

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

That at the end of the Resolution the following be added namely:—

“subject to the modification that—

(1) in sub-rule (2) of rule 10, (i) omit '(i)' occurring for the first time;

(ii) omit sub-clause (ii)

(2) in sub-rule (3) of rule 10, omit 'sub-clause (i) of.'”

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

That at the end of the Resolution the following be added, namely:

“subject to the modification that in rule 10—

after sub-rule (3), insert:

“(3A) In addition to the amount of compensation referred to in sub-rules (2) and (3), there shall in every case be paid a sum determined with reference to the reduction in the term of the lease and any modification in the amount of royalty. The amount of compensation payable in these respects shall be determined by the Controller through negotiation with the parties.”

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Now I will put the Resolution as amended:

The question is:

“This House approves the draft Mining Leases (Modification of Terms) Rules, 1956, framed under sub-section (1) of Section 7 of the Mines and Minerals (Regulation and Development) Act, 1948 and laid on the Table of the House on the 22nd August

1956, subject to the modification that in sub-rule (6) of rule 6— after ‘Mineral concession Rules’ the following be inserted:

‘including the term for which the lease would have been renewed under these rules.’”

*The motion was adopted.*

#### RESOLUTION RE . PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION RE TRAVANCORE-COCHIN

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Pandit G. B. Pant):** I beg to move:

“That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 23rd March, 1956, under Article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Travancore-Cochin and approved by the resolutions passed by Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha on the 29th March, 1956, and the 24th April, 1956, respectively.”

The resolution that I have moved is a simple and plain one. It does not really call for any elaborate speech. I shall just make a few remarks. As the resolution points out, the Proclamation regarding taking over the administration of the Travancore-Cochin State in his own hands was issued by the President on March 23, 1956. It was approved by this House a week later, on March 29, and by the Rajya Sabha on April 24. In the ordinary course, this Proclamation would remain in force till October 24. But we have considered it advisable to place this matter again before the House, so that there may be no interval between the termination of the period of the existing Proclamation and the launching of the new Kerala State on November 1. On the 1st, we may have perhaps to take some similar step again.

But so far as this inevitable step, this Proclamation or the present resolution for the extension of the period is concerned, there can be, I hope, no two opinions in this House.

It is an inevitable and inescapable step. The general elections will be taking place early next year. The new Kerala State will come into existence, I hope, on November 1. In the circumstances, it is neither feasible nor desirable to make arrangements for an election during the interval between October 24 and the next date that may be fixed for general elections.

So, if the elections in Kerala are to synchronise with the elections for Parliament, it is necessary that the period of the existing Proclamation should be extended. I think all will agree that it is desirable that the elections to the local legislature as well as to Parliament should be held simultaneously. As hon. Members are aware, we have had already to face one intervening election since the last general elections in Kerala. So, the people of Kerala have already undergone the labour, worry and expense associated with a general election in their own State, within the last four years, more than once. In the circumstances, it is necessary to extend the period of the Proclamation. We cannot hold a fresh election till the electoral rolls have been finalised, Malabar has been merged in Kerala, and other arrangements that are inevitably associated with the reorganisation of States have been finalised. So, this resolution has been placed before the House.

On the taking over of the administration of the State, the President appointed an Administrator. The report of the Administrator was I think, circulated yesterday or the day before. Hon. Members must have seen the record of the work that he has done during the short period that he has been in charge of the administration. The House would perhaps like to express its appreciation of the good work that he has been able to do since he took over charge of the administration of Travancore-Cochin.

Besides reorganising the administrative machinery and introducing the element of recruitment by the direct

method, he has also introduced a number of other reforms in administration. I will not refer to them, as they are indicated in the report, to which I referred just a minute ago.

Apart from that, he has made efforts to provide employment for the educated and also for the uneducated in Travancore-Cochin State. In fact, he was specially charged at the time he was deputed for this task to see that special attention was given to the problem of unemployment in Travancore-Cochin State. The State has the highest average of literates in its borders and it has also other difficulties. The density of population is very high and the number of unemployed is also perhaps relatively higher than in other States. So this problem is of urgent importance, and it was suggested to him that he should pay special attention to it.

As hon. Members may have noticed, he has devised a scheme for employment of a large number, perhaps 3,000, of matriculates and various works have been started which will tend to combat unemployment and to relieve it at least to some extent.

The Administrator has also taken up building schemes on a large scale. A number of buildings are being constructed for official purposes and also for the residence of officers. At present, the State is paying, I understand, more than Rs. 3 lakhs by way of rent every year. It will, after these buildings have been constructed, be relieved of this recurring liability and the money, having been provided at least to the extent of Rs. 40 lakhs out of the funds that have been earmarked for this purpose by Parliament, can be easily applied to this wholesome activity.

The Administrator has also devoted his attention to other projects of a national and beneficial character. A number of industrial colonies are to be started with the promises of certain industrialists to start new industries. Colonisation schemes have also been framed and provisions has also been made for new houses for the poor people. There is some provision

[Pandit G. B. Pant]  
also for the relief of landless labourers.

Besides these, five Bills, I think, have been approved for land reform and other allied purposes. These are urgent needs which have to be met without delay. Besides these, a number of extension blocks are going to be set up....

**Shri A. M. Thomas** (Ernakulam): These Bills were approved more than a month ago. Why is there so much delay?

**Pandit G. B. Pant:** They will, I think, come into force soon. There has not been much delay. A month in Parliament does appear to be long, but considering the speed in which the administrative machine ordinarily moves, it is not so shocking. I do not think it is just a month yet.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** We met on the 24th of July, last.

**Pandit G. B. Pant:** I will see that they are enforced without delay.

Then, basic agricultural schools have also been started, post-graduate classes have been opened and various other steps have been taken. I need not refer to them in detail; they are mentioned in the pamphlet that was circulated to hon. Members yesterday. I hope the Administrator will have assistance of all hon. Members and the leaders and public men in Travancore-Cochin so that he may be able to leave the State in a better condition when he hands over charge to the new, elected ministerial set-up in the new State of Kerala after a few months.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Resolution moved:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 23rd March, 1956, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Travancore-Cochin and approved by the resolutions passed by Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha on the 29th March, 1956, and the 24th April, 1956, respectively."

There are two amendments tabled to this Resolution by Shri Velayudhan. I am afraid both are out of order. I would like to know how he thinks them to be in order.

**Shri Velayudhan** (Quilon cum Mavelikkara-Reserved-Sch. Castes): How are they out of order?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will tell him if he wants. I will take the second first. It says:

"add at the end—'but is constrained to disapprove of the manner in which the President's rule has been carried on in the State'."

This amounts to placing our approval, and simultaneously disapproval, of the Resolution. Both would be contradictory. So far as the President's rule which has been carried on is concerned, according to the amendment, Parliament disapproves of that, and then gives approval for another six months. What is this except a contradiction in terms?

**Shri Velayudhan:** May I clarify?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Let me finish. As regards the first amendment. It says:

"and at the end—'but recommends to the President that the Proclamation issued by him on the 23rd March, 1956, be revoked before the date of the formation of the Kerala State'."

We have accorded approval to the President's Proclamation. That would be for six months. We can say that that would expire about the 23rd or 24th October 1956. Under article 356, every approval by Parliament would extend that Proclamation by six months. There is no provision to cut it short. If it is for the President, whenever he is advised to do so, to revoke it. That would be a different thing altogether. If approval is given by Parliament, it cannot be conditional, that it should not extend for six months. May I know how the hon. Member thinks that it is in order?

**Shri Velayudhan:** As regards the second amendment which I have tabled, I would submit to you that it is not in any way a contradiction. What I have mentioned very clearly is this: to disapprove of the manner in which the President's rule has been carried on in the State. I did not mention about the President's rule as such, but I only referred to the manner in which that rule has been carried on in the State. I was very careful when I drafted this amendment to make it clear because I knew that by some way or other it might be declared as not in order. I never wanted to mention that it should be disapproval of the President's rule for fear that the amendment would be axed by the hon. Chair itself. So I made it clear that the disapproval relates to the manner in which the administration is carried on. Therefore, I think it is perfectly in order to accept this amendment.

With regard to the first amendment, it says: "but recommends to the President...". It is only a recommendation by the Parliament as regards the Proclamation. It is not a negation of the Presidential order.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Under what article can this recommendation be made? Under article 356, the approval runs for six months.

**Shri Punnoose (Alleppey):** Is it your point of view, Sir, that this House cannot approve of the President's rule for another 3 months or 4 months if it so chooses? Is it your point of view that it can give its approval only for six months and nothing less?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Under article 356, as I have read it, we can only give an approval and that approval is for 6 months.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Unless terminated earlier.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That revocation is a different thing. But the approval is for six months. That is what the Constitution lays down.

Even after hearing the hon. Member I am of the same view.

**Shri Velayudhan:** About the second amendment, Sir?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member has mentioned his view. I am now giving my view. I am of the same view as before. The hon. Member wants disapproval of the manner in which the President's rule has been carried on so far and approval of the proclamation for another six months. I am afraid this would be a contradiction so far as I can make it out. This is not the time to consider how it had been carried on. We can certainly make speeches and criticise the manner in which it has been carried on but that would be to negative the resolution that is before us. We can negative it. But we cannot disapprove the manner in which it has been carried on so far and, at the same time, give approval for another six months.

**Shri Velayudhan** rose—

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have heard the hon. Member and he should hear me now.

So far as the first amendment is concerned, that also is out of order because every approval under article 356 would be for six months. If revocation has to be made earlier that would be a different matter altogether. We cannot combine the two and say that this extension that we are giving today would be from the 24th October, 1956 to 1st November, 1956; that is, for seven days. That is not in conformity with the article of the Constitution. Both these amendments are out of order.

Now, we will take up the Resolution.

**Shri Punnoose:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this motion. The hon. Home Minister said that it is a very simple and almost a non-controversial matter and hoped that no big controversy will arise over it. But it is neither simple nor easy to be approved of by this House. You

[Shri Punnoose]

were good enough to say that we cannot extend the President's rule for any term less than 6 months as the article stands. I oppose this motion on two grounds.

I believe the Government of India had not given the proper advice to the President when he ordered that the State Legislature should be dissolved. Under the Constitution two courses were possible. One was the suspension of the Constitution and another was the dissolution of the House and taking up responsibilities. There may be difference of opinion with regard to the need for the suspension of the Constitution. It was true that the Congress Party in power in that State at that time could not continue because there were defections from their side, and, naturally, they had to resign.

Shri A. M. Thomas rose—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I want to say one thing and it is, perhaps, the same thing which is in the mind of the hon. Member. Once we have given the approval to the original proclamation, it is at least decided that it was justified and the Parliament put its seal on that. We can certainly discuss how the President's rule or the administration has been carried on and bring out reasons for not extending it or giving further approval. This we can discuss but not the justification for the original proclamation. On that the Parliament has already put its seal of approval.

Shri Punnoose: I want to submit before the House which gave the approval that we should not give extension. I want to place my case giving some of the background.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That background should be, so far as I can make it out, on the ground that it has not worked well or that there is no need for it just at present. But, we cannot discuss it just from the very beginning that there was no justification and it ought not to have been imposed at that time. That we should

not take up because the Parliament has already given its decision which the hon. Member should accept and proceed further.

Shri Velayudhan: Even if Parliament has given its seal of approval to that particular resolution in the earlier stages, can we, who opposed it even at that stage, not express our view about that particular resolution? Can we not refer to that at least as background?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I do not think so unless there is any resolution for annulling that decision as being wrong. We have accepted it for a particular period and that period is still going on. After that the grounds should be whether an extension should be given or not.

