

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

conditions of the various attractions that other forms of savings provide, to play its effective role.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Unit Trust of India Act, 1963, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 2—(Amendment of section 2)

Amendments made:

Page 1, line 13,—

for "1965", substitute "1966" (3)

Page 2, line 5,—

for "1965", substitute "1966" (4)

(Shri B. R. Bhagat)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That Clause 2, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 2, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clauses 3 to 11 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1—(Short Title and Commencement)

Amendment made:

Page 1, line 4,—

for "1965" substitute "1966" (2)

(Shri B. R. Bhagat)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That Clause 1, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 1, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Enacting Formula

Amendment made:

Page 1, line 1,—

for "Sixteenth" substitute—"Seventeenth". (1)

(Shri B. R. Bhagat)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That the Enacting Formula, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

The Enacting Formula, as amended, was added to the Bill.

The Title was added to the Bill.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: I beg to move:

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shall we take up the adjournment motion? Has he got any objection?

Shri Warlor (Trichur): People will be coming only at 3.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We will meet again at 3 O'Clock.

14.55 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Fifteen hours of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha reassembled at three Minutes past Fifteen of the Clock.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT—contd.

KERALA FOOD SITUATION—contd.

श्री प्रकाशचौर शास्त्री : अध्यक्ष जी, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि सभा को अन्य कार्य-वाही स्थगित करके केरल में सरकार की असफलताओं से जो खाद्यान्नों के अभाव की स्थिति सामने आई है उस पर विचार किया जाये ।

भारत में पिछले 18 वर्षों से भूखमरी को समाप्त करने की दिशा में पूरा प्रयास सरकार की ओर से नहीं हुआ । उसका परिणाम यह है कि हमारे देश में मरने वालों की संख्या दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ती जा रही है । तीन प्रकार के व्यक्ति हमारे देश में खाद्यान्नों

के अभाव से मरते हैं। एक तो वह जो किसी उद्देश्य विशेष को लेकर मरण-व्रत रखते हैं लेकिन उनकी संख्या उंगलियों पर गिनने लायक, एक या दो ही होगी। अधिकांश व्यक्ति वह हैं कि जो कम खाना मिलने से मरते हैं या फिर बिना खाये मृत्यु का प्रास बनते हैं। यूरोप में ऐसी मृत्युएं एक हजार में लगभग 8 या 10 होती हैं जबकि भारत-वर्ष में इस प्रकार की मृत्युओं की संख्या 19 और 20 तक पहुंच चुकी है। मैं आज अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर खाद्यान्नों के अभाव के प्रश्न पर जो यह भुइमरी की सनसुरा हमारे देश में बढ़ती चली जा रही है विचार न करके केवल केरल तक अपने को सीमित करना चाहूंगा। केरल में जो अन्वोलन खाद्यान्नों के अभाव में अभी पिछले दिनों उठे हैं उसकी पृष्ठभूमि पर पहले कुछ विचार करना चाहूंगा। केरल के सम्बन्ध में सरकार पहले से परिचित है कि केरल की अधिकांश जनता चावल खाती है और केरल चावल के उत्पादन की दृष्टि से अभाव वाला राज्य है। केरल के प्रशासक जब से केन्द्रीय सरकार के हाथों में केरल का प्रशासन प्राया है बराबर दिल्ली के नेताओं को, खाद्य मंत्रालय को और प्रधान मंत्री को चेतावनिया देते रहे कि केरल की स्थिति भयावह होती जा रही है। दिल्ली के नेताओं को इसे संभालना चाहिए और केरल को इस विषय में स्थिति में आने से बचाना चाहिए। मैं खाद्य मंत्री महोदय से स्पष्ट भाषा में पूछना चाहूंगा कि क्या यह बात सही नहीं है कि जन के प्रारम्भ में केरल के राज्यपाल ने यहां एक तार दिया और उस तार में यह कहा कि यहां स्टॉक में गल्ला बहुत तेजी से समाप्त हो रहा है और हमें स्टॉक करने के लिए अधिक मात्रा में गल्ला यहां भेजा जाय ? क्या उन्होंने अपने तार में यह भी खाद्य मंत्री को कहा कि दक्षिण जोन जो समाप्त कर दिया गया है उसको फिर से स्थापित किया जाय जिससे केरल की स्थिति संभल सके और अगर ऐसा नहीं होता तो फिर केन्द्रीय सरकार को केरल की स्थिति सम्हालने के लिए स्वयं कोई प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए ? इसके पश्चात्

अध्यक्ष जी, अगस्त के पहले सप्ताह में मुख्य-मंत्रियों का एक सम्मेलन हुआ। उस मुख्य मंत्रियों के सम्मेलन में केरल की जनता को आश्वासन दिया स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने कि हम यह यत्न करेंगे कि 11 लाख टन चावल और 4 लाख टन गेहूं केरल के लिए यहां से भेजा जाय जिससे अभाव की स्थिति न आने पाए। लेकिन वह सम्भव नहीं हो पाया। उसके बाद फिर केरल के प्रशासक ने 5 नवम्बर को केन्द्रीय सरकार को तार दिया और अपने तार में यह कहा कि राशन पद्धति यहां पर फेल हो चुकी है और यहां पर एकदम विषम स्थिति होने जा रही है, केन्द्रीय सरकार इस दिशा में थोड़ा सावधानी से काम ले। नवम्बर के चौथे सप्ताह में दक्षिण के राज्यों के मुख्य मंत्रियों की बैठक बुलाई गई। उस मुख्य मंत्रियों की बैठक में भी इस बात पर विचार होने के बाद, जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री श्री शास्त्री ने यह आश्वासन दिया कि 160 ग्राम चावल जो केरल के लोगों को मिल रहा है वह बराबर मिलता रहेगा। उसमें किसी प्रकार की कमी नहीं होगी। लेकिन जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है शास्त्री जी के इतने आश्वासन देने के बावजूद भी खाद्य मंत्री महोदय ने उस दिशा में कोई पत्र नहीं उठाया और उसी का परिणाम यह है कि वह स्थिति बराबर बिगड़ती चली गई। जनवरी के प्रारम्भ में आकर स्थिति यहां तक बिगड़ गई कि फूड कारपोरेशन के स्टॉक में केवल 1 हजार टन चावल रह गया। शायद इन्हीं परिस्थितियों के कारण फूड कारपोरेशन के चेररमैन मिस्टर पाई को त्यागपत्र भी देना पड़ा। मैं चाहूंगा कि खाद्य-मंत्री अपने उत्तर में इसका स्पष्टीकरण करें कि फूड कारपोरेशन के चेररमैन को किन परिस्थितियों में विवश होकर त्यागपत्र देना पड़ा ? खाद्य मंत्री पिछले साल की स्थिति का विश्लेषण करते हुए स्थान स्थान पर इस बात की चेतावनी करते हैं कि पिछले साल हमारे यहां बहुत भारी उत्पादन हुआ था। 88.2 मिलियन टन

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

उत्पादन हमारे देश में खाद्यान्नों का हुआ और पिछले साल खाद्यान्नों का आयात भी भारी मात्रा में किया गया। अब प्रश्न यह है केरल की जनता का भारत सरकार से और विशेषकर खाद्य मंत्री से कि जब पिछले साल उपज भी इतनी मात्रा में हुई और बाहर से आयात भी अधिक मात्रा में हुआ तो केरल के निवासियों ने कौन सा अपराध किया। कि जो उनके राशन में किसी प्रकार की वृद्धि नहीं हुई? अध्यक्ष जी, मैं 1963-64 से पहले के आंकड़े देना चाहूंगा। 1963-64 के पहले जबकि भारतवर्ष के दूसरे राज्यों में खपत इस प्रकार थी:

मध्य प्रदेश	22.7
पंजाब	27.2
उड़ीसा	21.7 और
राजस्थान	22.6

प्रति व्यक्ति, उस समय इस अभागे केरल राज्य की प्रति व्यक्ति खपत 11.94 थी। और यह 1963-64 के अन्त में आकर के रह गई 10.1। अब केरल की जनता यह पूछती है कि हम भारतवर्ष का भाग हैं या नहीं? अगर केरल प्रान्त भारतवर्ष का भाग है तो क्या कारण है कि इन सारी स्थितियों के बावजूद भी बराबर चेटावनियां देने के बावजूद भी, केरल के राज्यपाल के बराबर लिखने के बावजूद भी जैसा कि समाचारपत्रों में प्रकाशित हुआ है खाद्य-मंत्रालय और भारत सरकार के कानों पर जू नहीं रेंगी? और यह स्थिति उस समय है जब 160 ग्राम से घटाकर 120 ग्राम चावल केरल में किया गया उसके बगल के जो प्रान्त हैं मद्रास और आन्ध्र, बिलकुल उसी से लगे हुए वहां मद्रास में प्रति व्यक्ति चावल 200 ग्राम दिया जा रहा है और आन्ध्र के विशाखापट्टनम में 240 ग्राम प्रति व्यक्ति दिया जा रहा है और केरल के निवासी को जो उसी की सीमा से सटा हुआ

है, 120 ग्राम प्रति व्यक्ति दिया जा रहा है। अब केरल की जनता और देश का प्रत्येक व्यक्ति इस समाजवादी सरकार से पूछना चाहता है कि क्या यही समाजवाद का नमना है कि आन्ध्र के अन्दर 240 ग्राम चावल और मद्रास के अन्दर 200 ग्राम चावल तथा केरल की जनता को 120 ग्राम चावल दिया जा रहा है? क्या इसी प्रकार से देश में समाजवादी समाज की रचना होगी? मेरी एक और जानकारी है। मद्रास के अन्दर एक चावल होता है। उसको करवाई चावल कहते हैं। उसका स्टॉक मद्रास के पास पर्याप्त है। यह एक मोटे किस्म का चावल होता है, जिसको केरल के लोग विशेषकर खाते हैं मद्रास में इसकी खपत कम है। मद्रास में यह चावल भंडारों में भरा पड़ा है। लेकिन केरल तक नहीं पहुंच पाया। जब पानी मुह तक आ गया और केरल के लोगों के कहने से, केरल के प्रशासकों की चेटावनियों से किसी प्रकार यह भारत सरकार नहीं जगी तो परिणाम यह हुआ कि केरल में आन्दोलन उठा और आन्दोलन उठकर उसमें वसें जलाई गई, स्टेशन लूटे गए, सरकारी सम्पत्ति को नष्ट भ्रष्ट किया गया। मैं इन बातों को कहकर यह नहीं चाहता कि इस प्रकार की कोई प्रवृत्ति को देश के कसी कोने में प्रोत्साहन दिया जाये? लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि जब सरकार इनके अतिरिक्त और किन्हीं उपायों से जगती ही नहीं और और किसी प्रकार सरकार को चेटावनी देने की बात नहीं आती तो अगर केरल के लोगों ने इस आन्दोलन का सहारा लिया तो इसमें उन बच्चों ने क्या अपराध किया है? और फिर जब यह आन्दोलन हुआ और केरल के स्कूल और कालेज बन्द हुए, केरल में हड़तालें हुईं तो प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने प्रान्तों से यह कहा कि केरल को चावल भेजो, केरल को चावल भेजो। बिहार से चावल जा रहा है, यू० पी० से चावल जा रहा है, पंजाब से चावल जा रहा है, स्वयं उन्होंने भी जायद किसी जगह पर हस्ता

किये हैं कि मैं भी अपना चावल खाना छोड़ूंगी। (व्यवधान) शायद उन्होंने सोचा हो कि इसी प्रकार से लोगों में एक त्याग की प्रवृत्ति जगेगी? लेकिन मेरा अपना प्रश्न यह है कि जिस समय प्रधान मंत्री ने प्रान्तों की कृष्णा कि अमुक प्रान्त इतना चावल भेजे, अमुक प्रान्त इतना चावल भेजे, मैं एक बड़ा स्पष्ट प्रश्न प्रधान मंत्री और खाद्य मंत्री दोनों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या कोई इस प्रकार के भी प्रान्त थे जिन्होंने आप का निर्देश जाने के बावजूद चावल भेजने से इंकार कर दिया था? जबकि उस प्रान्त के पास चावल था? उत्तर प्रदेश जैसा अभाव-ग्रस्त प्रान्त अगर आप के निर्देश पर इतना चावल केरल को भेज सकता है तो उस प्रान्त का नाम बतलाया जाय इस संसद् में जिसने कि प्रधान मंत्री के निर्देश के बावजूद चावल नहीं भेजा? नहीं भेजा तो क्यों नहीं चावल भेजा गया? देश इस बात को आप में जानना चाहता है? हमें इस समस्या के मूल में जाना होगा। समस्या के मूल में जाकर देखना होगा कि यह स्थिति पैदा क्यों हुई? उस का एक बहुत बड़ा कारण यह है कि हम ने जो यह क्षेत्रीय प्रणाली (जोनल सिस्टम) की दीवारे देश में खड़ी कर दी हैं आज उस का परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि प्रान्तों के अन्दर संकुचित प्रवृत्ति का उदय होता जा रहा है, स्वार्थी प्रवृत्ति जन्म लेती जा रही है। हर एक प्रान्त यह समझता है कि मेरे प्रान्त के अन्दर तो कोई भूखा नहीं मरना चाहिए, पड़ोसी प्रान्त में कोई भूखा मरे तो भले ही मरे। मेरे ऊपर कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं है, ऐसी स्थिति उत्पन्न होती जा रही है। दूसरा क्षेत्रीय प्रणाली का (जोनल सिस्टम का) सब से बड़ा दुष्परिणाम यह है कि जैसे जयपुर कांग्रेस में किसी एक समझदार सदस्य ने चेतावनी देते हुए सरकार को कहा था कि आज सिपाहियों की जेबें लाखों रुपयों से भर रही हैं जो सीमा पर हैं। जहाँ एक प्रान्त से दूसरे प्रान्त में गल्ला जाता है। अनाज जा रहा है लेकिन गलत रास्ते से जा रहा है। छप्टाचार हो रहा है, कालाबाजार हो रहा है, गल्ला इस प्रकार

से दूसरे अनुचित उपायों से जा रहा है। तीसरे भावों में कितना अन्तर हो गया? मैं छोड़ता हूँ उस प्रदेश का जो कि दक्षिण के हैं। प्रायः आप को दिल्ली की ही बात कहता हूँ। पंजाब के अन्दर जिस गेहूँ का भाव 56 रुपये प्रति क्विंटल है उसी गेहूँ का भाव दिल्ली में आकार 72 रुपये प्रति क्विंटल है और वही गेहूँ दिल्ली से 11 मील दूर गाजियाबाद में जाकर 85 रुपये क्विंटल है और वही गेहूँ बम्बई व कलकत्ते में जाकर 140 और 150 रुपये प्रति क्विंटल बिक रहा है। मेरे एक मित्र ने बतलाया कि वह 180 रुपये प्रति क्विंटल तक बिक रहा है। इस क्षेत्रीय प्रणाली के देश में कितनी अव्यवस्था पैदा हो गई है। केरल की जनता का तो एक और भी प्रश्न है। जब आप ने दक्षिण का जोन समाप्त किया था तो केरल में तो कोई सरकार थी नहीं। इसलिए केन्द्रीय सरकार जब सारे प्रशासन को देखती हो तो केरल की जनता को भुलमरी में बचाने की जिम्मेदारी प्रमुख रूप से केन्द्रीय सरकार की है। अब मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि केन्द्रीय सरकार इस बात को बताये कि जय दक्षिण की जोन समाप्त करने में आपन अपना हाथ लगाया था तो केरल की सीधी जिम्मेदारी आप पर आ गई है। आज केरल पूछता है कि सीधी जिम्मेदारी आप के हाथ में आने के बाद हम को क्यों भूखों मरने दिया जा रहा है? केरल की स्थिति क्या है? जो इस प्रकार से उन जोनों के जो चारों प्रान्त हैं चावल उत्पादन करने वाले जब तक वह चारों मिले हुए थे तब तक केरल के निवासियों को किसी न किसी कीमत पर चावल मिलता तो था जबकि प्रायः चावल का अभाव है? प्रायः खुले बाजार में आन्ध्र प्रदेश के अन्दर चावल का भाव 80 रुपये प्रति क्विंटल है, मद्रास के अन्दर 80 से लेकर 85 रुपये प्रति क्विंटल है, मैसूर में 120 रुपये प्रति क्विंटल और वही चावल केरल में जाकर 200 रुपये प्रति क्विंटल हो जाता है। अब आप बतलाइये कि केरल का गरीब निवासी कहाँ से उस चावल को खरीदेगा और किस प्रकार से अपना पेट भरेगा?

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

इस पर केरल के अन्दर जो यह आन्दोलन होता है तो फिर उस को किस तरह से रोका जा सकता है? इसी प्रकार उस जोनल प्रणाली का मैं ने प्रौर भी कई स्थानों में दुष्परिणाम देखा। आन्ध्र महाराष्ट्र की जहाँ सीमा जाकर मिलती है, नान्देड़ प्रौर निजामाबाद की सीमाओं पर भाव पूछा तो जिस ज्वार का भाव महाराष्ट्र के अन्दर सम्ना है वही ज्वार एक मील चल कर आन्ध्र में चली जाती है तो उस का भाव ऊंचा हो जाता है? चावल का भाव निजामाबाद में क्या है प्रौर निजामाबाद से जब नान्देड़ में चला जाता है तो उसी चावल का भाव क्या हो जाता है? आज मैं आप को कहता हूँ कि अभी समय है, सरकार समझदारी से प्रौर प्राख खोल कर काम करे। केरल की यह घटना केरल तक ही सीमित नहीं है। अगर सरकार ने समझदारी और बुद्धिमत्ता का परिचय नहीं दिया और दूरदशता से कोई निर्णय नहीं लिया तो केरल की घटना केरल तक ही सीमित नहीं रहेगी देश के कई अन्य राज्यों में भी इन घटनाओं की पुनरावृत्ति होगी। यही अभाव की स्थिति महाराष्ट्र में है, बिहार में है, उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में है, राजस्थान में है, गुजरात में है और वही स्थिति पश्चिमी बंगाल में है। कई राज्यों में इसी प्रकार की स्थिति बन रही है। केरल के अन्दर जो उपद्रव हुए उस के महत्व को वह यह कह कर मोड़ना चाहते हैं कि वहाँ पर जो कम्युनिस्ट थे वह इस आन्दोलन के पीछे थे। मैं समझता हूँ कि कुछ व्यक्ति उस में इस प्रकार के हो सकते हैं जिन्होंने कि इस आन्दोलन का लाभ उठाया हो? लेकिन आप यह बतलाइये कि केरल के इस आन्दोलन में कांग्रेस के ही तो लोग थे, एस० एस० पी० के भी थे, पी० एस० पी० के जनसंघ और स्वतंत्र पार्टी के भी लोग थे। जितने भी राजनैतिक दल हैं उन सभी ने मिल कर एक स्वर से यह मांग रखी थी। इसलिए इस आन्दोलन को केवल कुछ राजनीतिक पार्टियों का आन्दोलन कह कर नहीं

टाला जा सकता।

हमारी सरकार दूसरा काम यह करती है कि वह आंकड़ों के जादू से सारा चित्र तैयार करती है। आंकड़ों के जादू का एक ही उदाहरण आप के द्वारा रखते हुए मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि 1951 में जब हमारे देश की जनगणना 36-37 करोड़ के मध्य में थी तो सरकार के आंकड़े यह हैं कि उस समय हमारे देश के अन्दर जो खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन था वह पचास करोड़ टन के लगभग था। अब जब कि हमारे देश की जनगणना बढ़ कर 46-47 करोड़ के लगभग पहुँच गयी है तो इस समय खाद्य मंत्रालय के आंकड़े यह हैं कि पिछले साल का उत्पादन 88.2 मिलियन टन है। अब जनता पूछती है कि जब 88.2 करोड़ टन का उत्पादन हुआ है तो देश की प्राबादी तो दुगनी हुई नहीं और उत्पादन होगया लगभग दुगना तो वह शेष खाद्यान्न कहाँ गया। यह एक सवाल है? लेकिन यह केवल एक सवाल नहीं है अपितु यह सच्चाई है कि खाद्यान्न की जादूगरी में आप के मंत्रालय ने आप को इस तरह से फंसा रक्खा है कि आप उस से अलग नहीं निकल सकते। यह सारा चित्र आप उस आधार पर ही तैयार करते हैं। इस तरह देश की खाद्य समस्या का आप समाधान नहीं कर पायेंगे। देश की खाद्य समस्या को आप क्या प्रस्ताव पास कर के समाधान करेंगे? क्या देश की खाद्य समस्या का समाधान आप की मीठी मीठी बातों से होगा? क्या देश की खाद्यान्न की समस्या आप अश्रु गंस छोड़ कर और गोलियाँ चला कर करेंगे? अगर यह स्थिति रही तो मैं आप को चेतावनी देता हूँ कि केरल की घटना देश के अन्दर न जाने कितने प्रान्तों के अन्दर दुहरायी जायगी? इस से बड़ी दुर्व्यवस्था और कुछ नहीं हो सकती कि 18 साल की स्वतंत्रता के बाद इस देश की जनता को रोटी के टुकड़े मांगने

के लिए गोलियां खानी पड़ें और गोलियों का निशाना बनना पड़े। इस स्वतंत्र भारत की सरकार के लिए इस से बड़ी शर्म और लज्जा की और कोई बात नहीं हो सकती कि उस के अन्दर यह स्थिति हो। इसलिए मैं इस स्थगन प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित करते समय विशेष रूप से यह चाहूंगा कि केरल में जो घटनाएं घटी हैं केरल के जो वहां पर प्रशासक हैं उन के बार बार चेतावनी देने के बाद मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि कौन व्यक्ति और कौन अधिकारी इस प्रकार के हैं जिन्होंने केरल की स्थिति को यहां लाकर खड़ा कर दिया? वहां पर उपद्रव हुए और सरकार की सम्पत्ति का नाश हुआ। इस की पूरी जांच होनी चाहिए। उपद्रव जो हुए हैं उन की भी पूरी जांच होनी चाहिए। अगर सच्चाई और ईमानदारी की बात वह करना चाहें तो जैसे स्वर्गीय श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री एक अरियल लू की रेल दुर्घटना की सूचना पर अपने रेलवे मंत्री के पद से त्यागपत्र दे सकते थे तो ईमानदारी और नैतिकता का तकाजा यह है कि श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम को अपने पद से त्यागपत्र दे देना चाहिए। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं सरकार के असफलता-सूचक प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित करते समय यह चाहूंगा कि इस बात पर गम्भीरता से कुछ निणय लिये जायं ताकि केरल को ही नहीं अपितु देश को भी उस दुःखद स्थिति में फंसने से बचाया जा सके। धन्यवाद।

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"The situation arising out of Kerala Bandh demanding restoration of the cut in rice ration introduced in Kerala State from 9th January, 1966 and complete collapse of the administration".

