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SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Is the Hon. Chief Minister aware of an article by Dr. J. C. Kumarappa condemning these schemes? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Dr. J. C. Kumarappa condemns pneumatic tyres also." (Laughter.)

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" The Hon. Chief Minister told us that he did not know who would pay for the Americans who would be sitting on our heads. Since they are going to work in our State and sit on our own heads, he must be able to say as to who is going to pay for them."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" There will be no American gentleman sitting on my head. If a small portion of the fifty-million dollars which is given as a gift is paid to any officer sitting in Delhi, we should not grudge it."

III.—LANGUAGE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

MR. SPEAKER :—" Before I take up the next item, I wish to tell the House that I have sent a circular to the Members requesting them to intimate the languages in which they wish to speak in the Assembly. Only 166 members have replied to it so far.

" The number of Members who want to speak in each language is as follows :—

English only	52	
English and Tamil	9	
English and Telugu	9	72
English and Kannada	1	
English and Tamil and Telugu	1	
Tamil only		52
Telugu only		30
Telugu and Kannada		1
Malayalam		11
Kannada only		Nil.
Total ..		166

" I want the other hon. Members also to reply to the circular and I hope they will reply soon."

IV.—GOVERNMENT MOTION.

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

11-30 a.m. MR. SPEAKER :—" Before I take up this matter, I must tell the House that this is the first time in our country that a Motion of this sort has been brought before the Legislature. We have no special rules relating to it. So, I am following the rules adopted in England regarding this matter. In England when Motions of

this sort are made, amendments are not allowed. The hon. Member Mr. C. V. K. Rao has given notice of an amendment. I am not going to allow that amendment. In England, in the House of Commons, when a Motion of this sort was before the House, a question was put to the Speaker. The question was 'Is it not rather unprecedented on an important Motion like this that the Government are putting forward, that although there are two amendments on the paper, neither of them shall be called?' The Speaker answered, 'No; I think it is rather the other way, and, as a rule, on a Vote of Censure, I do not call amendments'. As this is a Vote of Confidence, it is very much the same. So, I am not going to call any amendment. The Hon. the Leader of the House will move the Motion."

SRI C. V. K. RAO:—"On a point of order, Sir. You have said in your ruling that a Vote of Censure and a Vote of Confidence are just the same. I beg to differ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I object to the protest. If the hon. Member wants, there are other ways of expressing his protest. But when I have given a ruling the House should accept it."

SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP:—"On a point of order, Sir. The Agenda for the days from the 30th June to 5th July and from 7th July to 27th July has been fixed by a special order of His Excellency the Governor. My point of order is that this House is not entitled to change this Agenda. 'Vote of Confidence in the Council of Ministers' is not an item in that Agenda."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I shall answer that straightaway. The very fact that this Motion has been brought before this House shows that I have taken the permission of His Excellency the Governor to postpone the Budget discussion and bring up this Motion before the House. If the hon. Member has got any doubt, let him come to my chamber. Let him not put these questions in the open House."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Mr. Speaker, before I move my Motion, the Hon. the Chief Minister will be making a statement. I shall follow that statement with my Motion."

*THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"With your permission, Sir, I wish to make a very brief statement, as I am responsible for this motion to be brought forward and for changing the order of procedure and the agenda of the House also. Hon. Members are by now fully aware of the reasons and circumstances which convinced me that I must seek a clear expression of confidence from the House. The conditions under which I am working are difficult from every point of view—I could even say most difficult without exaggeration. I cannot discharge my duties nor can my colleagues in the Ministry do it, unless we have a strong and clear backing of the House.

"Our people are well aware of the circumstances which render my position difficult. Even if I accepted all the policies of the

Opposition, I know they would rather change their policies than support me. (Cries of ' No, no.') I know what they want, and that is, with due deference, chaos. I have undertaken . . ."

(Interruption.)

MR. SPEAKER :—" Order, order."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Do not make my statement noisy. I have undertaken . . ."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Sir, on a point of order. It was very good of you to have allowed the Chief Minister to make a statement, but he ought not to take advantage of that and say that hon. Members on this side want to create chaos. It is a reflection upon us, which I hope the Hon. Chief Minister will withdraw."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I hope I will have reason to change my opinion, Sir. But I do not think that when I use the word ' chaos ', I am doing anything unparliamentary. Otherwise I should join them. The only reason why I do not join them but oppose their line of action is because I hold this view. I have undertaken . . ."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" On a point of order, Sir. The Hon. the Chief Minister is casting an aspersion on the Opposition by remarking that we want to create chaos."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Let the Hon. the Chief Minister continue."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I am sorry that my hon. young Friends think that ' chaos ' is an unparliamentary word. It is not. (Interruption.) What I call ' chaos ' is the whole of their policy. I have undertaken, as I said, a great and difficult change, and the greatest and the most difficult change is the change in the food policy. I have undertaken many other difficult tasks, especially the most difficult task of finding begged or borrowed money to build up our prosperity and contentment. I cannot do this with a doubt hanging over my head. I cannot impress the world, the investing world, unless I get this decision I desire, namely, a firm confidence in my Government or the opposite of it. I thought the Coimbatore by-election set the matter at rest. But the result of the Aruppukkottai by-election has disturbed my mind. I made a straight appeal, and whatever may be the reason and the circumstances, the result of the polling there is that the voters of that constituency gave an answer adverse to me. (Interruption.) About 40 per cent of the voters of that area went to the polls, and the lady who was set up by the Congress did not secure a majority. She got about 50,000 votes against 70,000 votes secured by the Forward Bloc candidate. The Forward Bloc consists of a few members. Two or three of them are sitting in the Opposition all the same. They are going along with the main body, namely, the Communist body."

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SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—" On a point of order, Sir. I think the Hon. the Chief Minister is making a wrong statement. The Hon. the Chief Minister says that the main body is the Communist body. But the main body is the United Democratic Front. I want to correct the Hon. the Chief Minister." (Applause from the Opposition.)

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—" The main body is the Front. But the Front consists always—by the very phraseology—of several blocks united together to form a common front against me. It was done after the elections. The Forward Bloc and the other parties that go into this United Front are smaller, and I congratulate my hon. young Friends of the Communist Party that they are the biggest block in this United Front. There is no aspersion made in my statement. So I consider it necessary that hon. Members kindly keep the main lines in their minds. I wish to explain the reason why I come and disturb the procedure of the House with a Motion of this kind. I say that these events have disturbed my mind, and as my task is heavy, and as I have to appeal not only for co-operation but also for serious sacrifice to be made by the people, I have to go with a vote of confidence from this House. I consider it necessary that I should have a clear expression of the desire of the House which represents to-day the State as a whole. Whether I should continue in office, is the question I ask. Leading organs of public opinion have expressed the kindly view that I have not enough grounds to doubt my position and this test was unnecessary. But I feel that the nature of the tasks and policies I have initiated and the nature of the tasks I have yet to undertake call for a clear, decisive and firm indication of the confidence of the House. I know there is no persuading some people. In democratic organizations, the party system prevails, and we cannot escape the rigidity of that system. I am not an admirer of rigidity in anything. I would like every hon. Member sitting on this side of the House to consider himself free to vote as the God seated in his heart tells him to do. I desire that the same freedom will guide every Member on the other side also including those Members who sit on the front benches. But some of them do not think that there is a God seated in their hearts. I am not a dreamer. I know it is but a platitude to some people and men will vote not according to their present conviction but according to group decision. Even so, I want a clear picture as to where I stand. The battle that the Government have to fight on the food front and in other matters are battles which can be fought only if the support of the House is beyond doubt. Therefore it is I pressed on you, Sir, to give this Motion precedence even over the Budget. The Leader of the House will move this Motion, and I appeal to all who want orderly progress to cast their votes like free men and responsible citizens entrusted with the fate of 60 million people and with hard tasks in front of us."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon. the Chief Minister has read out a statement, which is very important. It is important for him and also for us. It would help us

if we have copies of the statement circulated to us. May I hope it will be done as soon as possible, say, within an hour or so?"

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the following Motion standing in my name, namely :—

> *' This House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers of which Sri C. Rajagopalachari is the Chief Minister.'*

Sir, the Hon. the Chief Minister has explained the background for this Motion, and the necessity for giving precedence to this Motion over the Budget discussion. If it is our intention that there should be a discussion on the policies enunciated by this Government, then the Budget discussion is more than enough. But we are not satisfied with that. To understand the background, it is necessary to recapitulate in what circumstances this Government took up office, and in what circumstances our Chief Minister became the leader of the Congress Party and the Chief Minister. He was not a Member of the Legislative Assembly or, for the matter of that, a Member of the Council. We approached him with the request that he should take over the leadership of the Congress Party and also the leadership of the Government here.

11-45 a.m. " As one who was responsible for persuading him to take over this responsibility, I would like to tell the House that when I approached him, I told him that it would make a great difference in the State if he were to take over the leadership of the Congress Party and be the Chief Minister here. With that assurance, he was pleased to take over the leadership of the Congress Party and, as you know, he is now the Chief Minister. After his taking over the responsibilities of Chief Ministership, you all know how the administration is being run and there is ample opportunity either to approve of it or to criticise it when the Budget proposals come up before the House. But now the question that has arisen is whether, as a matter of fact, we, the Members of this Government with Sri C. Rajagopalachari as its head, have got the confidence of the House. As the Hon. the Chief Minister was pleased to explain, we have come before this House to seek a vote of confidence before proceeding with the Budget discussions because of the result in the Aruppukkottai by-election."

AN HON. MEMBER :—" There was also the Kakinada by-election."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" We are not ignoring the Kakinada by-election. There were three by-elections, one at Kakinada, one at Coimbatore and another at Aruppukkottai. As far as Kakinada was concerned, even formerly that seat was won by a Communist and we thought we had not proceeded far enough to change the hearts and minds of the people of Kakinada in such a way that they would vote for the Congress candidate. We all knew that it would take a little more time for the people of that area to realize that they were doing a wrong thing

in supporting the Communist Party and that they were voting for chaos when they voted for the Communist Party. It would take some time more for them to realize that and, therefore, we were not bothered about the Kakinada election and we did not set up a Congress candidate there."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—" But you supported with all your might the other candidate opposing the Communist candidate."

MR. SPEAKER:—" Let the hon. Members allow the Hon. Minister to continue his speech."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—" It is our duty to support orderliness and to oppose the Communists and expose their tactics and false claims at every opportunity. We took advantage of the Kakinada election also to do that though we knew that it was not possible, so far as Kakinada was concerned, to convince those people at this stage. But it is our duty to take every available opportunity for bringing to the notice of the people the false propaganda and the tactics adopted by the Communist Party. We were not bothered about the result of the Kakinada election, for, as I have already said, there has not been enough time to change the hearts of those people. But as far as the two elections in Coimbatore and Aruppukkottai were concerned, we were definitely of opinion—and that was what I assured the Hon. the Chief Minister—that there had been a change of heart among the people and that they would wholeheartedly support us. As far as the Coimbatore constituency was concerned, the people there gave a clear verdict. Then came the Aruppukkottai election. There, I agree that there was an adverse verdict. I can very well explain away the result of that election. We could say that it was after all a Parliamentary seat, that our policies were not involved there and, therefore, it does not matter at all. We could explain that only one man was dominating the whole show there, that it was a backward area and that it was not possible to change the hearts of the people there. Such excuses were given but the Hon. the Chief Minister was not satisfied with them."

SRI U. MUTHURAMALINGA THEVAR:—" On a point of order, Sir. The Hon. Minister says, ' It was a one-man's show.' "

MR. SPEAKER:—" It is not unparliamentary to say that it was a ' one-man's show '."

SRI U. MUTHURAMALINGA THEVAR:—" Anyhow a political party cannot be treated in such a cheap manner even though it is sitting in the Opposition."

MR. SPEAKER:—" I will allow the hon. Member to have his say afterwards. Let the Hon. Minister continue his speech."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—" I do not refer to any political party, but if the cap fits the hon. Member, let him wear it, Sir. Now, we can explain away the result of the Aruppukkottai election in that way. But the Hon. the Chief Minister was not satisfied with that. He wanted to have the clear verdict

of the people and the only way for it was another election, an appeal to the electorate. I may take the hon. Members into my confidence and say that, as a matter of fact, his mind was working in that line, viz., an appeal to the electorate. I asked him, 'Is it fair to this House, simply because in one Aruppukkottai constituency the people gave an adverse verdict, to have a general election again, to dissolve this House and then appeal to the electorate?' I appealed to him that it would be just and fair to ask this House whether this Government have got the confidence and the solid backing of this House, and whether in spite of the verdict of the people in one constituency at Aruppukkottai, this House is prepared to give its solid support to the Government, apart from their policies which would come up before this House and on which hon. Members would exercise their vote. It was considered that we should have a clear verdict of this House on the question whether it is their desire that we should continue in office. That is why, leaving aside the Budget programme and all other business, we have come before this House to know its mind. We should know whether this House is prepared to give its verdict in favour of this Government or not. That is the background of this Motion. On this it is not necessary to speak any more. I am sure the Opposition will take this opportunity to ventilate all their grievances in whatever field they might be."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" The Leader of the House says that we want chaos. It is our right to say what we want."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" They are going to say what they want, in their own language. The only thing is I want hon. Members to understand their language when they talk of people and People's Front. When they speak in the name of the people, we should understand what is behind their minds. So, my appeal to all the hon. Members is that when the Communists speak or the Communist-inspired people speak, they should understand their language in their own Marxist style. Please do not be carried away by what they say. When they talk of the people and the People's Front, understand them properly and give your verdict, and whatever be your verdict, we are prepared to accept it wholeheartedly and take all the consequences. I request hon. Members also, when they cast their votes, to realize their responsibilities and the consequences of their action."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The Hon. Minister must face the Chair and address the Speaker."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Even while I am facing the other side, I am only addressing the Speaker, Sir.

" Sir, I would request the hon. Members to search their hearts —I won't refer to 'God', because some people may object to it. I am sure they will vote according to what they feel in their innermost hearts and not be dictated to by anybody else. That is my appeal and I formally move my Motion."

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MR. SPEAKER :—Motion moved—

'This House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers of which Sri C. Rajagopalachari is the Chief Minister.' "

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, the first question that arises in my mind with regard to this Motion is whether it has been moved in time or out of time or at a time when it is not necessary. Sir, opinions may differ with regard to the appropriateness of the time of moving this Motion. But quite apart from the issues on which this Motion is based, personally I am inclined to feel that this is an opportune time to have a motion of this nature before this House, for we came here after a great election held a few months ago. Three hundred and seventy-five representatives of the enormous population of South India have come here to do good to the country in general through this House and through the executive Government. They are charged with the work of ameliorating the conditions of the people. When that is the job before us, we have to consider whether the executive that has been charged with that duty has the support of the public. The support of the public is translated here through the 375 representatives who have been sent here, and that too recently. When doubts are raised as to whether the person who is the leader of the Government is the proper person to lead or not, there should be no confusion in the mind of the public that the right person has been chosen for the occasion. It is in that view, Mr. Speaker, that I consider this a very opportune moment to discuss and vote upon a Motion like the one the Hon. the Leader of the House has chosen to bring forward before this House this morning.

" Sir, we will have an opportunity in the near future to record our confidence in the Ministry on the occasion of the Budget discussion, especially when the Demand for the salaries of Ministers is voted upon. A vote on that Demand can truly be considered as a Vote of Confidence if the Demand is passed and a Vote of No-confidence if it is not passed. That is one additional method of expressing our confidence in the Ministry. When such an opportunity will be there in a few days, some might have wondered why the Government should have come forward with a Motion of this nature now. But I feel that in view of the attitude of some Members of this House, it is well that, before proceeding with the discussion on the Budget in which the Government have adumbrated their policies for the promotion of the welfare of the people for next year, this Motion is taken up, in order that the Government may know whether they have the general approval of this House for carrying on the administration. Therefore, Sir, it is right that this Motion of Confidence in the leader of the Government, the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, is taken up now.

" Sir, the issues which the Hon. the Chief Minister has taken to heart seriously are the Aruppukkottai election and the attitude of the United Democratic Front towards the Ministry. I must straightaway say that the three by-elections that have been referred

to should not be taken into consideration, for they have been held so soon after a general election. Even in that great country of England, the birthplace of democracy, where democratic institutions have been in existence for hundreds of years, a by-election that takes place soon after the general elections is not taken into account seriously in the matter of the confidence of the public in the Ministry. If by-elections go against the Government after a period of, say, two or three years, then it should be considered that the Government, in their policy and action during the two or three years after the general election, have gone to such an extent as to displease the people. But no such thing has happened here. A party which requires an absolute majority naturally requires some time to work its way up and build up its majority and weaken the minorities still further if possible. In its attempt to do so, the party might sometimes go down still further. Therefore, it is too soon to expect a majority party which has won a recent election to get a majority in all the other constituencies where it has recently lost the elections. The Government Party lost the elections in these constituencies only a few months ago. How is it possible for that party to get its candidate elected in the same constituency so soon before some time has elapsed and the Government have done something for the good of the public? In that sense, it is not right to make much of the three by-elections that have taken place recently. Moreover, out of the three by-elections, two were for the House of the People in Delhi and, therefore, the results have a bearing on the administration at the Centre also and not merely on the administration here. In the months of March and April, we were all very anxious whether this State would be having a stable and orderly Government at all. Thank God, we have been vouchsafed a good Government for the present. We are all very much relieved that an elderly statesman, an astute statesman of the type of the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar, has come forward to shoulder the responsibilities of Government. It is a great relief not only to the Members of this House but to the general public at large, as is evident from the chorus of approval that came in soon after his assumption of office. Moreover, it is an admitted fact that the Government headed by the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar has infused great confidence into the minds of the public and the tens of thousands of officials who have got to carry on the administration from the village to the headquarters here. This is a very heartening feature and we are full of great hopes and expectations of a very good and orderly Government for the next few years. Great hopes have been raised in the minds of the public that many good things will be done to them in the various fields like food production, land reforms and matters connected with the future of the tiller of the soil. Therefore, this Ministry is expected to do a great job and should be given time to do that. How is it possible for it to do everything in a few days? It is necessary that this House should vote for this Motion of Confidence in the Ministry, so that it may do its best for the millions of people. Mr. Speaker, we are very glad that a very good start has been made by this Government. I cannot refrain from referring to that

12 noon.

great act of decontrol. In my own humble way, I have been shouting for decontrol in the past, in the previous House, without success. It is heartening to see that so soon after the present Government came to power, they decided, under the wise guidance and leadership of Sri Rajagopalachariar, to give up control on food. Control on food must be given up at least for one reason, viz., to create more incentive to the producer to produce more and more foodgrains. I am very glad that the decontrol decision of the Government has been approved by almost every section of the population. Even the hon. Members of the Opposition have welcomed it to a very great extent, though they may not have approved of it in all its details. This is a very heartening feature and I would like to offer my congratulations to the Government on their very wise and statesmanlike action. Some people say that the Government have taken a very bold step. I do not agree that it is a bold step; it is not a gamble or a risk. They have taken a very wise step. The Chief Minister has only taken a wise step, and our congratulations are due to him. I hope that the State Government will succeed in persuading the Government of India to get larger quantities of imported rice so that their decontrol decision may be a success.

" I do not wish to take up the time of the House as my purpose will be best served by urging that the Motion of Confidence in the present Ministry should be supported by every section of this House. I am saying this not only because the State must have a stable Government, but also because of the fact that we are led to entertain a natural and real hope that, in the coming months, this Government will be able to do very much to the people. The Budget proposals of the Government have now been placed before this House and I shall not now speak about them in detail, except to say that by and large, under the present circumstances, the Budget is fairly good. We are not having very many taxes. One of the items of taxation, particularly the surcharge on bus fares is a very reasonable and equitable tax which will bring some money to cover the deficit. It is a very wise way of taxing. This House must approve of such taxation proposals when they come before the House.

" On this occasion, I do hope that a clear Vote of Confidence will be given. The decision given by a majority of votes will also be a Vote of Confidence. But if a large number of hon. Members support this Motion, it will be heartening to the Chief Minister and his colleagues who have to carry on their work for the good of this State."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Some hon. Members have represented to me that it is better if the House adjourns at 12-30. So I have to inform the House that we will adjourn at 12-30 p.m. and not at 1-30 p.m. and meet again in the afternoon at 2-30 p.m."

* SRI V. R. KRISHNA IYER:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Motion is not very necessary now. But we have been told in detail the circumstances under which the Chief Minister of this State has

chosen to force this Motion on this House and demand a Vote of Confidence and get it passed if the House agrees with the Motion, or accept defeat should the House decide otherwise. I thought that a Vote of Confidence would, according to parliamentary practice, have been demanded in a Ministry run by a political party. Here, in this case, I thought that the Government would have demanded a Vote of Confidence in the Congress Ministry as such, because the Congress is a political party and has programmes and policies and traditions. People would naturally know well in what manner the Congress Party is going to execute those programmes and policies in future, and how it proposes to fulfil its promises to the people. But here, we find that the whole thing hangs by one individual and we are asked to support or oppose this Motion of Vote of Confidence, in a Council of Ministers headed by one individual, viz., Sri C. Rajagopalachari. It is not going to be a vote in favour of the Congress Ministry or against the Congress Ministry or for a Coalition Ministry. The vote is sought for a particular individual whose policies have not been indicated, or adumbrated or not even hinted at in broad outlines. All that we are told is this : ' Here is one individual who has agreed to shoulder the burden of running the administration of the State ; he wants that his hands should be strengthened ; he must be helped; so give your vote of confidence or lack of confidence in him.' That is to say, this House is asked to put implicit faith in one individual. We do not know what he proposes to do for the State and what the policies of this Council of Ministers headed by him are going to be. Of course he has indicated one major policy, viz., decontrol and derationing, but has thrown no light on the rest of his Government's policies. And so, what are we to vote for? I believe it is entirely wrong to ask for a vote in such circumstances. In the history of parliamentary practice anywhere in a democratic country, I cannot file a parallel to this, where a Chief Minister stood up and said, ' Well, if you have faith in me, vote for me; I am not concerned with my party; are you going to adopt me as Chief Minister or not? If you want that I should introduce beneficent rule, you must strengthen my hands.' It is entirely improper and incongruous for any democratic administration to ask for a Vote of Confidence in that manner without giving out its policies and programmes. The Chief Minister has not yet disclosed these things to the House and still he expects the House to vote on the Motion. My submission to the House through you, Mr. Speaker, is this. We must first of all have a clear notion as to whether it is the Congress Ministry that is asking for a Vote of Confidence. Evidently, it has not been mentioned like that in the Motion and that possibility is ruled out. Similarly, we have also to understand whether we have to deal with the Council of Ministers as such or a particular agglomeration of members captained by Sri C. Rajagopalachiar. Here, we find that the accent has been placed entirely on the personality of one individual. We have not been enlightened as to what will be the policies and programmes of that particular individual, and what exactly that Chief Minister is going to do. Then, and only then, will we be in a position to judge whether

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that personality can implement those programmes and can do those things for the people. We are not told all those things. We should not even consider such an equivocal Motion, especially when many of us do not definitely know the policies of the individual on whose behalf the Motion is moved. Has a definite programme been chalked out? My submission is this. So far as this particular Motion is concerned, it asks for a Vote of Confidence in an individual, and so it is a case of dictatorship that we are committing ourselves to. It is a Motion bereft of any details of his plan. Let us see what exactly are this Government going to do from what the Chief Minister has already done. I do not know whether it is a Congress Ministry that he is heading or any other. It is a matter on which we want the Treasury Benches to throw some light. Has information been given to the Members of this House about the Government's programme in any speeches or in any written document? To my knowledge, they have not done anything like that. The most important thing that we have to consider is this. What are the proposals put forward by them in the Budget? Also, we must know what the Government have done before the Budget was introduced in this House. We are all aware of what has happened. Even at the commencement of this Assembly, we were greeted with the prohibitory order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. Now we have section 41 of the Police Act in force. We know what will happen if the policies pursued by the Government are opposed. The decontrol policy of the Chief Minister, for confidence in whom this Motion has been moved, has to some extent relieved the poor people from the harassment of the officials. We must also take into account other matters in this connexion before coming to a conclusion and giving an opinion on this Motion. Surely, we should not be expected to give a blank cheque. We should consider how far we are to have freedom of opinion, freedom of movement and freedom of association under this one man's rule. When we first met here, there was a check on the freedom of association because of the promulgation of an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. What has been done during the Budget session? We have an order under the Police Act. I have already stated that food decontrol leaves behind it mixed feelings. Food decontrol is tacked on to food derationing. Because of decontrol, there has been some amount of free movement of foodgrains. Along with this, we must also remember the fact that prices of foodgrains have gone up beyond the means of the ordinary people. Formerly, these poor people were depending on the ration shops and now they have to pay very heavy prices for getting their foodgrains. What will be the plight of these poor people, if they have to pay such high prices for the most vital necessaries of life, especially with their poor purchasing power? I say that the food derationing has a snag. By combining food decontrol and derationing, one fails to notice the hidden dangers in it. The United Democratic Front wants to view the whole thing with subdued optimism. We must take into account the hidden dangers and so we cannot straightaway say that the Government's policy in this regard is approved *in toto*. The

Chief Minister said that whatever he may do will be opposed by the Opposition as it is the duty of the Opposition to oppose. That is entirely wrong. On the other hand, we have agreed with a good portion of the decontrol policy. Every one of us will remember that the Government have been taxing the vital necessaries of life of the common man by imposing sales tax on food. Again, there is yet another tax burden being imposed on the poor man by increasing the bus fares by one pie per mile. This is not a tax that is going to affect the luxurious limousine-owners. It is only the poor people who are going to be affected by it. Motor bus transport is the poor man's conveyance. The Government have imposed this tax directly on the poor people and thus made it difficult for them to use that conveyance even. I think the present rate is about 4 to 6 pies per mile and if one more pie is added, the increase will work out to 15 to 20 per cent, which is very heavy indeed. In spite of the very sympathetic words spoken about the poor people, the Government are now putting an additional burden on the poor people by this tax. Much has been mentioned about the poverty of the people and their suffering. But instead of giving them relief, additional burdens are sought to be placed on them. This is a very reactionary step.