Shri Punnoose: My only submission is that if the decision to dissolve the House was not taken at that time, there would have been no necessity for the hon. Home Minister to come forward with this motion at this juncture. At the time the question of the reorganisation of the States was being actively pursued here, everybody knew that by October or November the new Kerala State will be coming into being. At that time the Government should not have taken any step that would bind the hands of this House from giving a democratic set-up to the new Kerala State. I am asking the House to take immediate steps to see that the people of the new Kerala State get the advantages of a democratic set-up.

Shri Matthen (Thiruvellah): The present rule is democratic.

Shri Punnoose: People who have acclimatised themselves to bureaucracy and bureaucratic set-up may feel so....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There can be an honest difference of opinion.

Shri Punnoose: I never questioned the honesty of the hon. Member. There are honest bureaucrats and

honest supporters of bureaucrats. I also honestly differ from them.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I gave the credit of honesty to both sides. (Interruption).

**Shri Punnoose:** In October or by the beginning of November, the new Kerala State is going to be formed. What will happen at that time. The members of the Madras Assembly elected from Malabar will cease to be members of that Assembly and the Malabar part of Kerala and Travancore-Cochin will together form Kerala. When the question of the Andhra election was discussed in Rajya Sabha it was urged by some hon. Members that there should be a general election immediately after the formation of Andhra Pradesh. But the hon. Home Minister replied that that could not be done because the elections in the Andhra State were conducted only two years back. Therefore he said it would be unjust to ask those members to face the electorate immediately. I think the same argument should apply to the members elected to the Madras Legislature from Malabar. They are immediately asked for no fault of theirs to forego their seats and to stand for election along with others.

1 P.M.

The whole thing would have been avoided if Government had taken certain steps at this juncture. Parliament has got the power to make certain arrangements with regard to the legislature of a State when a new State is formed, and the Constitution provides for it. Kerala State is a new State. When that State is being formed, it is open to this House to make certain provisions for carrying on the legislative functions there. If only the Government of India had taken steps—it is open to them to take those steps even now—so that an interim Assembly is formed, which will include the members of the Travancore-Cochin Assembly and also the members who have ceased to be members of the Madras Legislature, if provision is made for them to func-

tion as an interim Assembly till the general elections take place, this Administrator's rule can be terminated and the extension of the President's rule need not be there. You will agree that the President's rule should be avoided if there is any possibility of doing it, and the Government of India should be anxious to avoid this. I would expect that the Central Government, being an exclusive Congress Government, should be prudent enough to put on an appearance of anxiety in giving democracy to States where the people do not accept that Party. But that would have been possible if the Government of India had, as I said, accepted the idea of an interim legislature. In the legislature the question will be asked—nobody can say that it is a constitutional impossibility, because in the States Reorganisation Bill we have taken several steps which would have been considered constitutional impossibility before that time, but when the new States are formed, we can take such steps—whether it is for safeguarding the interests of the people and of democracy. If such an interim Assembly comes into existence, it will have 137 members, in which 36 or 37—Shri Thomas will be able to say this—will be members belonging to the Congress Party. I do not say that the other parties will immediately join and take up responsibility. I am not anxious even to keep the Congress out of power by forging some sort of unity amongst all sorts of opposition parties. The point is that the Government of India should have made it clear that they are giving ample chances to the other parties and to the Congress Party if it so chooses, to come into power in coalition with other parties in the Legislature.

Here by the extension of the President's rule, the new State of Kerala is going to be ruled by an Administrator for another six months. Apart from the question of democracy, this is a very important question with regard to the interests of Kerala. In this formative period, there are questions in which every section of the

[Shri Punnoose]

people is interested. There is the question of bifurcation between Madras and Kerala, the question of assets and liabilities comes in, the question of the integration of services comes in, and various other questions which are going to be of lasting importance or of a permanent nature have to be settled here and now. I do not question the motives of those officers who handle the problems now. I am an incorrigible democrat and I do not believe that these officers can handle the problem in a way satisfactory to the interests of the people of Kerala.

Therefore, in my humble opinion, the Government of India should have tried ways and means by which a popular government would have come into existence in that State. They might say, as the hon. Home Minister told on a previous occasion, that at least in the next election the people of Kerala will be prudent enough and wise enough to have a majority party, a party commanding a decisive majority in the State. I submit that this is not a question to be viewed in that manner. A party commands a majority in a representative House, not by an accident. There was a majority party in Travancore-Cochin also. The Congress Party had a big majority of about 90 per cent., but it gradually declined. So, it is not by accident that there is no majority party now as such in Kerala at present; it is due to a certain change in the wishes and aspirations of the people, their views on politics and on every other subject. These are so divided there today that there has been no majority. That has been the case for the last five years or so. We had not only two general elections after 1952, but we had also the municipal elections and the panchayat elections. In all these elections we found that not one party had a decisive majority. This is not an accident. It is because the people are divided not in a casual way but deliberately, and they differ from each other in their views. That is why

various parties have come into being. In that context it would be extremely wrong to impose the President's rule there, because there are stains in that rule. Because one party has not got a decisive majority in a State, democratic machinery is not to be thrown overboard. It is the duty of statesmanship and the duty of patriotism to find out ways and means of evolving a method by which democracy can be worked in a State where one party does not command the majority. If this is the stand by which the Government of India continues to measure the States, then for a long time Kerala State may not have a democratic government, and it is quite possible that in a democratic community like the Indian society, this little story will be increasingly repeated in other States also. Therefore, it is up to this House to find out ways and means by which we can have a democratic set-up in Kerala State. I do not say that if the interim Assembly, as I have suggested, is formed, there will immediately be a stable government. But if that is tried, it is not open even for me to stand up and complain that steps have not been taken to facilitate the establishment of a popular government for Kerala.

It is for this reason that I mainly oppose this motion. Suggestions were made from this side both in this House and the other House but no steps have been taken. It would appear that the Government of India is of the view that wherever democracy does not suit the Congress Party, it is not worth striving for. In Andhra, they will not have any election even though the members there will sit for more than five years, because, unfortunately or fortunately, they are in a majority and so, they do not want an immediate election at the termination of five years. But, in Travancore-Cochin, even without exploring the possibilities or without giving some time for the opposition parties to find out whether they could form a Government, not only was the

Constitution suspended but with undue haste, the assembly itself was dissolved. Skies would not have fallen if the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly was not dissolved. I do not think that these were merely accidental; they were part of a deliberate policy followed by the Congress Party. They did the same thing in PEPSU; they did it in Andhra and they persist in doing the same thing in Travancore-Cochin.

It is not insignificant that the Kerala State starts with an undemocratic set-up. Every body knows that the Kerala State is coming into existence without creating much of the joy on this side. The Congress Party spoke loudly about linguistic States for a long time. Of late, however, the views have changed. It has now been declared openly by the Prime Minister that the Congress Party does not stand for linguistic States at all. I am told that he has given his blessings to the formation of what is called Dakshina Prant or Dakshina Bhrant. In our language, Bhrant means madness. The sanskrit meaning also is madness. I am told that he is blessing such madness. There are hon. Members on that side who go about collecting signatures, on each occasion, for merging Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nad and if both of them are not available, for merging Kerala with Andhra State. I believe that there will come some Members with request for signatures to merge Kerala with Uttar Pradesh. I do not know what sort of promiscuity is this. The Congress Party is very much in favour of bi-linguism or multi-linguism now-a-days.

**Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru):** Is it linguism or lingoism?

**Shri Punnoose:** In fact, it is egoism. That sort of thing is going on. The people of Kerala are anxious to have their popular Government. The best way of doing it is to terminate the President's rule immediately and calling an interim assembly and exploring the possibilities of a Government till the general elections take place. I believe that my request will not be

brushed aside in a cavalier fashion. It will go to the credit of the Central Government and also the Congress Party if it so chooses to make such an effort. The Congress Members may get up and say that the President's rule is democratic. I dare say that they will not say it outside in the State of Travancore-Cochin. Such statements made here are not approved by the people.

The Home Minister said that Administrator's regime in Travancore-Cochin has done some benefit to the State and the people. When the Budget of that State was discussed here I remember to have said that, though I differed with the imposition of the Administrator's regime in principle, still, I wished Mr. Rau every success in his effort, because, if he could register any success, ultimately it goes to the benefit of the people. There are certain grave problems there which could not wait for a long time for solution. They have to be tackled, here and now. I was very much interested when the Home Minister said that the State would be benefited. When I look into the records of what had been done in these few months, I do not share that optimism. I am sorry to say that very little could be done by the regime and I may inform the Home Minister that the initial enthusiasm shown by the newspapers and certain politicians in the State for the Administrator's regime is not there. Even the most conservative papers are now criticising the Administrator's regime because it could not achieve anything. I did not expect big things to be done but I thought that at least some small things would be done. Apart from politics and political considerations, I thought that the Administrator's regime would do certain things.

Mention has been made about the modification of the public services, and that Travancore-Cochin is going to be a Part A State very soon and so the administration has to be geared up to the level of Part A State. I would like to get a clarification

[Shri Punnoose]

from the Home Minister about this. What is this gearing up alluded to always? Travancore and Cochin were two separate States before 1947. When there was the integration of these two States, Shri K. G. Menon was appointed Chief Secretary and we were told that he was gearing up the administration and that the Tottenham's system was going to be adopted there as the system then prevalent there was backward. There was a lot of fuss for some time and some officers lost their jobs. There were other complaints but we thought that big things were going to happen and so when some big change was to come, there were to be some difficulties; even in non-violent changes, there are casualties. Therefore, we thought that something would happen. There is a saying in our language: "Sankaran remained on the coconut tree." The same position is there. The administration was still as rotten and as incompetent and as bureaucratic and hostile to the interests of the people as it used to be. There is going to be a discussion here on Dr. Appleby's report. We are told that everything that was practised hitherto has been out-of-date and against the interest of planning and progress. If that is so, then what is this Administrator for? Do not make our State and our people the guinea-pig of your experiments and all these things. Yesterday we were told that so much money was spent and so many changes were brought about. But nothing happened. Here we are told that most modern changes are being brought in but, at the same time, reports have come that the existing system is rotten enough. So, is it all worthwhile doing so. That is why I said we would like to get a clarification from the Home Minister as to what exactly is going to be done.

I believe that a change here or a change there can make no good improvement. There must be changes throughout and those changes must be thought out in such a way that

they would bring the people and the administration together. The changes should translate the people's desires and aspirations immediately into action. Such changes cannot be effected in the present set-up.

What is happening is, the Administrator has brought in some big officers from outside. As I said on a previous occasion, I am not, on principle, against bringing any officers from outside the State whenever they are needed; certainly they must be brought in. But what is being done now is this. There is an Inspector-General of Police about whom you must have heard, Sir, from this House itself on a previous occasion. Now there is a Special Inspector-General. I am told there is a Director of Transport and there is another officer doing part of the transport work and designated as Special Director of Transport. In many departments this sort of thing is being done. I would ask in all humbleness....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member should conclude.

**Shri Punnoose:** I will just now conclude, Sir. If in the opinion of the Government, a particular officer or head of a department is not up to the mark, it is open to them to either transfer that officer from there and put him in another department, or even demote him if he is considered incompetent. I am afraid something is standing in the way of the Administrator in doing so. He says that communal parties and communal factions are there who would raise alarms if a particular officer belonging to a particular community is removed. He says, if a Christian officer is removed the Christians would raise a hue and cry, and if a Hindu officer is removed immediately the Hindus will pick up a fight.

**Shri N. Raghiah (Mysore—Reserved—Sch. Castes):** That is the tradition.

**Shri Punnoose:** But there is one party in that State—Shri A. M. Thomas knows that—who would have

nothing to do with that tradition and who would, I say with full sense of responsibility, support the Administrator if he takes action against the man who really deserves it, no matter whether he is a Christian, Hindu or Muslim. Action must be taken against officers who are guilty of serious charges.