The Mover has taken—I also wanted to give him—15 minutes. He has confined himself within that time. I hope the House will agree that other speakers might take only ten minutes each, because there will be a very large number of people who want to speak. Shri Ranga.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Mr. Speaker, Sir I endorse every word that has fallen from the lips of my eloquent friend, Shri Prakesh Vir Shastri, in the speech that he has made today with feeling, with facts and with strength behind him. I happened to be in Kerala just during that season of the bundh. I can bear testimony to the fact that it was supported by all political parties; the only one party that did not take part during that bundh on the first day was the Kerala Congress; but they associated themselves with the demand of the bandh two or three days earlier because they did not wish to go with all other political parties for their own reasons. Therefore, it was a unanimous atmosphere that had arisen in Kerala, an atmosphere of distrust of the Government of India, the lack of faith in the Government as such, and they wanted to express their no-confidence in the Government that they were having there, whether it is locally responsible to the Governor or centrally responsible to this Parliament and this Ministry.

What was the position? They all began to ask me, and asked others also, why is it that Kerala is being punished. Why should there be this discrimination? And, therefore, the cry arose among them in favour of independence for Kerala, economic independence as they call it. Why should we not, they ask, be free to go anywhere we like in India and purchase foodgrains at whatever price it might be made available and bring them down here in order to feed our own people?

Surely nobody could expect Kerala to become self-sufficient in food, even if the government were to succeed with their schemes of grow more food and giving the biggest priority for the production of foodgrains. We all know they are not succeeding, but even if they succeed, nobody could expect Kerala to become self-sufficient in food. It would always be a deficit area on

[Shri Ranga]

the food front. Whose responsibility is it to feed Kerala then? They say—and I agree—that government has robbed the people of Kerala of their right to go anywhere, purchase foodgrains, bring it to Kerala and distribute it amongst themselves as best as they possibly can to keep themselves alive. But government has imprisoned, cardoned off Kerala from the rest of India, even from her own neighbouring States like Andhra, Mysore and Madras. With what face would it be possible for me to tell them that in spite of all this, I do believe that this government considers Kerala to be a part of India, a part of the economic union of India?

This was the position and then they rose in revolt. It has been said that political interests are behind it. If that were so, why is it that the Congress also associated itself with this? Indeed, the Congress took the lead in developing this "bandh". Of course, the whole of the people of Kerala, irrespective of the political party they belonged to, were interested in seeing that something is done in order to force this deaf, blind and most irresponsible government to come to their rescue. The new Prime Minister sent out an SOS to all the State Governments. The various satraps began making generous offers from Punjab right down to U.P. and Bihar, including my own State of Andhra and our neighbour Madras. They began to say, "Yes; we are going to speed foodgrains to Kerala". What happened? Did they not have any political or economic conscience at all in this country? Why did they not rush to the rescue of Kerala during all these months? It is not as if this crisis came all of a sudden. Even in last June, I invoked the evidence of my own friend, the testimony of Mr. Nanda, who is Chairman of the Kerala Advisory Committee, to this effect that even then the Kerala MPs of this House and

the other House, including the two ministers who happen to be from Kerala—Mr. Thomas and Mr. Menon—unanimously said, "For God's sake, rush foodgrains to Kerala". Did they do so? Why did they not? At the time of *Onam*, we were told, they raised the quantum of ration from 12 to 14 or from 10 to 12 ounces. We felt glad for that small mercy. Though the Kerala Advisory Committee representing this Parliament unanimously passed a resolution—the Home Minister also was there—saying, "For God's sake, make it a general thing", Government did not do it. All these months, Government had been sleeping.

My Friend, who preceded me, in his very quiet manner, at the very end of his speech, said what the Food Minister should do and what the Prime Minister should do in regard to the Food Minister. The same Food Minister was there then. He continues to be there. They had an opportunity of making a change in the Food Ministership. But they did not do so, for their own reasons, may be very good reasons, because my hon. friend is quite an able man and I do not at all grudge him the opportunity of being a member of this Cabinet; he is no less capable than any other Cabinet minister. Nevertheless, prejudices come in; hardness comes in one's attitudes in regard to certain policies and certain suggestions, after having taken a particular line . . .

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon):
Parochial interests come in.

Shri Ranga: It cannot be that. Therefore, it is a well-known practice in democratic governments that when certain failures come to the surface and the Prime Minister finds his colleague not willing to make any change, the Prime Minister changes the portfolio. Even that our Prime Minister has not been able to do. She has been very wrongly

advised indeed in requesting my friend to continue to shoulder this onerous responsibility once again, after his miserable failure during all these months.

It is poor consolation to Keraleans to be told that in the face of all this crisis, another Keralean has been appointed as a minister. What is the use? There was a Keralean minister on our committee—Mr. Thomas who was Minister for Defence Production—and he made an eloquent plea on behalf of the Keralean people. That carried conviction with the Home Minister. But the Home Minister as well as Mr. Thomas and others were helpless *vis-a-vis* this Great Moghul—the Food Minister! The Food Minister himself is a helpless man today, because he has accepted the supremacy of the satraps who are behind them in their own party as the be-all and end-all—the Chief Ministers. Why should any zonal restrictions be there? Who is being benefited by it? Why have they imprisoned and robbed the people of Kerala of their economic freedom? They say, we want to save them from the profiteers. Who are the profiteers today? It is this government and the State Governments who are profiteers, not the Food Corporation of India, because the poor thing has not been given a real opportunity in funds, power, privileges and freedom to go to Andhra and Madras and purchase foodgrains in competition with the merchants.

The proper solution lies in this. Let them, if they so wish, make an experiment by allowing Kerala merchants, Andhra merchants and Madras merchants to compete with one another and to compete with the Food Corporation. Let my hon. friend give all the money that the Food Corporation wants from all these various banks. Instead of providing money from the Reserve Bank and State Bank for the ways and means of these inefficient, bankrupt State Governments, let them place this

credit at the disposal of the Food Corporation. Let them all compete in speeding foodgrains to Kerala. Let them withdraw all the restrictions on road and rail communications. Let them push in as many wagois as possible and rush the foodgrains there. Are they prepared to do it? Would they be allowed to do it? This minister anyhow would not be allowed to do it by the State Ministers and his advisers, because he has already sold himself to these people so far as economic freedom is concerned. I used the word "sold" in the sense he had submitted to them: I withdraw the word "sold". It is high time this government gives up its blissful faith in its power to control the Kerala people. Kerala is a secular State. We must save Kerala for democracy. If we are to do it, they have to give up these policies and help the people of Kerala to become once again economically and politically free. Free them from this Governor's rule. Give them an opportunity of having their own democratic government. Strengthen that democratic government by all means and in every possible manner.

Sir, I have nothing more to say except to express my regret at the inexcusable failure of this government and the callousness of its policies.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalappuzha): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in participating in this debate, I want to represent the feelings of 18 million people of Kerala. But I am afraid I will not be able to do that. Our people are sad, unhappy and at the same time angry. They have already said that they are not prepared to take these things lying down and that they will be meeting the challenge. That also was demonstrated by the eighteen million people of our State on the 28th of last month.

I do not want to deal at length on the historic Kerala Bandh. Many bandhs have taken place in this

[Shri Vasudevan Nair]

country. But, Sir, you ought to have seen that day in our State. Not a fly was flying, not a rickshaw was plying, not a cycle was to be seen. That was the state of affairs in the country-side and also in the cities. What was behind it? I am sorry we have got a Food Minister without a heart, who is unable to understand the feelings of the people. I am even ashamed to speak in this House today when Shri Subramaniam is still presiding over the Ministry of Food and Agriculture after this ignoble failure. Even today morning he was trying to stand up and say that there was no failure on the part of the Government. Perhaps, Ministers can say anything that they like in Parliament, and so he can get away with such irresponsible statements.

But, Sir, I will quote their own Governor, the gentleman who was Governor of Kerala till a few days back and who ran away, of course, from the sinking ship in a time of danger—I will come to him later. He himself in an open Press Conference said: "That Central Government has failed me". He said that the Central Government had failed, not you or me, but him, the Governor. He said: "I am sending telegrams after telegrams, there is no rice in the godowns and I do not even get replies to my telegrams." This was the statement made by the Governor who was supposed to be responsible at that time. The Central Government could not send rice, they could not send replies to his telegrams also.

Sir, the Governor, on the morning of 28th of last month, went out in an open car with his wife for a ride in the city of Trivandrum. He met the people. The people greeted him. He made speeches. But at 4.00 in the evening the same day, the same Governor called a Press Conference where he said: "Violence has broken out". In the morning the Governor

was greeted by our people, who were in the midst of a struggle, with garlands. There he could speak to them. This happened in the city of Trivandrum. In the evening the same gentleman said: "Now violence has broken out. I have decided to meet force by force. Certain people are behind the curtain. Let them come out on the streets. I will meet them on the streets." These are the words of the then Governor. He challenged the political parties to come out in the streets and he said that he would meet them in the streets. Then he made a statement: "The police has not done anything wrong. There will be no inquiry about the police excesses." What happened then? It is not possible for me to describe that in a few minutes.

Sir, our charge is this, that it was because of the signal and naked failure of this Government, of the agents of this Government in our State, that all this trouble was there and all this trouble is there.

As far as our rice ration is concerned, I am not going to refer to those facts which have already been referred to. I will only just place before you this small quantity of rice which you see in my hands. This is the ration given to an adult in Kerala. This is the ration we are supposed to live upon. This is 120 grams of rice. From the 9th January the people of Kerala were asked by Shri Subramaniam to live on this 120 grams of rice. I am sure he is giving more rice to his dogs, he is giving more rice to his animals (*Interruption*). Do you expect our people to behave like sanyasins?

This Kerala Bandh was the most peaceful demonstration of people ever staged in this country. I can claim it with authority. We know what happened in 1942 in the struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi. Struggles led by Gandhians we have seen in this country. But the Government, some

of the agencies of the Government and some of the newspapers purchased by the Government started a deliberate propaganda from 4.00 in the evening when the Governor made this statement. What happened at 4.00 P.M.? He cajoled, perhaps he pressurised—we do not know—and the Kerala Congress withdrew from the struggle. They said they were suspending the agitation. It was the Governor who announced this decision of the Congress, not the Congress President. Then the Governor said: "I will meet the people of Kerala in the streets". From the next day the Kerala police started their work. They have a record. They are so notorious. We have seen them in the past, including the Members on the other side, during the freedom struggle. They were in their full form from the next day, because nobody was there to check them the Governor himself having given the green signal. I charge the Governor, the topmost responsible person in our State, of this. Perhaps it was done with the blessings of Shri Nanda. He is now having a steam-roller administration in the country with DIR and all that. Therefore, with his blessings, I say, the Governor let loose obvious terror on the people, especially on our boys and girls in the schools and colleges. Even now it is continuing in our State.

Sir, I cannot recount, I cannot even enumerate the names of places where lathi charges have taken place on students. A Congress Member of Parliament, belonging to the other House, issued a statement—a lady Member—saying that the police have committed excesses. I understand that the Governor was after her and they wanted a statement against that original statement, because a Congress Member was making a statement that police had committed excesses. In a place like Quilon—the place from where my hon. friend, Shri Sreekantan Nair comes—I am sure he will be able to tell more about it—I visited the hospitals and saw

many boys there. The principal of the college there said that in his life he had not seen a situation like this, police rushing into the college, into the library hall and all that. Sir, this is the shirt of a boy who was reading in the library hall. You can see that this is full of blood. They were exhibiting this shirt when I visited the hospital. For many days it went on. Sir, the Prime Minister is not there (*Interruption*). This is what happened to the boys who were reading in the library hall. The police rushed in there and the boys were attacked. At a number of places school and college boys were attacked like this by the police. Hundreds of boys were attacked like this. Hundreds of boys are still languishing in jails. We are now told by Governor Jain—he is no more the Governor.....

An hon. Member: Ex-Governor.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: I do not know what kind of a person he is.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta Central): An unspeakable person.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: He said, when he departed from our State after 9 to 10 months of administration that he was leaving a peaceful Kerala to his successor. You can see this cartoon of the great cartoonist Shankar. He has depicted here the peaceful Kerala of Jain.

The Government should not misread the situation. If they think that now there is no bandh, now perhaps on the surface there is some kind of a calm, I should tell them that the people are living with wounded feelings. Unless something is done immediately to release all the boys in the jails and to withdraw all the cases registered against hundreds of students and public men, and steps are not taken immediately to institute an inquiry into what has happened especially the police excesses, I am afraid I cannot say what is going to happen in our State.

[Shri Vasudevan Nair]

I am afraid of what is going to happen tomorrow in other States also.

During this period the Government thought—again I think Shri Nanda might have advised the Kerala Government—that it is now possible to explain away the whole situation by saying that the Communists were trying to make trouble, to fish out of troubled waters. Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad was arrested on this occasion. He was outside Kerala, in Calcutta, for two weeks. As soon as he comes back, from the aerodrome itself he is booked and taken to jail. So many people were arrested under DIR. Even now, at this very moment, cases are being pursued against them. In our language there is a saying: *Ramanam kooteyulla nooru perum*; that is to say, only one person is identified by appearance; the other hundred people are identified as persons seen near Rama. Police registers cases against people just like that. They make searches of houses in the night and people are harassed. This kind of thing is taking place from one end of the State to the other.

On the 28th what did we do? We wanted to cry aloud that we wanted our rightful place in the country. We did not want to be treated as second-class citizens in India, because we have always thought and still think that we are first the citizens of India and then the citizens of Kerala. There was practically nothing which Government could do on the 28th. The Government were helpless. They could not do anything. Then they wanted to be vindictive. They wanted to wreak vengeance on the people. It was a conspiracy unleashed by the Governor, perhaps with the blessings of the Central Government. For one week after the 28th these things have been happening.

Government may now say that they have restored the cut and to the

120 grams they have added 40 grams and after one month they will add 20 grams more. They may even claim that it is a great thing which we have got out of the Jaipur Congress session. Here I may say that we of Kerala do not want to claim something which the people in other parts of India are not able to enjoy. I want to make that position very clear. If there is privation in this country, we will be the first to share the burden of that privation. There need be no doubt about it. But, at the same time, we believe that it is detrimental not only to our people but to the national integrity to keep one part down and allow other parts to enjoy more.

So, it is a question of policy. The policies of this Government are rotten and bankrupt. I do not have the time to deal with them; perhaps I may get other occasions to deal with them. Unless these policies are changed, Kerala cannot be helped, other States cannot be helped; the other States will be forced to follow Kerala. That is the situation in this country.

Even in spite of the drought, even in spite of the bad season the problem can be solved provided there is a Government with a backbone, there is a Government with a policy, there is a Government with a heart for the people. But if the Government is continuing the policy of supporting the rice smugglers who are selling rice in the city of Bombay at Rs. 250 and the Minister says that his policies are successful, he is very much mistaken. The real position is that he is leaving everything into the hands of the rice millers, he is leaving rice in the hands of the smugglers and he is coming here and declaring that he is doing everything possible and that his policy has not failed. I say that his policy and the Government's policy have failed all along the line and unless these failures are checked, this Gov-

ernment will have to go or else the people will do something to this Government.

So, my final request to this House and, through you, Sir, to this Government is to consider immediately the question of increasing the rations still further so that our people can go and work. People are now dying inch by inch. They ask: what can we do with this ration? The Minister may say that there is no starvation death but people are dying inch by inch. So, the rice ration should be increased, the cases should be immediately withdrawn and proper inquiry should be instituted against police excesses. Then, coming to the students,—I have seen them in the hospitals—their examinations are nearing, only one month ahead, they have to take their examinations and yet now many of them, hundreds of them, are in jail. They should be released forthwith. Sir, I would request you to exercise your influence to see that these boys are released and the cases against the students are withdrawn. If it is possible for them, let there be an attempt to see that there is a new atmosphere in the State. Let us try to solve the problems. But if our experience in the past is any indication, we have absolutely no expectations from this wooden-headed Government.

An hon. Member: The Prime Minister should be present here.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. She was here. She might have gone out to attend to some other work.

Shri Kappen (Muvattupuzha): Mr. Speaker, Sir, standing on this side of the House, it has become my painful duty to oppose this Adjournment Motion, but I do so without my heart in it.

Shri Daji (Indore): What a shame!

Shri Shinkre (Marmagaoa): Sir, if an hon. Member says that he wants to

be a hypocrite, can he be allowed to do that?

Mr. Speaker: That is the interpretation of the hon. Member not of anybody else.

Shri Kappen: Much of what has been said here is absolutely true and to deny them would be foolish on my part. The food deficit of Kerala is not of recent origin. From time immemorial we were depending on other countries of the world for our food. In pre-independence days we were producing valuable cash crops, selling them and purchasing our foodgrains with that money. But, after independence, things changed. It became a turning point for this State. During the time of the late Kidwai, when restrictions and control over the movement of foodgrains were removed the food situation in Kerala eased and rice and paddy moved to Kerala in plenty. Subsequently, Government found that in high-priced areas the stocks from surplus States were moving unevenly. Therefore, Government decided to set up zones and the Southern Zone was created, comprising of Kerala, Mysore, Madras and Andhra Pradesh. After the establishment of this zone, food moved to Kerala in plenty and there was no difficulty. When the present Minister of Food and Agriculture took up this portfolio, he thought it wise to abolish the Southern Zone. What has happened since then? Within a period of one year famine conditions were created in the State of Kerala twice and innocent blood flowed in the streets of Trivandrum and Quilon twice within the same year. When I say that innocent blood had flowed in the streets, I do not advocate violence in any form. I say that violence in any form must be abjured, must be avoided. It is not really the students who started violence. The hooligans threw stones at the buses and destroyed Government property. But who suffered at the hands of the police? It is the innocent boys and girls from the schools and colleges that had really to suffer.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur) Why?

An hon. Member: Because of your provocation.

Shri Kappen: I am not advocating violence. When Kerala Bandh was proclaimed, when boys and girls from colleges and schools came out, hooligans took the occasion to throw stones at the transport buses and to set fire to them. When that situation was created and the police came, the hooligans escaped and the poor boys and girls, even those who were in libraries as Shri Vasudevan Nair pointed out, were beaten.

I will not want to apportion the blame. This has become a matter for judicial inquiry now and it would not be proper for me to speak about the responsibility for this matter; but it is a fact—and the fact has to be recognised and the truth has to be seen—that really innocent boys and girls were beaten, that their blood flowed along the streets of Trivandrum and Quilon and various other parts of Kerala.

Stones might have been thrown—it may be true—but I ask this. Suppose, you had proclaimed three weeks back that this six ounces ration would be given, would there have been any stone-throwing or any bandh? Why could you not do it three weeks ago? Stubbornness is no quality. To insist upon what one thinks is right is not a quality. Why was the southern zone abolished? As far as I am able to understand, it was because of a false apprehension on the part of two surplus States that the Kerala people might go and purchase all the paddy and rice from their States. It is a fact that we are not going to purchase all the paddy and rice from those States even if free movement is allowed. It was simply because of that false apprehension that this situation was created.

From August to November 1964 the same situation was there in Kerala; there was absolutely no rice available in Kerala. Who is responsible? I can-

not say that my Government is responsible. Again, in December 1965 and January 1966 there was a great shortage of food in Kerala. The Prime Minister had promised and given a solemn assurance that the ration will not be cut till the end of February, that the six ounces will prevail; but it was reduced to four ounces immediately after his sad demise. Who is responsible for the situation? I cannot say who is responsible. My Government cannot be responsible.

Now we are given six ounces of rice when seven ounces are given to others. Shri Prakash Vir Shastri—I could not follow the whole trend of his speech—has mentioned that the Andhra people are getting 240 grammes and Madras people are getting 200 grammes while we are getting only 160 grammes.

An hon. Member: Not "getting" but "will get".

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barrakpore): West Bengal is getting 129 grammes!

15-54 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Shri Kappen: We are getting 140 grammes. In January we were getting much less than that. Shri Vasudevan Nair has brought a bundle and shown what we are getting. That is not sufficient even for a small child. And the quality of the thing that we get is so poor! If even that small quantity had been good. I would have been thankful. 50 per cent of the rice given is mere pebbles and full of sand. Just analyse it and you will find more sand in it than rice. It is not from that sea-shore; it comes from somewhere else.

This situation cannot continue as pointed out by Shri Vasudevan Nair. If there is really scarcity in the whole country, if everybody is short of food, we too are willing to share with them all the sufferings; but do not make this discrimination. If some people

are getting 240 grammes, why should we in Kerala get much less than that? Are we second rate citizens?

Shri Daji: Third class.

Shri Kappen: What is wrong with us? There is a wrong impression that we in Kerala are not producing enough food, that we are producing only cash crops. All the available land that could be cultivated with food crops is being cultivated and the per acre yield in Kerala is not anything below that in any other State.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore): It is higher.

Shri Kappen: It is true that we are producing cash crops; but had we not produced these cash crops, you would not have built your Bhakra-Nangal. The foreign exchange that we earn has gone to build your Bhakra-Nangal and various other projects. Now when we are short of foreign exchange, we are earning that valuable foreign exchange. Should we suffer for that? We are earning Rs. 100 crores worth of foreign exchange. Just give us only half of that and let the Centre take the rest 50 per cent. Give us only 50 per cent of that and allow us to purchase food from anywhere else. We would do that happily and would have plenty of food with the 50 per cent. foreign exchange that we earn. Allow us to do that if you cannot supply us food.

I oppose this motion because for speaking about food it is not necessary to have an adjournment of the House. I oppose this motion and support all the statements made.

