

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (Shri D. R. Chavan): I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Notifications under sub-section (6) of section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955:—

- (i) The Uttar Pradesh Paddy and Rice (Restriction on Movement) Second Amendment Order, 1964, published in Notification No GSR 1658 dated the 23rd November, 1964.
- (ii) GSR 1694 dated the 24th November, 1964, rescinding the Rice (Madhya Pradesh) Price Control Order, 1963, published in Notification No. GSR 1673 dated the 19th October, 1963.
- (iii) The Madhya Pradesh Rice (Movement Control) Amendment Order, 1964, published in Notification No. GSR 1695 dated the 27th November, 1964.
- (iv) GSR 1696 dated the 27th November, 1964, rescinding the Rice (Eastern Zone) Movement Control Order, 1959 published in Notification No. GSR 1401 dated the 21st December, 1959.
- (v) The West Bengal Rice (Movement Control) Order, 1964, published in Notification No. GSR 1697 dated the 27th November, 1964.
- (vi) The Orissa Rice (Movement Control) Order, 1964, published in Notification No. GSR. 1698 dated the 27th November, 1964. [*Placed in Library. See No. LT-3565/64*].

NOTIFICATIONS UNDER EMPLOYEES PROVIDENT FUNDS ACT

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Law (Shri Jaganatha Rao): I beg to lay on the Table:—

(1) a copy each of the following Notifications under sub-section

(2) of section 7 of the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952:—

- (i) The Employees' Provident Funds (Fifteenth Amendment) Scheme, 1964, published in Notification No GSR 1288 dated the 12th September, 1964.
- (ii) The Employees' Provident Funds (Sixteenth Amendment) Scheme, 1964, published in Notification No. GSR 1399 dated the 26th September, 1964.
- (iii) The employees' Provident Funds (Seventeenth Amendment) Scheme, 1964, published in Notification No. GSR 1415 dated the 3rd October, 1964.
- (iv) The Employees' Provident Funds (Eighteenth Amendment) Scheme, 1964, published in Notification No. GSR 1500 dated the 17th October, 1964. [*Placed in Library. See No. LT-3566/64*].

(2) a copy of Notification No. GSR 1398 dated the 26th September, 1964, issued under section 1 of the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952, extending the said Act to certain establishments. [*Placed in Library. See No. LT-3567/64*].

DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS (KERALA), 1964-65.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up further discussion and voting on the Supplementary Demands for Grants in respect of the State of Kerala for 1964-65 as also the cut motions which have been moved thereto.

Out of 3 hours allotted for these Demands, 1 hour and 40 minutes have

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already been availed of, and 1 hour and 20 minutes now remain.

Shri Ranga may now continue his speech.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): I was saying yesterday that all the political parties which had been functioning in Kerala up till now had had their opportunities one way or the other of joining the Government of the day from time and time and trying to serve the people, and all of them have come to grief. The Government run by majority rule has obviously failed in Kerala. It is for the Government of India and the people and the Lok Sabha and Parliament to consider whether the time has not come for them to try to make some other experiment. We have tried so far this experiment of running the government by majority rule, whether one particular party has been able to get a clear majority or not; sometimes, two or three parties and certain independent elements also had got together the majority of people on one side and then presented to the Governor their capacity to run the government, and obtained his consent and formed the Ministry. But so far that experiment has failed in Kerala.

Therefore, I made a suggestion some time ago that it is high time for us to try to explore possibilities of other experiments. Already in the democratic world there is a precedent established so successfully—in Switzerland—where there is no such thing as government by majority party rule but there is government by a committee consisting of the representatives of all the political parties in their Parliament, and working as far as it is possible by their unanimous decisions, and where it is not possible, try to come to decisions by consensus, and where that also is not possible, to try to postpone the need for coming to a decision for as

long as possible until they are able to reach a consensus.

I would suggest that an experiment on these lines should be made in this particular case where so far, as I have said, we have had two occasions when the President has had to intervene because of the failure of the parliamentary majority rule experiment. Every important party has come to grief in making this experiment of political party majority rule. If the experiment, I am suggesting, is not going to be tried and Government are insistent upon somehow or other trying to gain a majority by means, good or bad, *bona fide* or *mala fide*, directly through the elections or afterwards with the support of various groups, Independents and others, I can only say that the time would not be far off when we will have to plan for a third time for presidential intervention, when he would have to intervene and have his own regime there. That is not going to be good either for that area or for the whole of India.

Shri Shinkre (Marmagoa): Shri Patil has suggested a remedy.

Shri Ranga: It will be a very bad precedent for the whole of India. If, on the other hand, the present Government were try to postpone these elections and postpone the evil day—and go on waiting for the next 1½ or 2 years in the hope that the people there would somehow or other settle and quieten down and would come to forget their past and present ills and would be indifferent to the future, becoming so cynical or helpless as to be willing to vote again in a cussed manner for their own party, then in that way also they would only be harbouring a cancerous growth in our social economy and parliamentary political set-up. This also will be a development which would not bode well for democracy in India.

I wish to warn Government that it would be better for them to try to make the experiment I am suggesting, the experiment of a committee government run on the basis of a consensus with the cooperation of all the political parties. And what would be the special advantage so far as the elections are concerned? At present, in our country among quite a large section of our people, there is a kind of weakness for the ruling party, for winning their hearts. Therefore, they would like to support the party in power, the party which expected to come back into power. Whether they like it or not, however much discontented they may be with its past performances, they would like to give support to that party. That tendency has queered the pitch till now and has weakened our democracy. If we want to overcome that, the best thing is to give the impression, and also assurance, to the people that whichever party may come to be elected in whatever strength, all these parties will have a chance, of running the administration, not by itself, not by any evil or good combination of some two or three parties, but in co-operation with all the political parties. Then, this unfortunate and unhappy weakness of a good section of our people to favour only the ruling party can be overcome, and the people would have an opportunity of voting only for those parties, those political elements in whom they have real confidence, with the assurance that their votes would be put to good use, and that they would also have an opportunity of making their constructive contribution to the governance of their State.

I am not suggesting it for the whole of India straightaway. Since this special, peculiarly difficult and unfortunate situation has arisen, not for the first time, I want the Government to consider this suggestion very carefully and give effect to it in this particular State.

Then, I wish to warn them also against any attempt, in a unilateral

manner, of prolonging this President's raj. If they want to prolong it, and if there are good reasons.....

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore City): I do not clearly understand the experiment you are suggesting.

Shri Ranga: I will have to repeat a good lot.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Briefly.

Shri Ranga: Let me complete the present argument.

If they want to prolong it either for making the experiment or for overcoming the present food crisis which is now very serious, it would be very wrong and unconscionably wrong for them to take that decision in a unilateral fashion, without prior consultations and without the consent of the principal political parties and elements which are functioning, which have made themselves felt in the political life of Kerala. Just because the Congress Party alone has had power there recently, and the Congress Government alone is running the show here at the Centre, and the Congress Party through this Government alone has got the right to advise the President at present, if they take such a decision unilaterally, it would be a violation, a clear violation, of democratic conventions and decency; if they do so it would be taken not only by the people of Kerala but by the people all over India, as taking an undue, unwise, unholy advantage of the fortuitous chance they have of running the Government, of reaching the President in a constitutional manner. Therefore, I hope they would not rush to this conclusion.

I am told that one of my friends and how a Cabinet Minister, well known as an expert in getting votes for them and in developing electioneering publicity has gone there recently. I do not think he has gone there in his private capacity. He has gone there recently, made some studies not on behalf of every one and

[Shri Ranga]

on behalf of Parliament, but possibly on behalf of the Congress party itself, and certainly on behalf of this Government, and come back and give some advice. I do not know what that advice is, but if we are to judge from what has appeared in one of the prominent daily papers of this city only this morning, I am afraid that his advice seems to have been rather an unwise one, and Government also seems to be on the precipice of making a decision, the wrong decision. So, before it is too late I sound this warning that they ought not to do it. Let them stick to their own earlier decision. If they want to change it, let them consult the political parties in the State as well as in the whole of India. Then, they can come to their own decision, a decision which would be and which should be acceptable to all the political parties in the country.

My hon. friends asked: what is that experiment?

Mr. Speaker: He has already stated that.

Shri Ranga: He said he did not hear it. Therefore, if you would show me an indulgence for a minute, I would say that there is that system in Switzerland where there are political parties, including socialists, liberals, conservatives party for landed interests, etc. All these parties go to the people at the time of voting and get their votes, and form elected groups in Parliament. Thereafter the President forms a committee consisting of various representatives and that committee is placed in charge of the Government and certain departments or ministries are entrusted to certain of these members and they would run it by a sense of consensus, not by majority rule. Simply because one particular party happens to have a majority, it does not run the whole thing at all. They run the administration by a consensus. The same system is ap-

plied in England also, not for the Government but for the governance of their local bodies including the London County Council whose budget is much bigger than the budget of the biggest State in India, Uttar Pradesh. There also this committee system is working. In Switzerland it is working for the past 70 or 80 years. Why not such an experiment be made here? Here these people would be called ministers and the combination would be called the Ministry and the work can be done. Somebody asked me: whom are we to call to form the ministry because according to our Constitution only the leader of the majority party is to be called in to form the ministry. There were occasions in Madras and in Kerala when the leader of the single largest group or party was called to form the ministry even though he did not have a regular majority behind him in the name of his own party. So, here also the leader of the single largest group may be called, in conformity with the constitution so that this experiment could be made within the four corners of the Constitution itself.

I conclude by reminding the Government and also warning that they should not think of expanding the President's Rule unilaterally, on their own initiative, for their own advantage.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Sir, though I do not have the good fortune of hailing from Kerala. I have taken interest in this problem from an all India point of view and from the point of view of the general principles enunciated by the leader of the Swatantra Party I think it may not be quite possible to introduce government by committees in accordance with the pattern of administration suggested by him, without amending the Constitution. I am one with him in devising a fresh remedy. Let it be by amendment of the Constitution, if necessary and without amendment, if

possible. Anyway, we have reached a stage of finding a solution for this problem of Kerala. The other day when this House discussed the introduction of President's rule in Kerala everyone who spoke irrespective of party affiliations, was unanimous about one point.

The real disease in Kerala is the communal conflict. Most of us for over a quarter of a century,...

Shri Ranga: In other areas also.