Therefore, I will appeal to the hon. Home Minister to handle matters in such a way so that there may not be any duplication of expenditure. Why should there be two Inspector-Generals of Police? If the Inspector-General who is in charge of the State is not considered good enough, please put him in a place where he is good enough and ask the other man to be in charge of the affairs. Do not spend money like this. This is what you are doing in respect of other departments also. I know what is happening in those departments; it is not a secret. One officer who is in charge of the machinery, if he finds that another officer is being put as a corrective, he can very well manoeuvre the department in such a way that the other man becomes useless and his position becomes very bad.

There was a big promise given by Mr. Rau that corrupt officers will be booked. So many complaints came in and many suggestions were made. Government timber was cut and sold in lots involving crores of rupees. All sorts of documents were produced but the Officer in charge of this anti-corruption work is today perfectly silent because there are forces, official and non-official, including ex-Ministers of the Congress Party who will not allow this gentleman to move. The reason is that if corruption is un-earthed some of our old honourable friends will find themselves in a very dishonourable position.

**Shri Achuthan** (Cranganur): These are all conjectures.

**Shri Punnoose**: I must congratulate Shri Thomas, because he says that these are all conjectures. Leading members of his party, who were Congressmen even before Shri Thomas

ever thought of joining the Congress, who were founder members of the party, have come forward with charges of corruption, bribery and all sorts of things against the Congress Ministers and still Shri Thomas says that these are all conjectures.

**Shri A. M. Thomas**: Which Thomas do you mean?

**Shri Punnoose**: I mean Shri A. M. Thomas.

**Shri A. M. Thomas**: I did not mention anything.

**Shri Punnoose**: I want the Government to take effective steps to investigate these cases and to book the culprits.

Then, Sir, . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker**: Now, no new thing is to be taken up. I am going to conclude if the hon. Member does not. I have asked him three times to conclude his speech.

**Shri Punnoose**: I am sorry, Sir. It was not purposefully done, somehow it happened.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker**: If he is helpless, I can help him.

**Shri Punnoose**: No, Sir; I will try to conclude now.

I am sorry I cannot deal at length about this report, but about one matter I want to say a few words. The Administrator has given a short note on the work of the labour department. It seems to me that Shri Rau has given a message on the Independence Day in which he has advised the workers not to have continuous hoisting of flags, hand-shakes and shouting of slogans. But he does not object to occasional flag hoisting etc. Well, the senior officers of our bureaucracy are yet to learn that in a democratic State they have to put up with flags and slogans, because the very President who has sent Shri Rau there is there as a result of so many flag hoistings, slogans, demonstrations and struggle. He cannot, therefore, resent that very much. But I am perfectly one with him when

[Shri Punnoose]

he says that there should be a great national effort for our national reconstruction. I am prepared to accept his advice and also advise the workers not to strike work and avoid that eventuality as far as possible, if there is earnestness on the other side to negotiate matters.

Sir, at the moment, when this motion is being discussed here, big things are taking place there. The cashew-nut industry with about 50,000 workers is now in a turmoil. The factories are closed and the workers are starving without employment. I would like to know what the Adviser's regime has done about it. In the same way there is the coir industry. In this report they say something about coir co-operatives. The coir industry has two aspects: the work done in villages and the industrial side of it. That side is completely neglected and in spite of various suggestions nothing has been done to put this industry on a sound basis. I have before me the copy of a memorandum signed by about 2½ lakhs of people asking for immediate amelioration of conditions in this industry and for the establishment of new industries in the coastal areas of Ambalapuzha and Chertala. I would like to know what the Administrator's regime is doing towards that.

Then there is the aluminium factory at Alwaye, one of the few aluminium factories we have in India, run by a big Canadian company. That factory was running at a loss for the last two years. This year they have got a big profit of more than Rs. 27 lakhs, but the management insists that they will not give a reasonable bonus to the workers. That is quite natural and that is an everyday event. The management and the workers have a dispute among them very often. But my point is, what have the Administrator and his regime, which always advise the workers not to hoist flags and shout slogans, done to see that the workers get a reasonable bonus?

The Assistant Labour Commissioner in that State called for a conference for some sort of conciliation and he failed. Even the Labour Commissioner did not call a high-level conference. Immediately, the whole dispute was referred to adjudication. When a dispute is referred to adjudication, it means that the workers will have to wait for years to get what they want. But they are not people who can wait for two or three years. They want the remuneration immediately. The result of all this delay is that there is now a strike in the Aluminium Factory. There is trouble in the Jumna Thread Mills. There is total unemployment in the cashew-nut industry. The coir industry is in ruins. So, the continuation of the Administrator's regime, which is not responsible to the people, is vitally harmful to the people. From a long-range point of view also, it is definitely harmful to the interests of Kerala. For people who do not want a united Kerala, for people who equate bureaucracy with democracy, it may not be harmful and they may not suffer. But in an honest democracy, the people will suffer and the honest citizen will suffer if the Administrator's regime is allowed to continue.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** The necessity for the adoption by this House of the resolution moved by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs is obvious. It is not possible to have a democratic set-up at State level in that part of the country to which this resolution refers, in the very near future. If President's rule was inevitable, when the Assembly was dissolved in March last, an extension of the President's rule at this juncture is inescapable.

My hon. friend, Shri Punnoose, when he opposed the resolution, made a point that what the Government ought to have done is to revive the old Assembly so that when the new States come into force, the Kerala State also may have an Assembly. However much I desire a democratic set-up at State level, as far as Kerala

State is concerned, under the present circumstances it is impossible of realisation. Though Shri Punnoose said that he is an incorrigible democrat, how can the notion of democracy agree with the suggestion that my hon. friend has put forward? When the States Reorganisation Bill was discussed on the floor of this House, a suggestion was put forward by Shri V. P. Nayar to the effect that the Members of the Assembly at the time of dissolution along with the members of the Madras Assembly who come from the Malabar District could together form a new Assembly and thus a new Legislature could come into existence. But, under the Constitution, that is not possible. We know that with the dissolution of the Assembly, all the members of the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly have ceased to be members. They are just like ordinary citizens now and some of them have also printed letter-heads with the designation "Ex-M.L.A." My friend Shri Punnoose wants them to continue as M.L.As.

**Shri Punnoose:** No, no. I want an interim Assembly.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Then, another 'Ex' can be put before 'Ex-M.L.A.'

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Under article 170 of the Constitution, it is not possible. If that was possible, I would also have agreed with the suggestion of Shri Punnoose. Article 170 of the Constitution says as follows:

"Subject to the provisions of article 333, the Legislative Assembly of each State shall be composed of members chosen by direct election".

Article 333 provides only for the nomination of Anglo-Indians.

**Shri S. S. More (Sholapur):** But they do not speak of nomination; they speak only of revocation.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** When the Assembly has been dissolved, the members have ceased to be members, and there is no question of revival. The question of revival does not arise.

So, if the Assembly can be constituted only by directly elected members, I fail to see how the suggestion of Shri Punnoose can be accepted. Perhaps he wants to invoke the powers granted under article 4 of the Constitution, which lays down that in reorganisation such provisions as are "supplemental, incidental and consequential" can be made. I do not think that the revival of an Assembly which has been dissolved can come under a provision which is "supplemental, incidental and consequential".

I stated at the outset that the resolution is of a non-controversial nature. But there is considerable scope for discussion of the President's rule for the last five months. We can have a review of the administration and we can also look to the future. To guide the discussion and to help the hon. Members of this House, it is very good that a pamphlet on the President's rule in Travancore-Cochin covering the period from 25th March, 1956 to 31st August, 1956, has been circulated among the Members. Though the report covers the period up to 31st August, 1956, the pamphlet has been distributed early enough, and so, I am glad that the Administrator is very much in advance of the times. It is good that we have been given the benefit of a report like this. I do not know whether the Home Ministry is aware of the fact that we were deprived of such reports when the general budget was discussed and when the various demands for grants were considered. The latest administration report of Travancore-Cochin that has been circulated among the Members is for the year 1953-54! I am sorry to say that without proper and current administration reports in the hands of the Members who are concerned with the State, a useful discussion about the administration is not possible. I would like the Home Ministry to give directions that at least before the new State comes into existence the administration reports of the old State should be made up-to-date and circulated promptly.

[Shri A. M. Thomas]

The importance of administration reports has been emphasised by Mr. Appleby a reference to whose report was made by my hon. friend Shri Punnoose. What Mr. Appleby has said is this:

"Admittedly, the care and zealous interest in what is being done, which characterises Members of Parliament, should be better met spontaneously by the Government through the frequent submission of administration reports. The Parliamentarians, as a primary means of communicating with the public and interpreting to the public what is going on in Government, should be much better informed, apart from the discussions confined to the floor of the House."

I believe that when the next resolution comes to be discussed—the hon. Home Minister just hinted at it and said that it might take place in November—the administration reports would be made current.

I intend to confine my remarks mainly to the points contained in the report that has been circulated among the Members. In the course of the discussion on the supplementary demands the other day, I sought an assurance from the hon. Home Minister as well as from the hon. Finance Minister. Substantial amounts are now sought to be spent on the building schemes, and it has been said in the Explanatory Memorandum that the savings effected out of the other schemes will be utilised for expenditure on the building schemes. It has been said by the Adviser to the Rajpramukh—there was a report in the newspapers also—in his broadcast speech on Independence Day that not a single scheme in the second Five Year Plan will suffer. I wanted an assurance from the Finance Minister whether the Finance Ministry and the Home Ministry endorse that statement of the Adviser. But I am sorry to say that that assurance was not forthcoming. I do not know how the

statement made in the Explanatory Memorandum and the observation of the Adviser can agree. If we find so much amount for these building activities out of the savings, how can the other schemes under the second Five Year Plan be implemented? In the report submitted to us, it has been stated:

"At the same time all the first year schemes of the Second Five Year Plan were examined, plans and estimates prepared and sanctions for their execution issued. Work has now been in progress on most of the schemes."

Although there is this vague statement, I do not think it will stand scrutiny. Under item 81, "Capital Schemes" there are urban water-supply schemes, rural water-supply schemes, drainage schemes etc. and I do not think if those schemes are taken up and implemented, we can have any savings. At least when the Home Minister replies to the debate, I hope an assurance will be forthcoming with regard to this matter. It has been stated in the very front page of this report that it would be the adviser's special endeavour to implement the schemes included in the second Five Year Plan and create employment for some at least of our educated unemployed. He has also stated, "these objectives have been kept steadily in view during the last five months". I want to scrutinise some of the statements contained in the subsequent paragraphs and this broad statement that has been made by the Adviser in this report.

I have already invited the attention of this House that under the head "Capital Schemes" there are drainage schemes, water-supply schemes and other things. This morning, when I went through the Detailed Budget Estimates, I have been able to find that on page 68 under "Drainage Schemes", Rs. 2 lakhs have been provided for the construction of a Drainage Canal from Trippunithura, but I do not think that work has been taken up at all; no preliminary steps

have been taken. There is another scheme, Ernakulam and Mattahcheri Drainage Scheme, for which Rs. 19 lakhs have been provided. I do not know whether the work has started with regard to this thing also. On page 85 of this book on the Detailed Budget Estimates, I find certain other schemes under "Capital Accounts—Water-supply Schemes", namely, Urban Water-Supply Scheme, Extension of Alleppey Water-Supply Scheme, Rural Water-Supply Scheme, Water-Supply to Karunagapally Coastal area, Alwaye Water-Supply Scheme, Parur Water-Supply Scheme, Trippunithura Water-Supply Scheme, Improvements to Nemmara, Ayiloor and Thiruvilwamala Water Works, Drainage Scheme etc. I do not know what is actually going on, but from the information in my possession and from the knowledge that I have got about the State, I do not think these works have been started. There is intrinsic evidence furnished by this report that many of these schemes have not been started at all. At page 25—para 27—of this report, it is said:

"Water-supply schemes.—Work on the major water-supply schemes for Trichur, Kottayam and Quilon, the foundation-stones for which were laid in the previous year, has started. It has been decided to speed up the programme for the completion of these projects from 5 years as originally planned to less than 3 years. Work is now proceeding on this new basis."

