SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" If a boat was not made available in time, may I know Sir, why the Officer had to be changed? "

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHIRAMA RAO :—" By the time a boat was made available, the officer first appointed had to go on some other duties, and so another officer had to be appointed."

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—" While the Special Officere had taken only two months for investigation and report, the Government had already taken three to four months for examination of the report. May I know, Sir, how much more time the Government will take roughly for concluding the examination of the scheme? "

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHIRAMA RAO :—" The recommendations of the Special Officer have to be studied by the Government very carefully before any pronouncement can be made."

[*Note.*—**An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.**]

II.—MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have to announce to the House that I have received the following message from the Hon. the Chairman, Madras Legislative Council, dated the 30th June 1952 :—

' I transmit a copy of the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 (L.A. Bill No. 3 of 1952), as agreed to by the Council without any amendment and signed by me.' "

III.—GOVERNMENT MOTION.

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS—*cont.*

MR. SPEAKER :—" I want to fix a time limit of 30 minutes for each speaker. I have no objection to giving more time to any hon. Member who wants more time to speak. The hon. Member Mr. Venkatasiviah may now continue."

* SRI P. VENKATASIVIAH :—" Yesterday I* was telling the House that the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari and his Government have a peculiar conception of democracy. Democracy in this State is at present functioning on the strength of the police force and Ordinances, and it is not functioning on the strength of the people behind it. That certainly is the reason why this resolution of confidence has come before the House. The people at Aruppukottai and Kakinada have given a verdict that they have no confidence in the present Government. The general elections held earlier have also shown clearly that the Government do not enjoy the confidence of the people. By just asking for a vote of confidence from this House, the Government want to repair the damage of the defeat they had at Aruppukottai. The Government have brought this resolution of confidence knowing that they have a majority in this House. There must be

something behind this and that something is that the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari who heads this Government is himself a peculiar democrat as is evident from his own past history. He is a democrat who has always been depending upon repression and the police. It is quite clear from his own past history. He was perhaps the first Congressman who, while in office not long ago in 1937, arrested a public worker, a Congressman who was in the Socialist Party. He was the first Congressman who, while in office, sanctioned the shooting of workers in Chirala and Chittivalasa. He was the Congressman in office who, for the first time in the history of the Congress Governments, banned the Communist Party. He is also the Congressman who has got himself nominated first to the Council and who has now issued Ordinances to impose taxes. That is his past history. 10-45 a.m.

" When in connexion with the election in Aruppukottai he made a straight appeal, he banked upon the very big projects he had taken up, for the success of his candidate. He thought that the stopping of the assignment of lands to political sufferers, the grant of school fee concessions to the children of non-gazetted officers, teachers and local board employees, and more than all, his policy of decontrol, would be real trump cards which would get his candidate through. But the people know what these things meant and they said ' No. We do not believe in your professions ', and voted against his candidate.

" On the last occasion he declared that he was Enemy No. 1 of the Communist Party; many others also had declared themselves to be the enemies of the Communist Party and so his declaration did not in any way alter the situation so far as the Communist Party was concerned. He need not tell them that he was their Enemy No. 1, for the Communist Party knew very well the past history of Sri C. Rajagopalachari. If he was Enemy No. 1 of the Communist Party and he was going to be against them, the Communist Party knew how to take care of itself and nobody need bother about it. But, he has been Enemy No. 1 of the people right from the beginning as he relied upon repression and as he imposed taxation, not taxation of the rich but only of the poor. All the taxes he imposed while he was the Chief Minister previously and the taxes he has introduced even now are only taxes on the poor man. This is further in evidence in the Budget which he has presented to the House."

MR. SPEAKER :—" All these points were discussed yesterday and the hon. Member should not repeat what was mentioned yesterday. If he goes on in this strain, I am afraid, I will have to cut short the time of the hon. Member."

SRI P. VENKATASIVIAH :—" Sir, my speech cannot be a repetition of what other hon. Members have said."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I would like to tell the hon. Member that repetition is not allowed by the Rules of the House."

* SRI P. VENKATASIVIAH :—" Coming to his proposals in the Budget, I find that he allows the backward areas to become much more backward and in some places to remain in the same condition in which they are. I come from a constituency which is backward in the sense that it is lacking in irrigation projects, roads, civic amenities, education, etc. This constituency was neglected during the Britisher's time; it was neglected during the time of the first Congress Ministry and also during the last Ministry. People might perhaps argue that a project called the Kandleru Project was executed during the time of the last Ministry. I would only say that this was a big fraud played upon the people of Vinukonda. The estimate was to the tune of four lakhs but it went up to six lakhs and odd in the end. To-day, after two years of its completion, not even one acre is being irrigated under this project. There were breaches in the feeder canal quite near the headworks. There were representations that these feeder canal breaches should be repaired, but the Government have been sleeping over it; they carried out some inadequate repairs which have again been washed away by the floods. In this Budget a sum of Rs. 2,000 only has been allotted for repairs to a breach of nearly 100 feet in the canal. No excavation was done; it was low level ground and, in fact, a puddle wall has to be built up in masonry work to prevent breaches, but the Government think it is unnecessary, and they have allotted just Rs. 2,000 for earthwork repairs. I am quite sure that in the coming days when there would be rains, this also would be washed away.

" So far as roads are concerned, Vinukonda is very backward. No roads were taken up all these years and there was only one earthen road which was taken up quite recently. I hope the road would be metalled after some time.

" So far as the administration of the Vinukonda taluk is concerned, I can only say that, during the elections and after the elections, and even after the present Government was formed, and perhaps till Sri C. Rajagopalachari declared himself Enemy No. 1 of the Communist Party, the officials in that constituency—Police and Revenue officials—were behaving in a considerate manner, but after Sri C. Rajagopalachari declared himself the enemy of the people, there has been a change in the outlook of the officers themselves. It seems that when the police go to investigate a case, the only kind of investigation they know is to catch hold of any number of people, whether connected with the particular incident or not, and beat them, manhandle them severely and even maim them. Recently there was a case which I had to take to the District Collector. In this case the police knew very well that a particular man was not connected with the incident, but yet he was taken to the police station where he was manhandled and beaten very severely from 8 o'clock in the morning till 11 o'clock. The man went to the Government doctor there and obtained a certificate. I would have liked to produce the certificate for the benefit of the Government and some of us here but I am sorry I was not able to get it and I am not having it with me now.

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I faced the Collector with this certificate. He only said, 'Well, you can go and file a case with the Revenue Divisional Officer against that particular police official.' Well, if we file a case against a police officer, the whole department joins together and defends that police officer and they come out successful. Even if they do not come out successful, the man who complained will be taken to task at some time or other in connection with some other matter, and he will be dealt with again in the same manner. It has been happening all these years. There was a murder case in Badrupalem. The people in the village gave a clue to the police that the incident happened through a certain source. The police ignored this and instead took the people to task. A score of people were taken to the police station where they were manhandled and severely beaten and, in fact, a potter was just left within an inch of his life. Such things are happening even after Sri C. Rajagopalachari who is in charge, perhaps, of the police department has come to power.

"In regard to the revenue admimistration in this taluk, the Tahsildar and also the Sarishtadar-Magistrate have to discharge two or three functions like treasury work, revenue work and the magisterial work of trying cases launched by the prosecution. They are overworked. When people go to him in connection with cases, the Sarishtadar-Magistrate is not able to take up the cases. They have to wait for the whole day at the end of which the case is adjourned, and again they have to come on the adjourned day and things go on like this. The people are put to much hardship. These people have to come from distances of 20 and 30 miles undergoing much hardships because there are no proper roads and bus services. Representations were made that the Sarishtadar-Magistrate's functions should be reduced and that a Sub-Magistrate should be appointed at this place but, till now, even after this Government has come into existence this question has not been taken up.

"So far as famine relief work in this constituency is concerned, the Hon. the Revenue Minister, while he was at my place some time back inspecting the famine relief works, was perhaps satisfied with the kind of work that was being carried on. When he visited the gruel centres people complained of the bad taste and the unhealthy nature of the gruel supplied. I do not know exactly what opinions the Hon. the Revenue Minister has formed on this matter. Very detailed and lengthy representations have been made to him about the requirements of the taluk. I do not know till now what the Hon. Minister is thinking about them, but we know that he promised that, as the soil and the physical features of Vinukonda taluk were just like those of Rayalaseema, this taluk would be treated on the same footing as Rayalaseema in regard to its development. Whilst I am thankful for this opinion which he expressed, I am rather doubtful whether I should accept that opinion after I listened yesterday to what an hon. Friend of mine was saying with regard to the special footing on which Rayalaseema was to be placed.

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"This, Sir, is the kind of treatment that this constituency has been having at the hands of the previous Ministry and also this Ministry. Now, the Leader of the House wants that confidence should be expressed in the Council of Ministers headed by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. Well, the past history of Sri C. Rajagopalachari is there! The Ministers are going about making all kinds of promises every day. Even the Leader of the House himself went and said in a certain place that they were making promises too easily and it was difficult to implement them. They make promises but they do not implement them. That seems to be the policy which has always been followed by the Ministry.

11 a.m. "The Hon. the Minister for Revenue was telling this House in the last sitting that even the children were crying out for Nandikonda, and it is a fact that everyone was expressing the feeling that the Nandikonda Project should be taken up. The Revenue Minister was pleased to say that people could take it that one-fifteenth of the Cabinet was with them, and he also made the promise that as soon as he reached Madras, he would order a preliminary investigation, something like a layman's investigation. Those were the exact words used by the Hon. Minister. But, Sir, the other day he was saying that the people were shouting for Nandikonda, but his advice to them would be not to press much for that Project just now but direct their attention to the present plight of the people in the famine-affected areas and try to get through the famine. That is how he made the promise there and that is how he comes here and tells this House something quite different. Let me tell another instance to the House. The Hon. Sri Ranga Reddi, the Minister for Public Works, goes to Kurnool and says to the people that they might take it that the Krishna-Pennar Project would be taken up somehow or other, but after he comes to Madras, he tells this House that the Government have not taken any decision in the matter. There he spoke as though everything had been done by the Government for taking up the Project, but here on the floor of House, he denies the entire thing. That is how Hon. Ministers are saying one thing to the people outside and another thing on the floor of the House; and they deny what they have said to the people. It is like that, the Ministry is functioning: the Ministers break the promises made to the people, and deny what they have said to the people.

"The Leader of the House wants a Vote of Confidence and the Chief Minister has made an individual appeal to every individual Member here. The present Ministers belong to the Congress Party and they have been followers of the Congress policy from the beginning, and so, they cannot be absolved of their responsibility for the actions of the previous Ministry. The previous Ministry have killed 300 people—Communists, non-Communist sympathisers and people who were suspected of being sympathisers of the Communist party—and the most pitiable thing is that three young boys have been killed from my own taluk.

One of them is Balavajram, a boy of sixteen or seventeen years who belonged to the agricultural labour community. He was taken out from his house, tortured for two or three months, then bound hand and foot and shot. Then the same fate befell, Subba Rao. He was tortured for three or four months, bound hand and foot and shot to death. The third case was that of Khaja Mian, who was the brother of a policeman. The policeman was imposed upon and deceived; he was told by the police officer that his brother was merely wanted for purposes of inter rogation and just for some information. The poor policeman was enticed to bring his brother to the police station, and when accordingly he was brought to the station, he was taken by the police people to the camp, subjected to torture like the others, and finally he was also shot to death bound hand and foot. It was how the police people behaved and the same policemen have been allowed to still function under Rajaji's Premiership. Those are the people whom he defends just as the other day he defended the action of the Police Commissioner. I have some personal experiences to tell the House. My two brothers were taken to the police camp and kept there for months together, for their only crime of being my brothers, and even my seventy-year old mother was not spared; every week and every ten days, she was harassed by the police people asking her: Where is you son? Give us information about him. She is aged, weak and unable to move about, and with all that she was not able to go to any relative because the relatives were afraid of the police, lest they should harass them also for taking her into their house. It is only some 25 days back my brother died because the police tortured him so much. When he returned from the police camp he was a mere skeleton and his health was very much shattered; he languished for three or four months and finally he died because of the torture he underwent at the hands of the police. Another brother of mine complained of shooting pains in the region of the heart every day and on alternate days, and he complained that the police had beat him with the butt end of the rifle on the chest. I may tell the Government: It is like that you have treated every Member here; it is like that you have treated people outside; it is like that you have treated the Communist Party, and it is like that you have treated every democrat in the country who has come here as the representative of the people, and it is like that you are going to treat the people, and it is on the basis of those things that the confidence vote will be registered.

" The Hon. the Chief Minister was telling the House yesterday that there would be chaos in the country; rather he said that the Communists want chaos and nothing else. What he meant was that if the Congress was compelled to resign, there would be re-election, and if there is to be no Congress Government, it would be all chaos and nothing else. That is how he wanted to threaten the people and have a vote of confidence. That threat did not work, and I tell you to-day, half the world is being governed by people's democracy and half the world is with the

Communists and other democrats. His concept of choas is this. Last time, when he declared himself as Enemy No. 1 of the Communists, he said that the Communists move among the people, collect their grievances, multiply them and magnify them and they manufacture agitation over those grievances; and he also referred to the violence of the Communist party. If there are grievances of the people and if the Ministers are not able to solve them, nor try to solve them, and instead of solving them they heap more and more burdens upon the people, and if they rain repression on the people if they complain, it is only then that the Communists voice the demands of the people for the redress of their grievances, and organize them to fight for the redress of their grievances and for their demands being met, even if it is a question of fighting the Ministry and the Government. I ask, Sir, is this creating chaos?"

11-15 കൂന

*SRI C. H. KANARAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, തങ്ങളിൽ വിശ്വാസം ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടുകൊണ്ടു് ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള പ്രമേയം സംബന്ധിച്ചു് സംസാരിക്കുന്ന അവസരത്തിൽ കരു പ്രധാന സംഗതി നിങ്ങളുടെ മുമ്പാകെ കൊണ്ടുവരേണ്ടതായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. യാതൊരു പാട്ടി നിബന്ധനകളും ഇല്ലാതെ സാധാരണക്കാരുടെ യഥാർത്ഥത്തെ മനസ്സിലാക്കി ഈ കാര്യത്തെ സമീപിപ്പിക്കണം എന്നു് സഹതാപം പാർട്ടിയിൽ ഉള്ളവരോടും മറു പാർട്ടികളിൽ ഉള്ളവരോടും ശ്രീമാൻ രാജഗോപാലാചാരി ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടുകയുണ്ടായി. സംഗതികളുടെ യഥാർത്ഥത്തെ മനസ്സിലാക്കി പാർട്ടി നിബന്ധനകളിൽ ഉൾപ്പെടുപോകാതെ ചിന്തിക്കണം എന്നു് പറയുമ്പോൾ അങ്ങിനെ ചിന്തിക്കുന്നതു് നല്ലതുതന്നെയാണു്. ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിനെ എതിരായാണോ അനുകൂലമായാണോ എന്ന കാര്യത്തിൽ എല്ലാവരും അങ്ങിനെ ചിന്തിക്കണം. എന്നാൽ ഈ അഭിപ്രായം പുറപ്പെടുവിക്കുന്ന അവസരത്തിൽതന്നെ ഈ വിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നതിനെ കാര്യമായി പറയുന്ന സംഗതി അനുപ്പുക്കോട്ടെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പു് സംബന്ധിച്ചാണു്. നാട്ടുകാർ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനെ എതിരായി വോട്ടുചെയ്തു. അതു മനസ്സിലാക്കിയതിന്റെ ഫലമായി തനിക്കു അതിൽ വളരെ വേദനയുണ്ടായി. താൻ അതിനെപറ്റി ആലോചിക്കാൻ തുടങ്ങി എന്നു പറയുന്നു. ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു: അനുപ്പുക്കോട്ടയിലെ ജനങ്ങൾ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനു എതിരായി വോട്ടു ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ തീച്ചയായും അതിൽനിന്നു പഠിക്കുവാനുള്ള പാഠം നാട്ടുകാർ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനു് എതിരായിപോകുന്നു എന്നുള്ളതാണു്. അങ്ങിനെയാണെങ്കിൽ മറു് കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാരായ ആളുകളും തങ്ങളുടെ സ്വാധീനം രാജിവെച്ചു് താൽക്കാലികമായി തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനു് നിന്നു് ജനങ്ങൾക്കു് വിശ്വാസമുണ്ടോ, തങ്ങൾ അതു് അഭിമുഖീകരിക്കുന്നുണ്ടോ എന്നു് പരിശോധിക്കുകയല്ലേ വേണ്ടതു്. ഒരോ പ്രാവശ്യവും 5, 10, മെമ്പർമാർ രാജിവെച്ചുകൊണ്ടു കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാരായ ആളുകൾ ഒരു തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനു നിന്നുനോക്കട്ടെ. അല്ലാതെ അവിടെ തോറ്റതിനു് ഇവിടെ വിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവന്നതിൽ അർത്ഥം എന്താണു് ഉള്ളതു് എന്നു പ്രധാനമന്ത്രിയോടും മറു് മന്ത്രിമാരോടും കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് നേതാക്കന്മാരോടും ചോദിക്കുന്നു. നാട്ടുകാരുടെ വോട്ടുകൾ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനെതിരായി പോയിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അവിടെ തങ്ങൾക്കു് ഏതെങ്കിലും തരത്തിൽ വിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം പാസ്സാക്കികിട്ടണം എന്നു് പറയുന്നതിന്റെ അർത്ഥം എന്താണെന്നു മനസ്സിലാകുന്നില്ല. അവിടെപോയി തോറ്റതിനു —നാട്ടിലെ ജനങ്ങൾ മുഴുവൻ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനു് എതിരായി വോട്ടുചെയ്തതിനു്—അസംബ്ലിയുടെ അകത്തുണ്ടായ ആ ചോദ്യം എടുക്കേണ്ടതു് ? ധൈര്യമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാരായ എം.എൽ.എ. മാർ രാജിവെക്കുക, വീണ്ടും തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനു നിൽക്കുക. അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്യാൻ ധൈര്യമുണ്ടോ എന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. നാട്ടുകാരുടെ വിശ്വാസം ഇങ്ങിനെ കറങ്ങുവാനുള്ളതിനു രണ്ടു കാരണങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. നേമിനെറു ചെയ്യുമെമ്പർ മിസ്റ്റർ ഫേർനാണ്ടെസ്, ജനങ്ങൾ ആടുകളെപോലെയാണെന്നു പറയുന്നു. വാസുവത്തിൽ നേമിനേശ്വരൻറെ ഗുണം തന്നെ ഇതിൽനിന്നു വളരെ വ്യക്തമാണു്. നാട്ടുകാർക്കു വിശ്വാസമില്ലാത്ത ആളുകൾ—വാസുവത്തിൽ നാട്ടുകാരെ ആടുകളായി കാണുന്ന ആളുകൾ—തോല്ക്കും എന്നുള്ളതു് ഒരു പരമാർത്ഥം മാത്രമാണു്. മറെറാന്നു ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൽ കാക്കിനാഡാ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുന്നതു് അവിടെയുള്ള ആളുകൾക്കു കാര്യം മനസ്സിലാ

11-15 a.m.

ക്കുവാൻ ഇനിയും സമയം വേണമെന്നാണ്. ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്ന ഈ അഞ്ചുകൊല്ലം കൊണ്ടു നിങ്ങൾ ജനങ്ങളെ കായ്യം മനസ്സിലാക്കിച്ചിട്ടില്ലേ എന്ന്. അഞ്ചുകൊല്ലം എതുകക്ഷികളെ ജയിലിലിട്ടുകൊണ്ട്, എല്ലാതരത്തിലുള്ള മർദ്ദനങ്ങളും എതുക്കി കളുടെമേൽ നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടു ഭരണം നടത്തിട്ട് ഇനിയും സമയം വേണമെന്നു മനസ്സിലാക്കിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ ? അഞ്ചു കൊല്ലം മനസ്സിലാക്കീട്ടു കോൺഗ്രസ്സിൽനിന്നു അധികമധികം ആളുകൾ പോകുകയാണ്. നാട്ടുകാരായ ആളുകൾ, സാധാരണക്കാരായ ആളുകൾ, തൊഴിലാളികൾ, കൃഷിക്കാർ, ഇടത്തരക്കാരായ ആളുകൾ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിൽനിന്നു പിടികൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. അതേ അവസരത്തിൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനെറ അകത്തു വരുന്നതു ജന്മിമാരായ ആളുകൾ, കരിഞ്ചന്തക്കാരായ ആളുകൾ, വലിയ മുതലാളിമാരായ ആളുകൾ. നാട്ടുകാർ പോകുന്ന അവസരത്തിൽ അടിഞ്ഞുകൂടുന്നില്ലേ. മിരാസിദാർമാർ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിൽ ചേരാൻ, വലിയ ജന്മിമാർ കടന്നുകൂടുന്നില്ലേ. ഇന്നലെവരെ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യ പ്രസ്ഥാനത്തെ നയിച്ചിരുന്ന കോൺഗ്രസ്സിൽ ഇന്നു് സെമീന്ദാർമാരും, കരിഞ്ചന്തക്കാരും ജന്മിമാരുമാണ് ഉള്ളതു്. ഇതിൽനിന്നു കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനെറ നയം വളരെ വ്യക്തമല്ലെ എന്നു് ഞാൻ ചോദിച്ചതു. അഞ്ചുവർഷം കൊടുത്തതെ കോൺഗ്രസ്സു് ഭരണമാണു് വാനുത്തിൽ നാട്ടുകാർ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനു് എതിരായി വോട്ടുചെയ്യുവാൻ കാരണമെന്നു മനസ്സിലാക്കുവാൻ കോൺഗ്രസ്സു് നേതാക്കന്മാർക്കും മന്ത്രിമാർക്കും വലിയ വിഷമമുട്ടുണ്ടോ എന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു. നാട്ടിൽ വേണ്ട ഗുണം ചെയ്യുക. അപ്പോൾ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിൽ പിശാസവോട്ടു കൊടുക്കും. നാട്ടുകാർക്കു ഗുണം ചെയ്യുന്ന പാർട്ടിക്കു നാട്ടുകാർ വോട്ടു കൊടുക്കും. എതിരായി പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്ന പാർട്ടിയെ നാട്ടുകാർ പുറംതള്ളും എന്നു് മനസ്സിലാക്കണം. എന്താണു ഈ അഞ്ചുവർഷംകൊണ്ടു അനുഭവം ഇതു ഞാൻ അധികം വിവരിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൽ അഞ്ചുകൊല്ലം കൊണ്ടു് ആയിരക്കണക്കില്ലുള്ള തൊഴിലാളികളെ പിരിച്ചുവിട്ടുകൊണ്ടു അവരെ തെരുവുതണ്ടകളാക്കി. എന്തിനു പറയുന്നു വളരെ ദൂരെ ഒന്നു പോകണ്ട മദിരാശിയിൽതന്നെ മന്ത്രിമാർ കാറോടുത്തു സക്കീട്ട് ചെയ്യുന്നോക്കിയാൽ കപ്പലിൽനിന്നു എല്ലാവരിലിക്കു് കൂടിക്കുന്ന ആളുകളെ കാണുകയില്ലെ എന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു. മന്ത്രിമാർക്കും ഇതു കാണുവാൻ കണ്ണുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഒരിക്കലും അവർ പറയുകയില്ല ആളുകൾക്കു മനസ്സിലാകാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണു് തോറ്റതു എന്നു്. തങ്ങളുടെ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം കവറ്റംചെയ്തതുകൊണ്ടാണു്, തങ്ങൾ ജന്മിമാരുടെയും മുതലാളിമാരുടെയും ആളുകളായിട്ടു സാധാരണക്കാരെ നശിപ്പിച്ചതിനെറ ഫലമായിട്ടാണു തങ്ങൾ തോറ്റതു് എന്നു മനസ്സിലാക്കുവാൻ വലിയ ബുദ്ധിയൊ പഠിപ്പൊ വേണമോ എന്നാണു് ചോദിക്കുന്നതു. കൈകൊണ്ടും മന്ത്രിമാർ മദിരാശി പട്ടണത്തിൽക്കൂടി സക്കീട്ട് ചെയ്യുൽ മതി, അപ്പോൾ കാണാം അവിടെ എന്താണു് നടക്കുന്നതെന്നു. ഈ പരമാർത്ഥത്തെ കാണാൻ കണ്ണില്ലെ എന്നാണു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നതു. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ, തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ, അഞ്ചുവർഷംകൊണ്ടു തിന്നുള്ളിൽ കഴിച്ചുകൂട്ടിപ്പട്ടിട്ട കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ എണ്ണം, എത്ര പട്ടാളം വർദ്ധിപ്പിച്ചതെന്നു, ജന്മിമാരുടെ മർദ്ദനങ്ങൾ അനുഭവിച്ചതെന്നു, ജന്മിമാരുടെ ആവശ്യപ്രകാരം പോലീസ്സ് വന്നു എത്ര ആളുകളെ കൊന്നിട്ടുണ്ടു എന്നൊക്കെയുള്ള ഒരു പട്ടിക തെയ്യാറാക്കു. ആ പട്ടിക, ആ കണക്കു മുഖ്യൻമാരുകൊണ്ടു പരിശോധനനടത്തട്ടെ, അപ്പോൾ മനസ്സിലാകും തങ്ങൾ എന്തു കൊണ്ടാണു തോറ്റുപോയതു എന്നു. അതുപോലെതന്നെ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൽ എല്ലാ സാധനങ്ങളുടെയും വിലകുറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടു സാധാരണ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു വാങ്ങുവാൻ കഴിയാത്ത ഒരു നിലവന്നു. ഇതു വിലകുറഞ്ഞുകിടുമുതലാളിമാർക്കു ലാഭം ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ സകലതും അനുവദിച്ചിരുന്നു. അതുപോലെതന്നെ ചെറുകിട ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥൻമാർക്കു എൻ. ജി. ഓ. മാർക്കു ചില്ലറ ചില ആനുകൂല്യങ്ങൾ അനുവദിച്ചതുകൊണ്ടു എല്ലാം ശരിപ്പെട്ടു എന്നു മന്ത്രിസഭ വിചാരിക്കുന്നെങ്കിൽ അതു അബദ്ധമാണെന്നു് വ്യക്തമാക്കേണ്ടതായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഒരു കുടുംബത്തിനു ജീവിക്കണമെങ്കിൽ മന്ത്രിമാരെപ്പോട്ടുകൂടി മൂന്നാക്കു് ജീവിക്കണമെങ്കിൽ, ഒരു എൻ. ജി. ഓ. പിന്നു് ജീവിക്കണമെങ്കിൽ എത്ര ശമ്പളം വേണമെന്നു കണക്കുകൂട്ടി നോക്കണം. ആ ശമ്പളം കൊടുക്കുമ്പോഴുള്ള മുതലയും ഉത്തരവാദിത്വവും ഒരു ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനുണ്ടു. വളരെ അധികം ധർമ്മത്തിനെറ പേരിലും സത്യത്തിനെറ പേരിലും പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടുനടക്കുന്ന ആളുകൾ ഇന്നു സ്ഥിതി കാണാത്ത കാലത്തോളം, ജനങ്ങളുടെ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകൾ നോക്കാത്ത കാലത്തോളം സത്യം, ധർമ്മം എന്നു പറയുന്നതെല്ലാം ആളുകളെ വഞ്ചിക്കാനാണെല്ലെ എന്നാണു് ചോദിക്കുന്നതെല്ലുള്ളതു്. അതുപോലെതന്നെ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ വ്യവസായങ്ങൾ എവിടെ എത്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്. നെയ്ത്തു വ്യവസായം, ചക്കരി വ്യവസായം മുതലായവ എവിടെ എത്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