श्री उ० भू० त्रिबेदी (मंदसौर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय प्राज सदन में वक्ताओं ने बहुत सी बातें कह दी हैं जिनको कि मैं दोहराना पसन्द नहीं करता हूँ। श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री ने जो प्रकाश डाला है, रंगा ने जो दिल बुझावनी बात कही है, वासुदेवन नायर ने जो खाका हमारे सामने खींचा है, उन सबसे हमें मालूम

पड़ता है कि प्राज हमारे देश का दुर्भाग्य है कि केरल जैसे प्रदेश में लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं, इसका दोष हम किसके माथे मढ़ें ? हमारे यहां परम्परा चली आ रही है कि एक भी फूड मिनिस्टर रफी ग्रहमद किचवई के सिवाय सकसेसफुल नहीं हुआ। फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर भी इसी प्रकार के हमारे यहां आते हैं और चले जाते हैं। गालियां खाते हैं, बदनाम होते हैं और चले जाते हैं। फूड मिनिस्टर की भी यही परम्परा रही है, आते हैं, बदनाम होते हैं, चले जाते हैं। मैं भी इन फूड मिनिस्टर साहब को कहूंगा कि प्राप भी चले जाइए क्योंकि बहुत बदनाम हो गए। लोगों को खाना नहीं मिलता बातें कह दी जाती हैं कि एक्सप्लायटर्स हैं। यह हमारे दोस्त कम्युनिस्ट लोग भी कह देते हैं कि एक्सप्लायटर्स फलां फलां हैं और दूसरे साहब भी कहते हैं। यह एक्सप्लायटर्स कौन हैं ? प्राप जाकर देखें प्रापने जोन्स में एक्सप्लायटर्स किसने पैदा किये हुए हैं ? एक एक पुलिस वाला एक एक दिन में दस दस हजार पैदा करता है बोर्डर पर बैठा हुआ। एक्सप्लायटर कौन है ? एक एक पुलिस सुपरिटेण्डेंट रुपया कमाता है। एक्सप्लायटर कौन है ? एक एक गल्ले की गाड़ी निकलवाने पर कितना रुपया लिया जाता है ? एक्सप्लायटर कौन है ? चना मध्य प्रदेश से गुजरात चला जाता है। एक्सप्लायटर कौन है ? एक गाड़ी चना ले जाने के ऊपर 5 सौ रुपया लेने वाले वह कौन एक्सप्लायटर बँटे हुए हैं ? इन एक्सप्लायटर्स को कौन नहीं पकड़ता है ? यह हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब, यह हमारी कन्सल्टेटिव कमेटी के चेयरमैन हैं केरल की कन्सल्टेटिव कमेटी में यह बैठे हुए हैं, क्या किया इन्होंने ? गवर्नर का कभूर क्या निकाला जाय ? क्यों नहीं वक्त के ऊपर प्रांखें खोली गई कि 'केरल भूखों मरेगा, केरल को वाचक भेजना चाहिए' ? मैं प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री से पूछता हूँ, प्रापने सुबहप्राथम्य साहब से ही क्यों कहा कि प्राप निकलिए ? मैं कहता हूँ प्राप दोनो निकल जाइए। प्रापने कुछ काम नहीं किया, लोगों को भूखों मार दिया। क्या प्राप

[श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी]

देख नहीं सकते थे कि 120 ग्राम चावल में धादमी अपना पेट नहीं भर सकता है? जब दूसरों को चावल मिल सकता है, महंगे भाव पर चावल मिल सकता है तो क्या वजह थी कि केरल को चावल नहीं दिया गया आज सब जगह एस० ओ० एस० भेजते हैं। जब केरल बन्द हो यह धान्दोलन पैदा हो गया तब आपको सूझा। एक नाटकीय ढंग से यह तय किया गया कि मैं चावल नहीं खाऊंगी। मैं भी कहता हूँ कि मैं चावल नहीं खाऊंगा, मेरे घर में मेरी स्त्री भी कहती है कि मैं भी चावल नहीं खाऊंगी। लेकिन क्या होगा? एक दफे मेरे घर शादी हो रही थी। धी परोसा जा रहा था तो मेरी बहन ने कहा कि धी मैं नहीं खाऊंगी, मेरे बाप का बहुत खर्च होगा। उस का इतना चावल बचने से इतना धी बचने से मेरा घर नहीं बचता है। उसी तरीके से मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि आप छटांक भर चावल नहीं खायगे तो क्या होगा? छटांक, छटांक चावल जोड़ने से क्या बनता है। चावल मगाना चाहिए था मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि चावल क्यों नहीं मंगाया गया? सरकार के पास कंवल एक ही इसके लिए तरकीब होती है कि जब कभी कुछ होता है तो यह कह कर कि वह चावल नहीं भेजते हैं इस राइसमिलर को बंद कर दिया और उस राइसमिलर को बंद कर दिया और प्रमूक को जेल में ठूस दिया। क्या इससे चावल आ जायेगा? चावल कहाँ से आयेगा? अब मैं आपको बतलाऊँ कि बांसवाड़ा जिला का कमोद चावल सारे देश में बढ़िया चावल होता था उस कमोद चावल के 1700 बोरे दस दिन के अन्दर कहां चले गये? आप पूछते हैं तो मालूम होता है कि वह पाकिस्तान

में भेज दिये गये। अब यह 1700 बोरे दस दिन में पाकिस्तान कैसे चले गये? कौन पूछने जाता है? किस ने जाकर पूछा चावल की कीमत को? कौन इस की हकीकात करना चाहता है? आज चावल का एक दाना तक देखने को नहीं मिलता है। क्या हो गया? कैसे पहुँच गया वह पाकिस्तान? हमारे अपने देश में ऐसे दुश्मन बैठे हुए हैं जिन्हें अपने स्वार्थ के आगे देश की तनिक भी चिन्ता नहीं है। हमारे देशवासियों के अन्दर यह भाव पैदा नहीं हुआ। खास कर हमारे पुलिस वालों में। तीन-तीन जगह चकपोस्ट्स हैं और देखा यह जाता है कि आप और मैं मोटर पर बैठ कर जाते हैं तो जगह जगह चैक हमको किया जाता है और पूछा जाता है कि आपके पास क्या है, तीन, तीन, दफे दो, दो फर्लांग पर हमें चैक करते हैं जबकि जो स्मगलर्स हैं और जो चावल ले जाने वाले हैं वह साफ खुले ग्राम निकल जाते हैं। अभी थोड़े दिनों को ही बात है कि मैं अपनी गाड़ी पर जा रहा था, मेरी गाड़ी रास्ते में टूट गयी और मुझे एक स्मगलर की गाड़ी में बैठना पड़ा। जब उस स्मगलर की गाड़ी बोरडर पर पहुँचती है और पुलिस वाले पूछते हैं कि कौन हो और वह कहता है कि हम फलाने हैं तो पुलिस वाला कहता कि आप जाइये, दूसरी जगह पहुँचे, पुलिस वाले ने पूछा कि आप कौन हैं और उसने कहा कि मैं फलाना हूँ तो कह दिया जाता है कि आप जाइये और तीसरी जगह भी ऐसी ही चीज होती है लेकिन इसके विपरीत इन पुलिस वालों का स्वैय्या हमारे जैसे भले धादमियों के संग भ्रमल ही किस्म का होता है। जब मेरा जैसा भला धादमी मोटर उधर से लेकर जाने लगा तो मुझे धाघ घंटे रोक कर दस्तखत करा कर मुझे कहीं धागे बड़ने दिया गया। जब मैं यह देखता हूँ

तो मेरा सिर शर्म से नीचे झुक जाता है। अफसोस की बात है कि वह शक्ति हमारे पास में नहीं है। इस व्यवस्था शक्ति के अभाव में हम लोगों को चावल नहीं मिलता है। हम लोगों को भूखों मार दिया। आज सुबह सुबह तार धाया हुआ है रतलाम से हमारे गल्ले में 80,000 मन चना पड़ा हुआ है, कलक्टर साहब ने रोक रक्खा है। उस चने को निकलने नहीं देते और वह चना पड़ा सड़ रहा है। गुजरात वाले चने के लिए चिल्ला रहे हैं, महाराष्ट्र वाले चने के लिए चिल्ला रहे हैं। मध्य प्रदेश में चना सड़ रहा है, गंगा नगर, में पंजाब में चना सड़ रहा है, दूसरी जगह जाने नहीं देते यह क्या उत्पात हम ने मचा रक्खा है? मेरा सरकार से और मंत्री महोदय से कहना है कि आप एसशियल कोमोडीटीज एक्ट से ताकत लीजिये, अपने दोनों हाथों से ताकत पकड़िये। Take courage and decide once and for all that the zonal system must

अगर मरना ही है तो सारे मुल्क के लोग भूखों मरेंगे। आखिर हम सभी एक देश के नागरिक हैं। एक भूखों मरता है हमारे सामने पड़ोस में तो हम कैसे खाना खा सकता है? राजस्थान वाला भूखे मरता है तो मध्यप्रदेश में कैसे खाना खा सकेंगे? मैं दिल्ली में खाना खाता हूँ लेकिन यू० पी० वाला भूखों मरे तो यह कैसे बर्दाश्त किया जा सकता है? कांस्टीट्यूशन ने फ्री ट्रेड तय किया था लेकिन यह जोनल सिस्टम हो गया अब उससे तो बेहतर था कि वह जो छोटे छोटे राजवाड़े थे कस्टम जेकर भी माल लाने देते थे लेकिन आप कस्टम से भी नहीं लाने देते और अन्न भी नहीं देते और धादमियों को भूखों मार रहे हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कब तक आप देशवासियों को भूखा मारते जाइयेगा? यह गलत बात है एक गलत तरीका आपने अपनाया हुआ है और उसको हम सबको तर्क कर

देना चाहिए। इस प्रकार की दुर्ब्यवस्था जो हमारे यहां हो गई है उसने घोर अंधकार हमारे बीच में मचा दिया है। इस अंधेर को रोकने के वास्ते हम सबको मिलकर हाथ उठाना पड़ेगा। श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम और गूलजारी लाल नन्दा के केवल निकल जाने से काम बनने वाला नहीं है क्योंकि इनकी जगह जो धादमी प्रायेण वह वही प्रायेण जोकि उस पचड़े में पड़ा होगा और इसलिए वह भी इस काम को नहीं चला सकेगा। अगर निकालना हो तो निकाला जाय लेकिन फिर एक ऐसे धादमी को रखिये जो ताकत से यह काम कर सके। जरूरत तो इस बात की है कि सारे देश का विचार कर के इस काम को हिम्मत में चलाये खाली केरल को ही अपने सामने न रखे। उन्हें देश भर के निवासियों की देखभाल करनी होगी और यह देखना होगा कि किसी कोने में भी कोई धादमी भूख से न मरने पाये। हम किसी को भी भूखों नहीं मरने देंगे। हमारे देश में अन्न की कमी नहीं है। आप आंकड़ों के चक्कर में मत आइये। यह आंकड़े आपको प्लानिंग कमिशन ने दिये हैं। उन्होंने इस देश में इतना बड़ा गड्डा पैदा कर दिया है कि उस गड्डे को पुर करना बड़ा दुश्वार हो गया है। आप इस काम को मजबूती और हिम्मत से सम्भालिये। मैं फिर निवेदन करूंगा कि यह जो भूखमरी हमारे देश के अन्दर केरल में उत्पन्न हुई है वह सिर्फ हमारी अक्रमण्यता से ही पैदा हुई है। अगर हम ने पहले सोच लिया होता कि ऐसी बीज पैदा नहीं होने देंगे और जैसे अब S.O.S. भेज कर चावल भेजने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं अगर यह बीज पहले हमने कर ली होती तो ऐसी स्थिति पैदा न होती। आज से बड़े महीने पहले हमने ऐसी तैयारी क्यों नहीं की और चावल क्यों नहीं भेजा गया? अगर चावल भेज दिया होता तो यह अवस्था हमारे सामने पैदा न होती।

[श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी]

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं ज्यादा लम्बी बात नहीं करूंगा। यह बड़े शर्म की बात है कि मेरे दोस्त अजीत प्रसाद जैन जिन दिनों केरल में गोलियां चल रही थीं वे वहां से चले आये। आखिर वह दिल्ली में क्या करने के वास्ते आये हुए थे? उन दिनों आवश्यकता इस बात की थी कि वह वहां पर मौजूद रहते और अपनी पोस्ट से न हटते। यह तो वही बात हुई कि जब गोली चल रही हो तो मेरे को जुकाम हो जाता है और मैं गोहाटी से भाग कर वहां आता हूँ, इलाज कराने के वास्ते आता हूँ और चीन हमारे मुल्क में घुस जाता है। इसी तरह से जब वहां पर गोलियां चल रही थीं और गड़बड़ हो रही थी तो श्री जैन को वहां मौके पर हाजिर रहना चाहिए था। मेरी विनती है कि गवर्नमेंट इस पर ध्यान देगी और ऐसे आवश्यक कदम अविलम्ब उठायेगी ताकि हमारे देश में दुबारा ऐसी स्थिति पैदा न हो।

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir ever since the dawn of Independence, ever since the inception of Independent India, the successive Government have neglected the dumb and mute millions of India who come under the category of our peasantry. We have successfully carried out three successive Five Year Plans and achieved great strides in all walks of life and in all fields of production except in the basic and primary field of foodgrains. The honour and the prestige of our great country have been tremendously enhanced by our great administrators going with the beggars' bowl to every country, big and small, all over the world asking for alms and contributions and loans in foodgrains instead of providing good seeds and fertilisers and loans and other timely aids to our peasantry!

Sir, we have wasted thousands of crores of rupees in foreign exchange on importing second-hand and second-grade wheat instead of completing the

land reforms and helping the peasant to stand on his own feet. We have reverted back to the concept of encouraging capitalistic cultivation.

To cap all these wonderful achievements, we have handed over the Food Ministry to an arrogant and a conceited Don Quixote who has trampled under foot the lives of the citizens of the country with impunity.

I call it quivotic to undertake the responsibility of meeting requirements of the deficit States without sufficient stocks, of enforcing rationing without a buffer stock, of undertaking to feed the deficit States without enforcing levy and monopoly purchases and monopoly sales or at least effecting levy from surplus States. Mr. Subramaniam justifies giving 4 ounces of rice to the people of Kerala and at the same time giving 9 ounces to his own people in Madras . . .

An hon. Member: Shame!

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: . . . by pointing out that in certain districts of Rajasthan not even half an ounce of paddy is being distributed. I am thankful to him that he did not say that not even a grain of rice is being rationed out to the people of England and Ireland. My hon. friend Mr. Vasudevan Nair has pointed out that 4 ounces of rice is not sufficient for feeding even a chicken. How can you expect the people of Kerala to be satisfied with that?

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore City): How are they living?

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: They are not living; they are dying inch by inch.

Then, his pronouncements are adding an insult to injury. The people of Kerala demand that they be given 12 ounces of rice ration regularly. We do not ask it as a charity. As pointed out by my friend, Mr. Kappen, we produce cash crops which earn a lot of foreign exchange.

Where does the foreign exchange go? It goes to the other provinces for industrial development. We are neglected there also. It goes to build Railways; there also we are neglected; we are having only one-third of the average percentage of all-India railway lines.

Ours is a state richest in water resources, but we are short of electricity and hydel power. This neglect has been kept up now in regard to foodgrains also. We are told that it is an independent zonal system for States. Why don't you adopt the independent zonal system for foreign exchange? We have got our hundred crores of foreign exchange. Allow us to have it and then we will purchase rice from whichever country produces rice. We have done it in the past. We know how to do it. You say that it is not possible. I say that it has got to be possible; or else, allow us to secede from India. This great nation may not lose much if Kerala goes away. We know how to get our rice or foreign exchange; or else we know how to die.

A case has been taken against me which involves deportation for life. It is true that I stopped the Madras Express train from going up. It is true that I did not want the train to reach Madras in time. Beyond that I did not do anything. Not even a single passenger was put to any inconvenience. Not even a glass in any of the doors or windows of the train was smashed; there was no violence at all. But a case has been taken out against me which involves deportation for life. I have been charged with such criminal cases in the days when I fought for the freedom of India. I did not mind braving that then and I do not mind braving it now also. But look at the poor, innocent students. As has been pointed out by my friend, Shri Vasudevan Nair, in S. M. College, the Principal said, "I take the responsibility for my

students; they would not do any violence; do not come into the college". But the Police broke open the gates and rushed in to the college. One Professor, Mr. Prasad laid himself down. Can you imagine what happened? 250 armed reserves stamped their feet over him and rushed into the college? (*Interruptions*).

In the Polytechnic—the institution run by Shri Shankar, ex-Chief Minister of Kerala—without the students pelting a single stone, the Police rushed into the institution; they went into the kitchen rooms of the hostels; the kitchen utensils were broken up; the food that was prepared was completely destroyed. What could the poor kettles do against the policemen, or against the nawab, Mr. Jain? Of course, our Prime Minister did not consider it possible to include him in the Cabinet. In that he may have a grouse against her. But how are the poor people of Kerala, people like me, responsible for it? We are not in any way responsible for it. Why should he wreak the vengeance on the poor students? I say that this is a deliberate effort to beat up the people of Kerala and create trouble. This is, as has been pointed out by Shri Kappen, the second situation in two years.

Earlier, we had a very sympathetic Governor—Shri V. V. Giri, as you all know. His heart was bleeding for us. He was forced to declare that, but for the disturbances in Kerala, but for the blood which flowed in the streets of Trivandrum, and Quilon the Centre would not have opened their eyes. Look at the verdict of a very senior Congressman, a former Cabinet Minister in this great House, and one who proved himself greater than any Cabinet Minister by resigning his post and coming out on the question of working class. Such a man had to express openly that the eyes of the Government would not be opened unless and until there was violence, unless there was blood flowing in the streets. If this is what the

[Shri N. Sreekantan Nair]

Government wants, we are prepared to give blood. But we must have food. If you allow the people to die of starvation, we will take life for life and blood for blood. (*Interruptions*). The people of Kerala say, "down with Subramaniam" and I join my voice with theirs: "down with Subramaniam".

Shri A. V. Raghavan (Badagara): Kerala has been under President's rule for more than one year. When the President's rule was introduced in Kerala, we were getting eight ounces of rice and as time went on, it was reduced to six ounces; then to four ounces and then currently it has been enhanced to five ounces. The Food Minister of Government of India is telling the people of Kerala that they should change their food habits and that they should take more wheat; there was no scarcity of wheat and they were getting plenty of wheat from America. I would like to ask him, is it possible to change the food habits in such a short time I would recall his own visit to Kerala sometime back. When he found difficulty in getting an air-conditioned room in Ernakulam, he ran about the entire streets of Ernakulam and found a room in one of the Government rest houses. If he could not change his own habits for a day, I am sure he has no moral courage to ask the people of Kerala to change their food habits. (*Interruptions*). I would like to tell him that, as far as the people of Kerala are concerned, they are not prepared to change their habits; they want food and that too, rice. If you are not prepared to do that, if you cannot ensure food for the people of Kerala, I would say that the Food Minister should resign and go to his own constituency and teach his own people as to what they should do.

28th January, 1956 will go down in the history of Kerala as a Red Letter Day. On that day life in the entire State of Kerala came to a standstill.

There was no activity whatsoever; no vehicle moved in the streets of Kerala. Government offices, post offices, telegraph offices and even railway stations were closed. That was one of the biggest demonstrations which I have ever seen in my life. From the 29th Jan. onwards, the Police in Kerala started hunting the people of Kerala. The F. I. R. was lodged in the Police Station without mentioning names—X and hundred others, X and two hundred and others. The name of only one individual is given and with that 200 or 300 persons are also tagged. From the next day onwards, the Police have been running about and bringing people to the Police Station. They beat them and after beating them, take down their names and then they are sent to the respective stations for remand. I would like to know how, if the Police have no information about the persons, they could be arrested. What is actually done in Kerala is this. Police parties are sent out in the interior to arrest people; thereafter, they are brought to the Police Station where they are beaten; the names and addresses are taken and they are forwarded to the Police Stations. In my own constituency, I know four cases have been registered—X and two others. What is the crime? Various charges have been included in the First Information Report—144, 379 and many others. What is 379? When I enquired about it, I was told that a small component of a motor vehicle, some horn, was stolen and, therefore, 379 was included. My own information is that the horn was thrown in purposely by the Police parties and then the case was made.

I want the Food Minister to restore the food zone. In Andhra Pradesh, 106 MLAs are in control of mill industry. The Governor of Kerala has declared openly that the rice ration has been reduced because Madras and Andhra refused to honour their commitments. Why did they fail to

honour their commitments? Has not the Food Minister of India the power to see that the commitments which they had already made, are honoured? If he does not have this power, then I say that he has no right to stay; he must go out.

I would then like to draw attention to the fact that the Governor of Kerala, at a time when there was acute food crisis, was not present at the station. He was in Delhi canvassing for the Prime Minister's election. The Governor failed in his duty. Even when he was the Governor of Kerala, he continued to be a member of the All India Congress Committee. I do not know whether a Governor of a State can simultaneously continue to be a member of the All India Congress Committee. The Governor of Kerala was in Delhi canvassing for the Prime Minister's candidature.

I am sure he should be tried, censured and debarred from public life for ever.

What we need is food; what we need is rice; we cannot wait till the 28th March, 1966; what we need today is rice and that rice should be given forthwith. If you are not prepared to give that before the 28th March, 1966, you will see so many other *bandhs*, and you will be responsible for all that takes place in Kerala. With these words, I support the adjournment motion.

Shri Alvares (Panjim): I think this House and the country must be deeply indebted to the people of Kerala for having responded to the challenge of starvation. With a rare unanimity in Kerala, perhaps for the first time in history, the people of Kerala and the political parties have both struggled for food rather than submit to slow starvation because of the low quantum of rations.

This morning, when the motion for adjournment was put before the House for being granted leave, the hon.

Minister of Food and Agriculture said that there was no failure. It is rather surprising, because a few months ago, perhaps in September, 1964, the Food Minister in this very House had accepted that the Government had failed in ensuring proper distribution of foodstuffs for Kerala. Surely, the problem posed by the recent failure is much greater, is more intense and more fundamental. The failure of the Government lies essentially in not being able to assess the problem and not being able to identify its causes. With the assessment of a deficit varying from 3 million tons to 11 million tons between the Prime Minister and the Food Minister this Government only came to an assessment that the deficit was about 12.5 million tons when the team of American experts suggested that it would be about 13 million tons. This Government has no machinery to assess it properly. Therefore, how can we expect that they could ever do justice to Kerala?

The other aspect of the failure consists in not being able to identify the causes of the failure. Here is a country that has failed to respond in all conscience to the responsibilities of an economic unit. How is it possible, in a country which says that it is one and it responds as one, for the various surplus States to ignore the appeal of the Prime Minister and deny sending food to Kerala? Surely, if the country is one, if it is one economic unit, then the appeal of the Prime Minister should have evoked the right response among the States. But this problem of non-response, this problem of resisting the call for rushing to the aid of a deficit, starving State is one of the most serious problems in our country. Let us examine this question more deeply, because this problem will haunt us. From the time of the admission of the failure in September, 1964, the deficit in Kerala has haunted not merely this Government but also the entire country. From that time, no part of the country has been free

[Shri Alvares]

from deficit. Yet, this Government have not taken adequate measures to ensure that poor Kerala would be supplied with adequate rations. It is inconceivable that in a country that is unified and that responds as one there should be two discriminatory ration quotas. As my hon. friend Shri Prakash Vir Shastri has pointed out, while some parts of the country have about 200 to 240 grams of ration, Kerala has to put up with only half of it. Apart from the mathematics of it, how could it be possible for this Government to ensure this kind of rationing, and how could it be expected of the people of Kerala to put up with such kind of discriminatory treatment where they would get only half of what Madras is getting? Therefore, it is not a question of deficit of 10 per cent . . .

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): It was there only for a temporary period.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: It has been there for the last two years.

