleviate the power famine in Kerala, it was necessary to have a thermal plant.

He said that it would come, but we hear reports now that elsewhere it has been decided that Kerala should have no thermal plant.

Do you know, Sir, that in 1964 and in the previous years the industries in Kerala including public undertakings lay closed down continuously for four months for want of power, and this was in a State where the availability of power was the largest in India barring Mysore, in a State where the cost of production of power was the lowest in India. Where is our Planning? It is an errating planning under which these potentialities have not been exploited for the benefit of the people. Political stability will come if only the Government of India would become alive to the situation in Kerala and take steps.

We are now having the Fourth Five Year Plan. Under the previous three plans, including the Third Plan, Kerala did not get justice. There are no industries established in Kerala under the Five Year Plans under the public sector which are worthy of mention. In the Third Plan, a ship-building yard is reported to have, come, but it is still only coming. That is all. The oil refinery is now in difficulties for want of certain sanctions which the Government of India are withholding. The petro-chemical complex which it was thought would come in the wake of the refinery, it has been stated, will not go to Kerala.

I wish to tell Shri Hathi that he should utilise his elephantine strength in order to do justice to us. Should we continue as a Cinderella among the States in India? Representing a Cinderella among the States in India it is a pity that I have to raise these questions in this House. I would rather have liked to raise them in the consultative committee; but there things are raised but very few things are accepted. That is the real position.

Therefore, this is a situation in which Shri Hathi as the Minister of State, Shri Nanda as the senior Minister in the Home Ministry, and everyone in the Government of India

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should consider what to do in order to avoid repetitions of this situation in Kerala and thereby to remove the frustration of the people of this unfortunate and unhappy State.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद) : सभापति महोदय, मौजूदा प्रस्ताव को ठुकराया जाना चाहिये। केरल में रास्ता बिल्कुल साफ है अगर जनतंत्र और समाजवाद को सही मानों में अपना लें। केरल के भूतपूर्व मुख्य मंत्री ने एक बात कही है। उन्होंने सवाल तो नहीं पूछा है लेकिन मैं उसको सवाल बना देता हूँ। केरल में क्या तो दर्पण है और कौन सी छवि है। यों तो केरल की छवि खराब दीखती है और उन्होंने दर्पण बताया है केरल के राज्यपाल को। यही बुनियादी गलती हो जाती है। उसी के सबब से रास्ता साफ दिखाई नहीं पड़ता है। केरल की छवि का दर्पण केरल की विधान सभा है नकि वहाँ के राज्यपाल। वहाँ की विधान सभा को छः महीने पहले खत्म करके जो कुकर्म इस सरकार ने किया, उसका अन्त होना चाहिये। उस विधान सभा को वापिस बुला करके उस दर्पण को ठीक किया जाना चाहिये। इसके बाद छवि भी ठीक हो जायेगी।

मैं श्री रंगा की उस बात पर आप का ध्यान दिलाऊँगा जब उन्होंने कहा कि यह प्रच्छन्न कांग्रेसी शासन है। प्रच्छन्न नहीं है। यह तो खुला हुआ है। खुला हुआ भी नहीं यह ओपेन कांग्रेसी शासन है। जहाँ विधान सभा या लोक सभा रहती है वहाँ कम से कम हमारे जैसे प्रादमी जब तब कुछ कह लेते हैं लेकिन केरल में वह भी साफ हो गया है। वहाँ तो केवल कांग्रेसी ओपेन शासन है। कोई कुछ कह भी नहीं सकता है। विधान सभा बिल्कुल खत्म हो गई है। इसलिए जब कभी विरोधियों की तरफ से राज्य पाल के ऊपर धौंटाकसी

होती है तो मैं अपने मन में सोचता हूँ कि उस बेचारे पर क्यों करते हो, वह तो खाली एक हथियार ही नहीं, आप अंग्रेजी ज्यादा समझते हैं, जिस को उसमें क्रीचर बोलते हैं उसको हिन्दी में क्या कहते हैं...

श्री बी० चं० शर्मा : जन्तु ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : हाँ जन्तु। इसलिये राज्यपाल के ऊपर कोई किसी तरह का दहाना प्रहार नहीं होना चाहिये। किसका जन्तु है वह? सरकार का है। इसलिये मैं...