" Coming to the sales tax, I wish to say that the poor people have at present to pay sales tax on their daily necessaries of life like rice, fish, eggs, milk, etc. Is this in accord with the Directive Principles of State Policy mentioned in the Constitution, namely:

' The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.'

Is this the way in which the State is to promote the welfare of the people? Is this the way in which the Government are going to effect equitable distribution of wealth? Do they think that by imposing such heavy taxes on the poor people, they can achieve their objective? Is it one of the modes of promoting equitable distribution of wealth in this country to tax the poor man? Is this the way of increasing the wealth of the country? I am really amazed at these taxation proposals.

12-15 p.m. " Similarly, Sir, what has been done in regard to the irrigation cess? Already there is one cess. Where water is given for irrigation purposes, there is a tax already. There is a levy. I hail from Tellicherry where there is an oppressive levy on the ryot and the farmer for the supply of water. On top of this all, now comes the betterment levy. What does this amount to? There is double taxation on water. As irrigation cess, we collect a tax on water. The farmer is taxed. Now there is the second tax called betterment levy. Is that all? There is a third one called the surcharge on land revenue. What happens in Malabar? It is the ryot, the cultivator, the farmer, that has got to pay the tax and not the janmi. The janmi who is the landlord passes on the revenue payment to the ryot or the producer, so much so the surcharge will be ultimately borne by the poor ryot. If this House represents the ryots and the poor masses of this country and if we really represent the

people in this House, we must strongly object to the new fiscal measures brought forward by the Government. Elementary principles of public finance demand that there must be no direct taxation on the poor because they cannot bear the burden. But what we do find to-day in the announcement of the Government under the Chief Ministership of Sri Rajagopalachari is that they have made no secret of taxing the poor, taxing them more and more and taxing them to the maximum. Sir, on an earlier occasion, I advocated in this House taxation of the rich on such lines as are permitted by the Constitution. I suggested the introduction of a Death Duty. Why have the Government not considered the suggestion? Is it because they are not prepared to tax the rich who would oppose such a measure? Is it because the rich will manufacture and mobilise public opinion in such a manner as to overthrow the present Government? Why do not they levy a tax on the rich? Why are the poor alone taxed in their food and in their conveyance? Why not they tax the higher ranges of agricultural incomes? Agricultural incomes have increased tremendously in recent times. There are plantations. There are foreign investments and wealthy estates—coffee, tea, rubber and cinchona. These are plantations that earn millions of rupees, and still there is no agricultural income-tax. It is within the powers of this House to levy an agricultural income-tax. We could certainly have had enough money if we had taxed such plantations and big landlords who make much money from out of their lands. We say funds are necessary for financing our schemes. We say we want more revenue. Mr. Speaker, all these can be found if there is a will to find the money. It is no use saying all this can be done if God exists in one's heart. Let us love God by loving His children. Let us love one another. That is real godliness. If godliness is what we want, then I would plead for godliness in the true spirit. It is not in the temple but it consists in our love for the people. It is in that spirit I say, let us have some method of promoting economic equality. The way in which the present Government try to promote it is not the right way. The fiscal measures they have introduced, I have no hesitation in saying, have gone far beyond the extent they should go so far as the poor are concerned and left the rich as they are. There is no relief for the poor in the policy announced by the Government.

" Let us now come to the manner of public expenditure in this country. What does the agriculturist get under the new Budget proposals for the promotion of agriculture? We do not have an increased agricultural staff. We do not know what the Agricultural department is going to do. We have no free or subsidized distribution of manure and improved seeds to the ryots. We have no technical staff to assist the agriculturists in their operations. We have no demonstration farms. How is agriculture sought to be promoted? There is no mention about this in the Budget proposals at all.

" Next I come to education. One of the Directive Principles of State Policy contained in the Constitution is that free and compulsory primary education should be provided to all children in the

State within a period of ten years. But I wonder if concrete steps are at all taken by the Government in this direction. The present Budget proposals are more or less the same as those of previous years. In Malabar, aided elementary school teachers have been pleading for an increase in their pay which is below subsistence level, which is very meagre. But there is hardly any indication in the Budget to meet their demand. The Budget contains provision for expenditure on some major irrigation projects which have already advanced too far to be abandoned or slowed down. These projects have got to be completed. Even as regards minor irrigation projects, what is being done? We are told very cleverly—there is a lot of cleverness about it in the Budget proposals—that the people benefited by these schemes should contribute fifty per cent of the cost and that the other fifty per cent would be shared between the Central and the State Governments. It is perfectly clear that the ryot will not make a voluntary contribution of even one pie for the starting of a minor irrigation work, and therefore, the Government will not be called upon to make their twenty-five per cent contribution for the purpose. Sir, even the previous Governments had some minor irrigation projects executed. The present Government have completely abandoned minor projects and committed themselves to the major projects since they have committed themselves too much to get out of them. In the matter of primary education, the Government have hardly done anything; but they have made some special provision for grants to Universities and Engineering Colleges. What we ask for is the implementation of the Directive Principles of the Constitution and the pledges contained therein; but the Budget is far away from these. In the circumstances, how can we hail this Government as being one for the people? I, therefore, appeal to this House to vote against the motion. A vote in favour of this Government is a vote for a blank cheque in favour of the Chief Minister. We know that the Chief Minister had been in the Congress, had been out of the Congress and is now back again in the Congress. He was recently in voluntary retirement and he has now come back to give us relief. We do not want to vote for an 'Avatar'. We do not want to vote for those who are not prepared to place their programme before the House and yet want a vote of confidence. What programme have the Government got, I ask? Have we to wait for your beneficent measures to fall like manna from Heaven? Sir, I appeal to this House to be democratic and insist upon a democratic policy, and not vote for 'one man', if we want to work the Constitution in a democratic way. We have, however, had some disclosures in the Budget proposals; there is nothing there for the lower middle class and the poor class; there is nothing there to improve agriculture; and there is no provison for education. Therefore, this is really a case where the rich are patted on their backs and the poor hit the hardest. The poor have no voice, but the rich have a considerable voice in the affairs of the Government. I once again appeal to this House to vote against this Motion.'

(The visitors in the galleries clapped their hands.)

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MR. SPEAKER:—" I warn the visitors in the galleries. If they clap their hands again, I will have to clear the galleries."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must confess to you that it is with a good deal of trepidation that I rise to speak on this Motion, as it is not an ordinary Motion as you yourself have been good enough to point out this morning. This is the first time that a Motion of this type has been brought before a Legislature in this country. This is an extraordinary Motion also. Considering the circumstances under which this Motion is brought before this House and considering the fact that the Motion is made after the Budget for the year is presented, I feel this is an extraordinary Motion brought about by an extraordinary situation that has developed. Apart from this fact, the very terms of the Motion are quite unprecedented. We are asked here to express confidence not in the Council of Ministers—if that were so, it would be an ordinary affair—but in the Council of Ministers headed by Sri C. Rajagopalachariar. The sting is in the adjectival clause ' which is headed by Sri C. Rajagopalachariar '. We have been told or it has been made to appear to us and to the public by Sri Rajagopalachariar and other Members of the governing party that Sri Rajagopalachariar is not an ordinary mortal like any of us, and that he is an extraordinary gentleman. Not only that. They say that he is the chosen representative of the Almighty God who has come to succour this State. It is for this reason that I feel a little trepidation, for I do not know what is in store for us. If the Members of the Opposition to-day dare to vote against this Motion, if the Members of the Opposition dare to express want of confidence in a Ministry headed by the chosen representative of the Almighty God, what will happen, what dire punishment in this life and the life hereafter will follow, we do not know. That is why, when I rise to oppose this Motion, it is with a good deal of trepidation that I do so. Nonetheless, during the last 22 years of my public life, I have been taught—and that lesson has been burnt into my consciousness by the party of which I have the honour to be a member, that our people are greater than any God, and that there is no God above our people. Therefore, it becomes necessary for me to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, i.e., to disclose the secret that is behind this move of the Government. Our people have taught us to follow a certain procedure and a certain conduct in public life. During the general elections they have taught us not to believe people when they say they are such and such people. They have taught us that people's professions have got to be put into the crucible of practice (The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam: ' Hear, hear ') and unless they stand the test, their professions should not be taken at their face value. Therefore it is that it becomes necessary for me to ask the House not to look at the words of the Motion only but to probe a little deeper, to delve a little deeper into the circumstances that have led Sri C. Rajagopalachariar and his Ministry to bring in this Motion. We have been vouchsafed a statement by the Chief Minister in this connexion. 12-30 p.m. Let us look into the whole question. Why is it we are told

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that this Motion has been necessitated by the results of the Aruppukottai bye-election? Well, I shall not comment on this election result just now. I shall reserve it for a later occasion. But I may say that no vote of this House is going to efface the verdict of the Aruppukottai bye-election. There are the people who have given the clearest and the most unambiguous verdict against your policy despite the fact . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Let not the hon. Member say ' your policy '. Let him say ' Government's policy '."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" It is rather difficult to get accustomed to the procedure, but no disrespect to the Chair is meant.

" The Chief Minister chose to make this a test election for the policies put into operation by him . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The House will now adjourn and meet again at 2-30 p.m. The hon. Member may continue his speech after lunch."

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I was saying this morning, the result of the voting in this House is not going in any way to obliterate the verdict of the people of the Aruppukottai Constituency. If it were democratic considerations that have been guiding our Chief Minister, then this is not the course which he would have adopted. He would never have come to this House asking for a Vote of Confidence and I do not think he is so very naive as to believe that a Vote of Confidence of this House, obtained by means of political manoeuvre and intrigue, as he himself put it in his first press conference immediately after he assumed office, is in any way going to change the verdict of the people of the Aruppukottai Constituency. Then, what is it that motivates our Chief Minister in bringing forward this Motion? It is found in the statement he himself made this morning. He has told us that he has taken a very big responsibility and he seeks not only co-operation but he seeks also greater sacrifice. In order to co-operate with him greater sacrifices on the part of the people will be necessary.

" Let us consider the circumstances under which this statement is being made by him and this Motion is brought before this House to-day. We have the Budget and we know that in this Budget people are being asked to bear a much heavier burden than they were bearing before. To-day people are being asked, the ordinary people, the common people, people whose standard of living has been depressed continually during the last five years of the Congress rule or misrule if I may say so,—these people are asked to bear the heaviest burden. We have the announcement regarding the increase in the bus fares, the betterment levy and all sorts of things. The Chief Minister knows that these are not new proposals that he is making to-day. These were the very proposals that were brought up by the previous Congress Ministry,

by Mr. Gopala Reddi who was the then Finance Minister. He knows that even inside the Congress Party there was terrible opposition to these measures and ultimately Mr. Gopala Reddi, the then Finance Minister was compelled to withdraw the measures. He knows therefore that not only will there be opposition to these measures from the Members of this House—Members on the Opposition side as well as the Members on the other side—but there will be terrible opposition from the people also. There is bound to be terrible opposition even from among those who are now supporting the Congress, or those who agreed to support this Ministry. To-day I know as a matter of fact that the Krishakar Lok Party will be put in an extremely difficult position to support these taxation proposals and then go and face the people who returned them to this House. There are others who have crossed the floor of the House and joined the Congress. They had been elected in opposition to the Congress on the pledge that they were going to oppose the Congress, but after coming into this Assembly they have succumbed to the political manoeuvres of the Chief Minister. I know these people will find it difficult to support these measures and vote for this Motion. If this Vote of Confidence is not carried, the Budget may not be passed. Therefore it is, the Chief Minister has placed before the Members of this House a picture of chaos. He holds up before the people the Communist—phobia and in that way tries to get a vote in his favour if possible on the Budget in advance, before the Budget is actually discussed. That is his specific purpose. It is an attempt to by-pass the normal procedure that is laid down for the passing of the Budget. Therefore it is that I say there is a purpose behind this. When I say this I realise that we have got to deal with people who are extremely crafty, who are extremely clever.

" The Chief Minister of course has been claiming a monopoly for being truthful. He has always the monopoly of truth and as far as we on this side of the House are concerned, he has been saying that we are untruthful, ungodly and all sorts of things. He also knows that there is such a thing as suppression of fact. That is why I believe, in the courts of law people are asked to utter the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Let us consider how far the Chief Minister utters the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Speaking somewhere the other day, probably in Cuddapah, he said that the people of this State have given a mandate to the Congress to rule this State, because 70 lakhs of people voted for the Congress and only 26 lakhs voted for the Communists. But he forgot one simple fact that the 70 lakhs who voted for the Congress do not become the majority of the voters who took part in the last general elections. It may be that there were a number of parties who contested the elections. But our Chief Minister knows that whatever be the multiplicity of the parties that contested the elections, the one simple fact, the one simple straight issue that was posed before the people by every party including even the Congress party, was whether the Congress party that ruled the country during the last five years should continue to rule it. It was claimed that the Congress alone had

the right to rule this State, rule the people of this country and administer this country, because it had wonderful brains and administrative experience and had won the freedom of this country. The question was whether that Congress Party should be returned to power and continue to rule the country. This was the question posed by every party, the Congress Party, K.M.P. Party, the Krishakar Lok Party, the Socialists and the Independents. This was the single and straight issue raised by all the parties and the Congress also raised this simple and straight issue. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru whenever he went about the country raised this same simple issue and placed his programme before the people. On this issue the people gave a verdict against the Congress. Only 34 per cent of the voters who went to the polls voted for the Congress and the rest voted for the parties that opposed the Congress. Whatever be their party, all of them were agreed that the Congress shall not rule. How then dare the Chief Minister come forward in the face of this clear and unambiguous verdict of the people and tell us and the people that 70 lakhs have voted for the Congress and therefore the people have given them a mandate to rule the State? (The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam : ' Is it suppression of a fact? ') It is suppression of a fact that the 70 lakhs of voters represented only a minority of the total number of voters that participated in the general election. It is suppression of the simple and straight issue that the Congress lost and did not receive the mandate from the people to rule this State. The people gave the verdict that Congress shall not rule the State. That verdict of the people of course has been and will be suppressed.

" Thereafter we know how the Chief Minister has come to be in charge of the affairs of the State, how exactly he came to be the head of the Government. We need not waste our time now on all those things. We have discussed it sufficiently. We know also how many have been inveigled into the Governmental group. I deliberately use the word ' inveigled '. Be that as it may. The question now arises; ever since then what is it that the Chief Minister has been saying and doing? Even now in this House in the course of the statement he has made, what is the attempt that he has made to bamboozle the Members? I have known in history, at any rate I have read, that people who preach about God were people who renounced worldly things and worldly life. I have heard of the great Buddha renouncing the kingdom, donning saffron cloth and going about preaching about God. I have also heard of others who left their kingdoms and went about preaching God. But for the first time now we have got an example of a person who leaves his ' *Vanaprastha* ' and comes back to take up the reins of the State and then goes about preaching about God. He requires a police-state, the power of the police on which seven crores of rupees are spent, for the purpose of preaching his God. This is the position to which we have been reduced. (Interruption.) There is of course another example we know. Lord Krishna who was the King of Dwaraka was going about preaching God. We know also in the Gita he was shouting against the non-believers. Perhaps our Rajaji the author of ' Kannan-Kattiya Vazhi ' had thought that he himself

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followed in the foot-steps of Lord Krishna and was a reincarnation of ' Kannan ' himself as stated in the Gita :

' यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदाऽऽत्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥ '

Whenever dharma subsides and adharma reigns supreme, then I, Krishna, reincarnate to suppress adharma and re-establish dharma.' This is the English translation of the verse. So perhaps he thought : ' To-day there is lot of adharma in this country because the Communists are getting powerful and the other people who are opposed to the Congress are getting powerful, and therefore I have come here in order to re-establish dharma.' However one thing strikes us as peculiar, and that is this : the fact that there is a lot of disbelief in God, and that there is great necessity to inculcate into the people faith in God, dawned upon our Chief Minister only after the Congress Party lost in the elections in the Madras State and not before. We know he had been writing some books on religion, but the zeal and the urge that he shows to-day in preaching about God in every public meeting,—at any rate, I have not seen in him before, in my long public life, from the time I have known him. I claim to have attended many public meetings addressed by him and heard his speeches in the Congress Conferences and Sessions that I have attended. I have heard a number of his speeches during 1937–39 when he was the Prime Minister of this State. In those speeches, I can say, I have not heard this much of preaching about God which he does to-day. Therefore, it is clear that the idea that to-day there is ungodliness and disbelief in God and therefore it has become very necessary to inculcate faith in God in the people, has dawned upon him suddenly after the Congress has lost at the polls in this State. At any rate, we do not see Chief Ministers in other States where Congress has got a majority, preaching about God as our Rajagopalachari is doing in this State. Only in this State the Congress has lost. Why? Because people have no faith in God! If they have faith in God, they would have voted for the Congress! This is what it ultimately reduces itself to. When a politician, a statesman, a diplomat, suddenly turns to be a preacher of God, using his position as Head of the Government, then it becomes necessary to probe a little deeper into it, to understand the motives behind his preachings. Is it merely a desire to inculcate faith in God in the people or is there something else? Is it an attempt to hide something else? Is it an attempt to masquerade as a devout preacher and conceal something else? I say that all this talk is nothing more than an attempt to hide the anti-people policies that were being pursued and that are now continued to be pursued by Sri Rajagopalachari and his Government. The same policies that were pursued by the previous Congress Government are being continued to-day. Only the continuation is being done along with the preaching of God. But we know that the issue of God is not the issue before us. We know that Rajaji also was a party to our Constitution. He was one of the framers of the Constitution, and our Constitution was sought to be made a Constitution of a secular State, and let us also remember that the Constitution provides for

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an oath or affirmation. Therefore, faith in God or no faith in God, can never be an issue in this House or anywhere in the country, so long as we are functioning under the Constitution, the Constitution of a secular State which it is claimed to be.

" Therefore, let us not confuse the issue. The issue is whether the Government headed by Sri Rajagopalachari commands the confidence, not of this House, but of the people as a whole. That is the issue before the people, and the electorate had given its verdict in the last elections, and if the Government want another verdict, we have no objection. (Interruption from Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari.) Sir, Sri Rajagopalachari wants to point out that the electorate did not give a verdict on the issue of the Ministry headed by Sri Rajagopalachari. ((Interruption from Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari.) Anyway, the Chief Minister has given me a point and I take it that Sri Rajagopalachari wants to dissociate himself from the Congress whose Ministry ruled this State last time."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, I was only explaining that the issue before the people was more general. But, he talked it on to the language of the Motion. In the language of the present Motion, he would not be correct in saying that the issue was my Ministry. I had to interrupt so that he may correct his argument and carry on."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" I maintain, having heard Sri Rajagopalachari's explanation, that the issue before the people was the same although Sri Rajagopalachari seeks to make a distinction between the Ministry that existed before and his Ministry, on the ground that previously some other gentleman, Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja, was the head of the Ministry."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" It would be perfectly open to Mr. Ramamurthi to say that the issue before the people was the general issue of the Congress as a governing party. But, if he says that I am going to dissociate myself from the previous Ministry, he is saying something unfair."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" I did say that the issue before the people in the last general elections was the issue of the Congress as such and I say that again. In fact, I said that the very purpose of bringing forward this Motion is an attempt to tell the people, ' Sri C. Rajagopalachari is the Chief Minister; don't confuse his Ministry with the Congress Ministry; have you got confidence in him or the Ministry that has gone? ' He might deny it. It is sought to be made out that this is entirely a different Ministry because Sri Rajagopalachari is the head of this Ministry."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, let me try to put the issue in the same framework put by Mr. Ramamurthi. The issue is that I appeal for confidence in my Ministry, not compared with the previous Ministry, but compared with an alternative Government formed out of Members sitting in the Opposition. That is the only issue before the House."

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* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" In spite of all that, it is a Congress Ministry. Sri Rajagopalachari, when he is the head of the Ministry, is a Congressman pure and simple, and to-day he cannot absolve himself of all the sins of omission and commission that were committed by the previous Ministry. He cannot say that he was not responsible for any of those acts for the simple reason that the policies that were pursued by the previous Congress Government not only in this State but in every State, were pursued in pursuance of the general policy of the Congress Working Committee of which Sri Rajagopalachari himself was a Member for a long time. Therefore, the people of this State had given their fair and unambiguous verdict on the Congress Ministry and all the policies that were pursued by them all these years. Instead of understanding that the verdict of the people was given properly, and that because the Congress had misruled the people it had lost the confidence of the people, instead of learning a lesson and admitting the mistake, Sri C. Rajagopalachari to-day comes forward and says : ' Well, I have come here as a broomstick to completely clean the Augean stables of the Congress? In fact, that was that he exactly said on the Beach immediately after he assumed office. What is sauce for the gander is sauce for the goose.

" That the Congress Government was defeated in the last general elections is not an ordinary thing. Sri Rajagopalachari has been going about telling the people that they committed a mistake. In Tirunelveli district, he went about saying that the people had placed some thorns in his way. But, will he consider why the people voted for those people in preference to the Congress? Let us understand the implications of this verdict. Besides, Sir, the Congress had all the advantages. It had the administrative machinery behind it. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru could roam about the country in a Government æroplane, and a special train could be placed at his disposal for his tour of Andhra Desa. In addition, the entire Press was there. The Chief Minister this morning was referring to some statement appearing in the Press. Well, if all those newspapers could be taken as a guide for public opinion, there would not be 152 Congress Members, but 350 Members. They no longer represent the public opinion. The *Hindu*, the *Indian Express* and all the papers forecast that the Congress would be returned with 350 Members. That was their reading of public opinion. That is the kind of barometer that they have got and that is what they want us to follow. But, we have got a different way of measuring public opinion. We will go to the people and elicit public opinion. Therefore, Sir, despite all the advantages the Congress lost the elections.