[Sri C. H. Kanaran] [1st July 1952

ആരാണ് ഇതിന്ന് ഉത്തരവാദി ? പുതിയൊരു നികുതി ചുമത്തിയതുകൊണ്ട് വ്യവസായം നടത്താൻ കഴിയാതെ വന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. മാത്രമല്ല, 1951 ൽ ചുമത്തിയിരുന്നതിന്ന് 2 ക. 1 ണ നികുതി ഉണ്ടായിരുന്ന സ്ഥലത്തു് 360 ൽ ചിലപ്പോൾ ഉരുപ്പിക നികുതിക്കൊടുക്കുവാൻ അവർ ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടു. ഇതിനെ എതിർത്തുകൊണ്ട് കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാർ ഉൾപ്പെടെ എല്ലാ വിഭാഗക്കാരും വാദിച്ചു. കഴിഞ്ഞ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് സ്ഥാനാർത്ഥിയായി നിന്ന ശ്രീമാൻ എ. പി. രാമൻ തന്നെ നിവേദനം സമർപ്പിച്ചു. കൊടുത്ത നികുതി മടക്കിക്കൊടുക്കാം എന്നു് ഗവർമ്മേണ്ട് പറഞ്ഞുവെങ്കിലും ഇനിയും മടക്കിക്കൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ല. ഇപ്പോൾ ഏക്കുക്ക് 50 ക. അക്കി. അതുപോലെ തന്നെ നമുക്കറിയാം ഒരു പുതിയ നികുതി ആയുർവ്വേദ വൈദ്യന്മാരും കൊടുക്കേണ്ടിവരുമെന്നു. ആൽക്കഹോൾ (Alcohol) ഉണ്ടെന്ന കാരണത്താൽ ഒരു ശാലന്ന് 35 ക. കൊടുക്കണമത്രെ. ഇതു അധികം നികുതി ചുമത്തുകയാണെങ്കിൽ വൈദ്യം ചെയ്യുവാനും മരുന്നു വിൽപ്പാനും എങ്ങിനെ സാധിക്കും എന്നു് ചോദിക്കുന്നു. ഇതു് ഇന്ത്യാരാജ്യത്തിലെ വൈദ്യന്മാരുടെ, സുഖംകേട്ട മാറുന്ന വൈദ്യന്മാരുടെ, നല്ല നിലയിൽ കാണുവാൻ വേണ്ടിയാണോ അല്ല നാട്ടിലുള്ള വൈദ്യന്മാരെ നശിപ്പിച്ചു്, അവരുടെ വൈദ്യം നശിപ്പിച്ചു്, മരുന്നു നാട്ടുകാക്ക് വാങ്ങുവാൻ സാധിക്കാതെ നാട്ടുകാർ വൈദ്യസഹായം ഇല്ലാതെ മരിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ എന്നുള്ള ഇതിന്റെ അർത്ഥം. എന്തിന്നു് ഏറെ പറയുന്നു, കോടാനുകോടി ജനവിഭാഗങ്ങളെ എടുത്തുനോക്കിയാലും സ്ഥിതി ഇതുതന്നെയാണ്. തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മ അങ്ങേ അറ്റം വർദ്ധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. പട്ടിണികിടന്നും ജീവിക്കുവാൻ മാർഗ്ഗമില്ലാതെ കർഷകർ ഉഴലുന്നു. സാധാരണക്കാരന്റെ കടഭാരം വർദ്ധിച്ചുകൊണ്ടേയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ പട്ടിക തെയ്യാറാക്കുടെ കാരേ മന്ത്രിമാരും അതു് ഒന്നു വായിച്ചുനോക്കട്ടെ എന്നിട്ട് അതുപ്പക്കേട്ടയിൽ തോല്പുൻ കാരണമെന്താണു്, കുമിനാഡയിൽ തോല്പുൻ എന്താണ് കാരണം എന്നു് മനസ്സിലാക്കട്ടെ. നിഷ്പക്ഷമായി പറയണം. ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ നിഷ്പക്ഷമായി ഒരു തീരുമാനമെടുക്കണമെന്നു് പറയുന്നു.

11-30 a.m. മിസ്റ്റർ രാജഗോപാലാചാരി സ്വന്തം പക്ഷത്തിലുള്ളവരോടും എതിപക്ഷത്തിലുള്ള ആളുകളോടും പറഞ്ഞാണ് നിഷ്പക്ഷനില എടുത്തതായി വരിക. നിഷ്പക്ഷമായി ചിന്തിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ശ്രീമാൻ പ്രകാശത്തെപ്പോലെയും ശ്രീമാൻ കേളപ്പനെപ്പോലെയുള്ള അനവധി കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാർ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് വിട്ടുപോയപോലെ ഞങ്ങളും ഇതു ന്യായത്തിന്റെഭാഗത്തായല്ല ഇതു വിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിന്നെതിരുകുമായി വോട്ടു ചെയ്യുയില്ലെന്നു അനവധി കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാർ പറകയില്ലെ എന്നാണ് ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നതു്. ഈ നാട്ടിൽ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ട് ആസ്പത്രികളുടെ നിലയെന്താണെന്നു് എടുത്തുനോക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ടു്. ഇവിടെയുള്ള ആസ്പത്രികളിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കണമെങ്കിൽ, ശ്രീമാൻ കോരൻ പറഞ്ഞപോലെ പണം കീശയിൽ വെച്ചുള്ളവരെ അവിടെ പ്രവേശനം കിട്ടുകയുള്ളു. തെളിവിലേക്ക് ? തെളിവു് ഞാനുണ്ടാക്കിത്തരാം എന്നു് മന്ത്രിസഭാംഗങ്ങൾ പറയുന്നു. കോഴിക്കോട് ആസ്പത്രിയിൽ മാത്രമല്ല മദിരാശിയിലും നിങ്ങളുടെ കീശയിൽ നോട്ടുണ്ടോ രോഗിക്ക് തീച്ചയായും അഡ്മിക്കുൻ (admission) കിട്ടും ഇല്ലെങ്കിൽ കിട്ടുവാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. ഇതെല്ലാ പരമാർത്ഥം. എവിടെയാണ് കൈക്കൂലിയും അഴിമതിക്കും കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഭരണം അവസ്സാനിപ്പിച്ചതു്. കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഭരണത്തിന്റെ ഫലമായി കൈക്കൂലിയും മറ്റു അഴിമതികളും വർദ്ധിച്ചിരിയായിട്ടാണ് കാണുന്നതു്. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം എടുക്കുക. മുമ്പു കോടുക്കുന്ന ഫീസാണോ ഇന്നു കൊടുക്കുന്നതു്. സൌജന്യ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം, പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം എന്നൊക്കെ പറഞ്ഞതു് എവിടെ എന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു. ആ വാഗ്ദാനങ്ങളൊക്കെ എവിടേയോ പോയി മറിഞ്ഞുകഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ഒന്നു ആളുകൾ മദിരാശി കോളേജുകളിൽ ചേരുവാൻ വേണ്ടി ഇവിടെവന്നു ഫലം കിട്ടാതെ നാട്ടുമുഴുവൻ തെണ്ടിനടക്കുന്നതുണ്ടു്. ആളുകൾ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിന്നുവേണ്ടി എത്രത്തോളം ധനം ചെലവു് ചെയ്തു മുന്നോട്ടുവന്നാലും ശരിയായ പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു പകരം അതു് തടസ്ഥാപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന തെറ്റായ നയമല്ലേ മന്ത്രിസഭ കൈക്കൊള്ളുന്നതു് എന്നു് ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു. ചെറിയ ജലസേചനപദ്ധതികളുടെ കാര്യമെടുക്കുക, എന്റെ നാട്ടിൽ ഒരു അണക്കെട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതിന്നു ഏകദേശം 1½ ലക്ഷം രൂപ്പിക ചെലവു് ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഉപ്പുവെള്ളം തടുക്കൻവേണ്ടിയാണു് ഈ അണകെട്ടു് ഉണ്ടാക്കിട്ടുള്ളതു്. പക്ഷെ ഫലം എന്താണു് ഉപ്പുവെള്ളം ചോർന്നുപോയിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കും. വെള്ളം കിട്ടിയാലു. ഇല്ലെങ്കിലും ശരി നികുതികൊടുക്കണം. ഇങ്ങിനെയൊരു ഫലം കിട്ടാത്ത ഒരു അണക്കെട്ടിന്നുവേണ്ടി ആയിരക്കണക്കിലുള്ള രൂപ്പിക 1½ ലക്ഷം രൂപ്പിക ചിലവാക്കിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതു് മന്ത്രിസഭയുടെ മുമ്പാകെ പെടുത്തുണ്ടു്. ഞാനും ശ്രീമാൻ കൃഷ്ണയ്യരും ഇതു് മന്ത്രിയോടു് പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുകൂടി അവർ എന്താണു

1st July 1952] [Sri C. H. Kanaran]

പാവപ്പെട്ട കൃഷിക്കാരെ രക്ഷിക്കുവാൻ ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതു്. 1949 ൽ ആണു് കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ ഭൂരി ഈ ആവശ്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് ഏറെറടുത്തതു്. പാവപ്പെട്ട കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ കൈയിൽനിന്ന് ഉള്ള നിലം തട്ടിപ്പറിച്ചു നിയമപ്രകാരം തട്ടി പറിച്ചു മുന്നു കൊല്ലമായിട്ടും ഒരു പൈപോലും വിലകൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ല. ഒരു മന്ത്രിക്കുള്ള ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടുണെങ്കിൽ ന്യായമുള്ള ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടുണെങ്കിൽ വില കൊടുക്കുകയില്ലേ എന്നാണ് ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നതു്. ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള മെമ്മൊറാണ്ടം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. പക്ഷെ ഇതുവരെ ഒന്നും ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ല. അതുപോലെ അടുത്തകാലത്തായി പുതിയ നികുതികൾ വന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ മന്ത്രിസഭ വന്നതിനുശേഷം പുതിയ നികുതികൾ നാട്ടിൽ വന്നുകഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതാണ് പരമാർത്ഥം. മത്സ്യം ഉണക്കുന്ന ചാപ്പകൾ ഉണ്ടു്. പെട്ടെന്ന് പിറവു് തീക്കൻ സാധിക്കാത്ത മത്സ്യം ഉണക്കുന്നു. അതിനു ഇന്നു കെട്ടിയിട്ടുള്ള നികുതി പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഒരു മന്നു്, ഉപ്പു് വാങ്ങിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ 20 ഉറുപ്പികയുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ നികുതി. അതേ ഒരു മന്നു് ഉപ്പുകൊണ്ടു ഉണക്കുന്ന മത്സ്യം പിറവു കിട്ടുന്നതു് 40 കാ 45 കാ ഉറുപ്പികയുണ്ടു്. അതേ സമയത്തു് നികുതി 20 കാ. കൊടുക്കുന്നതെന്തു. ഇതിൽ എന്തു ന്യായമാണു് ഉള്ളതു് ? ഇങ്ങിനെയാണെങ്കിൽ ഒരു വ്യാപാരവും നടക്കുവാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കാരെ കഴുപ്പം ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നതെന്നുപറയുന്നതു്, ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് മലബാറിലേ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് കാരടക്കം ഒരു മെമ്മോറാണ്ടം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതു് മന്ത്രിസഭയുടെ മുമ്പാകെ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ഇതിനെല്ലാം പുറമെ മലബാറിൽ ഒരു പ്രശ്നത്തെപ്പറ്റി പ്രസ്താവം പറയേണ്ടതായിട്ടുണ്ട്. മലബാറിൽ വളരെക്കാലമായി പാട്ടം പുതുക്കികിട്ടുവാൻവേണ്ട, കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ സാധിക്കുവാൻവേണ്ടി ഒഴിപ്പിക്കാതിരിക്കാൻവേണ്ടി നിയമനിർമ്മാണം ചെയ്യണമെന്നു് 1934 മുതലു് പ്രക്ഷോഭങ്ങൾ ആരംഭിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ശ്രീമാൻ, രാജഗോപാലാചാരിക്കുതന്നെ അറിയാം ഇതിനുവേണ്ടി പല കമ്മിറ്റികളും ഉണ്ടാക്കീട്ടുണ്ട് അവസാനം കഴിഞ്ഞ മന്ത്രിസഭ കാലത്തു് മന്ത്രി മാധവ മേനോൻ ഇവിടത്തെ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് നേതാക്കന്മാരുടെ സഹായത്തോടുകൂടി ഒരു നിയമം കൊണ്ടുവന്നു. "മലബാർ കടിയാന്മനിയമ ഭേദഗതി" എന്നപേരിൽ പാട്ടം വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുവാനും കൂടി ഒഴിപ്പിക്കുവാനും അധികാരം കൊടുക്കുന്ന ഒരു നിയമമാണതു്. കമ്മൂണിസ്റ്റ്കാർ മാത്രമല്ല, കെ. എം. പി. മാത്രമല്ല, സോഷ്യലിസ്റ്റ്കാർ മാത്രമല്ല ഈ നിയമസഭയിലുള്ള മുന്നു മോൺഗ്രസ്സ് എം. എൽ. എ. മാർക്കുടി ഈ നിയമം തെറ്റാണെന്നു പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുകുടി—മലബാർ എം. എൽ. എ. മാർ ചൂണ്ടുരിപക്ഷം പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുകുടി—ജനാധിപത്യമാണെത്രെ—എന്നിട്ടും മിണ്ടുന്നില്ല എന്നു പറഞ്ഞാൽ, ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്ന എന്തു് ജനാധിപത്യമാണിതു്. ഇങ്ങിനെയാണെങ്കിൽ ഈ മന്ത്രിസഭ നാട്ടിൻറെ ഗുണത്തിനുവേണ്ടിയുള്ള മന്ത്രിസഭയാണോ ഇതെന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കേണ്ട. ചൂരുക്കിപ്പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ, ഈ അഞ്ചാറു കൊല്ലത്തെ ഭരണം നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ, നിങ്ങൾ കൊണ്ടുവന്ന നിയമം നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ, ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റ്തന്നെ, നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ—ഞാൻ ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നില്ല—ഏതെങ്കിലും തരത്തിൽ ജോഹിക്കാനല്ലാതെ നാട്ടിനെ നന്നാക്കുവാൻ ഈ മന്ത്രിസഭക്കു് സാധിക്കുമോ എന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. പല വാഗ്ദാനങ്ങളും കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ജനങ്ങൾക്കു് കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. കൃഷിക്കാരെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു വാഗ്ദാനങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ലേ ? തെഴിലാളികളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു വാഗ്ദാനങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ലേ ? കോൺഗ്രസ്സിൻറെ ചരിത്രം വാഗ്ദാന ലംഘനങ്ങളുടെ ഒരു നീണ്ട പട്ടികയാണു്. ഈ പട്ടിക അവർ നോക്കട്ടെ എന്നാൽ അറിയാം അവർ തോല്പ്പെന്നതിനുള്ള കാരണം. തോറെറതിനുള്ള കാരണം ഇവിടെയല്ല കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതു്. ഞങ്ങൾക്കു് ഒരു പഴഞ്ചൊല്ലുണ്ടു് "ബസാറിൽനിന്നു അടികൊണ്ടേശേഷം വീട്ടിൽവന്നു അമ്മയുടെ മുമ്പിൽനിന്നാണോ കരയുക" എന്നു്. അതുപോലെ അടികൊണ്ടതു് കാക്കിനാഡായിൽ, അതുപ്പുക്കോട്ടയിൽ, പക്ഷെ കരയുന്നതു് തിരുവിതാംകുടിയുടെ അകത്തു് പൊച്ചു്. മുന്നോട്ടു പോകുവാൻ ഒരുക്കമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ മാത്രമെ നാട്ടുകാർ പിൻതാങ്ങുകയുള്ളു. കഴിഞ്ഞ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനെതിരായി നിന്നുകൊണ്ടു് ജയിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ചില ആളുകൾ ഇപ്പോൾ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിൻറെ കൂടെ കൂടിട്ടുണ്ടു്; മന്ത്രിയായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ശ്രീമാൻ മാണിക്കവേലു നായികർ ഇതിനു ഒരു ഉദാഹരണമാണു്. ധൈര്യമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ളവർ രണ്ടാമതും തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനു നിൽക്കട്ടെ; മോട്ടർമന്ത്രി സമിതികളുടെ; എന്നിട്ടു ജയിക്കട്ടെ. അല്ലാതെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ ജയിച്ചിട്ടതിനു ശേഷം കോൺഗ്രസ്സിൻറെ കൂടെ ചേർന്നുകൊണ്ടു്, ശ്രീമാൻ രാജഗോപാലാചാരിയുടെ കൂടെ ചേർന്നുകൊണ്ടു്, വിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നു ന്യായമാണോ എന്നു് നോക്കുക. പുരുക്കത്തിൽ പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഈ വിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിനു് വോട്ടു ചെയ്യുക എന്നുള്ളതിൻറെ അർത്ഥം പുതാണു് നിഷ്പക്ഷ

മയി ആലോചിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ നാട്ടിന്റെ പട്ടിണിക്കുവേണ്ടി പോട്ടുചെയ്യുകയല്ലേ. നാട്ടിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ഇല്ലാതാക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടിയല്ലെ വോട്ടുചെയ്യുക. നാട്ടിൽ പോലീസ് മർദ്ദനം നടത്താൻ വേണ്ടിയല്ലേ. അസംബ്ലിതന്നെ കാത്തുരക്ഷിക്കണമെ എങ്ങിനെയാണെന്ന് നിങ്ങൾക്കു അറിയാമല്ലേ. 144 പാസ്സാക്കിട്ട്. ഇതു എന്തൊരു രക്ഷയാണു; രാജ്യത്തിൽ കുഴപ്പമാണത്രെ. എവിടെനിന്നാണു ഇവർ കുഴപ്പം കണ്ടുപിടിച്ചതു് നാട്ടുകാരു ശബ്ദിക്കുവാൻ പാടില്ല. ശബ്ദിച്ചാൽ കുഴപ്പമായി. നാട്ടുകാരെ പട്ടിണിയിട്ടു ശവമാക്കുന്നതു ലാത്തിയും തോക്കും വേണം ജനങ്ങളെ വെടിവെച്ചുകൊല്ലുവാൻ. പട്ടിണിക്കാർ മിണ്ടിയാൽ വെടി, ലത്തി, ജയിൽ. ഇതാണു് കൊട്ടുകാരു. ഇതിനെല്ലാം ധൈര്യമായി ശബ്ദിച്ചാൽ അതു വലിയ കുഴപ്പമായി."

* SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, this House has listened with amused interest to the explanations that have been offered by the Hon. Chief Minister and by his disciple, the Hon. the Minister for Finance, and the reasons that have motivated the introduction of this Resolution. I believe, Sir, that these explanations that have been offered for tabling this resolution cannot stand a moment's scrutiny. One of them is that the United Democratic Front decided to boycott the occasion when His Excellency the Governor addressed both the Houses. I do not think that the Council of Ministers is so simple-minded as to assume that even if this Resolution is adopted by this House, the United Democratic Front would ever abandon altogether the method of boycott as a mode of drawing attention to any political issue in which they are interested. One would have assumed that this Council of Ministers, brought up as they are in the traditions of Gandhism, would have adopted a different mode of bringing about a change of heart. Instead of adopting this method of bringing forward a Vote of Confidence in themselves, I would have assumed that some of these Ministers would have adopted the Gandhian methods of squatting on the doorsteps of the several leaders of the Opposition and indulging in a hunger-strike and thereby inducing a change of heart in them. I submit, Sir, that the first reason that has been advanced is ludicrous.

" The second reason that has been advanced is, according to them, that they harbour certain misgivings that perhaps the people of this State do not want them. I am happy to note that these misgivings are at last beginning to dawn upon the Council of Ministers. But now, Sir, regarding this second explanation I submit that they are straining at the gnat of an Aruppukottai bye-election while swallowing the whole camel of the spectacular defeat of the Congress during the recent General Elections, at which practically every important Minister was unseated. That did not induce in them the inescapable conclusion that the people of this State did not want them to continue in office. But now, this one single Aruppukottai bye-election has induced this misgiving in them, that the people of this State do not want them. If this reason is genuine, namely, that they are actuated by the democratic tradition, that a Government should respond to public opinion, and if public opinion indicates that it does not want it, it should resign, then I for one would have applauded them for bringing this Resolution. But I do not think, that it is out of regard for democratic traditions that this Resolution has been

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brought before this House. Sir, let us examine the record of the Congress Ministry in the matter of accepting and following democratic traditions. Let us take the Aruppukottai bye-election itself. It was an election to a Parliamentary constituency. One would have assumed that Rajaji would have placed before the electorate the contending policies, namely, the Congress policies with regard to the Five year Plan or the Government of India's foreign policy and contrasted them with the policies which are being advocated by the other parties. Far from doing this in the spirit, in the genuine spirit of democratic traditions, he placed before the electorate an utterly irrelevant red herring. The electorate of Aruppukottai was told that the main issue that was posed in a Parliamentary constituency was whether Rajaji should continue as the Chief Minister of the Madras State or not—not as the Prime Minister of the Union Government, but as the Chief Minister of the State Government. I submit that this attempt to draw a red herring across the trail was contrary to the spirit of democratic traditions. I am glad that the people of Aruppukottai have treated this gross impertinence in the way it deserved.