सभापति महोदय : प्रतिनिधि शब्द इस्तेमाल करना उचित होगा।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : क्रीचर का हिन्दी में शब्द कहा है न, आप कोई मराठी शब्द बता दीजिये, मैं उसी का प्रयोग कर लेता हूँ। अभी तो क्रीचर कहा है और आगे कुछ न कहता तो सब मामला ठीक हो जाता लेकिन खैर आप मेरा मतलब तो समझ ही गए हैं।

वह किसका है। वहाँ डेढ़ प्रादमियों की सरकार है। केरल में वस्तुतः कांग्रेस सरकार भी नहीं चल रही है। डेढ़ प्रादमियों की सरकार चल रही है। डेढ़ कौन से प्रादमी हैं। हाथी साहब आप अपने को न गिन लें। गोमूह मंत्री हैं वह तो हैं आधे और उनके जो ऊँचे हैं, प्रधान मंत्री हैं वह हैं एक। इस तरह से इस समय डेढ़ प्रादमियों की सरकार केरल में चल रही है।

अगर आप जनतंत्र और समाजवाद का सही मतलब समझें तो मैं एक बात बतलाना चाहता हूँ। मेरे लिये थोड़ा सा अंशट का मामला यह हो जाता है कि केरल की जो विधान सभा है, जो छः महीने पहले बनी थी उसमें मुख्य पार्टी कामगमी साम्यवादी भी

वामपंथी साम्यवादियों के एक चरित्र को मैं बिल्कुल ठुकराता हूँ। वह कौनसा है? ये अपने सांचने और अपने तर्क का केन्द्र भारत-वर्ष नहीं, दुनिया नहीं बल्कि एक कोई बीच का बीच बनाव करने वाला देश बना लेते हैं। इनके सोचने और इनके तर्क का केन्द्र है अम-रीका—निन्दा और चीन्हा—स्तुति। अगर ये दुनिया को अपने सोचने का केन्द्र बनाते तो ठीक होता। और मच पूछें तो भारतवर्ष को केन्द्र बनाना चाहिये और तब सोचना चाहिये। लेकिन जब मैं वामपंथी साम्य-वादियों के इस रांग को बताता हूँ तो उनके साथ साथ यह भी आपसे अजं कर दूँ कि यह रोग कांग्रेस पार्टी के अन्दर भी घुसा हुआ है और यहां जो विरोधी लोग बैठे हुए हैं उनमें भी थोड़ा बहुत घुसा हुआ है और वे भी अपने सोचने के केन्द्र को दुनिया और हिन्दुस्तान न बनाकर कोई बीच का पज़ारी बना लिया करते हैं। फिर भी मैं कहता हूँ कि विधान सभा का बुलावो, उसको मौका दो कि वह फैसला करे कि सरकार केरल में बन सकती है या नहीं। हो सकता है कि वामपंथी साम्य-वादियों की सरकार बन जाए और न भी बन पाए तथा कोई और बना ले। यह काम राज्य-पाल का नहीं है, यह काम इन डेढ़ आदमियों का नहीं है।

यहां पर बहुत कुछ कहा गया है कि रपट बहुत अच्छी है, बस्तु निष्ठ है, उसके अन्दर सत्य है। इनको कोई हक ही नहीं है फैसला करने का। जनतंत्र में फैसला करने का एक मात्र हक वहां की विधान सभा को है। लेकिन उसको एक घंटे के लिए भी नहीं बुलाया गया है। मैं तो कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो छः महीने पहले पाप और कुकर्म किये थे, उसका अन्त करो। बुलावो उस विधान-सभा को। मौका दो। एक को दो, वह न मंत्रिमण्डल बना पाये तो दूसरे को दो। वह भी न बना पाये तो तीसरे को दो। हो सकता है कि इसमें शायद आपके कांग्रेस दल को भी मौका मिल जाये। जब कोई न बना पाये

तो आप ही बना लेना। लेकिन विधान सभा फैसला करने वाली है, वह है दपण। वह जो कुछ कहती है उसे देखो। तब जनतन्त्र चला पाओगे। मैं इस लिये भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब किसी देश के अन्दर या दल के अन्दर एक रोग घुस आता है, जैसा कि मैंने बतलाया कि वामपंथी साम्यवादियों के अन्दर रोग घुस आया है, तो उस रोग को निकालो। जनतन्त्र में एक ही जुलाब है, और वह जुलाब यह है कि जो जनता बोल दे करके लोगों को भेजे उस की सरकार बन जाने दो। फिर अगर वह बिगाड़ करेगी तो जनता जान जायेगी और उसे पटक कर निकाल बाहर करेगी।

14 hrs.