It is all right; but, there is not a word mentioned about the schemes I have mentioned just now. If, as a matter of fact, these major schemes have been taken up by the present Government, they would necessarily have been mentioned in this report, because schemes of minor importance are made mention of. This is a serious matter.

With regard to the building programmes, when the supplementary demands came up for discussion, I gave my enthusiastic support to the schemes put forward by the present

T.C. Government. At the same time, I mentioned that no development scheme should suffer on account of that. I find from this report that there are other building schemes which are intended to be taken up. At page 29 it is said:

"For making available additional accommodation for housing of the various offices of the Electricity Department at Trivandrum, which are now distributed in several rented buildings, sanction has been accorded for the construction of a new administrative block costing Rs. 4.59 lakhs and contract for this work has been arranged for and work will be commenced at once."

[SHRIMATI RENU CHAKRAVARTY in the Chair]

I do not understand why top priority should be given to these buildings in Trivandrum. In the new reorganised set-up, we do not know where we are going to locate the capital and have major offices. I do not know why such major building programmes are being contemplated in Trivandrum. From the point of view of electricity schemes also, Trivandrum is not the proper place for locating all these offices. I do not know why out of all places, Trivandrum should be chosen for these major building schemes. We have already started certain building schemes; it is all right. But, additional major building programmes, I again and again plead, should not at all be taken up unless we definitely know what exactly is going to be the position after the reorganisation of the new State.

I now come to a very important aspect. The chapter on industrial expansion was the chapter to which I devoted my attention first after getting this book. But, I am sorry to state that Chapter V on industrial schemes provides, according to me, a very depressing reading. While moving the resolution, the hon. Home Minister referred to the unemployment problem and said that it has

[Shri A. M. Thomas]

been possible for the Adviser to take up several schemes to provide employment for educated as well as uneducated people. He mentioned one scheme in particular. At page 11, it has been stated:

"Pilot schemes for the educated unemployed.—The State Government have formulated a scheme for imparting training to 3000 matriculates as a measure for the solution of the problem of unemployment among the educated."

These schemes, inclusive of this scheme for providing employment to 3000 matriculates, do not touch the fringe of the problem in Travancore-Cochin. When the supplementary demand was discussed, there was a demand for allotting some money for conducting examinations by the Public Service Commission. During a casual talk with the Home Minister I learnt that for the posts of a small number of clerks, there were more than 46,000 applications. When such is the nature of educated unemployment in that State, what is the use of such pilot schemes? I do not say that these schemes should not be adopted, but I would submit in all seriousness that these pilot schemes will not solve the problem there. We must be out to do something big. At the time of the discussion of the budget in last May, every Member who spoke emphasised the fact that what is necessary for Travancore-Cochin is industrialisation and for that the education to be imparted should be reoriented and more of technological education should be imparted. It was even suggested by my friend Shri Iyyunni that some of the art institutions in that State should be scrapped and every Member pleaded for the establishment of technological institutions. In the light of the statement made by Mr. Rao when he set his foot on Travancore-Cochin soil that problem No. 1 would be solution of unemployment in that State, I thought that he would devote his attention to things which

should receive priority such as establishment of technological institutions. There is only one proper technological institute in the State apart from the Engineering College and that is the Rama Varma Institute in Trichur. Every year it is a problem for the selection board to select candidates for the institute as there is a very large number of applicants. I ask the Home Ministry: what is standing in the way of the Adviser taking steps for the establishment of another technological institute of that character? There is provision in the Plan itself and it is there in the budget also which we approved. For the establishment of a central technological institute, the Plan provides Rs. 19 lakhs and the budget for 1956-57 provides Rs. 9.7 lakhs. It was stated that "to provide for higher technological education for post-S.S.L.C. candidates and to assist persons with lower academic qualifications to acquire a knowledge of the subject, it was proposed to start a central technological institute from the second year of the Plan. The construction work etc. will begin from 1956-57." I want to know whether the construction work for this technological institute has started.

I also want to know whether it is not advisable to have such technical institutions established in the various district headquarters of the State. That is one of the possible ways by which we can solve unemployment problem. I do not think that anyone who has come out of that Institute at Trichur is unemployed now. There is real scarcity for candidates of that sort.

While speaking about technological institutions I am reminded of another matter. The University Grants Commission, as early as 1954, has sanctioned a grant of Rs. 9 lakhs for the development of technical education in Travancore-Cochin. That was only a half-yearly grant and the full amount sanctioned was Rs. 18 lakhs. I ask the Government whether they have

spent that Rs. 9 lakhs for providing technical or technological education. It is only after that Rs. 9 lakhs have been spent, the Travancore-Cochin Government can ask the University Grants Commission for the balance of Rs. 9 lakhs. My information is that it has not been possible for the Government or the University to spend this Rs. 9 lakhs. It is a very pitiable state of affairs.

I would submit that if the present regime of Travancore-Cochin had devoted its attention to schemes of this nature for the establishment of another engineering college or the establishment of another medical college, we would have been more enthusiastic to support that regime.

In the Chapter on "Industries" it is stated:

"During the period under review, Government have sanctioned industrial loans amounting to Rs. 1.13 lakhs on the recommendations of the State Aid to Industries Board."

On any standard it would be considered a very small amount. The amount has to be increased substantially.

Under the heading "New Major Industries", it has been stated:

"Schemes for the establishment of an automobile tyre factory and a cycle factory in the private sector in the State are being actively pursued."

That is very good and I personally know that the Adviser evinces interest in seeing that these projects are started in that State.

In paragraph 9, it is stated:

"In order to accelerate industrial development in the State by co-ordinating the activities of the Industries Department, Government have appointed an experienced officer as Special Director of Industries."

When the Production Ministry and the Commerce and Industry Ministry came in for discussion last April, I

stated that it has not been possible for the Travancore-Cochin Government to take advantage of the Central schemes under the Small Scale Industries Development Corporation as well as the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board. I understand that even a regional Khadi Board has not been set up in Travancore-Cochin so much so that it has not been possible for the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board to allot any amount for the implementation of the schemes in that State.

I wish to bring to the kind notice of the hon. Home Minister certain industries, major industries, which can be taken up now and for which, I understand, the State has submitted or is submitting schemes. Now the hon. Home Minister is going to be in charge of Heavy Industries also. So, he is not in a position to say that he has to approach the Commerce and Industry Ministry and the other Ministries for the establishment of heavy industries there; it is within his province. I ask whether the hon. Home Minister, who is in charge of heavy industries also, is prepared to start certain industries there.

**Shri N. Rachiah:** The Home Minister is for the entire country.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** You are also going to lose by inattention to affairs of that State. Without the foot how can the entire body stand? Travancore-Cochin State is the foot of the country and if you don't devote proper attention to that foot, I believe Mr. Rachiah's State also is not going to be saved.

One of the industries which I want to mention is the paper industry. Pulp is necessary both for paper manufacture and for the manufacture of rayon. The raw materials necessary for the manufacture of paper are in abundance in that State. The pulp necessary for rayon manufacture is now being imported, I think, from Norway or Sweden. When the Minister for Heavy Industries, Mr. Shah, visited Travancore-Cochin, he was

[Shri A. M. Thomas]

impressed with the fact that there are possibilities to start such an industry in Travancore-Cochin.

Then there is considerable scope for starting certain big forging factories in that State. At page 394 of the Second Five Year Plan it is stated:

"In other words, heavy engineering industries and workshops in the country have to be generally strengthened for undertaking such tasks as the construction of steel plants, fertilizer factories etc. In this context the creation of certain basic facilities such as the establishment of heavy foundries, forges and structural shops is absolutely necessary. It is, therefore, proposed that the establishment of these facilities, which constitute an essential and primary phase of development for the manufacture of heavy industrial machinery in the country, should be undertaken at an early date."

I plead that some such industries may be started there as there are great potentialities for that in Travancore-Cochin.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member's time is up. There are eight more Members to speak.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** I may be given five more minutes. Discretion has been given to the Speaker to extend the time by one more hour, if necessary for this discussion.

There is considerable scope for big forging factories in Travancore-Cochin. Then there is possibility for starting a coach-building and wagon-building factory for the meter-gauge section. For the broad-gauge section there is one factory at Perambur and another at Bangalore—Hindustan Aircrafts. Situated as Cochin is, it has facilities for starting one factory and I suggest that this question may be taken up.

2 P.M.

I do not know what has happened to the scheme to have established in Travancore-Cochin the Central Government press for the South. I understand that it was being seriously considered; I do not yet know the outcome. I learn that apprehensions have been expressed that because of the labour position in Travancore-Cochin it is a little difficult for starting such a press as well as for the location of certain industries.

In this report it is stated:

"We (the people of Travancore-Cochin) have unfortunately, probably undeservedly, acquired an unenviable reputation in this respect."

The report goes on to say—

".. Government also expect labour leaders to discourage the continual waving of flags, shouting provocative slogans accompanied by vigorous hand shakes, issuing threats to strike and indulging in other unpeaceful forms of labour agitation."

It is really a disturbing feature. I can very well appreciate the Adviser laying particular stress on the necessity of industrial peace in Travancore-Cochin, at least a truce for a period of five years. Mr. Gopalan when he spoke on the Travancore-Cochin Budget last time said that if any industry is going to be started in Travancore-Cochin, he, for that matter his party would be prepared to cooperate, and they were prepared to have industrial peace. But I am sorry to say that this promise has not been kept. Now I understand that there is a deliberate attempt to have strikes and lock-outs throughout the length and breadth of that State. In that atmosphere it is very difficult for *entrepreneurs* to come and start industries there. We have all got the interest of labour at heart. I would plead with Mr. Purnoose and other friends of the Opposition just to see that that request of the Adviser is

heeded to. Let us have industrial peace for at least a period of five years so that industries may come to our State. But I would at the same time say that the Home Minister or the Adviser for that matter cannot say that because there has been waving of flags and shouting of slogans, it may not be possible to have industries there. I ask: is it not a daily experience as far as we are concerned? There is waving of flags and shouting of slogans almost daily in the precincts of Parliament House. Has any hon. Minister, or any responsible person advanced this argument that it is not possible to establish industries in Delhi or for that matter in any other town? I understand that as far as Bombay, Calcutta and Bihar are concerned, it is a usual feature. So, that should not be an excuse for not starting any industries there. The Home Minister has to go all out, at least at the present juncture when he is in charge of heavy industries, to see that some industries are started in Travancore-Cochin.

One more point and I shall finish. One thing which we have to bear in mind is that there are so many small things to be done which would make the Adviser's regime popular. I would ask the Home Ministry to bear that fact in mind. It may not be possible to launch several schemes and also finish them within the short period of time that the Adviser may be in charge of the administration there. But there are several small things which can be easily done. There are several roads which are in a deplorable condition. They require only a few thousands of rupees here and a few thousands there. You cannot take shelter under the fact that there is no provision in the Budget. With regard to certain schemes even if there is provision in the budget, the executive authorities are not prepared to carry them out, on the pretext that the amount that would be necessary would exceed the budget provision. In that contingency we must apply for supplementary demands. In the States Reorganisation Bill

which we have passed we have made a provision to make provisions in the next Budget when this Budget lapses on the 1st November.

With regard to legislation I put a question to the hon. Minister and he answered it. In the Report on the President's Rule it is stated:

"Considerable attention has been paid to the speeding up disposal of files in the various offices of the State and it is gratifying to note that substantial improvement has been effected."