" We on this side had tremendous disadvantages too. We did not have the advantage of meeting the electorate even once. Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, the previous Finance Minister, when asked for reasons for his defeat said : ' I had gone to my constituency only for about a week. If I had been there for ten days more, then I would certainly have won the election.' But what is sauce for the goose is not sauce for gander ! Sir, seven days were not sufficient for

Mr. Gopala Reddi to tour his constituency. What about Mr. Ramamurthi and Mr. Nagi Reddi who were not given even a single day to go to their constituencies? That is democracy of the Congress brand. In spite of all this, the people voted against the Congress and there must be something in the verdict of the people. What is the lesson they have learnt? The Chief Minister told us in the last session, ' If there is unity on this side, you cannot win; the Congress cannot be defeated; I will demonstrate it.' Well, the first opportunity had come in Aruppukkottai. Was there disunity in the Congress."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" What about Coimbatore? "

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" In Coimbatore, we had not contested before. But, the Hon. Minister for Finance will see that in Coimbatore town we had increased our votes. In Tondamuttur. the constituency of the Hon. Sri V. C . Palanisami Gounder, we had increased our votes in spite of the fact that the Hon. Minister for Prohibition was camping there. It is true we did not win the election. It is entirely a new constituency for us. The Congress had won the election there because they had appealed to the basest passions of the people, to the communal passions.

3 p.m. " Take the case of Aruppukkottai election. Is it contended that the Congressmen were not united even after Sri C. Rajagopalachari had taken over the administration and therefore they lost Aruppukkottai? But then why did all those godly people who had done so much good for the country and made terrible sacrifices, quarrel? When thieves fall out, truth comes out. That was why they had a terrible reverse. It was because people had come to know them in their true colours. Congressmen were no longer for making sacrifices for the sake of the country and for the sake of the poor and the downtrodden. They were for self-aggrandisement. It was not sacrifice for the people that motivated then. Their God was Mammon whom the Congress had been serving during the last five years while in office. That is why the Congress suffered such a colossal defeat in the recent general elections. In spite of all that had happened against their favour, the Congress still wants to be in office by political manœuvres.

" Take this policy of decontrol. It is not a new and novel thing. Attempts are being made by means of this policy of decontrol to disrupt the United Democratic Front : What was the reaction of the Communist Party to this policy? I issued a statement stating that it was a risky step that the Government had taken. Because a Communist said that the step was a risky one, he must be dubbed as anti-State. But when the Chief Minister himself stated at the time of announcing the decontrol policy that he was doing so and taking a risky step, he was considered to be doing the correct thing. I mentioned in that statement that we are in the year 1952 and not in 1948.

" The Government say that they have enough stocks. They themselves say that there has been no increase in production. Why is there so much stock? What is the real state of affairs? The

people have lost the purchasing power. That is why even in the blackmarket prices had fallen. Nonetheless I stated that the anti-social elements would exploit the already starved masses, sooner or later. Is it wrong to point to the danger and ask for steps against them?

" I shall, in this connexion, quote a statement of Sri C. Rajagopalachariar when he was the Governor-General of India during the year 1949. Replying to a civic address presented to him on December 15th, 1949, by the Visakhapatnam Municipal Council, he has stated :

' You have referred to another very interesting subject, Mr. Chairman,— ' Controls'. I expected cheers from the audience when you said controls should be removed and I was very glad to note they were not so hasty. You have pointed out in your address that there are various shortages prevailing now, including food shortage ; and that shortage has increased as a result of controls. Control by itself cannot increase shortage. Where there is shortage, there must be regulation but the dishonesty of people exploits both the shortage and controls, with consequential increase in distress. When we remove controls, the same dishonesty will be there snd dishonest people will exploit the shortage in a terrible manner. Urban areas will be at the mercy of exploiters. It is a matter which affects innumerable souls all over the country and those who are responsible for Government do not feel they can take off controls and leave the shortage to be exploited. That is the reason for the hesitation.'

Well, we find the same Sri C. Rajagopalachari here in a different capacity. He has suddenly embarked on the policy of decontrol. It is stated that there has been a large accumulation of stocks. While it is asserted by Government that prices of paddy and rice have fallen, I can quote instances where prices have soared up. In Tanjore and Chidambaram the prices have registered an increase. Is it necessary that because Sri C. Rajagopalachari had suddenly changed his mind all others should say ditto? And if you do not do so, you are an enemy of the State !

" Our own past will clearly show that it was the Communists who as early as 1946–47 caught the blackmarketeers who were hoarding grains and minting money out of the blood of the people. The people of Madurai, of Tirunelveli, and of Madras know full well how the Communists caught red-handed the biggest black-marketeers and exposed their anti-social activities. In so far as the policy of the Government is intended to help the landlords and the blackmarketeers ; I declare on the floor of this House that the Communists would continue to launch a relentless campaign against the continuance of such a policy. They would never be afraid of police lathis or bullets (cheers). Whatever the Government may say, I maintain that it is because of the misrule of the Congress during the past that we find ourselves in the miserable state of affairs obtaining at present. The Congress has brought chaos and misery to the people.

" A question has been asked what exactly do we mean by the term ' people '. I say that by the term ' people ' we mean the working-class, the peasantry, the middle class and even the honest capitalist. Those idle landlords and blackmarketeers, the parasitic elements in our country, who exploit the poverty-stricken masses and enjoy comfort at their expense, but do not have any role in

production—I refuse to recognize them as 'people'. But this definition of the term 'people' is not acceptable to the Government. To them people means landlords and blackmarketeers.

"It was due to the anti-people policies pursued by them that the Congress lost the general elections. The people have given a clear verdict against them. Due to the Government's policy, hundreds of thousands of workers and poor peasants were thrown into the streets. Even after Mr. Rajagopalachari has taken over the administration the evil has not stopped. In Tanjore district as many as thirty thousand peasants have been dispossessed of their lands. This is not confined to only one district. In the constituency from which Sri V. C. Palaniswami Gounder is coming, thousands of evictions of poor peasants are taking place. The fever of eviction is spreading from district to district. This was brought to the notice of the Chief Minister at the time when he visited Coimbatore. I rushed from Tanjore to Coimbatore and informed the Chief Minister of what was happening. I spoke to the District Magistrate. Pending legislation, I requested that the *status quo* be maintained. But nothing has been done. It is possible for the Government to issue an Ordinance for enhancing the petrol tax where only a few lakhs of rupees of revenue are involved. But where it is a question of preventing landlords from evicting thousands of peasants and of depriving them of their lands, no Ordinance could be issued.

"Let us take another aspect. During the last session, speaker after speaker from this side of the House criticised the Congress administration and demanded a policy statement from the Government. What was the answer of the Chief Minister! He declared, 'I do not recognize the "hotch-potch" Opposition that is sitting before me'—these were his very words—'I recognize only the Communist Party as my Opposition'.

"When Mr. Govindaswami Naicker spoke he was raising the voice of the people. He and others of the Tamil Nad Toilers' party were elected to this House in opposition to the Congress. And so, when he spoke, his was the voice of the thousands of the people of his constituency who elected him in preference to and in opposition to the Congress candidate. They elected him and refused to elect the Congress candidate because, they had found by experience that the Congress had failed them. And yet the Chief Minister says that he refuses to recognize Mr. Govindaswami Naicker as part of the Opposition. In effect he refused to recognize the people who sent him to this House to voice their feelings and their demands. Well, Sir, that is his concept of democracy. We are told that democracy is a concept which we do not understand. The concept of democracy also is the monopoly of the Chief Minister and his party. And we know what that concept of democracy is. As a matter of fact, we know that as Home Minister of the Government of India he was responsible for the Press Law which no democrat in this country is prepared to accept as a democratic measure; no paper in this country, no paper of his own party even, is prepared to accept as anything but a draconic

3–15 p.m.

measure for crushing democracy. Yet, we are asked to learn lessons in democracy from him and the Government of which he is the head.

" Sir, with this concept of democracy how can he understand what exactly is the demand for the Andhra province or the demand for linguistic provinces? These are merely administrative matters for him. Read the speech he had made as the Home Minister of the Government of India in 1951 in Parliament, when the question of linguistic provinces came up. How did he understand it? To him it was not a problem of the people, but it was merely a matter of administrative convenience : the British Government created the provinces in order to suit administrative convenience; and it was all a minor issue and there were graver issues, and so on . . ."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, is the hon. Member supposed to be quoting me? If that is his position, he is not quoting right; he is adding his own comments to what I said."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" I maintain that this very concept of linguistic States that our Chief Minister has, the concept of administrative convenience, shows, if I may say so, the deepest contempt he has for the people. That is why yesterday when question after question was being asked of him on the letter he wrote to the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal, he took umbrage under the fact that after all it was a private letter between one gentleman and another gentleman. One private gentleman carries on correspondence with another private gentleman. We know what private affairs mean—affairs concerning their families or friends. If Rajaji had written about the welfare of Jawaharlal's family or his friends, we would not have bothered ourselves about it. But, it is a matter concerning the lives of millions of people who today feel intensely for their democratic right to have their province. That is how the people of Tamilnad and of Kerala also intensely feel the urgent and imperative necessity of linguistic provinces. We realise that it is not a problem of mere administrative convenience. We realise it is a very fundamental problem of democracy. If democracy in this country is to flourish, if every single man, woman and child in this State has got to participate in the administration of the State, in the Legislature of the State and in all the activities of the State, the creation of linguistic provinces alone will help them to do so. Then alone there can be democratisation of public life. So long, therefore, as there are no linguistic provinces, all talk of democracy loses its force, because otherwise people cannot practise democracy. That is why, all sections of this House are interested in seeing that linguistic States are set up immediately, because considerations of democracy far outweigh all other considerations. Instead of understanding the democratic urge on the part of the people, he is today trying to take shelter by saying that it is all private correspondence. So long as he is the Chief Minister of this State and he writes to the Prime Minister of India, he writes

in no other capacity than as the Chief Minister, because he holds an important position here and he writes to another person who holds another important position; and whatever both of them do in this regard can affect the destinies of millions of the State. Moreover, he writes on an issue affecting those very people. Therefore, we are entitled to know what exactly he has written. That is our concept of democracy. But a concept that is anti-people, a concept which means, ' all power to me ; believe me ; have faith in me if you want anything; leave me to do as I wish; you must have faith in my goodness; and if that is granted, you do not interfere in anything that I might do, but you just keep quiet ', is his concept of democracy. We on this side cannot subscribe to that concept of democracy. On the other hand, we see that people who have got to participate in the administration at all levels do not have the necessary set-up for that, and so long as that set-up is not there, people will fight for it. And it is a just fight. It is for that we are fighting. You may call it chaos, but people will not be frightened by this word ' chaos ', because they know who it is that has created the chaos. During the last 150 years of direct British rule in this country, as Sri C. Rajagopalachari himself stated the other day in his radio broadcast, they did not succeed, despite their terrific attempts, in smashing our handloom industry which is the pride of our Tamilnad. Where the British Government did not succeed in their attempts for 150 years, the Congress Government succeeded in five years. (Cheers from the Opposition benches.) How was the yarn distributed? There was terrible blackmarketing. The handloom weaver did not get four days' yarn in a month. During the last four or five years we know how the prices increased and how the handloom weaver was forced to purchase yarn in the blackmarket. Instead of protecting the handloom weaver against the mill-owner, the policy of this Government has actually been to protect the mill-owner against the handloom weaver—because by levying sales tax on yarn, this is exactly what you are doing. When the yarn goes in a composite mill, from the spinning to the weaving department, the mill-owner gets it at cost price and he has not to pay extra for the yarn. When the Coimbatore mill-owners sell yarn to the weaving mills at Bombay, Ahmedabad and Calcutta, these mills have to pay sales tax only at one point, that is at 3 pies a rupee. On the other hand, when the handloom weaver purchases yarn, he has to pay sales tax not at one point but continuously at 3, 4 or 5 points, so much so, he has to pay one and a quarter anna per rupee when he gets the yarn. Therefore, actually the mill-owner is placed in an advantageous position vis-a-vis the handloom weaver. That is how the handloom weaver is being crushed. This was how where the British Government did not succeed, the Congress Government has succeeded. If we look at the handloom weaver today in Salem and in every other town, we will see that hundreds of thousands of families are ruined and the weavers are roaming about the country as destitutes, leaving their families. This has created chaos. Has this chaos been created by the Communists? Is it the Members of the Opposition that have created this chaos? Or is it the Congress misrule that has created this chaos? This is a question which the

people have had to answer. And they gave their answer in the elections. Again in Coimbatore, 12,000 workers were discharged in 1948. Did this not create chaos? Who are the people that are responsible for having created the chaos? Even today hundreds of thousands of workers in the State do not get employment even for 50 per cent of the days. They get employment hardly for two or three days a week. Does not this mass unemployment create chaos? Who is it that created this chaos? Is it the Communists, or is it the Congress that has created the chaos? People have given the verdict that it is the Congress that is responsible, because it is unable to solve a single problem in the country. It cannot solve even a single problem because its policies are wedded to the Imperialists and the landlords. (Hear, hear.) So long as the policy of the Congress is wedded to the Imperialists and the landlords and the Government are determined to help foreign employers like the Binny's and the Harvey's, who have made greater profits during the years of Congress rule than at any time in the 150 years of British rule in this country, and so long as they are protecting their interests, the Congress will not be able to solve a single problem of the people in this country. On the other hand, you will only go on inflicting misery, misery and greater misery on the people. But every attempt at inflicting misery will be resisted, whatever might be the scale of the police force that may be employed against the people. Vast historical forces are on the march and they cannot be stopped by the police or the military. This is what is happening and this is what is sought to be called chaos. But, people will judge who has created this chaos. During the last three or four years, Congressmen went about preaching about us when we were inside the jail or underground; our papers were suppressed and we had no means to tell the facts to these people. The Congress Ministry followed the path which Maxwell followed in 1942. Maxwell and others went about saying that the Congress was responsible for all the things done subsequent to August 1942. Similarly, after putting us in jail, after driving us underground and after denying to us all means and opportunities of telling the people the truth, the Congress Ministry and other Congressmen, following the foot-steps of the Maxwells, the Wavells and the Linlithgows, shouted that we were creating chaos. Congressmen shouted that we committed murders and that we looted people in Telengana, in Andhra, in Tanjore and in Malabar. But, it is in these places where we were working among the people, the people have given their verdict against the Congress. Let this be understood clearly. Instead of learning lessons from these things, they continue their policy of further inflicting misery on the people and throwing greater burdens on them. Only it is being continued by the present Ministry with Rajaji at its head. And in order to hide these burdens that are being put on the people, they are told, 'Believe in God; have faith in God; everything will be all-right'. He preaches to them 'Karmanyevadikarasthe ma paleshu kadachana'. That is the philosophy that he wants to teach people, that is, you have the right only to toil, but not to the fruits thereof. You want people to lead a life of supineness whatever might be the exploitation to which they are put and

whatever the burden that is heaped on them. You want to benumb, to dull their consciousness and prevent them from resisting these burdens. That is the meaning of preaching about God. Therefore I say, by passing this Motion we will be betraying the interests of the people. Anyone in this House who supports this Motion will be voting against democracy. On the plea of preventing chaos, anti-democracy is being sought to be imposed on the people of this country and in the name of chaos, sovereign rights of the people are being trampled upon and thwarted. To vote for this Motion would therefore be to vote against democracy. It will be a vote against the linguistic provinces. (Interruption.) Yes, I shall also add, it will be a vote against the handloom weaver, against the peasant, against the worker and against the people. It will therefore be a vote in favour of the exploiting section of our people. Therefore it will be a vote for the few landlords whose interests the Ministry is bent upon upholding. I therefore ask this House to reject this Motion."

3-30 p.m. * SRI V. CHIDANANDAM :—" Sir, this Motion of Confidence in the Hon. the Chief Minister Sri C. Rajagopalachariar is premature. It is only two months since he took charge. During this period not much has been done and much remains to be done. He was saying that the Communists were his enemy No. 1 and the P.W.D. his enemy No. 2. I feel that he should have called dishonest officials his enemy No. 1. Dishonesty was rampant and is continuing even after the present Chief Minister took charge. When he assumed office, people expected much in the direction of putting down dishonesty. But dishonesty continues to be the same as it was before.

" There were several representations for the abolition of jamabandi. The sufferings of the village officers on account of the enormous supplies they had to make to their superior officers were not at all taken into consideration. I submit that jamabandi should be abolished.

" The children of village officers have not been given even the small school fee concession which the children of N.G.Os. are allowed. Elementary education is not made compulsory throughout the State. We want to abolish illiteracy. How can we do it when elementary education is not made compulsory throughout the State? A large sum of money has not been provided for elementary education, though a decent amount has been provided for higher education. In my opinion, promotion of elementary education is most important and every boy and girl must be compelled to go to school. Otherwise, we cannot achieve cent per cent literacy even after hundreds of years.

" Coming to irrigation projects, I do not think much has been done in our State all these years. In Rayalaseema nothing has been done, and particularly in my district of Cuddapah what has been done is zero. Plans and estimates for the Gandikota project were ready. But the engineers and the previous Ministry were putting off its execution for reasons known only to themselves. This Ministry seems to be adopting the same attitude. Plans and

estimates for the Lower Sagileru Project in my constituency have been submitted to the Government recently and the project is ready for execution. On the plea that it is not included in the Five-Year Plan, it is not executed. Who objected to its inclusion in the Plan? Ministers in the previous Ministry or the Engineering department were perhaps not interested in taking it up in view of the fact that they had schemes in places in which they were interested. Justice was not done to the public; natural justice failed. We have been suffering from famine and drought year after year for the last five years. We have been agitating and our agitation was not heeded. This year Rayalaseema suffered heavily. There was uproar and a lot of agitation. It took a long time for the Government to recognize the existence of famine and by the time they began to do something for the people, many people suffered and left the area.

" As regards Prohibition, I do not want that people should drink. But I feel that it is not our duty to go on preaching morals and losing a lot of revenue. I know that our Chief Minister is very adamant and persistent that Prohibition should be there. I have read in the newspapers his statement : Prohibition must be there; if it goes, I must also go. I request him not to be so very persistent. When people say that they will drink at their own cost, why should the Government lose the revenue? If he feels that money should not be collected from poor people through drink, let him provide them with free toddy. I, as a Brahman, do not drink and my relatives and Non-Brahman friends also do not drink. But when the workers and labourers want to drink after a hard day's labour, why should that not be allowed? I am not bound to vote as anybody would like me to vote; I can vote according to my discretion. I differ from the policy of Prohibition. Generally I am willing to co-operate with the Hon. Chief Minister. Drink was in vogue even in the old yugas. We read in the Mahabharata that Sukrachariar was drinking. In the story of Kachadevayanai we read that Kacha was murdered by Rakshasas. Even in olden days, drink was considered a sin and drunkards were called Rakshasas. I have no objection if the drunkards are called Rakshasas. Let them be given toddy free; let them not be taxed. A lot of revenue can be got by taxing the imported liquor. The Government have allowed drink to permit-holders. If drink is a sin, it is a sin for all. Everyone must be forbidden from drinking, even with the help of military force if it becomes necessary. There should not be any exemption. People outside the Assembly are criticizing us saying that Ministers, legislators, officers and even Prohibition officers are drinking. Prohibition has not been a success because almost all the Prohibition officials are dishonest. They go to raid a place, drink, take a bribe, charge-sheet one or two persons and go away. There are several such cases on record. If I run an illicit distillery, I supply the officers with drink and also give them money. While illicit distillers earn lakhs of rupees, those who purchase arrack from them and sell, earn thousands of rupees.

" As regards derationing and decontrol, I support the measure. My support will be all the greater if even the zonal system is

abolished. On account of controls people were put to unnecessary suffering. Cases of violation of the Prohibition Act and food control regulations occupied a good deal of the time of the magistracy. Poor, innocent and ignorant people who transported headloads of rice or paddy were prosecuted, but clever people who transported lorry-loads of rice or paddy illicitly escaped the clutches of the law. The previous Ministry was not bold enough to introduce decontrol long ago because of the false figures furnished by the village officers. The karnams, at the request of Tahsildars and Revenue Inspectors, underestimated production. Even if bumper crops were harvested, karnams recorded them as crops with two-anna or four-anna outturn, so as to give the advantage of the remission or reduction of land revenue to the people. If controls go, there will be considerable retrenchment of officers and staff in the Civil Supplies department and some unemployment will result. The officers perhaps did not want their subordinates to be ousted and so they advised the Ministry to continue the controls.

" In the present Budget the cess has been increased to one-third the land revenue. The levy of a surcharge on bus fares will affect the poorest of the poor. Overloading of buses has not been stopped by the present Ministry or the previous Ministry. The Government are not increasing the number of buses on each route. Even though there is competition among bus operators, there is overloading."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Is the hon. Member reading his speech? "

* SRI V. CHIDANANDAM :—" I have simply jotted down the points in a slip to which I am referring now and then.

" I have been against the levy of sales tax on certain articles like foodgrains. At a largely attended public meeting in my constituency, I opposed the levy of sales tax on food or tiffin and coffee sold in hotels. Most of the people who resort to hotels are poor people, though some rich people also may go there. It is not reasonable or just to tax the food of the poor people. The poor should be allowed to get their food and cloth at least without having to pay any tax on them.

" Neither this Ministry nor the previous Ministry has taken up any project worth the name in the Cuddapah district.

" There are many points on which I differ from certain policies of this Ministry and I will talk about them during the Budget discussion. With certain exceptions and reservations, I have no objection to support the Motion. If I vote against the policy of the Hon. Chief Minister at any future date, he may then ask me why I supported the Motion now under discussion. That is why I say that with certain reservations I support this Ministry generally."

3-45 p.m. * MR. W. J. FERNANDEZ :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support wholeheartedly and unhesitatingly the Motion of vote of confidence in the Council of Ministers headed by the Chief Minister Sri C. Rajagopalachari, moved by the Hon. the Leader of the House this morning. It has been my privilege to have been a Member of

the last Legislative Assembly from its inception in April 1946 till its dissolution in April 1952. I have seen the Prakasam Ministry, the Omandur Ramaswami Reddiyar's Ministry and the Kumaraswami Raja's Ministry rise and fall. Those Ministries had good men of outstanding ability, but unfortunately the various measures which they put through the last Assembly for the good of the people at large were received otherwise, and, therefore, they became unpopular, and with them the Congress Party generally became unpopular. It is yet too soon to assess the capabilities of this new team of Ministers. But one thing is certain. This State has never before had, nor is it likely ever to have, a leader of such world-wide fame, mental calibre, conspicuous ability and political greatness as our grand old Rajaji. (Applause.) It was a kind Providence that inspired the Congress Party, which was in the grips of a deep sense of frustration after the last elections, to appeal to, and eventually persuade, Sri C. Rajagopalachari to accept the leadership of the party and form the Government. Millions of people in this State are now happy in the thought that the affairs of our State are in good hands, nay in the hands of one who is the most capable in the whole State, and that he will guard our State from the traps and dangers of anti-social elements in our country. I am surprised that much ado is being made about the recent bye-election in Aruppukotai Parliamentary constituency. I can understand all that fuss if those elections had been held six years ago under the old conditions. Now with adult franchise, it does not necessarily mean that the result of the bye-election in the Aruppukottai Parliamentary constituency reflects the views of the electors. They are a whole mass of illiterate people led by others like sheep to the polling station, and told to put their ballot papers into this or that box. They do not know whether they are supporting the Congress Party or other parties. Much propaganda had been done by other parties. The Congress Party had been too self-complacent and that is why they suffered reverses in the last elections. It is futile to worry about the result of a bye-election. We must not forget that the whole country has been upset by anti-social and anti-Congress elements, and that the people have not yet got over the infection infused into them. I am surprised that our Chief Minister should have staked so seriously upon the result of the Aruppukottai bye-election. It is a small thing which he should have ignored. However, I appeal to our Chief Minister not to worry about the deal of fuss being made about the matter but to stand by his declaration in this House that he is out to save this State from the traps and dangers of anti-social elements. I am sure that all those in this House who are well-wishers of the country and who stand for orderly progress in this State will join me in the prayer that Providence will spare our Chief Minister for many more years, and grant him health and strength to guide the destinies of our State."

* SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion that has been moved by the Hon. the Leader of the House. I do not understand why the Hon. the Chief Minister Sri C. Rajagopalachari has brought forward this Motion at a

time when the Budget is to be discussed. At a Press Conference, he gave two reasons for this Motion. One reason is the result of the Aruppukottai bye-election and the other is the action of the Opposition in abstaining from attending the House when His Excellency the Governor addressed the joint session of both the Houses. Now, this morning he has given only one reason for this Motion, and that is, the result of the Aruppukottai bye-election. He has not mentioned anything about the attitude of the Opposition to His Excellency the Governor's Address to both Houses of the Legislature. I do not understand why the result of the Aruppukottai bye-election has upset the Chief Minister so much. Who asked the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari to visit Aruppukottai as Chief Minister? Even if he visited that place, why should he make it a test case? When he has chosen to make it a test case, where is the objection to stick on to the stand he took at Aruppukottai? What was lost in Aruppukottai cannot be gained in Madras. I am reminded here of an old Tamil proverb that some one twisted his moustache in Tiruchirappalli for something which happened in Madurai. The Chief Minister himself said that he made the Aruppukottai bye-election a test case, and the result is that he lost the case. The verdict of the Aruppukottai people is very clear. I cannot appreciate the remarks of the nominated Member on the other side who spoke just before me when he said that the people of Aruppukottai are just like sheep. If they voted for the Congress they are sensible people, but if they voted against the Congress they are sheep! People who cannot understand what is meant by election can talk like that. The real difficulty of the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari is this. The previous Congress Government had done many acts of commission and omission. I need not repeat them all here. That is why the verdict of the people went against them in the recent elections. The Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari may have thought that that set of Congress people deserved to lose the elections, and that because he had now come in to the political arena, the people would follow him. There he was disappointed. That is why this Motion has been brought before this House. He himself said this morning that he was solely responsible for this Motion, and even though confidence in the other Ministers also is sought to be secured, the Chief Minister definitely said that he was responsible for this Motion. I cannot claim any acquaintance or friendship with the Chief Minister as the hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi does, and much less with other Ministers. I do not know anything except what has appeared in the press. I do not know anything about all these Ministers. I say that the Chief Minister has lost contact with the masses. I do admire his intelligence. He has occupied important positions. He has occupied the position of the Governor-General of India. He must have been a very clever man. But Mr. Rajagopalachari of 1952 is not the same as Mr. Rajagopalachari of 1937–38, and he is not qualified to lead the State in 1952. The people of 1952 are quite different from the people of 1938–39. I can say this much, Sir. In 1937, when he was leading this State as Chief Minister, he once said that people were like children, they did not know what was

best for them, and that he, as their guardian, would look after them. I do remember that this appeared in the papers. I can now say what happened in one of the villages in my constituency. People are now educated. In my constituency in Tanjore district, on the Coleroon bank there is a village. There is no direct path to that village, and one will have to walk two miles to reach that village. When I went there for canvassing votes, the people there gathered in a public place. An old, illiterate and blind man was asked to decide for whom they should vote. That old man had the assurance from the people that they would follow his lead. The old man began by saying, ' See, after all the Government is for the people; the Congress Government said that they were for the people; overnight they have brought forward so many legislations; did they consult us about any one legislation; so my opinion is we must vote against the Congress."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" I am not surprised that you won."

* SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—" That blind man is so cultured and so educated. He knows why the Government are here, what are their legislations, and what are their measures. That old man is able to know all this. That is the type of people in 1952. The Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the people of 1937 were children. But now they are able to say what they want. So, Mr. Speaker, if Mr. Rajagopalachari has really understood the position, he would not have gone to Aruppukottai. He has not stood for an election and visited villages just as you have done, I have done, and every one of us has done. That is why we asked him to stand for election. It is not for anything else. He got into the Legislative Council by nomination and became the Chief Minister. This was discussed in the press and argued before the High Court also. I do not want to go into that question now. He said he courted nomination in spite of the fact that there was a direction against that course from the Congress President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I ask, Sir, where is discipline. He says that he is a Congressman. If he wants to be the leader of the Congress Party here, he must obey the President of the Indian National Congress. The President of the Indian National Congress has definitely said to the Congress Party in Madras, ' If it is your idea to have him as leader of the party, please get him elected.' He has disobeyed the President of the Congress. The other day when this question was discussed, the Chief Minister was vehemently justifying the action of His Excellency the Governor in nominating him as a Member of the Council. To my surprise, he rose and read Article 164 of the Constitution, and said that if the Opposition Members had read Article 164, they would see that their agruments fell to the ground. I was wondering what there was in Article 164. This article gives power to His Excellency the Governor to have any man in the street as a Minister for six months, by which time he must get himself elected. If the Hon. the Chief Minister does it, there will be no quarrel. Why did he read out Article 164 when the Opposition asked him why he sought nomination under Article 171. Of course, he

claims to understand the mind of the Opposition, and says that we are here to create chaos. I say he is here to create confusion. When he is asked why he was nominated to the Council under Article 171, his answer is that Article 164 gives power to His Excellency the Governor to nominate him.

" This leads me on to another question. That is, Mr. Rajagopalachari is not at all acquainted with the present position in our State. He was Chief Minister in 1937–38 when the Congress was in a majority. He has never stood for election in a general constituency. I think that he was previously elected by the Graduates' constituency and by postal ballot. Then he happened to become the Chief Minister. If he has stood for election and visited villages personally, he would be able to understand the real needs and grievances of the villagers. But as one sitting here, he cannot understand the needs of the villagers. He must have mass contact. As a lawyer, he might have had mass contact, but he stopped his practice in 1921. Recently he was Governor and then Governor-General, and he moved with Ambassadors and such other people. Now he is moving with mittadars and others like the Hon. Mr. Subramaniam and the Hon. Mr. Palaniswami Goundar.

4 p.m. " We cannot expect him to understand the real feelings and opinions of the people of 1952. That is why I say he is not at all qualified to lead the Cabinet here in the year 1952. The Cabinet in the year 1952 is quite different from that which existed in the year 1937.

" Further, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar has got a peculiar habit. He says one thing and acts differently. Unfortuately I do not find him in his seat. I wanted to tell him one thing, because I had no occasion to speak to him. Sir, before he was elected Leader of the Congress Party, so many statements appeared in the press to the effect that Sri Rajagopalachariar would not come and accept the leadership of the party. He himself said that he was not at all prepared to accept the leadership of the party and many people were misled. Certain Members of this House even made a bet, and I know some experienced Members lost a rupee each, because they made a bet that Rajaji would not come back into the political arena. But subsequent events have revealed that he had from the beginning the idea of accepting office and what he had said was only false. This is how he says one thing and acts in a different way. I shall give some other instances. When he was addressing some meeting last month after he became the Chief Minister, he said that this time there would be no taxes. Subsequently when he went to Rayalaseema, he said that there would be taxes and that the people should be prepared to pay them. In Coimbatore he was speaking in a ladies' meeting, and what he said there was this. ' You, ladies, you must be prepared to sell your jewels to pay taxes to the Government.' This was uttered by the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, the Chief Minister of the Madras State. Now he comes before this House and says, ' Give me your confidence. I have got schemes and I will go ahead with them.' But unfortunately he has not disclosed to us what those schemes are. I am

sure he would not have disclosed them even to his Cabinet Ministers. Now, let us connect this with the statement he made before the ladies in Coimbatore to the effect that they must be prepared to sell their jewels in order to pay taxes to the Government. He has got schemes, I infer, to reduce the people of this State to such a condition where they will have to force their wives and daughters to sell their jewels to pay the taxes. Did the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar understand the implication of his statement when he asked the ladies to be prepared to sell their jewels to pay taxes? Only when the people are not in a position to pay the taxes imposed on them they will have to go and ask their wives and daughters to sell their jewels to pay the taxes.''

SRI S. RAMASWAMI NAYUDU :—'' As a means of utilizing dead capital.''

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—'' Even to the extent of selling their *thalis* ! ''

* SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—'' We can very well understand that their economic condition would be brought down to such a low level. Then, when the ladies are asked to sell their jewels to pay the taxes to the coffers of the State, to whom will that money go and for what purpose will it be utilized? I do not understand what the implication of the utterance of the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar was when he was addressing that meeting. He says now he has got schemes. When he comes before the House to seek its Vote of Confidence, he must place those schemes before it. But he has not done so. Since he assumed the Chief Ministership of the State, has he said anywhere what the policy of this Government is? In the first radio speech to which I listened, there was absolutely nothing except invoking the blessings of God and offering prayers to Him. Subsequently when he was announcing the policy of decontrol of foodgrains, I listened to his radio speech and he said, ' Your paddy can be moved from one place to another without restriction '. But the people and the officers were expecting to know the real state of affairs in the country. No doubt everybody wanted decontrol and derationing. But, at the same time, everybody wanted to know the real state of affairs when control was removed. We, as laymen, and Collectors and other officers are not expected to know the real state of affairs in the State. And the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar as Chief Minister ought to tell the people the real state of affairs. He must have told us ' We have got so much stock. We are expecting so much of *kuruvai* crop. The blackmarketers have got so much. So the country will be put on its own feet if decontrol is introduced.' This is what we expected. But even to-day those particulars are not given.

'' Then, even when he was removing control and rationing, what was the date when that order was to take effect? I remember he said in his speech that decontrol and derationing would come into force forthwith. But it was only on the 15th of the month that one could receive the orders. Immediately after the radio speech, I met the Collector but he was not aware of the new policy.

He said, 'We will have to procure and send it on'. For two or three days even the Collector of the district was not able to know what the real position was. For about a week so many persons were arrested and put in jail. Who is responsible for it? As an administrator, he must see that simultaneously the order takes effect in the various districts. Is it difficult to do that?"

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"How many persons were arrested and put in jail?"

* SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—"I know that about seven persons were arrested in Tanjore. Now, the order was not communicated for several days. Any order to take effect immediately must be communicated at once; otherwise, it will not benefit the people concerned. Some gentlemen said that Rajaji is an able and good administrator and a clever man and that he knows everything. But this is the sort of orders he has passed and the Hon. Sri Subramaniam wants to know how many people were arrested. He does not know the implication of what I am mentioning."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"I have taken note of it and I shall reply to it."

SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—"For about a week nobody knew and even the officers did not know what they should do. Even chowkidars were arresting people. The people in the villages had to suffer.

"Sir, another important thing I want to say is this. Under Rajaji's regime, dishonest people are encouraged. In the year 1937 or 1938 when he was the Chief Minister of this State, he passed a legislation called the Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act. No doubt there was a demand for that Act. But what happened was, honest debtors were penalized, and people who did not pay interest were given relief ultimately. Dishonest people were encouraged and people used to say at that time : there is a Tamil proverb, 'கடன் பட்டார் நெஞ்சம்போல் கலங்கினன் இலங்கை வேந்தன்'; but under Rajaji's regime it should be 'கடன் கொடுத்தார் நெஞ்சம் போல் கலங்கினன் . . .'

"At present, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar has decontrolled and derationed foodgrains. Of course, it was long overdue. But in effect what has happened? Dishonest people have been encouraged here also. By the time this policy of decontrol was announced, procurement had been finished and the middle class mirasdars and the poor people had parted with their surplus paddy. Only the rich mirasdars had their stocks with them, because the Government officials did not go to them first as usual to seize their stocks. Hence, immediately after the decontrol order was issued, these rich mirasdars and rich merchants were greatly benefited because of the temporary rise in price. Even those people who were loyal and obedient to the officers and who measured out their paddy as soon as the officers came, were penalized. Here again in effect, dishonest people have been encouraged. I do not say for a moment that this motive was in the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari's mind. But as he is said to be an efficient administrator,

he ought to have anticipated the consequences of such an order when he passed it. Otherwise, the State will go to dogs under his leadership. If he does not anticipate all these things and take precautionary measures, it shows he is inefficient. He is a 1937 Chief Minister and in the year 1952 he is not at all qualified to be the Chief Minister. Further, in 1937 the Congress Party had a huge majority and there was not much of an Opposition. The Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari who was then the Chief Minister was not accustomed to opposition. The important fact that the Opposition is a part of the machinery of a good Government has not been properly understood by the present Government. We are here not for the sake of mere Opposition, and the Treasury Bench is there not to say that the Opposition is here only to create chaos. The Opposition's real function is to help the Government. Wherever there is a flaw, it is the duty of the Opposition to point it out to the Treasury Benches with a view to rectify it. But, if the Treasury Benches take the view that the Opposition people are there only to create chaos, they are not fit to be administrators in a democratic country. This is how I conceive the position of the Government vis-a-vis the Opposition. The Opposition's function has not been correctly understood by the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari. I do not say this about the other Hon. Ministers. The other Hon. Ministers will say ditto to everything that the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari says.

"One more thing I want to say is this. Whenever an Opposition Member rises, the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari shows his hand towards him and asks him to sit down. Many a time he has taken the role of the Speaker, and that attitude is adopted by his Hon. Colleague Sri C. Subramaniam also, who is learning politics under the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari. Very often he asks an hon. Member to sit down when the Speaker is there to guide the deliberations of the House."

MR. SPEAKER :—"No, it is wrong. It is an insult to the Chair. Let the hon. Member withdraw it."

* SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—"I withdraw it. Whenever this thing happens . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—"I know better than the hon. Member what to do. He is new to this House."

* SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—"Sir, I did not mean any disrespect to you. But I want to say that there is a waving of the hand by some Hon. Minister whenever hon. Members on this side of the House rise to speak. That is why I say they are not accustomed to an Opposition at all. That is exactly my view. Whenever an Opposition Member rises, there is an anxiety on the part of the Treasury Benches and particularly the Chief Minister, the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari, to ask him to sit down. If they had been accustomed to Opposition, they would not do so. On every occasion the Treasury Benches must be anxious to know the viewpoints of the Opposition and not to flout them. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the Opposition is very srong, people who are not

accustomed to opposition and who are not tolerating opposition are not qualified to become Chief Ministers to lead the State. In this respect the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari is not qualified to be the Chief Minister. Of course, the other Hon. Ministers also seek a Vote of Confidence from the House. They do not know anything about the policy of the Ministry. Whenever they go about on tours, they say, ' Sri C. Rajagopalachari is there; everything will be all right in the State.' That is the only report we see in the papers about their speeches. What their policy is, is not known. Nowhere has any Hon. Minister said, ' This is our policy.' Only recently the Hon. C. Subramaniam made an attempt at some place to talk about the food policy. When Ministers say that Rajaji is there and everything will be all right, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari in turn says, ' There is God above and everything will be all right in the State.' This is the state of affairs to which we have been reduced. What are their real schemes? What are they going to do to rectify the errors of omission and commission of the previous Ministry? What steps are they going to take to set the whole thing in order? Who are going to be the beneficiaries in this regime? We know absolutely nothing in these matters. Now, the Chief Minister comes and says, ' Give me your confidence. I will go ahead with my schemes.' What are the schemes that he has got? The only thing that we are able to see, as one of the hon. Members put it, is dictatorship. He has been a dictator from the very beginning. He has not disclosed his mind even to his colleagues. He must speak out his mind and disclose his schemes to us. Even to-day in his written statement, he has not stated his schemes for the benefit of the public. He has simply said, ' Vote for me '. That is the attitude of Mr. Rajagopalachari. This is nothing short of dictatorship. He wants the vote of this House only to dictate to the whole State. At this stage, when the Budget is to be discussed, where is the urgency about this Motion? Why should this Motion of Confidence be taken up before the discussion on the Budget? The Budget is a very important thing. There is the interim Budget. We have to pass a revised Budget now. The importance of the Budget has been overlooked. It is wrong that Sri C. Rajagopalachari, an experienced administrator as he claims to be, should overlook the importance of the Budget and give only a secondary importance to Budget discussions. This is against the interests of the public and calculated simply to enhance one man's prestige. Consequent on the adverse result in a recent bye-election, which he made a test case, he now comes before this House seeking a Vote of Confidence for the purpose of going ahead with the schemes which he is not prepared to disclose. So, Mr. Speaker, it is not at all democracy. He wants dictatorship. In the interests of democracy, in the interests of political honesty, in the interests of proper administration and in the interests of proper attention to the welfare of the people of this State, I request the House to reject this Motion."

4-15 p.m.

* SRI P. V. R. GAJAPATHI RAJU (Raja of Vizianagaram):—
" Mr. Speaker, Sir, it came as a slight surprise to me when I heard

yesterday that a Motion had been introduced by Mr. Rajagopalachari asking for a Vote of Confidence of this House. I could not understand why this Motion was introduced, unless it was meant to bolster up a personal opinion or statement made by the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari on the eve of the Aruppukkottai election. In a speech on the eve of that election, he seems to have made a statement that if the Congress candidate there was defeated, it would amount to a vote of ' No-confidence ' in him. The Congress candidate was defeated and it amounts to a vote of ' no-confidence ' in the Congress Party. He therefore feels that by coming before this House and getting a verdict in his favour, he can reverse the verdict of the electorate and obtain from us a sort of patting on the back saying, ' Please continue in office '. As you know, the party to which I belong did not state at any stage in the evolution of their programme in the Legislature for the coming five years, for which period I have been elected, that they would support the Congress Party if they were in office, or any other party in the United Democratic Front. Our reason for not supporting the Congress is obvious. We contested the elections against the Congress Party as we felt that it was our duty to oppose the Congress Party in all stages of their policy, which is opposed to what we believed to be the ideal of true socialism in this country as stated in our election manifesto. Unfortunately, the situation has been or has become extremely complex with the existence of an element in our body politic which is international in its socialistic affiliations. I am not going to argue with the Communist Party Members about the merits of the international socialist movement. The Socialist Party to which I belong, feels that as long as the Communist Party takes to internationalism as understood by them for the furtherance of socialism, we cannot be with the United Democratic Front. We felt that the United Democratic Front was and is being accentuated, or I should say, is being run with that motive of internationalism, I may be wrong and for the sake of the good of the country I hope I may be wrong. However, I can illustrate this point by a small conversation which I had the other day with a Communist Party friend. He said to me that he was sure that the Socialist Party had disagreements within its own ranks. Whether this friend expected me to agree with him and let down my own colleagues, I was not able to understand. I put forward the same argument to him and told him, ' I am also a student of Communist politics. I have been following the activities of your Party in the various countries of the world; and as along as the Communist Party in India is going to be nationalistic to the extent to which Tito is in Yugoslavia, I may not oppose the Communist Party.' To this, he violently took objection and said, ' You cannot expect us to be Tito-ites ', meaning thereby that no Communist Party Member in India can be as nationalistically interested in the country as Tito is, in Yugoslavia. In my opinion, Tito is not a traitor to his country. As I have already pointed out, if we have objection to the United Democratic Front, that objection is theoretical. The Front may change and we also may change. That is a matter for the future. But at the present juncture, the Motion of Confidence brought forward by Rajaji does not in any

way change our attitude to the Congress Party. He has asked for a Vote of Confidence in him which the Aruppukkottai constituency did not give. I cannot give that Vote of Confidence. In my Vizianagaram constituency I contested the election against the Congress. I would be quite unfaithful to the pledge I have given to that constituency if I voted for the Congress now. There is really no specific reason for this Motion. It has come just before the Budget. The Budget shows completely what the Congress Party proposes to do in the coming year. We have necessarily to take up that Budget. There are many things in the Budget which I and my party would object to. I cannot specifically lay my hand at this stage on any issue, because I think that is a matter which should be debated later. But I must express the view that the Budget has not in any way demonstrated the intention of the Government to spend money for ameliorating the conditions of the people. They are taxing the people. They have not gone to better sources wherefrom they could easily get money. The Government are not prepared to tap those sources and have left them free. There is only one feature in the Budget which possibly may approximate to some justice. However, it all depends on how far the Congress Party proposes to do justice in connection with that legislation. They are proposing to introduce a progressive tax on land holdings in the State of Madras. It would start on a ridiculously low level. When it goes to higher levels, it would be a standard tax which would not affect the big mirasdars and land-holders. If this tax was intended to be levied on big land-holders, it could be stated to be a progressive tax. However, as yet, how exactly the Government propose to work this tax has not been stated. So, I think I should reserve my criticism on this proposal till the Government give details about it. In the meantime, I can only state that it is not fair on the part of Mr. Rajagopalachari on the eve of the Budget discussions to ask for this Vote of Confidence. It amounts to a blank cheque. It amounts to a cheque to be drawn without any limit from the funds which may be made available in the bank in his account. You can draw from the bank only as much as you put into it and you cannot draw out of the capital of the bank itself. Mr. Rajagopalachari's Ministry is only two months old. I may concede that he is not personally responsible for the past policies of the Congress, because he was not Chief Minister of the Madras Government at that time. Therefore he may escape on that plea. But, generally speaking, the present Budget is a continuation of that of the previous Congress Ministry. To that extent he is responsible. He must now show to the electorate, not only the Congress electorate but also to all the other electorates, that he is prepared to deposit something into the Bank of Goodwill from which the Congress has drawn everything in the past. He has not done that till now. It is with some amount of reluctance I have to state that until a future date when Mr. Rajagopalachari is prepared to demonstrate or show definitely what he proposes to do in that direction, we must abstain from showing confidence in him or his team of Ministers."

* SRI K. P. GOPALAN :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, regarding the Confidence Motion, I wish to urge that it must be rejected. I am

very thankful to the voters of the Aruppukkottai and other constituencies, because they have returned the United Democratic Front candidates and at the same time, shaken this Rajaji Government. The issue before us is whether the Congress Government has got a policy to better the condition of the people or not. We are for rejecting the Congress Government and forming an alternative democratic Government headed by people drawn from anti-imperialists and anti-feudalists, because this Government has no policy for the benefit of the people.

4-30 p.m.

" So far as Malabar is concerned, 30 seats were contested during the last election and the Congress Party secured only 4 seats out of these. One seat was won by the Hon. the Minister for Law, Mr. Kuttikrishnan Nayar. He was opposed by Mr. E. M. Sankaran Nambudripad who was underground and was not given freedom to do election propaganda and so could not do election propaganda. That is why our Hon. Minister from Malabar is sitting here to-day. Otherwise, I am sure he would not have been returned from Malabar. The Communist and the K.M.P. parties joined together and formed a united powerful front, and with the help of the Muslim League and the Socialist Party gave a crushing defeat to the Congress. Never in the hostory of the Congress did it get such a crushing defeat as in Malabar. Why were the people against the Congress? Why are they against the Government headed by Rajaji? People know that Rajaji's Government is a Congress Government which has got a policy against the people. Let me give some instances to show why the people hate the Congress, and the Congress Government is anti-people. I came from a constituency called the Payyanur Constituency. Seventeen people were shot dead by the Police in this constituency alone. I will deal with the place, amsam by amsam. At Pulimgom amsam, six houses were set on fire. At Vaikara, eleven houses were set on fire by the Police and in Kuttur two houses were burnt. In this particular area, a lady who was in an advanced state of pregnancy was beaten by the Police. I would also give her name. She was one Vanathadichi Kalyani. In the same place in a Muslim house, Muslim ladies were asked to stand naked and the Police beat them. In Aremam amsam, 13 houses were set on fire. At Aleppatamba, 17 houses were burnt. On the Independence Day in 1950, the Police raided several houses, set fire to them and raped women. At Paralan amsam, one person was shot dead and the body was tied to a bamboo and paraded by the Police in the village and they threatened the same fate to the people. A small boy by name Chittayil Sankaran, aged about 14 years, was beaten by the Police after tying him and hanging him head downward, with the result he has become blind. At Perungom amsam, 13 houses were set on fire. Police sub-inspectors like Sankaran Nair, Jamedar Ramachandra Menon, head constable Kunhi Ahmed and Police Sub-Inspector Kumaran, are responsible for these atrocities. One person, P. Kunjappan, was beaten by the Police and thrown in the open street. At Palitchal, six Communists were shot and taken to a pit and buried before they actually died. Communist prisoners, when they asked for water,

were given urine to drink. If they refused, they were forced to drink it at the point of the bayonet. Property worth lakhs of rupees were looted by the Police. This is what happened in Malabar in 1948. In Cannanore Jail, three convicts, who were Communists, were taken to a nearby hill and shot down by the Police. One Police Circle Inspector was responsible for this. Several representations were made to the Government for an enquiry into this matter, but no action was taken by the Congress Government. Now let me refer to one great Congressman, Myarath Sankaran. How did his life end? He was brutally beaten by the Police at Edakad and taken to the Central Jail, Cannanore. He died there. He is the person who built the Congress in Malabar. This is why the people of Malabar turned against the Congress. The supported the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the K.M.P. Party and the Muslim League Party and gave a crushing defeat to the Congress. I would request the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari to come to Malabar, to visit my constituency and see what the police had done in those places in the name of the Congress Government. I challenge the Government that I can bring to this House all the women raped by the Congress Police and the persons who were deprived of their hands and feet and whose houses were burnt and who were tortured by the Police during the Congress rule in the last five years. Sir, the Malayalee people are very patriotic. They know that the Congress fought for the freedom of the country against the British Government. They then supported the Congress. But they will not support the Government now headed by the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari which is a Congress Government adopting the policy of the Congress. They understood from experience what a Congress Government is.