" Let us take another instance with regard to the democratic traditions followed by the present Ministry. The Congress Party treated the continuance of integrated controls, as almost an article of faith with them, and carried on a trade against those who advocated a relaxation of controls, or those who advocated the abolition of controls, and they accused all those who favoured decontrol of foodgrains as representatives of vested interests. In spite of the continuance of integrated controls being an article of political faith with the Congress Party, on which their members were returned, this Ministry without coming to this House and asking this House to give its opinion on the momentous step of removal of food control, Sir, without even consulting, according to my information, the members of the Congress Legislature Party itself, and giving them an opportunity to express their views, abolished procurement and rationing of foodgrains. The Legislature was faced with a fait accompli. I ask, Sir, with this a democratic procedure to adopt? By this one act alone the pretensions of this Ministry to be highly responsive to democratic traditions stand exposed. 11-45 a.m.

" Now, Sir, I submit that the second reason that is advanced for moving this Resolution, viz., that they are hyper-sensitive to democratic trends, is not a genuine explanation. What then is the real motivation? I submit, this motion has been moved merely as a piece of face-saving; for it is well-known that Mr. Rajagopalachari issued a challenging appeal during the Aruppukottai elections, namely, that the Aruppukottai electorate should vote only for the Congress candidate, otherwise, it would mean, that the people in this State do not want him to be the Chief Minister. It was almost a promise given to the electorate, namely, that if they did not vote for the Congress candidate, he would resign. Sir, the record of the Congress Government has been one long record of broken promises, and the refusal of the

Ministry to resign is going to be another broken promise. Now, to circumvent the pledge, to retrieve this colossal blunder which was committed in the Aruppukottai elections, we are being asked to vote for this Confidence Motion. In so doing, through a four-day debate a sum of 25,000 rupees of the tax-payers' money is going to be spent for this colossal and costly blunder committed at Aruppukottai.

" Sir, I submit this is not the only explanation for moving the present Motion. There is another explanation also. I would like to recall to you the recent statement made by His Excellency the Governor in which he said that Mr. Rajaji is a man who weighs his words. I accept that this is a correct characterisation of the Hon. the Chief Minister. I do not believe and I do not think any impartial observer believes that so capable and so astute a man as Mr. Rajagopalachari would, in a moment of vain glory, by inadvertence have uttered that remark of his during the Aruppukottai election. I believe, that that statement of his was a calculated risk, which Mr. Rajagopalachari was taking. It would certainly have occurred to him that the possibility, nay, the likelihood of the Congress being defeated at Aruppukottai existed. But why was the statement made despite that risk? That statement was in consonance with the political strategy which the Congress Government is following to-day. It is a well known fact that many elements of the upper strata of the peasantry in South India are disgusted with the past Congress practices and past Congress programmes and policies, and in some cases enraged by the mild reforms which the Congress Party brought forward during the last five years. It was indeed a sight for the Gods to see representatives of Mirasdars being supported by the United Democratic Front, and the candidates of the United Democratic Front being supported by the mirasdars during the last general elections! Mr. Rajagopalachari has now to face this peculiar feature of the political situation in South India, namely, that the upper layers of the peasantry which were the strongest base of the Congress in South India have unfortunately slipped away from their hands. He appealed to the class consciousness of the upper strata of the peasantry of Aruppukottai, and asked them to cast their vote not on the basis of communal or personal considerations but to vote for the Congress, the only party which could effectively defend them from Communism. If they should vote otherwise, he the sole bulwark against communism would resign and then, woe unto them, Communism would swamp them. Now that is the political calculation, that is the type of political blackmail with which Mr. Rajaji fought the Aruppukottai election. That is the strategy he played there. And that is the policy that is being tried in this House also. Now what is the issue raised by Mr. Rajaji here in this Motion? According to him the issue that this Motion raises is ' orderly Government *versus* Communist chaos! ' He asks Members ' search your hearts, listen to the voice of God within you and vote for this Motion '. What is this God, this inner voice which he wants some Members

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to listen to? It is the voice of class consciousness. He assumes that there are certain non-Congress groups and individuals in this House who are genuine representatives of a class which the Congress Party really and more effectively represents, namely, the upper strata of the peasantry. Now the appeal he makes is to their class consciousness, and he appeals to them that the interests they represent will be better defended by their being on his side. He again warns them. If you do not support this Motion, my Ministry will resign—and then *Apres moi le deluge*—After me, the deluge, the deluge of communism which will overwhelm and destroy you. The appeal he has made here is the same as he made at Aruppukottai, the appeal to class bias.

" Let me now go to another aspect of the matter. This resolution is very peculiarly worded. It is not a Vote of Confidence in any kind of Congress Ministry. It is for a Vote of Confidence in a special type of Congress Ministry. It asks for a Vote of Confidence in a Ministry headed by Mr. Rajagopalachari. In other words a distinction is sought to be drawn between previous Congress Ministries and this Ministry. In other words it is a clever attempt to escape from the sins of omission and commission committed by previous Congress Ministries. That is to say, it is an attempt to dissociate the present Ministry from the past Ministries, so that it may not be made guilty for the mistakes committed by the previous Ministries. I submit this is not a new technique in politics. Rajaji, as a member of the High Command, was responsible for the policy and for the administration of the Congress Ministries in this State. So, he cannot escape from that responsibility. If, for instance, the Congress Ministries were defeated during the recent elections, it is due to the policy recommended by Rajaji as a member of the High Command. Therefore, no distinction can be made between the past Ministries and the present Ministry. I submit this is no new phenomenon in politics, namely of trying to find scapegoats to escape responsibility and appease the discontent of the masses. We have found in Indian politics the phenomenon of Purushothamdoss Tandon being made a scapegoat, so that Jawaharlal Nehru may appear as a champion against obscurantism, the better to fight the general elections. Now the same is being done with regard to the previous Ministry. It is being made a scapegoat so that the present Ministry may not be blamed for its actions. So I submit this is nothing new. This technique was perfected in Russia where the Kremlin bureaucracy has discovered a series of scapegoats to escape responsibility for its own folly. Let me recall to you Sir, that of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party which led the October Revolution of 1917, except for Stalin and another survivor, and two others like Lenin who died natural deaths, all others have been liquidated for alleged Trotskyst sabotage, to escape from the discontents which arose as a result of the wrong policies and miscalculations of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Coming to India, during the period 1942–47 the entire Communist Party of India followed the lines of policy laid

down by Mr. P. C. Joshi and the Kremlin. But when that policy failed, Mr. Joshi was blamed, was made a scapegoat and expelled. Now let us take the case of a Member of this House, Mr. Jeevanandam. He was characterised as an American agent during the period of adventure 1948–50 for having the temerity to express doubts about the policy which the Communist Party was following. I shudder to think what would have happened to him if he had lived in Russia."

AN HON. MEMBER :—" Sir, on a point of order, I wonder whether all this has any bearing on the Motion before the House."

MR. SPEAKER :—" It is no point of order. Let the hon. Member continue his speech."

* SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI :—" Now, Sir, there is another aspect of this particular Resolution, which I would like to comment upon. The Ministry is making a desperate effort to convince people that this is something new, something distinct from the previous one. The intention behind this Resolution is to show that this is not the usual type of Ministry headed by nonentities or mediocrities like previous Ministries, but something wonderful, headed by a master statesman. That is the intention behind this Resolution. The present tendency within the Congress is to develop a leader cult, (even during the last elections one noticed it). Congress went about canvassing votes not on the basis of the Five Year Plan but asked the voters to vote for the Congress candidate though he be a donkey or a mule, because their vote for a Congress candidate was a vote for the ' great leader ', Nehru. Unfortunately for them, that particular tactics of building up a cult of leadership did not succeed in South India. Hence, the necessity for the Congress to build up a South Indian Messiah. This new cult, Rajaji himself has tried to foster. He has claimed that he is the chosen instrument of God, God's ambassador-plenipotentiary on earth. It will not be long, indeed I would not be surprised, if one day Rajaji claimed to be God himself. When the Chief Minister appealed to the people to pray to God for rain and when the rains came in this State, some of the Congressmen began to look upon him as God, and that he has been responsible for the recent rains. If this be true, then, I would submit that it is time we sent up a special Resolution to the Union Government asking them not to waste the taxpayer's money any more in carrying on research on how to bring about the artificial rain. All that is necessary to do in the way of giving help to any particular State where there is suffering due to drought is to send Rajaji there as the Chief Minister of the State. That will be a very simple procedure and a simple method to adopt, which we can even recommend to the United Nations Organisation for adoption, as an unfailing method of increasing food production. Mr. Rajagopalachari wants to make himself out to be the sole and indispensable bulwark against an alleged Communist menace. Let us analyse the Resolution. The issue posed by this Resolution according to Mr. Rajagopalachari is : Either you want a Congress Ministry for the maintenance of order or you want a U.D.F. Ministry, which will

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bring Communist chaos. That is the issue in this Resolution, according to him. I submit, Sir, this is bluff which has to be called. Let us take the Communist programme. There is not one atom of truth in the statement that the programme of the U.D.F. is a Communist programme. As a matter of fact, the Socialist Party will even welcome a U.D.F. Government for this reason. (Cheers from the main Opposition benches.) Let not my friends anticipate me; the applause is premature because my remarks are not going to be complimentary. I say that we would welcome a U.D.F. Government only for the purpose of exposing the U.D.F. We believe that even if a United Democratic Front Government is formed, they cannot bring about socialism in this country. What does the U.D.F. advocate? The U.D.F., which is sponsored by the Communist Party at present, is advocating policies which have been proved to be bankrupt as a result of experience. Let me draw the attention of this House to the fruits of this policy which was carried out effectively during the years 1946 and 1947 both in France and Italy. We had what was called a Popular Front Government in France in 1946 headed by De Gaulle, in which some Communist members held important Ministerial positions. At that time Mr. De Gaulle was called progressive, but to-day he is characterised as fascist. Did not that Government with Communists in it try to establish more firmly than before the French imperialist rule in the French colonial territories? Did they not impose their colonial rule over North Africa? I submit that if the Communist Party wants to administer the capitalist system in South India through the United Democratic Front, they will be rejected by the masses as categorically and as forthrightly as the Congress Party has been rejected during the recent elections. Therefore, my submission is: for Mr. Rajagopalachari to say that this is an issue of ordered Government versus Communism is not correct. The issue really is between capitalism as administered by the Congress and capitalism as administered by the Communists through the United Democratic Front. I would like to see that the electorate is educated properly in regard to this matter, and that education can best be done through the bitter experience of a United Democratic Front Government. Unfortunately, Sir, the masses in the country have not learnt enough from past experience, viz., that when the Communist Party says one thing, it means something different. I submit Sir, that if we examine the programme of the United Democratic Front and the Communist Party we will find that it does not stand for communism or socialism. It stands for capitalism, or what they call progressive capitalism. To-day they are discovering progressive capitalists and progressive industrialists, who are independent of the so-called American and Anglo-American influences. That is why I say that the issue at present is not as between the Congress programme and the Communist programme, but as between one type of capitalism and another type of capitalism; and therefore, the Socialist Party will have no hesitation in rejecting and voting against the Resolution moved by the Hon. Finance Minister.

" Let me now turn to another point. The motive underlying the resolution may possibly be to create the impression that this

Ministry is something different from the previous ones; that its methods of administration are different and its policies are different from those of the previous Congress Ministries. If that is so, let us examine the record of this particular Ministry during the recent past, as to whether the administration has been reformed, and whether the policies now being pursued are not pro-capitalist but are in some way intended to ameliorate the condition of the masses. I really believe the administration has not in any way improved after this Government came into office. If my memory serves me right, no Congress Ministry has so far been guilty of a leakage of budget secrets. I am prepared to make a specific allegation that it is the Chief Minister himself who is responsible for the budget leakage. In a speech that was delivered at Cuddapah a few weeks ago, Mr. Rajagopalachari commented on the question of prohibition. He said that the lifting of prohibition might further increase the suffering to the masses; but he went on to say that if the rich people could be made to pay higher taxes on the foreign liquor they consumed, it would be a good thing. I ask: Is this not a direct, open and unambiguous hint to the liquor dealers and the liquor consuming public of this State that they should build up stocks of liquor before the tax was actually announced in this Legislature? We are being asked to assume that this particular broom is going to sweep well and efficiently, more efficiently than the previous brooms; but I submit, Sir, it is the same old bedraggled broom that we are having now. For instance, if this Ministry was firmly in favour of stamping out inefficiency and corruption, the Chief Minister himself would have moved before this House that a Committee or some other tribunal be appointed to go into the question of the Budget leakage, and to find out how the Indian Express was able to get the information beforehand. As a matter of fact, no effort has been made to fix the blame for this leakage on anybody, and no effort also seems to have been made to enquire how the leakage took place.

" I shall now deal with the Department of Labour with respect to the policy that is pursued by this Government. A colossal fraud has been practised on the workers of this State through the Minimum Wage legislation. No doubt some member referred to this question yesterday afternoon in this House; but if you will permit me, Sir, I should like to make a further comment on this topic. For nearly a year and a half, employees working in local Government concerns have been piously led to hope that through a Minimum Wages Board which had been set up, a reasonable minimum wage would be given to them, that therefore they should not strike. . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member's time is up."

* SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI :—" One more minute, Sir, I submit that the administration of the Labour department—in fact, of all other departments—is no better than before and continues to be as bad as the administration by the previous Ministries.

" One other motivation behind this particular Resolution, which I forgot to mention, is the implied threat which is made by the

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Hon. the Finance Minister to the effect that if the House does not accept this Resolution, there would be an early general election. In other words, an appeal is being made to some of the Members that if an election is to be forced, through their failure to support the Motion, there would be further expenditure of money caused by re-election. I submit, Sir, that this is another form of blackmail in order to draw over a few of the Members who continue to be in the Opposition. As far as the Socialist Party is concerned, I may say we do not think that any re-election is likely to alter the present alignment of parties in this House; but we are quite prepared for re-elections; we are quite prepared for a fresh trial of strength; we even believe that in such a case, there will be no possibility of the Congress Party coming again to power. I shall conclude by saying that we hope and trust that if general elections are to be ordered, the Congress Party will be given no quarter and it will be finally and decisively defeated never to rise again."

12-15 p.m.

*JANAB KUNHI MOHAMAD SHAFEE:—" Mr.Speaker, Sir, ട്രേയിഡറിന്റെ സമാധാനപരമായ പുരോഗതിയും ജനങ്ങളുടെ ക്ഷേമവും സാധ്യമാകുന്നതിനു ഒരു ഉറച്ച ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് ഇവിടെ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കേണ്ടതു ആവശ്യമാണെന്നാണ്‌ മുസ്ലീം ലീഗ് കക്ഷിയുടെ ദൃഢമായ വിശ്വാസം. ഈ വിശ്വാസത്തെ മുൻനിറുത്തി എന്റെ കക്ഷി നടത്തിയ സാധ്യമായ പരിചിന്തനങ്ങളുടെ ഫലമായി ശ്രീ രാജഗോപാലാചാരിയുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിൽ ഇപ്പോൾ ഇവിടെ രൂപവൽക്കരിതമായിട്ടുള്ള മന്ത്രിസഭയെ ഈ വിശ്വാസപ്രമേയകാര്യത്തിൽ അനുകൂലിക്കുക മാത്രമേ വഴിയുള്ളൂ എന്ന് ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ബോധ്യമായിരിക്കുന്നു. ആകയാൽ പ്രമേയത്തെ മുസ്ലീം ലീഗ് കക്ഷി ആത്മാർത്ഥമായും അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു.

" ഞങ്ങൾ ഇങ്ങിനെ ഒരു തീരുമാനം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനുള്ള കാരണത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് അല്പം വിശദീകരിക്കുവാൻ ഞാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നു. മുസ്ലീം ലീഗ് കക്ഷി കോൺഗ്രസ് ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനു അനുകൂലമായി നില്ക്കുന്നു എന്ന പ്രതീതി ഉണ്ടാകുവാൻ ഒരു കക്ഷിയില്ല. നാട്ടിനും നാട്ടുകാർക്കും സമാധാനപരമായ പുരോഗതിക്ക് നിലനിന്നാൽ സഹായിക്കുക എന്നതാണ്‌ മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ നില. ഈ സംഗതി വെച്ചുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെയാണ്‌ ഈ വിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു എന്ന് ഞങ്ങളുടെ കക്ഷി തീരുമാനിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു. ഇവിടെ രണ്ടു പ്രശ്നം ആണ്‌ ഉള്ളത്. ഒന്ന്, ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുക, കോൺഗ്രസ് കക്ഷിയെ സഹായിക്കുക എന്നുള്ള സംഗതി. അതിൽ ധാർമ്മികമായ നിലപാടു് എന്തെന്ന് ആലോചിക്കുക. മറ്റൊന്ന്, ഈ സംഗതിയിൽ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനെ അനുകൂലിക്കാതെ പ്രമേയത്തെ എതുക്കേ എന്നതു്. അങ്ങിനെ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനെ പരാജയപ്പെടുത്തിയാൽ വന്നുചേരുന്ന പരിണാമം എന്താണു്? ഈ രണ്ടു സംഗതികളെക്കുറിച്ചും ഞങ്ങൾ ആലോചിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. കോൺഗ്രസ് ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ വൈകല്യങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള ആക്ഷേപങ്ങൾ ഞങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളതുപോലെ വെറെ ചില കക്ഷികൾക്കും ഉണ്ടോ എന്ന സംശയമാണു്. കഴിഞ്ഞ അഞ്ചാറു കൊല്ലത്തെ കോൺഗ്രസ് ഭരണംകൊണ്ടു ഞങ്ങൾ അനുഭവിക്കേണ്ടിവന്ന ദുരിതങ്ങളേയും ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകളെയും സംബന്ധിച്ചു ചുരുക്കിപ്പറയുവാൻ ഒരു ദീർഘമായ സമയവ്യയത്തിന്നു ഇടയാക്കുന്നതിനു ഞാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നില്ല. നാട്ടിൽ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു സുഖകരമായ, സമാധാനപരമായ ഒരു ജീവിതം നയിക്കുവാനുള്ള ഒരന്തരീക്ഷം ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ കെല്പുള്ള ഒരു മന്ത്രിസഭയെ മുസ്ലീംലീഗ് കക്ഷി അനുകൂലിക്കുകതന്നെ ചെയ്യും. ഈ മന്ത്രിസഭ, ശ്രീമാൻ രാജഗോപാലാചാരിയുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിലുള്ള ഈ മന്ത്രിസഭ, രൂപീകരിച്ചതിന്നുശേഷം ഉണ്ടായ സ്ഥിതി വെച്ചുനോക്കുമ്പോൾ നാട്ടിന്റെ സമാധാനപരമായ പുരോഗതി സാദ്ധ്യമാക്കുവാൻ ഈ മന്ത്രിസഭക്കു കഴിയും; അതിന്നായി അവർ യത്നിക്കുന്നുണ്ടു് എന്നു ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ബോധ്യമായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഈ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് കൊണ്ടുവന്ന കാര്യങ്ങളെ പരിശോധിച്ചു നാട്ടുകാർക്കു ഗുണകരമായ വിഷയങ്ങളിൽ ഈ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനെ അനുകൂലിക്കുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ തീരുമാനിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. നിലവിലുള്ള ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനെ എല്ലാ കാര്യത്തിലും ഞങ്ങൾ എതുക്കും എന്ന പ്രതീതി ഞങ്ങളുടെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിലെ വോട്ടർമാർക്കു ഞങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ല. നേരെമറിച്ചു സമാധാനപരമായ ഒരു ജീവിതം നിലനിറുത്തുവാൻ ഉതകുന്ന ഒരു ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനെ നിലനിറുത്താൻ ഞങ്ങൾ സഹായിക്കു

മെന്നും ആ ഗവമ്മേണ്ടിൽ വരുന്ന ഭരണവൈകല്യങ്ങളെ സൂക്ഷ്മപരമായ നിരൂപണങ്ങൾകൊണ്ട് തിരുത്തുവാൻ ശ്രമിക്കും എന്നമാണ് ഞങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്ത പ്രതിജ്ഞ. ഈ പ്രതിജ്ഞക്ക് വിഘാതംവരാത്ത നിലയിൽതന്നെയാണ് ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ തീരുമാനപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതും. ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ ശ്രീമാൻ രാജഗോപാലാചാരി അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ വർഗ്ഗീയത്തെ പരിഗണിക്കാതെ ഈ വമ്പിച്ച ഭാരം ഏറെറടുക്കുവാൻ വന്നതിൽ കാണിച്ച ത്യാഗബുദ്ധിയെ അപലപിക്കുന്ന ആളുകളുടെ കൂട്ടത്തിൽ കൂട്ടുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ ഒരുക്കമില്ല. കഴിഞ്ഞ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനുശേഷം ഈ സംസ്ഥാനം ഒരുപരിധിവരെ വക്കത്തെത്തിയിരുന്നപ്പൊ എന്നെ തോന്നുമാറുള്ള ഒരു പരിതഃസ്ഥിതിപോലും ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ജനങ്ങളുടെ സമാധാനപരമായ ജീവിതത്തിനും ജനങ്ങളുടെ ക്ഷേമത്തിനും അഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കും നിദാനമായ ഒരു ഗവമ്മേണ്ട് രൂപീകരിക്കുന്ന കാര്യത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനുശേഷം ഞങ്ങളുടെ ആപ്പീസ്സിൽ വെച്ചു ഒരു കൂടിയാലോചന നടത്തി. ആ യോഗത്തിൽ സംബന്ധിച്ച പലരേയും ഇന്ന U.D.F. കക്ഷിയിൽ കാണുന്നുണ്ട്. ഇന്നലെ നടന്ന പ്രസംഗങ്ങളിൽ honesty യെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും political morality യെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും സംസാരിക്കുന്നതായി കേട്ടു. Honesty യേയും political morality യേയുംപററി സംസാരിക്കുന്നതെങ്കിലും അവർ അതിന്റെ പാഠങ്ങൾ ഉപയോഗിക്കുന്നുണ്ടോ എന്ന സംശയമാണ്. മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ തത്വസംഹിതക്കും ആദർശത്തിനും വിരോധമായ തത്വസംഹിതയോടും ആദർശത്തോടും കൂടിയുള്ള ഒരു പാർട്ടിയുടെകൂടെ ചേർന്ന നാട്ടിനെ കുഴപ്പത്തിലേക്കും ശ്രൃംഖലയിലേക്കും നയിക്കുവാൻ ശ്രമിക്കുന്നവരോടു കൂട്ടുചേർന്നതു കാണുമ്പോൾ ഈ പദപ്രയോഗങ്ങൾ വെറും അധരശബ്ദങ്ങൾ അല്ലേ എന്ന തോന്നിപ്പോകുന്നു. മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ ശക്തിമത്തായ സഹായത്തോടുകൂടി ഈ അസംബ്ലിയിൽ മെമ്പർമാരായി കടന്നുകൂടുവാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ചില സ്വതന്ത്രന്മാർ ഇന്ന് മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ വിരോധകക്ഷിയായ, മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ തത്വസംഹിതക്കെതിരായുള്ള ഒരു തത്വസംഹിതയോടുകൂടിയ കക്ഷിയായ കമ്മൂണിസ്റ്റ് കക്ഷിയോടുകൂടി ചേർന്ന പ്രവർത്തനം നടത്തുമ്പോൾ അവർ മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ സഹായത്തോടുകൂടി കിട്ടിയ സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ രാജിവെച്ചു രണ്ടാമതു തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനു നിർബ്ബന്ധിയിതരാകണം. ഒരു തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പ് കഴിഞ്ഞ് ഗവമ്മേണ്ട് രൂപീകരിക്കുന്നതു നാട്ടിനെ സമാധാനപരമായും ജനങ്ങളെ ഗുണകരമായും ഭരിക്കുന്നതിനു വേണ്ടിയാണ്. അതായതു കക്ഷിയുടെ ബലാബലം പരീക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി തങ്ങളുടെ സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ രാജിവെച്ചു പുതിയ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പു നടത്തിയാൽ അതു കുഴപ്പം വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുകയാണല്ലാതെ സമാധാനപരമായ ഒരു ജീവിതം നയിക്കുവാനൊ ഒരു സുസ്ഥിരമായ ഗവമ്മേണ്ടിനെ നാട്ടിനെ പുരോഗതിയിലേക്ക നയിക്കുവാനൊ ഒരിക്കലും സഹായിക്കയില്ല. എന്നിട്ടും ചിലർ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചതായി കേട്ടു, മെമ്പർമാർ തങ്ങളുടെ സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ രാജിവെച്ചു ഒരു പുതിയ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പു നടത്തണമെന്ന്. ജനങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം ഒരു തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പ് കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ സുസ്ഥിരമായ ഒരു ഗവമ്മേണ്ട് രൂപീകരിച്ചു നാട്ടിനെ മുന്നോട്ട കൊണ്ടുപോകുകയാണ് ആവശ്യം. മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിനു കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനെപ്പററി പല ആക്ഷേപങ്ങളുമുണ്ട്. കഴിഞ്ഞ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഗവമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ കെട്ടതികൾ ഞങ്ങൾ നല്ലപോലെ മനസ്സിലാക്കീട്ടുണ്ട്. അവർ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ പരാജയപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതു ഞങ്ങൾ മറച്ചുവെച്ചിട്ടില്ല. പക്ഷെ സമാധാനപരമായ ഒരു ജീവിതം സാധിതപ്രായമാക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടിയാണ് ഞങ്ങൾ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് കക്ഷിയുടെ വിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുവാൻ തീച്ചപ്പെടുത്തിയതു്. മലബാറിൽനിന്ന വന്ന ഒരു എം.എൽ.എ. ചെയ്ത പ്രസംഗത്തിൽ മുസ്ലീം ലീഗുകാരോട് ഒരു അഭ്യർത്ഥന പുറപ്പെടുവിക്കയുണ്ടായി. നിങ്ങൾ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനെ എതിർത്തവരുടെ വോട്ടുകൾകൊണ്ടാണ് തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ ജയിച്ചതു്. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ് നിങ്ങളെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്ത വോട്ടർമാരുടെ അഭിലാഷത്തെ മാനിച്ചു ഈ ഗവമ്മേണ്ടിനെ രാജിവെപ്പിക്കുവാൻ വോട്ടുചെയ്യണം എന്ന അദ്ദേഹം പറഞ്ഞു. അദ്ദേഹം വലുതായ ഒരു ചിന്താക്ഷയപ്പത്തിൽ പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നു ഞാൻ പ്രത്യുപചിക്കുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. ഞങ്ങളുടെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങൾ ഞങ്ങൾക്ക തന്നിട്ടുള്ള മാൻഡേറ്റ് (Mandate) വ്യക്തിസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യമൊ ജനകീയസിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങളൊ വൈവിധ്യാസത്തിൽ അടിയുറച്ച മതതത്വസംഹിതകളൊ ഇല്ലാത്ത കമ്മൂണിസ്റ്റ് കക്ഷിയുമായി സഹകരിക്കയില്ല എന്ന നിശ്ചയത്തിലുള്ള ഒരു Mandate ആണ്. വൈവിധ്യാസത്തെ നിഷേധിക്കുന്ന ആളുകളുമായി സഹകരിക്കുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾക്ക ഞങ്ങളുടെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ അധികാരം തന്നിട്ടില്ല. കഴിഞ്ഞ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്ക കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് കക്ഷിയെ ശക്തിയായി എതുക്കേണ്ടിവന്നിട്ടുണ്ട് ഞങ്ങൾ ഉശിരോടുകൂടി അവരുടെ ഭരണവൈകല്യങ്ങൾ ജനങ്ങളുടെ മുമ്പാകെ തുറന്നകാട്ടീട്ടുണ്ട്. അതുപോലെതന്നെ