When I spoke on the Proclamation last time I said what was immediately necessary was to tone up the administration. I am glad to submit to this House that the Adviser has succeeded to a certain extent. There has been reorganisation; he has been able to set right matters; there has been speedy disposal of files. But I would ask the Home Minister to bear in mind that speed is not everything. We have to see the quality of disposal also. I have got certain cases in which speed has done harm. For example, in a memorandum that has been submitted to the President of India—let the Home Ministry also understand what the people feel—it is stated:

"But the recent strict orders of Shri Rau's regime has launched us into untold misery. Being one who has no idea of our locality and having little opportunity to learn facts from people's representatives and in terrific hurry of closing up old files we believe that quite innocently he has passed orders to levy a heavy water cess from us, on the strength of a former Government order to levy water cess at the rate of Rs. 25 per acre upon the former decision of Government."

There was a former order of Government, but a stay order was passed on very valid grounds. Because of this very high levy of Rs. 25 per acre I know of many people who have complained that the irrigation scheme

[Shri A. M. Thomas]

instead of being a boon has become a curse. If a person does not get an outturn of Rs. 25 per acre, what is the meaning of levying Rs. 25 per acre? According to an Irrigation Bill which was under preparation, the idea was to levy Rs. 6 or 7 per acre.

The memorandum goes on to say—

“Government have taken steps at terrific speed to levy water cess from us and the revenue authorities are at our heels prepared to confiscate all that are dear to us. They are at realising all back arrears at the above exorbitant rate by one stroke. All our brightened up hopes are getting vanished. We would be soon devoid of all our cattle, movable and most of immovable properties.”

I have received copy of another memorandum from another part of my constituency, namely Parur. What I want to emphasise is this: It was very good that the Adviser has given instructions that confusion must not creep into the administrative machinery. It is all right. But irrespective of the merits of each case, irrespective of the circumstances of each case, suppose you raise all stay orders, it may do irreparable harm. I have got another point. I have given certain schemes, like roads and other works to be undertaken by the Public Works Department. I understand that the Adviser calls for returns of disposals from the various departments. Now the departmental heads want to make out that there has been disposal of files. I have personally brought this matter to the Adviser's notice and he told me that he has also given instructions that all important matters should go to him. Even then such matters would not go to him. For example, there is a proposal for the construction of a road, or a culvert. It may be very important and estimates would have been prepared. Because the Adviser has given instructions that all these files should

be closed within a particular period, the departmental heads would close the files under some pretext or other. I know of certain cases which have happened in Chief Engineer's Department. What has happened is, the file is closed for all practical purposes, but nothing has been done. There may be various stages of enquiry, estimates preparation and other things. I submit that adequate attention has to be paid to the quality of the disposal.

After making one or two points, I shall close. There is a special responsibility for the Home Minister for the affairs of Travancore-Cochin. The Adviser's regime or the President's rule started in Travancore-Cochin with very high hopes. Shri Punnoose also said that he wished very well for the Adviser. He had some reservation. But as far as the majority of the people in Travancore-Cochin were concerned, there were no reservations. They wanted the Adviser's regime to succeed. If, after raising all these hopes, after preparing so many schemes, reorganising departments and trying to put proper persons in the proper places, the Government are not in a position to satisfy the people so far as the elementary requirements are concerned, it would lead to frustration among the people. I would ask the Home Minister to take particular care to see that the Home Ministry itself takes up with the Planning Commission and the various Ministries the several proposals that have been put forward in the Second Plan itself. I understand that several schemes which are included in the Second Plan have not been approved by the Planning Commission. I refer to page 5 of the Finance Minister's speech before the dissolution of the Assembly. It was stated:

“Allotments under various heads like Urban Water Supply and Drainage, Flood Control, Inland Navigation, Ports and Harbours, Tourism, Panchayats, Local Development Works, and Educational Unemployment, are now

included in Central Plans, but will be transferred to State Plans shortly. These will substantially increase the allotments made for the State Plan."

Many schemes for which approval has been given by the passing of the Budget, I understand, have not yet been approved by the Planning Commission. Certain projects are awaiting the sanction of the Planning Commission as stated in this report. I would ask the Home Ministry to take care to see that these schemes are sanctioned. On page 29 of the report it is said:

"The necessity and importance of immediately implementing all the proposals for power development have been impressed on the Planning Commission and their approval to take up immediately for execution the Sholayar Hydro-electric Scheme and the Pumba Hydro-electric Scheme has been sought."

I understand that with regard to the Pumba electric scheme there is some difficulty.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member must conclude now.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Two minutes.

When such difficulties arise, when the State Government brings it to the notice of the Home Ministry, it should be the duty of the Home Ministry to take it seriously with the concerned Ministry and the Planning Commission. Another big project on which high hopes have been built, namely, the investigation of the Idikki Hydro-electric scheme, which is one of the major projects for execution in the near future, is pending orders of the Government of India. It is said that in the meantime, arrangements are set in train for commencing investigation as soon as the sanction is received. For such schemes like the Idikki project, I submit that it is the duty of the Home Ministry to pay special attention. If the administration is geared up properly

and schemes are put forward and things are taken seriously and the Home Ministry is also tuned properly there may be progress. I would even suggest that there should be a special department in the Home Ministry for Travancore-Cochin Affairs just as they have one in the External Affairs Ministry for Kashmir.

With these remarks, I support the Resolution moved by the Home Minister.

**Shri Achuthan:** Is there any convention that only Members in the front Benches will be called first and then step by step only the Members in the back benches?

**Mr. Chairman:** There is no such convention.

**Shri Velayudhan:** It was with a great feeling of humiliation that I heard the introductory remarks made by the Home Minister from the other side. I was one who had not compromised with the Treasury Benches in this decision on Travancore-Cochin. Nor can I find any reason to compromise with the manner in which this President's rule is being carried out in our State. We are a peaceful people and an enlightened and highly cultured people, on whom a great humiliation has been imposed. It cannot be tolerated at all. I know the present Resolution is only expressing a continuation of the Proclamation that was issued earlier. But, I should tell the Treasury Benches that this continuation is not only improper and illegitimate, but is the result of a great conspiracy from the other side to perpetuate a dictatorial administration not only in our State, but in other States too. We have had not only the experience of the Adviser's rule in India, but the experience of a more autocratic rule in the name of responsible Government or in the name of parliamentary Government. I read the pamphlet that was issued by the Travancore-Cochin Government on the President's rule. I was amazed to see this brochure, publicity

[Shri Velayudhan]

material presented in a form which will indicate that there was no State as Travancore-Cochin which existed before Shri Rau's arrival, which will indicate that we were living under the Arabian Sea and only after Shri Rau's arrival, we have begun an era. I should say that so much publicity and paraphernalia is made not only in our State but also outside through the press, through the vested interests, through the great and heavy organisation that the Congress is having today. Not only the press: what about the radio? The other day, I saw an article about the good work done by the Administrator in Travancore-Cochin, published in an influential daily, the Times of India. Thus, the Adviser is running here and there. Of course, his superiors here are aiding him to show how the administration is very nice, very progressive. What has happened in Travancore-Cochin within these 5 or 6 months? Any improvement? I was one who never expected any improvement in the Travancore-Cochin State from an I.C.S. officer or an I.C.S. Administrator, because, to see an I.C.S. administration is a great humiliation to my prestige, to my tradition, to my culture and to my patriotism. I have been brought up in such a tradition. The Congress people have compromised with the I.C.S. regime and bureaucracy. They are hand in glove with each other and they are benefiting each other in this great venture on which India has launched after Independence. But I must tell the hon. Home Minister that the day Shri Rau landed in Travancore-Cochin, he has given a slap not only on democracy in Travancore-Cochin, but also on the Congress administration itself. What has he said in the press conference? He said that the President's rule which is necessarily of a temporary character will give the people a short respite from politics. Of course, you know that the I.C.S. regime has never tolerated politics in the past. They have dealt with the Congress organi-

sation in the past when it was struggling for independence. And Shri Rau never wants politics in our State. Of course, it is something lucky perhaps that he has not even banned the Congress organisation there. In fact, the evil or the misery in our State originated and even President's rule is because of the Congress mal-administration, the Congress corruption and in fact Congress misrule. Nothing else was responsible for it. And now he has come out like an Alladin with a wonderful lamp saying that he has changed the face of Travancore-Cochin State.

Millions of people in Travancore-Cochin State are under-fed or under-clothed. I must tell you they are starving. Not only is there educated unemployment, but millions of people in our State have not got even subsistence. And what could he do by the building of some big offices? It is a fantastic thing or a funny thing that the Administrator immediately wanted to launch on a very huge building scheme in our State. Perhaps he might be aping or copying the example of the former Chief Minister. It is said that the previous Chief Minister has built a very huge mansion. I think an enquiry was going on about it and I would like the Home Minister to enlighten us as to what happened to that enquiry itself. Perhaps Shri Rau may be aping that example for building houses—for whom? For the Collectors, for the police inspectors and police officers. Of course, he must build houses for the police officers, otherwise where will he be, or where will the Congress regime be in the future? That is the position there.

Millions of people belonging to the poor classes, the workers in the factories, the workers in the coir, cashew nut and other industries and more than that millions of untouchables there have no proper houses to live in, and now he wants to launch on a big building scheme to show to the public or the Government of India which is more inefficient than our own.

State that something is being done there. He wants to say: "I am doing something more than what you masters have done. I am going to satisfy you." This is what Shri Rau is saying. But are the people of Travancore-Cochin State going to be satisfied with this kind of management of our State's affairs? No, no. They will not be satisfied. We are not going to substitute dictatorial or authoritarian rule for democracy or people's Government in Travancore-Cochin State.

Now, what has this noble gentleman pointed out about our labour organisation or labour forces in the State. They should not raise their hands, they should not take a flag in their hands. Why are they doing it? You must know and you know very well. It is the people who have no food to eat, who are half naked, who are not getting proper wages, who are oppressed by the police and the official machinery who take out the flag, raise their fist and demand a better living—nothing more than that. And Shri Rau wants to ban it. He says it is against the peace of the State, against peaceful labour-employer relationship. At the same time, in another page he says that negligible time or manpower is wasted in the State by strikes or lock-outs or anything like that. I know I shall be told that it is not the number of days or hours lost, but it is the atmosphere, it is the psychology that results from the agitation that is more important. But is it the working class or the people or the common man in the State who has created this psychology of unrest, this psychology of suppression, this psychology of fear in my State? No, it is the police rule, the police State which was run by the Congress Government there previously, the corrupt Government that was run by the Congress regime there that was responsible for the psychology of unrest in my State and nothing else than that.

We have seen people rising in other States. What happened in

Bombay? What happened in Maharashtra? What is happening in Gujarat? The Congress people thought that the people of Gujarat were so many millions of cattle and would follow them. What has happened there? There was a revolt. They are struggling. There the struggle has started in India for a Better living. Nobody need minimise it or misunderstand or misinterpret it. It has already started in India. But what happened in Travancore-Cochin State? We were peaceful. Nobody raised a slogan against Shri Rau when he came there and landed at Trivandrum aerodrome. No demonstration was there. No agitation was there. Why was there no agitation? Because we want peace, we are peaceful people in the State. That is why we were so much disciplined, we did not create any trouble anywhere to either Shri Rau or even the Central Government against President's rule.

Another thing which I want to mention here is about the food production scheme and the food situation in the State. Of course, food prices have risen very high all over India. The Prime Minister had stated several times in bombastic ways that our food problem had been solved for the next ten years, at least up to 1960. The other Ministers also followed him by saying the same from the house-tops in season and out of season. At the same time what has happened in Travancore-Cochin State? A bag of rice which was about Rs. 28 previously now costs about Rs. 40 there. This is the situation all over India too. Why has this kind of abnormal situation suddenly appeared in that State and in India? We cannot afford to have such abnormal prices for any foodstuffs in our poor and backward State. Why has it come about? It has come about because deliberate vested interests are working behind the Congress Government here in order to profit at the expense of the millions of people in the country. What happened to the surplus food

[Shri Velayudhan]

we had in 1953 and 1954? It was exported, everybody knows that. And now we want to get food from America, from Australia and other countries.