" The Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the Communists brought about chaos in this country. In the places I have mentioned, only people and Communists were shot because they asked for food and no policeman was ever hurt. Who brought about chaos then? He said that the Communists were not believers in God. I ask, is it loyalty to God to ask people to drink urine? Is it your faith in God that makes you use violence and torture the people and shoot the people?

" Sir, moreover, the present Government is a Government of the capitalists. You might have seen that thousands of workers are being thrown out from the factories. There are certain standing orders in the factories and they are intended only for the benefit of the capitalists and for helping the capitalists. Standing orders should be such as will benefit the workers who are the down-trodden people. The workers have made several representations in this matter, but never have they been heard. For instance, in Cannanore, we sent two workers to the Labour Commissioner to represent that the standing orders relating to factories in that area be changed. But they were never heard. According to the standing orders, the Manager can dismiss any worker whenever he likes. In the Constitution, it is stated that a person cannot be punished twice for the same offence. But what happens

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in the factories is that a worker can be dismissed as per the standing orders. At the same time, suppose the worker resorts to strike, he will be punished by the court also. That is why this Government is considered as a Capitalist Government by the workers. The standing orders remain unchanged and they should be changed soon.

" Then, Sir, the Government have recently issued certain orders according to which the pay of a municipal worker is Rs. 25. We all thought that the pay of Rs. 25 was the basic pay. But when I enquired about this at the office of the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards, I found that the basic pay is only Rs. 7 and the balance was only allowance. So, this Government pays Rs. 7 to a municipal servant, only seven rupees! Now you consider what you pay to the Governor of this State—thousands and thousands of rupees a month. According to the Venkataramayya Award, Rs. 22 should be the minimum pay for a textile worker. But this award is being rejected by the mill-owners throughout the State. Did the Government do anything in this regard? Never. Take the handloom weavers. The Government constituted a High Power Committee. What is the decision of this Committee? A worker should be paid Rs. 16 and given annas six per knot. The Government are going to implement this, taking full advantage of the poverty of the workers. In our proposals we said that Rs. 30 should be given for a certain period as a relief measure without reducing the wages and that the Government should give six annas per knot and that the worker should be given the balance as subsidy or annas twelve per knot. But nothing has happened. The handloom worker is going through a life-and-death struggle. What have the Government done? Nothing. The Government want the price of cloth to be reduced. I want to ask the Government whether the handloom weavers get yarn at the ex-mill rates. They do not. There are numerous intermediaries in the yarn trade with the result that each bundle goes up in price by Rs. 2-4-0 over the ex-mill rate. In Malabar, thousands of handloom workers are starving and they are on the point of death. They have sold everything that they had. At Delhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told our representatives that for Travancore-Cochin he would give Rs. 10,000 as relief for Alappuzha workers. But our Government are persistent in saying that they will never bring in any scheme of giving relief in cash. I am sure tha Rajaji's Government are not going to do anything for handloom workers. That is their policy.

" The nursing orderlies in the Ophthalmic Hospital at Madras are working for 19 hours a day for a very small salary. The scavengers get an increment of only Re. 1 for every five years. The minimum living wage for workers has not been fixed by the Government. Not only the minimum living wage for workers has not been fixed, but they are dismissed and thrown out of employment suddenly and their wages are being reduced by force everywhere by the capitalists. The Government adopt a policy of helping these capitalists. What have the Government done to remedy this? Regarding beedi workers, in Cannanore the

4-45 p.m.

workers get a daily wage of Rs. 1–14–0 per thousand. In Palghat they get Rs. 2 . A Calicut worker gets Rs. 2-2-0 per day. But now the Government have fixed Re. 1–2–0 a day as the minimum pay for a beedi worker if he makes 1,000 beedies. This will show whether this Government are standing for the working classes or for the capitalists. It is clear from what I have said that this Government are standing for the interests of the capitalists. There is no doubt about it. That is why we oppose this Government. I can give more examples in this matter.

" Regarding the new taxes, the Malabar people are peculiarly situated. Suppose a tenant goes to a janmi and undertakes to cultivate his lands, he has to give in writing to the janmi that he will pay the taxes on the land and the pattam also to the janmi. If there is an increase in the land-tax, the tenant will have to pay it and not the janmi. If the bus fare is increased, the poor man will suffer. So also is the case with this betterment levy. Suppose there is a factory and the factory owner makes a huge profit out of electricity given by the Government. Will this Government be bold enough to ask the factory owner to part with a portion of the profit and give it to the Government because the Government have given electricity? If the Government had such boldness they could have brought many other measures. But they have not done it. Why should the Government ask the poor peasants alone, if the land had become fertile and gone up in value on account of irrigation, to pay a tax to them, on the increase in value of the property? It is because the Government think that the peasants are poor people, submissive people and there is nobody to support them. I submit, Sir, that the peasants will oppose this. Our country will rise against this measure.

" Formerly, Congressmen used to say that the Communist party was not following constitutional methods. Even Sardar Vallabhai Patel said, ' Let them follow constitutional methods, go to the Parliament with a majority and there form their own Government '. We accepted this challenge and came to this House. Only when we came here we understood that 152 members had more strength than 166. That is what I understood from the things that happened here. Sir, all these amount to cheating the people. Unless we unite and overthrow this Government, there is no salvation for our country. The second thing I saw was this. When I was in the Vellore Jail for many years in the detention camp, there were policemen and Police officers standing in and around the jail. When we came to attend this Assembly for the first time we saw many Police officers standing in and around the House, at the gates and so on. There were Inspectors and big Police officers everywhere. With due respect to hon. Members sitting here, I ask, what is the difference between the Vellore Jail and this House? (Interruption.) There are some fans here, that is the difference. This is what my hon. Friend Mr. Kalyanasundaram says. Yes, that is the only difference. I submit to hon. Members of this House that the Budget presented to the House is a Police Budget.

30th June 1952] [Sri K. P. Gopalan]

" Because of these new taxes, the purchasing power of the ordinary man has been reduced, the purchasing power of the workers has been reduced. The Government know that the people will rise against these taxes and that is why they want a big police force. Nothing has been provided in the Budget for the poor non-gazetted officers, the peasants and the workers. The Government have allotted a big sum in the Budget for the Police to be kept behind C.R. That is what the Government have done, and that is why I call the Budget a Police Budget.

" Now, the Chief Minister has said that the Communists do not believe in God. I do not want to speak about this because my hon. Friend Mr. Ramamurthi has spoken very well on this issue. I submit this Government during the five years they were in office have become anti-national, anti-people and anti-country and they have undone whatever the national movement did during the last fifty years, by the sacrifices of the great national leaders and the ordinary people of the country. The Congress represents the monopoly capitalists, the janmis and the zamindars and the imperialists of this country. Even the top-ranking Congressmen want to purify the Congress, but I say, they cannot do it. Even God cannot lift the Congress from its degradation. That is why the United Democratic Front people want to fight the Congress and change this Government. It is the duty of every patriot, it is the duty of every man who loves the country and who is fighting for peace and freedom of the country to oppose this Motion. I appeal to the Muslim League Members here to reject this resolution. The Congress will not help the poor Muslims of Malabar. They never helped the Muslims of Malabar, the Muslim worker, peasant or the merchant. The Congress is always against the Muslim people of Malabar. I am sure therefore that the Members of the Muslim League Party will reject this resolution. I also appeal to the Members of other parties and their leaders to see that we are not the people who are creating chaos as was described by the Chief Minister. During the five years of Congress rule, you know who created chaos, who shot down the poor people, who raped the women and who made people die of starvation. I submit to the House that the Motion should be rejected, because the Congress Government cannot give any help to the people, the Congress Government cannot keep the prestige of the nation, the Congress Government cannot better the life of our people, they cannot raise the standard of living of the people, the workers and the peasants; they cannot bring forward any measures for the betterment of the common masses; the working class people. They can't do anything for the industrialization of our country. They cannot do anything for the betterment of the country. So, it is the duty of every patriot, every party man to see that this resolution is rejected and this Government is overthrown at once. This is not a question between Rajaji and the Communist Party; this is a fight between two policies, one standing against the people and the other for the people. It is a question between two international policies, one standing with the imperialist camp and the other in favour of the democratic camp, one standing for war and the other

standing for peace, one standing for oppressing the people and the other for helping the people. I know the final victory will be ours. So, I request every Member to overthrow this Government by rejecting the Motion brought forward by the Hon. Finance Minister. With this appeal, I finish my speech."

* SRI K. VENKAIAH :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, before going into the Motion I want to tell my Friends here that the Mover of this Motion has some motive in bringing forward this Motion. The Chief Minister made the Aruppukottai election a test case and failed there. He gave a word of honour and said that if the people failed to express confidence in him in that election, he would resign. He should have resigned if he wanted to keep his word of honour. He did not do so. But now he comes to this House and asks this House to express confidence in him and his Ministry. Already we know that this Government of which he is the head, has done nothing to the people. During the two months it has been in office it has continued the policies of the previous Government. The landlords in the countryside are just ruling the people and they are oppressing them. They have taken a heavy toll during the last five years and they are now preparing to take more. Many poor people, poor peasants, have been evicted from the lands when they demanded some reduction in the lease amount. In Guntur district, thousands of peasants cultivating what are called ' banjars ' have been evicted. These poor agricultural labourers are being squeezed by the village officers. The corrupt officials are oppressing the poor villagers.

" Then at Chirala, there is the I.L.T.D. Company which is a foreign concern. It is owned by Britishers. The management of the Company insulted the workers. The workers went to the management to represent their grievances; when the committee of the workers elected and recognized by the management, saw the manager, he not only insulted them but asked them to get out. To save the prestige and self-respect of their nationality, the workers struck work. Immediately the management asked the Government for Police help and within half an hour he Police were there. Not only that. When the workers struck work and continued the strike inside the factory, instead of standing behind the workers who were there to save the prestige of the nation, the Governmen and the Labour Commissioner said that it was an illegal strike and thus gave a handle to the management to put down the workers. The workers stood firm. After a week of negotiations, the
5 p.m. Commissioner for Labour himself gave a promise that the workers could join work and that, if the management victimized the workers, he would look into it. The management also said that there would be no victimization. But the management have now victimized 14 workers. The Commissioner who sat there and settled the dispute is not there now even when there is suspension of workers. That is the attitude of the Government and their officers here. The Government and their officers stand behind the imperialists exploiting the country and allow the labourers to become the victims of this exploitation. That is the policy of the present Ministry as also of the previous Ministry.

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" Therefore, Sir, to keep his word of honour given to the people of this State that if the people of Aruppukkottai did not express confidence in him he would not be in office but would resign immediately, the only thing he should do is to resign. Instead, he comes here and asks us to express confidence in him. Have the conditions changed within these two months? Sir, he was saying this morning that he had taken a great risk in the removal of controls and rationing. Of course, it is a risk. The people have been disgusted with the controls and the bureaucratic methods adopted by the Government and their officers in implementing them. The paddy of even poor peasants owning 5 or 6 acres was taken away under procurement. In many cases, the peasants were taken to the Court. In my district, many peasants were taken to the Court and after protracted proceedings for about 1½ years, they were fined. The peasants then appealed to the Appellate Court which gave a decision against the Government. In spite of repeated efforts by the popular organization and popular leaders, the Government refused to just allow even the poor peasants owning 5 or 6 acres to enjoy the benefits of free market. Then, Sir, if a teacher or a peasant living in a town wants to get paddy from his village, he has to pay bribes to the village officer and the higher officers for a permit. Like that, thousands of people have suffered due to procurement and transport difficulties.

" About rationing, the Hon. the Finance Minister Mr. C. Subramaniam once stated that in our State 10 per cent of the people depended for their food on rations. It is not true, because the rations that were given were insufficient, and in almost all the places where there was rationing, there was black-marketing also, and the people had to resort to it to feed themselves. There was paddy available and the people were purchasing it under the very nose of the Government and their officers. Rationing failed not because the people did not co-operate, but because the Government did not take action against the landlords and the black-marketers who were the real hoarders. As a matter of fact, I know that certain millers were selling even ' E ' forms for a price ranging from Re. 0–8–0 to Rs. 2 per bag. In that way, the anti-social elements were given freedom during the last five years, and the same conditions continue even now. Therefore, Sir, though we are glad that the poor peasant is allowed to sell his grain in the open market, that transport hurdles have been removed and that there is now an open market for people to get the necessary quantity of rice, still we feel that the hoarder is left free. The landlord who does not work in the field and who just grabs paddy from the tenant is left free to carry on his crusade, against the tenants. Such difficulties are there. So, the Chief Minister has taken a risk. The Communist Party, as also the Democratic Front as a whole have made it clear that there is danger of black-marketing again and that the people might suffer due to lack of controls and rationing. If proper steps had been taken against the hoarders and the black-marketers, then conditions would have been different. But, they have not been taken. Yet, the Chief Minister comes

here and says that he has taken a risky step. When the controls are removed, the people are satisfied. But, after a time when that policy fails and when prices rise, there is a danger and he will have to pay the necessary price for it.

" Therefore, Sir, the Motion of Confidence moved by the Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam is just to see that the differences within their group are patched up and that certain Members who are undecided may join their party. That is the intention behind this Motion. Otherwise, there is no necessity for this. We have seen recently on the floor of this House the relative strengths of the different parties. But, I know there are certain Members on this side as also on the Government side, sitting in between these two blocks, who are very much embarrassed by the position taken up by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. On the food problem also, the Chief Minister did not consult even his own party. He could have consulted the Leader of the Opposition when he removed the controls. He did not do that because he has got his own policy, the policy of just looking after the interests of landlords, millers and other black-marketers, and the Members on the other side also know that. Therefore, I feel that this Ministry is not competent to be in office.

" Sir, we know how the elections were conducted in this State, and how the Chief Minister has been nominated by the Governor. In the recent bye-elections, the Ministers took part and even a Central Minister came here to take part in the elections. The Government machinery was used to canvass support for the Congress candidate. Now, the Chief Minister asks for a Vote of Confidence. What is the good? He has faced the electorate and that point has been decided there. The people have expressed that they have no confidence in his Ministry. In order to keep his word of honour, he should resign. But he has rejected that course and come here with a Confidence Motion. He even asks his party Members to be honest and express their opinion. It is an opportunity for us all to be honest and to say to the people whether this Ministry has got a programme which will promote the interests of the people. I would therefore say, if you, Mr. Speaker, permit me, that with the confidence reposed in us by the electorate, we must vote against this motion and show to the people that we can form an alternative Government which can be democratic. Besides, during the course of his speech, Mr. C. Subramaniam said ' We do not want to face the electorate again; we do not want to take that step '. We need not go to the electorate if a Government is formed by the United Democratic Front which has a programme which will solve the problems facing the people. The electorate has already expressed its opinion. But, if the Government want to approach the electorate again, we are confident that this Government cannot win. If the Government are patriotic enough, if they are anxious that democracy should be maintained in this country, then the only thing that they have got to do is to vacate their office and allow the United Democratic Front to run the Government. Let them see whether the Democratic Front is able to form a stable Government or not. The Democratic Front has got its own progarmme and it will definitely do more good to the people and serve them much better than the Congress.

5-15 p.m.

30th June 1952] [Sri K. Venkaiah]

" The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has made a statement that the Democratic Front is not going to support him though he implements the programme of the Democratic Front. It is completely wrong. The Democratic Front has evolved its own programme and wishes to follow it in minute detail. It wants to implement it and take the co-operation of all in implementing it. If the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari changes his programme, adopts the programme of the Democratic Front, convinces the Front that there is no other motive behind and comes and joins the Front, then all of us can implement the programme and he will have the support of the Front. But what he did was only to abuse the Democratic Front which is bent on implementing its programme. With these words I appeal to one and all to oppose the Motion moved by the Leader of the House."

* SRI S. VEMAYYA :—" అధ్యక్ష మహాశయా, శాసనసభ కాంగ్రెస్ పక్షనాయకులు ప్రతిపాదించిన ఈ విశ్వాస ప్రకటన తీర్మానాన్ని బలపరచ జాలనందుకు చింతిస్తున్నాను. మొట్టమొదట ఈ విశ్వాస ప్రకటన తీర్మానం ఎందుకు తేబడింది, ఏ కారణాలవల్ల ప్రధాన మంత్రి శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిమీద విశ్వాసమున్నదని ప్రకటించాలి అనే విషయం అర్థం కావడంలేదు. ఏ గొప్పతనం చూచి ఈ మంత్రి వర్గం అందులో ముఖ్యంగా కాంగ్రెస్‌వారి ఆధ్వర్యాన నడుపబడుతున్న ఈ మంత్రి మండలిని ప్రశంసించాలో బోధపడడంలేదు. కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారి గత అయిదేండ్ల పరిపాలను తిరిగి మనస్సుకు తెచ్చుకోకుండా ఏ సభ్యుడుకూడా ఈ తీర్మానంపై అభిప్రాయ ప్రకటన చేయలేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ప్రజా శత్రువులుగామారిన గత కాంగ్రెస్ మంత్రుల అడుగుజాడలలో నడచే కాంగ్రెస్ పక్షంవారి ప్రభుత్వం వద్దు వద్దని ప్రజలు ఈ సభ్య జరిగిన సాధారణ ఎన్నికలలో తీర్పు చెప్పారు. మాకు కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం వద్దని ప్రజలు మొరలు పెట్టుకుంటున్నా, శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు కొన్ని ఎత్తుగడలలో కాంగ్రెస్‌ను తిరిగి అధికారంలోనికి తీసుకొనివచ్చారు. ఇప్పుడు ఈ తీర్మానంకూడా వారి రాజకీయ ఎత్తుగడలలో ఒక భాగమేనని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

"గత ఐదు సంవత్సరాలలో కాంగ్రెస్‌వారు హరిజనులపట్ల చాలా ఇబ్బందులకు గురి చేశారు. రాజకీయ బాధితులకు భూమిని దానం చేయడమనే మిషతో అనేక మంది హరిజనులకు వారు ఏండ్ల తరబడిగా సాగుచేసుకొనుచున్న భూములనుంచి తొలగించివేశారు. ముఖ్యంగా నా నియోజకవర్గమైన నెల్లూరులో కాంగ్రెస్‌వారు చేసిన దుండగాలు అన్నీ ఇన్నీ కావు. అసహాయులు అమాయకులు అయిన హరిజనులను కాంగ్రెస్ నాయకులమని చెప్పుకొనే పెద్దపెద్ద భూస్వాములు అనేక విధాలా హింసించారు. అటువంటి భూస్వాముల సంస్థ అయినటువంటి కాంగ్రెస్‌ను నేడు అధికారంలోకి తీసుకొనివచ్చిన శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిమీద విశ్వాసమున్నదని ప్రకటించడానికి ఏ హరిజనుడు సమ్మతించడని ప్రధాన మంత్రి గుర్తించవలసియున్నది. ఈ రాజకీయ బాధితులకు భూదానం చేయడమువల్ల అనేక పేద హరిజనులు శ్రమపడి ఫలసాయానికి తీసుకొనివచ్చిన భూమినుంచి తొలగించబడ్డారు. ఈ రాజకీయ బాధితులు ఈ భూమిని స్వంత నైద్యం చేస్తున్నారా అంటే అటువంటిదేమీ జరగడంలేదు. నూటికి నూరుమంది రాజకీయ బాధితులు తమకు ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇచ్చిన భూమిని సాగుచేయడంలేదని నేను గట్టిగా చెబుతున్నాను. వారు ఈ భూములను కాలుకీచ్చుటకు ప్రభుత్వంవారు వారికే భూదానంచేశారా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. అధికారంలో తృప్తి చేయడానికి ఇదొక మార్గమా అని కాంగ్రెస్ సభ్యులను అడుగుతున్నాను. రెక్కలు ముక్కలుచేసుకొని రాత్రనక, పగలనక, కష్టించి, చేతులుడ్డి నిస్సారమైన

ఊసరక్షేత్రాన్ని సాగులోకి తీసుకొనివచ్చిన హరిజనులకు కాంగ్రెస్ వారు ఆదరించిన విధానమిది. కష్టించేదొకడు, చివరకు ఫలసాయం అనుభవించేదిందొకడు. ఈ న్యాయాన్ని అమలుజరిపే కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం, ప్రజాహిత సంస్థ ప్రజాహిత ప్రభుత్వమని ఎవ్వరూ చెప్పజాలరు. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం భూస్వాముల ప్రభుత్వం. ధనవంతుణ్ణి మరి ధనవంతుణ్ణిచేసే ప్రభుత్వం. శ్రమజీవుల రక్తమాంసాలు పిండి పీల్చే ప్రభుత్వం. అటువంటి ప్రభుత్వం అధినేత అయిన రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిపట్ల ప్రకటించవలసినది విశ్వాసమా? కాంగ్రెస్ వారు శ్రమజీవుల విశ్వాసాన్ని వినాడో లోల్పోయారు. వారి సంస్థ బూర్జువా సంస్థ. వారి ఆశయాలు బూర్జువా ఆశయాలు. పైకి కల్లనీళ్లు తుడవడానికి హరిజనులకు సౌకర్యాలు కలుగజేస్తామంటారు. కాని ఆచరణలో చేసేదిమాత్రం వారు చెప్పేది ఒకటి, చేసేది యింకొకటి. ఇది వారికి సహజమై పోయింది. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి ఈ జిత్తులు ఎత్తులు బాగా తెలుసును. మేడిపండు మాటలు చెప్పడంలో ఆయన కడుసమర్థుడు. గత అయిదేండ్లలో హరిజనులకు కాంగ్రెస్ వారు చేసిన అన్యాయాలు చాలా ఉన్నాయి. హరిజనులకు కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ ఎన్నో మేళ్లు కలుగజేస్తూఉందని చెప్పుతున్న కాంగ్రెస్ వారి వారికి అన్యాయాలు చేశారు. కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారికి ముందున్న బ్రిటిషు ప్రభుత్వంవారుకూడా కాంగ్రెస్ వారంత నిర్దాక్షిణ్యంగా పరిపాలించలేదు. అడ్వైజర్ల ప్రభుత్వంలో అధికారోత్పత్తికిగాను పేదలైన హరిజనులకు కొన్ని బంజరు భూములు సాగుకు ఇవ్వబడ్డాయి. హరిజనులు గత ఎనిమిది, తొమ్మిది సంవత్సరాలనుంచి ఎంతో వ్యయప్రయాసలకోర్చి ఆ బంజరు భూములను సాగుకు యోగ్యమైన వాటినిగా చేశారు. కాని హరిజనుల దురదృష్టవశాత్తు ఈ రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వం గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి వంటి కొందరు కాంగ్రెస్ భూస్వాముల చేతులలోనికి పోయినది. వారు అధికారంలోనికి వచ్చిన తక్షణమే ముఠాను బలపరచుకొనే నిమిత్తం రాజకీయబాధితులకు భూదానం అనే పేరున వారివారి అనుచరులకు, ఆశ్రితులకు భూములు ఇవ్వబడ్డాయి. ఈ విధంగా ఇవ్వబడ్డ భూములు చాలావరకూ ఫుమారు ఐది సంవత్సరాలుగా హరిజనులు సాగు చేస్తూ ఉన్నటువంటివే. ఆ కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారు హరిజనులపట్ల ఈ విధంగా చాలా అన్యాయంగా ప్రవర్తించారు. ముఖ్యంగా మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలో అనేక సందర్భాలలో 144 వ సెక్షనును ఉపయోగించికూడా హరిజనులు సాగుచేసుకుంటున్న భూములను లాగివేసుకొన్నారు. ఇదంతా ఆశ్రిత పక్షపాత బుద్ధితో చేసినటువంటివే. మాబోటి పెదవారు ఈ అన్యాయాలనుగురించి అధికారులతో మనవిచేసుకొన్నా అధికారులు ఏమీచేయలేని స్థితిలో ఉన్నారు. ఈ అన్యాయాలనన్నిటిని తలచుకొంటూ వివిధంగా శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిపై విశ్వాస ప్రకటన చేయగలమా అర్థం కావడం లేదు. గత ప్రభుత్వంవారు అమలు జరిపిన రాజకీయ బాధితులకు భూదానం అనే విధానంవల్ల అధికారోత్పత్తి కుంటువడిందని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

"అంతేకాకుండా హరిజనులను పోలీసులు అనేక విధాలుగా బాధలు పెడుతున్నారు. ఇదంతా భూస్వాములు చేస్తూవున్న దారుణ కృత్యాలే. మా జిల్లాలో ముఖ్యంగా కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థలో చలుకుబడిగల వారమని చెప్పుకునే అనేకమంది భూస్వాములు హరిజనులు తమ ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇచ్చిన భూములను వ్యవసాయం చేసుకోనివ్వడం లేదు. ఇటువంటి విషయాలను హరిజనులు పోలీసు అధికారులకు చెప్పుకున్నా, వారు అన్యాయం చేసినవారిని మందలించుటకు బదులు ఫిర్యాదుచేసిన హరిజనులనే కొట్టి తిట్టి బాధిస్తున్నారని తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. ఇటువంటి చర్యలు హరిజనులను కాంగ్రెస్ పట్ల ఎటువంటి విశ్వాసమూ లేకుండా చేసినవి. ఈ పరిస్థితులలో ఈ కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని వివిధంగా మేము సమర్థించాలో అర్థం కావడంలేదు.