1st July 1952] [Janab Kunhi Mohamad Shafee]

കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ്കാരുടെ പിഴച്ച വിശ്വാസങ്ങളേയും നയങ്ങളേയും അവരും ഞങ്ങളും തമ്മിലുള്ള വ്യത്യാസങ്ങളേയും ഞങ്ങളുടെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിലെ ജനങ്ങളോടു് വ്യക്തമായി ഞങ്ങൾ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ്കാൾ ദൈവവിശ്വാസമില്ല, മത വിശ്വാസമില്ല, വ്യക്തിസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം ഇല്ല. സ്റ്റേറ്റ് സകലതും ആജ്ഞാപിക്കുകയും വ്യക്തിയുടെ വ്യക്തിപരമായ പൂരോഗതിയെ ഇല്ലാതാക്കിക്കൊണ്ടുള്ള ഒരു അധ്വാസംഘിത യാണു് കമ്യൂണിസം എന്നു ഞങ്ങൾ പറഞ്ഞിരുന്നു. ജന്മികൾ അനുകൂലിച്ചിരുന്നതു് കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാരെയായിരുന്നു എന്നു പറയുമ്പോൾ ഞാൻ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. പക്ഷെ നിങ്ങളെ അനുകൂലിച്ചിരുന്നതു് ആരാണെന്നു എൻറെ അനുഭവം പെട്ടു പറയുന്നു. ഒരു മലീഹാനെ വാങ്ങുന്നു—ആയിരം ഉറുപ്പികയാണെന്നാണു് എൻറെ അറിവു്—ഒരു ജന്മി യുടെ മകനും കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കക്ഷി ഏജണ്ടുമായിരുന്നു എനിക്കു എതിരായി എൻറെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ പ്രവൃത്തിച്ചിരുന്നതു്. അതു പരസ്യമായ ഒരു സംഗതി യാണു്. അതുപോലെ തന്നെ ഒരു ജന്മിയായിരുന്നു എൻറെ നേതാവായ ഉപ്പിസഹി ബിൻറെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ അട്ടേഹത്തിനെ എതിർത്തിരുന്ന കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് സ്ഥാനാർത്ഥി എന്നു നിങ്ങൾ വിസ്മരിക്കരുതു്. കോൺഗ്രസ്സിൻറെ ഭരണവൈകല്യങ്ങൾ കൊണ്ടു എത്രയോ അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസങ്ങൾ തീർച്ചയായും ഞങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ടു്. അതു പര സ്യമായി പറയുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു ഞാൻ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ അതുപ്രകാരം തന്നെ കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ്കാരെപ്പറ്റി നാട്ടിലുള്ള അഭിപ്രായം, ഞങ്ങൾക്കുള്ള അഭിപ്രായം, ഞങ്ങൾ വോട്ടർമാരുടെ മുമ്പാകെ പെച്ചിരുന്നു. എന്നിട്ടു അവരുടെ **Mandate** വാങ്ങീ ട്ടാണു് ഞങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ വന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഞങ്ങൾ സൂചിപ്പിച്ചമായ മുസ്ലീംകളുടെ അവ കാശങ്ങളും താല്പര്യങ്ങളും സംരക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിനു വേണ്ടിയും നാട്ടിൻറെ പൂരോഗതിക്കും ജനങ്ങളുടെ പുരോഗതിക്കും വേണ്ടിയും ഞങ്ങളുടെ കഴിവനുസരിച്ചു പ്രവൃത്തിക്കും എന്നുള്ള പ്രതിജ്ഞയാണു് ഞങ്ങളുടെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിലെ ഏജൻറുകൾക്കു് കൊടുത്തി ട്ടുള്ളതു്. എൻറെ മലബാറിലെ കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് സ്നേഹിതൻ അഭ്യർത്ഥിച്ചപോലെ ഇന്നത്തെ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് മന്ത്രിസഭയെ തോല്പിച്ചു മറെറാരു മന്ത്രിസഭ ഉണ്ടാക്കാം എന്നു വിചാ രിച്ചാൽ എന്താണു് വരാൻപോകുന്നതെന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. നിങ്ങളുടെ ഐക്യമുന്നണിയിൽ നേതാവായി തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്ത മാന്യൻ ഇവ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലെ പ്രധാനമന്ത്രിയായിരുന്ന ആ കാലത്തു ഞങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ടായ അനുഭവം എന്താണു്; മല ബാറിലെ മുസ്ലീംകളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു വ്യാജങ്ങൾ പറഞ്ഞുപരത്തിയതു വിശ്വസിച്ചു വെള്ളപ്പിടുത്തമുണ്ടായപ്പോഴും മലബാറിലേക്കു മാപ്പ് ചെയ്യുവാൻ ഇടയായില്ല എന്നുള്ളതാണു് ഇന്നു നിങ്ങൾ നേതാവാക്കീട്ടുള്ളതു എന്ന സംഗതി മറക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയില്ല. മല ബാറിലെ മുസ്ലീംകൾ വ്യാപാരത്തിൽ ഏർപ്പെട്ടിരുന്ന സകല തൊഴിലും വ്യാപാരം തകർത്തു വ്യാപാരസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം ഇല്ലാതാക്കുവാൻ ഇടയാക്കിയ പി. സി. സി. സൊസൈ റ്റികൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ചതു നിങ്ങൾ നേതാവാക്കീട്ടുള്ള ആ മാന്യൻ ഇവ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിൻറെ ഭരണചെക്കോൽ പിടിച്ചു ഭരണം നടത്തുന്ന കാലത്തായിരുന്നു. അതു മറക്കാൻ നിങ്ങൾ ഞങ്ങളോടു പറയരുതു്. ഇന്നു ശ്രീമൻ രാജഗോപാലാചാരിയുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിലുള്ള കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് മന്ത്രിസഭയെ മറിച്ചിട്ടിട്ടു പകരം ഒരു മന്ത്രിസഭ രൂപീകരിക്കുവാൻ പറ യുന്നതു് ഈ മാന്യൻറെ നേതൃത്വത്തിലാണു്. ഈ കാര്യത്തെ മറന്നു് നിങ്ങളെ അനു കൂലിക്കും എന്നു നിങ്ങൾ വിചാരിക്കയാണെങ്കിൽ നിങ്ങൾക്കു പിഴച്ചുപോയിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നു ഞാൻ പരസ്യമായി പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. മലബാറിൽ നടക്കുന്ന പോലീസ് അക്രമങ്ങളുടെ പട്ടിക മലബാറിലെ ഒരു മാന്യമ്മെമ്പർ ഇവിടെ വായിച്ചതു കേട്ടു. പോലീസ് അക്രമത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഞങ്ങൾ തവവഴങ്ങിയിരുന്നില്ല. അന്നു് കോൺ ഗ്രസ്സ് മന്ത്രിസഭയെ നീക്കംചെയ്തു അധികാരസ്ഥാനം പിടിച്ചെടുക്കണം എന്നു ചിലർ ആഗ്രഹിച്ചിരുന്നു. ചില നേതാക്കന്മാർ ജനങ്ങളെ കുഴപ്പം പിടിച്ചു സ്ഥിതികളിലേക്കും, അക്രമത്തിലേക്കും ഉന്തിനീക്കുമ്പോൾ സമാധാനം പാലിക്കുവാൻ ശവമ്മേണ്ടു് എടുക്കുന്ന ന്യായമായ നടപടികളെ ആക്ഷേപിക്കുന്ന പതിവു് മുസ്ലീംകൾക്കു് ഇല്ല. പക്ഷെ അന്യായമായി പോലീസ് നടത്തുന്ന അക്രമങ്ങളെ മുസ്ലീംകൾ ഏതു കാലത്തും എതിർത്തി ട്ടുണ്ടെന്നതു് ഒരു പച്ചപ്പരമാർത്ഥം മാത്രമാണു്. ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് സാമ്രാജ്യത്വം ശക്തിയായി വാണിരുന്ന കാലത്തു—സൂര്യൻ അസ്തമിക്കാത്ത സാമ്രാജ്യമാണു് തങ്ങളുടേതു് എന്നു ശവ്വോളം സോച്ചാധിപത്യത്തോടുകൂടി ഭരണം നടത്തിയിരുന്ന കാലത്തു—സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യ ത്തിനുവേണ്ടി നിരായുധരായി ധൈര്യത്തോടുകൂടി ആത്മാസകുലതോടും അവരെ നാട്ടിലേക്കു കടക്കാൻ സാധിക്കാതെ പുറന്തള്ളിയ പാരമ്പര്യമാണു് ഞങ്ങളുടേതു് എന്നു നിങ്ങൾ വിസ്മരിക്കരുതു്. ആ പാരമ്പര്യം ഇന്നും ഞങ്ങൾക്കു് ഉണ്ടു്. അക്രമത്തേയും അന്യായത്തേയും അനീതിയേയും പെച്ചുപുലർത്തുന്ന ആരെയും ഞങ്ങൾ എതിർക്കുക തന്നെ

ചെയ്യും. ഈ നയത്തിൽ നിന്നുഞങ്ങൾ ഒരടി പിന്മാറുകയില്ല. രാജ്യത്തിൽ ജീവന്റെ രക്ഷയില്ലാത്ത ഒരു പരിതഃസ്ഥിതി ഉണ്ടാക്കി, ജീവന് അപായമുണ്ടാക്കുന്ന അന്തരീക്ഷങ്ങൾ സൃഷ്ടിച്ചു നേതാക്കന്മാർ ഒളിവിൽ (under ground) ജീവിക്കേണ്ട ഒരു പരിതഃസ്ഥിതി ഉണ്ടാക്കി, ആ സ്ഥിതിയിൽ ജനങ്ങളെ പോലീസും പട്ടാളവും വന്ന ആക്രമിക്കുന്ന ഒരു പരിതഃസ്ഥിതി ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാനുള്ള ഒരു പരിപാടി സ്വീകരിക്കുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ തെയ്യാറില്ല. ഇന്ന ഐക്യമുന്നണിക്കാർ പറയുന്ന മിനിമം പരിപാടിയുടെ അകത്തിരിക്കുന്ന സംഗതികൾ എന്താണെന്ന ഞങ്ങൾ മനസ്സിലാക്കീട്ടുണ്ട്. നിങ്ങൾക്ക മലബാറിൽ ഡിസ്ട്രിക്ട് ബോഡ്ഡ് ഭരണം കരസ്ഥമായ ഒരു കാലമുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. അന്ന അതിൽ ഒരു അംഗമായിരുന്ന ഞാൻ. യഥാർത്ഥത്തിൽ എതുപക്ഷത്തിൽ നിന്ന വന്ന വാദങ്ങളെയും ആവശ്യങ്ങളെയും ശ്രവിക്കുവാൻ പോലുമുള്ള മഹാമനസ്കതയും ഭരണപാടവവും നിങ്ങൾ അന്ന കാണിച്ചിട്ടില്ല എന്ന പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുടത്തോളം എതിരായി വോട്ടുചെയ്യണം എന്ന നിങ്ങളുടെ അഭ്യർത്ഥന മലബാറിൽ ജനങ്ങളുടെ ഇടയിൽ പ്രചാരവേലക്കുവേതെ ഒരിക്കലും ഒരു ഉപകാരം ചെയ്യുവാൻ പോകന്നില്ല. നാട്ടിൽ സമാധാനപരമായ ഒരന്തരീക്ഷം നിലനിന്നുവാനും നാട്ടിലെ ജനങ്ങൾക്ക ഒരു ചൈസ്വാരജിവിതം സാധിക്കന്നതിനുള്ള പരിതഃസ്ഥിതികൾ പരിപാലിക്കുകണ്ടുവാനും ശ്രമിക്കുക എന്ന പാവനമായ ആദർശം വെച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കന്ന മലബാറിലെ മെമ്പർമാർ കക്ഷിവ്യത്യാസം നോക്കാതെ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിന്ന് അനുകൂലമായി വോട്ടുചെയ്യണം എന്ന വിനീതമായി ഞാൻ അഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുന്നു. അതേ സമയത്ത് ഭരണാധികാരത്തിലിരിക്കുന്ന കക്ഷിയോട് ചില സംഗതികൾ പറയുവാൻ ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. "നിങ്ങൾ മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിനെറ അവകാശങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് അവഗണന കാണിക്കരുത്. കഴിഞ്ഞ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ നിങ്ങൾക്ക ഉണ്ടായ പരാജയത്തിന്ന് ഒരു പ്രധാന കാരണം മുസ്ലീമുകളുടെ അവകാശങ്ങൾ അവഗണിച്ചതാണെന്ന കൂടി ക്കാണിക്കുവാൻ ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. നിങ്ങൾ ഇത് ചിന്തിക്കുകയും. അതുപ്പോട്ടയിലെ പരാജയത്തെപ്പറ്റി പറയുകയാണെങ്കിലും മുസ്ലീംങ്ങളുടെ വിശ്വാസവും അവരുടെ സഹകരണവും നിങ്ങൾ ആഗ്രഹിച്ചിരുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ ഇത്ര ഭീമമായ ഒരു പരാജയം നിങ്ങൾക്ക ഉണ്ടാകുമായിരുന്നില്ല എന്നാണ് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. അടുത്ത് ലോക്കൽ ബോഡുകളിലേക്കുള്ള തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പുകൾ വരുവാൻ പോകുന്നു. അതു നിങ്ങൾ വളരെ നീട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടുപോകുന്നുണ്ട്. ഈ കൊല്ലം അവസാനിക്കുന്നതിന്ന മുമ്പ് സ്റ്റേയിറിൽ ഈ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പുകൾ വരുവാൻപോകുന്നു എന്ന പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. പഞ്ചായത്തുബോഡുകളിലേക്കുള്ള തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പ് നീട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടുപോകാനുള്ള ഒരു ആലോചനയുണ്ടെന്നു കേൾക്കുന്നു. ഇത് വാസ്തവമാണെങ്കിൽ ഒരിക്കലും ശരിയല്ല. അവ വളരെ പഴകി ദ്രവിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ജനങ്ങളുടെ പ്രതിനിധ്യം അവക്കില്ലാതായിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പുകളിലെല്ലാം തന്നെ ഡിസ്ട്രിക്ട് ബോഡിലും പഞ്ചായത്തുബോഡുകളിലും എല്ലാം തന്നെ, ജനങ്ങളുടെ ജീവിതത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം അതിശ്രേഷ്ഠമായ പ്രാധാന്യം അർഹിക്കുന്ന പല സംഗതികളും ഉണ്ടെന്നു നിങ്ങൾ ഓർക്കണം. ഈ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പ് വരുന്നതിനു മുമ്പായി മുസ്ലീമുകളുടെ വിശ്വാസം നിങ്ങളാർജ്ജിക്കണം. മുസ്ലീംകളുടെ വിശ്വാസവും സഹകരണബോധവും സമ്പാദിക്കുവാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞുവെങ്കിൽ നിങ്ങൾ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ തോല്പുകയില്ലെന്നും, ഇവിടെ ഇന്ന കാണുന്ന സ്ഥിതിയിൽനിന്നും വിപരീതമായ ഒരു സ്ഥിതി ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിനെറ അന്തരീക്ഷത്തിൽ നിങ്ങൾക്ക കാണുവാൻ സാധിക്കുമെന്നും നിങ്ങളെ ഞാൻ ഓർമ്മപ്പെടുത്തിക്കൊള്ളുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ട് മുസ്ലീംകളുടെ രാഷ്ട്രീയവും സാമ്പത്തികവും സാമുദായികവുമായ അവകാശങ്ങളെയും താല്പര്യങ്ങളെയും വകവെച്ചുകൊടുക്കുവാൻ, മുസ്ലീംകളുടെ ഏകപ്രതിനിധ്യസംഘടനയായ മുസ്ലീം ലീഗുമായി ഒരു ഒത്തുതീർപ്പ് ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ മുൻകൈ എടുക്കുവാൻ, അധികാരത്തിൽ ഇരിക്കുന്ന കക്ഷിയോട് ഞാൻ വിനീതമായി അഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുന്നു."

12-30 p.m.

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Motion moved by the Hon. the Minister for Finance. The motives by which I am actuated in this respect are purely impersonal. Regarding the Cabinet that is in power, I have not known much about individuals who constitute the Cabinet of to-day. I had the privilege of knowing Mr. Manickavelu Naicker for some time in the past, for he has been working in the same field as I, for the betterment of the Backward Classes. This Ministry is supposed to be a Congress Ministry. But Mr. Manickavelu

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Naicker has been repeatedly saying that he is not a Congressman. He stoutly opposes the contention that he is a Congressman. He even refuses to wear khadi. But still, it is being said that this a Congress Ministry. Of the rest, I have the privilege of knowing Dr. U. Krishna Rao who has been my coleague in the Corporation of Madras, and at his instance I learnt a little of parliamentary procedure. Dr. U. Krishna Rao is a person of sterling character and has done immense service to youngsters of my type, who have learnt a lot of democracy at his feet. I am stating all these things so that the House can understand that I have no motives to oppose the Ministers individually but I oppose the Ministry as a whole. The Hon. Sri Venkataswami Naidu who happens to be a Minister in a Cabinet was also a guide a and philosopher to us so far as the Corporation matters were concerned. Regarding the others, they are all new to me. I was told that the Hon. the Chief Minister is an honourable person and I believe him to be so. So are the other Ministers. My contention is that I have no malice or grouse against any individual. Now, how does this question of confidence arise and why should a Ministry which has been in power for the past two months only, come before this House and seek its confidence? Evidently, as the Chief Minister has made it clear, the Aruppukkottai election result has upset his mind. He called us two months back and when we met here, he told us that we were suffering from a fear complex and frustration. Who exactly is suffering from frustration now? Is it the Opposition or the Party that is in power? We never asked him to issue a statement regarding the Aruppukkottai elections. He courted trouble by issuing that statement. If he really meant what he said, then the results are there and it is for him to act according to his statement, and quit office. But it is not in the nature of Congressmen to stick to their words. To quote a few instances of that type, Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru is one such person. When the Hindu Code Bill was introduced in the Parliament, there was a lot of campaign and opposition by Varnashramites outside the Parliament House against this Bill. They carried on a terrible struggle against that Bill. At that time, Mr. Nehru said, 'My Government will stand or fall with the Hindu Code Bill.' Now, what has happened to that Bill? That has fallen and not Mr. Nehru's Government. Mr. Rajagopalachari has said that if the Aruppukkottai election was a success, that showed there was confidence in his Government. The Aruppukkottai election has been lost and the verdict of the people is there. If he really meant what he said, he need not come to us, but ought to have done what he really said. Considering the merits of the question that is before the House, the position is this. Is this a Congress Ministry which is a continuation of the old Ministry? Mr. Rajagopalachari knows it pretty well. He can now say that he has nothing to do with the old Ministry. But when Mr. Ramamurthi was expatiating on this point, he intervened and said he was not casting any aspersion on the old Ministry. Now, on what basis are we to judge whether this Ministry should be in power or not? They have lived for the past two months or so. Are we to judge them on the two Bills which they have moved? Are we to judge them on their decontrol policy? Or, are we to judge them on the basis that the electorate

has given a clear verdict that they do not deserve to be in office? Of course, the opposition against the Congress candidates frittered away as there were a number of parties and there was a lot of division amongst them. However, the results are there for anybody to judge. In this House which consists of 375 Members, the Congress could manage to get only 152 seats. Naturally, they have got to seek the aid of other parties. Mr. Rajagopalachrai knows it very well. The past history of the Congress is also known to him. That is the very organization which sent him out of this State. People remember what took place at Thiruparankundram. The very people who are now backing him hurled stones at him there. I do not mean actual stones. They did not want him in this State and they even called him a traitor, for he spoke the truth. Thus he was sent out of this State at that time. Now he has come back as the Chief Minister of this State. If the Congress Party had secured about 300 seats or even 250 seats in this Assembly, would Mr. Kamaraj have gone to Mr. Rajagopalachari for his aid? That is the direct question that I would like to put to the Chief Minister. Simply because they were in trouble, they went to him and requested him to take up office here in the name of the Congress. In those circumstances only they went to him and brought him back from his seclusion. I take the words of the Chief Minister at their face value. He said that he was retiring from politics. He came back to Madras to enjoy a retired life. How did they drag him out of his retirement? There was an article in the Tamil journel, *Kalki* to the effect that asking Rajaji to take up the reins of the Government would look as ridiculous as asking Ramana Maharishi of Tiruvannamalai to come and take up the post of a Commissioner of a Municipality. That article only blinded the leaders of the Congress Party. They though that Rajaji was not going to take up this job. They were not very serious about it. They simply went to him asking him to take up the leadership, because they were not united among themselves. There were groups and there were cliques in the Congress Party. I have also been a victim to this kind of cliques. The Father of the Nation had himself said that there were cliques working in the ranks of the South Indian Congressmen. That clique sent Rajaji out of this State. That is the clique which sent many of us out of the Congress organization. I had the privilege to belong to the Congress organization some time back. We were honestly working in that organization. We went forth our view-points honestly before the last Ministry. But the last Ministry was helping its own henchmen and the Ministers' own community men. That is how the Congress organization has come to this dismal state. In Chingleput, I may bring to the notice of the House that one of the previous Congress Ministers, who is no more here, managed the whole thing. It was all his patrimony and he helped his own men. His own men were put up as candidates and people who had really done some real sacrifice did not find a place. They were neglected. That is what happened in the South Arcot district also. In that district, the Tamilnad Toilers' Party would not have come to the limelight but for the faults committed by the Congress bosses. There, one particular community—I do not mean any disrespect to anybody—viz., the Reddi community had the

entire privilege of conducting the Congress organization. In Chingleput, Vellala Mudaliar, in Coimbatore some Gounders who are big landlords, in North Arcot some Reddiars and in some other places some other particular community people were being helped. This kept on going and it was stinking. So, some honest men like me (laughter) had to leave the Congress. It is because of this, leaders like Sri Prakasam, Acharya J. B. Kripalani and others left the Congress and formed a separate party. We have formed a separate party not for the purpose of creating chaos in the country, but for saving the country from this political exploitation. That is the state of affairs under which the Chief Minister has been brought to office. That is how they have managed the affairs. Now, they are asking the confidence of the House. Let us examine a few of their past deeds—first, the vexatious policy which they have been perpetuating in the country in regard to this food control. We have been clamouring for decontrol of a different type. We wanted decontrol and at the same time we wanted an reduction in prices. Now what has happened? The ordinary man, say, a labourer in the Buckingham & Carnatic Mills, has to pay a very heavy price for the rice that he has to purchase. What happened after decontrol? Of course, there is plenty of rice. It is not being hoarded by the capitalists as it was done formerly. But, at what price is it available? The Chief Minister can, of course, manage to purchase rice at Re. 1-8-0 a measure and so he does not mind about the increase in prices. It does not affect him. I can also manage to purchase rice at that price. What is the condition of the labourer or the common man? He is suffering a lot. It is very difficut for him to manage with his mearge wages. If this decontrol policy is to be a success, the Government must see that the prices prevailing in the market at present go down to the level of controlled prices. We have been clamouring for a reduction in prices. The Congress press has been painting a very wrong picture to the outside public that we are fighting against decontrol and so we are the real enemies of the country. It is wrong to say that we do not want decontrol. We want decontrol, but at the same time we want that prices should also go down, so that the ordinary labourer may have a fair deal.