Shri Alvares: Even if it be that only for a temporary period the people of Kerala had to put up with 120 grams, the rest of the country should also have been asked to put up with a similar quota. Why should the people of Kerala have been treated with such discrimination? Was it expected that the people of Kerala would meekly submit to this kind of discriminatory treatment? After all, if there is a deficit, we must all share it equally; it is not that some people alone should enjoy the fruits of adventitious surplus while the others must put up with such a severe deficit.

As I have said, this problem of deficit was haunting us from September, 1964. But the Government took no adequate measures in order to meet a possible crisis later on. The result is that we have the same problem today as we had before, and

it is bound to last. The Agricultural Prices Commission has assessed that the deficit would last for the next ten years, and so, there would be a deficit and there may be a crisis again also. What are we going to do? Are our measures of such a character as would ensure equality of treatment for all and will they ensure the full possible surplus being brought into the market?

This morning there was a news item that the rice mills would act as agents of the Food Corporation. This is a surprising departure from the policy adopted that all rice mills would be nationalised in Madras etc. Why is this done? Again, there is a suggestion that if the food zones are abolished, the Food Corporation would act merely and only as a countervailing agency so that the private trade which may be allowed to operate would not be able to push up the prices.

I would submit that the Food Corporation was established for the purpose of monopoly procurement. If the Food Corporation is going to face competition with the private trade, we can anticipate what is happening, as it has happened in other parts of the country that private trade will then be able to get the better of the bargain and push up the prices while it is necessary for the prices to be kept under control.

Therefore, I would like to know what is the policy of Government? Will the Government commandeer the stocks? Will Government ensure a uniform ration of rice for all? Must not the people all over the country be treated to the same kind of austerities or the same kind of patronage? Must not the people of Kerala expect that they will get at least as much as what other people in other parts of the country are getting? Can we ever expect that such sensitive people as the people of Kerala put up with such discriminatory measures

and they should go about quietly with their business?

As I said, we should express our gratitude to the people of Kerala, because they have focussed attention on two main problems, namely the assessment of the deficit and the identification of the causes of the problem. I hope that at least now we have been able to make an assessment of what the deficit is. If, as the hon. Minister said this morning, it is 12.5 million tons, then let us be assured of our rations equally so that everybody would get equal ration on this basis.

As far as the identification of the causes of the problem is concerned, I am somewhat more sceptical. Government do not seem to know what to do in this regard. Are they going to take the rice mills under their control? Or are they going to make them the agents of the Food Corporation? Are they going to allow the Food Corporation to have monopoly procurement or are they going to allow the private trade to compete with the Food Corporation and use the Food Corporation as only a countervailing agency to keep the prices down? In September, 1964, when the crisis in Kerala was acute, we were told that the private trade had held this Government and the people of the country to ransom. If that was the experience then, why are we today allowing private trade between the States and permitting them to push up the prices, since it is expected that they will do it since that is the *dharma* of the private sector?

So, for all these reasons, namely the failure of the Government not merely to assess the problem but also to identify the causes thereof, and for the reason that Government have discriminated against a section of our people, I support the adjournment motion.

Shri Maniyangadan (Kottayam): I am glad that this Motion has been

admitted by the House so that the feelings of a section of the people of India, that is, from the State of Kerala, with regard to the policies adopted by the Food Ministry could be ventilated here. I am also glad that different Members from various States of India have expressed their sympathy. I hope they will influence their respective Governments to change the present policies adopted by those Governments in regard to this matter.

Reference was made here to the Kerala Bandh on the 28th of last month. It was really a reflection of the feelings of the people of Kerala. There was no difference on party or any other basis. All the people, irrespective of group or party, observed a complete *hartal* that day. That was a clear indication of the feelings of the people there.

I am not prepared to say that the Union Government or the Food Ministry have not realised the true state of affairs. But I am sorry that the Union Government could not have done so earlier, before this bandh was observed. They should have done that. What is the history of the rationing system in Kerala? In October-November 1964, there was some trouble, and in November 1964, what is called informal rationing was started. It was started without any stock of rice in the State. Of course, that moved on smoothly. But after some time, the 8 ounce content was reduced to 6 ounces. Then there was protest from the people. All over India there was protest. In this House also, that was expressed. But they stuck to the position. Of course, after short period, it was increased; but again it was reduced to 6 ounces.

The atmosphere created in our country as a result of the Pakistani aggression made the people of Kerala suffer this cut patiently. There was no trouble there. That does not mean that they were satisfied with the 6-ounce quota of rice per adult per day. The emergency, the aggression

[Shri Maniyamgadam]

that the country faced, made them bear it peacefully. I must state that here. Subsequently, in last December, what happened? There was a rumour that the rice content was going to be reduced to 4 ounces. Some of us met the then Prime Minister. He assured us that that would not be done. In a conference attended by the Prime Minister, the Food Minister and Chief Ministers of the southern States, it was declared that the rice content would be continued at least upto February. But in January, it was reduced to 4 ounces.

Why is it that there is scarcity? There is rice shortage in India. I am prepared to concede that. But as several Members have pointed out, what is the position in Kerala and what is it in the rest of the country? Is the scarcity condition and suffering borne by all the people from all states equally? If that is not so, there is no justification for saying that there is scarcity. I do not want to quote figures which have already been quoted. But I wish to say that the real state of affairs is that there is a feeling among the people of Kerala that they are being discriminated against in this matter. I do not want to attribute motives. But I make this statement. It was said even by the ex-Governor of Kerala, Shri Jain. I do not want to quote him here. He has stated that on 1st January the situation was that the stock in the godowns in Kerala together with the quantity that was in transit was not even enough for four days' distribution. That was the case. What was happening? He says telegrams were sent, there was no reply. So, this state of affairs was brought about by carelessness, callous carelessness on the part of somebody.

The Food Minister has announced in this House on various occasions that there is a national food policy. In 1964 itself we had pointed out that abolishing the southern zone would

create trouble, but he was very sure that it would not. At that time we were also told that he was compelled to adopt that policy, because even before the southern zone was abolished, certain States in the zone unilaterally abolished the zone and the flow of rice into Kerala was forbidden. That created the whole trouble in Kerala. I ask: when the Union Government undertakes to supply rice on some basis, whatever it be, to a particular area, is it not the duty of the Union Government to see that that quantity is made available? If an undertaking is given on the basis of some other people's promise which cannot be enforced by the Union Government, surely this trouble will come, there is no doubt about that.

The Food Minister declared here that the Government had decided to have a commanding position in the foodgrains trade. I agree to that. The Food Corporation was created and his idea was to procure all available surpluses from the surplus States and see that distribution was equitably done. What happened? The former Chairman of the Corporation, Shri Pai made a statement when he resigned. He has resigned as a frustrated man. He has said that certain States have not co-operated with the Food Corporation in the matter of procurement, and such States were very careful, very jealously careful, to see that they had stocks of at least two or three months. When in Kerala there was no stock for even four days, there was stock of rice in the godowns of other States for 2 to 2½ months. This is the national outlook of some people. As I said on a former occasion, this sort of policy will only lead to troubles and even disintegration of India. This should not be allowed.

The Food Minister could not implement the policy that he enunciated in the House. The Chairman of the Food Corporation has said that it has failed because he could not get the support or co-operation of some of the

interests concerned. So, the meaning is that it has failed. I submit he should not bang on to false prestige. If the policy has failed, he must change it. I do not want the Food Minister to resign. This policy which was found to be a failure must be changed. The present position of State zone must be abolished and the southern zone re-established. Then only can this problem be solved, I have no doubt about that. There is clamour for this from all quarters. I do not know why he sticks to that sill. I submit that unless this southern zone is re-established, there is not going to be a solution of this problem.

There is a question why surplus rice in Kerala is not procured. It is going on there, we are not against procurement. You procure whatever quantity can be procured, but there is one thing. What is now prevalent in Kerala is informal rationing and not statutory rationing. The basis is that there is a quantity of rice that may be made available in the open market. Otherwise, introduce statutory rationing, I have no objection, but give sufficient quantities of rice to the people. Procure the whole thing, introduce monopoly procurement or anything of that sort, I have no objection, but if that is not possible in the present circumstances, the levy system there must be made reasonable. I can give an instance. If a person owns 10 acres of paddy land, he must give 30 quintals of paddy to the Government—what is called "A" class.

If he owns 10.25 acres, just 25 cents more, he has to pay at the rate of five quintals per acre. It is the most unscientific way of levy. I have submitted about the system of levy prevalent there on former occasions also. They have divided lands into A, B, C and D classes and the levy from what is classified as A is the maximum. Personally I know that areas with the lowest yield had been classified as A. If this levy system is rationalised and changed into a more reasonable one, there will be no difficulty. Let them

procure as much rice as possible from the surplus available and along with that, let them procure from the other States also. The Food Corporation is there. Let the Central government bring under its control whatever is available. The recent decision is that six ounces will be given in about one month's time. It must be given as early as possible and not delayed till March 25 or 26. There is another provision that seven ounces will be the maximum rice content which any person in India will get. What is the position regarding the statutory rationing? It has been proclaimed several times that we would introduce it in the cities of India. The President's Address mentions only four cities where statutory rationing has been introduced. In areas where there is no statutory rationing, there is what is called fair price shops. Large quantities of rice are available in the open market on the borders. In Kerala itself on the border of Mahe, you get rice at cheap prices whereas when you cross the border in Kerala you get at a high price. The position must change. There must be a national outlook, and a national policy. If monopoly procurement throughout India is not possible, please re-establish the southern zone; there will be no problem. I also plead with the Minister not to take commitments which he is unable to fulfil. That is the whole trouble here. There may be natural calamities; that is a different thing; It is not any natural calamity that created the situation now. So, I submit that the present policy should be changed and a rational policy should be adopted.

डा० राज मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद) : प्रच्छ महोदय, इस लोक सभा की या देश की भावनार्ये तो उनके सामने रखी जायें जो अपनी जिम्मेदारी को मानते हों। आज सुबह माननीय अन्न मंत्री ने सबूत दिया इस बात का कि उन्हें पता नहीं है कि उनकी क्या जिम्मेदारी है। इसके पहले भी वह इसका सबूत दे चुके हैं। उनके मंत्रालय

[डॉ० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

की तरफ से जो एक हम लोगों को नोट भेजा गया था उसके अनुसार जनता को खिलाना राज्यों की प्राथमिक जिम्मेदारी है। यह अंग्रेजों में अपनी अकाल संहिता में लिख रखा था। तब से वह अकाल संहिता चली आ रही है। लेकिन माननीय अन्न मंत्री को पता नहीं कि इस नये संविधान की धारा 47 के अनुसार केन्द्र की प्राथमिक जिम्मेदारी हो जाती है जनता को खिलाने की। तो सबसे पहले तो यह बात उन्हें समझनी चाहिए और उनकी सरकार को कि लोगों को रोटी खिलाना जिस तरह से अंग्रेजी जमाने में राज्यों की प्राथमिक जिम्मेदारी थी वसी आज नहीं है। आज प्राथमिक जिम्मेदारी इस सरकार की है और अगर लोग बिना खाये मरते हैं तो कातिल राज्य सरकारें नहीं हैं, कातिल यह सरकार है। जब तक इस जिम्मेदारी को माननीय मंत्री नहीं महसूस करने और संविधान की धारा 47 के अनुसार अपने सोचने के तरीके को नहीं बदलते तब तक कोई भी बात आगे बढ नहीं पाती। माननीय प्रधान मंत्री ने भी ऐसे ही एक अन्न का परिचय दिया जब उन्होंने कहा कि व्यापार में किससे क्या खरीदा जाय। किसको क्या बेचा जाय। इससे क्या आना जाना होता है? अगर हमें जरूरत पड़ती बाहर से अन्न खरीदने की और हम खरीदते हैं तो वह तो स्वाभाविक बात है। वह भूल गई कि वह अन्न खरीदने नहीं जाती बाजार में। वह विदेशों के बाजार में या तो अन्न भीख मांगने जाती है या अन्न का उधार मांगने जाती है और जब कोई देश भीख के रूप में या उधार के रूप में अन्न मंगाये और वह भी हर साल, इस साल सिर्फ नहीं जैसा कि झट से इन्होंने कह दिया कि इस साल खास हमारे ऊपर तंगी आयी, हर साल मंगाये, तब यह मान लेना चाहिए कि इस देश की बुनियादी नीति में ही कहीं कोई सड़ांध आ गई है और उसको दूर किये बिना कुछ मामला सुधर नहीं सकता है। और वह सड़ांध कहाँ

है? माननीय अन्न मंत्री और माननीय प्रधान मंत्री दोनों ने अपनी नादानी का परिचय दिया और अगर यह संसद समझ जाय कि पिछले सत्रह-अठारह वर्षों में अन्न-मंत्री तो रहा ही नहीं, नाम है जरूर इनका अन्न मंत्री लेकिन असल में तो यह हैं अन्न वसूली मंत्री और यह भी नहीं, वह भी अगर आन्तरिक वसूली के मंत्री होते तो बात समझ में आती, कुछ वर्षों से तो ऐसे लग रहा है कि अन्न मंत्री तो खाली बाहरी परदेशी वसूली का अन्न मंत्री बन गया है, पहले पाटिल साहब बना करते थे, अब अच्छा हुआ चलो, सुब्रह्मण्यम साहब बन गये हैं अन्न वसूली के मंत्री। तो जब तक नीति में यह बुनियादी गलती रहेगी तब तक देश को रोटी खिलाना असम्भव है और यह सिर्फ केरल का सवाल नहीं है। केरल की बात सामने आ गई, उसके कई कारण हैं। एक तो केरल के लोग चोट खाने पर चिल्लाना जानते हैं। कुछ पढे लिखे हैं, कुछ वह कांग्रेस सरकार की नस को भी पहचान गए हैं कि इसको जितना मारोगे उतना मिलेगा। लेकिन भारत के ऐसे हिस्से हैं जहाँ करोड़ों लोगों की आज केरल के लोगों जैसी हालत है या उससे भी बदतर है। वह है उड़ीसा में, वह है मध्य प्रदेश में, वह है उत्तर प्रदेश में, वह है बिहार में। इस सारे इलाके में जहाँ पर कि माननीय सुब्रह्मण्यम के अनुसार हिन्दी साम्राज्यशाही चला करती है, यह हिन्दी साम्राज्यशाही के इलाके तो बिन खाये मरते रहते हैं, खाली वह चिल्लाना नहीं जानते और वह इतने बेवकूफ हैं कि इस सरकार के, प्रतिनिधियों को बार बार बोट में जिता दिया करते हैं। अब वह इस बात को सीख जायें कि इनको हराओ तब उसके बाद देखो, मजा आ जायगा, पता चल जायगा उस इलाके के मंत्रियों को। आज़, उड़ीसा और चारों हिन्दी के मूबे, इनके अन्दर जो शहरों और गांवों का फर्क है, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब केरल में राशन घटा और करीब

दो छटांक तक राशन पहुंचा क्योंकि 120 ग्राम के मतलब तो करीब दो छटांक हो जाते हैं तो दो छटांक या सवा दो छटांक यह तो हिन्दुस्तान में 6म से कम तो 20-25 करोड़ भ्रादमियों का रोजमर्रा का खाना है वैसे साधारण भ्रवस्था में और इस बात को माननीय भ्रम्र मंत्री स्वीकरेंगे भी नहीं क्योंकि उन्हें तो यह लगता है कि ओसत यहां पर साढ़े सात छटांक है । भ्ररे, ओसत साढ़े सात छटांक है तो उसमें ऊपर के भी कुछ पांच दस करोड़ भ्रादमी हैं कि जो 15 छटांक, 13 छटांक या 12 छटांक तक पा जाते हैं जैसे रिक्शा चलने वाले हैं या पल्टन में काम करने वाले या कारखाने में काम करने वाले हैं तो भ्राखिर किसी के खाने से बचाया जायगा तभी तो उनको खिलाया जायगा ? तो इस बात को भ्रगर भ्रम्र वसूली मन्त्री समझ जाते तो भ्रच्छा होता कि दो छटांक के हिसाब से करीब 20 करोड़ भ्रदमी इस देश में हैं जो भ्रब मैं उनको क्या कहूँ, भ्रुखमरी यह शब्द इस्तेमाल नहीं करना चाहता, कभी भी इस सरकार ने यहां नहीं स्वीकारा कि कोई भ्रादमी बिन खाये मरा है, कहते हैं कि डाक्टर का सर्टिफिकेट लाओ, भ्रब कौनसा ऐसा डाक्टर होगा कि जो प्रमाणपत्र में लिख कर देगा कि यह भ्रादमी बिन खाये मरा है, नया कोई विश्वविद्यालय हो तो ऐसा निकले तो निकले

एक माननीय सदस्य : डाक्टर लोहिया :

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : हा, मेरे जैसा डाक्टर हो सकता है । लेकिन मेरे जैसा डाक्टर जब यह प्रमाणपत्र देने लग जायेगा तब यह हजरत वहां बैठे नहीं रहेंगे, इन सबके पत्ते वहां से कट जायेंगे । तो भ्रुखमरी का एक विशिष्ट भ्रव्य समझना चाहिए कि भ्रुखमरी मरण-व्रत नहीं, जैसे जैन मुनि लोग प्रण कर लिया करते हैं कि भ्रब हम भ्रपना प्राण छोड़ देंगे, एक दाना भ्रन्न नहीं लेंगे, एक बूंद पानी नहीं लेंगे, न यह महात्मा गांधी का उपवासव्रत है ।

भ्रूख से मरने का मतलब राजनीति में सिर्फ एक होता है और वह यह कि भ्रगर कोई भ्रादमी कम खाये या बिन खाये या दो तीन दिन तक उसको खाने को नहीं मिलता, फिर दो, तीन दिन तक एक छटांक मिल जाता है, फिर दो रोज कुछ न खाने को मिले और फिर दो छटांक मिल गया तो इस तरीके से दो, तीन महीने के भ्रन्दर-भ्रन्दर वह मर जाता है या चार महीने के भ्रन्दर-भ्रन्दर मर जाता है तो वह बिल्कुल निश्चित रूप से भ्रुखमरी की मौत है और इस बात को माननीय भ्रम्र मंत्री और उनकी जो प्रधान मंत्री साहेबा बनी हैं भ्रभी समझ नहीं पा रहे हैं तो किसी तरीके से उनको भ्रगर समझाया जाय कि देखो इस कदर भ्रुखमरी हो रही है । भ्रुखमरी अपने देश में साधारण वर्ष में भी कम से कम 5-6 लख भ्रादमियों को हो जाया करती है और इस वर्ष में जैसे इस वक़्त बताया जा रहा है भ्रगर 10-15 लाख तक पहुंच जाये तो कोई बड़े भ्रचरज की बात नहीं होगी । मैं माननीय भ्रम्र मंत्री को बता चुका हूँ कि कैसे वह इस भ्रांकड़े पर पहुंच सकते हैं । खाली यूरोप और भ्रमरीका की मौत की दर और भारत की मौत की दर की तुलना करे तब यह उससे इस नतीजे पर पहुंच जायेंगे और इसलिए मैं इस सदन को एक तार भी पढ़ कर सुना देना चाहता हूँ । मेरे साथी जेल में बन्द हैं । लोक सभा के सदस्य हैं । केरल से चुने हुए हैं । मेरा उनके प्रति कर्तव्य है । श्री गोपालन ने जो तार भेजा है हो सकता है कि श्रीों को भी यह तार मिला हो लेकिन मेरा भ्रपना यह कर्तव्य है कि उनका यह तार मैं यहां पर पढ़ कर सुना दूँ । जन्हीं लिखा है :—

"Permit convey Parliament through you the serious situation in Kerala".

तुम्हारे जिराए से संसद को केरल की गम्भीर भ्रम्र हालत को बनाने के लिए मैं कह रहा हूँ । मैं उनसे भ्रब कह रहा हूँ भ्रगर उनको जल में बैठे बैठे मेरी बात मिल जाय केरल

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

की जो गम्भीर हालत है वह भारत के तीन चौथाई हिस्से की हालत है। खाली फर्क यह है कि उनका केरल चिल्लाना कुछ ज्यादा जान गया है। अगर किसी तरीके से वह आकर बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश को भी चिल्लाना सिखा देते तो बहुत मजे की बात हो जाती और फिर काहे को माननीय अन्न मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री को यह बातें सुनने को मिलती।

Shri S. Kandappan (Tiruchengode):
Sir, I accuse this government of committing a double blunder in Kerala. First they have failed to supply food to Kerala when it was pointed out to them that Kerala was in great shortage of food supplies. Now the government is supplying rice from Madras, Andhra and Mysore daily to Kerala. This rice was already there. The ex-Governor of Kerala, Mr. A. P. Jain, who was responsible for the administration of Kerala, pointed out in right time that the godowns of that State were empty and rice supply was in great need to meet the situation that might arise in Kerala. If the government had come forward to meet the situation then, this sorry spectacle that we have witnessed in Kerala would not have arisen. Perhaps they doubted or suspected the wisdom of the then Governor. That is for the Government and the Governor to resolve.

After refusing food supplies to Kerala at the proper time, when the people of Kerala with empty stomachs cried for a morsel of food, government had the guts to meet the population and put down the uprising at the point of the bayonet and to give them bullets instead of bread. This is the second serious blunder that the Government ought to think twice before committing.

Sir, the Government is being praised for its firmness and for its

recklessness in administering our country. Fortunately, our Home Minister Shri Nanda was here when Shri Vasudevan Nair exhibited a blood-stained shirt. I hope after seeing that the Government, which is professedly Gandhian, would at least consider and ponder that it is not wise to rely on bullets to put down an uprising in their own land and that too of their own creation.

The scarcity of foodgrains in Kerala is not a new thing. It is always there, it has been there and by the very nature of the State it is bound to be there. As rightly pointed out by the Members from Kerala, Kerala is mainly producing cash crops. Naturally, there is bound to be a shortage on the food front. I would like to ask the Government whether they have taken any concrete steps so far to consider this problem and solving this shortage for ever. There is no use just meeting out the demand when it arises, it is the duty of the Central Government to do something to solve this for ever, because it is the non-Kerala people who are duty bound to supply rice and wheat to Kerala for enjoying the fruits of foreign exchange that is earned by Kerala's pepper, cashew and rubber.

Therefore, it is right on the part of the people of Kerala to demand that we supply rice and other foodgrains to Kerala. I think the Government has miserably failed to solve this problem basically. It is not that the people in Andhra or the people in Tamilnad grudge this supply of rice to their neighbours, their brethren, the Malayalees. Really, I do not find any kind of opposition to the food supply which is daily going from Andhra to Kerala by the Telugus or over the supply of rice from Tamilnad to Kerala by the Tamilians.