यहां पर कई आदमी कई दफे इन्टर मचा दिया करते हैं। मैं आपसे एक अजं करना चाहता हूँ कि यहां डेढ़ आदमी जो है उनमें बदले की भावना है। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये। तुम बड़ी जगह पर बैठे हुए हो, जाहे मन जैसा हो, बड़ी जगह के उपयुक्त मन बनाओ। पिछली लड़ाई में प्रेसियों के यहां बिरटन चर्चिल जैसे आदमी ने जिस को मैं करीब करीब हर मामले में गलत समझता हूँ, मोसले जैसे एक फासिस्ट कैदी के बारे में अपने गृह मंत्री को जो लिखा था वह मैं आपकी मुनाता हूँ। मोसले को जेल में रखा गया लड़ाई के दिनों में, तो चर्चिल ने गृह मंत्री को लिखा, जैसे कि यहां शाम्स्ली जी नन्दा जी का लिखें, कि देखो गृह मंत्री, मोसले को तुम जेल में रखे हुए हो, मोसले का बीबी भी जेल में है। तुम उनको अलग अलग क्यों रखे हुए हो। यह बदले की भावना निकाल रहे हैं, उन्हें एक साथ रखो। अगर राजनीति के कारण जेल में रखे हुई हो तो उनको एक साथ रखो। यह चर्चिल का खत है। जो कुछ मुझे वामपंथी साम्यवादियों के खिलाफ कहना था वह कह दिया, अब एक बात जरूर और कहना चाहता हूँ कि गोपालन साहब और उनकी पत्नी को अलग अलग क्यों रखे हुए हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह आपका बड़ा अमानु-

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

रिक काम है। आप यह बदन को भावना से काम कर रहे हैं। दोनों ही एक साथ रहना चाहिए। अगर आप और कुछ नहीं कर सकते।

यह जो तर्क है कि किस तरह से जनतन्त्र और समाजवाद की बात लाई जाये, तो उस के लिये विधान सभा की मौका दो और विधान सभा की मौका देने के बाद तुम एक चीज देखोगे कि यहाँ जितनी कार्रवाइयाँ हो रही है वह अपने आप पलट जायेंगी। मैं इसी लोक-सभा की बात कहता हूँ। यहाँ एक कमेटी बनी हुई है जिसे केरल सत्ताहकार समिति कहते हैं। उसमें लोक-सभा के केरल के जो लोग रखे गए हैं उनका बारे में मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है, लेकिन विरोधी दलों के अन्दर से इस समिति में दो व्यक्ति ऐसे रखे गये हैं जिन का केरल विधान सभा में खाली एक सदस्य है। लेकिन संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के बारे में देखिये। मैं खाली बतलाने के लिये ऐसा कह रहा हूँ, मैं नहीं कहता कि तुम हमारे दल को अच्छा मानो, क्योंकि सरकार की निगाह में तो हमारा दल बायीं दल है, वस्तु-स्थिति आप को बतलाता है कि जिस दल के चौदह सदस्य हैं, जिनमें से तेरह तो इस दल के सदस्य हैं और एक स्वतंत्र है, उसका कोई प्रति-निधि इस समिति में नहीं है। जब कि जिस दल का सिर्फ एक प्रादमी है उस के दो प्रतिनिधि हैं। इस तरह से जनतन्त्र के ऊपर धांच धा जाया करती है। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि इस सरकार ने कभी जनतन्त्र को समझा नहीं। हो सकता है कि हम लोगों ने भी न समझा हो। लेकिन यदि खाली रूप के ऊपर चर्चा होती रहेगी, आत्मा के ऊपर चर्चा नहीं होगी तो मामला बिगड़ता जायेगा।

श्री प्रोफेसर रंगा ने बार बार कहा कि संयुक्त मंत्रिमंडल स्विस देश के अनुरूप बने। खेर इस के बारे में वह जाने, और जाने वह जो उन के दोस्त हैं, एक दूसरे के नजदीक हैं, उनमें कोई बहुत फर्क है नहीं।

अब मैं क्या कहूँ, यह जो बहुत से लोग हैं उनमें फर्क नहीं। अन्त में मामला रूप का नहीं है कि हम किस तरह से जनतन्त्र में किन किन को इकट्ठा कर दें। अगर ऐसी सत्सक्ति हो जायेगी और एक राय बन जायेगी तो वह बेबुनियाद चीज हो जायेगी। इस में कोई नीती नहीं रह पायेगी। नीती तो तभी बन सकती है जब विचारों और विवादों का अच्छी तरह से संघर्ष हो। मेरी राय में यह सरकार प्रायः सब मागने में गलत रास्ते पर रही है। इस का तो मजाल ही नहीं उठता कि उसके साथ संयुक्त मंत्रिमण्डल बने, लेकिन इस के साथ साथ एक बात यह सकता हूँ कि लोक-सभा में नहीं तो बाहर तो इसको कर के देवों। मैं एक बात कहता हूँ कि मौका दो जनता को फैसला करने का। वह मौका कब आयेगा जब वाद विवाद होगा।

जो बातें मैंने यहां कहीं हैं अगर गृह मंत्रालय की तरफ से या प्रधान मंत्री की तरफ से उनका कोई जवाब आये तब तो आप समझना कि वाद विवाद से राज्य चल रहा है और अगर कोई जवाब न आये तब आप समझना कि यह कोई और ढंग की सरकार है। जनतन्त्र का मतलब क्या है। जनतन्त्र का मतलब होता है वाद विवाद के द्वारा जो सरकार चलती है। लेकिन यहाँ वाद विवाद का कोई जवाब कभी आयेगा नहीं। अभी मैंने जो बातें कही हैं उनका कोई जवाब नहीं है क्योंकि उनके यहाँ 390 प्रादमी हैं, वह अपनी बात कह कर खत्म कर देंगे। यह सरकार ऐसे चल रही है।

Mr. Chairman: Why anticipated that?