" There has been a complaint that there is lack of rains due to disafforestation. In season and out of season, there has been a talk about this silly Vanamahotsavam. What is the real meaning or description of this? Of course, there are no trees and there is paucity of rains. We do not get seasonal rains as there are no trees to attract sufficient rains. Instead of growing more trees they should see that the cutting of trees is stopped. What have the past Congress Government done on the other hand? They were giving waste lands and forest lands—lands grown with all types of vegetation, to the political sufferers, i.e., thyagis. I have instances on record to show that one Member,—a Congress M.L.A., from Tirunelveli, got 150 acres of land on which trees were originally grown but which are now under cultivation. In Kodaikanal, an area covering 65 acres has been given to a Congress boss and so much area has been disafforested." 12-45 p.m.

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—" On a point of order, Sir, when a Motion of Vote of Confidence is discussed, I see that most of the Cabinet Ministers are absent from the Treasury Benches . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" That is no point of order. Let the hon. Member continue his speech."

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—" I was giving some instances to prove that the late Congress Government, though it did certain things with good intention, did certain other things which went against what they desired. I can cite the authority of Dr. B. Natarajan, Economic Adviser to the Government of Madras, to prove what I say. He has clearly stated in a document ' Food and Agriculture in Madras State ' that much forest land has been destroyed. He describes the area affected thus : ' Imagine there is a road of 60 feet in width from Kanya Kumari, that is Cape Camorin, to the Himalayas in the North. The forest area destroyed by the last Government is equal to the area of this road.' So much of forest has been disafforested by the Congress Government. At the same time they come and ask us to plant trees every year and they have no records to show how many trees are planted every year, how many live and grow and whether there are tree guards to protect them. The Government should do such things properly and not create a farce. On the one hand they say, ' plant more trees '; on the other hand they go on giving forest lands to people who cut down trees on the lands and bring them under cultivation for their own benefit.

" Then, what has happened in the matter of procurement? I had the opportunity of visiting the villages in my constituency and noticing the misdeeds perpetrated by the officials. I am not referring to individual officers. But as a whole, they committed lots of misdeeds in Chingleput. They did not go to the big zamindars, the big mirasdars and landlords. They went to the small land holders having two or three acres of land, producing just 20 to 30 bags of paddy and squeezed all that was available. That is why the verdict of the people went against the Congress. Chingleput is supposed to be a Congress stronghold. More than fifty per cent of the seats has gone to other parties there. Seven seats went to other parties and Congress got only six seats. Of these six Congressmen, some were persons who were fighting against the Congress in those days and crying hoarse against Congress rule. They walked into the Congress camp and got selected. We cannot judge the work of this Government on the basis of what they have done in the last two months. But we will take into account all that the Congress Government did in the last six years.

" Coming to Prohibition, I admit it is a moral measure. It is a good measure. Let me disclose a small secret of my life. I had been myself a liquor merchant before the introduction of Prohibition and you must believe me, Sir, when I say that I have not taken even one drop of liquor in my life (Hon. Members : ' Very

good.') I am saying this because there are some Congressmen who still drink. (An hon. Member : ' You were once a Congressman.') I was once a Congressman but still I am a good man."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I find visitors in the galleries also clapping their hands. I warn them once more. If they do it again, I will have to clear the galleries."

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—" Sir, Prohibition is a very good measure. But are the people prepared to abide by it? Why should we be blind to realities? What is now happening in the villages? If any Member disputes what I say, I would request him to go with me and see for himself what is going on there. There, illicit distillation is carried on a large scale without any fear. They do it with the blessings of the officials themselves. That is the snag. The Officials are against the Government. You are sitting here and they tell you that everything is going on well. You immediately issue bulletins that Prohibition is a success. What was the object of Prohibition? It was to reduce the number of people addicted to drink. Now the number has increased ten-fold. They drink all sorts of nasty stuff like varnishes, paints, sulphates and French polish, with the result that their health has been spoiled. Statistics will show that the patients in hospitals suffer from several types of stomach diseases caused by the consumption of such stuff. These diseases were not there before Prohibition came into force. People were hale and healthy. Now many people take to drink and that too to improper stuff. The officials give them their secret sanction. I request the Government to be more practical in their policy.

" There is a law that people should not smoke in the cinema theatres during the matinees, and that during the other two shows smoking should be in a restricted form. I want to know whether this is strictly enforced. The Government are not checking this effectively. Even educated people who are expected to be law-abiding, smoke openly, so that the law is disobeyed rather than respected. I am drawing your attention to all this, because however good a measure may be, so long as the people do not want it, you have no moral right to bring in such a measure. It is only a faddist who will force such measures on the people.

" I shall then come to sales tax, which our Chief Minister had the privilege of introducing in our State. Of course, he will now turn round and say that there is dearth of funds, that the Government have lost 18 crores of rupees due to Prohibition, and that they must have the sales tax to improve their revenue position. Sir, I was one of those who supported the sales tax when it was introduced. But how it has affected the people very much, I have realised only after practical experience. To cover the deficit in the Budget, we cannot resort to sales tax which is all-pervading and which embraces everything in the country. It does not leave out anything, and I am afraid the only thing that it has not touched is something which I shall not say because it pertains to ladies who are present here today. Sales tax must be such as will not affect

foodstuffs. We have been clamouring for the lowering of prices. We have brought to the notice of the Government that prices are going up. I am not sure what is going to happen in future. Whether this Government will be thrown out or whether they would succeed in getting a majority for the Motion, let me tell them, if they continue in power, that the people are disgusted with their sales tax. I want that sales tax on foodstuffs must be removed.

" Why the Congress Party and the Congress Government have come into so much disrepute, the Cabinet must be in a position to gauge. Five years ago, no man dared to oppose the Congress. But now in every street corner there are anti-Congress slogans raised and there are many candidates arrayed against the Congress candidate. Let us now take up the charges brought by Mr. T. Prakasam against the old Ministers. If you really meant business, you should have instituted an enquiry against those Ministers even though they are not in office now. The charges were charges of corruption. You must have constituted a Committee of Enquiry and sent up these charges to it for enquiry and proper investigation. If the Ministers are aboveboard, they will go before the country again and seek their confidence. If the charges had been enquired into, people would have been satisfied. If individual Ministers were responsible for corruption, they would have received proper treatment from the people. But that has not taken place. No enquiry was held. What is the result? The entire blame for their misdeeds fell upon the new entrants into the Congress, and though they fought the elections under strenuous conditions, they could not secure a majority. I only request the Government to institute an enquiry into the charges brought by Mr. T. Prakasam. It is their duty to do so. Then only the party will rise in the estimation of the people.

1 p.m. " Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am no Communist. When the Communists were levelling charges against the police, the party in power was inclined to think that they were their hereditary enemies, and they never cared to pay any attention to the charges. As I said, I am no Communist, yet I am bringing to your notice the atrocities that I have myself seen committed by the police on the villagers in some villages of the Chingleput district. My friend Mr. Ramachandran who is in the Congress ranks will vouch for the truth of my statement. In Vembedu and Tirupporur (Chingleput taluk) the police were let loose on the villagers; they were molested and their women were raped. These atrocities were committed with a view to extract some details and information for foisting a case against some individuals. It was the Congress bosses that were behind these things. The local police committed all sorts of horrors which are beyond description. If the Chief Minister means business, he should at once send a circular to the police officials and the departments concerned that they should not adopt such repressive methods, which the Congressmen allege the Communists would do if they were to come to power."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member has taken half-an-hour. He should conclude his speech."

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* SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—" One word more and I will finish. Why did we leave the Congress? We left it because, as you said Mr. Chief Minister, the Congress stables were stinking; and you have now come to clean them."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member should address the Chair and not the Chief Minister."

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, with pangs of separation and a painful heart we left the Congress organization and we left it only recently. Before us the Socialists left the organization. Long before them, the Communists left the Congress, because the old things were continuing. If you really mean that your party should be in power or your party should become stronger as ' the party that stuggled hard to obtain freedom,' which I do not believe—if, at least weed out the vested interests from that party.

" Lastly, Sir, I say nobody is indispensable for anything. This Ministry is supposed to be headed by ' C.R.' ' C.R.' no doubt is a noble man. We want his services. But is ' C.R.' indispensable? Our Father of the Nation was there. When he was alive we thought he was indispensable; nobody ever imagined that he would be shot dead. But after him we are all living, we are still existing. We are planning in our own way. So nobody is indispensable. Gandhiji is no more; but our country has not gone to dogs. The skies have not fallen on us If ' C.R.' is not going to be at the head of affairs, chaos will not overtake us. We will give the people a proper Government if a chance is given to us.

" Thank you, Mr. Speaker."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The House will now adjourn for lunch and meet again at 2-45 p.m."

(After lunch—2-45 p.m.)

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is really a peculiar occasion when speaker after speaker got up and spoke opposing the Motion. We find that none from the Congress benches got up either to speak in support of the Resolution or against it. The Leader of the House told us that he had given them the option to vote on this Motion as they liked. I presume he has also given them the option to speak. But unfortunately till now there has been no speech from the other side. And on account of this, it is getting a little monotonous—always hearing speeches criticizing and condemning the Congress policies. That is why I want the Hon. the Chief Minister to allow Members from the Congress benches. (Interruption.) "

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" The Hon. the Chief Minister suggests that you may provide the change."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Unfortunately I am sitting on the side of the Opposition. The Hon. Minister for Finance is there to do everything for the Chief Minister."

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MR. SPEAKER :—" I am not able to follow the hon. Member. What is it that he is saying? "

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" I am only saying that till now not a single Congress Member has spoken . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I am not able to follow the hon. Member."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" He was disturbed by my joke, Sir."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" I hope at least after my speech some of the Members from the Congress benches also will speak, so that we could answer some doubts or questions which they might raise. Perhaps the Hon. Minister wants to give every opportunity to his partymen to attack the Communist Party, because tomorrow and the day after, they will get more opportunities. To make this a real debate, to know the viewpoints of the Members on the other side, it is better that they also speak, so that we may reply to the points and clear the doubts that might be raised by them, and state our attitude towards this Congress Cabinet.

" **Sir, coming to the Resolution proper,** before it was moved by the Leader of the House, the Chief Minister intervened and made the position clear as to why he has brought in this resolution, and at this stage. I am not able to understand why such a high priority should be given to this Resolution at this stage. In the ordinary course of events, in other countries where democratic practices still exist, such as in England where the Chief Minister has himself agreed that democratic practices exist, such Resolutions will be brought in only during the course of the Budget debate or during the discussion on some Bills, if the party in power is defeated on any particular question. We are about to discuss the Budget and vote on the Demands. If any of the Demands are voted down, then it will be just and proper for the Government to bring in such a resolution. Now this Resolution has been brought in with a purpose. Whatever might be the reasons which impelled the Hon. the Chief Minister to bring in this Resolution, I feel that the discussion that we would be having during the Budget discussion is being repeated now. There are some taxation proposals in the Budget, and most of the Members of the Congress benches are not at all happy over those proposals. The Congress Members, though they might not vote against the taxation proposals, are not even given an opportunity to express their opposition to the taxation proposals, by bringing in this Resolution at this stage. This Resolution has been brought in not to obtain the confidence from this side of the House, but only to see that the Members on the Congress benches are kept mum. They are thus forced to support this Motion, because if they opposed the Motion the Ministry would go. This Resolution has been brought in firstly to bind the hands of the Congress Members. Secondly there are some other hon. Members in this House who do not want to overthrow this Government, though they are not in agreement with the policies that this

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Government are pursuing. They think that if this Resolution is defeated, the House will be dissolved, and they might be forced to face a fresh election. To tie the hands of these Members also this Resolution has been brought in now. For these reasons I do not think this is the proper occasion, or the proper time to bring in this Resolution. If this had been brought forward during the Budget debate or after the Budget had been discussed, then there would appear to be some purpose or some meaning.

" Now let me refer to the speech of the Hon. Minister not as a text-book but as an examination paper and try to give him an answer as to why we oppose him. In spite of the fact that he has been going round and round the State, he could not get the support of the people. That has been proved; at least in one constituency he failed to get the support of the people. If the Hon. the Chief Minister thinks that his policies have been accepted or he has effected a change in the minds of the people, I would suggest to him another method by which he could test it. Let him ask one of the Members from the Congress benches to resign and put up a candidate in that constituency to test his strength, and let him see whether he could get at least the same number of votes that was got by the Congress candidate on the previous occasion or whether he is defeated. That is the only proper course open to the Leader of the House. He has not done that. Instead, he has brought in this Resolution. In his statement made in this House asking for the support of Members for this Resolution, the Hon. the Chief Minister gave some reasons why they should support this Resolution. I will just read a few sentences and then try to answer him. He has said : ' 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 '. Whenever we attack the policy of the previous Government, the Hon. the Chief Minister says that he is not responsible for it, that it was the previous Government that did it, and he had no hand in it. But I want to ask how his policies are different from the policies of the previous Government. His administrative machinery is pursuing the same policies. They have not been changed at all. The socio-economic system is kept intact. He has not changed the old policies. He has not even given an inkling whether he intends to change them or not. That is why we feel this Government are pursuing the same policies as the previous Government. An additional factor is, while the Ministers in the previous Government never called to their aid the Almighty God, our Rajaji in season and out of season, wherever he goes, brings in God, and in the name of God opposes the Communists."

MR. SPEAKER :—" This is being repeated over and over again."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" There is a point which I would like to make about this. Even in putting this food policy into force, he says it is God that has given them this policy. On every occasion he makes this statement, and that is why we on this side are forced to take up this issue at every stage. He says that the controls have been removed. Of course the policy of

control is not liked by the people, because they are vexed with the administrative machinery and the way the policy was administered. Controls are not bad in themselves. Even the Hon. the Chief Minister agreed with that view. If the policy of controls is administered in the way his predecessors administered it, naturally people get disgusted; not with the idea of controls but with the machinery of these controls. While speaking on controls, I want to bring to the notice of the Hon. the Chief Minister one fact. He has been saying that prices of foodstuffs will be brought down to the level of the control prices. What has become of this promise? Prices are every day going up. If you go through the papers you will notice that the prices of foodstuffs are going up, even in the district from which I am coming. Even in the Circars the prices are going up. What is his answer to this? How long are we to wait for the prices to come down? If some suitable steps are not taken immediately, prices would go up very much as the coming months are lean months. Our suggestion is that the Government must take some steps to see that prices do not go up. Simply opening some fair price shops is not sufficient. Some machinery to see that the prices are brought to the level of control prices should be set up. Without doing this, to say, 'I have done away with controls and that is a difficult job' is nothing but deceiving the people. The people have already defeated the policy of controls. They themselves violated the principle of control and rationing and distribution. At this juncture the Hon. the Chief Minister has introduced the policy of decontrol. But what has become of the purchasing power of the people? This is a point that we have to consider. It is going down. Whereas stocks of rice are plentiful, as the purchasing power of the people has gone down they are unable to purchase rice. On this everybody is agreed. The Hon. the Chief Minister is supposed to be in charge of this welfare State. What has he done for the poor people? What are his suggestions and plans to improve their lot? Till now, he has not done anything. On the other hand he advises people to be contended.

3 p.m

"All these morals are being preached to the people. He can advise others to be contented. Can the Chief Minister say that he is content with the salary he is getting? Can he say that the Non-Gazetted Officers are content with the salaries they are getting? There is no use in preaching as a Messenger of God or an Avatar of God or God-incarnate. Being a human being himself, he must satisfy the people. In the papers we see His Excellency the Governor saying that the Hon. the Chief Minister is taking only one salary. If the rule is that everybody should be contented was the Chief Minister content with the salary he was getting as Governor-General or the salary he is getting as Chief Minister? At the same time, he advises others to be contented. Wherever he goes, this is the only advice he gives. I would request him not to repeat such preachings hereafter, as they are not going to fill the bellies of our poor starving people. However much he may say that he has given the moon to light their houses and food by decontrol, the basic factor is there that the purchasing power of the people has gone down and the prices are soaring high. The

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Ministry has done nothing except opening fair price shops here and there. They are not sufficient and something must be done to see that the prices do not go high.

" The Chief Minister further says—

' 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. . . .'

If we peruse the speeches he has made during the past 3 or 4 months, we find that his only aim is to win the confidence of the people and to get money somehow or other. To float loans and get money does not depend upon a particular individual however great he may be. It depends upon the capacity of the people to subscribe to the loans and not because the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari, the God-incarnate, is here as Chief Minister. He wants the absolute confidence of this House, and then only, he feels, he can remain in office and get money to do, perhaps, some good things. This is another reason why he has appealed for the Vote of Confidence.

' In another place, he says—

' . . . 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. . . .'

This is an important point which I want to bring to the notice of every Member of this House including the Members belonging to the Congress Party, who have also got a right to vote against the Motion. How are we justified in supporting the Ministry which asks the people to sacrifice more? We know that people have sacrificed at the call of Mahatma Gandhi and other National leaders for winning Independence. Here is the Chief Minister who asks the poor people for more sacrifices, whereas the purchasing power of the people is going down.

" Sir, in one of the speeches made in Rayalaseema, in Cuddapah, the Hon. the Chief Minister is reported to have said, ' I am going to put some baggage on the donkeys.' (Interruption from the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari.) Any way, I would request the Hon. the Chief Minister to show some consideration to the people. The people are not donkeys. They may not be as intelligent as any of the hon. Members of the Cabinet. Such examples in whichever manner they are given are not at all proper. It is an insult to the people. Because the Ministers are in a vantage position, does it mean that they could go round and round comparing people to donkeys carrying baggages. I would request the Hon. the Chief Minister not to speak like that hereafter at least. It might have been all right in 1937 when he was taken to be a demi-God or God. Now the people are very intelligent and they are capable of understanding what is going on around them, and whether the leaders are really going to help them. The very example is repugnant. I am not speaking of myself. I have heard many people complaining about this. Perhaps the Chief Minister gets only reports which boost him up and not reports like these.

" Sir, in another place he appealed to women to give away their *thalis* or *mangalasutrams*."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, I have no objection if the hon. Member refers to small details. But he is misrepresenting them. I did not say anything about *thalis*. I said about gold. If the hon. Member wants to quote anything for any purpose, let it be accurate. I do not mind the application of it if there is accuracy in the quotation. But neither the application nor the quotation is correct in this case."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" It depends on the man . . ."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, I do not wish to interrupt the proceedings. But the argument has been going on over and over again on an irrelevant idea, and it should be stopped at some stage without my interruption. I did not say anything particular about donkeys. Everyone knows that people are not donkeys and I am not putting baggages on donkeys. I am putting taxes on gentlemen and women. I think it would be better if the hon. Member tries to understand the meaning of the phrases I use when speaking to the common people."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Sir, I am interrupted. My difficulty is the time at my disposal is limited. If I have as much time as the Hon. Chief Minister has, I can reply to every point he raises.

" Sir, the taxes are already high and the burden on the middle classes particularly has reached the maximum and their backs will break if they are taxed further. It is quite evident. But the Chief Minister wants the people to give away even their gold. In the villages, the poor peasants have gold only in the form of *thalis* and I want to know what else he means by gold. Is he of opinion that the people are being buried in gold? Or is he thinking of rich people and big merchants and landlords and not of poor people? I would go a step further and say, if what he means is gold, there is nothing left except *thalis*? I oppose this Motion on this ground."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member has three minutes more."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Sir, much of my time has been taken away by the Chief Minister.

" In another connection, he said : ' The problem of unemployment has got to be faced to the extent practicable and the matter is engaging our close attention '. These are the very words he used. I therefore oppose this Motion in the name of the middle class people and in the name of the N.G.Os. His only purpose is retrenchment and nothing else. He further said that if the salaries of N.G.Os. are increased, they would be tempted to spend away the few rupees in smoking or they would get married. That is the advice he has given to the N.G.Os. I do not know

if he is advocating birth control. I know certain Congress leaders advocated birth control previously and I do not know whether the Hon. the Chief Minister is supporting birth control. The Hon. the Chief Minister is never tired of asking people to pray and pray for ever. But at the same time, is he doing anything to help the poor and the middle-classes? No; on the other hand he is retrenching the employees belonging to the middle-classes. Added to all these he has come forward with this Motion. The Hon. the Chief Minister has been good enough to remark that the Communist Party is out for only chaos. But I say now on the floor of this House that we the Communists are for orderliness first and foremost. If I am allowed the privilege, I am even prepared to discuss with the Hon. the Chief Minister and try to correct him. But I am sure he will not accede to my request, for he is an old man and well experienced and he would not care for the advice of the younger generation. 3-15 p.m.

" If the Hon. the Chief Minister is good enough to do things in a constitutional manner, we the Communists would never oppose such acts. But what is it that the Hon. the Chief Minister is doing? He is continuing the policy of protecting the big zamindars and the rich capitalists. If such a policy is pursued I can assure the Hon. the Chief Minister that he can never expect any co-operation from us.

" The police atrocities have not subsided. In my own district as many as forty people have been killed. I ask, is this the way by which the Government . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member, Mr. Nagarajan will now speak."

* SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN :—" Mr. Speaker, while speaking on this Motion one is led to recall the days of the general elections. I submit that there is an intimate connection between this confidence Motion that is now brought before us and the situation that obtained just three or four months ago.