Shri Hanumanthaiya:...and some like Prof. Ranga and others for over half a century, have worked consistently and insistently for the evolution of a national outlook in place of the communal and caste-ridden one. I am now speaking not as a partisan of any particular section of this House. I am speaking more as a student of the Constitution and its proper evolution. Unfortunately, in Kerala, this experiment of responsible parliamentary system of Government has floundered. Two mid-term elections were held; we could not get a stable government. I agree in a mood of self-analysis and self-criticism we could admit that the Congress party which was returned to power has not been able to maintain a stable government which it could have done. Both the times, when President's rule had to be imposed, it was the Congress party and its internal conflict that was responsible for the collapse of the concerned Ministries. The other parties have not been able to inspire confidence in the people of Kerala so as to have a big majority and form a stable Government. Even if the other non-Congress parties get a majority in the general elections, it is very doubtful whether they will be able to get this communal conflict suppressed in the interests of good administration of the State and evolve a stable government acceptable to the legislature there and to the people for the full period of five years. Where the Congress has failed I do not suppose the

other parties will unhesitatingly claim that they would succeed.

Shri Ranga: They have also failed.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Therefore, it is high time that we found a remedy, and what I suggest today is loud thinking. The other day, I was sore against the Government for not paying proper attention to this problem. This is a problem which deserves the attention of all those leaders of Government who are in a position to evolve a new formula. I am very happy at least today there are some Cabinet ministers. The other day it was entrusted to a Minister of State who could only give a routine reply to this all-important question.

First of all, I will analyse what the defects are in the usual, routine way of handling the situation. As soon as the Ministry is dismissed in the way it has been done, the whole structure of Government is handed over to the bureaucracy. All of us fought the British imperialism more for the mistakes made by the bureaucracy than for any other defects we found in that system of government. (*Interruption*). It may be, but independence was an urge in itself, apart from other high considerations. The day-to-day administration carried out by the bureaucratic system of government came in for criticism at the hands of every party and every individual in this House. The word 'bureaucracy' was taboo in the mouth of every speaker who pleaded for a system of good government. In these days of democratic system of Government, where socialism has also been added as an reinforcement to the Government, to hand over the entire administration, be it for a month, half year or one year, to the bureaucracy is to go against the very spirit of the Constitution, against the very fundamentals on which we are working after we attained independence. Whether it is the communist party or the congress party or any other party, I am sure

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

they would resent as a matter of disrespect to the principles of the Constitution, disrespect to the people of Kerala, disrespect to the parties of Kerala, that automatically a kind of bureaucratic government should be imposed upon the people.

Secondly, whether we are leaders or non-leaders, we have got a kind of mental laziness. When we do not exert ourselves, we ask the ICS officers to exert themselves for our sake. After all, the Secretary, as the name denotes, should not be allowed to lord over things. Secretary is a secretary. The Constitution and the democratic principles envisage a Secretary to assist in the way he determines policies, programmes and tempo of the Government. It is not for him to advise as to how the administration should be run. If we presume that the adviser is better than the master, a day will come when the people will choose the adviser himself to be the master.

I am totally against this point of view that a Governor should be invested with power to govern Kerala for any period. I am much more emphatic that ICS people should not be sent as advisers to the Governor to carry on this administration. The whole structure of making the bureaucratic administration complete in the matter of controlling the administrative machinery is alien to the spirit of democracy. We are doing it as a matter of routine as though there is nothing else to be done. That shows we have not got the mental calibre to think in terms of alternatives to devise a new formula which will satisfy the needs of the situation and also the demands of democratic rule. My first suggestion is that the people of Kerala must be governed democratically. In this House, there are Members of Kerala elected from Kerala. In the interregnum between the day of dissolution of the Ministry and the

coming into office of a new Ministry in a constitutional way, let there be a kind of administrative committee or advisory committee composed of Members from Kerala. I do not mind the name of the committee. In the absence of the local legislature working, the Members of Parliament from that State must be entrusted with the responsibility of that legislature. Even under the Constitution it is like that today. Today every measure during this period ought to be approved of by Parliament. That power is there. But it becomes nominal and technical when the Government is in somebody's hand and the Parliament is asked to vote. Most of us, who do not belong to Kerala, do not take so much deep interest in their local and other problems. We merely support whatever Government sponsors in this House.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: (Hoshangabad): Just now you said it is a national problem. Now you say we do not take interest.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: My hon. friend, Mr. Kamath, having taken so much interest in parliamentary affairs, is still wandering in the desert. There is a way of taking interest...

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I hope you are the only oasis in the desert. Let us have water from you, for the treasury benches—the Ministers—also.

Shri Shinkre: For this House being turned into a desert his party is responsible.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Therefore, Members of Parliament from Kerala must be made responsible for the administration. Either by a convention or even by a constitutional amendment, they must be able to carry on the administration. Supposing they are able to agree amongst themselves, irrespective of the party, upon a particular individual, let him act as Adviser to the Governor for

the time being instead of an ICS officer. Or, if they agree upon two or three people, let those Members be advisers to the Governor instead of ICS officers. Members of Parliament are as much elected representatives as Members of the local legislature of Kerala. In the absence of the local legislature, these duly elected representatives must be entrusted with the responsibility and the duty of governing the affairs of Kerala.

I make a humble suggestion to the treasury benches. I read a report that they are sending another ICS officer about to retire to be made as adviser. This idea of requisitioning the services of ICS people for everything from steel plant upto anything, does not bring credit to the leadership that has been evolved in India. We have fought for a democratic system of Government in this country. Secretaries must remain Secretaries and nothing beyond. Merely because there is a big majority in this House, I would appeal to them not to break the spirit of democratic rule which we have established after a such a long period of suffering, to make it again a sun-dried bureaucracy in the name of something else.

The leader of the Swatantra Party found fault with the idea of postponing the evil day, as he put it. He is apprehensive that the Government run by the Congress Party is thinking in terms of postponing the elections because if elections are held today or even after a few months, the Congress Party may not be able to get a majority. That is his apprehension. So far as I am concerned, I am not in the confidence of Government or in the confidence of the leader of the opposition either.

Mr. Speaker: Then he is in a very happy position.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: I will, therefore, make a disinterested suggestion. In Kerala, we have had so many elections. The cost of the elections to the Government cannot be made to

be incurred time and again without paying proper attention to the advisability of such an expenditure. That is the Government's side. There are the political parties also. Some parties may spend more, some parties may spend less. It is again a convention. Some of us think that these general elections many a time germinate seeds of corruption which subsequently come to the stage of asking people to appoint commissions of enquiry against ministries either here or in the States. Therefore, let us not take the holding of general elections as a good in itself. General elections as the Constitution contemplates must be once in every five years. Now, they have held mid-term elections in Kerala. We are not wiser nor were we able to solve the problems that confront the stability of Government in that State. So people would agree that mere holding of another election is no solution to any problem.

Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirapally): This is also equally good for the whole country; you can go on without elections at all and rule from here as you like.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: If the hon. Member had carefully listened to my speech, I think I have already stated that it must be held once in five years. I never made a proposition that elections must not be held. It must be held once in five years. In the interim period I have already made a suggestion which is fully democratic and which answers to some extent even the idea sponsored by the leader of the Swatantra Party. Therefore, elections must be looked at from the point of view of their cost and other consequences. If you examine from that point of view there is no hurry to hold the elections.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): And leave it in the hands of the bureaucracy.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: I know the situation in Kerala is such—and hon.

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Members from Kerala have already spoken about it—that even if you hold another elections within six months you would not be able to get a stable government there. It is not my apprehension. It is the opinion expressed in this House during the previous debate. Therefore, this general election is not going to solve the problem that is before us. So, even if the elections are postponed let us not worry. Let us concentrate our mind—all parties, the Government as well as other parties—in evolving some kind of a form of government which will answer the day to day needs of the people in Kerala as also maintain the fundamental character of a democratic system of government.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta-Central): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would not normally have taken part in this discussion, but I happened to have been in Kerala yesterday and the day before and I thought I should perhaps intervene in the proceedings. I was also tempted to do so when I heard my esteemed friend, Professor Ranga. Some how or other he reminded me of a story I heard about the Duke of Devonshire in the Nineteenth Century. It said that the Duke, a very worthy man, dreamt that he was speaking in the House of Lords and when he woke up he discovered that he was actually doing so. I felt, after Professor Ranga's speech, that perhaps we could make even sleep-walking observations in regard to this subject.

But, Sir, we are discussing the Supplementary Demands for Grants relating to the Government of Kerala which for the time being is vested in Parliament, which unfortunately means that it is vested not so much in Parliament as in the hands of some of my hon. friends on the other side. This is a matter which has been mentioned even by my hon. friend, Shri Hanumanthaiya in a way which I am very glad to be able to endorse.

There is nothing in this statement or in the other volume—I do not know whether this is the same thing—to indicate that Members of Parliament from Kerala who are supposed, when the President is in the picture, to have something to do with the goings on in that State have vetted these Demands. If that is so, I would like very much to know. I would very much like to have it done by the Government. Since there is no legislature there, there is no so-called properly elected government in Kerala and since there are several Members of Parliament on either side of the House who are members of some kind of a non-functioning committee, they might be given something of a job of work to do particularly when a matter relating to the Supplementary Demands for Grants are coming up. I do not think that has been done at all.

There is this perpetual reliance on bureaucratic methods about which Shri Hanumanthaiya has made a very telling reference. I do not see why we should always try to follow in the footsteps of the people who lorded it over us for nearly two hundred years, and when the President by proclamation takes over the administration of a State he acts exactly as a Governor of the old days under the Government of India Act would do under Section 93A or some such section which was in operation in those days. And, in the Constitution—there are some of the fathers of the Constitution who are sitting on those benches—bodily the statutory language of the old regime is incorporated in a charter which is supposed to represent the finest sentiments of our people. This reliance on bureaucracy has gone too far and because of this unimaginative approach—it is only because of this—the Congress has come to the pass that it has reached in Kerala.