The Central Government which is responsible for the administration of Kerala at present ought to have taken things in its own hands in proper time. If they had done that this pathetic

situation would not have arisen. I would, therefore, urge upon the Government to think of solving the problem of perpetual scarcity of foodgrains in Kerala. If the Government has failed only once in this matter, there may be an excuse. But, Sir, in this very House, almost at this very time last year, we took this Government to task for its failure to take up the language problem in Tamilnad at the proper time. After everything had happened, after all the chaos and confusion, after so many self-immolations, after so many burnings and loss of lives, the Government at a late hour came forward to give some assurance. The same thing is being repeated in the case of Kerala today. I would only say that the Government learns a bitter lesson at least now.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: How long shall we sit? What is the sense of the House?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: We discussed it in the morning . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We have started at 3 O'clock. Shall we sit up to 6 O'clock? When should I call the Minister?

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): At 5:30 P.M.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right. I will call the Minister at 5.30.

Shrimati Benu Chakravartty: In the morning I pleaded with the Speaker that Members from Kerala should get more chances.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I will do that. I am now calling Shri Koya.

17 hrs.

Shri Mohammed Koya (Kozhikode): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, straightway I would say that the demand of Kerala is that whatever quantity of food the

Government distributes for feeding the entire country must be guaranteed for Kerala also. The question whether a State is surplus or deficit in production of foodgrains is irrelevant. It is specially so in the case of Kerala. A major portion of its agricultural production is taken for use in the other parts of the country for internal consumption or for earning foreign exchange.

For fixing a certain quantity of rice for Kerala it is no use showing the responsibility for supplies upon other States. The Centre must take up the responsibility directly to see that adequate and proper quantity of food reaches Kerala State. For ensuring that such a responsibility can be properly discharged, if necessary the Constitution must be amended.

The Government themselves have fixed 12 ounces of rationed foodgrains per head in Kerala. From this it is clear that 12 ounces is the minimum required for a human being in India, though the World Nutrition Council has put the human need of food at a much higher level. But what the Government of India have done is to dilute this ration of 12 ounces with wheat to half the extent. It is cruel to speak of a change in food habits at a time of acute crisis as Kerala is facing now. Change in food habits cannot be effected in a day or even in a generation. Such a change must come in peaceful and luxurious times when people would have more time and energy to think of effecting such a change. In the case of the poor people it will be difficult at any time. The poor and middle class people in Kerala, who form the bulk of the population of that State, are asked to take to wheat-eating. But these advocates of such a change, the Prime Minister included, do not know that conversion to wheat-eating would need more time, more energy and more money. To ask them to take to wheat is like the advice of a grand lady of a European country to the

[Shri Mohanned Koya]

people to take to cake if there is no bread.

The whole trouble in Kerala is the result of faulty planning adopted by the Government. The Government of India bungled in formulating its food policy and in implementing it. Unfortunately, such bungling and failure on the part of the Government cannot go for long with impunity, particularly in the matter of food, which is an everyday necessity for the people.

Their calculation, imagination, facts and figures are all wrong and they cannot build upon such a thing. The great pity is that the people have to pay for such mis-calculation and mis-planning of the Government. It is no wonder that the people were forced to take to agitation to save themselves and their children from hunger, starvation and suffering. The people of Kerala demonstrated their mind unmistakably in this matter during Kerala Bandh in which all parties, including the Congress, and all classes of people participated and which was a complete success. But for the unimaginative and provocative mishandling of the situation by the police and other officers and the tactless tackling of the situation by the then Governor and the stubborn attitude of the authorities concerned, Kerala Band would have been an ideal and peaceful demonstration of the will of the people on a life-and-death question.

Much has been said about police excesses. I have got reports from places like Beliapattam, where unfortunately some incidents happened, that people were arrested every day in the dozens on the basis of a list submitted by the Congress Committee. Innocent people, responsible people, members of the panchayat and others were arrested simply because they were not on good terms with the local Congress people.

As I have indicated at the outset, the situation cannot be saved except

by giving not less than eight ounces of rice immediately and increasing it in due course to 12 ounces in the near future. This can very well be achieved if the Government recognised their mistakes and held themselves directly responsible to find adequate quantity of rice from other surplus States or through imports. Kerala, in all justice, is entitled to this relief at the hands of the Government of India, specially as she has been enabling the Government to earn a substantial amount of foreign exchange in a stable way.

One sure way of tackling the question certainly is abolishing the State and district food zones and to bring about again one comprehensive southern zone. Any fear of rise in prices can be checkmated by setting up fair price shops and running them in an efficient manner. Another point in the matter of tackling the acuteness of the problem brought about by the failure of the Government is the grant of subsidies so as to provide immediate incentives to the agriculturists. Even at such an acute stage of the situation the Government's levy system is full of anomalies and shortcomings. The levy system adopted in a deficit State like Kerala is unimaginative and unscientific. They adopt the same yardstick with reference to big and small ryots. The small ryots in many cases produce foodgrains barely for the upkeep of their family while the blind and mechanical officialdom puts it at a much higher figure which is not in existence. Such miscalculations cannot but create trouble and make the situation more acute.

Shri Warior (Trichur): Sir, I cannot add very much more to what has been already said in this august House. We all know what happened in Kerala recently and in the months before that. In the Kerala Consultative Committee the present Minister of State, Shri Govinda Menon, my hon.

friend, had very vehemently attacked the policy of the Government followed at that time and demanded that we should not be treated as second-class citizens in India. Now we hope that the Government will respond to the unanimous voice of a constitutionally constituted body. But what has happened now?

My first charge against this Government is that they have mauled the constitutional Government in Kerala and they have very seriously injured it. Now, the people ask: Why should you go to Parliament? Why should you not go to the streets because the Government will heed only those who are on the streets? We ask this Government to be reasonable. We told the Government to come forward at an opportune moment but they did not heed our advice. We raised our voice in this Parliament and also in the Consultative Committee. The Consultative Committee is not only composed of Members from Kerala but from all States. Mr. Nanda who presided over it also impressed upon Mr. Subramaniam the necessity of handling the food situation in Kerala particularly in a reasonable manner.

What was done? This House should not go with an impression that what is given as 4 ounces is with the Central assistance alone. It is with the levy imposed on the cultivators of Kerala also.

The Minister of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation (Shri C. Subramaniam): How much is it?

Shri Warrior: If you are going to have all the statistics thrown at me, I will also throw statistics at you. But this is not a question of statistics because no hungry man can be satisfied with statistics. The hungry man can be satisfied only with real food. That is the whole trouble.

In Kerala, we are producing 11 lakh tons of foodgrains and the Central Government is to supply the rest, 12

to 13 lakh tons of foodgrains. I put a very simply question to the Government. Any layman can understand it. Wherefrom is the Government sending rice? Is this the new crop, the present crop, that they are sending to Kerala or is it the rice stocked for smuggling purposes and for clandestine dealings in other pockets? Wherefrom are they sending rice to Kerala? How did they get it? The very same thing was repeated in 1964 also. When the situation became very hot for the Government, only then they rushed rice there.

We had told them previously that the situation was worsening and that it will go out of control. The Government is now sending rice there. I am very glad that they are sending rice there. But there must be a limit to the insult and injury thrown on the people of Kerala. I am very thankful to philanthropic persons like Mr. Gujral for forgoing rice ration and collecting some signatures instead of rice.

An hon. Member: That has become the fashion.

Shri Warrior: I am thankful to them. But that can be done only to those people who are beggars. The people of Kerala are not beggars. They are not satisfied with such symbolic generosity. That is not what we want. If it is in literature and art it is good, but not for eating. For eating, there must be real rice or some such stuff. Mr. Subramaniam is very adamant on this point that Kerala will be treated only like this. I know the reason. The political reason is that Kerala is written off by the ruling Party. They can never regain the hold on Kerala. So, they say, you starve Kerala and bring it to their knees. Is that the policy?

Shri Tyagi: That is wrong.

Shri Warrior: They take the cue. That is why the Congress also joined

[Shri Warior]

this time in Kerala Bandh on 28th January, 1966. I may not describe all that.

Mr. Subramaniam has always been reiterating that Kerala must have procurement. Whose responsibility is that? The Kerala Government is under the Central Government. Mr. A. P. Jain sent a report to the President that there will not be a stable Government there. Is there any stable Governor there? The Governors are just running like rats in a sinking ship. What was he? He was here as Food Minister formerly. He knows everything. And he openly comes and says, "the Centre has failed me". He comes not from Kerala; his seat must be in U.P., but he went to Mysore to get elected, then resigned and then came to Kerala.

We ask this Government why complete monopoly procurement was not introduced in Kerala. Was it not the responsibility of the Centre? They are fighting shy because they cannot do the same thing throughout India. Mr. Pai's report is here. The Director of the Food Corporation says that all the Governments except a few non-cooperated completely with him. Poor man, he has resigned.

I ask this Government: what happened in Kerala after the 28th? I know that the Congress members will not speak as to what happened after Kerala Bandh. They now bank upon the Police reports of incendiarism and violence of the people. I ask this Government of Mr. Nanda, the Home Minister, as to what violence was there in the library hall of the college? The police rushed into the college and beat the students; the Professors came round and then the Principal protested. Mr. Jain says that no inquiry will be made. Mr. Jain, the Governor, whom we sent there or the President sent there, says this. He was very much afraid whether the Police would co-operate with him. So

he extended Rs. 15,000 as bribe for beating. (*Interruptions.*) He lost confidence in the Police and so he gave them this bribe.

Shri Tyagi: What is the proof?

Shri Warior: Mr. Tyagi will not know all these things. He is in some other mood.

This is published in the Government Press Note; I will produce that, if you want. The Central Government as a whole, not only Mr. Subramaniam, stands condemned in the eyes of the people of Kerala. I would like to indict them for callousness, for criminal negligence and for criminality insulting the people of Kerala. Are we to submit to this? Do you think that the intelligent people of Kerala—the people who fought the tyranny of Sri C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar and who fought the tyranny of the British Government—will submit to this like sheep? Mr. Subramaniam knows it. He is sitting here now because the people of Kerala also shed their blood. The jawans, coming from Kerala—from 2,000 miles away—fought in the Pakistani front. Did they not fight? Then how are they entitled to only four ounces where as the families elsewhere are entitled to 12 to 16 ounces? The entire food policy, the entire procurement policy, the entire levy policy, the entire administration of justice, has completely collapsed. Why should you remain in Kerala? Why should not the Government order immediate elections there? Let the popular Government come and then ask them to take the responsibility. They are the responsible people; the present Government are not responsible. So I indict that the Government must resign; I indict in the name of the people of Kerala. Mr. Subramaniam, particularly should not defend black-marketeers. Why should he take the odium? Why should he take the responsibility which he is not feeling? Why should he take the task of protecting the smugglers, blackmarketeers and all other unsocial elements which have come up under this Government?

Hence I say that this motion is most opportune and most appropriate and the Government must be censured and censured completely without any hesitation.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): I have very little to add to the vigorous debate that has already taken place on this subject of great importance. One reason why I rise to participate in the debate is to emphasise the concern of the whole nation and not merely those who hail from the region called Kerala in this country. The unity of this nation will be preserved only if we feel one in times of sorrow and privation in any part of the country and we feel that what has come to pass in Kerala is a part of the misery and suffering of the people of India. This, I think, is not merely a pious sentiment but a burning feeling in the whole of India. I think it would be only appropriate that Government should take note of these very strong feelings which today corrode our very devotion to democracy. For, after all, the reduction of the quantum of ration in Kerala was an act of cussedness, was an act of administrative ineptitude, was not only an error of judgment but was one of the gravest lapses on the part of the Government. There was no warrant whatever for this wilful and arbitrary reduction in the quantum of ration received by them. There was no reason why Government could not have anticipated this problem.

Even in the best of years, the proportions of the food problem in Kerala are not minor or meagre. In a year which has been rent by wholesale inadequacy of food and by a grave shortage of food, the problems of Kerala should have been anticipated by any far-seeing Government, and in having failed to do so, I think Government have given one more proof of the fact that they suffer from extreme administrative ineptitude.

I think that Kerala's complaint of

neglect by the Centre is a complaint in which many other States would have reason to join. I know myself that there are, as my hon. friend Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia has rightly pointed out, a large number of States in the Union of India where the conditions of hunger and privation very much approximate to the conditions in Kerala. It is a good thing that the people of Kerala have risen to the occasion to articulate their difficulties and their sufferings and in this articulation I see at least a ray of hope that Government will wake up to their responsibilities and they would realise that what has happened in Kerala on account of their faulty food policies may happen elsewhere and the story can be repeated elsewhere in India, and if Government would take lessons, if they would be wise enough to learn from their mistakes in Kerala, they would at least be able to rectify and remedy the situation elsewhere.

The spectre of famine, drought and hunger and starvation looms large on the Indian horizon today. There is no doubt that the problem is of very large proportions but the problem would not be solved by resorting to a lathi charge here or to strong-arm tactics elsewhere. Government had no reason to deal with the situation in the manner in which they dealt with it in Kerala. It seems that when a full inquiry is held—and I would demand that a full inquiry should be held in order to set our doubts at rest and in order to allay our anxiety in respect of what goes on behind the scenes and in the whole administrative process—such an inquiry will reveal that the Government of India have failed to fulfil their basic responsibilities and that the Governor of Kerala through whom the Government of India were acting and are acting did not discharge his obligations in terms of good and proper administration in that State.

Kerala figures on the floor of this House prominently and particularly so because it is entitled to our atten-

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

tion and is a charge on our attention. Kerala today is ruled by the President and this Parliament is responsible and answerable for the proper administration of Kerala.

I do not know what the Minister of State in the Ministry of Food had to report or what he did say to hon. Prime Minister. But I do recall that he had made a fervent plea to the Prime Minister to personally visit the State at the earliest moment. I do not know what has happened to that suggestion. Perhaps in the wrangling of power in our capital, it was not considered important enough for the Prime Minister to make a personal visit to Kerala. I think that this Parliament and all of us, not only those from Kerala, are entitled to expect a proper inquiry to be held into the affairs of Kerala; we are also entitled to expect that the Government, the Prime Minister and the Food Minister would make every possible effort not only to relieve the present difficulties of Kerala but also to give an answer to this House in respect of what has already transpired in Kerala. I feel that nothing short of a proper inquiry would satisfy this House, and I demand, in the name of fairplay and justice, that such inquiry be instituted and that the House be appraised of the results of such inquiry. Unless such matters can be properly investigated, unless this House can properly take cognizance of these matters in elaborate detail, we would not satisfy one of the basic obligations to the democratic process. I think it is only fair to demand such an inquiry in the name of the democratic process itself.

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, केरल में जैसी परिस्थिति हुई और जिस तरीके से वहां पुलिस के जोर से भूखों और नंगों को मारा गया और जेलों में सड़ाने की कोशिश की गई, वैसी ही परिस्थिति शायद कुछ दिन के बाद पूरे देश में होने वाली

है। ऐसा मैं इसलिये कह रहा हूँ कि केरल बन्द का जो नारा उठाया गया था वह किसी दल विशेष द्वारा नहीं उठाया गया था। यह नहीं कि किसी खास अपोजीशन पार्टी ने या किसी बास अपोजीशन पार्टी के लोगों ने उठाया था। तमाम दलों के लोगों ने यह महसूस किया कि जितना भी चावल उन्हें दिया जाता है उस से एक आदमी क्या एक बच्चे का भी पेट भरने वाला नहीं है। यही कारण है कि मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस तरीके से उसे दबाने की कोशिश की गई उस तरीके से यह दबाने वाला नहीं है।

मैं अन्न मंत्री जी से एक बात पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या केरल की परिस्थिति उस दिन खराब नहीं थी जब इसी सदन में श्री ए० के० गोपालन ने भूख-हड़ताल की थी। उन को हमारे स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने आश्वासन दिया था कि केरल की खाद्य समस्या को हल करने के लिये जो भी कार्रवाई की जा सकेगी, की जायेगी और शायद उसी के फलस्वरूप उन्होंने अपनी भूख-हड़ताल वापस ली थी। उस के बाद मैं सोचता था कि केरल में जो स्थिति आ चुकी थी शायद वह दबाने नहीं आ सकेगी। लेकिन इस सरकार को यह चिन्ता नहीं है कि लोग भूखों मरते हैं। सत्ता की शराब में डूबी सरकार परवाह नहीं करती कि किसी भी हालत में हो चीजों का सुधारा जाये। आज मैं कहता हूँ कि केरल में हतना अत्याचार होने के बाद, पुलिस का दमन होने के बाद, लोगों को जेलों में भजने के बाद, डिफेंस आफ इंडिया क्लस को इस्तेमाल करने के बाद अगर सरकार सोचती है कि चन्द खनकते हुए टुकड़े चावल के बढ़ाने के बाद सारी परिस्थिति बदल जायेगी तो यह गलत है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है आज बंगाल की परिस्थिति क्या है, आज मध्य प्रदेश की परिस्थिति क्या है,

आज राजस्थान की परिस्थिति क्या है, आज उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों की परिस्थिति क्या है? मैं जानता हूँ कि आज भीख मांगने के लिये हम तमाम देशों के पास जा रहे हैं और जानसन साहब की दुहाई दे कर आज अपनी खाद्य परिस्थिति से, जो कि बहुत संकट में है, निकलने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। लेकिन आखिर यह सब कब तक चलता रहेगा? केरल बन्द का नारा जो दिया गया था, मैं समझता था कि उस से सरकार को होश आयेगा और सरकार कुछ करेगी। लेकिन उन दिनों में लड़ाई इस बात की चल रही थी कि गद्दी पर कौन बैठे, लड़ाई इस बात की चल रही थी कि सत्ता की बागडोर किस के हाथ में जाये, लड़ाई इस बात की चल रही थी कि चुनाव में किन कैंडिडेट्स को सेटअप किया जाये। मैं समझ नहीं पाता हूँ कि आज यह हमारे खाद्य मंत्री हैं या अन्न मंत्री हैं अथवा यह मर-घट के सरदार हैं। उन्हें यह चिन्ता है कि मरघट में आज कौन जा रहा है। बजाय इसके कि सरकार सोचे कि अन्न का कहां से जुगाड़ करे उस को सोचना चाहिये कि वह कफन का कहां से जुगाड़ करे और कफन का इस्तेमाल किस तरीके से करे। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह मामला चलने वाला नहीं है और महीने दो महीने में अगर केरल की परिस्थिति जैसी दूसरी जगह उत्पन्न हो जाती है तो मुझे यह बताने में कोई डर नहीं है कि अगर आज केरल बन्द हुआ है तो कल हो सकता है कि बिहार बन्द हो और ऐसी ही परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हो सकती है कि भारत बन्द होगा और मैं गृह मंत्री जी को कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितना डिफेंस आफ इंडिया क्लस का वह इस्तेमाल करना चाहते हैं वह करें। केरल की परिस्थिति खराब होगी इस वजह से जान कर केरल के चुने हुए नुमाइन्दों को जेलों में भेजा गया। आज तक वह जेलों में सड़ रहे हैं। गवर्नर राज्य वहां कायम कर दिया गया और कहा गया कि हम सारी परिस्थिति को हल करना चाहते हैं। तो इस वास्ते हम सोचते हैं कि डिफेंस आफ इंडिया में बन्द करने के बाद भी

अगर केरल बन्द हुआ और हमारे गृह मंत्री का कहना था चाहे वह बम्बई बन्द करने की बात हो, सूती मिलों की हड़ताल हो, उनका एक कहना है कि कुछ लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट करा रहे हैं या कुछ विरोधी दल वाले करा रहे हैं। लेकिन जब उनसे पूछा गया कि लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट्स तो जेलों में हैं, अब कौन करा रहा है, तो कहते हैं कि वह उनके समर्थक करा रहे हैं, उनके सपोर्टर्स करा रहे हैं। इसलिए उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं समझता कि हूँ आज इसलिए नहीं कि केरल में ऐसी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न है, सारे भारतवर्ष में यह होने वाला है। आज कलकत्ते के शहर में जितना राशन लोगों को मिलता है उनको 129 ग्राम दिया जाता है, उसके बाद भी 3 रुपया साढ़े तीन रुपया किलो चावल खूले ग्राम मिलता है ब्लैक मार्केटिंग में। कानपुर में, 16 तारीख से, कल से स्टैबूटरी राशनिंग होने वाली है। मुख्य मंत्री का कहना है कि जब तक केन्द्रीय सरकार से पूरा राशन नहीं मिलता तब तक शायद वह कामयाब न हो। लेकिन केन्द्र का कहना है कि हमारी सप्लाय ठीक हों या न हो, स्टैबूटरी राशनिंग करनी है। मैं एक चीज कह देना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि कानपुर के लोगों ने मुझे चुना है, कानपुर में 16 तारीख के बाद अगर वही परिस्थिति उत्पन्न होती है तो कानपुर बन्द होगा और उसके बाद उत्तर प्रदेश बन्द होगा। भारत बन्द का नारा बहुत लोग दे चुके हैं और यही हाल अगर रहा तो भारत बन्द होगा। मुझे मालूम है कि भारत बन्द से पहले पहले तो हम लोग बन्द हो ही जायेंगे। लेकिन अब की दफा एक चीज साफ है, 1943 में बंगाल में जो हुआ था, मुहराबर्दी और उस के साथ बड़े बड़े सरमायेदारों ने 35 लाख लोगों के मरने के बाद बस लाख और दस करोड़ से 20 करोड़ रुपया तक कमाया था, लोग तकदीर को कोस कोस कर मरे थे, फूटपाथों पर ले जाकर मीत के मुंह में अपने बच्चों को डाल दिया था। लेकिन 1943 को हिन्दुस्तान में हम लोग घाने नहीं देंगे। अगर ऐसी परिस्थिति होती है कि बाल

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

बच्चों के मुह में अन्न नहीं पहुंच सका और रोटी के बदले गोली मिलती है, लाठी मिलती है, डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल मिलता है, और 1943 में जो परिस्थिति बंगाल में हुई थी वही परिस्थिति सारे देश में होती है तो मैं यह साफ कहना चाहता हूँ कि लोग अपनी तकदीर को कोसते कोसते नहीं मरेंगे। भूखे लोग आन्दोलन करके मरेंगे, गोली खाकर मरेंगे और हो सकता है कि गोली चलाने वाले को बदल कर मरेंगे। यही मेरा कहना है।