" In the recent general elections the Congress set up as many as 350 candidates for a total of 375 seats. They were able to win only 152 seats. Everybody knows that there were several parties opposed to the Congress. There was not a single united party opposed to the Congress. Had the energies of all the parties been combined against the Congress, I am sure that the Congress would not have gained even these 152 seats which it has now won. But such a thing was not to be.

" With the advent of Sri C. Rajagopalachari into the picture, the whole scene took an entirely different shape. All the forces against the Congress combined together and formed themselves into the United Democratic Front. I know for myself how much labour was involved and what pains we had to take in bringing all the divergent elements opposed to the Congress into a single party, viz., the United Democratic Front. The strength of the United Democratic Front rose to 166. The Congress had only a strength of 152. According to constitutional procedure, and

consistent with democratic traditions, we the members of the United Democratic Front thought that we would be called upon to form the Ministry. But what is it that we found instead? An entirely unconstitutional procedure was adopted. We still maintain that the way in which this Ministry has been ushered into office is contrary to the provisions of the very Constitution which we are now expected to follow in all its essentials. There is nothing in our Constitution which refers to a majority or minority party. There is only one Article, viz., Article 163 which says that there shall be a Council of Ministers in every Part A State to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions. In the light of what has been said in that Article, let us consider what has happened. The United Democratic Front came into being although after a great deal of labour and evolved its own programme and policy. I hope even the Chief Minister will not grudge giving us the credit for all the labour we undertook to form the Democratic Front. But in spite of the fact that our strength was well above that of the Congress we were not called upon to form the Ministry. Instead a bad tradition has been set up. A bad tradition in the history of the legislature of our State has been set up, with our Hon. Chief Minister being nominated as a Member of the Upper House as he was not an elected Member of this Assembly. It is really very unfortunate that such an unconstitutional procedure has been adopted.

"Coming to our last session, I want to make one or two observations. We opened the session with an order issued under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. I ask, is this the way in which in a republican country like ours, legislators are to be treated? Instead of our coming to the Legislature in a joyful mood, we were subjected to all sorts of scrutiny near the gates. That was how we made a beginning so far as our legislative work is concerned.

"In the promulgation of that order—I do not mind whether it was the Chief Minister or the Commissioner of Police who was responsible for issuing such an order—the Members of the United Democratic Front felt that their prestige had been very badly hurt. Till that very morning we never thought of staging any demonstration or anything of that sort. We the Members comprising the United Democratic Front were engaged at that time with the formulation of our own programmes and policies to establish an alternative Government. But when we were faced with an order under section 144 and we found that our prestige was at stake we decided, and rightly so, to have our own say in the matter. This led to the now-famous episode of our leader Mr. Prakasam on the occasion of the Governor's Address. The aftermath of that little incident was amply witnessed in the Upper House. Much has already been talked about that episode. I need not go into the details. I once again maintain that it was no other thing except the promulgation of that order that provoked us.

"Has there been any improvement in this session? No, surely not. It has begun in the same fashion. Every time we

begin a session I think it has become a habit for us to begin with the policeman first. With the recently supplied identity cards we have to gain our entry into the Chamber. Is this the way in which we experiment with democracy? Previously it was an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. Now it is an order under section 41 of the Police Act. The order has not been withdrawn. It is there still. Again it is this prohibitory order under section 41 of the Police Act that has provoked the Members of the United Democratic Front. That is why we boycotted the Address by the Governor to the Members of both Houses."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" But your party's press release says quite a different thing."

* SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN :—" Perhaps it may be so; but the fundamental thing that provoked us was the order under section 41 of the Police Act. When we were so provoked, we might have coupled some other issues also with it.

" The other day we saw the Ordinance promulgated by the Governor. A Budget secret had somehow leaked out. The Chief Minister had admitted that much. We the Members of this House were not aware of anything that had happened. We were completely ignorant of the leakage. Before the information reached the Members of this House the Press had come to know of the Budget proposals. I maintain that the passing of the Ordinance was wrong. 3-30 p.m.

" When the Assembly was going to meet so soon after the passing of the Ordinance there was no necessity for it according to us; nor was it proper to pass it, especially as it was one concerning taxation, at a time when with the beginning of the people's Government, the people were all thirsting for a change in the incidence of the taxation they have been bearing all these years and wanting to be relieved of their burden to a considerable extent. If we are not able to afford relief to them, I plead with all the earnestness at my command, at least let us not add to their burdens. After the passing of the Ordinance and after the House came to know that there has been a leakage of Budget secrets—quite an unfortunate thing over which even we sitting on this side of the House do not fell happy—we thought that something drastic would be done in that matter. So many things have happened about that matter in this House the other day. Anybody would naturally hope that the concerned Minister would resign. The leakage has to be located, and the Hon. the Minister for Finance being in charge of the Budget ought to have resigned, or the Chief Minister himself could have resigned, or the entire Cabinet could have resigned, or some such thing could have happened. That would have satisfied the people, not because the Congress Government had fallen, but because they were doing the right thing under very bad circumstances. One wrong has led to another; the Budget leakage has had its repercussions upon the people, and the common people who have been taxed, the poor people, the middle classes and the lower middle

classes will have to bear additional burdens in the shape of a surcharge on bus fares. In that connection, I wish to submit to you, Mr. Speaker, that it is not merely a question of paying one pie more per mile. It will be more. For example I can quote to you what is happening in the railways; they charge five pies per mile for a third class passenger. And if a person has to travel five miles, he does not pay two annas and one pie at the booking office but he pays three annas, and by the rounding off process, the Railway company is profiting to the extent of eleven pies; it is their unearned profit, their unearned increment and the Railways are able to make enormous profits not merely through their normal, legal charges but also on account of this rounding off. In these days of dearth of pies—we are not having a lot of them—unless they are going to be supplied in large quantities to the transport authorities, I think the conductors will be taking more from the people in addition to what is legally and rightly due from them. I beg to submit that no relief in the matter of taxation has been given to the people. The Hon. the Minister for Finance says that we have a deficit Budget, the deficit being Rs. 3½ crores and that we have no means of making it up except by way of taxation. For that purpose, we have chosen as our first target the poor people and it is they that have got to bear the burden. I wonder how in this state of affairs the Government are going to do any good to the people, especially the poor. I can say without fear of contradiction that they have not been able to provide anything in the Budget for ameliorating the condition of the ordinary people. If that is the case, what is the use of the continuance in office of this Government? They have rightly come forward with a Vote of Confidence, and I appeal to every Member of this House to look into the position very carefully, and to see that this Government, which is incapable in itself, or rather unable on account of financial or other reasons, to solve any of the problems of the common people and help the most hard hit people of this land, is not allowed to continue in office. Let me take the case of the N.G.Os. The problem of the N.G.Os. is an ever-recurring problem; it is more or less a domestic problem. If there is anybody who should be more interested in solving it than others it is, I submit, the Congress Government themselves, because it is a matter of vital importance to them. Unless the permanent services are kept happy, unless our friends and relatives in the lower ranks of Government service are able to live a contented life, a life without want, I think they would not be able to give the State good service, and we will not be able to expect of them anything appreciable in the matter of the total quantum of work that they turn out for the benefit of the State. We ourselves do feel that we should not keep them in this position; our N.G.Os. need our succour at this time. It may be answered that certain concessions have been shown to them in the matter of the education of their children and medical facilities. But, Sir, I have heard several N.G.Os. telling me that the school fee concession will not help many N.G.Os. because there are so many of them without children of their own to educate, but have others entirely depending upon them for whom this concession will not

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apply. Many have a widowed sister or a widowed daughter, for instance. I need not tell hon. Members here that such dependants will be a greater burden for any householder and a permanent and perennial problem for him. Unless and until we extend this concession to the dependants of N.G.Os. also like a widowed sister or a widowed daughter, it will not be of much help to the N.G.Os. If such a thing is done, it will be a relief to them and it will be much appreciated by them.

"In conclusion, let me say this. First and foremost, particularly on account of the way in which this Government have come into being, secondly, on account of the position in which they are finding themselves, thirdly on account of the leakage of the Budget proposals, and fourthly on account of their inability to do anything substantial to the people for want of finances and for so many other reasons, there will be no purpose served by the continuance of this Cabinet in office in this State. I would, therefore, recommend to every Member, whether sitting on my side or on the other side, to ponder over the matter and vote against the Motion, so that an alternative Government, preferably a Government of the United Democratic Front, can be formed and given a chance to run the administration of this State. We may see whether they will be able to run the administration properly; it is only if they are given a chance, it can be seen whether they can run the administration efficiently. So let them be given a chance and let them prove their mettle if they can."

* SRI P. JEEVANANDAM :—"மதிப்பிற்குரிய கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, நிதி மந்திரி கனம் சுப்ரமண்யம் அவர்கள் இந்தச் சட்ட மன்றத்தில் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கின்ற இத்தீர்மானத்தின் பேரில் சகோதர அங்கத்தினர்களிற்பலர் பேசியிருக்கிறார்கள். அப்படிப் பேசியவர்களில் அனேகமாக சர்க்கார் தரப்பு அங்கத்தினர்கள் யாரும் பேசவில்லையென்பது கவனிக்கத் தக்கது.

"ஆச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்திற்குப் பின்னணியாக, அடிப்படையாகக்கூறிய வார்த்தைகளை கவனத்தில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு, இந்த நடைமுறையைக் கவனிக்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் முதலில், குறிப்பாக சர்க்கார் தரப்பிலிருக்கின்ற தேசபக்தி மிகுந்த, தேசீயப் பரம்பரையைச் சேர்ந்த அங்கத்தினர்களைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

"ஆச்சார்ய சுவாமி அவர்கள்—மன்னிக்கவேண்டும், 'சுவாமிகள்' என்று அவரைச் சொல்லும்போது, கடவுள் இலாகா என்று அவர்களே சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள் கோயமுத்தூரில். ஆகையால் கடவுள் இலாகாக்காரரான ஆச்சார்ய சுவாமிகள் என்று சொல்லுகின்றேன்.

"ஆகவே, ஆச்சார்யார் அறிக்கையில் கூறினார்கள் : 'எனக்கு இந்த "ரிஜிடிடி" இருக்கிறதே, அதில் ரொம்ப உறவு இடையாது; தாராள நோக்கத்தில் நம்பிக்கையுடையவன்; ஆனால் ஜனநாயகம், கட்சி முறை, அதில் அனுஷடிக்கவேண்டிய கட்டுப்பாடு இவைகளெல்லாம் தவிர்க்கமுடியாதனவாக இருக்கின்றன. இருந்தாலும், இந்தத் தீர்மானம் முக்கியமாக என்னிலிருந்து எழுந்த தீர்மானமாதலால், இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தைப் பொறுத்தவரையில், எதிர்த்தரப்பு, சர்க்கார் தரப்பு எண்ணின்ற பாகுபாடு பார்க்கவேண்டியதில்லை. நெஞ்சில் இருக்கின்ற கடவுள் அவரவர்களுக்கு என்ன சொல்லுகின்றதோ அப்படியே நீங்கள் நடந்தால் சரி' என்று. இதே முறையில் நானும் எதிர்த்தரப்பு அங்கத்தினர்களைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன் : 'ஆச்சாரியார் எப்படிக் கூறியிருக்கிறாரோ, அதே முறையில் நீங்களும்—சர்க்கார்த் தரப்பில் இருக்கின்றவர்கள்—உங்கள் நெஞ்சில் இருக்கின்ற கடவுள் சொல்லுகிறபடியே நடந்து கொள்ளவேண்டும்'.

[Sri P. Jeevanandam] [1st July 1952

"சிலருக்குக் கடவுளின் பேரில் நம்பிக்கையில்லாது இருக்கலாம். துர திருஷ்டவசமாக, ஆச்சாரியார் 1952-ம் வருஷத்தில் எல்லோரையும் கடவுள் மயமாகப் பார்க்கும் அதிருஷ்டம் இந்தச் சட்ட மன்றத்தில் காணக் கிடைக்க வில்லை. ஆனால், இந்தியக் குடியரசுச் சட்டம் இருக்கிறதே, அது கடவுள் நம்பிக்கையுடையவர்கள் மட்டும் தான் சட்டசபைகளில் இருக்கவேண்டு மென்று சொல்லவில்லை. மனிதத் தன்மையுடையவர்கள், மனசாட்சியு டையவர்கள், கடவுள் நமபிக்கை இல்லாதிருந்தாலும் அவர்களும் இருக் கலாம். கடவுள் நம்பிக்கையுள்ளவர்களும் இருக்கலாம். ஆகவே, நானும் இருக்கலாம், ஆச்சாரியாரும் இருக்கலாம். அதுதான் சட்டத்தில் இருக்கின்ற துரதிருஷ்டம்.

"ஆச்சாரியார் என்ன கூறுகின்றார்கள்? மனசாட்சியுடையவர்களும், அவருடைய அறிக்கையை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். கடவுள் நம்பிக்கை யுள்ளவர்களும் அந்த அறிக்கையை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். இந்தச் சட்டமன்றத்தில் இருக்கின்ற, எந்தத் தரப்பு அங்கத்தினர்களாக இருந்தா லும் சரி, எல்லோரும் அவருடைய அறிக்கையை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டு மென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். நான் எதிர்தரப்பு அங்கத்தினர்களுக்குக் கூறுகின்றேன்; ஆச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் 30 வருஷங் களுக்கு முன்னே தேசியப் பிரசாரகராகவும், சூலவராகவும் இருந்திருக் கிறார். நானும், பள்ளிக்கூடத்தில் படித்துக்கொண்டிருந்த 13 வயதுப் பையனாக இருந்தபோதே அவரைப்போலவே தேசியப் பரம் பரையில் வந்திருக்கின்றேன். அப்படியிருந்தும், ஆச்சாரியாரும் மாறி வந்திருக்கிறார். நானும் மாறி வந்திருக்கிறேன். இப்பொழுது அந்தப் பக்கத்தில் கடவுள் பிரசாரகராக அவர் இருக்கிறார். இப்பொழுது இந்தப் பக்கத்தில் கம்யூனிஸ்டுக் கட்சியில் ஒரு முக்கியஸ்தனாக நான் இருக்கின் றேன். நான் ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணிக் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவன். ஆச்சாரியார் காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார்க் கட்சித் தலைவராக இருக்கிறார்.

"இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தில் ஆச்சாரியார் என்ன கேட்கிறார்? 'எனக்குப் பரிபூரண ஆதரவு நீங்கள் தரவேண்டும்.' அதுதான் தீர்மானத்தில் இருக்கிறது. எதையும் செய்வதற்கு அதிகாரம் கோரப்படுகிறது அதைத் தான் அவர்கள் அறிக்கை சொல்லுகிறது. நிதி மந்திரி கனம் சுப்பிரமணியம் அவர்கள் ஆச்சாரியார் சொன்ன பின்னணியில் கூறுகிறார். 'நீங்கள் மார்க்வீய பாணியில் எப்படிப் பேசுகிறீர்களென்று தெரிந்துகொள்ள வேண்டும். மார்க்சீயவாதிகள் செய்த பிரசாரத்தில் உங்களை அப்படியே இழந்துவிட்டீர்கள். நீங்கள் அந்த மார்க்சீய பாஷையில் ஒருபோதும் சிக்கிவிடக்கூடாது.' சரியான பாஷையில் பேசியவர்கள் வோட்டு எடுத்து விட்டு என்ன சொல்லுகிறார்? கேட்டால், ஆச்சாரியார் சொன்ன மாதிரி, இங்கிருக்கின்ற 375 பேர்களும் ஆத்ம சோதனை செய்துகொள்ள வேண்டு மென்று சொல்லுகிறார். ஆத்மசோதனை செய்து இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தின் பேரில் வோட் போடுங்கள் என்று சொல்லுகின்றார். அதைத்தான் நானும் எல்லோரையும் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

"தீர்மானத்தில் சொல்லியிருப்பது என்ன? ஆச்சாரியார் சொல்லுகிறார்; 'என்னையும், என்னுடைய சகபாடிகளையும் (Colleagues) இன்றைக்கி ருக்கிற கடினமான, கடுமையான சூழ்நிலையிருந்தால், பொறுப்பை ஏற்று நடத்தமுடியாது.' இந்த சூழ்நிலை என்ன? அதை எல்லோரும் கவனிக்க வேண்டும். நாங்கள் இச் சட்டசபையில் காரியங்களை நடத்த விடுவதில்லை யென்று அவர் சொல்லுகிறார். யார் சொல்லுகிறார்? சர்க்கார்த் தரப்பிலி ருக்கிறவர்.

"எதிர்த்தரப்பில் இருக்கின்றவர்களுக்கு கொள்கைகள் கிடையாது; அவர்களுக்கு ஒரே ஒரு கொள்கை உண்டு. அதாவது, என்னை எதிர்ப்பது ஒன்றுதான் அவர்கள் கொள்கை. இந்த ராஜ்யத்திற்கு எவ்வளவு நன்மை களை செய்தாலும், 6 கோடி மக்களுக்கு நன்மை எது என்று அவர்களுக்குத் தோன்றுகிறதோ, அதே கொள்கையை நாங்கள் கொண்டுவந்தாலும் அவர்கள் எங்களை ஆதரிக்கமாட்டார்கள். அதே கொள்கையை நாங்கள் மேற்கொண்டு வந்தாலும், அதே நிமிஷத்தில் அவர்கள் தங்கள் கொள் கைகளை மாற்றிக்கொண்டும் என்னை எதிர்ப்பார்கள். எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத் தினர்களுக்கு என்னை எதிர்ப்பதொன்று தான் கொள்கை' என்று அவர்

கூறுகிறார். நான் மிகப் பணிவோடு எடுத்துச் சொல்லுகின்றேன். 30 ஆண்டுகள் இந்த நாட்டின் தலைவராக இருந்திருக்கிறார் சக்கரவர்த்தி ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்கள். அவருக்குச் செலுத்தவேண்டிய மரியாதையை அவருக்குச் செலுத்திக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்: 'இது உண்மைதானு? ஆச்சாரியார் அவர்களே, உங்களைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன், இது உண்மைதானு'?

"பிப்ரவரி மாதம் 3-ம் தேதி ஒரு லக்ஷம் பேர் கொண்ட ஒரு கூட்டம், ஒரு பிரம்மாண்டமான கூட்டம்—காங்கிரஸ் எடுகள் 3 லக்ஷம், 5 லக்ஷம் என்று சொல்லும்—கடற்கரையில் நடந்தது. ஐக்கிய முன்னணிக்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்கள் அந்தக் கூட்டத்திற்கு வந்திருந்தார்கள். அன்றைக்கு எங்கள் மதிப்பிற்குரிய தோழர்கள் ராமமூர்த்தியும், நாகி ரெட்டியும் சிறைச்சாலையில் இருந்தார்கள். அப்படி அவர்கள் சிறையில் இருந்ததற்காக எங்களுக்கு யார் பேரிலும் எதிர்ப்பில்லை. என்னை மீண்டும் பெரோலில் விட்டிருந்தார்கள். என்னை மீண்டும் ஜெயிலில் வைக்கட்டும். ராம மூர்த்தியைச் சதி வழக்கில் சேர்க்கட்டும். நாகி ரெட்டியைக் கைது செய்யட்டும். எனக்கு வேண்டுவதெல்லாம் இதுதான்; 'மக்களுக்குச் சாதகமான கொள்கை, காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் மக்களுக்குச் சாதகமான கொள்கையை கடைப்பிடிக்கட்டும். அவர்கள் அவைகளை அமல் நடத்தட்டும். நாங்கள் முன்னணிப்படையாக நின்று தொண்டு செய்கிறோம். எங்களுக்கு ஆளப்பற்றி அல்ல; கொள்கைகளைப்பற்றித்தான், அபிப்பிராய மாறுபாடுகள். காங்கிரஸிலுள்ள தனி நபர்களைப்பற்றியல்ல எங்களுக்கு, திட்டங்களைப்பற்றிதான். மக்களுக்குச் சாதகமான கொள்கைகள் தான் எங்களுக்கு வேண்டும். எங்களுக்குக் கொள்கையைவிட ஆள் முக்கியம் அல்ல' என்று ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணிக்கட்சியார் அன்றைக்கே ஒரு லட்சம் பேர் கொண்ட கூட்டத்தின் மத்தியில் கூறியிருக்கிறார்கள். 3-45 p.m.

"கொள்கை எங்களுக்குக் கிடையாது" என்கிறார் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார். எங்கள் கொள்கையெல்லாம் ராஜாஜியை எதிர்ப்பது ஒன்று தான் என்று கூறுகிறார். ஏன் என்று கேட்கிறேன்? ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியை எதிர்ப்பதற்கு ஒரு ஐக்கிய முன்னணி அவசியமில்லை. அவர் ஒருவரை மாத்திரம் எதிர்ப்பதற்கு ஐக்கிய முன்னணி ஒன்று எற்படுத்தப்படிருக்கு மேயானால், அதைப்போன்ற அவசிய மற்றதான வேறு ஒரு கட்சி இந்த நாட்டில் இருக்கமுடியாது. ஒரு ராஜாஜியை எதிர்ப்பதற்காகவா 10 லட்சக் கணக்கான மக்கள் இந்த மாகாணம் முழுவதிலும் வோட்டுபோட்டார்கள்? காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடைய அதிகார பலத்தை எதிர்த்து, காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடைய பணபலத்தை எதிர்த்து, காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடைய திமிர் நடத்தையை எதிர்த்து, காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடைய ஜபர்தஸ்துக்களை எதிர்த்து, இவ்வளவையெல்லாம் எதிர்த்து, 10 ஆயிரக்கணக்கில் வெள்ளம் வெள்ளமாக திரண்டு வந்து வோட்டு போட்டார்கள். அன்று வடசென்னையைப் பார்த்தவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். மக்கள் எவ்வளவு உற்சாகத்துடன் வோட்டுப்போட்டார்களென்று. ஸ்ரீமான் சுப்ரமண்யம் அவர்கள் வடசென்னையைப் பார்த்திருக்கவேண்டும். காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் பார்த்திருக்கவேண்டும். பார்த்திருந்தால் ஐக்கிய முன்னணிக்கு மக்கள் எப்படி வெள்ளமாகப் பெருக்கெடுத்துவந்து வோட்டு போட்டார்கள் என்று தெரிந்திருக்கும். சும்மா அல்ல! எத்தனையோ இடைஞ்சல்களிடையே மற்றவர்கள் எவ்வளவு உதவி வார்த்தைகளைக் காட்டியும் கூட, மனப்பூர்வமாக வோட்டுப்போட்டார்கள். எதை எதிர்த்து அவர்கள் வோட்டுப் போட்டார்கள்? ஐந்து வருஷ காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியின் அடக்கு முறையை எதிர்த்து, ஐந்து வருஷ காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியின் நரக வேதனைகளை எதிர்த்து, ஐந்து வருஷ காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியின் மனிதத்தன்மையற்ற காரியங்களை எதிர்த்து, இவ்வளவையும் எதிர்த்து, அவர்களுடைய சொந்த அனுபவத்திலுள் (through their own experience) மக்கள் வோட்டுப் போட்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதைத் துரதிருஷ்டவசமாக சக்கரவர்த்தி ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் பரக்கமுடியவில்லையென்று நான் கருதுகின்றேன்.