Sir, as I said, I was there only yesterday and I left there only yesterday.

day morning. Whenever I go to Kerala it gives me a feeling that here is a unique region of our country so rich in the loveliness of nature with which it abounds, so much of an example of the composite culture of our people where Hindus, Muslims, Christian, Jewish and other strands have come together, so much of an example of the advance of our people intellectually—for literacy was at the highest grade in that part of our country—and with a population which has shown political awareness of an order which is almost unprecedented in any other part of our country. Yet, with this wonderful tower of qualities here is a people who seem to be condemned to, what Shri Hanumanthaiya said, an unstable government. It is as if the Gods had ordained for them, before the people were born in Kerala, that they would never have a stable government of their own choice. Whatever the Gods may be, surely the human being has got guts enough to go against the ordination of the Gods. I am sure the people of Kerala do not fancy unstable government as such and it is only on account of the doings on the part of the administration, it is only on account of the particular ineptitude of the Congress leadership which had inherited the glorious traditions of the past but could not live up to them, that Kerala has reached this peculiar position. Therefore, in Kerala we find an epitome of all India's problems, and I think some indication of the solution of all India's problems would also come from Kerala. The Congress in Kerala has paid the wages of its sin. It is nearly dead, and it is because it is no longer alive and kicking that it is thinking in terms of trying to do away with the possibility even of the electoral exercise of power by the people of that region. This is the point which following Professor Ranga I wish to submit to you, that we have noticed with great perturbation reports in the papers, of what authenticity, I cannot say, that the Government is contemplating an indefinite prolongation of Presidential

rule, and from what Shri Hanumanthaiya says, in spite of his professed lack of admiration with those who are on the Treasury Benches, he has also given some idea of his mind, which is veering in the direction now that there should be election only once in five years all over the country and that mid-term elections, which cost a great deal, should not take place. I do not know wherefrom we get this fixation about the five-year rule. Of course, the Constitution says that this House cannot extend its life for more than five years unless it takes recourse to some extraordinary provisions. But that does not mean to say that we are going to have elections only at one particular point of time for the whole of the country and if any mid-term elections are necessary in a particular region they shall not take place. The question of cost has possibly been mentioned by Shri Hanumanthaiya as a feeler, which would later on be seized upon by Government in order to bring about a fulfilment of its desire to push off the elections for as long as they care to do so. But they do not reckon the cost which is otherwise being incurred in the country, the tremendous waste which is taking place, the uttermost example of extravagance which under the clock of emergency this government has been practising since October/November 1962. I read in the papers yesterday—I was not in Delhi; I was on the way from Delhi to the South—that a very large number of high posts were created, Deputy Secretaries and other people, more or less of that category. Their increase in number was fantastic and several crores of rupees have been spent after the emergency came into the picture because payment had to be made to these highly-salaried officers who were proliferating. So, let us not talk of the cost of elections in Kerala or anywhere else.

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Let us also remember that the British example tells us that while the British House of Commons can

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easily have its lease of life extended up to five years, general elections are generally held within very much less than five years' time because it is considered desirable to assess the feelings of the people. Shri Hanumanthaiya is going away, but he....

Shri Nambair: He is coming back.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I do not wish Shri Hanumanthaiya to be deterred from prosecution of whatever programmes he had in mind. But I am not able to understand why this idea should be there that, we are going to have elections only after the expiry of five years. We might have elections as quick as ever it is possible, when it is necessary to ascertain the wishes of the people.

Here in Kerala what has happened? There the elections have been necessitated because the Congress has been found wanting. Naturally, the Congress has to come before the people, lay its cards on the table and if the Congress is again returned to power, it will do so, but this will be the moral thing to do, the politically and ethically correct way of proceeding. Therefore, it is only desirable that elections which have already been announced should take place and there should not be any undue prolongation of Presidential rule.

Kerala might have a peculiar combination of political groupings and that sort of thing, but that is neither here nor there. The people there have their own variety of political awareness, which I consider to be of a very high qualitative order. They have the right to express themselves. Therefore, I feel that there should be no unconscionable delay, as Shri Ranga put it, in regard to this matter.

In regard to the administration also, I discovered how the people of Kerala have got utterly disgusted with the administration of the Congress, and that is why it is desirable to have people of goodwill combin-

ed in order to set up a kind of administration which will really bring solace to the anguish of the people there. This is something which we can try and work out. I have been hearing about so many experiments, something after the Swiss model, which I could not follow how it can be applied in the case of our country. Shri Hanumanthaiya also made certain suggestions. But, I am astonished, for instance, when the President takes over or when the Governor is authorised, neither the President nor the Governor condescends to think of some method of associating the representatives of the people; even in the absence of elections, they do not try to form committees which would be comprising people who are more or less representing the people according to the best judgment of the Governor or of the President. What the President or the Governor does is to requisition the services of some senior ICS officials, as Shri Hanumanthaiya pointed out. This complete bankruptcy of imagination and originality shows how we are incapable of thinking in terms of bringing about really constructive experiments in political action. So, let us not talk too much of political experimentation. We have got the parliamentary system. Let us try to work it as best as we can. It might occasionally be diverted by peculiar conditions in certain parts of our regions. But that is no reason for stopping the right of the people to exercise their franchise in an open way.

Therefore, I would suggest that there should be no prolongation of President's rule. On this occasion, the Government is represented here, and the Government should come out with very categorical statement, repudiating what has appeared in the papers, namely, that they are seriously contemplating, or have even fairly made up their mind, in regard to an indefinite prolongation of Presidential rule and the postponement of the elections

in Kerala. That would be proceedings which would really hurt the feelings of the people of Kerala in such a way that that might lead to costs being incurred which Shri Hanumanthaiya would find it almost impossible to pay. Compared to that, the cost of an election would be very much less, and that cost would be in keeping with the political and ethical conduct to which Government ought to be morally committed.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate that the constitutional democratic Government in Kerala should have broken down and there should be no State Legislature to go into the details of the supplementary demands which are placed before this House for the consideration of Parliament. However vigilant and alert the Members of Parliament from Kerala might be, I do not think they would be able to scrutinise these grants in such a detailed manner as a Member of the State Legislature would have done.

But, before this House is called upon to vote these grants, I would like to have this assurance from Government that there would be no perpetuation of the President's rule for more than the period provided in the Constitution at present. The dates of the elections in Kerala have been announced and we have read in the papers that the Election Commissioner has visited the State in order to finalise the arrangements regarding polling. In the mean time, there are reports in the press that a statement has been issued by a Cabinet Minister saying that elections should be held only once in five years and there should be no mid-term elections. This is a matter of great concern to all of us. I do not know what weighty reasons led this Government to come to this decision excepting party-politics considerations. There is no denying the fact that the Congress Party in Kerala today is in a very bad shape and probably an assessment of the election results has been made and they are apprehensive

that they would be reduced to a very hopeless minority in the mid-term elections. The problem, from their point of view, has assumed such serious proportion that it is reported that a Cabinet sub-Committee has been constituted to study this problem. This only shows that the ruling party is not really serious or sincere about establishing good and healthy conventions and precedents for the country as a whole. Here I would like to draw a parallel. As we all know, there were mid-term elections in Orissa, just six months before the general elections 1962. Although the people of that State preferred general elections, which were to take place in 1962, this Government thought it proper to force mid-term elections in June 1966 because the late Prime Minister told us that he did not want the bureaucratic government to last even a moment more than what is absolutely necessary. Therefore he held that the elections should be held as quickly as possible. In spite of the fact that the weather conditions were not quite favourable for holding general elections, elections were held in Orissa. Probably at that time they took into consideration as to what would be the ultimate outcome of that election. This mid-term election gave them a majority.

Here, in Kerala exactly for that very political reason they are today thinking for postponement and want to make it a general principle that there should not be any mid-term election in the course of five years. It is a dangerous principle if it is really accepted, if the Government wants to force it by the force of their majority in this House and amend the Constitution for this purpose.

The question of stability in Kerala and in other parts has been raised. Mere majority does not give stability. The Communist Government in Kerala had a majority behind it; the Congress Government which has fallen also had a majority behind it; yet, there was no stable administration.

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

The democratic machinery is failing today, not because there is a lack of majority but because of corruption and inefficiency and because of lack of a clean administration. Unless that is looked into, we will only be thinking aloud, as Shri Hanumanthaiya has said, of this experiment or of that experiment and blame the democratic machinery as such.

Parliamentary form of government has been accepted in this country. We have introduced election even in the rural areas at the panchayat stage. What is the thinking of the Government, I would ask, if, suppose, six months after the general elections there is such a situation that at the Centre itself the democratic machinery does not work? Do they think that in that case there should be President's rule at the Centre, for the whole country? Should the Constitution be changed in such a manner that for five years to come there should be no elections in the country? I fail to understand the logic behind this thinking. I emphatically demand that there should be no change in the schedule and this Government should make it clear to everybody that, whatever might be the political considerations—if they want to value democratic tenets—they would abide by the time schedule and hold the elections in February as has been announced. If they do not do it, I am sure, there will not only be discontent, but what we find in Kerala today, that is, the movement, which is for purely economic reasons, may take a political turn which will not be to the interest of anybody.

Nobody likes that in a democratic country there should be a political movement for invoking the Constitution which a democratic government sitting at the Centre would deny to the people. I do not like such a situation to arise. Therefore I would urge that this question should be borne in mind and the Government should take note of it in time. The Finance Minis-

ter, Shri Krishnamachari, who is a senior member of the Cabinet, must be able to announce here and now that there should be no change so far as elections in Kerala in February are concerned.

About the Demands I have only to say one or two things. As regards the food situation, as you know, they have introduced rationing. They are airlifting foodgrains from different parts of the country; I do not know at what cost.

Shri A. K. Gopalan (Kesergod): There is no airlift now; there never has been.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: There never has been! But we read it in the papers. My hon. friend, Shri Gopalan, says that it was never so. However, the supply from different parts of the country has been expedited. I do not know whether because of the supply of wheat from Punjab the price of wheat in Delhi has increased.

The demand in Kerala today is not for 3½ ounces of rice or 4 to 6 ounces of wheat which they supply in the mofussil areas. I am told that only in municipal towns they are giving six ounces of rice and six ounces of wheat; but that is only in very few areas. What the people there demand is 12 ounces of rice and 6 ounces of wheat. That is the minimum that they require. I do not know whether the Government is in a position to supply this and whether the distributing machinery that is functioning in Kerala today is capable of distributing it efficiently. There are reports in the press published only yesterday or today that even the present Kerala Government under the Governor's rule has demanded that there should be a uniform rate for the supply of rice. Even the Government supply is not being given at a uniform price. I do not know why it is so; probably the hon. Minister will clarify that.

The second thing which I want to mention is this. I am told that in Kerala there is the National Highway No. 47 and the West Coast Road but there is no road bridge on that road. Presently places like Chalakudy, Kuru-mali and Baliputram are using the railway bridges and the railway bridges are being closed for road traffic. It is suggested that there would be ferry traffic and these roads would be closed. If that is done, there will be great inconvenience to the general public as these are the main roads for the whole of Kerala. The Government would apply its mind to see that regular road bridges are built there as soon as possible.

Lastly, a demand has been made in this House by an hon. Member from Kerala that although the percentage of literacy there is higher and in the matter of education Kerala is much better than any other State, there is lack of technical institutions. I would urge that the Government should take steps to set up some technical institutions during the next year; not that they should wait for the Fourth Five Year Plan to come but they should take it up next year and Kerala should have the benefit of technical knowledge.