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : यह पचासों बफे हो चुका है। एक बार प्रधान मंत्री जी ने मेरी बात का जवाब दिया तो वह उसमें इतना फंसे कि उनकी सरकार वालों ने फैसला भर लिया कि वह किसी बात का जवाब न दें नहीं तो फंस जायेंगे। यह तो हो चुका। अब

मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि यह सरकार आखिर है क्या। यह जनतन्त्र की सरकार नहीं है और समाजवादी सरकार तो विन्युक्त है ही नहीं। यह चापलूसी और चुगल-खोरी की सरकार है। आप जानते हैं कि वाप-नूसी के इस्तेमाल से हर एक की इस सरकार में ऊँची से ऊँची जगह बन जाती है। इसमें कोई सन्देह रह नहीं गया है कि जहाँ चापलूसी होगी वहाँ चुगलखोरी जरूर होगी। यह दोनों साथ साथ चलती हैं और यह जो यह डेढ़ आदमीयों की सरकार है यह चापलूसी और चुगलखोरी से चलती है। आप को मैं क्या बतलाऊँ, एक दिन मुझे यह देख कर मैं दंग रह गया कि आखिर इस देश को हो क्या गया है। मेरी सुबह के समय एक आदत है। आपकी आशुनर्ध होगा, मैं कभी कभी रेडियो पर मोरा, कबिर और तुनगा का भजन सुन दिया करता हूँ। मैंने देखा कि कोई बहुत बड़े गायक आ गये हैं, गाने लिखने वाले, मैंने सोचा कि ललिता देवी शायद कृष्ण महाराज की राधा की गखी होंगी। कोई। लेकिन बाद में पता चला कि यह देश इतना पतित हो चला है कि मीरा विपैरह के साथ ही आकर वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री की पत्नी जो गाने लिखने लगी है उनको जाँड़ दिया जाता है। यह सरकार केरल में प्रधान सभा को खत्म करती है, हिन्दुस्तान में वाद विवाद की समस्याओं को खत्म करती है, लोक सभा में वाद विवाद नहीं चलने देती है। नतीजा यह होता है कि किसी चीज के ऊपर आज हम इस देश में अच्छी तरह से बातचीत भी नहीं कर सकते हैं।

मैं पाकिस्तान के मामले में कह सकता हूँ कि क्या हो रहा है। केरल में जनतन्त्र को खत्म करने का नतीजा क्या हो रहा है। मैंने कई बड़ी बातें कही इस लोक-सभा में दो दिन के अन्दर। प्रधान मंत्री साहब जाने वाले थे लाहौर। बीच में पैर में कहीं मोच आ गई। कोई और स्वतन्त्र देश होता तो भ्रष्टाचारों के लिये उस दिन की सबसे बड़ी खबर यह होती कि मोच कहां आ गई कि वह बीच में रुक गये। आखिर जो सड़ाई

चल रही है उसमें जो जो गलतियाँ हुई हैं उन पर कोई सोच विचार तो होता चाहिये न। लेकिन मोच विचार नहीं होगा लोक-सभा में। अगर ऐसा नहीं होगा तो आखिर जनतन्त्र में वाद विवाद का मतलब ही क्या रह जाता है। मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वाद विवाद और जनतन्त्र के हिसाब से यह लोक-सभा जले तो यह बात पूर्ण रूप से साफ हो जायेगी जो मैंने कोरम के न रहने पर कहा था कि पाकिस्तान के भयूर खां जालिम तो हैं ही, मुझे लगता है कि हजारत कुछ नादान भी हैं। बहुत नादान आदमी मालूम पड़ते हैं।

श्री बी० चं० शर्मा : वीन ?

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : वही भयूर खां वही भुट्टो। मैं उनके लिये नादान शब्द का इस्तेमाल कर रहा हूँ। अगर आप के शब्दों में कहता तो कहता कि बेवकूफ नहीं जाहिल आदमी है। अगर महीने में जो चीजें भारतवर्ष में हो रही थीं वह चीजें सितम्बर अक्तूबर और नवम्बर में बढ़ते बढ़ते इतनी हो जाती जिन के बारे में आप लोगों ने सवाल उठाया था कि भारत की स्थिति ऐसी हो जाती कि आप हजारों शहर और गांव में निकल नहीं पाते सड़कों के ऊपर। आप के ऊपर लोग इस तरह से छीटाकसी करते। आज देश में आप ने खाने पीने के मामले में ऐसा कर रखा है कि 9 अगस्त से 16 अगस्त तक बिहार में और दूसरी जगह जिस तरह से सड़कों आदमियों को इस सरकार ने गोली घाट उतारा और हजारों को जेलों में डाला कि अगर बीच में भयूर खां बचाने न चले आते तो मामला अब तक न जाने कहां पहुंच गया होता। लेकिन याद रखना कि यह कुछ ही दिनों की बात है क्योंकि लोग सवाल पूछने लगे हैं, कि क्यों लाहौर नहीं गये क्यों हाजी पीर से वापस आने की बातें हो रही हैं, क्यों 5 अगस्त की बातें हो रही हैं। वह सब चर्चा देख के अंदर होने सब नई