श्री हुकमचन्द कछवाय (देवास) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे भी समय मिलना चाहिए। पांच मिनट मुझे दिया जाय। यह केरल की जो खाद्य समस्या है यह बहुत जटिल है और इस को हमारी सरकार ने जटिल किया है। ऐसी परिस्थिति जो पदा हुई उस में सब से बड़ा हिस्सा इस केन्द्रीय सरकार का है। उसके कारण केरल में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू है और उसी कारण उसकी सारी जवाबदेही इस केन्द्र पर आती है। जिस प्रकार से जब रोम जल रहा था और वहां का जो राजा या था वह पहाड़ पर बैठ कर बंसी बजा रहा था उसी प्रकार वहां के जो राज्यपाल हैं वह जब वहां के लोग भूखों मर रहे थे, तड़प रहे थे तो वह दिल्ली में आ कर खुशी के साथ चुनाव लड़ रहे थे इस आशा से कि मैं फलां को प्रधान मंत्री बना दूंगा, तो शायद केन्द्र में मुझे कहीं मंत्री की जगह मिल जायेगी। आज जो क्षेत्रीय प्रणाली है कि एक राज का गल्ला दूसरे राज में नहीं जावे, यही कारण है कि उस क्षेत्र में अकाल पड़ा है और जब कि पड़ोसी राज्य मद्रास और आन्ध्र में ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है। मद्रास के लोगों को तो 200 ग्राम चावल खाने को दिया जाता है और आन्ध्र के लोगों को 240 ग्राम जब कि केरल के लोगों को 120 ग्राम, यह भेदभाव क्यों ? यह राज्य सरकारें समझती हैं कि अगर मान लो क्षेत्रीय प्रणाली खत्म हो जायेगी तो हमें जितना मिलता है खाने को

वह नहीं मिलेगा। लेकिन आज राज्य सरकारें जो बिजनेस करती हैं वह उसमें कितना मुनाफा कमाती हैं ? मैं उदाहरण देता हूँ। मध्य प्रदेश में मध्य प्रदेश सरकार जब ज्वार खरीदती है तो 32 रुपये क्विंटल और 34 रुपये क्विंटल खरीदती है। वही ज्वार वह वहां से गराबां को खाने के देती है 54 रुपये और 56 रुपये क्विंटल। 20-20 रुपया क्विंटल मुनाफा कमाती है। उसके लिये कुछ नहीं लेकिन व्यापारी मुनाफा कमाता है तो उसे बन्द किया जाता है। हम देखें कि आज मद्रास के अन्दर किस भाव का चावल है ? वहां 85 रुपये क्विंटल चावल मिलता है और आन्ध्र में 80 रुपये क्विंटल लेकिन केरल में 200 रुपये क्विंटल। यह इतना अन्तर क्यों ? यह इतना भाव केरल के अन्दर है क्यों ? केरल की आज जो स्थिति है राज्यपाल ने कहा था कि केन्द्रीय सरकार आपका साथ नहीं देती है, केन्द्रीय सरकार यह नहीं चाहती है कि केरल के लोगों को खाने को मिले, इसके बाद जब राज्यपाल महोदय सड़क से गुजरे तो वहां की जनता ने उनका रवगात किया और केन्द्र के खिलाफ, केन्द्र के प्रति जो वहां के लोगों में गलत धारणायें पैदा हुईं, जो उत्तेजना फैली उसका प्रमुख कारण राज्यपाल महोदय हैं। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहां जिन लोगों को बन्द किया गया है उन विद्यार्थियों को छोड़ना चाहिए। उन पर जो मुकदमे हैं उन सब मुकदमों को वापस लेना चाहिए। पुलिस का जो वहां पर अत्याचार हुआ है, पुलिस ने जो ज्यादती की है, उनकी न्यायिक जांच होनी चाहिए। वहां पुलिस ने किस प्रकार से विद्यार्थियों के साथ अत्याचार किया है यह एक बड़ी ऐसी कहानी है, ऐसी दर्दनाक घटना है कि अगर माननीय मंत्री जी पुलिस की उन ज्यादतियों की छानबीन करेंगे तो मालम होगा कि बिना गुनाह लोगों को जेलों में भेजा गया है, उन पर लाठियां चलाई गईं, गोली चलाई गई।

• यह जो भ्रम समस्या बिगड़ी है इसके सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप केरल की जनता को क्या भारतवर्ष से भ्रम समझते हैं ? केरल की जनता क्या हमारे देश की जनता नहीं है ? यदि आप आज यह भावना लेकर चलें कि वह हमारे देश के बाहर के लोग हैं तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि केरल इस देश का भ्रम है आपने इस भावना से काम लिया तो हम इसे बदाम्त नहीं करेंगे। आप चाहते हैं कि वहाँ लोग भूखे मर जायें। यदि आप भूखा मारना चाहते हैं तो वह खाना भी जानते हैं। जो लोग आज खाना नहीं देते हैं, जिनके हाथ में आज सारा भ्रम का व्यापार है, जो सरकार बनाकर बैठे हैं, एक दिन वह प्रायेण कि वह उनको खाकर छाड़ेंगे। इसलिए, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उपाध्यक्ष महादय, कि जितनी जल्दी हो सके उन्हें सहायता पहुँचानी चाहिए।

Shri C. Subramaniam: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, today Kerala is surcharged with a tension. That tension is based on a sense of suspicion, a feeling of injustice, a sense of being discriminated against and how that atmosphere has been brought about was demonstrated here, if I may say so, by the sample of speeches made by Shri Sreekantam Nair and Warior and others, if this was the sort of speech made on the floor of this House, we can very well imagine what would have been the sort of speeches made in the public to arouse the feelings of the people.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Have you heard the speeches of Congress Members in the maidans of Kerala? (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. We should hear him patiently. (*Interruptions*).

Shri C. Subramaniam: In this surcharged atmosphere, if there is a certain amount of excitement, I am not surprised. But what is important now is, apart from the debate here, apart from the adjournment motion here, how to bring about a normal

situation in Kerala. That is the most important thing. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri C. Subramaniam: We should try by our speeches and action to bring about that normal situation in Kerala. That is the most important thing, and all the other arguments, logic, however well-based they might be,—I have no doubt in my mind—I would not be able to sell them in this surcharged atmosphere. It is in this context that we considered the situation of Kerala, when the Prime Minister was present, the Home Minister was present and all the Chief Ministers from the various States were present and the Governor of Kerala also was there to give an account of the situation. We came to the conclusion, first of all, that we have to break this tension there and bring about a sense of normalcy and an atmosphere of normalcy. It is on that basis, apart from the logic, statistics and every other thing, that we took the decision, first of all, how to see that this ration is restored there to 160 grams per day and how all the other State Governments could participate and cooperate in this effort. As a matter of fact, when facts were given, some of the State Chief Ministers from the various States, Governments came forward and said that they were in a much worse position. So, even as we wanted to treat a border situation with all the concerted effort of the nation, in the same way, we wanted to treat the Kerala situation in a concentrated way with the concentrated effort of all the State Governments, and I am glad that the State Governments and the Chief Ministers responded in a grand manner and said, "Yes, we shall treat this and make them feel that it is not as if they are being ignored." (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Maurya (Aligarh): I want a reply to this question. Why they did not do this earlier.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is replying. Order, order.

श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) : वह सवाल पूछ रहे हैं मंत्री जी उसका का जवाब देना चाहिए। पहले क्या वह सो रहे थे ?

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आप चुपचाप बैठिये।

Shri C. Subramaniam: It is on that basis that every State would make an effort that we decided to restore this cut there. We have already made the announcement that in the second half of March, the restoration would be made. It is not as if we do not want to restore the cut immediately, because, what is important is, even as hon. Members have said, once the cut is restored and we declare the supply of 160 grams, it should be possible to have a continuous supply without any breakdown whatsoever. Therefore, it is necessary for us to build the stock before we undertake this task of increasing the ration. That is why it is bound to take some time, and it is on that basis that the decision has been taken. I hope the people of Kerala would realise that the Central Government is trying to do its best to see that this supply position is kept without any break whatsoever, and it will be our endeavour to do so.

17.43 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

Having said this, I would like to go back a little and try to explain to the House how this situation was brought about and why this situation arose at all. Naturally, hon. Members would be anxious to know about it.

श्री बागड़ी : जवाब तो सवाल का उन्हें देना चाहिए।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आर्डर, आर्डर।

Shri C. Subramaniam: Many hon. Members pointed out that when there was the bigger zone, the southern

zone, there was almost normal condition and it is after bringing about this State to State zone that the position has deteriorated. Therefore, it is necessary to examine what was the condition that existed from 1961 to 1963 when this larger zone existed. We have got facts and figures to show what was the quantity of rice which moved into Kerala from Madras, from Andhra and from various other places and what the Central Government was supplying at that time. (Interruptions). I will answer questions at the end. Please let me proceed with my speech.

Shri Maurya: We do not want speech. We want food.

श्री बागड़ी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मंत्री महोदय गुस्ते में हैं

अध्यक्ष महोदय : स्पीचिंग हो चुकी है अब मंत्री जी की बात को सब को सुनना चाहिए अब क्या आप यह चाहते हैं कि वह वही कहें जो कि आप चाहते हैं या यह कह दें कि मैं कसूरवार हूँ। इस तरह से बार बार दखल देना मुनासिब नहीं है और अब आप को आराम से उन की बात सुननी चाहिए।

Shri C. Subramaniam: If speeches would not produce results, why have all the members spoken and I have been asked to reply? There need not have been this motion at all. Having made the motion and members having made their speeches, I suppose I have to reply.

Mr. Speaker: Yes; the minister has every right to make his speech and I will be a silent listener. He may go on in spite of the interruptions.

Shri C. Subramaniam: Thank you, Sir. During 1961 to 1963, about 7 to 8 lakh tonnes moved under free trade into Kerala. In addition to that, the Central Government took the responsibility of supplying to the poorer sec-

tion of the people what they call one *adangali* and that used to be raised to two *adangalis* during the rainy season. One *adangali* is a small quantity; it is much less than 20 or 25 grams.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: It is much more. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Let that remain as *adangali* and not be converted into grams.

Shri A. V. Baghavan: *Adangali* means one Mac'clecan measure.

Shri C. Subramaniam: I remember some exhibition was made with regard to the distribution there. It was about one fifth or one-fourth of what Mr. Vasudevan Nair showed to the House as the rice distribution there. That was how I made the calculation. If that exhibition was wrong, perhaps my calculation is also wrong.

Shri Daji: Is it not a confession of the minister's incompetence that he does not know even the quantum of the measure (*Interruptions*).

श्री बागवती : मंत्री महोदय को ऐसे गैर जिम्मेदाराना तरीके से जवाब नहीं देना चाहिए ।

Shri C. Subramaniam: We were distributing about 2 lakh tonnes every year. Therefore, the total quantity of rice which was moved into Kerala from outside sources was round about 10.5 lakh tonnes every year. That was the state of affairs when this free trade was being allowed.

In 1964, a situation developed about which I had already mentioned in the House. Prices shot up and the scarcity of rice began to be felt in the surplus States of Madras and Andhra Pradesh. In Madras State, we used to find at that time—in October-November, 1964—mile-long queues in the fair-price shops because of scarcity conditions having been created there and prices also shooting up.

Shri Dinesh Bhattacharya (Serampore): Is there any State where there is no long queue in the ration shops now?

Shri C. Subramaniam: It was in this context—I do not know how far it was justified—that the Andhra Government and the Madras Government took unilateral action, stopping further flow of rice into Kerala. Therefore, it created a very critical and embarrassing situation there. The prices had already shot up and the critical situation had arisen both in Madras and Andhra Pradesh. This got reflected in Kerala also. If this situation was allowed to continue, if the Madras State Government and the Andhra Pradesh State Government continued to have this unilateral stopping of movement of rice from their States into Kerala the situation would have worsened in Kerala also. It is in this context that we had a conference of all the Chief Ministers of the southern zone and we came to the conclusion that instead of this artificial banning we should recognise this banning legally and take responsibility for the supply of rice to Kerala. It is on this basis that the State zones were brought about. On that basis, Andhra was to give the surplus to the central pool, Madras was to hand over its surplus to the central pool and the central pool was to deliver to Kerala the quantities which were moving in as before and to organise a rationed distribution there. It is on this basis that rationing was introduced. Informal rationing was introduced with regard to quantities which were moving in from outside.

As far as internal production is concerned, it is always equal to what was going into Kerala from outside. There is always production in Kerala to meet about 50 per cent of the requirements. So the balance 50 per cent was going from outside. Therefore, they were roughly producing 1.1 million tons and that 1.1 million tons were moving within the market. In addition to that 10.5 lakh tons were going from outside. As I said, this

[Shri C. Subramaniam.]

1.1 million tons of internal production was still available within Kerala and in addition to that we undertook to supply to the people of Kerala 160 grams of rice per head to the entire population. In addition to that another 160 grams of wheat was to be made available and they could purchase whatever may be their requirements. It was on this basis that informal rationing was introduced.

I want to make it quite clear that when we talk about 4 ounces or 5 ounces of rice and wheat in addition to that as ration in Kerala, it is not as if this is the only quantity available. This quantity was given to everybody under the rationing system and in addition to that whatever is produced internally—I am talking of rice only leaving alone all the other things—was moving within the market. Therefore, in addition to what we supplied as quantum of rice, there was about one million tons of rice available from internal production for the consumption of Kerala. Therefore, when people say that the people of Kerala are asked to be content with only 4 ounces or 5 ounces of rice, this internal production has to be taken into account. In addition to what we supply there is an open market available, an un-restricted market. Nobody takes that into account (*Interruption*). Whether there should be monopoly procurement or intensive procurement of this one million tons and it should be distributed along with the quantity that we supply is a different question (*Interruptions*). Hon. Members may put their questions later on.

Mr. Speaker: He should not promise to answer any questions afterwards. I am the only listener. He might go on.

Shri C. Subramaniam: Therefore, if we take into account what happened during 1965 it will be seen that on this basis we supplied 9.3 lakh tons of rice in addition to an equal amount of wheat that was offered. The average consumption there has been round about—in some months it went up to 40,000 to 50,000 tons per month

—35,000 tons per month. Therefore, about 4 lakh tons of wheat has also been supplied to the people of Kerala along with this 9.3 lakh tons of rice. Therefore, the total which was pumped into the Kerala food distribution system was, as far as the surplus is concerned, 9.2 lakh tons of rice and 4 lakh tons of wheat. This quantity of 13.2 lakh tons of foodgrains was the quantity consumed, not what we offered but was actually consumed. Therefore, as against an import into Kerala of 10.5 lakhs the actual consumption was 9.2 lakh tons of rice and 4 lakh tons of wheat.

Then, it is not as if in other parts of the country also only rice and wheat are consumed. In other parts of the country coarse grains are consumed. Unfortunately, the people of Kerala do not consume coarse grains. But, as a substitute for that, they take large quantities of tapioca. Even this year the production of tapioca was round about 2.5 million tons. Out of this no doubt some export has taken place, about 5 lakh tons and only the rest was available for local consumption. Therefore, even after allowing for exports, 2 million tons of tapioca was available to the people of Kerala, particularly for the poor common people who take tapioca. I am not talking of other types of food which are available in Kerala like, for example, fish. In fact, people of Kerala take more fish than people in other parts of the country. So, when we talk of 4, 5 or 6 ounces we completely forget that other foodgrains are moving in the open market and they are available to the people of Kerala for consumption. And in fact they are consumed.

Shri Maurya: Does the Minister know the rates in the open market?

श्री मायुरी : अगर वहाँ पर खुला बाजार है, तो उस खुले बाजार में कीमत क्या है ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : उनको कहने दीजिए ।

श्री हुकम चन्द कडवाय : 200 रुपये क्विंटल ।

श्री बागड़ी : बिल्कुल गलतबयानी कर के हाउस और देश को धोखे में रख रहे हैं।

Shri C. Subramaniam: Therefore, this picture will always have to be kept in mind when we make a comparison with what is happening in the neighbouring State or any other State.

In August 1964 there was the Chief Ministers' Conference, to which a reference was made by some hon. Member. In that meeting we considered the situation in Kerala. At that time we did not know that we are going to face such a big continued drought. At that time we expected the production to go up from 38 million tons of rice to round about 41 million tons. On the basis of that level of production we estimated that we would be able to allot 9.5 lakh tons to 10 lakh tons to Kerala. The Governor of that State also said that he would be satisfied if 10 lakh or 11 lakh tons would be made available to that State. But the situation changed mainly because of the drought conditions affecting, apart from various parts of the country, particularly Andhra Pradesh and Madras. One may say that the production in Madras mainly depended upon the Mettur Reservoir. In my living memory I have never seen Mettur Reservoir going to the level of 20 ft. or 18 ft. In the normal years in the months of August, September, October it used to remain at the level of 120 ft. This year it went down to 20 ft. Consequently, the water supply for irrigation also diminished to that extent. There was also apprehension in Madras State that about 1.4 million acres of land would become dried up. In Andhra Pradesh, while the water supply in the coastal belt or delta areas remained unaffected, in the areas which depended on minor or medium irrigation projects the supply completely dried up and the production was consequently affected.

In addition to this, another situation also arose. In the early stages of 1965 in spite of our good production we were in a position to import about 7.5 lakh tons of rice from foreign countries. But, as the House is

aware, because of the Pakistani aggression and the consequent stoppage of foreign aid, the foreign exchange position became very acute. Therefore, we had to completely stop the import of rice from abroad. So, in October, November, December, we faced a situation in which foreign exchange was not available for the import of any rice. In addition to all that, drought conditions continued to persist with the prospect of complete break-down in the production, as far as paddy was concerned. That was the prospect which the Southern Zone faced.

18 hrs.

No doubt, the Government has been writing and some mention was made about it. I have also been writing to the State Governor saying that this is the position now. Last year we had a record production of 38 million tonnes of rice and in addition to that we imported 7.5 lakh tonnes of rice. In those conditions it was possible for me to hand over to Kerala about 9.2 lakh tonnes of rice. Now in the present condition of rice production being restricted because of the drought conditions and in addition to that with no prospect of imports coming in because of the foreign exchange situation, if you expect that I should continue to deliver this 9.5 lakh tonnes even, leave alone the 11 lakh tonnes which was contemplated at one time, it will be a very difficult situation for the food economy to manage. Therefore, if the supplies should not break down even now, a phased programme of cutting down the rations will have to be undertaken; but, perhaps because he was aware of the situation arising there, he was persistent that it could not be done. But when the supplies were not there because of these drought conditions and the prospects of the failure of the crops there and in addition to that imports not being available, naturally, when the imports were not available, the entire supply which we had to make to Kerala depended upon the sources of Andhra and Madras which States completely got into a scare because of the monsoon failure. Naturally, in those condi-

[Shri C. Subramaniam.]

tions they tried to hold on to as much stocks as possible. It is a natural feeling any State, they being responsible to feed the people of their own State.

This is the situation which led to this. But in spite of this we took every step to meet it. The Prime Minister, the late Lal Bahadur Shastri himself, not only phoned up the Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh and Madras but they were got down here. We talked to them and in spite of the difficulties which they were facing, they had made commitments that they would give certain quantities during January and February so that, it was understood, it should be possible for us to have a review of the situation soon after his return from Tashkent. This is how a temporary arrangement was made for January and February on the basis of some deliveries from Madras. There also, because of these monsoon conditions, procurements could not be made and they could not get at the stocks. In spite of doing everything movements could not be kept pace with the requirements in Kerala. That is how at a particular point it had to be brought down to 120 grammes in order to avoid a complete breakdown. What was important at that time was to consider whether there should be a complete breakdown of supplies or whether they should be brought down to a particular level and at least that being ensured for some time.

As soon as we knew that this was a very difficult situation to face and there was likely to be discontent, as soon as the present leader was elected immediately I made her aware of the situation and she also assured that the first thing which the Cabinet would consider, after reconstitution, would be the Kerala situation.

श्री बाबड़ी : तालियां बजायी बहुत अच्छा काम कर दिया है शर्म नहीं मानी है।

Shrimati Lakkhnikanthamma (Khammam): Are they serious or are they simply laughing?

Shri C. Subramaniam: We knew, on the 28th—it had already been

organised—there would be a Kerala Bandh..... (Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri C. Subramaniam: I thought, I was losing even the only listener.

Mr. Speaker: No, not at all. I rather wanted to give him a respite.

Shri C. Subramaniam: Therefore, having learnt that there was going to be a Kerala Bandh on the 28th, on the 27th the Prime Minister made an appeal that she was quite concerned with the situation, that she was aware of the situation in Kerala and she ordered an increase of the ration to 140 grammes. She also made an assurance that in February the situation will be further reviewed as soon as she was in a position to review the whole thing. An appeal was made that it was not necessary to have the bandh etc. But, unfortunately, in spite of that it was there.

Hon. Members might consider whether the Central Government took notice of the situation there and made every effort to avert this bandh. On the 27th the Prime Minister made a personal appeal saying, "I have increased it to 140 grammes immediately".

श्री बाबड़ी : अपील से कुछ नहीं मिलती है। चावल नहीं है प्रधान मंत्री की अपील।

Shri C. Subramaniam: And that was not the end of the story. She said that the position would be further reviewed not only with regard to internal procurement but with regard to imports also to scrape as much foreign exchange as possible to arrange for further imports. It was on this basis that she made the appeal saying that not only internal sources will be tapped but outside sources also will be tapped for the purpose of getting rice for Kerala. But in spite of that, the bandh went on. Shri Vasudevan Nair was pleased to say that it was a peaceful demonstration. I suppose that is his conception of what a peaceful demonstration is. But I have got here a list of what all happened at that time. The Home Minister has been good enough to pass on the list

to me....(Interruptions) These are all the acts of violence....

श्री रामसेवक दास : (धाराबंकी) :

मैं एक सवाल का जवाब चाहता हूँ। मंत्री महोदय ने भाषा जैसे महत्वपूर्ण सवाल को लेकर इस्तीफा दे दिया था। इस छद्म जैसे भयंकर प्रश्न को ले कर भी क्या वह इस्तीफा दे देंगे जिस में वह नितान्त असफल रहे हैं ?

Shri C. Subramaniam: 143 State Transport buses damaged in one day; Railway lines tampered with at 9 places....(Interruptions).

Shri Vasudevan Nair: It is an utter lie. We will not allow all this.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: This is all wrong....(Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. They will resume their seats.

Shri A. V. Raghavan: Will he give the dates?

Mr. Speaker: That is not the way to conduct the proceedings of the House....(Interruptions). All the four Memers are speaking simultaneously. Order, order. Will they resume their seats? Mr. Vasudevan Nair....

Shri Vasudevan Nair: You should not allow the Minister to read out utter falsehood in this House. There is a limit to everything. We are human beings and you may please excuse us.....

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: Not a single bus was sent out by the Corporation on that day.

Shri Thirumala Rao (Kakinada): We have not got the means of verifying what the Opposition Member says. What is the proof of what they say? (Interruptions) You must allow this to go. We can also challenge them.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: You can appoint a committee.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: May I suggest that this House may set up a committee? Let us find out whether what he is saying is correct or not.

An hon. Member: If that is found wrong, he should be asked to resign.

Shri Maurya: He is making a wrong statement.