श्री ए. वि. चौधरी (महेन्द्रगढ़) :

अध्यक्ष महोदय, कल से जो भाषण हो रहे हैं उन को मैं बड़ी तसल्ली और शान्ति के साथ सुनता रहा हूँ। चूंकि केरल में राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू कर दिया गया है इस वास्ते ये जो स्प्लीमैटरी प्रांट्स इस सदन के सामने रखी गई हैं इनके ऊपर केरल के माननीय सदस्यों के जो भाषण हुए हैं तथा जो कुछ दूसरे माननीय सदस्यों की तरफ से भी कहा गया है, उसको मैंने बहुत ध्यान से सुना है। कल तक बातों का रुख कुछ और था और आज कुछ और ही रुख है। प्रो. रंगा के सर्जेशन के बाद बहस ने कोई और ही रुख अख्तियार कर लिया है। कल तक यह मांग की जा रही थी कि यह चीज उस प्रान्त

में कम है, यह चीज उस प्रान्त में अधिक है, इस चीज की कमी है, उस चीज की कमी है आदि। इन चीजों का सीधा सम्बन्ध मेरे ख्याल में डिमांड्स के साथ है। केरल के बारे में स्टेटमेंट पाटिल साहब ने दिया है तीन चार दिन पहले अखबारों में उसका काफी जिक्र आया है। पाटिल साहब ने शायद ऐसा कहा है कि यह उनका व्यक्तिगत विचार है कि वहां इलेक्शन हों या न हों। उन्होंने ऐसा कहा बताते हैं कि पांच साल के दौरान में दुबारा इलेक्शन नहीं होने चाहियें। उन से कुछ संशय सा पैदा होता है। इस तरह का ब्यान उनका अखबारों में आया है। उस को आधार मान कर, उस के बारे में जो इलाज है या उस के बारे में जो लोगों की राय है, वह मुझ से पहले बोलने वाले तीन चार वक्ताओं की बात चीत के अन्दर सुनने में आई। जहां तक इस बान का प्रश्न है कि केरल के अन्दर एलेक्शन दूसरे साल हो या पांच साल के अन्दर हो, या इस वक्त वहां किस पार्टी की कौन सी अपनी स्थिति है, दूसरी पार्टियों को कौन सा लाभ होने जा रहा है, इस मामले में तो हम लोग बिल्कुल स्पष्ट है कि जब आप ने स्पष्ट रूप से एक बात को संविधान के अन्दर माना, और आप ने ही नहीं बल्कि सारे देश ने माना, तब यह प्रयास किया जाना चाहिये कि कोई भी प्रदेश देश में बिना जनताधिक सरकार के न रहे, वहां की जो सरकार हो उस को जरूर कोई न कोई एलेक्ट करे। जिन को वहां के लोग अपना नुमाइन्दा बना कर भेजेंगे वह वहां की सरकार चलायेंगे। वहां इस तरफ ध्यान देना, चाहे मिड टर्म एलेक्शन हो चाहे दो साल बाद एलेक्शन आये, किस बात पर आधारित है, यह समझ में नहीं आता क्योंकि इस से सारे का सारा संविधान ही चक्कर में आ जाता है। कांग्रेस पार्टी की स्थिति का सारी की सारी बात से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। यदि सम्बन्ध किसी बात का है तो वह है संविधान के अपने तरीके से काम करने का। क्या संविधान के काम करने के तरीके

[श्री यु० सि० चौधरी]

में किसी दल विशेष के एतराज के कारण चुनाव को रोका जा सकता है। जो सिस्टम देश भर में लागू है उस को वहां पर लागू करने में क्या एतराज हो सकता है। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे संशय है और इस बात को यहां पर स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहिये।

13.21 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

यह कहना कि यह मेरे व्यक्तिगत विचार हैं, इन बातों का सरकार की नीतियों से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है, सरकार के साथ कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है, इन बातों का आपस में कोई तारतम्य नहीं बैठता है। एक ओर तो हम एलान कर चुके हैं कि एलेक्शन फरवरी में हो रहे हैं, दूसरी ओर लगातार यह चर्चा इस सदन में और बाहर चल रही है कि केरल के अन्दर कोई स्थायी सरकार न होने की वजह से जब राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू कर दिया गया तो वहां पर स्थायी सरकार बननी चाहिये। इस सारे के सारे सन्दर्भ में किसी कैबिनेट मंत्री के द्वारा जब इस प्रकार का वयान दिया जाता है तो उस से लोगों के दिलों में शक होता है कि यह उस मंत्री के व्यक्तिगत विचार नहीं है, बल्कि उस ने इस प्रकार से सरकार के विचार लोगों के सामने रखे हैं और बड़े कूटनीतिक ढंग से ताकि लोग इस पर चर्चा करें। लोगों के ऊपर सारे के सारे मामले में क्या प्रतिक्रिया होती है उस को देखने के बाद फिर सरकार इस बात का निर्णय करेगी।

एक माननीय सदस्य : श्री चह्वाण का भी स्टेटमेंट है।

श्री यु० सि० चौधरी : उन को छोड़िये। सारे के सारे मामले में सदन के मेम्बरों ने अपने विचार रखे। और विचारों के अतिरिक्त श्री रंगा और श्री हनुमन्तैया ने भी अपने सजेशन दिये। उन्होंने शायद इस मामले

में यह कहा कि वहाँ पर कोई कमेटीया बना दी जानी चाहिये। जिन्होंने भी सजेशन दिये हैं वे, जहाँ तक मेरा खयाल है, इन बात को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं कि वहाँ एलेक्शन होने ही नहीं चाहिये। वे इस बात का मूल रूप में मान रहे हैं कि वहाँ एलेक्शन होने चाहिये और वहाँ के लोगों को यह हक होना चाहिये कि वे अपने नुमाइन्दों के द्वारा वहाँ की सरकार चलायें। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि जहाँ तक केन्द्रीय सरकार का सवाल है, यह बात उन के लिये भी बहुत ठीक पड़ती है। वह क्यों अपने सिर पर सारी आफत मोल ले रहे हैं। आज केरल में भयानक अन्न संकट है। वहाँ के लोगों को तीन ग्राम अन्न दे कर जीवनयापन करने के लिये बाध्य किया जा रहा है। आज कौन से उच्च राजनीतिक सिद्धान्त हमारे सामने हैं कि हम सारे का सारा दर्द अपने सिर पर लें। यह सारे का सारा दर्द वहाँ की जनता ले। वहाँ की जनता अपने आदमियों को चुने और वे जिस प्रकार चाहें अपना शासन चलायें। क्या आई०सी०एस०, क्या आई०ए०एस० और क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार, इन बातों के साथ उन का संविधान के बारे में कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है क्योंकि संविधान में यह हक दिया हुआ है कि वह अपने चुने हुए प्रतिनिधियों के द्वारा सरकार चलायें। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे स्पष्ट रूप से कहना है कि यहां पर फरवरी या मार्च का कोई प्रश्न नहीं है, चाहे इस समय कांग्रेस की वहाँ पर कोई भी स्थिति हो, चाहे कांग्रेस दल का इस में कोई भला हाँ या न हो, वहाँ पर एलेक्शन जल्दी से जल्दी कराये जायें। आज सतरह सालों से कांग्रेस के साथ में शासन मौजद है, वह इस देश में सब से बड़े बहुमत वाली पार्टी है। उस के ऊपर इन चुनावों की जिम्मेदारी है। पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू हमेशा कहा करते थे कि जो जनतंत्र प्रणाली है उस के लिये हमें परम्परायें या ट्रैडिशन स्थापित करने हैं।

उन परम्पराओं और ट्रैडिशनस को कायम करने के वास्ते यह निहायत जरूरी है कि अपनी कमजोरी और अपने स्वार्थ को बलाय ताक रख कर वहां एलेक्शन कराये जायें।

जहां तक इन डिमान्ड्स का सवाल है, उन के बारे में कोई बहुत लम्बे चौड़े संघर्ष की बात नहीं है, उन के बारे में कोई मतभेद नहीं है। इस बात को मानने में मुझे कोई संकोच नहीं होता कि केरल की आन्तरिक स्थिति और सामाजिक स्थिति के बारे में हर दो साल बाद वहां पर गजनीतिक भूकम्प आते रहते हैं, लेकिन यह कोई बहुत लम्बे चौड़े विवाद का मामला नहीं है। पिछले कुछ दिनों से केरल में जो भयानक खाद्य संकट उत्पन्न हो गया है, जिस को ले कर वाद-विवाद होता है, जिस के बारे में अनेकों बार सदन में चर्चा हो चुकी है, उस सारे के सारे मामले में जो डिमान्ड है उस का संक्षेप में जिक्र करना में उचित समझूंगा। अन्न की जो समस्या है, जिस के बारे में सरकार ने भांग रक्खी है, उस के विषय में कोई मतभेद नहीं है। बड़ी सुन्दर मांग है। मुझे इस का दुःख है कि वहां पर प्रेजिडेंट का शासन लागू है, लेकिन अगर प्रेजिडेंट का शासन लागू होने से, वहां पर भुर्गी पालन करने से, वहां पर जापानो ऐंप्रिकल्चर आरम्भ हो जाने से षादावार बढ़ जाये, इसी प्रकार से उस प्रदेश की समस्यायें हल हो जाय तो यह उन का सौभाग्य होगा। लेकिन एक समस्या के बारे में मुझे कहना है। वह मूल समस्या यह है कि केरल में जो खाद्य समस्या का अर्थकर रूप देखने को मिला वह वही की समस्या है या उस का देश की समस्या के साथ कोई सम्बन्ध है। केरल के अन्दर काम करने का जो तरीका है, वहां की जो मशीनरी है, वहां की जो उपज है, उस का क्या रूप है। यदि शरीर के अन्दर कोई विकार हो जाता है तो विकार सारे शरीर में मानना चाहिये या जहां पर कष्ट हो वहां पर मानना