[डा० राब मनोहर लोहिया]

है। कभी कभी भीड़ इकट्ठा हो जाती है इस पर लट्टू न हो जाना। भीड़ तो बहुत इकट्ठी हो जाती है। अगर प्रकेले-प्रकेले में भीड़ का सामना करो तो पता चल गयेगा कि किस की भीड़ ज्यादा होनी है।

तो एक बात इसी के साथ-साथ मैं यह भी कह देना चाहता हूँ कि इस बहस में संविधान की दफा 352 को, जो कि आपत्काल से संबंधित है और दफा 356 को जो कि प्रान्त में सरकार के टूट जाने सम्बन्धित से है दोनों को बहुत ज्यादा मिला जुला दिया गया है। जब विदेशी आक्रमण का संकट हो और आसन्न संकट हो उसके लिये दफा 352 है और दफा 356 जब कहीं किसी सूबे की सरकार चलना असम्भव हो उसके लिये है। गवर्नर की रपट महत्व की चीज नहीं है। मैं डाक्टर मणिषि का बहुत शुक्रगुजर हूँ कि उन्होंने इन दफायों को पढ़ कर सुना दिया। इसमें साफ लिखा है। केवल गवर्नर की रपट की ही बात नहीं है किसी और तारीके से भी अगर राष्ट्रपति को सूचना हो गये तो वह ऐसा कदम उठा सकते हैं। तो यह सारा मामला राष्ट्रपति का है। मुझे राष्ट्रपति के बारे में कुछ कहना नहीं है। असल में तो यह इन डेढ़ आदमियों का मामला है जिन्होंने फैसला किया कि केरल में एक कठोर और बिल्कुल खुला और जिसमें बाद-विवाद न हो सके ऐसा कांग्रेस का शासन चले।

अब आपत्ति काल और संवैधानिक शासन का टूटा जाना, जहां दोनों को एक साथ मिला दिया जाता है, तो इसके बड़े खतरनाक नतीजे निकला करते हैं। अब यहां श्री गोविन्द मेनन ने मेरी पार्टी के बारे में कहा कि श्री चंद्र शेखरन् ने कहा कि पालघाट के चुनाव न हों। मुझे मायम नहीं कि उन्होंने ऐसा कहा

या नहीं कहा। अगर मुझे मालूम होता तो मैं आज सबेरे तिब्बांकुर को टेली-फोन करके पता लगा लेता कि उन्होंने कहा है या नहीं

Shri P. G. Menon: It is in the Report.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : वह तो गवर्नर की रपट है। मैं अपने आदमी से पूछता। लेकिन थोड़ी देर के लिये मान लो कि यह सही है।

जिस दल के श्री गोविन्द मेनन सदस्य हैं उस दल के सभापति ने भूल में, यह सोचा कि जनता का मन बदल रहा है, इसलिये उन्होंने सन् 1967 के चुनाव को सन् 1966 में करवाना चाहा था या नहीं? जरा इस पर बोलिये श्री गोविन्द मेनन साहब।

Shri P. G. Menon: On a proper occasion.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : ठीक है उनको जरा सोचने का मौका मिल जाये किसी वकील से पूछ लें कि क्या जवाब दिया जाये।

तो इस पार्टी के सभापति ने खुलम-खुला कहा, गलती से हो, कि भारत की जनता का मन बदल रहा है कांग्रेस की तरफ, इसलिये उन्होंने कहा कि चुनाव जल्दी करा दो। तो मैं अपने चंद्रशेखरन् की बात का जवाब श्री कामराज और श्री कृष्णमाचारी की बात से देता हूँ। जब यह कहा गया कि चुनाव जल्दी करा दो, तो मैं तो कुछ तैयार हो गया था कि करा दो जल्दी। हो सकता है कि जितनी ऊपरी बाह्वाही मिली है वह दूर हो जाये, और जो आज नकसी सोने का भुलमा है वह ऊपर से उतर जाये और जो नीचे पीतल और गिल्ट है वह निकल कर सामने आ जाये।

और उसके साथ-साथ यह भी कहूंगा और इस पर बड़े साहब सोचें। उन्होंने कह दिया कि संकट-काल में चुनाव नहीं होना चाहिये। तो यह संकट-काल कब तक चलेगा? पहला सवाल तो मैं यह पूछ लेना चाहता हूँ आपने जन संघ के लोगों से क्योंकि आजकल उनकी इस सरकार पर भजीव कृपा है। तो वे पूछ लें कि यह संकट-काल कब तक चलेगा। या हाथी जी अगर उनकी तरफ से जवाब दे सकते हैं तो दें। क्या जवाब नहीं है?