Just only as an example,—I think I am not irrelevant in this matter when I mention it—the other day when I was in Peking I had a discussion about the food problem in India. The Planning Commission chief said that for the last one year India has made an eight per cent. progress on the previous year's production and China which is a country of a socialist pattern, not the socialist pattern of the Congress or the Planning Commission, could achieve only 6½ per cent. additional output in one year's time. From the statistics supplied by our Planning Commission or the Food Ministry, our increase is about eight per cent., and they were surprised. At the same time the delegation was in Peking, they were in fact negotiating with the Chinese Government to get more food, even one lakh or two lakh tons. They had gone to America and they had negotiated there also to get what is called the surplus agricultural food. God alone knows whether we can eat it or not when it comes here. Yes, they were doing like that. Of course, it is all mere lies and propaganda and nothing else than that when we say that this food increase of eight per cent. was correct. Even if it was correct, we have sold those stocks in order to see that we get wheat and other things from America and other places so that we can be dependent on them economically. That is the trick behind it. Anybody can understand it, and not necessarily only myself. Even the common man in the country can understand it, and he has understood it. That is why these kinds of things are happening in the country.

Then, Mr. Rau wants to open fair price shops all over the State, and thus remove the starvation and famine there. I say it is impossible to

remove starvation and famine by this means. The situation in Travancore-Cochin, or for that matter, in the whole of India cannot be remedied by these piecemeal measures. How can Mr. Rau succeed in solving this problem by just starting 155 fair price shops? How many people can benefit by it?

I know why these fair price shops have been started, and to whom they have been given. They have been given to the Congressmen or the stooges of the Congressmen so that they may take some profit out of them and be benefited by them. They are not there for the benefit of the common man. Almost 99 per cent. of the contracts or anything of that nature, given in Travancore-Cochin, even after the Adviser's regime came into existence, have benefited only the Congressmen and not the common man. There are workers in that State, and they can organise co-operative societies, and they can have their own shops. But has any workers' organisation or trade union organisation been given a chance to run these fair price shops on their own? No. They have not been given, and they will not be given also because the vested interests are there behind the whole thing.

**Shri C. R. Iyyunni** (Trichur): May I know whether the hon. Member has any records in support of the statement that he is making here?

**Shri K. K. Basu** (Diamond Harbour): That will be supplied later.

**Shri Velayudhan**: It is only 155 fair price shops that have been opened. My hon. friend can very easily ask Mr. Rau, and he will give a very fair account of it.

**Shri Achuthan**: On what basis is this allegation being made?

**Mr. Chairman**: Has the hon. Member got any records or anything else to support his statement?

**Shri Velayudhan:** Of course, I have got records; I had written several letters about it. I am not joking; I am not making a speech for the sake of publicity; I am not making an election speech here, because it has not got into my mind. I know the elections will not solve the Indian problem. That is why I am speaking like that.

**Shri Mathew (Kottayam):** Shouting like that.

**Shri Velayudhan:** Then, what has happened in the field of education? The other day, it was said that certain things had been done after the coming into existence of the Adviser's regime. What is happening in Travancore-Cochin today, and what was happening there before too? For the transfer of a teacher, at least Rs. 200 or so had to be paid to a clerk attached to the Director of Public Instruction, the Divisional Educational Officer, or the District Educational Officer. Why should a man who has got his family and his house in a particular place be transferred to a place about 300 or 400 miles away, and why should another fellow who belongs to some other place be brought in his place to that particular school?

**Shri Mathew:** Is the transfer to a place three hundred or four hundred miles away inside the Travancore-Cochin State?

**Shri Velayudhan:** If you want to send them away to a place even in Dakshina Pradesh, for which you have been planning, you can do it.

**Shri Mathew:** May I know whether the transfer is effected inside the Travancore-Cochin State?

**Shri Velayudhan:** The route is not straight; it is zigzag. So, there can be a circuitous mileage also. My hon. friend Shri Mathew knows it very well.

**Shri Mathew:** I do not know.

**Shri Velayudhan:** Coming to the educational system. I should tell you that the educational system in

Travancore-Cochin was a very good one in the former times....

**Shri K. K. Basu:** That was under Professor Mathew.

**Shri Velayudhan:** ...and we are the product of that system.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon cum Mavelikkara):** A very good product!

**Shri Velayudhan:** But after the advent of the Congress regime, they changed the whole system. The result is that a boy or a girl who studies for the school final examination does not know anything. That is the present position. The whole atmosphere in the Travancore-Cochin State has practically been demoralised by that regime.

Again, what is the position in regard to the salary of the teachers? There are teachers in Travancore-Cochin State, who are drawing just Rs. 25 per mensem.

**Shri Matthen:** Part-time teachers.

**Shri Velayudhan:** Of course, for the rest of the time, they are idle and starving.

This sort of situation will not be changed merely by putting up huge buildings as memorials to the Adviser's regime. But that is what is being done there.

Again, take the case of the Police Department. A lot of things have been said in regard to the construction of houses for the police inspectors and other police officers. But what is the position of the police constables? Of course, the Travancore-Cochin Government should do justice to their own people, the people by whom they are being helped to remain in power, namely the police constables. The police constables should certainly be given houses to stay in. But that has not been done.

Now, what is the reaction in Travancore-Cochin State towards the police officers and constables? If

[Shri Velayudhan]

Somebody goes to a lock-up, he is finished there. In fact, the Government of India have given prizes to some people; they have given titles like *Padma Vibhushan* and other things to some people in that State..

**Shri S. V. Ramaswamy** (Salem): They are not titles.

**Shri Velayudhan**... for the atrocities that they have committed, by killing people and by bulchering people in the lock-up and outside.

**Shri Kottukappally** (Meenachil): The hon. Member is speaking of the Moghul times.

**Shri Velayudhan**: Of course, my hon. friend is living even behind the Moghul times. That is the difficulty.

These are the difficulties in Travancore-Cochin State. Yet, they do not want to build houses for the poor people, namely the police constables.

Coming to the condition of the untouchables there—you know, I am specially interested in this matter—I should say that it has gone backwards as it were, since the coming into existence of the Congress regime. If anything has been a casualty in India, it is the untouchables, after the Congress regime has come. I know my hon. friend Shri Datar will not like my saying that. I know he sympathises with the Harijans. But it is not sympathy that we want, but it is justice that we want. It is a democratic approach to the problem that we want. I know the Hindus will shed crocodile tears, but when it comes to action, they will simply hide the whole thing.

But what is the actual condition of the untouchables there? A lot of schemes were put forward at the time of the Travancore-Cochin State Budget discussion here, and also later on, for the improvement of their condition. But these are piece-meal things. I have no complaint about what they are doing, but I should tell you the secret behind it.

A major share of anything that is done for the untouchables or the Harijans goes not to the individuals or the interests concerned, but to somebody else, some Congress people or some other vested interest. Take, for instance, the case of a students' hostel. Who runs the hostel? It is not run by an organisation of the untouchables; it is not even run directly by Government, but it is run by some agent, some ex-MLA or some Congressmen or some unknown person. He is given the chance to form a committee, and he runs the hostel for twenty students or so. Out of the Rs. 20 or 30 a month that the Harijan boys would be getting from Government, actually, he will not get more than Rs. 20 or so for his expenses, the balance being taken away by the agent. This is what is happening. In the name of anti-untouchability schemes, it is often stated, a lot of money has been spent. But I would like to ask, to whom it goes. I challenge Shri Datar to go into the details as to how the amounts have been spent. I challenge him to enquire into the matter. The other day, when I said this, he said that it was an untruth. But let him make enquiries. After all, I am not saying something which is wrong. It is only after verifying certain things that came to my mind, that I am saying this. I was even convinced that with the aid of the funds devoted to the anti-untouchability schemes or to the amelioration of the untouchables' condition, people have built mansions costing Rs. 75,000 to Rs. 80,000. This is not my information only. So many members belonging to the untouchable classes have themselves told me that in such and such a place, this kind of thing is happening. I can even cite individual cases, but I do not want to mention them, but there are persons who have no other occupation than that of getting this subsidy.

**Shri Achuthan**: Pass on the information.

**Shri Velayudhan**: I do not know what Gandhiji would have done about

this matter, if he were alive today. I am sorry to say that the funds devoted to the anti-untouchability schemes are not being utilised for that purpose. They are used only for the Congress propaganda. This fund is only another party fund created by Government in an indirect and spurious way. That is something which is thoroughly unjustified. Let them be honest; let them come forth and say that they are spending it, and let them spend any amount through their own Government; we do not bother about it, because we have no power to check it. Let them honestly spend for the Congress, but not by bribing people, by corrupting people and by demoralising people. This is not the way that money will have to be spent.

Now, why is this Resolution brought here? This is in order to see that the innocent people, the innocent community living in the Malabar district are also exed. Because of this, what happens? They become powerless. They become part of the regime after 1st November. That was said here. Of course, we are getting Kerala State. But it is not in any way a prize given to us. It is not a kind of concession given to us, a kind of favour or *meherbani*. I know the Congress has no other go but to keep Kerala as it is today. That is the crux of the question.

For a long time, for weeks together, the plane from Eranakulam or Trivandrum to Bangalore was always full with Congress leaders going up and down with the idea of forming a Dakshina Pradesh. Why has it not happened? It has not happened because everybody knows that the people of Travancore-Cochin are determined to have their own government when they come into their own. Therefore, people who are outside, were also afraid of us. They thought that the disease would spread to them and over all India. Therefore, they had to wag their tail. Again, these Congress reactionaries who were demoralising and humiliating the people of our State....

**Shri Tek Chand** (Ambala-Simla): On a point of order. Is it correct and parliamentary to say that the Congress is corrupting, that the Congress is demoralising—all sorts of vituperations which are being heaped ad lib?

**Mr. Chairman:** It is quite parliamentary.

**Shri Velayudhan:** Therefore, Madam these people are running here and there. I had no doubt in my mind from the very start about the formation of a Kerala State.

Now this circuitous route of Administrator's rule is now heaped on them, resulting in humiliation of the people of Malabar also. We are going to have a better regime in future. I am confident about it. There will be a people's regime in Travancore-Cochin. Not only the people of Travancore-Cochin but the people of India will never put up with this kind of oppression or suppression from the Treasury Benches. I know they have begun to rise today in India. The struggle has started. It will continue; it will never be stopped. Bayonets or cannons or guns will never stop it. The people will march on. This is all I want to say.

**Shri Matthen:** My hon. friend, Shri Punnoose, and myself come from the same locality, though his constituency is different from mine. Our background also has several things in common.

2-43 P.M.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

From that, I am surprised to see the reaction of my hon. friend to President's rule in Travancore-Cochin. But knowing as I do the party to which he belongs, I have to admire his loyalty to that party, in having supported something which in his heart of hearts he does not believe in.

In fact, the test came when real national unity was at stake on account of the disturbances in Bombay and the adjoining areas, on account of the reactions to the SRC Report,

[Shri Matthen]

when, providentially Parliament was able to find a solution almost miraculously. Then it was supported by everyone in the House, irrespective of party affiliation or ideology, except my friend and his party.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** On a point of information. Are we discussing the Resolution relating to Travancore-Cochin or are we discussing Bombay or Maharashtra?

**Shri Velayudhan:** He has only begun.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member is making up a basis for his arguments.

**Shri Matthen:** From that loyalty to his party, I am not surprised that my hon. friend is opposing President's rule which he had occasion to experience himself. The test of the pudding lies in the eating thereof. I can understand my hon. friend, Shri Velayudhan, speaking so much against President's rule, against the Congress administration. Of course, he seldom visits the State; he is going round Russia and China....

**Shri Velayudhan:** What about him?

**Sardar A. S. Saigal (Bilaspur):** Order, order.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Hon. Members should not take it upon themselves to correct other hon. Members.