चाहिये। अगर हाथ में फोड़ा निकल आये, और हम यह मानें कि विकार केवल हाथ में है तो यह शरीर विज्ञान से अनभिज्ञता प्रदर्शित करना होगा। सारे के सारे शरीर में विकार है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि सारी गड़बड़ी हमारी प्लैनिंग के अन्दर है, जिस का बड़ा भयंकर और विकट रूप हमें केरल के खाद्य और अन्न संकट के रूप में देखने को मिला। मुझे याद है कि सब से पहला भाषण मैं ने अपने साथी माननीय श्री रांडेकर जी का सुना जिस में उन्होंने ने कहा कि हमारी कोशिश रहीं है इन चौदह पन्द्रह सालों में कि हम इस्पात के कारखाने बनायें और इस्पात के मामले में हम लोग स्वावलम्बी हो जायें, लेकिन अनाज के मामले में हम स्वावलम्बी हों ऐसा इन सालों में सरकार की ओर से कोई प्रयास नहीं हुआ। इस का दोषी हमारा प्लैनिंग कमिशन है। पिछले दिनों मुझे एक किताब देखने का सौभाग्य हुआ, जो श्री श्रीमन्नारायण की लिखी हुई थी, जिन को हम सारे के सारे मामले में बड़ा विद्वान् मानते हैं। उन्होंने ने खुद कहा कि पिछले सत्तरह सालों में लगातार भूमि पर इतना अधिक भार डाला गया है जिस का ठिकाना नहीं है। भूमि के बारे में जितनी नीतियां बनी हैं उन का खाद्य समस्या से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। हम केवल यह देखते रहे कि हमारे सारे के सारे काम से किस वर्ग को सन्तोष होगा और किस वर्ग को असन्तोष होगा। किन बातों से दो आदमी हमारी जयनाद के नारे लगायेंगे और किन बातों से लोग खुश होंगे। एक आद्य आदर्शवादिता की बातें हैं उन को आधार मान कर हम सारे समाज की समस्या को हल करना चाहते हैं, यह कैसे हो सकता है। केरल की समस्या के साथ भी लगी हुई जो समस्या है वह जमीन की समस्या है। केरल को बिना देखे हुए ही मैं कल्पना कर सकता हूं कि उस प्रदेश की आबादी बहुत धनी है, वहां पर लोगों के पास जमीन

[श्री यु० सिंह० चौधरी]

बहुत थोड़ी है, जमीन के छोटे छोटे टुकड़े हैं। यह बात दूसरी है कि उन को सरकार की ओर से किसी प्रकार का और प्रोत्साहन नहीं मिला होगा। इस देश में ऐसी बहुत सी बातें की जाती हैं जैसे लोग मुअर पालने लग जायें, कुछ बड़ी-बड़ी वेकन फैक्ट्रियां खोल दें, कुछ और बातें कर दें, मगर आज जो जमीन के छोटे छोटे टुकड़े हैं वह आज सब से बड़ी हानिकारक चीज है। छोटे छोटे टुकड़े होने के कारण जो कमी जमींदार के पास रह जाती है उस को इस प्रकार के छोटे मोटे धन्धे शुरू कर के सरकार कैसे पूरी कर सकती है। मगर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमें आज अपनी प्लैनिंग को सुधारना पड़ेगा। हम एक ऐसे मोड़ पर आ गये हैं जबकि हम को इस खाद्य समस्या को किसी न किसी रूप में हल करना होगा। अगर मैं गलती नहीं करता तो आज हमारे प्लैनिंग के लोगों के सामने श्री नेहरू की तरह पर सोचने की परम्परा है। आज सारी की सारी प्लैनिंग के ऊपर दूसरे तरीके से सोचना होगा। जब तक हम सब के अन्दर खाद्य समस्या को हल करने के लिये पी० एल० ४८० के अन्दर बाहर से अन्न मंगाने की प्रवृत्ति काम करेगी तब तक सारी बातों को सोचने के तरीके में हर्गिज फर्क नहीं होगा। आज अगर श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री कहते हैं कि हम एग्रिकल्चर की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान दे रहे हैं या "डीविजन फ्राम दि पालिसी" आदि के नारे लगाते हैं तो यह देश में व्यर्थ भ्रम पैदा करते हैं। मैं इस बात को फिर स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहूंगा कि अनाज की समस्या अकेले केरल की नहीं, बल्कि सारे देश की है और यह हर्गिज हल नहीं हो सकती, यह समस्या बाकी रहेगी जब तक कि भूमि सुधार सरकार ठीक रूप से नहीं करती है। आप इस को देखिये कि सरकार का भूमि के बारे में मुख्य रूप से क्या रुख रहा है। बहुत से प्रदेशों में कंसोलिडेशन आफ होल्डिंग चल

रही है, लेकिन साथ साथ वहां पर सीलिंग भी लगाई जा रही है। सीलिंग के मामले में यह है कि पांच एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़ हरिजन परिवारों को दे दिये। इस पांच एकड़ से, दो एकड़ से, तीन एकड़ से एक हरिजन परिवार भला क्या गुजारा करेगा। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि जो पुरानी लैंडलाइज्म की प्रथा है उसे आप दुबारा लायें, लेकिन कम से कम एक बात का आप को ध्यान रखना पड़ेगा कि पैदावार किस तरह से बढ़ेगी। आप को यह देखना है कि पैदावार जमीन के टुकड़े करने से बढ़ेगी, या जमीन को एक करने से बढ़ेगी, या अपने बजट का ज्यादा तर हिस्सा फैक्टरीज में लगाने से बढ़ेगी। ये मूलभूत बातें हैं। इन को जब तक आप दिमाग में नहीं रखेंगे और जब तक इन पर गहराई से विचार नहीं करेंगे तब तक यह अनाज की समस्या हरगिज हरगिज हल नहीं हो सकती है।

और जो दो तीन बात इस में रखी गयी हैं पोल्टरी के बारे में, शिक्षण संस्थाओं के बारे में, मुर्गी पालन के बारे में और शूकर पालन के बारे में, इन सब का मैं स्वागत करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि ये वहां सफल होंगी और इन से किसानों को प्रोत्साहन मिलेगा।

Shri A. K. Gopalan: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to participate in this discussion for some time.

At the out set, I would like to refer to the question of elections in Kerala. I do not want to repeat the arguments that have already been advanced, favouring mid-term elections, but I would like to put forward one or two other arguments. It is said that the elections in Kerala will be held after some time when the elections are held in other parts of India. I want to know why a similar decision had not been taken before when the Communist Ministry was dismissed in Kerala,

and why Government did not think of postponing the elections at that time also. My hon. friend Shri Ranga has suggested that a new experiment might be tried in Kerala in view of the fact that several Ministries had broken down there. It has been stated that twice President's rule had to be imposed because there was a constitutional break down. I would like to point out that there was no question of any constitutional break down when the Communist Ministry was in power. The Ministry was functioning; of course, there was a narrow majority, but that majority did not break at any time. It was because Government wanted to dismiss the Communist Ministry that they dismissed that Ministry in an unconstitutional manner, and elections were held immediately thereafter, because Government thought that the sentiments of the people had been roused at that time, and if elections were held then, the ruling party would certainly be able to come to power while the other parties would have no chance of success. So, the only reason why the elections are sought to be postponed now is that the ruling party is sure that it will not get a majority if elections are held now, and so, they do not want any elections. Otherwise, there is no reason why the elections should be postponed.

I would like to know categorically from the hon. Minister whether there is a possibility of the postponement of the elections in Kerala. As it is, the elections are to be held in February, and if they are going to be postponed, we shall have no opportunity of raising the issue here before Parliament meets for its budget session in February.

I would also like to point out that in the papers we find contradictory reports. On the one side, we find that the Election Commissioner is going there on the 21st to make preparations for the election. On the other side, we find that the Cabinet Minister, Shri S. K. Patil has asked—of course, he did not say specifically about the mid-

term elections in Kerala—why the mid-term elections generally should not be postponed till the usual general elections all over the country.

So I would like to know categorically from the hon. Minister whether Government have decided to postpone the mid-term elections or the elections will be held in February there as decided earlier.

Another reason for our saying that mid-term elections must be held in February is this. There are certain special issues concerning the State of Kerala which are not the concern of the country as a whole. So far as the food situation is concerned, here is a State which is having 50 per cent deficit unlike other States in India. We cannot wait for long for the solution of the food problem and we cannot afford to get food from outside that State for all times to come. So, there is the question of immediately increasing the food production in the State.

In this connection, I would like to bring to the notice of the Food Minister and also the Finance Minister that the Thannirmukkam bund, which if completed would have brought so many acres of land under cultivation and resulted in increase in production thereby, has not been completed till today: it was taken up in 1959, and some work was also begun, but it has not been completed so far. It would have entailed a total expenditure of only about Rs. 5 or 6 lakhs. The money that is being spent now on getting foodgrains from outside is about Rs. 30 to 40 lakhs. And yet we find that even a sum of Rs. 5 or 6 lakhs could not be spent on the Thannirmukkam bund, and the result is that that scheme is still in abeyance. If it is completed, several acres of land can be saved from saline water and brought under cultivation.

I have no time to go through the various other schemes which have to

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be taken up, but I would only mention the *vempanad kayal* scheme; if a bund could be erected there, that could bring under cultivation several acres of land. Thus, there are special problems which concern the State of Kerala. Thus, Kerala State is unlike other States in India, and it needs special attention. So, that is another reason why the elections should not be postponed but must be held in February as originally planned.

As far as the Governor's administration, and the advisers' regime is concerned, there is nobody to look into what they are doing. Of course, we the Members of Parliament from Kerala are having a committee. But when we go there, we are told that we could only speak about the Bills that were contemplated, and we could not speak anything about the problems of the people or about the situation obtaining in Kerala. We could not raise the question of the food situation, the question of irrigation for which a supplementary grant has been asked, or the question of transport and the West Coast Road and so on. These things cannot be raised by us in that committee.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Who said so? Was it the Governor?

Shri A. K. Gopalan: It was said specially that this committee consisting of Members of Parliament could discuss only about the Bills that were to be enacted; as far as the other problems were concerned, we could not raise them in that committee, nor were we allowed to raise them there.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: That is most atrocious.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: This is the kind of administration that is going on there.

In this connection, I would like to point out actually an instance to show what is happening there, and I am

saying this from my own experience. Fifteen days back when I went to my constituency, namely Kesergode, some peasants came and said that the landlord wanted to evict them from the land which they had been occupying for the last twenty years, with the help of the police and others. One of the peasants there had already filed his case before the tribunal appointed to go into the question of the record of rights. Since the tenant had no record of rights, he had made an application to the tribunal praying that record of rights might be given to him; he had paid the necessary money and filed his case before the tribunal. When I met that person, and I was told what was happening, I rang up the district collector and the district superintendent of police, pointing out that the peasant had already filed a case before the tribunal and it was, therefore, for the tribunal to go into the matter and decide the issue after hearing both sides. Then alone he can issue or not issue the record of rights, and, therefore, till such time as the tribunal came to a decision, that man should be given protection. I wrote to them besides ringing them up. But what happened was this; after two or three days, some man came and brought me the news that with the help of the police the landlord had evicted him from that land and he did not know what to do. So, what we find is that even when we represent matters, nothing is done in that regard. Even if we say that the administration may please look into a particular matter, that is not looked into.

If the elections are going to be held in 1967 only, then another complication also arises. The Fourth Plan is coming very shortly, and the representatives of the State of Kerala will have nothing to say in regard to the formulation of the Plan for the State. Why should the State of Kerala be treated in this fashion? As you know, Sir, the unemployment problem in Kerala is acute. And yet what do we find? The phyto-chemical plant has been abandoned. Here was a project in

respect of which an assurance had been given by the hon. Minister when there was a half-an-hour discussion in this House on that matter. He had promised us that the Government would see that it would not be abandoned. And yet, after an expenditure of Rs. 12 lakhs had been incurred, we find that this project is abandoned. When a question is asked why the project had been abandoned, an answer is given saying that there are some reasons for it, and after Rs. 12 lakhs have been spent already, we find that there is not going to be any phyto-chemical project.