श्री हाथी : देवे।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अगर अभी दे देते तो मुझे बोलने में मदद मिल जाती। मैं ऐसा आदमी नहीं हूँ कि अपने तर्कों को सामने वाले की बात सुन कर न बदल दूँ। अगर आप बता दें कि यह संकट-काल दो महीने, चार महीने, 6 महीने चलेगा तब तो मेरा तर्क दूसरे ढंग का हो जायेगा। लेकिन अगर आप यह कहना चाहते हों, बैसा कि मैं ने सुना है कि यह एक पीढ़ी या दो पीढ़ी चलेगा तब तो मामला बिगड़ जाता है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : एक हजार साल चलेगा।

Shri Mohammed Koya (Kozhikode): Even during this Emergency, Municipal elections are going to be held in Palghat.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : बहुत बढ़िया बात बोले कोया साहब, पहले क्यों नहीं बोले जब वह बोल रहे थे। अगर वे पाकिस्तान को खत्म करने में हमारा साथ दे दें तब तो फिर तम एक साथ ही हैं। मैं इन की बात को गम करता हूँ।

श्री त्यागी : तब तक पाकिस्तान है।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : त्यागी जी ने क्या कहा?

एक माननीय सदस्य : जब तक पाकिस्तान है। ;

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : तब तो त्यागी जी से हमारा इस पर फैसला हो जाये— पहले वे मेरे बताये रास्ते पर दो चार बरस चल लें और फिर सात दिन के लिये गद्दी छोड़ दें और देखें कि मैं पाकिस्तान को सात दिन में बरफ की तरह पिघला देता हूँ या नहीं, पाकिस्तान खत्म हो जायेगा जैसे बरसात में हिमालय की बरफ पिघल जाया करती है।

श्री त्यागी : ऐसा नुस्खा आप के पास था तो आपने हम को पहले क्यों नहीं बताया ?

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मैंने बता दिया है। मैं न 17-18 बरस से कसम खा रखी थी कि किसी प्रधान मंत्री से नहीं मिलूंगा। लेकिन मिलने गया, इसी लिए तो गया था। मैंने वह नुस्खा बता दिया लेकिन उन बेचारे का नाजुक दिल है उस नुस्खे पर थोड़े चल पाए, ज्यादा कहां से चल पाएंगे।

तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह संकट-काल कब तक चलेगा। आप जानते हो कि दफा 352 में कहा गया है, बाहर का हमला हो गया हो या होने वाला हो, "घातघात संकट" ये शब्द हैं। ये शब्द इतने भयंकर हैं कि इनकी मातहत में यह सरकार जो कुछ चाहे सो कर सकती है। अगर इसकी लोक-सभा में बहुसंख्या बनी रहती है तो जित्त तरह से केरल में विधान सभा को खत्म किया उसी तरह सारे देश की विधान सभाओं को खत्म कर सकती है, कोई फायदा कानून ऐसा नहीं है जो इसको ऐसा करने में रोक सके। सिर्फ इतना कहना काफी है कि वैधानिक सरकार नहीं चल सकती है, हम सारी विधान सभाओं को खत्म करते हैं। विधानरूप में थाप यह कर सकते हो।

तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन "घातघात संकट" का अर्थ हो जाए। मैंने कांजिश की थी कि

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

स्वाच्च न्यायालय इसका अर्थ कर दे। लेकिन उस न्यायालय के जज कुछ दूर तक तो गए, इसके लिए मैं उनकी सराहना करता हूँ, लेकिन ज्यादा दूर जाने की उनकी हिम्मत नहीं हुई। तो अगर इस "आसन्न संकट" का अर्थ हो जाता तो कहा जा सकता था कि हमला हुआ। वरना यह 48 करोड़ का देश भारत और कहां दस करोड़ का पाकिस्तान। यह तो हाथी और भैंस की लड़ाई है, मैंने भैंसा नहीं कहा। इस लड़ाई को खत्म करने में क्या देर लगनी चाहिए। यह लड़ाई तो बिल्कुल मामूली लड़ाई है, लेकिन इसको चलाते रहो। मुझे कभी-कभी एक शक होता है कि कहीं अपूब खां साहब या भुट्टो साहब, जो भी कोई हों, और जो ये डेढ़ आदमी हैं इनमें बेलिखा, बेबोला हुआ समझोना तो नहीं है कि भाई थोड़ी देर के लिए लड़ लिये करो। और फिर देश में तनाव रखो और तनाव की हलचल में अपनी अपनी पार्टी की हयूमत् को बनाये रखो।