**Shri Matthen:** But Shri Punnoose is not like that. Only recently he returned from the Travancore-Cochin State.

**Shri Velayudhan:** The hon. Member advertises in the Press about his going from there to Madras.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I find that the hon. Member had full half-hour. But it seems he is not content even with that.

**Shri Velayudhan:** Thank you.

**Shri Matthen:** If a vote is taken in my State today as to whether President's rule should continue or not, in all earnestness and in all sincerity, I submit that 99.5 per cent. of the people of Travancore-Cochin will support President's rule, except some political leaders who want to fish in troubled waters. Except those who care not for good administration, I am sure all will support it, from experience.

My hon. friend, Shri Punnoose, rather resented my remark that President's rule is democracy. If it were not democracy, he would not have been able to discuss so much about it and attack it so much. My hon. friend, Shri Velayudhan, attacked the whole Congress Party, everybody, all because it is democracy.

**Shri Velayudhan:** I stand for an alternative leadership in the country.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Would this running commentary continue or have I to interfere?

**Shri Matthen:** This sort of democracy, I mean democracy of the larger kind and democracy on a unitary basis, is the most desirable thing in India. It is evidently seen from the three or four instances of President's rule in other States also. We had it in East Punjab, in PEPSU, in Andhra and now in Travancore-Cochin. I would invite any Member—I think my hon. friend, Shri Punnoose, knows something about PEPSU,—from any of the States to come up and say whether the President's rule was an improvement upon the previous administration—I do not say subsequent—or not. It is no exception in my State also. In fact, I am only sorry that this sort of administration is not enforced all over India.

Our Constitution is pre-eminently unitary. Out of the 210 subjects, 144 are with the Union. If we have any doubt about it, the fact that the Planning Commission made a national plan is ample evidence that the Centre interferes not only in the case of Central subjects but also in the case

of State subjects. And nobody resented it. Even in normal conditions, a two-thirds majority of the Rajya Sabha can legislate on a State subject. If a conflict arises between the Union and a State, the view of the Union prevails. In judiciary, the Supreme Court is the apex of the system, and the High Courts are subordinate. In matters of finance, a State cannot even raise a loan without the approval of the Central Government. I am only submitting that we are two-thirds unitary and in the natural course, even the one-third will disappear. The sooner it disappears, the better. I agree with my friend Shri Thomas that....

**An Hon. Member:** Is it the party point of view or your own?

**Shri Matthen:** My own honest point of view, because I do not believe....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member is pledged to the Constitution.

**Shri Matthen:** Yes, I am pledged to the Constitution. But, I say even those States which started with a bias towards Federal Governments like the U.S.A. and Canada or Australia have been steadily becoming unitary; but our Constitution started with a definite bias towards unitary Government. (Interruption). And, naturally, in course of time, we will become unitary.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** These arguments cannot be used for the continuance of the President's rule.

**Shri Matthen:** I may say it is wishful thinking. But, I believe that the day may come. When I first raised the question of national unity against linguistic organisation, everybody was rather making fun of me. But the day will come, I am sure, when even my hon. friend Shri Punnoose will say, 'You are right in advocating unitary government'.

Just one word more, Sir, and I do not want to stand in the way of other hon. Members who want to speak. As the Home Minister pointed

out at the very outset, the two major problems of my State are educated unemployment and the density of population. This sort of rather superficially trying to solve the problem will not do. There must be some radical solution. As my friend, Shri Thomas said, it must be seriously taken up by the Centre. Technological schools or colleges, I think, can be relied upon to some extent now. As I submitted on a former occasion, we have got a number of so-called tutorial engineering colleges coaching students for the Madras Government examinations. In fact these colleges, or so-called colleges, are not well maintained. I would submit that if the Travancore-Cochin State Government creates an organisation which can fix a standard for these tutorial colleges and fix the examinations also and give certificates to those coming out of them, they can get some job because today technical people are in need everywhere. May be a small amount may have to be given to them whereby they can control and regulate them. There are about 200 or more such engineering colleges in my State and one in my own constituency, in my town, and I think there are 500 students there. The teachers make very good revenue out of it and there is no control. If the Adviser creates a Technical Board to have a sort of inspection all these can be brought up to standard. Of course, they won't be a substitute for real technical colleges that Shri Thomas was mentioning.

Before I conclude, I repeat that corruption, nepotism and inefficiency—which is not a very rare feature in my State alone—I do not say my State is very much different from other States of which I know more now)—in my State is reduced considerably after the advent of the President's rule. I can tell you that during the last 5 months they have done more than what was done during the previous 5 years.

With these words I support the Resolution.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I think the expectations of the hon. Home Minister were more or less belied in the discussions that took place in this House. Now, except Shri Matthen—even Shri Thomas could not wholeheartedly do so—did support the Administrator's regime. Shri Matthen openly confesses that it is due to his wishful thinking rather than based on concrete facts and that is why he gave his support.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That wishful thinking related to the advent of the unitary government.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** For the other thing also he did not advance arguments. So, I thought that it also comes under the caption 'wishful thinking'. Anyhow though it is only 5 months since the Adviser took charge and though I can admit that it is not sufficient time to initiate and execute major schemes of reforms, I think, it is sufficient time to lay down policies which would ultimately result in good schemes. What are the schemes initiated by the Administrator after he took charge? That is the crux of the problem.

According to him, he has initiated three major schemes. One is, of course, the decentralisation in the district or conferring more authority on the district heads. The second is the much-disputed buildings of district headquarters and the third is the anti-corruption scheme. According to him and according to Government statements, these three are the major schemes that have been initiated. I do concede that the decentralisation of authority regarding district heads has been, to a certain extent, effective in executing certain minor matters with more speed. But the question of solving major problems has not been decentralised. As a matter of fact, power has been concentrated in the hands of the Adviser so much so, from my own experience I can say, that the Secretariat of the Travancore-Cochin State does not function at all. No Secretary, except the Chief Secretary does give any order or make any suggestion or even offer any

comments on any paper that comes before him. The Chief Secretary—no one has ever accused him of too much intelligence or too much knowledge of the affairs of the State—was functioning as the mouth-piece, the gramophone or His Master's Voice of the ex-Chief Minister of the State. I myself had a certain complaint regarding the Advisory Committee to the Minimum Wages Board which was appointed in the State. In our State the workers are organised more under the AITUC and the UTUC than under the INTUC. But in that Committee the INTUC got much more representation than both the AITUC and the UTUC put together. The UTUC was practically ignored. I wrote the Administrator himself and he said he is not conversant with the details. It is happened that the orders were finally issued by the Chief Secretary. I am definitely given to understand—and I know it as a matter of fact—that the original recommendations of the Labour Commissioner which went through the hands of the development Secretary were altered to the benefit, certainly, of the INTUC and the Congress Party. I can assure the Home Minister and his colleagues in the Central Government that they need have no fears about party interests; everything is safe in the hands of the Chief Secretary and the Adviser. But the Secretariat does not function; the Secretaries do not take any responsibility for the day to day affairs of the State and it is a very serious hindrance to major questions of policy because for years they have been handling the issues. But their expert knowledge is not being utilised.

As it was pointed out the other day by Shri Matthen, there might be speedy action with regard to replying to letters. But there have been certain issues on which decisions ought to have been taken long long ago but have not been taken. I do concede that in certain matters, the present Administrator's regime is much better, according to what Shri Matthen said, than the Panamally regime which we had, the

Congress regime which we had. He said there was much less corruption. I do concede that, but that is no compliment to the Adviser himself or his regime. It is only a criticism of the previous Congress regime. That is unfortunately the position which he is taking and which I naturally have to support against my will, because I would be very happy to say that people from my State were really honest and efficient and less corrupt, but they were not—that is a fact.

3 P.M.

When the Secretariat does not function, and all the powers are concentrated on one man, naturally it means that many powerful influences would be brought to bear on him so that his decision always will be prejudicial to the cause of justice. Especially when he is known to be somebody else's nominee and he is put in there by him, whose interests will he safeguard? He will look after the interests of the previous Chief Minister, naturally it means that it goes in the interest of the Congress. What naturally the Congress dared not do there in the past is being perpetrated now very conveniently and very effectively because the Adviser does not understand things so well, and secondly, the Adviser himself has been sent there by the Congress from the Centre. Naturally, that is a major defect in the question of policy.

Coming to the question of District Headquarters, much has been made out of this. As already discussed at the time of voting on Supplementary Demands, this scheme does not deserve such a priority. It should not have been initiated by an Adviser who has come there for six months or a year. This is a major scheme involving the expenditure of Rs. 1½ crores; it was not included in the Second Five Year Plan. All those schemes included in the Second Five Year Plan were partially or wholly curtailed to find finance for this. Is this such a major issue or urgent

issue for the Adviser to utilise Rs. 1½ crores from much needed developmental works. If he had diverted the funds for finding some solution for any major problem like, say, the establishment of a new industry, the safeguarding the coir industry or cashew industry that has collapsed; if it were so, we would have applauded it. But that is not the case. The Adviser wants to build three Taj Mahals for the commemoration of his regime in the State. Is that right? Is that fair to the people of the State? Is it fair to do it there when there are thousands and millions of huts in that State, where poverty is rampant, where unemployment is rampant? Is it proper to build huge palaces to commemorate the Adviser's regime? Taj Mahal is there in Agra, but he wants three Taj Mahals to commemorate his regime in Travancore-Cochin. Anyhow that has been accepted by this House, and it is beyond our power now to undo it. But may I warn the hon. Home Minister and the Central Government and the Adviser that are long if the general elections come off in the proper time, these schemes may not be completed.

The third is the anti-corruption scheme. A very good man has been sent there, a man who is called Bombaywala—whether it is a name or pertains to an area I do not know. He is sent there. We were given expectations that he would immediately rectify and put an end to all the corruption in the State. My friend, Shri Punnoose, was defrauded into thinking that he was responsible for arresting a peon. That was a great achievement that has been done—the arrest of a poor peon. But I know as a matter of fact that the State Information Department came forward with a contradiction that it was not he who was responsible for that; it was the local police, local C.I.D., that was responsible for it, for even that one case of apprehending an act of corruption.

The subordinates of Bombaywala asked for my statement in connection

[Shri N. Sreekantan Nair]

with the investigation of another corruption charge—details of which I had supplied to the Government at the request of the erstwhile Chief Minister of the State. I said, "No, nothing is going to happen! why do you trouble me?" Now, I hear that very great influence was brought to bear upon these investigators so much so, they have dropped the case like hot cakes. There are hundreds of cases before him, but he cannot proceed with those cases, because there then will come the highest powers in the State, the highest authorities in the Congress who were personally connected with the previous administration in the State. They will say, "No, nothing doing". They will also say, "If you do that, it will affect the Congress morale and so you have to drop those cases."

These are the three major improvements that have been till now effected. Therefore, I cannot accept the contention that the Adviser's regime had been a matter to be applauded as such.

Even the so-called schemes which Shri Thomas has said as having been initiated, have not been initiated and I know that for certain. For instance, there is the water supply scheme in Quilon. No plot had been allotted even for the scheme. It was done only in the last month, when the available plot of land was intended to be handed over for building police quarters, it was objected to by the municipality and by the public. There was a big agitation on that issue. It was only then that Government came forward and allotted the land for the scheme. That the building schemes are appropriate is certainly not a correct statement, to make. But I am very sorry to say that he has not only not done much to relieve the distress of the people or to solve the major problems, but he has done some disservice to the people. He has made several speeches attacking the working classes of the State. He has also made a statement unfortunately at a Press Conference, that I

have been responsible for reducing the possibility of establishing a Central Government Press in the State. What actually happened was that our cashew industry was in the doldrums, and about 50,000 workers have been thrown out of work. Representing these 50,000 workers, there was a hunger march of 500 people and in Trivandrum they demonstrated. They went in demonstration, with a petition to the Government that something must be done for these workers, that their starvation for the next six months should be relieved. A Central Government Secretary had come down there from Delhi and I was told that it was not in the interest of the State that these people should be allowed to demonstrate when he was in Trivandrum. After all, we were not observing any general strike; we were not striking work; we had been thrown out of work and we had come to represent our grievances.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** But why did you choose that psychological moment to demonstrate?