I am afraid that the same might be the case with the second shipyard at Cochin too. An adjournment motion on this had been admitted in Parliament and discussed also. When the previous Speaker was here, the papers had carried a news item that there had been a decision to abandon the second shipyard at Cochin; on the basis of that, the previous Speaker said that certainly it was a question which should be discussed. From 1960, four years have elapsed, and still, negotiations are going on for the establishment of the second shipyard. Yes, negotiations will always go on for years together until one fine morning we shall hear that the project has been abandoned. That is the tactics usually adopted. We have seen that in the case of the phyto-chemical plant already; there was negotiation, there was spending of some money, and whenever any question was put, it was stated that the matter was under consideration, under consideration and under consideration, and now we find that there is no consideration at all, because the project has already been abandoned.

The catalogue of the questions put about the second shipyard in Kerala is there for everyone to see. It would have at least provided jobs to some people. But for the last four years, 1960 to 1964, they have been carrying on discussions and the answer is that they are negotiating with Japan or some other country. But nothing has

come to fruition. I am sure that as regards the second shipyard also, the same fate as over-took the phyto-chemicals project will overtake this, unless there is a categorical assurance given to the contrary and implemented by Government.

Take the oil refinery. It has also suffered the same fate. Kerala is a State which has got so many problems, but which has been so much discriminated against, where every industry that had been promised, one after the other, is not coming up. This is just hoodwinking the people. It is only breach in the promise; there is no question of fulfilling the promise in the accepted sense, it is only fulfilment in breach. This is what is happening.

Now we are discussing the Fourth Plan. The problems of Kerala are naturally different from those of other States in some respects. But there are no elected representatives of the people running the State Government. What will be the fate of Kerala? It is said a stable government has not been there. We have our Constitution. We have a parliamentary set-up. That parliamentary set-up and the Constitution do not say that if there is no stable government, there should not be elected government at all. If there is no stable government, why should we not have the existing government continued for six months or a year until we had finished discussion of these problems?

Another argument brought forward is that as there will be no stable government, so there should not be any elections now. If that is the argument, if that is the reason for postponing the elections let the Constitution be changed. Let it be said clearly that there will be no election in any State if the ruling party considers that it has no hope of winning the elections. I have no objection if such an amendment is made to the Constitution. Even if I object it will be passed by their majority, the amendment that there will be election only if the ruling party can again come to power, only

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if they have a chance of returning to power.

Is this the criterion we should follow? It is not. We have a Constitutional system. We follow the parliamentary system. If there is a break down of the constitutional process, President's rule is envisaged for some time. Then there must be elections. So, the reported postponement of election, if true, is entirely wrong. If the Government are going to postpone the election, I want to know whether they have taken a decision; if not, they should announce when the election will be held.

As regards the demands for grants, I will first take the food situation. The food situation has not improved except that they now give half an ounce more. If Shri Subramaniam thinks that I being in the Opposition will always oppose Government, let him see what the State Congress President, Shri Abraham, was reported to have said only yesterday, that the food situation in Kerala has not improved. I say it has improved, because they are getting half an ounce more. That improvement is there. I do not deny that. I saw in some villages that they are given six ounces of wheat. Shri Subramaniam said that offtake is not there. Why? There are co-operative societies which have no money; they are not able to take the wheat. So they do not give wheat in ration. I have got letters from so many people from many places saying that wheat is not given. Why? It is because the co-operative societies or the distributing machinery has no money to get the wheat and distribute it. For wheat, they do not get more; for rice they get something more. So they are not taking wheat.

The distributive machinery is extremely faulty. In many places people are not getting the ration. In some places, the distributing machinery charges more than the fixed price.

I want to ask the Minister if they will accept the recommendations of the Food Advisory Committee comprising all parties that has been convened by the Governor. There a unanimous decision has been taken a week ago which has appeared in the papers. They said there must be statutory rationing. The next thing is that there must be procurement. The Food Minister will say there is levy. There is difference between the two. Without procurement, there cannot be statutory rationing. Procurement should be there in the case of holdings over two or three or four acres of land—excluding at least 2-acre holdings. There must be statutory rationing.

As regards ration, they have said that there must be at least 12 oz. rice and 4 oz. wheat—if not at least 8 oz. rice and 4 oz. wheat—like that.

Another point. I would like to know whether, as the Food Minister told us, in January when the next crop comes, in the name of non-agriculturists, agricultural labourers as well as the small peasants will be exempted. This will certainly be very bad. Only for two or three months, these people can get work.

I had been in Tanjore only the other day. There I saw that paddy is not given as wages. There, agricultural labourers get their wages in kind and cash. I would request Shri A. K. Sen not to disturb the Food Minister to whom my remarks are addressed. I seek the protection of the Chair....

As I was saying, it is written in the record: in cash or kind. This is under an agreement with the *pannayat*. But as far as agricultural labourers in many other places are concerned, they are not given in kind; they are not given paddy or rice; they are paid their wages only in cash. So, if it is decided that those who are non-agriculturists, including agricultural labourers, will not be given the ration

from January, it will create a further grave situation.

Reverting to the question of elections, there is another reason why we should have elections soon. We should go to the people to know the will of the people. It is not a question of a lack of confidence in a section of the Opposition alone; it is a lack of confidence in a section of the congressmen also. That is probably why the Government feel hesitant about proceeding with the elections at the present juncture.

Then what about the NGOs? I do not know whether in any other part of India the NGOs are paid less than what they are paid in Kerala. The other day they went on fast for a day, paraded the streets giving notice to Government that if an increment of Rs. 25 per month is not given and they are not put at par with their counterparts in other States, they would go on strike. Then there is the question of emoluments of teachers. We have referred to this matter here. They also have given notice four months ago. Elementary school teachers everywhere else get a minimum of Rs. 100, but in Kerala they get salary and dearness allowance amounting to a total of just Rs. 85. As far as the aided school teachers and college teachers are concerned, they also have held demonstrations and demanded parity of scales of pay with their counterparts in the rest of the country. The same is the case with government as well as private school teachers.

Now the question is: will Government drive the NGOs to a strike or will they see that something is done at least to mitigate their sufferings so that there may be no question of strike of the government employees.

Now, the NMR workers are on strike for the last five days, about 2,000 of them. If the strike continues, work will be paralysed. Their demand is very simple, that those who have put in 10, or 15 years should be confirmed; there must also be pensionary

benefits. They also want a little increment in their wages. If Government does not accede to these demands and the strike goes on, it will affect industry; it will not be confined to the 2,000 workers; it will affect other industries also.

As regards transport, there is a West Coast Road, some part of it in Kerala and some in Mysore. The Mysore part is complete, whereas in the Kerala part, the bridges—I do not want to give the names of all the bridges—the Kallayi, Poduvalli and Farok and other bridges and connecting roads are not completed. Because this side of the West Coast Road is not completed, there are very great difficulties.

So, I only want to point out that besides the question of the postponement of the elections, which is an important political question, and the food problem, there is the question of the N.G.Os, the elementary school teachers and N.M.R. workers and others who are not getting wages at par with their counterparts in other States in India. At least those questions must be considered. If they are not considered even today, then certainly the N.G.Os., will go on strike as they have said. Of course, repressive machinery may be used against them, but it will be very bad. According to the papers yesterday, the Governor, Shri V. V. Giri, has told them that their demands are reasonable, that as they have no money they have written to the Centre, and they will see that their demands are met. Of the 1,25,000 teachers and non-gazetted officers in Kerala, at least 40 per cent, it is said, get only Rs. 50 or less than Rs. 50 per month, according to a recent survey.

So, I request that these questions also may be considered. I want the Minister to say categorically whether the elections will be postponed or not.

Shri Maniyangadan (Kottayam):
These demands are not concerned

[Shri Maniyangadan]

with the elections in Kerala. I also read in the papers certain news items. The preparations for the elections are also going on. So, I do not know what the anxiety is that has made hon. Members from the other side avail of this opportunity to discuss this matter. Almost all of them were saying that the Congress was afraid that it might become a small group in the Assembly as a result of the coming elections. I do not know on what basis they are saying this.

All the parties there, excepting the Congress, are fighting each other, abusing each other, each one trying to come to an agreement with the other, and all sorts of arrangements are going on there. And these party leaders come here and say that the Congress is in a minority, and that they are going to win the elections. No party in Kerala can say that it will win a majority, because that is the actual position. But, as far as the Congress is concerned, it is going to catch hold of no other group; it is going to face the electorate alone, it is going to face the electorate on its own.

The R.S.P. is there, and then within the Communists there are two or three groups; they are at each other's throat in the State.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon): What about the Kerala Congress?

Shri Maniyangadan: The Kerala Congress is being sought after by so many parties there, the Swatantra Party, the Muslim League, the S.S.P. I do not know what the position of the S.S.P. is there.

The leader of the S.S.P. was talking about corruption and other things. He forgot the fact that it is only for 1½ or two years that the Congress was ruling there. Before that, they had a Chief Minister of their own party, their party members were in the Ministry.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Was there any corruption charge against the P.S.P. Chief Minister?

Shri Maniyangadan: Several charges were levelled against the Chief Minister and also other P.S.P. Ministers. At that time the P.S.P. were against even an enquiry.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: They wanted an open enquiry.

Shri Maniyangadan: The instances on which the present allegations are based, also occurred during that period, not when the Congress alone was in power. He forgets that.

I do not want to go into those matters. I was only saying that the Congress was not at all afraid. That is all I have to say. The Congress has decided not to have anything to do with these reactionary parties, these communal parties. They are going to face the consequence, face the electorate alone.

Shri Nambiar: Face it. Do not postpone.

Shri Maniyangadan: We will have to face. There is the Constitution. Some suggestions were made to amend the Constitution. I do not want to go into it.

Shri Nambiar: Why? Difficult?

Shri Maniyangadan: We may amend the Constitution, but when the Communist Government was ruling there, the only trouble was that there was no constitutional rule there.

Regarding the food situation and other things, I do not want to go into details as my time is very limited. The food situation has not considerably improved. Every Member has stressed that point. In the villages, 4½ oz. of rice and 6 oz. of wheat are being given. I request the Government to see that at least the quantum of rice is raised to 6 oz. throughout the State, and I believe that should be done without much delay.