इसलिए आपका यह जवाब ठीक नहीं है, आप जवाब यह दो कि हम पाकिस्तान के मसले को जल्दी धत्त कर देंगे, 6 महीने में, साल भर में। यह जवाब तो माकूल जवाब होता। ऐसा न होने से मामला खराब होता है।

अब मैं केरल की एक बात आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। कहा गया कि वहां मछलियां मारने का बड़ा काम हो रहा है और उसके लिए लोगों ने सरकार की और अपनी भी पीठ ढोकी। लेकिन जो मछली मारने का काम वहां चल रहा है उसके बारे में मैं आपके सामने, श्री मुहम्मद का पत्र जो मुझे मिला है उसमें से, कुछ बातें रखना चाहता हूँ। वह पत्र मलयाली भाषा में है, जिससे आपको मालूम हो कि हमारे यहां का काम अपनी-अपनी भाषाओं में चलता है। उन्होंने लिखा है कि केरल में एक स्वानियर रेयन नाम का कारखाना है। उसमें से बहुत गन्दा पानी निकलता है, वह आलियार नदी में डाल दिया जाता है। इससे मछलियां मर

जाती हैं और वहां खेती को भी बहुत नुकसान होता है। जब इस कारखाने के लिए लाइसेंस दिया गया था तो मालिकों से समझौता हो गया था कि यह पानी अरब के समुद्र में गिराया जाएगा। अरब का समुद्र इस स्थान से मुश्किल से दस बारह मील दूर है। वहां इस पानी को न गिरा कर नदी में गिराया जाता है जिससे मछलियां भी मरती हैं और खेती भी खराब होती है।

केरल में एक कुटुम्ब को महीने में दो लिटर यानी तीन बोतल मिट्टी का तेल दिया जाता है। इससे आप यह न समझें कि केरल के ऊपर इस सरकार की विशेष नाराजगी है। मैं अभी उत्तर प्रदेश में गया था। वहां मैंने एक त्रिचित्र बात देखी। वह शहर वालों को, जहां बिजली है, ज्यादा मिट्टी का तेल दिया जाता है और गांवों में रहने वालों को कम दिया जाता है। यह भीधी खोपड़ी की सरकार आप कब तक चला पाओगे। बिल्कुल उल्टा मामला कर रखा है। गांव वालों को कम तेल दिया जाता है और शहर वालों को ज्यादा जहां बिजली भी है। यह डेढ़ आदमी की खोपड़ी वालों की बात है। और अब मैं खाली आखिर में अपनी पार्टी की बात कह कर खत्म किये देना हूँ। यहां उस पार्टी का जिक्र किया गया। मैं अपनी पार्टी की कभी ताराफ नहीं करता, करना नहीं चाहता क्योंकि जब तक हम कुछ करके न दिखा दें कहने से क्या फायदा लेकिन केवल सिद्धान्तरूप से कुछ कहना चाहूंगा। खास कर जब रंगा साहब ने समाजवाद का नाम लिया, कुछ और लोगों ने दिया और उतर वाले लेने हैं तो मैं एक बात कह देना चाहता हूँ कि इधर हम लोग विरोधी दल के हैं, कोशिश करते हैं एक दूसरे के साथ ऊपर-प्रेम रखने के लिए। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह ऊपर-प्रेम और जरा कुछ मजबूत बन जाय। उसमें सफलता नहीं मिल रही है। लोग साहे कुछ भी समझते हों हम लोग आपस में कम से कम जो चुनाव की सीटें होती हैं जगहें होती

है उनके बारे में बंटवारा कर लें अब क्या होता और क्या नहीं होता उसमें मैं नहीं जानूँगा लेकिन सिद्धान्ततः एक बात बतलाना चाहता हूँ और वह यह कि कांग्रेस सरकार को एक बात का घमण्ड है कि वह हार नहीं सकती तो यह बात किसी हद तक सही है। स्वतंत्र पार्टी उसको कभी हरा नहीं सकती है। जनताप उसको कभी हरा नहीं सकता है। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी उसको हरा नहीं सकती केवल एक दल उसको हरा सकता है जिसमें प्राथमिक क्रान्तिकारिता और राष्ट्रीयता दोनों एक साथ समान मात्रा में जुड़ी हुई हों। वह दल अभी बन पाया है या नहीं बन पाया है इस पर मैं कोई राय नहीं देना चाहता लेकिन इतना जरूर याद रखना कि चाहे वह कृष्ण छोटा या हो क्यों न दिखाई पड़ता हो लेकिन किसी वक्त वह रूस के सिर पर और ज़ाला पर चढ़ कर ऐसा मारेगा कि उसको डाँक कर देगा। यह काम प्राथमिक क्रान्तिकारिता और राष्ट्रीयता की जुड़ाव वाली पार्टी ही कर सकती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि केरल में मोक्रा दो। जो विधान सभा चुनी गई थी उस को वापिस बुलाओ। अब अगर कहा जाय कि उसको एक दफा बरख़्तान कर दिया तो जो दो तिहाई बहुमत आप लोगों का है उसमें जरूरी हो तो संविधान में तब्दीली करके भी उस विधान सभा को वापिस बुलाइये। वही एक दर्शन है, वही एक जनतन्त्र है और अगर उसको आप ख़त्म करते हो तो फिर याद रखना कि कभी-कभी मामला ख़तरनाक हो जाया करता है और ऐसा ख़तरनाक हो जाता है कि मेरे जैसे प्रायश्ची जो कुछ करता नहीं चाहते उन को भी कुछ करना पड़ता है। बस इनका ही मुझे कहना है।