"కాంగ్రెస్ వారి దృష్టిలో హరిజనులకన్న రాజకీయ బాధితులు ఎక్కువగా కనిపిస్తున్నారు. కాని ఇదే మహాత్మాగాంధి గారు కాంగ్రెస్ వారికి చాలా వ్యతిరేకం. ఈనాటి కాంగ్రెస్ వారు గాంధీగారు చెప్పినదానిని మన్నించడంలేదు. ఆయన హరిజన బంధువుగా ఉండమని ఆదేశిస్తే ఈ కాంగ్రెస్ వారు హరిజన శత్రువులుగా మారిపోయారు. ఈ విషయంలో ముఖ్యంగా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలో కాంగ్రెస్ నాయకులమనే పెద్దపెద్ద భూస్వాములు చేసిన, చేస్తున్న దురంతాలు చాలా ఉన్నవి. వారి పలుకుబడి, ఆంగబలం, అర్థబలంచూచి అధికారులు పేదవారికి ఎటువంటి న్యాయం చేయడంలేదు. సరికదా, పేదవారిని బాధిస్తున్నారు. ఈ మధ్య నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలోని గూడూరు తాలూకాలో జరిగిన చిన్న విషయం గురించి మనవిచేస్తాను. ఆ జిల్లాలో ఒక హరిజనుడు సాగుచేసుకొంటున్న భూమిని ఒక రాజకీయ బాధితునికి బలవంతంగా అప్పగించబడింది. ఆ హరిజనుడు ఈ విషయం ఆర్.డి.ఓ. గారికి మనవిచేసుకుంటే ఆయన ఏమీ సహాయం చేయలేదు. ఈ భూములు ఇవ్వడం విషయంలో రాజకీయ బాధితులకే ప్రిఫరెన్సు ఇవ్వవలెనని ప్రభుత్వంవారు జారీచేసిన జి.ఓ.లో ఉన్నదని ఆయన చెప్పినారు. అంతేకాకుండా పోలీసువారితో హరిజనులు తమకు జరుగుచున్న అన్యాయాలు మనవిచేసుకొంటే వారు హరిజనులను కొట్టి రిమాండులో ఉంచుతున్నారు. ఇటువంటి పరిపాలనలో పేదసాదలకు ఎటువంటి నమ్మకం ఉంటుందో గుర్తించవలసినదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

"అంతేకాకుండా కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవాయి ఒకవైపున హరిజనోద్ధారకులమని చెప్పుకుంటూకూడా పర ప్రభుత్వం కన్నాకూడా హరిజనులపట్ల నిర్దాక్షిణ్యంగా ప్రవర్తించుచున్నారని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఇదివరలో ఉన్న పర ప్రభుత్వంవారు డి.సి. లాండ్సు, సి.డి. సెట్లర్సు మొదలగు భూములను హరిజనులవంటి భూమి లేనివారికి ఇవ్వవలసినదనే ఉద్దేశంతో కొంత భూమిని వారికి రిజర్వుచేసినారు. కాని ఈ భూముల విషయంలో చాలా అన్యాయాలు జరుగుతున్నాయి. భూస్వాములు తమ పలుకుబడిని ఉపయోగించి అధికారులను స్వాధీనం చేసుకొని ఈ భూములను బీదవారికి దక్కకుండా చేస్తున్నారు. ఈ భూములను రిజర్వుచేస్తూ జారీచేసిన ఆర్డర్లలో landless labourers అంటే మెట్ట పది ఎకరములకు లోపు మాగాణి 5 ఎకరములలోపు ఉన్నవాళ్లని ఉన్నది. ఈసాకు చూచుకొని ఏమాత్రమూగూడా భూమి లేనటువంటివారికి చాలా అక్రమం జరుగుచున్నది. సాధారణంగా హరిజనులలో భూములు ఉన్నవాళ్లు తక్కువ. నూటికి, తొంభైతొమ్మిది మందికి సెంటు నేలకూడా ఉండదు. అటువంటివారు భూమికి దరఖాస్తు పెట్టుకుంటే వారిని ఆలకించే దాత కనపించడంలేదు. కొద్దో గొప్పో భూమి ఉన్నవాళ్లకే భూములు ఇవ్వబడుతున్నవి. సెంటు భూమి లేనివారికన్నా నాలుగైదు ఎకరముల భూమి ఉన్నవారు ఎక్కువ పలుకుబడి కలిగిఉంటారు. అటువంటివారు కొద్దిగానో గొప్పగానో ముట్టజెప్పగలరు. అటువంటివారికే భూములు సాగుచేసుకోవడానికి మంజూరు చేయబడుతున్నాయి; కాని, ఇతరులకు సెంటు భూమి లేనివారు ఆల్లాగే ఉండిపోయినారు. ఈ అన్యాయాలను తొలగించవలెనని నేను ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను. ఈ జి.ఓ. ను సవరించి ఎంతమాత్రం భూమిలేని వారికే ప్రిఫరెన్సు ఇవ్వవలసినదని ఉత్తరువులు జారీ చేయవలసినదని కోరుచున్నాను.

"మరొక విషయం మనవిచేస్తాను. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు అధికారం నేకరించిన తరువాత రాజకీయబాధితులకు భూదానం చేయడం ఆపివేయవలసినదని అన్నారు. దీనివల్లకూడా కొంతమందికి అన్యాయం జరిగిందని అనుకొంటున్నారు. ఇదివరకు ఉన్న ప్రభుత్వంవారు రాజకీయబాధితులకు భూమిని ఇవ్వదలచి నామినే మిషతో తమపక్షం వారికి గ్రామాలలో ఉన్న మంచిభూములనన్నిటిని కట్టబెట్టారు. ఇంక భూములు

లభించకుండా చాలాపేదలు ఉన్నారు. గత అయిదేండ్లలో ఇప్పుడు అధికారంలో కాంగ్రెసువారు ఒక పారగ్రాఫ్ అయినా హరిజనుల విషయమై చేర్చబడక పోవడం చాలా శోచనీయమైనటువంటి విషయం. కాంగ్రెసువారు అధికారంలోకి వచ్చినందు వల్ల హరిజనులకేదో చాలా ఉపకారం జరుగుతూ ఉంది అనే విషయం నేను నమ్ములేను. ప్రభుత్వంవారు సివిల్ డిసబిలిటీస్ ఆక్టు అమలు జరిపితేగాని దానిని ఆవరణలో సరిగా అమలు జరపడం లేదు. అనేక సందర్భాలలో హరిజనులు సవర్ణులచేత నిందింపబడుచున్నారని అందరికీ తెలుసును. కాని, అధికారులు హరిజనులకు ఎటు వంటి సహాయ్యము చేయడం లేదు. సాంఘికంగా హరిజనులను భంగపరచిన వారిని శిక్షిస్తామని అంటారేగాని ఆ విధంగా జరగడంలేదు. అవసరమైతే పోలీసులు హరిజనులను బాధించడానికే ప్రయత్నిస్తున్నారేగాని వారిని ఉద్ధరించడానికి ఎంతమాత్రం సహాయపడడం లేదు. అస్పృశ్యతానివారణ సంపూర్ణంగా అమలు జరుపబడుతుంటేనేగాని హరిజనులు సంఘంలో తాము కూడా ఒక భాగమని సగర్వంగా చెప్పుకోలేరు. కాబట్టి హరిజనుల కళ్లనీళ్లు తుడవడానికి మాత్రమే ప్రయత్నం చేయక గాంధిజీ సదుద్దేశాలను సరిగా అమలు పరచడానికి ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ప్రయత్నిస్తుందని విశ్వసిస్తున్నాను.

5-30 p.m. "శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు కంట్రోల్సు తొలగించామని, అది ప్రజలకు చాలా ఉపకారం చేస్తుందని అన్నారు. డీ-కంట్రోలువల్ల ప్రజలు తాత్కాలికంగా సంతోషిస్తారేమోగాని రానురాను ఎన్నిబాధలకు గురికావలసి వస్తుందో తెలుసుకోగలుగుతారు. ప్రస్తుతం డీ-కంట్రోలు విధానంవల్ల కూలినాలి చేసుకొని బ్రతికేవారికి ధాన్యం సక్రమమైన ధరలకు లభ్యం అవుతుందని నేను విశ్వసించలేను. వచ్చే నెలలలో ధాన్యం ధర పెరుగుతుందనడంలో ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు. ఇదివరకే గవర్నమెంటువారు జిల్లాలలో ధాన్యం సేకరించారు. అక్కడ మిగిలిఉన్న ధాన్యం వి కొద్ది మంది భూస్వాముల చేతులలోనో ఉంటుంది. కూలీలు ఇతర పేద ప్రజలు ఈ భూస్వాముల దయాదాక్షిణ్యాలమీద ఆధారపడవలసి వస్తుంది. అటువంటి పరిస్థితులకు అవకాశం కలుగజేయకుండుటకుగాను తాలూకాలలో చౌక డిపోలను ప్రారంభింపవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వమువారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

"మా జిల్లాలలో మెట్ట తాలూకాలలో ఈ సంవత్సరం కరువువల్ల రైతులు చాలా ఇబ్బందులు పడుతున్నారు. పంటలు పోయినవారికి రెమిషన్ యిస్తామని ప్రభుత్వం వారు అన్నారు. కాని అనేక సందర్భాలలో రెవిన్యూ అధికారులు రైతులవద్దనుంచి శిస్తులు వసూలు చేస్తున్నట్లు మాకు ఫిర్యాదులు వస్తూ ఉన్నవి. ఈ విధంగా జరుగకుండా చూడవలసిందని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

"శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి పైన వారు విశ్వాసంచేసిన మంత్రివర్గంపైన విశ్వాసం ఉన్నదో లేదో తెలుపమన్నారు. మా నియోజకవర్గం తీసుకొని చూచినట్లయితే శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి యందు అక్కడి ప్రజలకు ఎంతమాత్ర విశ్వాసం లేదని చెప్పవలసి ఉంది. వారు అధికారంలోకి వచ్చిన తరువాత ఏ మహత్కార్యం చేశారని వారిపై విశ్వాసం ప్రకటించాలో నా కెంతమాత్రం బోధపడడం లేదు. ఇంతేకాకుండా గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాలలో కాంగ్రెసువారు జరిపిన చర్యలు తీసుకున్నట్లయితే ప్రజలు కాంగ్రెసువారిని అనేక విధాలా దూషిస్తున్నారని కూడా తెలుసుకోవలసి ఉంది. ప్రజలలో శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిమెడల విశ్వాసం లేదని చెప్పడంలో యింతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు మాట్లాడుతూ యన్.జి.ఓల విషయం తాను చూచుకుంటానని ప్రతిపక్ష సభ్యులు యన్.జి.ఓల విషయమై చెప్పనక్కరలేదని అన్నారు. యన్.జి.ఓలకు జీత భత్యాలు సరిగా కేంద్రప్రభుత్వంవారివలె ఇస్తూ

ఉంటే మేము యస్.జి.ఓల విషయం మాట్లాడవలసిన మాట ఎంతమాత్రం ఉండదు. కాని, యస్.జి.ఓలు పడుతున్న అవస్థలు ప్రభుత్వంవారు గుర్తించాలి. ఏ యస్.జి.ఓ. లు కూడా గత ఎన్నికలలో కాంగ్రెసుకు ఓటు ఇవ్వలేదని గట్టిగా చెప్పగలను. యస్.జి.ఓ లకు యలవెన్సులు హెచ్చుగా యివ్వాలని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

"డి.సి. భూములు సి.పి. సెట్లర్సుకుగాను కేటాయించిన భూములలో జరుగుతున్న అన్యాయాలు మరల ప్రభుత్వంవారి దృష్టికి తీసుకొని రాదలచాను. ముఖ్యంగా ఇదివరలో కాంగ్రెసు మంత్రిగా ఉన్న గోపాల రెడ్డిగారి స్వగ్రామమైన బుచ్చిరెడ్డి పాలెంలో చూచినట్లయితే రిజర్వుచేయబడిన భూములు చాలావరకు కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులమనే వారి భుక్తంలోనే ఉన్నట్లు కనిపిస్తుంది. వేదవారి పేరుచెప్పి ధనవంతులు భూమిని నైవ్యం చేసుకొంటున్నారు. ఈ విషయాలను తమ స్వాధీనం చేయవలసిందని రెవిన్యూ అధికారులకు విన్నవించుకొన్నా ఎటువంటి ఉపకారం జరగడం లేదు. భూస్వాముల వత్తిడికి తట్టుకోలేక ఆధికారులు న్యాయం చేయలేకపోతున్నారు. ఈ విషయాలన్నీ విచారణ చేయవలసిందని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

"ఇంకా అస్పృశ్యతా నివారణగురించి నా యభిప్రాయాలు తెలియచేస్తాను. హరిజనోద్ధరణకై ప్రత్యేకంగా హరిజన్ వెల్ఫేర్ డిపార్టుమెంటు అనేదానిని ఏర్పాటు చేశారు. దీనివల్ల హరిజనులకు ఎటువంటి ఉపయోగము కలుగుతూ ఉంది. సాంఘికంగాను ఆర్థికంగాను హరిజనుల పరిస్థితి ఎలా ఉంది అనేవిషయాలు గురించి గవర్నరుగారి ఉపన్యాసంలో మనకేమి తెలియజేయబడలేదు. గవర్నరుగారి ఉపన్యాసంలో హరిజన ప్రస్తావన లేకున్నదని కాంగ్రెసు వర్గీయుల ముఠావారికే తెలుసు. ఈ విషయములన్నీ జాగ్రత్తగా పరిశీలించి చూచినట్లయితే కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఎంత ఆశ్రిత పక్షపాతులో విదితమవుతుంది. తమ అనుచరులైనవారికి భూములిచ్చి ఇతర రాజకీయబాధితులకు ఇవ్వకపోవడం చాలా అన్యాయం. ఈ ఇచ్చినభూములలో కూడా చాలావరకు హరిజనులవి. కాబట్టి హరిజనుల వద్దనుంచి లాగుకొన్న భూములను వారికే తిరిగి ఇప్పించే ప్రయత్నం చేయవలసిందని శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

"ఇంతేకాదు. విద్యావిషయంలో కూడా హరిజనులకు చాలా అన్యాయం జరుగుతుందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. హరిజనుల బాలుర విద్య గురించి ఎవ్వరు శ్రద్ధ తీసుకోవడం లేదు. లేబరు డిపార్టుమెంటువారిక్రింద హరిజన బాలుర పాఠశాలలు ఉన్నంతవరకు విద్యాశాఖవారు హరిజనుల విద్యపట్ల ఎటువంటి శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొంటారని అనుకోవడానికి ఆస్కారం కనిపించడంలేదు. ఏ డిపార్టుమెంటువారు సరియైన శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొనకపోవడం వల్ల హరిజనులకు విద్యాభివృద్ధి కుంటుపడుతుంది. ఈ లేబరు పాఠశాలలను విద్యాశాఖ వారు అప్పుడప్పుడు సరిగా ఆజమాయిషి చేస్తుంటేనేకాని పరిస్థితులు సరిగా ఉండవని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

"హరిజనోద్ధారణకుగాను **Harijan Welfare Department** అని ఒక ప్రత్యేక శాఖను వేసినామని కాంగ్రెసువారు చెప్పవచ్చు. కాని దీనివల్ల హరిజనులకు అనుకొనినంతగా ఉపకారం జరగడం లేదు. హరిజన విద్యార్థులకు స్కాలర్‌షిప్పులు ఇచ్చే సందర్భంలో కూడా చాలా అన్యాయాలు జరుగుతున్నాయి. రాజకీయ విభేదాలు విద్యారంగంలో కూడా ప్రవేశింపజేయడం చాలా విచారకరం. కాంగ్రెసువారికి దాసులుగా ఉండేవారి పిల్లలకే ఉచితవిద్యా స్కాలర్‌షిప్పులు దొరికే పరిస్థితులలో వీర్పడ్డాయి. అంతేకాకుండా hostels లో చేర్చుకొనే విషయంలోనూ వాటిని నిర్వహించే విషయంలోనూ చాలా లోటుపాటులు ఉంటున్నాయి. స్వార్థపరుల చేతులలో hostels ఉంచబడుతున్నాయి. ఆశ్రిత పక్షపాతం ఈ hostels నిర్వహణలో బాగుగా విశదపడుతుంది. హరిజన విద్యార్థులకు hostels లో చేర్చుకొనడంలో చాలా

[Sri S. Vemayya] [30th June 1952

ఇబ్బందులు పెడుతున్నారు. ఒక సంవత్సరం పరీక్ష తప్పిన విద్యార్థిని తిరిగి hostelsలో చేర్చుకోమని అంటున్నారు. ఇది చాలా అన్యాయం. శతాబ్దాల తరబడి విద్యాగంధం లేని హరిజనులకు సౌకర్యాలు ఇస్తామనిచెబుతూ ఒకసారి ఫెయిలు అయినట్లయితే వారికి హాస్టల్సులో ఉండనివ్వమని అనడం న్యాయంకాదు. ఈ విషయంలో హరిజన విద్యార్థులపట్ల సరికొంత దయార్ద్ర హృదయంతో వర్తించవలసినదని కోరుతున్నాను.

"ఇక మన ఎదుటనున్న తీర్మానవిషయం ఆలోచిద్దాము. ఈ తీర్మానములో 'భూములు లేనివారికి పట్టాక్రింద ఎంతోకాలంనుంచి ప్రభుత్వంవారు కూడా గవర్న్మెంటు భూములను సాగుకు ఇవ్వడం ఈ రాష్ట్రంలో జరుగుతూ ఉంది. కాని వారు ఈ భూములనిమిత్తమై పేదవారి దగ్గిరనుంచి మార్కెట్టు వ్యాల్యూ తీసుకోవడానికి యత్నించేవారు కాదు. కాని ఈ నాడు కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వంవారు వచ్చిన తరువాత హరిజనులవంటి నిరుపేదలు తమకు ప్రభుత్వంవారు సాగుకు ఇచ్చిన భూములకు బజారు ధర (market value) చెల్లించాలని అంటున్నారు. ఇది అన్యాయం. బజారు ధరలపెట్టి భూమి కొనుక్కోగల శక్తి పేదవారికి ఉండదు. ఇటువంటి నిబంధన ఉండడంవల్ల కూడా హరిజనులు భూమిని సంపాదించలేకుండా ఉన్నారు. డబ్బు పెట్టుబడి పెట్టగలవానికే భూమి దక్కుతుంది. ప్రభుత్వంవారు యదార్థంగా భూమిలేనివారికి భూములు ఇవ్వాలని సంకల్పిస్తే, ముఖ్యంగా సెంటు భూమి లేని పేదవారికి ఉచితంగా భూమిని ఇవ్వడం నుంచిది. ఇదివరలో ప్రభుత్వంవారు మార్కెట్టు వ్యాల్యూ కట్టమని ప్యానుచేసిన జి.ఓ. లు ప్రకారంగా హరిజనులవద్దనుంచి మార్కెట్టు వాల్యూ తీసుకోవద్దని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. బ్రిటిష్ గవర్న్మెంటువారు నిర్ణయముచేసిన ఈ మార్కెట్టు వ్యాల్యూపద్ధతి రద్దు చేయమని కోరుతున్నాను. హరిజనులు, ఎరుకల, యానాది మొదలైన తెగలవారు చాలా పేదవారు. ఈ కారణంవల్లనే వారికి కొంతభూమిని మా జిల్లాలో రిజర్వు చేయబడింది. అటువంటివారికి ఆ భూములు దక్కనివ్వకుండా పెద్ద భూస్వాములు నైవేద్యం చేసుకుంటున్నారు. అమాయకులైనటువంటి ఈ జాతులవారి భూములను ధనవంతులు అనుభవించుకుంటుంటే కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఏమీ చేయలేకుండా ఉన్నారనేది చాలా శోచనీయమైన విషయం. పేదలకు ఉపకారం చేయలేని ప్రభుత్వంపై ఎందుకు విశ్వాసం ప్రకటించాలో నాకేమీ అర్థంకావడం లేదు. బీదవాళ్లను ఆర్థికంగాను, సాంఘీకంగాను అభివృద్ధిపరచడానికి అమలు జరుపుతున్నామని చెప్పి ప్యానుచేసిన శాసనములు ఆచరణలో పెట్టకపోయినపుడు ఆ శాసనముల ప్రయోజనం ఏమీ ఉండదు. ఇటువంటి శాసనాలు మ్యూనిసిపాలిటీ డస్టుబిన్‌లో వేయవలసినదే. ఈవిధంగా పాలించే కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వాన్ని బలపరచడం తగదు. అందువల్లనే ఈ ప్రధానిలోనూ, ఆయన మంత్రిమండలిలోనూ నాకు విశ్వాసంలేదని చెబుతూ ఇందుతో విరమిస్తున్నాను."

* SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDER :—"Mr. Speaker, I belong to the Tamil Nad Toilers' Party. The Members of my party who opposed the Congress candidates in the elections were returned to the House in large numbers. So, I am bound on principle, to oppose this Motion.

"This motion was sprung on us all of a sudden within the course of one or two days. When the Budget was presented to this House on the 27th June, there was no mention whatsoever about this Motion. All of a sudden today we find ourselves faced with this Motion. Of course the Chief Minister was good enough to make a statement as to why he was forced to bring a Motion of this kind before the House. From what I am able to see from

the statement, it appears as though the Chief Minister is not sure of his strength in this House to get the necessary approval for his financial policy and he wants a reassurance from the entire House so that he may run the Government according to his whims and fancies. That the Hon. the Chief Minister was having the support of a majority in this House has been evident ever since the House began to function. We saw it in the election of the Speaker. We have seen it in the defeat of the several Motions and Resolutions moved by the Opposition. Hence it is evident that the goodwill of a majority of this House is with the Hon. Chief Minister. When such is the case, why has this Motion been brought forward at this juncture? I am not able to understand the motive behind this move.