The creation of a buffer stock is absolutely necessary, but I would only pray that it should not be from out of

the rations that are to be given. Let them get from outside, either through import or some other means and create a buffer stock, and let the food situation improve. I believe it will be done. The minimum that we demand is 6 oz. of rice and 6 oz. of wheat, immediately. By January it must be increased further. The present situation may not permit them to give more.

I agree with the suggestion made here that Members of Parliament should be associated with the administration. I do not want that only Kerala Members should be associated. It is the responsibility of Parliament. Therefore, I would suggest that Members from other States as well may be associated with the administration there.

The Fourth Plan is being formulated now. Several things, which the present administration there may not look into, will have to be looked into and incorporated in the Fourth Plan.

The actual trouble with regard to Kerala is not communal or anything of that sort. It is the most educated State, the percentage of literacy in Kerala is the highest in India, and they are not lacking in intellectual calibre. The unfortunate thing is that the *per capita* income in Kerala is the lowest in India. It is an economic problem. So, it is in that light that we have to look into it. We are now in the midst of the Third Plan, and the Fourth Plan is being formulated. During all the plans so far, practically nothing was done to improve the economic condition of the State. So, the matter has to be looked into. As was mentioned, the phyto-chemical factory was dropped. The second shipyard was expected to be started during the Second Plan. It was hoped that it would be started at least in the Third Plan and completed by the end of the Third Plan, but now nobody knows where it is. Even during the Fourth Plan, according to present reports, it may not come into existence. That is the position.

So, industrialisation of the State is absolutely necessary, and then only the problem of unemployment, the low *per capita* income and all these matters can be faced. They must be boldly faced, now that Parliament and the President are responsible for the administration of the State. I know the difficulty of having the whole Parliament to deal with them. The consultative committee, set up under statute, is competent only to deal with the legislation there. Either that committee or some other committees may be constituted for dealing with these matters and these things have to be looked into.

14 hrs.

Something about agricultural production was said. Kerala is not producing sufficient paddy for the consumption of the people there, but it is mainly an agricultural area, growing cash crops like coconut, arecanut, pepper, rubber, tea and other things. Some diseases are now affecting coconuts there and in spite of all efforts by the experts and the research stations nothing could be done to eradicate this. This has to be looked into. These plantations in Kerala earn foreign exchange for the country and it is national wealth and so it has to be looked into.

Mr. Gopalan referred to paddy cultivation in Kuttanad area and there are several schemes there which must be implemented if food production there has to increase and their implementation could not be done alone by the people or by the State Government.

Another problem facing Kerala is the sea erosion and areas of the State all along the coast are being eaten away early by the Arabian Sea. Certain bunds have been put up; last year an American expert came at the invitation of the Government of India. I am thankful to Dr. K. L. Rao for that. He had given certain suggestions. Subsequently some other

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experts also came and have submitted certain reports. The trouble is still continuing. It is a matter involving crores of rupees and the State Government is not able to meet all the expenditure for doing the work. The Central Government is advancing some money as loan but the State Government is not able to repay the loan. As had been stated here earlier, these expenses must be taken as national expenses and the hon. Minister must see that the anti sea-erosion works in Kerala are done on the responsibility of the Central Government. Then only it will be successful and effectively done.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Nominated—Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, would you mind giving me one or two minutes before you call upon the hon. Finance Minister to speak? We are all in sympathy with the point raised by Mr. Gopalan and I would like the hon. Minister to keep it in view—the pay scale grades and salaries of the employees in erstwhile B class States. The grades are much less compared to erstwhile A class States. It may not be possible for him to commit the Government to accept it just now. I have every sympathy with that demand and I request that they may keep it in view and when the Government is able to do justice to them they may try to meet this demand.

The Minister of Finance (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): Sir, it is very difficult for me to reply to the points that have been raised by thirteen people, and if I include the last speaker, it makes 14, because I am charged with a comparatively narrow mission, namely, the question of getting the two supplementary demands passed for the purpose of carrying on the administration of Kerala. So far as these demands are concerned, I find generally there is no opposition. In fact many of these demands arose out of the programmes chalked out by the Government of Kerala before the advisers regime came and in order to carry on

that work, the necessary sanction had to be obtained from Parliament for this purpose. The items on which cut motions have been given certainly raise issues which are interesting to the people of Kerala and I had obtained the assistance that was available in order to get myself informed in regard to these cut motions. But by and large the discussion has gone beyond into an arena about which my knowledge is somewhat obscure or perhaps non-existent: the question of elections in Kerala, whether there is going to be a uniform pattern, every State electing the representative at the same time, etc.—these are all matters about which I am not cognisant. I can only say this that if there is any Government decision I am bound to know.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Is there any truth in the press reports that the Cabinet has appointed a sub-committee to go into the question?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Hon. Member would please forgive me if I say that I am a member of the Cabinet, I am also a member of the Council of Ministers; I am also a Member of Parliament. If I am going to answer for everything that any Cabinet Minister says, about which I probably do not know or any member of the Council of Ministers says or for that matter anything that any hon. Member says as a Member of Parliament—I am afraid my own competence is surely limited.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Perhaps the hon. Minister misunderstood what I said. It is not related to the statement of Mr. Patil or any other member of the Cabinet. A news appeared in the papers that there had been a sub-committee of the Cabinet of which the hon. Finance Minister is a member. Did it consider this aspect of postponing the general elections in Kerala?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: what appears in the Press, I do not know.

The question of considering any matter at any given time is a thing which is given to anybody. Why should hon. Members think that something is going to be done and it is going to be so unconstitutional, something which cannot be done without Parliament knowing about it? Any proposal must come to Parliament. As a matter of fact everything would be considered. I do not know whether there is anything in the agenda paper of the Cabinet in regard to this. . . . (Interruptions). I can tell you that one human aspect of it is this. I have had nothing to eat since this morning and I would like to go home and eat something; it is extremely a human matter. So, these are not matters about which I am competent to speak. If the hon. Members think that this is an incompetent Finance Minister, I am prepared to accept the charge because I am certainly not competent to speak on matters about which I have really nothing on record and no policy behind it. One hon. Member, I think my hon. friend Mr. Hiren Mukerjee said that I am one of the fathers of the Constitution. I think two other people are alive. I do not know whether we have now become grandfathers of the Constitution. A point is raised oftentimes and if I may make a remark, I have been told by proceedings in courts—all honour to Judges who pronounce opinions on the various articles of the Constitution about intentions of the framers of the Constitution. I think these intentions never existed. But it is a different matter altogether. That is something which is just a matter of hearsay. I submit in all humility and I personally feel—I am speaking purely on a personal capacity—that having been one of those associated with the framing of the Constitution, naturally I am a person who respects the Constitution as such and if any change in the Constitution has to be made, it will be considered. But I do not think any change could be made which is materially different from what is laid down in the Constitution. That will be considered and Parliament will have

ultimately to discuss it and approve of it or reject it. I do not think there is any need for me to explain myself on the merits of the problem. I was very interested in it as a student of the Constitution. I do not know if I will be asked to assist if any question of altering the Constitution comes, but still, what my hon. friend Shri Ranga was saying and what others were saying were all matters of great interest. But that is not a matter which at the moment I am seized of nor am I in a position to say anything about that. All that I can say is, where there is the question of bureaucratic rule, it is very unfortunate. This question of Governor's rule is a thing which was discussed at considerable length when we made the Constitution. We said it might be inevitable, but it is extremely unfortunate. Nobody likes that the people should be deprived of their opportunity of deciding their fate themselves. It is a thing with which nobody will agree. But at the moment, let me come to the narrow issue before us. We are responsible, and Parliament is responsible ultimately for the governance of Kerala and at the present moment we are trying to discharge that responsibility to the best of our ability.

One main matter that was discussed is the food question. Nobody, neither the Government nor for that matter my colleague Shri Subramaniam, is pleased with the present state of affairs. I do not want to praise him actually when he is here, but it is not recognised that here is somebody who has been rushing from one corner of India to another in a situation for which he has no responsibility, or for that matter, no human being has any responsibility, excepting a group of people who are in the distributive trade. He has been trying to see what he can do to solve the problem, getting it here and there. Oftentimes, people will say we in the cabinet differ. I do not think there is any difference between me and Shri Subramaniam. Where he has difficulties, I have my difficulties, and we speak frankly about these difficulties. We regret that such

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a situation like the one that has overtaken Kerala, or for that matter any part of India, has occurred, and within the limits possible for us we try to solve the problem. In the month of October, the position was very acute. The Government were blamed; the individuals were blamed. But still my colleague has been able to pump into Kerala something like 50,000 to 60,000 tons of rice, not to speak of the quantity that is coming in. In this month there is a lot more of rice that will be made available for distribution. The estimated total amount of distribution that we will undertake, according to the present calculation—four ounces of rice in the up-country areas and six ounces of rice in the municipal areas—would be about 65,000 tons. The Food Secretary has been there a few days back and he has given me a report which at any rate safeguards the position of commitment that we have now undertaken. In all, before the end of December, the amount of rice that has gone into Kerala would be about 1,16,000 tons and we expect that the month of December will close with a substantial quantity of rice in their hands. It will be about 75,000 tons. Ships are going. Rice is being sent. Maybe we are not able to accept the very valuable suggestion made by the leader of the Swatantra party that we should take ships from Andhra to Kerala. For one thing, it is difficult to get the ships into ports in Andhra which would be able to take any large tonnage. Secondly, ships are not easily available, and the rice has to be picked up from various places in Andhra. The most suitable method, it seems to me, is by means of wagons and trains. It is not as if the suggestion is something which would ultimately be rejected or is something which is not practicable. At the moment, the ships are coming in. My colleague is fairly sure that so far as the commitment that has been made is concerned, that commitment would be honoured.

My hon. friend Shri Gopalan who

has been there and who knows the problem, has made certain suggestions with regard to the future. He says that there should be procurement and procurement should not be, so to say, mistaken as a levy. That matter will be examined. So much so, what is available in Kerala, which would be roughly about half of what is required for the people, should be procured. And the question is, if the Government and the people and the various representatives of the parties have decided that there should be statutory rationing, the only limitation would be whether we will be able to honour the obligation. We have to examine the question, and I am sure my colleague will examine the matter.