Shri Hathi: During the discussion, several questions have been raised by hon. Members from the constitutional point of view, from the legal point of view and from political administrative, economic and financial points of view. I shall try to reply to these questions as sufficiently as I can.

14.24 hrs.

[Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

The first question was raised by Shri N. C. Chatterji, for whom I have the greatest respect and regard as a jurist. He said that, under Article 356 of the Constitution, it was only when there was a Ministry and that Ministry could not function and Government could not be carried on according to the provisions of the Constitution that this provision should come into force. But, as Shri G. N. Dixit pointed out very correctly, there is the second proviso.

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

If, after six months, again this has to be continued, then both the Houses have to ratify it.

After the first Proclamation, the Assembly was dissolved. Therefore, at the time of the issue of the second Proclamation, there was no Council of Ministers since the Assembly had already been dissolved. Therefore, to say that the Ministry did not function at the time of issue of the second Proclamation is out of question. Mr. Dixit has very ably replied to that point and I do not want to go further.

Another question which was raised by Mr. Ranga was about having an all-party government, of the Swiss type. That is an experiment and that experiment can be made only if there is some evidence to show that this would function. We had an experiment of the coalition Ministry which failed. Even for the formation of a coalition Ministry, the leaders of the parties, who were called were not prepared to combine together. but there is one thing. I would agree

[Shri Hathi]

with Mr. Vasudevan Nair that we should have a democratic form of Government. On that there is no dispute. It is only under the present circumstances, when Government could not carry on according to the provisions of the Constitution, that this step had to be taken.

When I said that people heaved a sigh of relief, it was not at the issue of the Proclamation of the President's rule. If I had created that impression, I am very sorry and I would like to correct it. What I wanted to say was that the administration that was run by the Governor was carried on in a way that people felt satisfied.

Some mention was made about a slip that had occurred in the Governor's report. Shri H. N. Mukerjee said that the two Communists were put as belonging to PSP. Actually what happened was that there was a typographical error—the words 'and leaders of' had been omitted by mistake. I think that clears the position.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): Was it the original letter of the Governor that was circulated?

Shri Hathi: No; this was only a summary.

So far as Mr. Ranga is concerned, I am obliged to him on one point. He at least appreciated the work of the Consultative Committee. So far as the Swiss type of Government is concerned, we shall study that; I have gone through some literature but I have not been able to go through the whole of it. Shri Chatterji expressed his view yesterday that he was not in favour of that. That is one view. I have not gone deeply into the subject. We are all thinking now of today's position. We have to see the position that existed about two months back when the decision had to be taken or elections had to be arranged. So that question did not arise. But one thing is certain that

there should be either a majority party or if that is not possible, a coalition Ministry, i.e., some democratic form of government should be there. On that there is no dispute. If the present form of Government is not suitable to any particular area, we cannot change for that area alone; if we have to change, we have to change for the whole country. In the present circumstances, we feel that it is not possible to do that.

Then an observation was made by some Members that we bring in Emergency here. While at one time the Congress President or somebody said that we should have immediate elections, it was said that Congress wanted to take credit and get through the elections. I may say that, if there is any credit, it should go to the whole nation. It was not one Party but the whole nation that stood as one. So the credit goes to the whole nation. I would not like to say that it was Congress and, therefore, we were unanimous. The country has shown that it is a mature nation. And I would only make this appeal: let the maturity that the nation has shown, let it be shown continuously, and let it not be said that we wanted to take advantage of that. But I was sorry . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Will he take more time?

Shri Hathi: I can finish in another ten minutes, if the House agrees.

Some hon. Members: No, no.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister will continue his reply on Monday.

Shri Warrier: He should reply to the points we have made.

Shri Hathi: I will reply to all.

डा० रम मनोहर लोहिया : जो कुछ जवाब दें, सोच-समझ कर दें ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now we will take up non-official business.