श्री हुकम चन्द कडवाय : अगर यह बात गलत सिद्ध हुई तो क्या मंत्री महोदय त्यागपत्र दे देंगे ? उन बसों के नम्बर क्या हैं क्या मंत्री महोदय यह बतलाने की रूपा करेंगे ? हमारा ऐसा कहना है कि पुलिस ने सारी बसें खूद तोड़ी हैं ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : प्राप प्रब बैठ जायें ।

श्री हुकम चन्द कडवाय : मूठा आरोप लगा रहे हैं ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : जो भी हो, उन की जो इत्तिहा मिली है वह तो सुननी ही होगी । प्राप चाहें तो मैं उन को बन्द कर देता हूँ ।

श्री बागड़ी : कमेटी बनायें ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह सवाल दूसरा है । कमेटी बने या न बने यह दूसरा सवाल है । इस वकत सवाल तो यह प्राया कि मंत्री महोदय स्टेटमेंट दे सकेंगे या नहीं ।

श्री बागड़ी : इन को हबूद के अन्दर रहना चाहिये । जो देश की बुनियादी चीज है, उस का तो यह जवाब दे नहीं रहे हैं ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : क्या इस का प्राप ने फैसला करना है कि जो प्राप चाहते हैं और जैसा जवाब प्राप चाहते हैं वही जवाब मंत्री महोदय दें ।

श्री रामसेवक दास : बकवास बहुत मुन चुके हैं ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इस तरह से तो हाउस नहीं चल सकता है । एक तरफ से अगर यह कहा जाएगा कि बकवास है तो दूसरी तरफ

[अध्यक्ष महोदय]

से भी इस तरह ही बोला जाएगा तो किस तरह से काम चल सकेगा। यह कहा जा सकता है कि जो इन के नालेज में बात आई है यह गलत है और मुमकिन हो सकता है कि गलत भी हो लेकिन और तरीके हैं इस को कहने के ?

Shri A. V. Raghavan: The Minister has given the number of buses damaged. Was it on the 28th?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: You have the right to appoint a Committee.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Will you not appreciate why we people get agitated? He says, on the bundh day, on one single day.... (Interruption). He is now correcting...

Shri C. Subramaniam: It is not on the bundh day..... (Interruptions).

Shri Daji: Now he must apologise to the House.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: I made a very responsible statement and I feel that the Kerala bundh was the most peaceful agitation in the history of this country, as far as I know. We know even Mahatma Gandhi's 1942 movement. You, Sir, heard my speech. And now he says that it was not on the bundh day.

Shri C. Subramaniam: I can very well understand.... (Interruptions).

Shri Ranga: Sir, you wanted us to be patient. We have been patient with this Minister. He just flings the details which he wants us to accept them as facts. Here, he is caught red-handed. Without even a twitch on his face, he says, 'no, no'. First of all he said, "140"; then he corrected himself, when he was challenged, to 120. This is the measure of his accuracy. Secondly, he said, "on the day of Bundh"

Shri C. Subramaniam: I said, "on one day". (Interruptions).

Shri Daji: I was with the Governor on the 29th. (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shi Daji: What he says is utter nonsense. It cannot be allowed in this House. The House has a right to be told the truth and not lies. (Interruptions).

Shri Ranga: He is giving details about which he is not absolutely certain. On the top of it, there is the serious situation there. It was not a Bundh for one day. It has gone on from district to district. The whole emotions of the people were there. Is this the way that a responsible Minister should be dealing with a situation and throwing all the things at our face? Is it not very much like what Lord Linlithgow did when he threw charges on the face of Indian nationalists after the 1942 movement? Is this a statesman-way of doing things?

Several Opposition Members: Shame, shame.

Shri Ranga: I appeal to the Prime Minister. Has she been able to make out head or tail out of the details given by the hon. Minister? The taste of the pudding is in the eating. The eating is there. My hon. friend has shown a little bundle of rice. And here is the clarification given by the Minister. He said that the Governments of Andhra and Madras had taken unilateral action. What was the Government doing here? (Interruptions) Was there not any power in his hands under the Essential Commodities Act? Why did he not take any action? He surrendered his authority either knowingly or unknowingly. The Government has failed here. My hon. friend comes here, goes on doling this out and wants us to accept that everything is alright, "you be satisfied or sit tight in your place." (Interruptions).

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : यह प्रांकड़े लाये कहां से हैं ।

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: It is highly objectionable to say that the Prime Minister has not been able to make head or tail out of it... (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: Please hear me.

Mr. Speaker: She may kindly sit down.

Is this the manner?

श्री कमललयन बजाज (वर्धा) : एक बहन को भी आप नहीं सुन सकते हैं ?

श्री रामसेवक यादव : यह लोक सभा है, बहन या भाई का हवाल नहीं है, बजाज साहब ।

Mr. Speaker: I do not know what the Leaders of the Parties want me to do under the present circumstances.

Shri Daji: He should apologize and withdraw his false statement.

Mr. Speaker: Not in this manner. (*Interruptions*).

श्री बागड़ी : यह मैनर का क्या मतलब है ? यह सचचाई की बात है ।

Mr. Speaker: I shall ask him to lay his statement on the Table of the House.

Shri C. Subramaniam: I will place the statement on the Table of the House....

Mr. Speaker: What further he has to say, he may place on the Table of the House.

Shri C. Subramaniam: I will place it, a list of what is given as the incidents during that period, on the Table of the House. (*Interruptions*).

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: You are ordering something to be placed on the Table of the House about the contents of which we have no awareness. The House must be in possession of it....

Mr. Speaker: If the House or a certain section of the House is not prepared to listen to the Minister, the only remedy left with me is that I should ask him to place it on the Table of the House. I have no other remedy.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Is there any such instance in parliamentary history? He has not made a speech; he has brought out a list prepared somewhere, a list whose correctness is challenged by everybody on this side of the House....

Mr. Speaker: That may be challenged.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee:...and which the people here are ready to prove to be false in every particular, and yet you are permitting that statement, before it is read out, to be made part of the proceedings and to have it placed on the Table of the House....

Mr. Speaker: Yes....

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: We are not even aware of what is being said in that statement; otherwise we could have reacted to it. I cannot understand this kind of thing.

Shri Bade (Kharagone): He is reading out from some paper; that is allowed to be laid on the Table of the House in an *ex-parte* manner when so many Members on this side of the House say that it is wrong; when they say that it is false, how could the Chair permit him to lay it on the Table of the House?

श्री बागड़ी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप मेरी बात सुन लें । मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप बैठ जाइए । मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि मिनिस्टर ने जो कुछ कहा वह सब ठीक है, मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि जो कुछ मेम्बर ने कहा वह सब ठीक है । गलत भी हो सकता है, गलतफहमी भी हो सकती है । हो सकता है कि गलत हो । या आप ने एक्साइटमेंट में कह दिया हो । मुझे मालूम नहीं है मुझे उसे जज नहीं करना है कि जो मिनिस्टर साहब कह रहे हैं वह गलत है या दुरुस्त है जिस तरह आप की तकरीर की बाबत पता नहीं । आप उसे अलेन्ज कर रहे हैं कि जो कुछ वह कह रहे हैं वह ठीक नहीं है । हो सकता है कि जो स्टेटमेंट वह दे रहे हैं उस से आप इतिफाक नहीं करते । मगर जब आप सुनने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं ताकि स्पीच हो जाये तो मेरे लिए कोई चारा नहीं रह जाता कि . . .

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : श्री वासुदेवन नायर ने कहा था कि केरल बन्द बिस्कुल शांतिमय था और जो आंकड़े मंत्री महोदय दे रहे हैं वह गलत हैं । ऐसी स्थिति में मंत्री महोदय झूठ बोल रहे हैं ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह बात बड़े अफसोस की है किसी भी मेम्बर के लिये कि एक दूसरे की तरफ मुखातिब हो कर कहा जाये कि वह झूठ बोल रहे हैं । मगर इस हद तक नौबत आयेगी तब काम आगे नहीं चल सकेगा । आप को इस बात पर अफसोस करना चाहिए कि आप ने बिना वजह ऐसा कह दिया ।

श्री बागड़ी : एक बात मुझे कह लेने दीजिये ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : जब तक मैं कह रहा हूँ तब तक आप नहीं कह सकते । आप बैठ जाइये । मैं आप को बाद में बुला लूंगा ।

श्री बागड़ी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, किसी भी लिखित कं यहाँ रखने के सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि पहले भी दो दफे जब यहाँ प्रश्न आया कि किसी रिपोर्ट को या किसी बात को

यहाँ मेज पर रक्खा जाये तब आप ने कहा कि जब तक आप उसे देख न लें या पढ़ न लें तब तक आप उस की इजाजत कैसे दे सकते हैं । इस लिये मेरा आप से निवेदन है कि मंत्री जी के बयान को न आप ने देखा न आपने पढ़ा, न आपने उस पर कोई विचार किया कि वह क्या है और क्या नहीं । अगर आप उस के इस तरह से टेबल पर रखे जाने की इजाजत देंगे तो यह जो आप की रूनिंग है उसी के खिलाफ होगा ।

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: Prior to this, I had suggested that the hon. Minister should apologise to the House for having misled us. It is only on that basis that we shall continue to hear him. On the other hand, we find that you are asking him to place on the Table of the House something, the very first item of which has been proved to be wrong.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: On a point of order....

Shrimati Lakshminikanthamma: Will you allow only Members from that side to sepak?

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: I am raising a point of order. Sit down. I would like to know whether it is in order for a Minister to read something which he has not verified or to display before the House or make a statement the correctness of which he is not aware of. I want your ruling on this point.

श्री रामसेवक यादव : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक निवेदन सुन लें . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अभी आप ठहरिये । पहले श्री कछवाय अपनी बात कह लें ।

श्री कृष्ण चन्ध कछवाय : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय मंत्री ने अपने वक्तव्य में जो एक वाक्य कहा है और जिस से सबन में इतनी उत्तेजना फैली है उस वाक्य को वह

वापिस ले लें। वह बिल्कुल गलत बयान है। पता नहीं उस में क्या क्या लिखा हुआ है या तो उसे बतलाया जाय नहीं तो उसे हाउस की टेबल पर न रक्खा जाय।

श्री रामसेवक यादव : श्रीमती रेणु चक्रवर्ती ने कहा कि मंत्री महोदय ने अभी जो गलत बयानी की है उस के लिए वह दुख प्रकट करें अगर उन को क्षमा मांगने में क्षम होती हो। आज हम अपने सामने यह देख रहे हैं कि जब इतने गम्भीर प्रश्न को ले कर चर्चा चल रही है तो अभी मंत्री महोदय बार बार गृह मंत्री जी से सलाह कर रहे हैं। उन को कोई जानकारी नहीं है। उन्होंने ने कुछ अपने को स्थिति से परिचित नहीं कराया। अभी आप ने कहा कि चल नहीं रहा है तो क्या करें तो उस का यही तरीका है। यह नहीं कि आप उन्हें कहें कि आप अपनी स्पीच रख दीजिये या रोक दीजिये उसका सीधा तरीका यह होगा कि आप सदन को स्थगित करें और उस के बाद फिर कार्यवाही चले। लेकिन वह स्पीच रख दी जाय तो यह कभी नहीं हो सकता।

श्री बड़े : जब उन्होंने अपना एक स्टेटमेंट दिया तब विरोधी बल न उस को चेलेज किया था तो उन्होंने ने उस को वापिस लिया था। अब यह प्वाएंट चेयर को मालूम नहीं है न हम को मालूम है कि उस में क्या क्या लिखा है। यदि इस प्रकार से रक्खा जायेगा तो यह इस हाउस के प्रति अन्याय करना होगा।

Shri C. Subramaniam: May I explain myself . . .

Mr. Speaker: I will call him. Shri Masani.

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): It seems to me that the procedure that is adopted is not proper . . .

श्री बिभूति मिश्र (मोतीहारो)
अध्यक्ष महोदय, बेरा एक प्वाएंट प्राफ प्राइंडर है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं अभी आप की तरफ जाता हूँ।

Shri M. R. Masani: With all respect, a reference to the Rules shows that, in the present context, the material that the Minister was about to place before the House cannot be laid on the Table of the House. The rules in question are 368 and 370. Rule 368 says:

"If a Minister quotes in the House a despatch or other State paper which has not been presented to the House, he shall lay the relevant paper on the Table. . . ."

Rule 370 says:

"If in answer to a question or during debate, a Minister discloses the advice or opinion given to him by 'any officer of the Government or by any other person or authority', he shall ordinarily lay the relevant document or parts of document containing that opinion or advice, or a summary thereof on the Table".

Rule 368 goes on further to say:

"Provided further that where a Minister gives in his own words a summary or gist of such despatch or State paper it shall not be necessary to lay the relevant papers on the Table".

The Minister was relaying in his own words some data about which we know nothing at all. If he has got a State paper or opinion or advice and if he divulges the source on which he relies in making that statement, then you can ask him to lay it on the Table. But laying something on

[Shri M. R. Masani.]

the Table cannot be a substitute for reading it out here. It is only after the facts are placed before the House that it can be so laid. It is wrong to lay on the Table something that cannot be said. I think this is a wrong procedure which we should not follow.

Shrimati Lakshmi Kanthamma: The problem of Kerala is not only the Opposition's problem; it is the problem of the entire country, this Government and everybody. Everybody knows that after Mrs. Gandhi got elected, the first and foremost thing that was engaging her mind was Kerala. It is not proper for Mr. Ranga to say that the Prime Minister was sitting here without knowing head or tail about it. It is an insult to the House. Let him withdraw those words. He must withdraw them. I request you to order that he should withdraw those words.

श्री विभूति मिश्र : अध्यक्ष महोदय, विरोधी दल वालों की तरफ से इतने सारे चार्जज लगाये गये और मंत्री जी उन्हें धैर्यपूर्वक सुनते रहे। उन की तादाद बहुत ही कम है। और उस के विपरीत हमारी बहुत बड़ी तादाद है लेकिन तो भी हम लोग धैर्यपूर्वक उन की सब बातें और आरोप आदि सुनते रहे और हम ने कोई बाधा नहीं डाली तो अब जब कि मंत्री जी का चांस आया है उन सब को जवाब देने का तो इस तरह से बीच बीच में बाधा पहुंचाना और घबड़ाना उचित नहीं है। अभी श्री मसानी ने जो कोट किया और यह गोली चली आदि सारी बातें यहां पर कही गई तो उन के पास भी उस का कोई सबूत नहीं है। (इंटरप्रांस)

अब यह देखिये कि किस तरीके से वे भाईअधोर हो रहे हैं। जब उन्होंने ने इतने गलत सलत आजज लगाये और जिन का कि उन्होंने ने सबूत पेश नहीं किया तो हमने उन को धैर्यपूर्वक सुना लेकिन अब वह हमारे मंत्री जी की और हमारी बात सुनने से इंकार कर रहे हैं। अध्यक्ष जी, आप का धैर्य असीम है लेकिन

मैं अपोजीशन वालों को साफ साफ कह देना चाहता हूँ कि वे अगर इसी तरीके से गड़बड़ मचायेंगे तो फिर हम भी आखिर इंसान हैं और हम को भी उस का उन्हें माकूल जवाब देने की इजाजत दी जिये और आप देखियेगा कि शांति हो जायेगी (इंटरप्रांस)

एक माननीय सदस्य : चेलैज दे रहे हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : वह तो सारे देश में कर रहे हैं। चलाइये गोली।

श्री बांगड़ी : दफा 144 यहां पर लगाइये।

श्री विभूति मिश्र : आप अब हमारी बात सुनने से क्यों घबड़ा रहे हैं। हम आप लोगों से काफी सीनियर हैं (इंटरप्रांस)

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप के हाथ में सत्ता है तभी आप धमकी दे रहे हैं।

श्री रामसेवक यादव : यहां सीनियर और जूनियर का कोई सवाल नहीं है। यह लोक सभा है।

श्री विभूति मिश्र : मैं यही कहना चाह रहा हूँ कि आप सब लोग अपनी अपनी बातें कह चुके हैं अब मिनिस्टर साहब जब जवाब देने खड़े हुए हैं तो आप उनकी बात धैर्यपूर्वक सुनें और इस तरह से अधीर मत हों।

श्री बांगड़ी : आप क्यों हमें धमकी दे रहे हैं

अध्यक्ष महोदय : घ्रांडर, घ्रांडर। अगर मिनिस्टर साहब को कुछ कहना हो तो वह कह डालें।

Shri Dinen Bhattacharya: His statement is not correct.

Shri Daji (Indore): What is your ruling on the point of order raised by Mr. Masani. We want to know your ruling.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : जब मैं यह देखूँ कि किसी मिनिस्टर को जवाब नहीं देने दिया जाता और उस को इजाजत नहीं मिलती कि वह बोल सके तो मेरा अधिकार है कि मैं हाउस के क्लकट आफ बिजनेस को ठीक से चलाने के लिए जो जरूरी समझूँ उसे करूँ। मेरा उन को कहना है कि अगर आप को बोलने की इजाजत नहीं देते तो वह उसे मेज पर रख दें। उस के रखने से न तो यह साबित हो जाता है कि जो कुछ रक्खा गया है वह सब कुछ ठीक है नहीं इस से यह साबित हो जाता है कि वह इस के जवाब में है। दूसरा सवाल जो श्री कान्तन नायर ने उठाया पहले उस को देखना है कि इस में जो लिखा है वह कोई एतराज के काबिल नहीं सिर्फ यह कहना कि इस को मेज पर रख दो, यह पार्ट आफ प्रोसोडिंग्स नहीं हो जाता। उस को मैं देखूँगा। अगर उस को एतराज के काबिल समझूँगा तो उस को निकाल दूँगा। अब जब उन को अपनी बाकी स्पीच को खत्म नहीं करने दिया जाता है तो मेरे लिए और कोई चारा नहीं रह जाता कि मैं उन को कह दूँ कि वह उसे हाउस की टेबुल पर रख दें। (इंटरप्शंस)

श्री मधु सिमये : वह बयान वापिस ले लें।

Mr. Speaker: These are only two alternatives. Either I should adjourn the House. . . .

Shri Ram Sevak Yadav: Yes.

Mr. Speaker: No, I am not going to adjourn it.

मिनिस्टर साहब को अगर कुछ अभी कहना हो तो वह कह लें।

श्री रामसेवक यादव : मैं सिर्फ एक सफाई आप से मांगता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप बैठ जाइये मुझे सुनने दीजिये। आप अब और रुकावट मत डालिये।

Shri Mohammed Koya: I rise on a point of order.

श्री रामसेवक यादव : अगर यह सदन ठीक से न चले तो क्या आप जबरदस्ती इस को पास करवा देंगे ?

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: We want to be clear. If there is a contested document which you have permitted to be placed on the Table of the House, it means it is public property, it can be published in the papers tomorrow. Without having a look at what the other side has to say which is contesting the authenticity of that statement, you are permitting that particular statement to be put on the Table of the House only on the ground that the House is not willing to listen to the Minister. I do not understand. We are told in season and out of season that food is a national problem and all that sort of thing. This House is interested to find out what exactly has happened in Kerala, how in so far as the food problem is concerned, in so far as the supply of food to the hungry people is concerned what the government is going to do, what the government has done so far and where the government has committed a default. Instead of answering those points, he is bringing counter charges. . . . (Interruptions). Cannot we expect from you, Sir, as the Speaker of this House, to regulate the debate so that the Minister behaves properly and gives the kind of information which the country is hungry and thirsty? We do not want to have a debate in regard to what happened in the demonstration in Kerala, either for or against. That might be given at some other time; Mr. Nanda might bring out another white paper why the other day there was a big demonstration in Kerala. We are not interested in that for the time being. We are interested here and now—that is why you have permitted an adjournment motion—to know what is being done in order to rectify the obvious defects which the government perpetrated in its handling of the food situation. Would you, as the Speaker of

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee.]

this House, regulate the debate so that all kinds of irrelevant information are sent out to the country and no answer is given to what is in the heart of everybody, what everybody wants to ask? We may be carried away by excitement and sometimes say or do things which may not be right. That is a different matter. The basic thing is that the country wants to know why Government went wrong, why the Government failed in this manner in Kerala and what the Government is doing to rehabilitate the situation. He does not tell us anything about it; he tells us all kinds of other things which you are, by allowing this matter to be placed on the Table of the House, permitting to be circulated to the country. That is something which goes against the grain, which goes against the kind of character which we have come to expect from you. That is why I beg of you to reconsider this matter not to have this document which is contested by everybody in this House to be placed on the Table of the House and ask the Minister to continue to reply in a decent and objective manner and talk about food but nothing else.

Shri C. Subramaniam: Shri Vasudevan Nair exhibited some blood-soaked clothes. It is not as if he was present there. He got it from somewhere and exhibited it; it has gone on record and it is going to be published in the newspapers. When I give information of the violence done by the miscreants, then it is objected to.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Appoint a committee of the House to enquire.

Shri C. Subramaniam: If they had not indulged in allegations of this sort there would have no necessity for me to answer them. I have got to answer them however inadequate it may be.

Shri Gauri Shankar Kakkar (Fatehpur): On a point of order.

Mr. Speaker: He may resume his seat. I have exercised the greatest

amount of patience today. I felt that the Members were excited. Naturally they felt agitated and I sympathised with them. There was no wonder because the people had suffered so much and they have our sympathies. Therefore, I allowed certain things.

Shri Ranga: Not an expression of sorrow from the government, Sir.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: You are expressing.

Mr. Speaker: If I am not allowed to say what I have to say....

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj: They will regulate you also.

Mr. Speaker: This is a forum where arguments are to be advanced. It is not necessary that the arguments might be to the liking of everybody. There is also a possibility that sometimes, many a time, arguments, sometimes facts, may be wrong. There are remedies by which they can be corrected. But there is no reason why some Members....

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav: It is impossible in this House to remedy that.

Shri A. V. Raghavan: What happened at the time of the struggle?

Mr. Speaker: That is not relevant here. (*Interruptions*).

This is not the way. I request the hon. party leaders at least just to exercise some kind of control over the Members who are behaving in that manner. I have heard very patiently. I have been listening to everything that has been said. Now, I am asked to regulate the debate. The only thing that I can do is to provide opportunities; nothing beyond that. Whether the facts given by the Government are wrong or right, they are to be ascertained afterwards. How am I to know that the facts that he is giving are wrong? How can I check? (*Interruption*).

श्री बागड़ी : आप एक कमेटी बना दें, जो सब बातें कर ले ।

Shri Ranga: Let him express apology to the House. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Has the Minister anything to say on that?

Shri C. Subramaniam: I would say only a few words more, and that is in regard to this, namely, the supply in Madras and Andhra Pradesh was brought to the fore and it was said that what is being given in Andhra and Madras is not given to Kerala. It is a reasonable demand. (*Interruption*).

Several hon. Members rose—

Shri Daji: At least let him express regret to the House.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. It is not for me to say—(*Interruption*).

Shi Daji: They have made a wrong statement; he himself accepted that the statement was wrong. Having ascertained that the statement was wrong, he must express regret as a matter of courtesy to the House. Having made a wrong statement, courtesy requires that he expresses an apology.

श्री रामसेवक धारव : क्या इन को जर्म नहीं माती है ?

Shri Daji: He must express regret. We would not allow him to proceed otherwise.

The Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shrimati Indira Gandhi): I think this is rather side-tracking the issue. The adjournment motion was allowed by you, Sir, if I remember aright, because of the great concern for the people of Kerala. Now, I do not know whether we are expressing this concern in this kind of excitement. Shri Subramaniam has tried to explain the Government's policy, what the Government has been

doing, and also with regard to the other States, Andhra Pradesh and Madras. It is difficult to speak when there is constant interruption. And it is also difficult for people to understand what is being said when there is constant interruption. I think if we really want anything to come out of this, we have to think of it in a different mood, not this mood of excitement and bitterness. (*Interruption*).

Shri Daji: Does he express regret? That is all we want.

श्री मधु लिमये : अगर वह पहले ही यह कह देतीं, तो अच्छा होता ।

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: We are all very genuinely concerned about the difficulties of the people of Kerala as well as the difficulties of the people in other deficit and scarcity areas. There is no doubt about it. We are trying to do whatever we can; it may not be adequate; there may be very many difficulties. Shri Subramaniam has made an effort to try and explain all these difficulties. I beg of you, Sir, to see that he is allowed to just finish and explain this, and that we do not get side-tracked in other matters. (*Interruption*).

Shri Daji: Ask him to express regret. Why not the Prime Minister advise the Minister to express regret for the false statement given to the House? It is parliamentary courtesy to express regret. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The Minister might say whatever he has got to say.

Shri Daji: We want him to express regret.

श्री हुकम चन्द कच्छबाय : पहले अपनी गुलती स्वीकार करो, तब बोलना प्रारम्भ करो ।

श्री मधु लिमये : खेद प्रकट करो और ग्राहन्दा ऐसा मत करो ।

श्री बागड़ी : जमा मांग लो ।

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The Minister might say whatever he wants to say.

Shri C. Subramaniam: I do not think that by this uproar, we can, as the hon. Prime Minister was pointing out, discuss these things in a dispassionate manner. I would only give this assurance that there is no question of any discrimination against Kerala; that there is no question of any injustice as far as Kerala is concerned. It shall be the duty of this Government and the responsibility of the Government to see that there is common sharing and equitable distribution of foodgrains. That is all I can say. (Interruption).

श्री बागड़ी : जो गत वचन इन्होंने कहे हैं, उनके बारे में क्या कहा है ?

Mr. Speaker: Shri Prakash Vir Bhastrri has to reply.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : अध्यक्ष महोदय, बचपन में मैंने एक छोटी सी कहानी पढ़ी थी। एक बैल के मालिक ने जो उस बैल को चारा नहीं देना चाहता था और काम लेंते रहना चाहता था उसके गले के सामने एक लम्बी सी बांस की डंडी बांध कर उसके प्रागे हरी घास लटका दी। इस तरह से वह उस बल से काम लेंता रहा और बेचारा सीधा सा बैल इसी आशा में काम करता रहा कि अब यह हरी घास भी जाए, अब यह भी जाए ? खाद्य मन्त्री का आश्वासन भी उसी प्रकार का है। इस तरह का आश्वासन आज संसद् में कोई पहली बार उन्होंने नया नहीं दिया है। इससे पहले भी एक दो बार इसी प्रकार के आश्वासन वह दे चुके हैं। आज के आश्वासन में केवल एक भिन्नता है। केरल के राज्यपाल श्री विष्णु सहाय का कहना यह है कि मार्च के अन्त से

हम वहां 160 ग्राम चावल देना आरम्भ कर देंगे जबकि खाद्य मन्त्री ने उसके अन्दर पन्द्रह दिन और कम कर दिए हैं और कहा है कि लगभग 15 मार्च से 160 ग्राम चावल देना आरम्भ कर देंगे। मैं नहीं कह सकता कि यह आश्वासन उनका पन्द्रह मार्च तक पूरा हो पाएगा या नहीं ? क्योंकि जो कठिनाइयां उन्होंने अब तक पिछली परिस्थितियों के सम्बन्ध में बताई हैं, उनके बारे में यह स्पष्ट भाषा में नहीं बताया है कि वे कठिनाइयां प्रागे घाने वाली नहीं हैं। लेकिन केरल के लोगों के लिए उन्होंने एक तारीख मुकर्रर कर दी है कि इस तारीख को वे देखते रहें और उस तारीख तक हमारे आश्वासन की प्रतीक्षा करते रहें।

दूसरी बात खाद्य मन्त्री ने यह कही है कि जो कुछ भी है इसके लिए परिस्थितियां जिम्मेवार हैं। मैं भापके द्वारा इस सरकार और सदन को भी कहना चाहता हूं कि इस बात की जांच की जाए कि केरल में जो यह विषम स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई है इसके लिए परिस्थितियां जिम्मेवार रही हैं या खाद्य मन्त्रालय और खाद्य मन्त्री जिम्मेवार रहें हैं। इस बात की जांच कराई जाए। किसी निष्पक्ष व्यक्तिके द्वारा कराई गई तो मैं अधिकार पूर्वक कह सकता हूं कि इसके अन्दर परिस्थितियों से ज्यादा खाद्य मन्त्रालय और स्वयं खाद्य मन्त्री दोषी साबित होंगे। जिससे देश यह कह सकेगा कि इस प्रकार के खाद्य मन्त्री को गद्दी पर बैठने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है।

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के नेता श्री रंगा ने कहा है कि जिस दिन केरल बन्द हड़ताल हुई उस दिन केरल बन्द हड़ताल के समय जितनी भी बसें थीं जिनके बारे में सरकार प्राकड़े दे चुकी थी वे सारी की सारी अपने डिपू में पहुंचा दी गई थीं। मैंने अपने भाषण में इससे पहले भी कहा था कि बोड़ी देर के लिए अगर यह मान भी लिया जाए कि इस प्रकार की परिस्थितियां किसी न किसी रूप में वहां

वहां पर घटित हुई है तो आप स्वयं जानते हैं कि भखा आदमी किस पाप को करने के लिए मजबूर नहीं होता। बुभुक्षितः किम न करोति पापम्। इसकी जिम्मेदारी तो सरकार की थी जिसने ऐसी परिस्थितियां पैदा कीं। यह जिम्मेवारी भूखे लोगों पर जो अपने पेट पर पट्टी बांधे हुए बैठे थे, नहीं डाली जा सकती है। उनको इस प्रकार के कदम मजबूर होकर उठाने पड़े होंगे।

एक विशेष बात मैं यहां यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि बुभुक्षित से केन्द्रीय सरकार पर मुख्य मन्त्री हावी होते जा रहे हैं। एक बड़ी प्रसन्नता की बात खाद्य क्षेत्रों के बारे में जयपुर कांग्रेस में हुई थी और एक उचित निर्णय लिया गया था। खाद्य मन्त्री ने आश्वासन भी दिया था कि खाद्यान्नों के जोन समाप्त करने का निर्णय हम लेंगे। इससे देश में धाना की लहर दौड़ गई थी। लेकिन 24 घंटे भी इस निर्णय को लिए हुए नहीं हुए थे कि दिल्ली के अन्वर सम्मेलन हुआ और सम्मेलन में यह निर्णय कर दिया गया कि राज्यों के मुख्य मन्त्री विशेष कर दक्षिणी राज्यों के मुख्य मन्त्री इस बात के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं कि दक्षिण के जोन समाप्त किये जायें। दक्षिण के जोन समाप्त करने से जिम्मेदारी केन्द्रीय सरकार पर इसलिए आती है कि उसने दक्षिण का जोन समाप्त करके केरल को अलग किया था। तब आपकी यह जिम्मेवारी थी कि केरल को पूरा अन्न आप पहुंचाते आप केरल को पूरा अन्न नहीं पहुंचा सके हैं। आज केरल की जनता, केरल के राज्यपाल, हिन्दुस्तान की जनता यह कह रही है कि दक्षिण के चार राज्यों का जैसे पहले जोन था उसी प्रकार का जोन कायम किया जाए। लेकिन मुख्य मन्त्रियों के दबाव में खाद्य मन्त्री और केन्द्रीय सरकार निर्णय नहीं ले पा रही है। सक्ता यह है कि इस पार्लियामेंट के ऊपर भी कोई सुपर-पार्लियामेंट बन गई है जो इन तमाम चीजों के बारे में निर्णय लेती है कि

किस आधार पर देश की खाद्य नीति कायम की जाए।

एक अन्तिम बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि केन्द्रीय खाद्य मन्त्री ने वही प्रांकड़ों की जादूगिरी दिखा कर साबित करने की कोशिश की है कि जो समस्या है उसके लिए वह जिम्मेवार नहीं हैं, सरकार जिम्मेवार नहीं है, आसनाम जिम्मेवार है, कुदरत जिम्मेवार है, नदियां जिम्मेवार हैं, नाले जिम्मेवार हैं। मैंने प्रारम्भ में कुछ प्रांकड़ दिये थे। 1951 में इसी सरकार के प्रांकड़े हैं जो यह कहते हैं कि 36-37 करोड़ की आबादी इस देश की थी और खाद्यान्नों का प्रोडक्शन 50 मिलियन टन था। आज जबकि देश की आबादी 46-47 करोड़ के करीब है, आपके प्रांकड़े यह कहते हैं कि खाद्यान्नों का प्रोडक्शन पिछले साल 88.4 मिलियन टन हुआ है। अब आप देखें कि आबादी द्यूझी भी नहीं हुई है और खाद्यान्नों का उत्पादन दुगुने से कुछ ही कम है। तो वह खाद्यान्न कहाँ गया है, यह केरल की भूखा जनता का भी सवाल है और देश का भी सवाल है? इस प्रांकड़ों की जादूगिरी पर जो सारा चित्र खड़ा करने की कोशिश की जाती है तो हमने पता लगता है कि खाद्य समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो पाया। इसके लिए जिम्मेवार सर्वथा सरकार है इस काम में सरकार और खाद्य मन्त्री सर्वथा असफल रहे हैं और मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि जो स्थगन प्रस्ताव मैंने रखा है इसको पास किया जाए और इस पर मतदान कराया जाए।

श्री हुकम चन्द कश्यपः अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक जानकारी लेना चाहता हूँ। जो वक्तव्य मन्त्री महोदय ने टेबल पर रखा है, उसको रखने की क्या आपने अनुमति दे दी है, क्या उसको देख लिया है?

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the House do now adjourn."

Those in favour may say "Aye".

Some hon. Members: "Aye".

Mr. Speaker: Those against may say "No".

Several hon. Members: No.

Mr. Speaker: I think the "Noes" have it.

Some hon. Members: The "Ayes" have it.

Mr. Speaker: Let the lobbies be cleared. (Interruption). There can be no point of order when the lobbies are being cleared.

The lobbies have been cleared. I shall now put the motion to the vote of the House.

श्री मधु लिमये : मेरा निवेदन यह है कि आपने जब यह फरमाया कि "लाबीज साफ की जायें" तो उसका उद्देश्य यह है कि कोई गैर सदस्य या पराया व्यक्ति सदन में या लाबी में न रहे। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि संविधान की 88वीं धारा को आप पढ़ लें और इसके साथ-साथ 74वीं और 75वीं धारा को भी। एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न तो यह है कि इस सदन में कोई भी जो गैर सदस्य है वह मतदान के समय नहीं बैठ सकता है। 88वीं धारा में कहा गया है कि जो गैर सदस्य हैं, राज्य सभा का मन्त्री हो या एटर्नी जनरल हो वह इस सदन की कार्रवाई में हिस्सा तो ले सकता है या भाषण दे सकता है लेकिन जब कार्रवाई केवल मतदान की हो तो मतदान के समय वह हिस्सा नहीं ले सकता है। इस वक्त और कोई कार्रवाई सदन के सामने नहीं है और न बाद में कोई होने जा रही है। इसलिए मेरा आक्षेप है कि प्रधान मंत्री यहां इस वक्त नहीं बैठ सकती।

दूसरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न सरकार की संवैधानिक और कानूनी जो स्थिति है उसके बारे में है। संविधान की धारा 74 में कहा गया है कि प्रधान मन्त्री मन्त्रिमण्डल का प्रमुख होगा . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वह इस वक्त नहीं आता।

श्री मधु लिमये : आता है। हां, अगर आप मेरी बात नहीं मानते तो बात दूसरी है। धारा 75 में कहा गया है कि "मन्त्रिमण्डल सामुदायिक रूप से जिम्मेदार रहेगा इस सदन के प्रति।" एक बात मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि चालीस सालों से इंग्लैण्ड में यह परम्परा रही है कि जो छोटा सदन है अर्थात् हाउस आफ कामन्स जो जनता के द्वारा चुना जाता है, उसी का सदस्य प्रधान मन्त्री बन सकता है। कर्जन और वाल्डविन का मामला आप जानते हैं। सन् 1940 में जब चैम्बरलेन ने इस्तीफा दिया तो वह चाहते थे कि हैलिफैक्स प्रधान मन्त्री बनें। लेकिन हैलिफैक्स ने कहा कि चूँकि मैं हाउस आफ लार्ड्स का सदस्य हूँ इसलिये मैं नहीं बन सकता। तब चर्चिल को प्रधान मन्त्री बनाया गया। अलेक डगलस ह्यम जब आये तब उन को भी हाउस आफ लार्ड्स से इस्तीफा देकर साधारण व्यक्ति बनना पड़ा। उसके बाद ही वह प्रधान मन्त्री बने।

मेरा निवेदन है कि इस कारण से इस सरकार का कोई कानूनी या संवैधानिक अस्तित्व नहीं है जो जब तक कि इस सदन का सदस्य प्रधान मन्त्री नहीं बनता। इन्दिरा जी बन सकती हैं। उनसे मुझे कोई व्यक्तिगत दुश्मनी नहीं है, लेकिन इस सदन की सदस्य बन कर वह आये और प्रधान मन्त्री बनें। यह इसलिये व्यवस्था का प्रश्न बन जाता है कि इस सरकार का कानूनी और संवैधानिक अस्तित्व तब तक नहीं हो सकता जब तक कि इस सदन का सदस्य प्रधान मन्त्री नहीं बनता है।

दूसरी बात धारा 88 के अन्तर्गत है। जब कार्रवाई केवल मतदान की है, और कोई कार्रवाई इस वक्त नहीं है और न आगे होने वाली है आज के दिन, तब इस समय जो व्यक्ति इस सदन के सदस्य नहीं हैं वह न मतदान की कार्र-

बाई में हिस्सा ले सकते हैं और न इस सदन में बैठ सकते हैं ।

Some hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I do not require any other discussion on it.

माननीय सदस्य ने जो धारा 74 और 75 की बात कही है वह यहाँ लागू नहीं होती । और वह मिसाल लेते हैं इंग्लैंड की । इंग्लैंड में जो मिनिस्टर जिस हाउस का मेम्बर होता है उसी में भाग ले सकता है, दूसरे में नहीं । लेकिन यहाँ वह चीज इस वक्त लागू नहीं होती । उन्होंने धारा 75 को पढ़ा . . .

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं ने मतदान की बात कही . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मतदान की बात प्रलग लेंगे । प्राटिकल 75 में है :

"The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister".

Division No. 1]

Azares, Shri
Asey, Dr. M.S.
Bade, Shri
Bagri, Shri
Banerjee, Shri S.M.
Bhattacharys, Shri Dinen
Bheel, Shri P.H.
Buta Singh, Shri
Chakravarty, Shrimati Renu
Chaudhuri, Shri Tridib Kumar
Daji, Shri
Deo, Shri P.K.
Gulshan, Shri
Gupta, Shri Indrajit
Himmatsinhji, Shri
Kachhaviya, Shri Hukam Chand

Aobuthan, Shri
Akkamma Devi, Shrimati
Alagesan, Shri
Alva, Shri A.S.
Alva, Shri Joachim

AYES

Kakkar, Shri Gauri Shanker
Kandappan, Shri S.
Kapur Singh Shri
Koya, Shri Mohammed
Kumaran, Shri M.K.
Limaye, Shri Madhu
Masani, Shri M.R.
Maurya, Shri
Mitra, Dr. U.
Muhammad Ismail, Shri
Mukerjee, Shri H.N.
Nair, Shri N. Sreekantan
Nair, Shri Vasudevan
Pattnayak, Shri Kishen
Pottakkatt, Shri
Raghavan, Shri A.V.

Ankireedu, Shri
Arunachalam, Shri
Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha
Bajaj, Shri Kamalnayan
Balakrishnan, Shri

NOES

Ranga, Shri
Reddi, Shri R.N.
Reddy, Shri Eswara
Reddy, Shri Narasimha
Reddy, Shri Yallamanda
Sen, Dr. Ranen
Shastri, Shri Prakash Vir
Singh, Shri J.B.
Singh, Shri Y.D.
Swamy, Shri Sivamurthi
Trivedi, Shri U.M.
Vishram Prasad, Shri
Warior, Shri
Yadav, Shri Ram Sewak
Yashpal Singh, Shri

Barna, Shri R.
Basumatari, Shri
Bhagat, Shri B.R.
Bhagavat, Shri

इस में कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं है जो कि कानून के मुताबिक न हो । जो कुछ किया गया है वह ठीक है । बाकी रही बात प्राटिकल 88 की जिस में मतदान की बात कही गई है । प्राटिकल 88 में बिल्कुल साफ है कि जो मिनिस्टर हाउस का मेम्बर नहीं है वह बहस में भी हिस्सा ले सकता है और बोल भी सकता है । सिर्फ अपना मत नहीं दे सकता । कारंबाई प्रब भी जारी है । अगर फैसला हुआ कि यह मोशन नामंजूर कर दिया गया तो उस के बाद भी कारंबाई होनी है, जिस से उन को हक है कि जो लोग राज्य सभा के मेम्बर हैं वह बराबर यहाँ मौजूद रहें, लेकिन वह मत नहीं दे सकेंगे ।

श्री बागड़ी : अगर उन्होंने मत दे दिया तब आप क्या करेंगे ?

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the House do now adjourn".

Lok Sabha Divided:

[8.55 hrs.]

Bhanja Deo, Shri L.N.
 Bhanu Prakash Singh, Shri
 Bhargava, Shri M.B.
 Borooah, Shri P.C.
 Brajeshwar Prasad, Shri
 Chandrabhan Singh, Shri
 Chandriki, Shri
 Chaudhry, Shri Chandramani Lal
 Chavan, Shri Y.B.
 Chavda, Shrimati Joraben
 Chuni Lal, Shri
 Das, Shri B.K.
 Dass, Shri C.
 Deo Bhanj, Shri P.C.
 Dighe, Shri
 Dorai, Shri Kasinatha
 Dubey, Shri R.G.
 Dwivedi, Shri M.L.
 Ghosh, Shri Atulya
 Guha, Shri A.C.
 Hazsda, Shri Subodh
 Hem Raj, Shri
 Jaqivan Ram, Shri
 Jamunadevi, Shrimati
 Jedhe, Shri
 Jena, Shri
 Jyotishi, Shri J.P.
 Kamble, Shri
 Kappen, Shri
 Karuthiruman, Shri
 Kedaria, Shri C.M.
 Khan, Dr. P.N.
 Kisan Veer, Shri
 Kotoki, Shri Liladhar
 Krishna, Shri M.R.
 Lakshminathamma, Shrimati
 Laskar, Shri N.R.
 Laxmi Bai, Shrimati
 Mahadeo Prasad, Shri
 Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.
 Majithia, Shri
 Malaichami, Shri
 Malaviya, Shri K.D.
 Mali Mariyappa, Shri
 Manan, Shri

Mandal, Dr. P.
 Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad
 Maniyangadan, Shri
 Masuriya Din, Shri
 Mathur, Shri Hariish Chandra
 Mathur, Shri Shiv Charan
 Mehrotra, Shri Braj Bihari
 Menon, Shri Govinda
 Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali
 Mishra, Shri Bibhuti
 Misra, Shri Sham Dhar
 Mohanty, Shri Gokulamanda
 Morarka, Shri
 More, Shri K. L.
 Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda
 Muthiah, Shri
 Naik, Shri D.J.
 Nanda, Shri
 Naskar, Shri P. S.
 Nayar, Dr. Sushila
 Puliwal, Shri
 Pandey, Shri R.S.
 Paudit, Shrimati Vijay Lakshmi
 Panna Lal, Shri
 Pant, Shri K. C.
 Patel, Shri Chhotubhai
 Patel, Shri N.N.
 Patel, Shri Rajeshwar
 Patil, Shri V.T.
 Pattabhi Raman, Shri C.R.
 Prabhakar, Shri Naval
 Pratap Singh, Shri
 Rai Shrimati Sahodra Bai
 Raju, Shri D.B.
 Ram Sewak, Shri
 Ramkrishnan, Shri P.R.
 Rane, Shri
 Ranga Rao, Shri
 Rao, Shri Jagannatha
 Rao, Shri Krishnamoorthy
 Rao, Shri Muthyal
 Rao, Shri Rajagopala
 Rao, Shri Ramapathi
 Rao, Shri Thirumala
 Raut, Shri Bhola

Ray, Shrimati Renuka
 Reddiar, Shri
 Reddy, Shri Linge
 Reddy, Shri Sueder
 Reddy, Shrimati Yashoda
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath
 Sadhu Ram, Shri
 Saha, Dr. S. K.
 Sabu, Shri Rameshwar
 Samanta, Shri S.C.
 Sanji Rupji, Shri
 Satyabhama Devi, Shrimati
 Sen, Shri P.G.
 Shah, Shrimati Jayaben
 Sharma, Shri A.P.
 Shastri, Shri Ramanand
 Shree Narayan Das, Shri
 Siddananjappa, Shri
 Siddiah, Shri
 Singh, Shri D.N.
 Singha, Shri G.K.
 Sinha, Shri Satya Naryan
 Snatah, Shri Naradco
 Sonavane, Shri
 Soundaram Ramachandran,
 Shrimati
 Subaramar., Shri
 Subramaniam, Shri C.
 Subramanyam, Shri T.
 Sumat Prasad, Shri
 Swamy, Shri M.P.
 Swaran Singh, Shri
 Thengol, Shri Nallakoya
 Thomas, Shri A.M.
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.
 Tiwary, Shri K.N.
 Tiwary, Shri R.S.
 Tripathi, Shri Krishna Deo
 Uikey, Shri
 Upadhavaya, Shri Shiva Dutt
 Varma, Shri Ravindra
 Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.
 Vidyalankar, Shri A.N.
 Wasnik, Shri Balkrishna
 Yadav, Shri N.P.
 Yadava, Shri B.P.

The Minister of Finance (Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri): I think there is some defect in the machine. My vote has not been recorded.

Mr. Speaker: It would be recorded. The result of the division, as indicated by the machine, is: Ayes 47, Noes 149. The motion is lost.

The motion was negatived.

18.54 hrs

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

FORTY-THIRD REPORT

Shri Shree Narayan Das (Darbhanga): Sir, I beg to present the Forty-third Report of the Business Advisory Committee.