" Personally speaking, I have great regard for the Hon. the Chief Minister. He is a good politician, a good administrator and above all, a good statesman. But when such a man, instead of giving straightforward reasons for seeking a Vote of Confidence from this House, goes on saying, ' I have undertaken a tremendous responsibility; so before embarking on policies which require a tremendous sacrifice from the people, I want a reassurance from this House to strengthen my hands.' I can only say that I am unable to understand the logic behind it.

" But, one thing I want to submit to the House. This is a Motion which is given undue prominence in this House. Four days have been allotted for debating this Motion. A day's debate costs nearly Rs. 5,000 to the State . . . ." 5-45 p.m.

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" May I point out, Sir, that we, on this side, are not responsible for this arrangement; it was the Leader of the hon. Gentleman's Party who wanted so many days."

SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDER :—" Whatever it is, some days have been allotted for this discussion."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Your leader asked for fifteen days, not four days."

* SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDER :—" These four days' debate costs Rs. 20,000. When the State is crying for finance and the Government are trying to impose additional taxation on the poor people, where is the need for a debate for four days on a Motion which is not at all necessary? Whatever it is, Sir, what made the Hon. Minister to bring forward this Motion? It is for him to explain later. Anyhow, in the statement made by him and the speeches of his supporters, I do not find any valid reason for this Motion. That is one thing.

" Regarding the Motion itself, I want to raise one question of constitutional difficulty. Our Constitution says that we are having a Sovereign Democratic Republic, but this Motion asks for vesting powers in a certain gentleman, because the Hon. the Chief Minister wants everybody to have confidence in him, so that he can carry out his policy without interruption or obstruction. That is what he wants in this Motion. If that is the case, does he want to

assume the role of a dictator, thereby infringing all democratic principles guaranteed to us under the Constitution? Of course, I do have the greatest respect for the Hon. the Chief Minister, because as an eminent politician, as an astute statesman, and as a man, he has better knowledge of men and things. But yet he must have some reasons for bringing forward this Motion which he is not pleased to divulge. I believe he must have thought about it before coming forward with this Motion. This would lead to the assumption of dictatorship by a particular individual. That is opposed to democratic principles. By putting this Motion before the House, does he mean to suggest that all the Members are not aware of the provisions of the Constitution? It is said often by the Hon. Chief Minister and others that the Communists are out for breaking the Constitution and all that. But, what about the Motion that is now brought before the House? It leads to breaking the Constitution and to the denial of rights guaranteed to the citizens under the Constitution. Therefore it is my humble opinion that the Motion before the House is not in order.

" Coming to the Motion itself, in order to strengthen his hands to carry out some policies which he has chalked out for the benefit of the people, the Hon. the Chief Minister wants a reassurance from the House. But, from the observations that he often makes in the House, I think he is assuming a sort of dictatorship. The use of such expressions as ' chaos,' ' misconception of ideas,' ' you are my Enemy No. 1 ' and so on, indicates that the Hon. Chief Minister seems to think that the Members on the Opposition benches are here to create chaos, that they have misconception of ideas and that they are the enemies of the Government and of the people. I may submit to him and to the House that he is not correct in his views of the Opposition. Of course, he may think that the U.D.F. as a whole is his enemy, but he openly expressed that the Communists are his Enemy No. 1. Whatever his views about the Communists may be, he should not make a general statement so far as the Members of the U.D.F. are concerned, because it consists of several parties each having its own membership, and all of them have come together on a certain understanding to work out a minimum programme agreed to among themselves. That does not mean that all the parties which constitute the U.D.F. agree with every one of the Communist ideals or the K.M.P. ideals or some other ideals. Every group that forms part of the U.D.F. has got certain principles of its own but all of us are agreed that the Congress should not be allowed to run the Government as that is the verdict of the people. But rightly or wrongly, the Congress is now in power. The Members who have been returned to the House on the strength of their election manifesto that they would oppose the Congress, should see that they have a group of their own so that they could act as a check and turn out the Government if they go wrong. That is our object and nothing more. The Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari thinks that it is against all canons of decency or morality. I think he is not correct. Therefore, I submit, that we as Members sitting on the Opposition benches, are here simply to see that

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things go on properly, and if anything goes wrong, it is our duty duty to point it out to the Hon. the Chief Minister and the Members of the Government and the party in power. As everyone knows, the Congress Ministers who were holding office previously committed all sorts of mistakes. So, people got an aversion to the Congress and thought they should go. People thought that the acts committed by the last Ministry were responsible for what had happened. Anyhow, Sir, there was a general aversion on the part of the people towards the party in power, and the Congress Party was condemned by the public, and even the man in the street and the man at the top and everybody thought that the Congress Government should go and somebody else should take up the reins of Government. It was on that issue that some of us who are sitting on the Opposition benches were returned to the House. We could not form the Government though we tried our best. Though we have come in a large majority, it was our bad luck that we could not form the Government, for reasons which I could neither give out, nor is it desirable to do so, as I am not competent to say anything about the matter. But, somehow we have not been put in power and the other party, although it is in a minority, has been put in power. One thing that was said against the U.D.F. was that it consisted of several groups and therefore it was not competent to run the Government. But, does not the same thing apply to the Congress Party, because they also have no absolute majority of their own? They have also got into an alliance with other parties. The successful running of the Government by them depends upon their alliance with other parties. Suppose the other parties go out for some reason or other, then there will be a deadlock and there will again be trouble. Whatever it is, so far as we are concerned, as I have already submitted, I have absolutely no grievance or complaint against any Hon. Minister. Personally, so far as the Hon. Chief Minister is concerned, I know something about him, I know him as a revered leader. So far as the other Hon. Ministers are concerned, except one Minister, the Hon. Mr. Manickavelu Naicker, I know very little about them and so I am not competent to say anything regarding their competency for the offices they all hold. Apart from that, Sir, sitting as I do on the Opposition benches, on principle, I am bound to oppose this Motion.

" Then, Sir, several things were said by the speakers who preceded me, criticising the action of the Chief Minister and the Members of the Cabinet. I for one could say, that so far as the food policy of the Government is concerned, it is a very bold step which has been taken by the Hon. the Chief Minister. I do welcome that and the Members of my party also welcome the slep. But, we have got to say one thing in regard to that. Several statements were made on the platform and in the press both by the Hon. the Chief Minister and by the Hon. the Minister for Finance, that in implementing the decontrol policy they would see that the prices are brought down to the control rate or even below that We are anxious to see that the Government take steps to bring down the prices to the control level or even lower than that. As

it is, we hear reports that in some districts the prices have gone up, in some districts, they are on a par with the control rates and in some other districts they have gone down. And it is too soon to say anything about the merits or demerits of the policy adopted by the Government. So, I leave it at that.

Sir, I started by saying that I belong to the Toilers Party. Of course, the toilers are the poorest section of the people in South India. We are sent here in large numbers to protect their interests and whenever anything is done in opposition to their interests, we are bound to oppose it. Now, in the Budget that is presented to us, I find a surcharge on bus fares and a surcharge on land revenue. I would like to submit one thing with regard to these taxation proposals. Whatever might be the revenue that may be got by taxing the bus people, in actual practice it is the man who actually pays that is taxed. That person is the labourer, whose interests I am bound to protect in this House. Therefore, when the Hon. the Chief Minister and the Members of the Cabinet impose a tax on the poor, I am bound to oppose it. Secondly, it is said that the landlords also are to be taxed; in other words, taxes are to be levied on land also. There again, the man who actually pays is only the labourer and not the man who owns the land. The landowner has these taxes collected from the labourer in proportion to what he pays to the Government. Therefore, ultimately the man who is hard hit is the labourer. Therefore, Sir, I for myself and the Members of my party are bound to protect the interests of the poor man and the labourer and we oppose these taxes.

There is one thing more which I wish to urge. It was also referred to by one of the hon. Members of this House. It is about the Prohibition policy of the Government. True, it is a moral reform and nobody denies it. We are not here to teach morals, but we are here to see to the interests of the State. The Budget that has been presented to this House shows a deficit of some three or four crores of rupees; and in order to make up the deficit additional taxation is proposed. But, from my experience of the working of this Prohibition policy so far, I would like to submit that it has not worked properly. Whatever it is, there is a feeling on the part of the general public that this policy should go. Whether it is a moral reform or whatever reform it is, the general feeling of the people is that this Prohibition policy should go, and that the revenue that is lost to the State as a result of the introduction of Prohibition would be not only sufficient to cover the present deficit but would also enable the Government to take up irrigation projects nad other development schemes. Therefore, it is high time for the Hon. Chief Minister and the other Members of his Cabinet to take steps to do away with Prohibition once for all or at least amend the Prohibiton Act suitably. Because Prohibition was introduced when the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar was the Chief Minister, he and the other Members of his present Cabinet may feel some compunction about the removal of Prohibition. Such a feeling is quite human. Anyhow there are other

6 p.m.

Colleagues who may advise the Hon. the Chief Minister that Prohibition is unwanted by the public, that the State is incurring a heavy loss of revenue on account of Prohibition and that the excise revenue accruing after the abolition of Prohibition could be used not only for meeting the deficit in the Budget but also for the execution of many department schemes.

"If the Hon. Chief Minister takes steps to satisfy all these conditions, I do not think there will be any difficulty in running the Government. We are not interested in seeing that a particular man runs the Government. We want that things are done in a proper manner and whoever it is that runs the Government we are not concerned. Because the policies pursued by the previous Congress Ministry were detrimental to the interests of the public, we condemned the Congress Party and wanted it to be out of office. When that Party comes here and says that they will run the Government, let them run the Government. But let them run the Government on proper lines and scrap those policies which are not wanted by the public. It smacks of obstinacy when the Hon. Chief Minister says: I cannot think of abolishing Prohibition and if Prohibition goes, I also must go out of office. It is the duty of the Members on this side of the House to comment on the action of the Ministers. I oppose the Motion."

SRI O. KORAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, ഇന്നു നിലവിലുള്ള ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ നയം സംബന്ധിച്ചും മന്ത്രിസഭയുടെ ഗതിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും അതിനു് എതിരായി ജയിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള മെമ്പർമാർ വോട്ടുചെയ്യുന്ന അവസരത്തിൽ നാട്ടിൽ ഉണ്ടായ സംഭവഗതികൾക്കു് എന്തെല്ലാം മാറ്റംവന്നിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു കാര്യമായി ചിന്തിക്കേണ്ട ഒരു വിഷയമാണു്. ഇന്നത്തെ സ്ഥിതി നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അതിനു പറയത്തക്ക വലിയ ഒരു മാറ്റം നാട്ടിൽ വന്നിട്ടില്ല എന്നാണു് തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ട ഞങ്ങളുടെ ജീവിതത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള അനുഭവം. ഒന്നാമതായി കോൺഗ്രസ് ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് വളരെ അധികം പണം ചിലവു് ചെയ്തു് നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ഒരു പ്രശ്നമാണു് ഹരിജനോദ്ധാരണം. എന്താണു് ഈ ഹരിജനോദ്ധാരണത്തിൽ ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ സ്ഥിതി എന്നു് ചിന്തിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അവർ പഴയ നിലയിൽ നിന്നു് പുരോഗമിച്ചിട്ടില്ലെന്നു മാത്രമല്ല അവരുടെ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകളും കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകളും വർദ്ധിച്ചു കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയാണു്. ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ ഉദ്ധാരണത്തിനു വേണ്ടി ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് അടുത്ത കാലത്തു് നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തീട്ടുള്ള രണ്ടു് നിയമങ്ങളാണു് അവശതാപരിഹാര നിയമവും ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശന നിയമവും. ഈ രണ്ടു് നിയമങ്ങളും ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് പാസ്സാക്കി വിടുകയല്ലാതെ അവ പ്രായോഗികമായി നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ ചിന്തിക്കുന്നില്ല. നിയമങ്ങൾ നടപ്പിൽ വന്നിട്ടുകൂടി ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു് മനുഷ്യരുടെ പ്രാഥമിക അവകാശങ്ങൾ പോലും അനുഭവപ്പെടുന്നില്ല. ചില സ്ഥലത്തു ഹരിജനങ്ങൾ വൃത്തിയുള്ള വസ്ത്രം ധരിച്ചു് പോയാൽ അവർക്കു് അടികൊള്ളുന്ന നിലയാണു് ഇന്നുള്ളതു്. ഹരിജനമർദ്ദനങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് അധികാരസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ റിപ്പോർട്ടു് ചെയ്താൽ അവർക്കു് രക്ഷകിട്ടുന്നില്ല. കുമ്പനാടു് താലൂക്കിൽ ബാലുശ്ശേരി എന്ന സ്ഥലത്തു് ഒരു ഹരിജനമർദ്ദനം നടന്നു. അവിടത്തെ സബ്ബു് ഇൻസ്പെക്ടരെ സമീപിച്ചു് ഹരിജന പ്രതിനിധികൾ സങ്കടം ബോധിപ്പിച്ചപ്പോൾ അവരെ ഭീഷണിപ്പെടുത്തുകയും ഭയപ്പെടുത്തുകയുമാണു് ആ പോലീസു് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥൻ ചെയ്തതു്. കോഴിക്കോടു് താലൂക്കിലും ഹരിജനമർദ്ദനങ്ങളും അവരുടെ കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകളും വർദ്ധിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയാണു്. താമരശ്ശേരിയിൽ ഹരിജന മർദ്ദനങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി അവിടത്തെ ഉത്തരവാദപ്പെട്ട പോലീസുദ്യോഗസ്ഥനോടു് സങ്കടം ബോധിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ ചെന്നപ്പോൾ അവരെ കഴത്തിൽ പിടിച്ചു് തള്ളുകയാണു് അവിടെ ഉണ്ടായതു്. ജൂൺ 13-ാം തിയ്യതി തിരുരങ്ങാടിയിൽ ഒരു ഹരിജന സ്ത്രീ വീട്ടിൽനിന്നു പുറത്തേക്കു് പോയതിന്റെശേഷം മടങ്ങിവന്നിട്ടില്ല. പല വിധത്തിലുള്ള മുറിപാടുകളോടുകൂടി അവർ മരിച്ചുകിടക്കുന്നതായി പിന്നീടു് കണ്ടു. അതുപോലെതന്നെ കോഴിക്കോടു് താലൂക്കിൽ എലത്തൂരിൽ ഒരു ഹരിജന സ്ത്രീ സംശയകരമായി മരണപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും ഇതുവരെ അധികാരസ്ഥന്മാർക്കു് ഒരു നിവൃത്തിമാർഗ്ഗം കണ്ടുപിടിക്കു

വാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ലെന്നുമാണ് വാസ്തവം. ഇന്നു ഹരിജനങ്ങൾ അനുഭവിക്കുന്ന കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകൾക്കും ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകൾക്കും ഒരു മാറ്റം വന്നിട്ടില്ല. കോൺഗ്രസ് ഗവൺമേണ്ട് പറയുന്നതു് ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ ഉദ്ധാരണത്തിനുവേണ്ടി വലിയ ഒരു തുക നീക്കിവെച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട് എന്നാണല്ലൊ ഈ പണമെല്ലാം പോകുന്നതു് വലിയ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ മാസ്സടിയുടെ പേരിൽ അവരുടെ മടിശ്ശീല വീർപ്പിക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടിയാണ്. ഹരിജനോദ്ധാരണത്തിനു ശക്തികൂടിയപ്പോൾ വെൽഫേർ ആഫീസർമാരെ ഗസറ്റഡ് (Gazetted) ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരാക്കി ഉയർത്തി. ഇതുകൊണ്ട് ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു എന്തു ഗുണമാണ് ഉണ്ടാകുവാൻ പോകുന്നതു്. ഫറോക്കിൽ മാന്യനായ ഒരു ഹരിജനമന്ത്രി ഉണ്ടായപ്പോൾ അരി മേടിക്കുവാൻ വെച്ച പണം എടുത്തു കമ്പി അടിച്ചിട്ടും അതു് വന്ന അനേക്ഷിക്കുവാനുള്ള സന്മനസ്സ് പോലും (Welfare Officer) വെൽഫേർ ആഫീസർക്ക് ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. ഈ മാതിരിയുള്ള ആഫീസർമാരുടെ മാസ്സടി വർദ്ധിപ്പിച്ചതുകൊണ്ട് ഒരു ഗുണവും വരുവാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു യാതൊരു ആനുകൂല്യങ്ങളും കിട്ടുകയില്ല. എന്റെ സ്വദേശമായ പൊന്നാനി താലൂക്കിൽ ചേറുപുരണപ്പുറത്തുള്ള വലപ്പാട് ബോഡ് ഹൈസ്സ്കൂളിൽ 26 ഹരിജൻ കുട്ടികളാണ് പഠിക്കുന്നതു. ഈ പ്രദേശത്തു ഉദ്ദേശം 14,000 ഹരിജന കുടുംബങ്ങളുണ്ട്. മുൻപറഞ്ഞ 26 കുട്ടികളിൽ രണ്ടു പേർക്കുമാത്രമാണ് സ്റ്റൈയിപെന്റ് കിട്ടുന്നതു്. നേരെമറിച്ചു ഈ സ്കൂളിനടുത്തു കിടക്കുന്ന (തിരു-കൊച്ചി) കാട്ടർ സെൻറ് മേരീസ് ഹൈസ്കൂളിൽ 120 ൽ പരം ഹരിജൻകുട്ടികൾ പഠിക്കുന്നു. അവിടെ ഇത്രയധികം കുട്ടികൾ പഠിക്കുവാനുള്ള കാരണം ഗവൺമേണ്ടു നല്കുന്ന ആനുകൂല്യം കൊണ്ടാണ്. എല്ലാവർക്കും വസ്ത്രം, പുസ്തകം എന്നിവക്കു പുറമെ സ്റ്റൈയിപെൻറും കിട്ടുന്നു. പിന്നെ ഹരിജനോദ്ധാരണത്തിനു പണം നീക്കിവെച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു് പറയുന്നതിൽ അർത്ഥം എന്താണ് ഉള്ളതു്. മറെറാരു പ്രശ്നം കോൺഗ്രസ് ഗവൺമേണ്ട് അധികാരത്തിൽ വന്നതിനുശേഷം മലബാറിനു പാസ്സാക്കിയ ഒരു നിയമമാണ് മലബാർ കുടിയായ്മ നിയമം. അവിടത്തെ നാടുവാഴികളിൽനിന്നും ജന്മികളിൽനിന്നും ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു രക്ഷനല്കണമെന്നും അവർക്ക് അവർ താമസിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ സ്ഥിരാവകാശം നല്കണമെന്നും ഉള്ളതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ഹരിജനങ്ങൾ ശക്തിമത്തായ നിലയിൽ ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടു. എന്നിട്ടു ഗവൺമേണ്ടു് നിയമം പാസ്സാക്കിയപ്പോൾ എന്താണ് ചെയ്തതു്. ഫോട്ട് കൊച്ചിൻ മാത്രം ഉൾക്കൊടിക്കും കുടിയിരുപ്പിനും സ്ഥിരാവകാശം നൽകുകയും മറ്റു ഒമ്പതു താലൂക്കുകളിലേക്കും ബാധകമാക്കാതെയിരിക്കുകയും ആകുന്നു. ഈ നിയമത്തിൽ ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ പ്രശ്നങ്ങൾക്കു് യഥാർത്ഥമായ ഒരു നിവൃത്തിമാർഗ്ഗം കൈവരുത്തുവാനുള്ള പരിതഃസ്ഥിതി ഇല്ല എന്നുള്ളതു് വളരെ വ്യക്തമായ നിലയിൽ കാണുവാൻ സാധിക്കും. സാമുദായികപരമായി പറയുന്നതായാലും ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു് നിരവധി അവശതകൾ ഉണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതു് ഒരു പരമാർത്ഥം മാത്രമാണ്. ഹരിജനോദ്ധാരണത്തിനു് നിയമങ്ങൾ പാസ്സാക്കിയാൽ മാത്രം പോരാ, അതു പ്രായോഗികമായി നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ ഗവൺമേണ്ടു് യത്നിക്കുകതന്നെ വേണം. മലബാറിൽ അങ്ങോളമിങ്ങോളം ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ ക്ഷേമവും നന്മയും അനേക്ഷിക്കാൻ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വം ഏല്പിച്ചതു അംശം അധികാരിമാരേയാണ്. ആരാണ് ഇവർ ? പഴയ നാടുവാഴിജന്മിത്വത്തിന്റെ പ്രതിനിധികളാണ്. ഇവരിൽ ഭൂരിപക്ഷവും ഇവരുടെ കീഴിൽ എത്രയോ ഹരിജനങ്ങൾ ഉള്ളവരാണ്. എടത്തരത്തി അംശം അധികാരിയുടെ കീഴിൽ 150 ൽ പരം ഹരിജനകുടുംബങ്ങളുണ്ട്. അവർ വെറും അടിമകളാണ്. തുച്ഛമായികിട്ടുന്ന കൂലികൊണ്ടു ജീവിക്കുവാൻ പ്രവൃത്തിയില്ലാതെ കൂടുതൽ കൂലിക്കു അവർ സംഘടിച്ചു് ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടപ്പോൾ അവരെ കമ്മ്യൂണിസത്തിന്റെ പേരിൽ അടിച്ചമർത്തുകയാണ് ചെയ്തതു്. ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള അധികാരിമാരെയാണ് ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ നന്മക്കു വേണ്ടി ഏല്പിക്കുന്നതെങ്കിൽ അതിൽനിന്നു് ഒരു മെച്ചവും ഉണ്ടാകാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. ഗവൺമേണ്ടു പാസ്സാക്കിയ നിയമങ്ങൾ ജനങ്ങളുടെ കണ്ണിൽ പൊടി ഇടുവാനുള്ളതാണ്. അല്ലാതെ യഥാർത്ഥ നന്മക്കു വേണ്ടിയുള്ളതല്ല. ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു പുറമെ മറ്റുള്ളവർക്കും നാട്ടിൽ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള അനുഭവങ്ങൾ നാം ചിന്തിക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ട്. ഗവൺമേണ്ട് ആസ്പത്രികളിൽ നടക്കുന്ന അനീതികളെപറ്റി എല്ലാവർക്കും അറിവുള്ളതാണ്. ധർമ്മാസ്പത്രിയിൽനിന്നു ചികിത്സിച്ചു സുഖക്കേടു മാറാത്ത ഒരു രോഗിയെ നാട്ടിലുള്ള ആളുകൾ പണം പിരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു കോഴിക്കോട് ഗവൺമേണ്ട് ആസ്പത്രിയിലേക്ക് അയച്ചപ്പോൾ അവിടത്തെ ഡാക്ടർമാർ പറയുകയാണ്: 'ഇങ്ങിനെ വന്നാൽ ആസ്പത്രിയിൽ പ്രവേശിപ്പിക്കുകയില്ല' എന്നു്. നോക്കണം, ആസ്പത്രിയിൽ പ്രവേശനം കിട്ടണമെങ്കിൽ പണം കൊടുക്കണം അതാണ് സ്ഥിതി. ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ ഇന്നത്തെ സ്ഥിതി പരിതാപകരമാണ്. ഉൾക്കൊടിക്കും കുടിയിരുപ്പിനും സ്ഥിരാവകാശം നല്കാത്തകാലത്തോളം അവരെ കുടിയിറക്കി തെരുവു

30th June 1952] [Sri O. Koran]

തെണ്ടികളാക്കികൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയല്ലേ. ചിലരെ നിർബന്ധപൂർവ്വം കുടിയിറക്കുന്നു മറ്റു ചിലർ ജോലിക്കുപോയി മടങ്ങിവരുമ്പോഴേക്കും അവർ താമസിച്ചിരുന്ന കുടിലുകൾ പൊളിച്ചുനീക്കി ആ സ്ഥലത്തു് വാഴവെക്കുന്നു. പോലീസിൽ ഇതിനെ പ്പറ്റി ഹരിജ കൊടുത്താൽ യാതൊരു രക്ഷാമാർഗ്ഗവും കിട്ടുന്നില്ല. ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ താല്പര്യ ങ്ങൾ സംരക്ഷിക്കുവാൻ പരിശ്രമിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു് പറയുന്നതല്ലാതെ ചെയ്യുന്നതെല്ലാം, അവരുടെ താല്പര്യങ്ങൾക്കു് വിരുദ്ധമാണു്. ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു പുറമെ നാട്ടിലെ സ്ഥിതി ഗതികളും പരിതാപകരമാണു്. എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലമായ ആലത്തൂരിൽ—ഞാൻ പൊന്നാനി താലൂക്കുകാരനാണെങ്കിലും—കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനെ ജനങ്ങൾ ഇഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നില്ല എന്നുള്ളതിന്റെ ഉത്തമോദാഹരണമാണു എന്റെ വിജയം. അവിടെനിന്നു് വിജയിക്കുവാനുള്ള കാരണം കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് ജനങ്ങളുടെ താല്പര്യത്തിനു വിരുദ്ധമായി എന്നുള്ളതാണു്. ഇന്നു് അവിടെ ആയിരക്കണക്കിൽ നെയ്ത്തു തൊഴിലാളികളായാലും ശരി, എല്ലാ വിഭാഗത്തിൽപെട്ട ആളുകളും നാട്ടുവിട്ടുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. കാരണം അവർക്കു് ജീവിക്കുവാനുള്ള കഴിവില്ല. നെയ്ത്തു തൊഴിലാളികൾക്കു് തുലുകിട്ടുന്നില്ല ; ജോലികിട്ടുന്നില്ല, അതുകൊണ്ടു്. വയനാടു മുതലായ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലേക്കു് പോകുകയാണു് ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. അങ്ങിനെ കാരോ കാര്യം എടുത്തുനോക്കിയാൽ നമുക്കു് കാണുവാൻ സാധിക്കും. ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ ഈ നയം തുടർന്നുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ജനങ്ങളുടെ കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകൾക്കും ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകൾക്കും ഒരു അറുതി വരുകയില്ല. എന്നു മാത്രമല്ല ഇപ്പോൾ ഉള്ളതിലും ഭയങ്കരമായ സ്ഥിതി നാട്ടിൽ സംഭവിക്കും. ഈ കാര്യങ്ങളെല്ലാം ചിന്തിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുവേണം വോട്ടു് ചെയ്യുന്നതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഒരു അഭിപ്രായം രൂപീകരിക്കുവാൻ. അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്യാതിരുന്നാൽ അതു് ജനങ്ങളോടു് ചെയ്യുന്ന ഒരു വഞ്ചനയായിരിക്കും. ഹരിജനങ്ങളും അല്ലാത്ത ആളുകളും ജനാധിപത്യത്തിൽ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന ആളുകളും ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ ഇന്നത്തെ നയത്തിനു് വിരോധമായ ഒരു അഭിപ്രായമായിരിക്കും രൂപീകരിക്കുക. അസംബ്ലിയിലെ അംഗങ്ങൾ ഈ കാര്യത്തെപ്പറ്റി ശ്രദ്ധിക്കുമായി ചിന്തിക്കും എന്നു് വിശ്വസിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു് എന്റെ പ്രസംഗം ഞാൻ ഉപസംഹരിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു."