"இதை ஏன் நான் இங்கே கூறுகிறேன்? மக்கள் வெள்ளம் வெள்ளமாக வந்து எனது எங்கள் கட்சிக்கு வோட்டுப்போட்டார்கள் என்பதை நீங்கள் உணர்ந்து கொண்டீர்களா? அவர்கள் எதற்காக எங்களுக்கு அப்படி வந்து

[Sri P. Jeevanandam] [1st July 1952

வோட்டுப்போடவேண்டும் ? சொந்த அனுபவத்தால், காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியில் அடைந்த எல்லையற்ற துன்பத்தை, காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியில் நடந்த எல்லையற்ற கொலைகாரச் செயல்களை, காந்தி பக்தர்களால், அகிம்சா வாதிகளால் நடத்தப்பட்ட பலாத்கார, அராஜக போலீஸ் வெறித்தனத்தை அடக்கவேண்டும், ஒடுக்கவேண்டுமென்ற ஒரே உத்வேகத்தால்தான் எங்களுக்கு வந்து வோட்டுப் போட்டார்களே தவிர அவர்களுக்கு ஒன்றும் தெரியாமல் வோட்டுப் போடவில்லை. காங்கிரஸ் தரப்பிலிருப்பவர்களைத்தான் கேட்கிறேன் ? ஐந்து ஆண்டு காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியில் மக்கள் உண்ண அரிசி கேட்டார்களே கொடுத்தீர்களா ? இல்லையே ! மக்கள் உடுக்கத் துணி கேட்டார்களே, கொடுத்தீர்களா ? இல்லையே ! வேலை செய்கிறோம் உடலில் தெம்பு இருக்கிறது வேலை கொடுங்கள் என்று கேட்டார்களே ? கொடுத்தீர்களா ? இல்லையே. ஐந்து ஆண்டு கழிந்தும் இப்போது கனம் இராஜாஜி அவர்கள் முதன் மந்திரியாக வந்திருக்கும்போது உண்ணக் கிண்ணி அரிசி கேட்டால் பஜகோவிந்தம்? போடுங்கள் என்கிறார். குடிக்கத் தண்ணீர் இல்லையே என்றால் பஜகோவிந்தம் செய்ய வேலை கிடைக்கவில்லையே என்றால் பஜகோவிந்தம் போடவேண்டும்? அரசாங்க உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் வாழ்க்கை நடத்த பணம் போதவில்லையே என்றால் செலவை சிக்கனம் செய்துகொண்டு பஜகோவிந்தம் போடவேண்டுமாம். காங்கிரஸ் தரப்பிலுள்ளவர்களைக் கேட்கிறேன் ? எதற்காகவெல்லாம் பஜகோவிந்தம், பிரார்த்தனை செய்யப்போகிறீர்கள் ? உழைக்கும் உழைப்பாளிகளுக்கு மனச்சாக்ஷி உண்ணும் உணவில்தான். சோற்றில்தான் ஏழை மக்களின் மனது ஈடுபடுமே தவிர கடவுள்பற்றிய பிரசங்கத்தால் ஒரு நாளும் உருவாக முடியாது என்பதை நான் சொல்லவில்லை. மஹாத்மா காந்தியார் அவர்களே இதைப்பற்றி சொல்லியிருப்பதை காந்தி அன்பர்கள் கவனிக்கவேண்டும்.

" நாளெல்லாம் இந்த அரசாங்கத்துக்காக உழைக்கும் அரசாங்க உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் ' எங்கள் வருவாய் ரொம்பவும் குறைவாக இருக்கிறது. வாழ்வழியுள்ள வகையில் எங்கள் சட்பளத்தை கூட்டிக்கொடுங்கள் ' என்றால் அதற்கு உபதேசம் செய்கிறார் ராஜாஜி ' சிக்கனவாழ்வை மேற்கொள்ளுங்கள், பற்றற்ற நிலையில் உங்கள் கடமையைச் செய்யுங்கள் ' என்பதாக.

" பற்றற்ற வாழ்க்கையைப்பற்றி கீதையிலே சொல்லியிருக்கிறது : ' பற்றுக பற்றற்றான் பற்றினை--அப்பற்றை பற்றுக பற்று விடற்கு '', என்பதாகத் திருக்குறளில் சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஆனால், அரசாங்கத்தின் தலைவர் கோடிக்கணக்கான மக்களுக்கு வாழ வழி வகுத்துக்கொடுக்க வகையின்றி, வறுமையிலே வாடி வதங்கும் தொழிலாளி வர்க்கத்தின் வருவாயை கூட்டிக்கொடுத்து அவர்கள் துன்பத்தைத் துடைக்க முன் வருவதற்கின்றி, நிலையற்ற ஒரு அவல நிலையிலே அல்லல் பட்டுத்திரியும் விவசாய பெரும்குடி மக்களுக்கு நிலையான வாழ்வை திருஷ்டித்துக்கொடுப்பதற்கு திறமையின்றி பஜகோவிந்தம் போடுங்கள், பஜனை செய்யுங்கள், செலவைக் கட்டி வாயைக்கட்டி சப்தமின்றி பசியால் செத்துப்போங்கள் என்று சொல்வதா நியாயமானது ?

"மஹான் வந்தார் மழை பெய்து விட்டது என்று ஜால்ராபோட்ட பத்திரிகைகள், இனறு பைகாரவிலே தண்ணீர் இல்லை, மேட்டூரிலே தண்ணீர் இல்லை, பாபநாசத்திலே தண்ணீர் இல்லை. மின்சாரம் இல்லை மின்சாரம் வெட்டு அமுலுக்கு வந்து விட்டது ? அதனால் பத்தாயிரக்கணக்கான ஆலைத் தொழிலாளிகள் வேலையின்றி திண்டாடுகிறார்கள் என்ற நிலையில் இன்று அந்த மஹான் இப்போது எங்கே போய்விட்டார் என்பதைப்பற்றி என் சிந்திக்கப்போகிறது ? பஜகோவிந்தம் போடுங்கள் என்பதுதானே அதற்கும் பதில் ?

" இங்கே இருப்பவர்கள் எல்லோரும் ராஜாஜியை எதிர்க்கத்தான் இருப்பதாகச் சொன்னீரே, அந்த ராஜாஜியை நான் கேட்கிறேன். 1937-ம் வருஷத்தில் ராஜாஜி இங்கே இருந்தார். நானும் சோஷலிஸ்ட் பக்கத்திலிருந்தேன். அப்புறம்தான் கம்யூனிஸ்ட்டு கட்சியாக மாறினேன். அப்போதும் கம்யூனிஸ்ட்டு, சோஷலிஸ்ட்டு கட்சியிடம் எதைச் செய்தாரோ அதைத்தானே இப்போது செய்கிறார்கள். அன்றைக்கும் நாங்கள் என்ன செய்தோம்.

"கடன் நிவாரணச் சட்டத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்தீர்களே, உயிரைக் கொடுத்து அந்தச் சட்டத்திற்கு அனுகூலமாக நாங்கள் பொதுமக்களை ஒன்று திரட்டியது

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யார், நான் கேட்கிறேன் ? ஜமீன்தாரி ஒழிப்பு மசோதாவைக் கொண்டு வந்தீர்களே ஒரே மூச்சாக அதற்கு இரவு பகல் என்று கருதாமல் ஒத்துழைப்பு தந்து உழைத்தது யார், நான் கேட்கிறேன் ? கொள்கை யற்ற நிலைமையில் நடப்பது நாங்கள் என்பதாக ராஜாஜி சொல்லுகிறார். கொள்கையற்ற நிலையில் நடப்பது நாங்களா ? காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களா? நன்றாக யோசிக்கட்டும். காங்கிரஸ் சகோதரர்களே நான் கேட்கிறேன் ? காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி நிறைவேற்றிய பலபல தீர்மானங்களே எல்லாம் அதிகாரத்தி லுள்ளவர்கள் நிறைவேற்றி வைத்தார்களா ? பெங்களூர் காங்கிரஸ மகாநாட்டுத் தீர்மானம் என்னவாயிற்று ? கராச்சித் திட்டம் என்னவாயிற்று ? உங்கள் கட்சி பதவியில் இருக்கும்போது என் அந்தத் தீர்மானங்களே நிறைவேற்றி வைக்கக்கூடாது ? இதிலிருந்து யாரிடம் கொள்கையில்லை என்பதை சிந்தித்துப்பாருங்களேன். காங்கிரஸ் கட்சிக்காக தேச விடுதலைக்காக பாடுபட்டு உழைத்து பற்பல தியாகங்கள் புரிந்த பலபேர்கள் இன்று இந்தப் பக்கத்தில் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால், கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களே மிகவும் வணக்கத்துடன் கேட்கிறேன். அவர்கள் தரப்பிலுள்ள சகோதரர்களையும் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். உங்கள் பக்கத்தில் யார் யார் இப்போது இருக்கிறார்கள் ? அன்று தேச விடுதலைக்கு முட்டுக்கட்டை போட்டவர்கள், காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்கு விரோதமாக பிரிட்டிஷ்காரனோடு சேர்ந்துகொண்டு கங்காணித்தனம் செய்தவர்களான ராஜா சர்தும், மகாராஜாக்களும் உங்கள் பக்கத்தில் இருக்கிறார்களே ? அவர்களையெல்லாம் கட்சியில் சேர்த்துக்கொண்டு இயங்கி வருகிற உங்கள் கட்சி ஒரே கொள்கை உடையதுதானு ? ஒரே கொள்கை உடையது என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ள வெட்கமில்லையா ? (Cries of Shame ! Shame !!)

" காங்கிரசுக்கு ராஜாஜி எப்படி வந்தார் ? சென்னை மாகாணப் பிரதமராக எப்படி எப்பொழுது ஆனார் என்பதெல்லாம் எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியுமே. கொள்கையற்ற கொள்கையை கடைப்பிடிக்கும் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியின் தலைவர் ராஜாஜி வாய் கூசாது எங்களை கொள்கையற்றவர் என்று சொல்லுவதை நினைக்க அவருக்கு பதில் என்ன சொல்வது என்று தெரியவில்லையே! காங்கிரஸ் பதவிக்கு வரக்கூடாது, அதன் கொள்கைகள் நமக்குத் தேவையில்லை என்ற ஒரே கொள்கையைக் கொண்டுதானே ஜக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணி உருவாயிற்று. டில்லியிருந்து திரும்பிய ராஜாஜி, அமைச்சர் பதவியிலிருந்து ஒய்வு எடுத்துக்கொண்டு வந்த ராஜாஜி ஆடிப்பாடி அமர்ந்த தேவனே என்று அரசியல் துறவறம் பூண்டு பஜனைவிந்தம் போட்டுக் கொண்டு குற்றுலத்தில் ஒய்வு எடுத்துக்கொண்டிருந்தபோது அல்லவா சென்னையில் ஜக்கிய முன்னணி உருவாயிற்று. ஜக்கிய முன்னணி உருவாகி விட்டதேயென்று காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் அல்லவா அவர் காலில் போய்விழ ராஜாஜி தேர்தலுக்கு நில்லாமலே ஜக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணியை எதிர்க்க வாறிச் சுருட்டிக்கொண்டு எழுந்து புழக்கடை வழியாக உள்ளே ஒடிவந்தார். அவர் பிரதமராக வரமாட்டார் என அவர்கள் பக்கத்து பத்திரிகைகளே ஒலமிட்டபோதும்கூட ' இதோ நான் வந்து விட்டேன் ' என ஒடி வந்தது ராஜாஜி அல்லவா ? ராஜாஜி பதவிக்கு வருவார் என நாங்கள் எண்ணவே இல்லையே. அப்படியிருக்க அவரை எதிர்க்கவேண்டுமென்ற கொள்கையோடு எப்படி ஜக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணி உருவாயிற்று என்று ராஜாஜி சொல்கிறார் என்பதைப்பாருங்கள் ?

" அடுத்தபடியாக ஒன்று, ராஜாஜியின் அடுத்த துணைவர் நிதி மந்திரி ஸ்ரீ சுப்பிரமணியம் அவர்களும் ராஜாஜி சொன்ன வார்த்தைகளுக்குப் பக்க பலமாக கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியை ஒரே பயங்கரமானதாக சிருஷ்டிக்க வேண்டுமென்ற எண்ணத்தோடு இந்த தீர்மானத்தை பிரேரிக்கும்போது ஒரே தாக்கான கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியைத் தாக்கினார்கள். சென்னைச் சட்டசபையின் முதல் கூட்டத்திலேயே ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் நான் இது வரையிலும் கண்டிராத வகையில், சென்னை பிரதமராக ஐம்பத்திரண்டிலே பதவியேற்ற பின்தான் நிதானம் தப்பி கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளை விரோதி நம்பர் ஒன்று என்பதாகப் பேசினார். எனக்குத் தெரியும், அவர் இதுகாறும் இப்படி நிதானம் தப்பி பேசியதே கிடையாது. இப்போது ஸ்ரீ சுப்பிரமணியம் அவர்கள் ' ஜக்கிய முன்னணி கட்சியார் நாட்டில் அராஜகத்தை விளைவிக்க முயற்சிக்கிறார்கள் ' என்பதாகப் பேசினார். யார் அராஜகத்தை விளைவிக்க முயல்கிறார்கள் என்பதை அவர் அவ்வாறு சொல்வதற்குமுன் சற்று

யோசித்துப் பார்த்தாரா ? இல்லையே. கம்யூனிஸ்ட்டு கட்சியை தாக்கி விட்டால் மாத்திரம்பொதுமக்கள் மனதை மாற்றிவிடமுடியுமென்று எண்ணி விடவேண்டாம். கொள்கையற்றவர்கள் கம்யூனிஸ்ட்டுகள் என்று சொல்கின்ற ராஜாஜியை நான் கேட்கிறேன். எங்களுடைய திட்டங்களை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுங்கள். ஒவ்வொன்றாக எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுங்கள். முதலில் இந்த நாட்டில் உழைக்கின்ற விவசாயப் பெருங்குடி மக்களின் வாழ்க்கை நிலை உயரவேண்டும், தரித்திர நாராயணன்களின் (காந்தியார் பாஷையில் சொல்லுகிறேன்) வாழ்க்கை நிலை உயர்த்தப்படவேண்டும். விவசாயத் தொழிலில் உழைப்புக் கேற்ற வாரம், கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்பதாகச் சொல்லுகிறேன். அந்தக் கொள்கையை மாற்றிக்கொண்டோமா ? இவ்வாறு சொல்வது அராஜகமா? மில்களிலே உழைக்கும் பாட்டாளி மக்கள் ஏமாற்றப்படக்கூடாது. ஜீவனச் சம்பளம் அவர்களுக்கு கிடைக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறோம். இது அராஜகமா ?

4 p.m. ''மூப்பது ரூபாய்க்குள் வரி செலுத்துவோர் இந்த இராஜ்யத்தில், விவசாயிகளில் 100-க்கு 80 பேர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களையும், பெரு வாரியான நடுத்தர விவசாயிகளையும் காப்பாற்றத்தக்க விதத்தில் வரி விதிப்பு இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறோம். இது அராஜகமா ?. எங்களுடைய சர்க்கார் நிதி மந்திரி கனம் சி. சுப்ரமணியம் அவர்கள் ராஜாஜியைக்கொண்டு வந்தோம் என்று சொன்னார். கனம் ராஜா முத்தையா செட்டியார் சொல்லும்போது 'அவர் வர மாட்டேன் என்று சொல்லி இருந்தால் பிரளயம் வந்திருக்கும்' என்று சொன்னர். அவர் வருகிறேன் என்று சொன்னதால் பிரளயத்திலிருந்து இந்த ராஜ்யம் காப்பாற்றப்பட்டது என்றும் சொன்னர். நமது மதிப்பிற்குரியவரும் சொம்பவும் முக்யஸ் தருமான அவர் சொன்னதை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். நாம் இன்னொரு பக்கத்திலும் பார்க்கவேண்டும். குத்தகைக் கொடுமையை ஒழிக்க வேண்டும். விவசாயிகளுக்கு வருமான வரி போடவேண்டும் என்று சொல்வது அராஜகமா ? மொழி வாரி மாகாணத்தை அமைக்கவேண்டும், அதற்குத் தகுந்த பிரதிநிதித்வம் வேண்டும் என்பது அன்று ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் தலைவராக இருந்த காலத்திலேயே எழுப்பப்பட்டது. இப்பொழுது அதைவிட எத்தனையோ மடங்கு அதிகமாக அது வெளிப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அப்பொழுது தான் மக்கள் சுபிட்சமாக வாழமுடியும். மொழிவாரி மாகாணம் அமைத்தால் தான் மக்கள் சுபிட்சமாக தங்களுடைய கலாச்சாரம் நசுக்கப்படாமல், தங்களது இஷ்டம்போல் வாழ முடியும், அதற்குச் சந்தர்ப்பம் கிடைக்கும் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அதற்காகவே இந்த கிளர்ச்சியை ஆரம்பித்தார்கள். இந்த மொழி மாகாண பிரச்னை இப்பொழுது வந்தது அல்ல. சம்யுக்த கர்னாடகமும், ஐக்ய கேரளமும், விசால ஆந்திராவும், புதிய தமிழகமும் எற்படவேண்டுமென்று அன்றைக்கே கிளப்பப்பட்ட விஷயம் அது. அதற்கு திருவாங்கூர் தமிழர்களுடைய நாடியைப் பிடித்து பார்க்கவேண்டும். அங்குள்ள தமிழர்களுடைய ஆர்வத்தைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். காரைக்காலில் இருக்கும் தமிழர்களுடைய ஆர்வத்தைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். அவர்களுடைய போராட்டம் எவ்வளவு கடுமையாக இருக்கிறது என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். விசால ஆந்திராவும், ஐக்ய புதிய தமிழகமும். சம்யுக்த கர்னாடகமும் வேண்டுமென்று தான் மக்களிடத்தில் நாம் சுதந்தரப் போராட்டத்தில் சொல்லி பெருவாரியான வோட்டுக்களைப் பெற்று வந்தோம். இன்னும் மக்களுடைய உரிமைகளை மேலும் மேலும் பெருக்கு வதற்கும் அவற்றை உருவாக்குவதற்கும் பல கோஷங்களைப் போட்டு வந்தோம். அதை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டு மக்களுக்கு நாம் உரிமை களைக் கொடுத்தே தீரவேண்டும். இப்படிச் சொல்வது கலகத்தை விளை விப்பதா ? அராஜகத்தைக் உண்டாக்கி கொண்டிருப்பதா ? இதை யோசித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். கோடானு கோடி மக்கள் வருஷக் கணக்காக ஜீவிப்பதற்கு வழி யில்லாமல் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஒருவர் ரேஷன் கார்டை கையில் வைத்துக் கொண்டு ஒரு வாரத்திற்கு வாங்க முடியாமல் இரண்டு நாளைக்குத்தான் அரிசி வாங்குகிறார். சில இடங்களில் இரண்டு நாட்களுக்குத் தான் அரிசி கொடுக்கிறார்கள். எழைகளைக் காப்பாற்றுவதற்கு நாட்டில் புதிய நிர்வாகம் வேண்டும். அவர்களுடைய குறைகளை நீக்கும் தலைமை நிர்வாகம் நமது ராஜ்யத்தில் எற்படவேண்டும். இப்பொழுதுள்ள எஸ்.ஜி. ஒக்களும், குமாஸ் தாக்களும் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். நாலு ரூபாய்க்கு கடவுளைப்

1st July 1952] [Sri P. Jeevanandam]

பிரார்த்தனை பண்ணுகிறார்கள். ராஜாஜியிடம் கை ஏந்தி நிற்கிறார்கள். இதை நன்மைப்படுத்த வேண்டு மென்றுதான் யு.டி.எப். மக்களிடத்தில் வோட்டுப் பெற்று வந்திருக்கிறது. அதற்காக கோடிக்கணக்கான வோட்டுகளை மக்களிடத்தில் வாங்கி வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். இவ்வளவும் அராஜகத்திற்கு என்று சொன்னால் அது எவ்வளவு தூரம் பொருந்தும் என்பதை எண்ணிப் பார்க்கவேண்டும் என்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இவைகளை நிர்ணயிக்க முடியுமா என்பதை நமது ராஜாஜியை கேட்டுக் கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன். எதிர் கட்சியில் இருக்கிறவர்கள் லட்சக் கணக்கான வோட்டுக்களை வாங்கி வந்திருக்கிறார்கள் ? கம்யூனிஸ்ட்டுகளை எதிரிகள் என்று மதிப்பானேன். மக்களுக்கு அராஜகத்தைச் செய்யவா லட்சக்கணக்கான வோட்டுக்களை வாங்கி வந்திருக்கிறோம் ? எதிர் கட்சியில் இருக்கும் சர்க்கார் அங்கத்தினர்களும் மக்களிடமிருந்து லட்சக் கணக்கான வோட்டுக்களை வாங்கி வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். எதிர்க்கட்சியில் இருக்கிறவர்கள் அராஜகத்திற்கு விரோதமாக இருப்பார்கள், சர்க்கார் கட்சியில் இருக்கிறவர்கள் விரோதமாக இருக்க மாட்டார்கள் என்று சொல்லும்பொழுது ராஜாஜியின் கருத்து தான் என்ன என்று நான் அறிய விரும்புகிறேன். அவருடைய கருத்து தான் பிரதிபலிக்கிறதே யொழிய வேறு ஒன்றுமில்லை. இந்த நாட்டில் ஒரு கோடியே இருபத்தாரு லக்ஷம் வோட்டர்கள் காங்கிரஸ் அல்லாதாருக்கு வோட்டுக் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய கருத்தைப் பற்றி ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள் என்றால் அது நம்முடைய அதிர்ஷ்ட வசமோ அல்லது துரதிர்ஷ்ட வசமோ. ஆகவே யு.டி.எப். கொள்கையில் அராஜகம் இருக்கிறது என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அது எவ்வளவு தூரம் இருக்கிறது என்பது தான் தெரியவில்லை. கனம் மாணிக்கவேலு நாயகர் சர்க்கார் பக்கத்தில் போய்விட்டால் சமாதானமாகி விடுமா ? அதே மாதிரி கனம் கே. வினுயகம் இந்தக் கட்சியில் உட்கார்ந்து விட்டால், நாட்டின் பழங்குடி மக்களின் வோட்டுகளை வாங்கி இந்தப் பக்கத்தில் வந்து உட்கார்ந்து விட்டால், அது அராஜகம் ஆகி விடுமா ? கனம் பக்தவத்சலு அந்தப் பக்கம் போய் உட்கார்ந்து விட்டால் அது சமாதானமாகி விடுமா ? (பலத்த கரகோஷம்.) இந்த நிலைமையைக் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். இந்தப் பக்கத்தில் உட்கார்ந்திருக்கும் அத்தனைபேரும் அராஜகத்தைச் செய்கிறவர்கள் என்ற தீர்மானத்திற்கு வந்ததன் நோக்கம் என்ன ? அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் ஐக்கிய முன்னணிக்கு ஏற்பட்ட வெற்றியால் தமக்கு மனக்கலக்கம் ஏற்பட்டு விட்டதென்று ராஜாஜி சொல்லுகிறார். அதற்கு பார்வேட்ப்ளாக் தான் வெற்றிப் பெற்றது. கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சி அல்ல. பார்வேட் ப்ளாக்கைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள் மூன்று, நான்கு பேர்கள் இங்கு இருக்கிறார்கள். அது ஒரு சிறு குழு. அந்தச் சிறிய குழுவையும் இன்னும் பல குழுக்களையும் சேர்த்துக் கொண்டதுதான் இந்த யு.டி.எப். அராஜகம் இருந்திருந்தால் அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் ஐக்கிய முன்னணியார் வெற்றி பெறுவார்களா ? ஐந்து வருஷ காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியின் விளைவுதான் இன்று அருப்புக்கோட்டையின் வெற்றி. உலகீசமாதானத்திற்கு வழி காட்டிய காந்தியைப் பின் பற்றும் நீங்கள் இந்த ஐந்து வருஷத்தில் செய்த ஆட்சியின் பலன்தான் இன்று அருப்புக்கோட்டை விளைவு. காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியின் கொடுமைதான் இதற்குக் காரணம். இதை அவர்கள் ஒத்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். அங்கு ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் பேசியதற்கு முதல் நாள் அங்கு கோயில்பட்டியில் நான் பேசினேன். அதற்கு முந்திய நாள் அருப்புக் கோட்டையில் கூட்டத்திற்கு சுமார் இருபத்தைந்து ஆயிரம் பேர்கள் வந்திருந்தார்கள். முப்பது ஆயிரம் என்று கூட மதிப்பிடலாம். ஆனால் அன்று அங்கு நடந்த காங்கிரஸ் கூட்டத்திற்கு 250 பேர்கள் கூடபோகவில்லை. இதற்குக் காரணம், ஏன் என்பதை நான் சொல்லத் தேவையில்லை. நாங்கள் கொலைக் காரர்கள், கொள்ளைக்காரர்கள் என்றும், மக்கள் விரோதிகள் என்றும், சமூதாய விரோதிகள் என்றும், புல்லுருவிகள் என்றும், விஷப்பாம்புகள் என்றும் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். நாங்கள் போடும் கூட்டத்திற்கு கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் வந்து வேண்டுமானாலும் பார்க்கட்டும், எப்படிப்பட்ட கூட்டம் கூடுகிறது என்று. அவர்களுடைய கூட்டத்திற்கு என் பெருங்கூட்டம் வருவதில்லை ? இந்த ஐந்து வருஷத்தில் அவர்கள் நடத்திய ஆட்சியின் காரணம் தான் அது. அவ்வளவு நல்ல பெயரை மக்களிடத்தில் அவர்கள் சம்பாதித்திருக்கிறார்கள். என் சம்பாதிக்கவில்லை என்று கேட்டால் அதைத்தான் சொல்ல மறுக்கிறார்கள். அருப்புக்கோட்டை தொகுதியில் இருக்கிற மக்கள் யார் ?