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** Because the employers chose that moment to close the factories. That is all the more the reason why the Government should locate in Travancore-Cochin a Government Press—it will employ at the most only 2,000 people. I may bring it to your notice that Rs. 1,069 crores are being spent during the two Plan periods in the public sector for establishing industries controlled or owned by the Centre. Out of this Rs. 1,069 crores, not a pie has been allotted to our State. Government considers this question and a Government Secretary comes from Delhi. As has been pointed out, we do have demonstrations here also almost every day against the various plans, and I do not think there is any reason for a Government Secretary, and as a matter of fact, even the Adviser, to have the bovine habit of getting unbalanced when he sees a red flag. It is only a human being with the red flag, and red is that colour that every religion uses in the ~~sanctum~~

sanctorum, in the ceremonies of the temples. It is the colour of the flag of most of the temples, whether Christian or Hindu. Why should the Adviser be so anxious about that flag? We want that our interests should be served without such prejudices. All I wanted was that three or four representatives should go and meet him and put forward our grievances—that is what I intimated to him. In spite of all that, the Adviser's residence was guarded by several lorries of reserve police and the District Magistrate was present at the ground floor ready to give orders for shooting. This bovine habit is something that I cannot understand. I am a civilised human being and I may, of course, go against the law when I feel that I must do it; and I have done it. I did not do it secretly or surreptitiously. There were fifty thousand people who were starving. In the report the Government says that it has declared the cashew industry as non-seasonal. Does this declaration fill our stomachs and give any relief to the fifty thousand families affected? Not a pie has been got from the employers nor a pie has been spent by the State Government for them. I would have commended the Adviser's regime if in the supplementary grants of Rs. 1.25 crores, at least one-tenth was given for relief measures to the cashew workers. I would have praised it. But, he is after all a bureaucrat and not in politics. Though there is a Party which has placed in that position, nothing untoward will happen, and no interest will be prejudiced, even if I praise him to the skies. But, he has not done anything to deserve any praise. It has been said that he has got so much influence and pull with the Government of India and with the powers that be. But, he has not succeeded in bringing a single industry in the public sector to my State. Are we not citizens of India? Do we not deserve some portion of the industries that are being set up everywhere in Bihar, in Uttar Pradesh and in other places, even in Shri Rachiah's place—he is not here. Even the Government press—a very small

press—is being disputed because there are more influential powers who want it to be in their own State. Where is this influence? What has he done with his influence? How is it that we do not get a single industry in the public sector in our State? I know the answer and I know what causes actuate the Government to take unsympathetic decisions in such matters. Anyhow, that is the last stage. The Travancore-Cochin State today is not predominantly Congress. Shri Matthen may speak about 99.5 per cent. and all that. But, the Congress today cannot get even forty per cent support in the State. When the new State of Kerala is formed even this goes away. Out of 31 members who come to the Kerala State, only four belong to the Congress Party. So, one cannot expect that the Congress would be happy to bring in responsible Government in the State at this juncture. They must have anticipated this development. After the reorganisation of the States, they do not want to allow the leftist forces to be consolidated. They do not want a predominantly leftist Ministry with the added support of the 31 members to be entrenched in that State. So, that led them to put the State under the Adviser's regime and so, they wanted to extend it. They would extend it further from November. It has already been hinted at by the Home Minister. Let him come forward with it. We will put up with it. But, I want to warn the Government and the Congress Party that this thing cannot continue indefinitely. The general elections can be put off for another six months. But today or tomorrow they have to go before the public and accept its decision. In my State what we have been denied, a united leftist Ministry, will take shape. I know for certain that the Congress Party is again going to play the same tactics they adopted in Andhra and they now want to bring the Congress back to power. If they succeed, that Congress Ministry can be allowed to remain in power for more than five years. That is going to be impossible in the case of Travancore-Cochin. When the leftist

[Shri N. Sreekantan Nair]

parties come together and form a solid and strong Ministry, let them beware that those people who will be sent here will not be the servile cringing type of Ministers who used to come here till now. They will ask for every pie that is our due and they will not go back without getting it. What will they do; if their demands are neglected? It may be a unitary State.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** After this climax and having enjoyed that power, he should not come down now.

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** That is the difference between the Congress and the leftist parties. We will advance further and further.

I will only warn the House that, if this kind of discrimination is maintained, the propensity to disintegrate and to secede from the Indian Union will gather momentum. There is already such a move in some parts of the country. Fortunately for us, the most advanced and the most educated State in India is also more political minded. They have got not only an all-India outlook but an international outlook. Even so, they have waited sufficiently long and they can no longer be deprived of their proper and legitimate rights by the Central Government, simply because our people have become progressive and socialist-minded. That is the only warning that I want to give to the Government.

**Shri Kottukappally:** Sir, the Adviser's regime has been there only for the last five months and five or six months are nothing in the span of the life of even an individual, not to speak of a State. In assessing the merits or demerits of his regime, we have to keep in mind this fact that, after all, we have seen his administration only for a short-while. But, from all accounts I have had, Mr. Rau is going about his business with all sincerity and earnestness and he wants to achieve something good for the people of my State. I congratulate

him for whatever things he has achieved.

I would like him and his regime to concentrate on certain vital, important, far-reaching and enduring matters in our State. I would like him to give top priority to all major schemes. Shri A. M. Thomas had been mentioning about the hydro-electric scheme—the Idikki project—which will be one of the major hydro-electric projects in India. Three experts had been to the site previously, years back. Even then, either the State or the Central Government did not pay much attention to that.

The first expert who visited that area was F. D. Jacob and his report is as old as 30th April, 1919. Then, another expert visited that site and that was Angelo Omedeo. Then again, Mr. Joseph John who was the Chief Electrical Engineer in my State submitted a report on that scheme. According to the view of these experts, this project can produce three lakhs kws. at sixty per cent load factor. The installed generating plant will be of about half a million horse power. If in the Adviser's regime he could just start this major scheme, I think that will be an enduring tribute of the Adviser's regime.

I would remind him of another major scheme—though some friends said that it was Shri Matthen's portfolio, somehow or other Shri Matthen while speaking said about a unitary set-up in India and so on and did not speak about this—and that is the scheme for a second ship-building yard in the Cochin Harbour. All of us, Members of all parties in the Parliament from Travancore-Cochin and from outside, have been impressing upon the Central Government the necessity of starting such a scheme.

Then, although Shri Sreekantan Nair and myself do not agree in many matters, we agree in one thing. Our people are absolutely frustrated. When we approach the Central Government and tell them about a major

industrial problem, a major hydro-electric project or things of that sort, our requests are turned down. We, even the Members of Parliament here, feel whether the Central Government considers the people of our State as real citizens of India. When we go down to our State and sing the glories of Bhakra Nangal, when we sing canticle after canticle about the Damodar Valley Project, the two refineries in Bombay and the three steel plants north of the Vindhyas, our people ask us: "What about us? What about Kerala? What schemes have you for the people of the South?" When Shri Sreekantan Nair emphasised this point, although we belong to different parties, although we do not agree as to the values of life I must say he voiced the deep-seated feelings of a very large number of the people of Kerala.

Then, as the Home Minister is now responsible for the development of major industries in India, I would like to invite his attention to the....

**Shri N. E. Munishwamy** (Wandiwash): He is not present here for you to draw his attention.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He is represented here. The hon. Member need not worry. He is taking down notes of the speech.

**Shri N. R. Muniswamy:** He does not know what is going on; he is writing a letter.

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava** (Gurgaon): He is so engrossed in his notes that he does not even hear what is going on.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Minister is taking down notes of the speech.

**The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs** (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): What does he want?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member wanted to draw the attention of the Home Minister. I said he was represented here and I assured him that notes are being taken.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** Certainly, what he says is being noted down.

**Shri Kottukappally:** We have been asking for the establishment of a paper factory in Travancore-Cochin State. We have been asking for a major glass plant in that State. I can cite any number of major industries that can be started there. Even in the report that the Adviser could present to Members of Parliament, mention is only made about the proposed tyre manufacturing factory. I am told even that is only at a very preliminary stage. More cement factories can be started in our State.

**Shri Punnose:** Is it not a fact that all these industries were proposed for Travancore-Cochin and disposed of in other States?

**Shri Kottukappally:** It is partly true. Then we have very few weaving mills in Travancore-Cochin. Our people also use sufficient quantity of cloth. Although the climate there is a bit humid, still we have also to cover our body and we should always import cloth from Bombay, Coimbatore or Calcutta.

We have in Travancore-Cochin State any number of exclusive herbs and plants. I am referring to lemon grass. Lemon grass is a thing which you can't cultivate in any other part of India. It does not grow in any other part. Even if you spend money in millions, except for a certain area in Central America this plant cannot be grown at all elsewhere. This is a very valuable product. What we do is, we distill it in a crude form and sell the distilled product known as lemon grass oil to countries far away in Europe and the United States. They process this product, make perfume and other things and re-export it to India. We buy the same product at hundred times or a thousand times the price at which we sold it. Here is an exclusive product of India which can be utilised whereby work can be given to the people. We can hold the world monopoly for it. It is a wonder, with our planning and

[Shri Kottukappaly]

with all the brains in the Centre, this thing has not been thought of.

Then there are other pharmaceutical products. Even from Roman times, even from the Old Testament times, from early periods of history, Kerala was famous for its spices. I am very sorry that the Central Government has never thought that these spices are being sold elsewhere. Countries are importing these things and then again exporting them at higher prices. They process these things, make them into medicines, perfumes etc. As far as I can see, very little is being done about this.

We have so many other products which only Kerala can grow. Why not we create a monopoly in these things? We can have absolute monopoly in cardamom. We could also have had an absolute monopoly in pepper. No sufficient attention has been paid to these things in spite of all our representations. All our representations were practically turned down. You cannot cultivate pepper anywhere else in India. You have had the monopoly in this from the time of the Caesars. What has the Government of India, I ask in all seriousness, done for our people? What has the Government of India done for the pepper industry, which it could have had as a world monopoly without Malaya and Dutch Indies coming in if only it had thought about it early enough? I am sorry some emotion is coming into me when I am speaking about these things, because we have to go back to the electorate. The people there will ask: "You have been there in Delhi as our representatives for so many years. What could you make the Government of India do for us?"

Then again, near Calicut and Cannanore we have two timber exporting centres which, I am told, are the world's second largest timber exporting centres. We are, just as in the time when Solomon built the temple of Jerusalem with our rose-wood and black-wood, even now sending our

rose-wood and black-wood to be processed in other countries in Rome, in Paris, in the United States of America. What have our Government done with all their planning? Our people tell us: "This planning is not for you, dear Sir, it is only for the people north of the Vindhayas".

Shri D. C. Sharma (Hoshiarpur):  
No.

Shri Kottukappaly: This is what they say. We have to face our people, our electorate. We are told, Travancore-Cochin is a problem because the people there are always fighting, because they are always discontented. "Why?" I ask. Kashmir has been recognised as a problem but the unemployment in Travancore-Cochin has not been recognised as a problem. We are as loyal to this Republic as anyone else. We want this Republic to endure.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is now in an emotion and, therefore, he might continue, after that has subsided, tomorrow. Now we will take up Private Members' Business.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS  
SIXTIETH REPORT

Shri Nageshwar Prasad Sinha (Hazaribagh East): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Sixtieth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 28th August, 1956."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, I shall put the motion for the vote of the House.

Shri Gidwani (Thana): The time allotted for Resolution No. 1, namely,

"This House is of opinion that a Committee consisting of fifteen