It is suggested that the ration should be increased. The rations are increased to some extent in the case of manual workers particularly in the ports. To say that we should give 12 ounces of rice and four ounces of wheat—I am afraid it may not be possible in the near future. For one thing, we are not in a position to import rice which will permit us to accept an obligation of that order, and secondly, there is no rice available. In fact, we wrote to ask if it is available; various quantities were mentioned whereas the quantities were not available. So, necessarily, when we accepted the commitment for rationing, even formal or informal, a very large quantity of wheat will have to go into it, which we can obtain—not that we cannot afford to pay for it; we can obtain it by credit or we can readjust our finance and foreign-exchange position and we will be able to obtain wheat.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: May I interrupt for a minute? 1.2 million tons is the production in Kerala. If at least some of that is taken as levy or procurement and the promised thing is sent, then, I think the rice ration could be raised.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I am sure the Government is indebted to

the hon. Member. As I said, this question of how we should mop up the surpluses in Kerala for the purpose of relieving us of the burden of having to import everything from outside is a matter which should be examined by my colleague. I think no suggestion coming from any quarter would be likely to be dismissed, it will all be examined, but, as I said, I do not want people to scare the public. We know that we have the quantity of rice in this country; we know that we have enough rice in this country for feeding every human being. We can import as much wheat as is wanted. But the trouble is somewhere in the distributive system. Somebody is holding back; may be it is the producer, may be the distributor; may be the miller. But somebody is holding back, and that is the thing which has upset the work, and we have to devise measures, if possible with the goodwill of everybody concerned. Otherwise, with what we have, the proper thing to do is to get over the present position. So far as the Kerala matter is concerned, I said every suggestion would be examined and, if it is possible, accepted.

I would like to say that so far as the present commitments are concerned, the position is that we are sure that we will be able to maintain it, and any increase in the commitments can only be done if we have resources available; and the matter is constantly under examination.

The hon. Member mentioned something about prices. It is true that there are variations in prices, and also the Government do not accept any responsibility for giving what you might call the superior-quality rice at a particular price. It also happens that there is a considerable variation in price between the ration shop and the fair-price shop. The fair-price shop price should probably approximate to some extent with the ration-shop rice. But the ration shop is gene-

ral; the fair-price shop is sought to cater to that section of the community which is not in a position to afford the higher prices. In the case of wheat, we have the same price: 42 paise per kilogramme. It may vary from place to place merely because of the variety of rice that is available and the Collector has to fix a particular price.

I would like to tell hon. Members that in this matter the Government is fully seized of the situation to the extent that is possible. We do not think we will be caught napping again. The suggestions that have been made in regard to the future will be examined. But hon. Members must realise that before the Government can accept the position of statutory rationing for Kerala, which is a thing which is being examined constantly and which is before us, we will have to ensure that there is absolutely no gap in the supplies position; otherwise that responsibility is rather difficult to accept.

There are one or two other matters to which I would like to refer before closing. The question of students and teachers was mentioned. Regarding the size of the problem, my hon. friend Mr. Gopalan knows all about it. In 1963-64, we had about 10,252 pupils in Government colleges and 46,231 in private colleges. In March 1964, 59,884 students were declared eligible for collegiate education as a result of the SSLC Examination and the position became very acute. About 32 colleges have been permitted to start and the Government itself has started one college in Calicut.

The question of salary of teachers and availability of teachers has been mentioned. I do not deny that there is a lacuna. The salaries paid to the teachers in Kerala are commensurate with the salaries paid elsewhere in Kerala; maybe they are low. I am saying this not in any spirit of levity,

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but I had some knowledge of this part of India at one time. I remember in an office which I had there, there was a brilliant typist who was being paid Rs. 60. I suggested to him to come to Madras and I would pay him Rs. 200. He said, "Please give me Rs. 75 and let me be here". He was a very valuable man for me at that time and I would have paid him Rs. 200 at Madras. But he was not prepared to go out. This was in 1928. Between 1928 and 1964, the position must have changed. In any event, there is an approximation with regard to the local rates.

Also, the question of payment to teachers, non-gazetted officers, etc., was mentioned. These are matters in regard to which we are in correspondence with the State Government. One thing the hon. Member must accept. If we take any decision now even to meet part of the way, that would mean additional responsibility for the popular Government that will come into being at a later stage. Normally, roughly about 40 per cent of the total budget of the State used to be spent on education and allied matters. So much so, they had very little left for other things. This is a very difficult problem. We know that Kerala is unique in many ways and the uniqueness has to be preserved. The Centre has to give some subvention to it. But all along the line, it is rather difficult to meet everything and at the same time.

The question of industrialisation was mentioned. My hon. friend mentioned something about the shipyard. I do hope that the present negotiations that are being conducted with the Japanese will materialise. I would like to assure him, as a person who has something to do with various economic decisions that are being taken by the Government of India, that I personally have no reservation against it at all. If the negotiations materialise tomorrow, it will start working day after tomorrow. But the

matter has to be negotiated. I do not want, and I am sure my hon. friend also does not want, the mistake that we made in Vizag to be repeated in Cochin or in any other part of Kerala. We want a shipyard which is going to be effective, which is going to build ships which will be economic and not one where the area of subvention will be something as big as we are having in Vizag. I can tell him there is absolutely no reservation in this matter so far as the Government is concerned. If the collaboration is available, we will go ahead with this.

Phyto-chemicals has been mentioned. It is rather unfortunate. Even when I was not Minister here, I have been hearing about it. I now understand that the project could not be gone through for the reason that the product would be uneconomical. We have spent Rs. 12 lakhs on it and it is something which we cannot lightly brush aside. The thing is not coming through, but we are going to make use of that plant. The Rs. 12 lakhs would not be wasted. Something else will be started.

Shri Ravindra Verma mentioned about refineries and the need for stabilised power. I think the power position in Kerala, so far as the objectives are concerned, is quite impressive. When the scheme that we have on hand materialises, it would make the power position in Kerala extremely satisfactory. The installed capacity in the State now is 192.5 MW. During next year, the Sholayar project with a capacity of 54 MW and the two units at the Sabarigiri project with a capacity of 100 MW would be commissioned, raising the installed capacity to 346.5 MW.

There is again one point about which I am seized. We have certain plants of our own in Kerala and the profitability of these plants is affected by the fact that oftentimes, there is a shut-down of power in April. This

is the question that drew my attention. I have been telling my colleague, the Minister of Irrigation and Power that we should put up a 100 MW thermal power station, even though it is going to cost us a lot of money, round about Cochin, so that the power-supply would be stabilised and these plants can work. It is not only the FACT, but there are several other plants, both Government and private, in which money has been sunk and they do not work for five or six weeks from April onwards. So, this question of having a thermal power station round about Cochin for stabilising power is a matter which is receiving our earnest consideration.

Maybe, there are one or two other matters to which I have not referred. I would like hon. Members to forgive me, because actually the debate itself has gone off from the main question of considering the economic demands of Kerala and the shortfalls that are now evident, which have to be made good. All I can say is, so long as the responsibility is direct, I will have a look into these matters. Even when it is not quite so direct and there is a Government functioning there, it is a matter which the Government of India cannot afford to ignore; it is one they are seized of. I can give that assurance to hon. Members. Hon. Members will forgive me if I am not in a position to speak about many matters which are not at the moment within the realm of facts.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I shall now put Mr. Yashpal Singh's cut motions Nos. 1, 7 and 9.

Cut motions Nos. 1, 7 and 9 were put and negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I shall now put Mr. Koya's cut motions Nos. 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13.

Cut motions Nos. 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13 were put and negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I shall now put Mr. Nambiar's cut motions Nos. 14, 15, 16 and 18.

Cut motions Nos. 14, 15, 16 and 18 were put and negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That the respective Supplementary sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the third column of the order paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of the following demands entered in the second column thereof—

- (1) Demands Nos. X, XIII, XVI, XVII, XIX, XX, XXVII, XXIX, XXXI, XLV, XLVII and LV.

(Presented on 24th September, 1964).

- (2) Demand Nos. XVI, XVII, XXV, XXXIII, XLVII, XLVIII and LV.

(Presented on 25th September, 1964).

The motion was adopted.

[The motions of Demands for Supplementary Grants in respect of the State of Kerala, which were adopted by the Lok Sabha, are reproduced below—Ed.].

DEMAND NO. X—DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION AND MISCELLANEOUS

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 100 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'District Administration and Miscellaneous'."

DEMAND No. XIII—POLICE

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 100 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Police'."

DEMAND No. XVI—UNIVERSITY
EDUCATION

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 100 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'University Education'."

DEMAND No. XVII—GENERAL
EDUCATION

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,00,000 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'General Education'."

DEMAND No. XIX—MEDICAL

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 100 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during

the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Medical'."

DEMAND No. XX—PUBLIC HEALTH

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 5,00,100 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Public Health'."

DEMAND No. XXVII—INDUSTRIES

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 50,00,000 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Industries'."

DEMAND No. XXIX—LABOUR AND
EMPLOYMENT

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs 100 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Labour and Employment'."

DEMAND No. XXXI—STATISTICS AND
MISCELLANEOUS

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 74,000 be granted

to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Statistics and Miscellaneous'."

DEMAND No. XLV—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CO-OPERATIVES AND ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 12,50,100 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Co-operatives and on Industrial Development'."

DEMAND No. XLVII—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF PUBLIC WORKS

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 5,000 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Public Works'."

DEMAND No. LV—LOANS AND ADVANCES BY THE GOVERNMENT

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 100 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Loans and Advances by the Government'."

1772 (Ai) LSD—6.

DEMAND No. XVI—UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 360 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'University Education'."

DEMAND No. XVII—GENERAL EDUCATION

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 200 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'General Education'."

DEMAND No. XXV—ANNUAL HUSBANDRY

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 6,88,000 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Animal Husbandry'."

DEMAND No. XXXIII—PUBLIC WORKS

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 100 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala

to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965 in respect of 'Public Works'."

**DEMAND No. XLVII—CAPITAL OUTLAY
ON PUBLIC WORKS**

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 200 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Public Works'."

**DEMAND No. XLVIII—CAPITAL OUT-
LAY ON OTHER WORKS**

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 100 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Other Works'."

**DEMAND No. LV—LOANS AND
ADVANCES BY THE GOVERNMENT**

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,50,000 be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Loans and Advances by the Government'."

14.30 hrs.

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE:
ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES (AM-
ENDMENT) ORDINANCE, 1964
AND ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES
(AMENDMENT) BILL**

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri C. Subramaniam): Sir, I beg to move. . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let Shri Bade move the Resolution first.

Shri Bade (Khargone): Sir, I beg to move:

"This House disapproves of the Essential Commodities (Amendment) Ordinance, 1964, (Ordinance, No. 3 of 1964) promulgated by the President on the 5th November, 1964."

Shri C. Subramaniam rose—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I will put the Resolution before the House. Reso-
tion moved:

"This House disapproves of the Essential Commodities (Amendment) Ordinance, 1964, (Ordinance No. 3 of 1964) promulgated by the President on the 5th November, 1964."

Shri C. Subramaniam: Sir, this is the third time I am attempting to speak, and I hope I will now be permitted!

I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Essential Commodities Act, 1955 and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1952, be taken into consideration."