* SRI C. PULLA REDDI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I oppose this Motion brought forward by the Congress Party. The present Ministry assumed office after the previous Congress Ministry with a bad record. After assuming office, Rajaji has promised several things and said that he would set right all the wrongs and misdeeds of the previous Congress Ministry. It is hardly two months since he assumed office and within such a short period he seeks a Vote of Confidence of this House. The people have had no opportunity to know what he is going to do for the good of this State. Let us see what he proposes to do. An inkling has been given in the present Budget. Rajaji's Ministry assumed office at a time when there was great starvation among our people, when there was a great famine in Rayalaseema and soon after a devastating cyclone in Rayalaseema. In this background Rajaji's Ministry has come to power. Let us see what the Budget proposes to do to meet the demands and serve the interests of the poor people of this State. The common man, the man-in-the-street, the worker, the peasant, the middle class man and the N.G.O.—what do they all want? The peasant wants the right to his land, the worker wants a living wage to make both ends meet, the poor want the distribution of waste lands to enable them to eke out their livelihood, and the people of backward areas like Rayalaseema want more irrigation projects, more communications and more electricity schemes. Let us see how Rajaji's Ministry has tried to meet these urgent needs of the people in the present Budget. There will be an opportunity to discuss the Budget in the coming days. So I will not take up

6-15 p.m.

much of the time of the House in referring to the Budget proposals. In a nutshell, this Ministry has presented a Budget which is going to tax the people more. When the people have been crying for the last five years for a reduction of the taxes that have been levied by the previous Ministry, this Ministry comes forward with proposals for new taxation like the levy of a betterment fee and a surcharge on bus fares. This is the way in which the Ministry is trying to meet the needs of the people! When the crying need of the people of the backward and famine-stricken Rayalaseema is for the allotment of more and more funds for irrigation, communications and education, here is a Ministry that cuts down the allotment for irrigation on the plea that the Central Government are not giving any financial help for capital outlay on irrigation schemes. The scheme of the Budget is the slowing down of the pace of irrigation projects and the imposition of burdensome taxes on the common man. The present Budget is in no way different from the previous Budgets. The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam has been telling us that it is only a famine Budget. It is not only a famine Budget; it is a police Budget and nothing more and nothing less. Representing as I do the Kurnool district in Rayalaseema, I have to speak about the conditions in Rayalaseema and how the present Budget proposes to meet the needs of the people there. After the Congress Party has been defeated in the elections in several parts of the State, Rajaji has come into power to get a majority for that party in this House. He and his Ministry are trying to placate the people of Rayalaseema by including four Members hailing from Rayalaseema in the Cabinet. Sri Sanjeeva Reddi and Sri Sitarama Reddi were Ministers in the previous Ministry and they have done nothing for the people of Rayalaseema. Even with four Rayalaseema Ministers in the Cabinet, the people of Rayalaseema have no confidence in this Ministry. The people do not care how many places in the Cabinet are offered to Rayalaseema people. They care more about the allotment of funds for irrigation, education, communications, electricity, etc. Irrigation, electricity, education, communications—these are the crying needs of Rayalaseema to save it from the recurring famines and devastating cyclones. With four Rayalaseema people in the Ministry, let us see how the present Budget is trying to meet the crying needs of the people and how in actual practice this Ministry is helping Rayalaseema. Under Capital Outlay on Irrigation it is proposed to spend Rs. 9 crores. Under the head of 'Unproductive Works', the present Ministry proposes to spend Rs. 22 lakhs for Rayalaseema. The Ministry proposes to spend Rs. 15 lakhs for the Upper Pennar Project. These are all the major projects that are sanctioned for Rayalaseema. This is how justice is being meted out to Rayalaseema. Very recently we have seen a devastating famine there. Very recently there was a terrible cyclone which caused loss to the extent of several lakhs of rupees to the peasants of Rayalaseema. On such an area, the Ministry proposes to spend Rs. 22 lakhs under Capital Outlay out of a total provision of Rs. 9 crores. And this is done on the plea that the Centre is not giving any money for Grow More Food schemes or food production

schemes! Rajaji says that he has no money and that he cannot take up any food production schemes. He even wants to slow down the pace in respect of schemes that are in execution. Rajaji and the Minister for Public Works deny this. But in practice we see the slowing down of many works that have been taken up in Rayalaseema. Under the head 'Unproductive irrigation works', the previous Ministry set apart for last year Rs. 13½ lakhs. This Congress Ministry proposes to give us Rs. 7½ lakhs. There has been a reduction of Rs. 6 lakhs. This is the way Rajaji wants to placate the people of Rayalaseema after including four Rayalaseema people in his Cabinet! This is the justice meted out to Rayalaseema when a Minister hailing from Rayalaseema is in charge of Public Works! There are no proper roads. The peasant in the far interior villages has no facility to take his surplus produce to the market and get a fair price. He is at the mercy of the local merchants and landlords to sell his surplus produce. What does the present Ministry propose to do to improve communications in Rayalaseema? The previous Congress Ministry was kind enough to give us about Rs. 15½ lakhs. The present Ministry proposes to give about Rs. 7 lakhs. In the grant for the improvement of communications also, there has been a reduction of Rs. 8½ lakhs. This is how Rayalaseema is being developed. The people of Rayalaseema cannot be misled.

"Another crying need of Rayalaseema is electricity. The people of Rayalseema have been watching with patience the construction of the Mettur and other hydro-electric projects. What is the hydro-electric project that this Ministry proposes for Rayalaseema? Out of the total provision of Rs. 8 crores for electricity schemes, a paltry sum of Rs. 8 lakhs is proposed to be given to Rayalaseema for providing some thermal stations in some municipalities that have long been neglected. This is the way the present Ministry including the Minister for Public Works who hails from Rayalaseema is helping Rayalaseema!

"This is the justice that Rajaji is meting out to the people of Rayalaseema. A few more examples I can quote when the Budget is discussed. For the present, this is enough to show in a nutshell how this Ministry is trying to mislead the people of Rayalaseema by saying that four Ministers in the Cabinet are from Rayalaseema. Rayalaseema is backward for lack of education. Under 'Education' we are allotted about Rs. 22 lakhs. Rs. 1½ lakhs has been allotted for the Engineering College at Anantapur and another Rs. 50,000 has been allotted for the improvement, or for the building, of a Girls' High School in Proddatur. This is all that we are given for the construction of buildings for schools and colleges. Our P.W.D. Minister is not going to give us any buildings under 'Medical', but he has been kind enough to give a sum of Rs. 1,000 for a hospital in Kalahasti. No more is given for improving medical assistance in Rayalaseema. Due to the effects of starvation and the recent famine, malaria is rampant in Rayalaseema. Rayalaseema has always been earmarked for all kinds of diseases, and particularly malaria. This is the justice that we see meted out to 6-30 p.m.

Rayalaseema for improving the conditions of health there! I am only giving a few examples to show the real position of Rayalaseema, and I say that this Ministry is not working in the interests of Rayalaseema. Let Rajaji remember that the Rayalaseema people are not so innocent as to be misled by the fact that four Ministers are from Rayalaseema."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member is saying the same thing a number of times."

* SRI C. PULLA REDDI :—" I have to stree upon this again and again because Rajaji has been playing the trick upon the people of Rayalaseema. Members from Rayalaseema, to whatever party they may belong, should take into consideration not the number of Ministers from Rayalaseema, but what the Cabinet has done to Rayalaseema in the matter of education, irrigation, and other productive enterprises. They should take into consideration the amount spent by the Cabinet for the development of Rayalaseema. Not only has there been no improvement, but there has been a substantial reduction in a number of items. The people of Rayalaseema have been demanding the Gandikota, Siddheswaram, and Upper Sagileru projects. These projects have been the crying need of the people of Rayalaseema. What has the present Ministry done in regard to all these? The previous Ministry started the so-called Krishna-Pennar project. It wanted to take water from North Siddheswaram down to South Arcot as far as Cuddalore. How do the Government propose to distribute the waters? It is one-fourth for Rayalaseema and three-fourths for the southern districts. What is the area to be submerged? One hundred and thirty villages in the Nandikotkur taluk in Kurnool district will be submerged. In a whole taluk of 120 villages, the present Krishna-Pennar project proposes to submerge 60 villages, i.e., more than half of the villages will be submerged. The Somasila project in Cuddapah district will submerge not dry lands, but a very rich soil, black cotton soil, which costs Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 per acre. Our villages will be submerged if water is to be taken from the Krishna-Pennar project to the South. This is the injustice sought to be done, and the four Ministers from Rayalaseema have so far not raised their voice against these projects. When the Hon. Mr. Ranga Reddi came to Siddheswaram, he said that they were going to have the projects one way or the other. I want to tell the Members of this House, to Rajaji and other Ministers, that Rayalaseema people have made enough sacrifices already. They have made sacrifices to execute the Mettur project and they have made sacrifices to execute the Pykara project. The people of Rayalaseema are not going to make any more sacrifices for others when they themselves are suffering from starvation and cyclone. We will not see our houses submerged and our lands submerged in order to satisfy the needs of other people. Nobody need think that I am against the improvement of the South. That is not the point. I only say that the Government have not done justice to the people of Rayalaseema. We want the Gandikota project and the

Siddheswaram project to water all the lands of Andhradesa. After satisfying the needs of the Andhradesa, if there is water still left in the Krishna valley, none of us will stand in the way of its being taken to the South. Before meeting our own demands, we will not allow water to go to the South. We will not allow the lands of Rayalaseema to be submerged in order to feed the people of the South who are more prosperous already. Let Rajaji remember that if, in spite of this opposition, in order to wreak vengeance on the people of Andhra and Rayalaseema for having thrown out the Congress from their areas, he proceeds to execute the Krishna-Pennar project, we, the people of Rayalaseema will not allow the execution of the project which will submerge our lands and villages in order to satisfy the needs of other people in the South.

"I now come to the taxation proposals, especially the one relating to betterment levy on land. Let us not for the moment take into account how many lakhs of rupees the present Ministry will get out of this tax. I want to point out only one aspect of this proposal. Under this taxation measure, what will happen is this. A man who takes water from a tank or a project constructed after 1943 is asked to pay about Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,500, in instalments of course. What does this mean? It means that the man who takes water from a tank that has been constructed after 1943 is asked to purchase not anybody else's land but his own land. This is one aspect of the problem. Let the Members of this House think over this problem deeply. Let Members go to their areas, and ask the peasants who take water from tanks constructed after 1943, to purchase their own lands. Let us also think for a moment whether people from other villages will come forward to demand new projects if they are to purchase their own lands. Nobody on earth will come forward and demand the construction of new tanks, if the betterment levy legislation is to be on the Statute Book. This betterment levy is a special weapon against the interests of Rayalaseema. This tax will stand in the way of constructing projects in backward areas like Rayalaseema. Let Members of this House, whether they belong to the Congress, or the K.L.P., or the Communist Party, or any other group, understand that this betterment levy is a special weapon against the development of projects and tanks especially in backward areas, and, as a Member coming from Rayalaseema, I oppose this betterment levy tooth and nail. I appeal to Members of all parties to oppose this levy. I say that this Motion of Vote of Confidence in the Ministry means a vote for the betterment levy, which will work against the construction of irrigation projects in backward areas.

"One more point, Sir. The Hon. Mr. Subramaniam, Rajaji and other Ministers have been threatening the House, 'Either you keep us in power for ever; or you face the chaos of the Communists'. I want to give a few instances to show who is creating chaos, whether it is the present Ministry or the Communists and other people who are opposing this Ministry and working for the interests of the people. The Zamindari Abolition Act came into

force in 1948. There are so many loopholes in this Act. The people thought they would get some rights over the land. How has the Ministry worked this Act? The Settlement Officer went to the place and decided that many inam villages came under the Act. But the Government, instead of accepting the verdict of the Settlement Officer, set up a Tribunal which is negativing all the decisions of the Settlement Officer and giving all the lands to the inamdars, mirasdars and the zamindars. In my own taluk, in Karivena village, there has been a long struggle between the peasants and the shrotriyamdar. The Settlement Officer came and inspected the village. He declared that the lands came under the purview of the Act. But the Tribunal is there, and therefore the quarrel between the peasants and the shrotriyamdar has not been settled. Because the quarrel has not been settled, and because the peasants have not been given rights over the land, the shrotriyamdar with the help of the Police is throwing out hundreds of peasants from their lands which they have been tilling for the last 20 years or more. I ask, Sir, who is creating chaos? Is it the Communists and the people who are demanding the implementation of the Act to give rights over land to peasants or the Congress Ministry which is delaying matters and which is keeping in cold storage its own Act, and giving permission to the shrotriyamdar to neck out the peasants? In Sangameswaram village, the Rent Reduction Act was applied. The Collector gave orders to the peasants that the shrotriyamdar could not lease out the lands or cultivate the lands, himself, or collect rent from the peasants. He asked the Tahsildar to fix new rates under the Act. That order was issued in October 1951. Up to this day, i.e., after a lapse of ten months, no rates have been fixed and no collections have been made from the people. Because of this loophole, the shrotriyamdar with the help of the Government and the Police is throwing out the peasants from their lands, which they have been cultivating for the last 20 years or more. The shrotriyamdar went to the Collector and said that those lands did not come under the Rent Reduction Act, and that the peasants had no right over the lands. The Collector then gave an order to the shrotriyamdar to take possession of the lands and to throw out the peasants. Who is creating chaos, I ask the Hon. Minister Sri Subramaniam. Is it not the Congress Government who do not want to implement their own Act, who kept it in cold storage and drove out the peasants from the land?

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" I will give another example about a village in Kurnool taluk from which two Ministers, the Hon. Sri Sanjeeviah and the Hon. Sri Sankara Reddi are hailing. The Hon. Sri Sankara Reddi knows well about that village where there is a tank bed of about 70 acres. It is a very interesting matter. It shows the way in which our Hon. Ministers are working. In that village, in 1908, about 44 years ago, the British Government acquired 70 acres of land for the construction of a tank, but the tank breached because of neglect. The poor people, after 1940 were given that tank bed under the Grow More Food Scheme. For the last about twelve years, the people have been enjoying possession of

those lands and getting some morsel of food out of them. They have been demanding the right of patta over the lands. But the landlords find their own people sitting as Ministers in the Government offices here in Madras, and they have the cheek to say that because the tank bed has been neglected, the lands must go back to the original landholders of 1908. Those lands were acquired only on payment of compensation to the landholders, and were later on given to the poor people. They have invested some capital and twelve years' labour over those lands. They have placed all their confidence and belief in those lands and they have laboured for the last twelve years. Now I am told that under a Board's Standing Order, since the tank has been abandoned, the tank bed lands must be given back not to the poor people but to the landholders who are already possessing 100 acres and more. When the Hon. Sri Sanjeeviah was not a Minister but was a Member of Parliament, he himself took up the issue and represented matters both to the Collector of the district and to the Madras Government. He also demanded that the lands should not be given back to the landlords but should be given to the poor people who had been in possession of them. But the Collector has proceeded and has enquired whether those landlords who have applied for the lands now were the original landlords of 1908, and the Government propose to give those lands back to the landlords.

" Well, Sir, the Hon. Sri Subramaniam has been saying that he is going to wage a war on Communism by waging a war against poverty. I ask him, ' Is this the kind of war you are going to wage against poverty? ' Sir, the poor people for the last so many years have been demanding the right of patta over the sivoyijama lands. They have been paying penalties year after year for the last twenty years. Still they have not been given pattas. After famine and after a cyclone, in the taluk of Nandikotkur, the Congress Ministry has collected Rs. 20,000 as penalty over those sivoyijama lands. It is not kind enough to give them the pattas but it is kind enough to take the lands forcibly from the Harijans and give pattas to the landlords. Sir, our own Minister, the Hon. Sri Sankara Reddi has acquired in this connection some lands in Siddapuram tank, Atmakur taluk. But he is not kind enough to give pattas over sivoyijama lands to the poor people who have been tilling them for the last twenty years. Sir, this is the kind of struggle that the Hon. Sri Subramaniam wants to wage against poverty.

" Sir, I shall give one more example. In Pagidala village, there is a lagoon tank of 500 acres. The Government have spent Rs. 5 lakhs, removed the water, and brought 500 acres under cultivation. For the last three years, mostly Harijans have been tilling the lands there. But this Ministry comes forward to sell those lands at the rate of Rs. 1,000 per acre. Which Harijan possesses a thousand rupees to purchase the land which he has been tilling for the last three years, when his own purchasing power is so low that he is not able to purchase his own food and

his own clothing? This is the kind of war that this Ministry is going to wage against poverty. Still the Ministry accuses us that we are standing for chaos. Who is standing for chaos? Is it the Congress Ministry that does not want to give lands to the poor people but leaves them to starve or is it those people who stand for the distribution of lands to the poor people?

"Sir, Hon. Ministers are asking us to give them a Vote of Confidence. The Hon. Sri Sankara Reddi is one of them. Though we come from the same district, I am not speaking with any personal grudge, but I want to bring to the notice of the House how he is trying to administer his department. There was a representation from the people of Atmakur about the panchayat board. The maladministration that is existing there and the malpractices adopted by the president of the panchayat board were brought to the notice of the Hon. Minister through telegrams and memoranda. The president of the panchayat board himself came to Madras, not to seek monetary help for the improvement of the panchayat board but to work for the removal of the executive officer who was standing in the way of his malpractices. The Hon. Sri Sankara Reddi was not kind enough to hear the wishes of the people and meet their demands. He was not kind enough to institute an enquiry into the corrupt practices of the president of the panchayat board. But he immediately gave the order to transfer the executive officer from Atmakur. Why? Not because the Atmakur people demanded it but because the president of the panchayat board who happened to be a supporter of the Congress wanted his removal. After the transfer of the executive officer was effected, thereby exhibiting the all-powerfulness of the panchayat board president to transfer the executive officer from one place to another, the Hon. Sri Sankara Reddi has ordered an inquiry in order to placate the people and mislead them. After having seen the all-powerfulness of the panchayat board president and after knowing that he has got the backing of the Minister in charge of that department itself, which officer will be bold enough to inquire into these matters and report on the corrupt practice of the panchayat board president? This is not a criticism directed against an individual but against the way in which our Hon. Minister is administering his department.

"Now, taking the Budget as a whole, the Government do not give us a proper share of their allotments for schemes of electricity or education. This Ministry has only tried to mislead the people of Rayalaseema by giving them four seats in the Cabinet. The Members from Rayalaseema only want that the betterment tax should not be levied and that more grants should be given for the development of Rayalaseema. I humbly request those who want to see the development of backward areas to oppose this Motion of Confidence in the Ministry and put the Ministry in its proper place. Rajaji to-day wants a Vote of Confidence. The people have already given their verdict. In the general elections, the people have declared in no unmistakable terms that they do not want this Ministry now. After the Congress Minister came

into power, the people of Kakinada have given their verdict. The people in the Aruppukottai constituency in Tamil Nad have also given their verdict that they do not want this Ministry to be in office. But here, in order to get through the Budget proposals and the taxation measures, the Ministry wants to bind the hands of the Members by seeking a Vote of Confidence. I appeal to hon. Members not to fall a victim to the tricks of Rajaji but to oppose this Motion and see that this Ministry is removed from office."

* SRI P. VENKATASIVIAH :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Motion of Confidence in the Ministry that the Leader of the House has moved to-day. The Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari has, in his statement, definitely said : ' Either all of you, irrespective of party affiliations, vote for this Motion, or else I will resign and then there will not be a Congress Ministry but there will be chaos.' It is assumed here that chaos will be created by the Opposition, namely, the Communist Party and others. Sir, this kind of threat has been held out not only here but also elsewhere all over the world, and not only now but for a very long time. But, in spite of these, the progressive forces, the democratic forces in the world have come together and to-day half of the world is under a People's democracy. But the kind of democracy that the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari is practising to-day, and the kind of democracy in the name of which he wants a Vote of Confidence from this House is a very peculiar kind of democracy. It is a democracy which puts upon the heads of the people a nominated Chief Minister. It is a kind of democracy in which the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari wants to rule by Ordinances. The other Hon. Ministers are only his children. Many of them have no past history of service to the country in the struggle for freedom. They have all been gathered together. It is this Ministry which wants to rule by an Ordinance every day and with the help of the Police. If the Assembly has to meet, it seeks the protection of the Police under one pretext or other. If it wants to impose a tax, it takes recourse to an Ordinance. Like that, unusual methods are adopted by the Ministry. When this kind of democracy exists, I want, in the name of the people, that this Motion should be rejected . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member will continue his speech to-morrow. The House will now adjourn and meet again at 10-30 a.m. on Tuesday, 1st July 1952."

The House then adjourned.

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