[Sri P. Jeevanandam] [1st July 1952

அருப்புக்கோட்டை தொகுதி மக்கள் பிற்போக்காளர்கள் என்று நமது நிதி மந்திரி கனம் சி. சுப்ரமணியம் சொல்லுகிறார். அதாவது பின் தங்கியவர்கள் என்று. அங்கு நடந்த தேர்தல் (one man's show) ஒரு மனிதனுடைய நாடகம் என்று வேறு சொல்லுகிறார். அருப்புக்கோட்டையை எடுத்துக் கொள்வானேன், ஏன் காஞ்சிபுரத்தை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவில்லை? அது கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் செல்வாக்கு மிகுந்த இடம் என்கிறார். அதன் சரித்திரத்தைப் பார்த்தால் தெரியும், அது காங்கிரஸ் கோட்டையாக இருந்த விஷயம். அருப்புக்கோட்டையை எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் அங்கு ஐந்து தொகுதிகள் இருக்கின்றன. அங்கிருந்து பிரதிநிதிகள் வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அருப்புக் கோட்டை, கோயில்பட்டி தொகுதியிலிருந்து மூன்று பேர்கள் காங்கிரஸ் அங்கத்தினர்களாக வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் சர்க்கார் தரப்பில் இருக்கிறார்கள். இன்றைய தேர்தலை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் அருப்புக்கோட்டை தொகுதியில் ஸ்ரீ ராமசாமி ஜெயித்திருக்கிறார். அவருக்கு முதுகளத்தூரில் மெஜாரிட்டி வோட்டு. ஜெயினைக் கொடுத்த பிறகும் முத்துக்குளிக்கும் இடத்தை சொந்தமாக வைத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிற ராமனாதபுரம் ராஜா அவர்கள் . . ."

(At this stage the Hon. Speaker sounded the gong to indicate that the hon. Member's time was up.)

* SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I cannot congratulate the Hon. the Leader of the House for bringing this motion at this time. Perhaps, in his judgment, this is the most fitted and psychological moment. However, there are some who really regret that this has been done at this time. Because, in spite of the stormy scenes that we witnessed at the beginning of the session, we have been settling down to normal business and now, this bombshell has spoiled the whole atmosphere and stirred up feelings of bitterness and acrimony. However, it is not our fault. This is, perhaps, one of the phases in the war of attrition which is to be waged against the Opposition. The gauntlet has been thrown and it has to be picked up. However, we all know that the result of this battle is not going to determine the fate of the war.

" Sir, when I read in the newspapers that Rajaji had been sworn in as the Head of the Government of the State, my thoughts went back to that memorable day of August 15, 1947. On that day, graphic descriptions were given of the swearing-in-ceremony of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was reported that in the course of the swearing-in-ceremony, Panditji stopped for a while and his face flushed with colour. What was the reason? He was asked to repeat the statement that he was a nominated Member. Panditji looked at Lord Mountbatten. He, with a sympathetic smile, reminded him that he was a nominated Member, and it is reported that, with some uneasiness, Panditji took his oath of office. Sir, that small incident speaks volumes in favour of democracy. As a true democrat, even in such an emergency, Panditji did not want to lead a popular Government as a nominated Member. But what do we find here in our State? We have chosen the hard path of democracy, not because it is the most efficient system of Government, not because it is the shortest cut to our goal, but because the acceptance of other systems of Government would involve the sacrifice of certain principles which we all cherish and which we all desire to treasure in our hearts.

Therefore it is that we have accepted democratic institutions. Now because our democracy is in its infancy we all wish that our great leaders who have contributed for the establishment of our free country on sound democratic lines, should establish precedents which will stand the test of time. But what is it we witness in our State? With regard to the formation of this Government, there is nothing more to be said now, because the Prime Minister and President of the Congress has expressed his own opinion. He has said that the Madras episode is not a precedent. He has further stated that the Article dealing with nomination of Members to the Council is really intended for the nomination of specialists and experts and is not intended to favour politicians who want to fill up a vacuum in their party politics. To me, it is a round condemnation of what has taken place in this State. So what our leaders have to do at the first stage of our march on the road to democracy is not to create precedents which are not to be followed. If that is done, 'Wœ unto Democracy,' in this State! 4-15 p.m.

" Sir what was the position in this State when the present Ministry was formed? The only known device that is accepted by democracy to test the popularity of a party or of a Government is general election. There was this general election under our Constitution recently, and that too based on adult franchise. In that, the Congress Party was returned only in a minority. Though there was no single party which had a greater number of followers than the Congress Party, it is an accepted principle that all the other parties stood for election and won against the Congress. Therefore, as people who believe in true democratic principles, the normal course which one would expected the Congress to follow is either to stand down or form a coalition Government in conjunction with other parties. But that was not what was done in this State. The minority assumed the reins of Government and began or attempted to create an artificial majority and support for the Government. Sir, it may be that after the elections, the Congress Party was like a ship without a rudder or the solar system without the sun. So we can very well appreciate when Rajaji stepped in at such a critical juncture. We give him full credit for his intention and for his desire to save the State from chaos, as he puts it. Our objection is to the method which he has adopted to become the Chief Minister of this State. Leaving aside legal quibblings and hair-splitting arguments, any impartial observer can say that the method adopted is of questionable constitutional propriety. Our Constitution provides and contemplates such contingencies. It allows a man who is not a Member of the Council or of the Assembly to be a Minister or the Chief Minister for six months. Therefore, if it was really the intention of our Chief Minister that he should step in to save this State, nothing would have prevented him from doing so without becoming a nominated Member. He could have very well stood for election within six months. Look at the precedent followed in Bombay. There, the Congress Party wanted a suitable leader: but he was defeated in the general elections. Before he assumed leadership, he was elected to the Legislative

Council. Not only that. In fairness and with a desire to preserve the best traditions of democracy, and feeling that the Ministry is one which is responsible to the Assembly, he stood for election in an Assembly Constituency and got himself elected. I think Rajaji could have followed the same course and could have become a Minister by becoming a Member of this Assembly by election. The argument that is advanced for his not doing so fails to carry conviction. Because it was stated before this House more than once that he could not face an election because of his old age. We refuse to believe in that statement. For, in spite of his old age, Rajaji is capable and competent to shoulder the whole responsibility of administration of this State. Therefore we cannot accept the plea of old age. Moreover in placing this Motion before this House and asking us to vote for the present Ministry, the Hon. Minister, Mr. Subramaniam, has hinted that the Members of the Opposition are not made of such a good stuff. Sir, I may inform the House that some Members of the House here in the Opposition have succeeded in coming to the Assembly without visiting their constituencies even once in the recent elections. Similarly, in spite of old age, Rajaji, might become a Member. His partymen may go and canvass for him. All this might be done. So, Sir, the excuses given for not facing the electorate utterly fail to carry conviction to us. Therefore, Sir, we were all sorry when we first heard, after the general elections, about the unprecedented developments taking place in this State. Even now it is not too late for Rajaji to keep to the spirit of the Constitution.

" Sir, while we are debating a Motion of Confidence in the present Council of Ministers, without anticipating the discussion that may take place on the Budget proposals, it is but fair that we make a passing reference to them. It is now five years since we attained our Independence. And during the last five years it was a Congress Government that was ruling over this State. It is now two years since the Constitution of Free India came into force. The first election under the new Constitution has taken place recently. Now, in this long period of five years, what have the Government done to implement their programmes and policies or attain the objectives of the Constitution? We find that the policies of the State have been broadly laid down in the Directive Principles of the Constitution mentioned in Articles 36 to 51. Those Articles visualise a system of social and economic order based on equality of opportunity, social justice, right to work, right for adequate wages, full employment, and a measure of social security for all citizens. They further enjoin that the wealth and resources of the country shall be so distributed as to subserve the common good and that the operation of the economic system should not result in the concentration of income and wealth to the common detriment. Now have the Government been able to do anything or to move in anyone of these directions? The first duty to which the Government ought to have addressed themselves after attaining Independence is that they should have overhauled the existing administrative machinery. We know that

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a top-heavy administration is the legacy of the foreign Government. It was based more or less on the model of a Police State. We are not working for a Police State, but for a Welfare State. I am not for one moment suggesting that the change from a Police State to a Welfare State can be accomplished in a single day or by a single stroke of the pen. Sir, five years is a sufficiently long period, at least to make a beginning and to lay the foundation on a sure basis. Now, Sir, I do not want to deal in detail with any of these questions at this stage, because the time at my disposal is short. However, I would suggest that it is an acknowledged principle that the first duty of every Government is to provide the three essential needs of life, food, clothing and shelter, to which I may add employment also.

"I will deal with the food problem in some detail in one or two minutes. Now, what is the success or achievement of our Congress Government in the field of food problem?

"For the three years ending with 1950, the acreage in India under cereals was 183·8 millions and the quantity produced was 42·1 million tons. For the three years ending with 1939, the acreage had been 167 millions only but the quantity produced was 46·16 million tons. Thus, you will find that, in spite of the increase in the acreage, the production has gone down for an acre from 619 lb. to 565 lb. 4-30 p.m.

"Coming now to this State, the estimate for 1950–51 was 10,000,126 acres and the average for the previous four years was 10,328,000 acres. In 1951–52, the estimate is 9,873,000. Thus, we find a decrease both in the acreage as well as in production. I do not want to trouble the House with further statistics relating to the West Coast and Malabar and the other districts. It is sufficient to say that as far as the whole of India is concerned, it is the problem of cereals, and as far as this State is concerned, it is a problem of rice. Even according to the statistics furnished by the Government of India and by this State Government, it is definitely known that production has not increased during the last few years in spite of the fact that the Grow More Food campaign was conducted in all its intensity, spending crores and crores of rupees. We have now before us the Five-Year Plan. It is said that it would cost 1,797 crores of rupees by 1956. And what is the achievement expected by the authors of the Five-Year Plan? This is what they say: 'With all the efforts that the first Five-Year Plan will represent, it will be possible barely to restore by 1955–56 the pre-war standards of consumption in regard to essentials like food and clothing'. We must understand the implications of this statement. It is stated that by spending 1,797 crores, and that too successfully, we will be relegated to the position we were in in the year 1939. That is the achievement of the Congress Government. They want now after five years or more of rule, to spend Rs. 1,797 crores in order to restore us to the position we were in at the time the Britisher was holding our country. This observation has certainly not done credit to the Congress Government. The first suggestion made by the leaders

was that they would wage a war against poverty and they would try to raise the standard of living of our people. What is our standard of living to-day? The National Income Committee submitted its report in the year 1949 and it is estimated that the *per capita* national income of the country is a sum of Rs. 255. The Planning Commission has reviewed it and has observed that considering the index of prices or the rise in prices to the extent of 450 per cent, there is no increase in the *per capita* national income as it was published previously. The previous known figure was Rs. 65, and Rs. 65 multiplied 4½ times certainly goes beyond 255. Therefore it is clear that five years of Congress rule, five years of Independence, has not helped us in anyway to raise our standard of living, nor has there been any attempt to supply us with the necessaries of life such as rice, cloth and shelter. That much, Sir, with regard to the food position.

"As regards the cloth position, it is stated that there is a glut in the cloth market; but still we know that prices are ruling very high and it is beyond the competence or capacity of the ordinary man to purchase cloth at the ceiling price. It is just like a beggar going in front of a decent tea shop where articles are being displayed and he wants them, but is unable to pay for them and purchase them.

"I do not want to take up more time of the House by dealing with the question of housing. I may, however, submit that there is tremendous unemployment in the country. Member after Member has referred to the collapse of the handloom industry. The Directive Principles in the Constitution have enjoined on the Government that cottage industries must be protected and must be encouraged. But still we are in a dilemma, because the Government have no policy or priority in regard to this matter. They want to encourage mill goods, while at the same time they want also to give protection to the cottage industry. We know that these are to a certain extent inconsistent with each other. The result that we find to-day is certainly due to the fact that, before either the Government or the people, there was no well-thought-out plan which has taken note of the implications of the policy they were going to pursue.

"Members have also referred, Sir, to the concessions given to the N.G.Os. and the Aided school teachers, and I do not wish to refer to that subject. It is all good so far as it goes; it gives relief to persons who are able to earn Rs. 300 and less. But what about those who are unable to earn even Rs. 3 a month? Our Directive Principles lay down that within ten years the State should provide free and compulsory education. Knowing the fact that our educational progress does not keep pace with the increase in population, I wonder when we can provide education, free and compulsory, till the age of 14 for our masses. That is the net result or the balance sheet of the Congress Government for the last five years.

"Sir, now they want a verdict that that Government should continue still further. We do not know when this Congress rule

will come to an end. The organization which fought for the freedom of our country was headed by trusted leaders who led the freedom struggle, and so, the people, believing in their words, naturally installed the Congress Party in office. They said: 'We are your men, we promise you the millennium; but there is some teething pain, some trouble due to the partition and other attendant circumstances; it is all a passing phase and in another few years, the millennium will be before you.' That was the promise made to the people and so they installed the Congress Government in office.

"In this connexion, I want to tell a short story, Sir. A virtuous man died, and he was produced before Chitragupta, who keeps a correct account of the virtues and vices and the good deeds and misdeeds of all men. When the virtuous man was produced before him, he said: 'You are a very virtuous man, you are 99·9 per cent virtuous; but there is a small sin which you have committed. Which do you want to have first, to enjoy for the virtues or to suffer for the sin'. The man thought, 'I have only 0·1 per cent sin, and therefore I shall finish the suffering for it first, so that I can have eternal bliss afterwards'. It is in that way that the masses were told that there was some small trouble and the millennium would be before them very soon. I hope, Sir, that what happened to that virtuous man will not happen to the people of our country. The story goes that that man was sent to hell first; his sin was that he had paid a few annas to a poor man who purchased an angle-hook for fishing; he had caught only one fish by the time the man was dead but by the time he entered hell, his sins began to accumulate as the angler continued to catch more fish and the man who was 99·9 per cent virtuous had not even an opportunity to see Heaven at all. Let not such a sin fall upon the people of this country just because in a weak moment, they had thought it fit to install the Congress Party into office."

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNIAH:—"అధ్యక్షా, ఈ నాడు ఈ సభలో శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఈ విశ్వాసతీర్మానాన్ని తీసుకువచ్చారంటే డాక్టరు పట్టాభి సీతారామయ్యగారు చెప్పిన సామెత ఒకటి నాకు జ్ఞాపకం వస్తున్నది. ఒక ఆడమనిషికి చిడ్డలులేకుండా ఉంటే, ఆమెను 40 రోజులు 40 మార్లు ఆశ్చర్య ప్రదక్షిణము చేయమని చెప్పారట ఆమె ఆదే ప్రకారమే రోజు ప్రదక్షిణాలు చేస్తూ నాకడుపులో చిడ్డ ఇప్పటి కెంత పెరిగిందో అని దినము కడుపు ముట్టి చూచుకొంటూ యుండేదట. ఆదే విధంగా శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు వారి మంత్రివర్గము వచ్చి రెండు నెలలైనదో, లేదో, అప్పుడే మేము ప్రజాసీకము యొక్క విశ్వాసము ఎంత సంపాదించాము మాపైన వారికి ఎంత విశ్వాస ఉన్నది అని ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానాన్ని తీసుకువచ్చినట్లున్నది. అసలు వారికి ఆసమూనమెందుకు వచ్చిందో అర్థము కావడం లేదు. ఇది ఎట్లున్నదంటే, ఇద్దరు మనుష్యులు పని చేస్తూయుంటే అందులో ఒకడు తన గుండెలో ప్రాణమున్నదా లేదా అని ప్రక్కవానిని తన ఎదమీద చెయ్యిపెట్టిచూడమన్నాడట. అసలు ప్రాణమే లేకపోతే ఎట్లు పని చేస్తూయుండగలడో మరియు ప్రక్కవానితో ఎట్లు మాట్లాడగలడో అర్థము చేసుకోగలిగితే, ఈ మాదిరి ఆడిగి యుండడు. అదే

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మాదిరిగానే వీరి తీర్మానము కూడా యున్నది. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు గొప్ప వైశాలజిస్టు రాజకీయాలలో ప్రవీణుడు. ప్రజానీకము యొక్క అభిప్రాయాలను సులభంగా తెలుసుకోగలడు. ఇట్లుండి కూడా తమ్మకైన విశ్వాసమున్న దా లేదా అని ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానం ప్రతిపాదించడంలో వారికి ప్రత్యేక కారణముండకపోదు.

"ఆసలు ఆరుప్పగోట ఉపఎన్నికలలో కాంగ్రెసు ఓడిపోయినట్లయితే తాము ఓడినట్లని చెప్పారు. ఈ ప్రతిజ్ఞ బాగానే ఉన్నది. దీనిని అందరు ఒప్పుకోవలసిందే కాక ఎప్పుడయితే ఆరుప్పగోట ఉప ఎన్నికలలో కాంగ్రెసు ఓడిపోయిందని తెలిసిందో అప్పుడు వీరు ఇది ఇట్లు ఎన్నికలతో సరిపోదని ఇందుకు ఉపాయముగా వేరే ఒక పన్నుగడ పన్నవచ్చునని చివరికి ఏదో విధముగా మెజారిటీ సంపాదించుకొన్న. శాసన సభలో ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానాన్ని తీసుకువచ్చి తమ్మకైన తమ మంత్రివర్గం కైన విశ్వాసముం లేదు, లేనిది ఈ తీర్మానంలో తెలిపోగలదని అంటున్నారు. ఇది ఎట్లున్నదంటే బయట కొంతమంది పిల్లవాండ్లు ఆడుకొంటూయుండే, అందులో ఒక పిల్లవాడు ఇంకొక పిల్లవాడిని కొట్టితే వాడు ఏడ్చుకొంటూ ఇంటిలోకి వచ్చి తండ్రితో ఇట్టు బయట ఒక పిల్లవాడు కొట్టినాడని చెప్పుకొంటే అప్పుడు తండ్రి నిన్ను బయటవేరే పిల్లవాడు కొడితే నీవు ఇక్కడ మీ అమ్మను కొట్టు సరిపోతుంది అని అన్నాడంట. అట్లాగే బయట ఎవరో కొడితే లోపలికివచ్చి అమ్మను తన్నినట్లు, బయట ప్రజలచే ఎన్నికలలో కోడింపబడి ఇచ్చట శాసన సభలో ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానాన్ని ప్రతిపాదించి నెగ్గడముంటే ఆర్థం లేదు. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఈ శాసన సభలోను బయట ఏమి చెప్పుతున్నారంటే యు.డి.యఫ్. సంస్థ ఆనునటువంటిది కేవలము కమ్యూనిస్టులతో కూడుకొనినటువంటి సంస్థ అనియు, వారి ఆశయమంతా ప్రజలను రాష్ట్రాన్ని అల్లకల్లోల లు పెట్టి అరాజకముచేయుటే అనిన్ని వారి కొక నీతినియమములు ఏవీలేవనిన్ని అధికారములోనున్నవారిచేన విధో విధంగా వ్యతిరేక ప్రచారంచేసి వారిని పడగొట్టుటకే ఎప్పుడూ ప్రయత్నిస్తూ ఉంటారని ఇదంతా chaos and confusion కేనని చెప్పుకూయుంటారు. అయితే ఇప్పుడు యు.డి.యఫ్. లో ఉంటున్నా మేమంతాముందు కాంగ్రెసులో నేడెండి దేశ స్వాతంత్ర్యం కొరకు అన్ని విధాలపెట్టుబడి ప్రజానేవ చేసిన వాళ్లమేనని, కాని ఇటీవల కాంగ్రెసు అనుసరిస్తున్న మార్గాలు మాకు నచ్చక పోవడంవల్ల మేము కాంగ్రెసును వదలిపెట్టి యు.డి.యఫ్. ఆనే సంస్థను స్థాపించి ప్రజాస్వామికం కొరకు దేశ ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యము కొరకు సదా కృషి చేస్తున్నటువంటి వారమనే విషయాన్ని వారు మరచిపోకూడదని చెప్పుచున్నాను. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు రాజకీయాలలో అడుగుపెట్టినప్పుడే నేను కూడా రాజకీయాలలో అడుగుపెట్టాను. అయితే వారు foremost నాయకుడుగా ఉండేవారు. నేను వాలంటీరుగా నాశక్తానుసారము ప్రజానేవకు కృషి చేస్తూ ఉంటిని.

4-45 p.m. "1947 వ సం॥ ఆగస్టు 15 వ తేదీన దేశమునకు స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చినప్పుడు ప్రజలు చాలా ఉప్పొంగిపోయి వారి సర్వకష్టాలు తొలగిపోతాయని అనుకొన్నారు. కాని తరువాత క్రమముగా ఆర్థిక పరిస్థితులు వారనుకొన్నట్లు మారలేదని కొద్దికాలములోనే తెలుసుకొన్నారు. కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులు మనకు ఇదివరకు వచ్చినది రాజకీయ స్వాతంత్ర్యం మాత్రమేగాని ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యము కాదని పండిత నెహ్రూ అంటున్నారు. ప్రజలకు అత్యవసరంగా కావలసిన కూడు, గుడ్డ ఇవ్వలేని స్వాతంత్ర్యము ఉంటే నేమో పోతేనేమో, ఆర్థము కావడం లేదు. ఈ నాడు కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులు వారి ప్రభుత్వము, పెద్ద పెద్ద భూస్వాములను జమీందారులను అండగా పెట్టుకొని రాజకీయాధికారాలతో సంతోషిస్తున్నారు. సామాన్య ప్రజానీకము యొక్క ఆర్థిక పరిస్థితులు ఎట్లున్నవనే వీరికి కొంచెమైనట్లు లేదు. కాబట్టే ప్రజానీకము యొక్క

1st July 1952] [Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishniah]

ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యమునకును వారి ఆర్థికాభివృద్ధికాని పాడుపడనటువంటి కాంగ్రెసును వదలి మేము ప్రజలకు ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యమును చేకూర్చే నిమిత్తం ప్రత్యేకంగా యు.డి.యఫ్. అనే సంస్థను ఏర్పాటుచేసి చేసికొనియన్నాము. ఆంతేగాని యు.డి.యఫ్. సంస్థ అంటే chaos అనిగాని confusion అనిగాని అనడం చాన్ని ఆర్థంచేసుకోక పోవడమే. నిన్నటి రోజున శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు కంట్రోల్సు తీసివేసినారంటే వానిలో ప్రజలు చాలా ఉత్సాహపడుతారని, తృప్తిపడతారని, ఈ సమయములో ఈ Confidence తీర్మానాన్ని తీసుకొనివచ్చేటప్పుడు ఈ డికంట్రోలు వల్ల ప్రజలు గొడవ తీసిపోతుందని ఆ విధంగా వారి విశ్వాసాన్ని సంపాదించ వచ్చుననే అభిప్రాయంతో ఈ పన్నుగడ పన్నినారు. నిజంగా ఈ కంట్రోల్సువల్ల సామాన్య ప్రజాసీకమునకు మేలు కలుగుతుందా అంటేలేదు. ధాన్యపు ధరలు ఎప్పుడైతే విచ్చలవిడిగా విడిచిపెట్టారో అప్పుడు ధరలు సహజముగా పెరిగి పోతాయి.

"ఇప్పుడు కంట్రోల్సు తీసివేయడంవల్ల కలిగిన మేలేమంటే ప్రజలు ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగస్థుల బాధనుండి తొలగింపబడ్డారు, అంత తప్ప వేరే మేలు ఏమి కలుగలేదు. దేశానికి స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చినదని పేరుకేగాని ప్రజల ఆర్థికస్థితి సౌకర్యాలు ఏమీ బాగుపడలేదు. దీనికి మనకు రాజకీయ స్వాతంత్ర్యమే వచ్చినదిగాని ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యము రాలేదంటారు. ప్రజలు వారి కష్టసుఖాలగురించి ఏమి మొరపెట్టుకొన్నా శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు దేవుణ్ణి ప్రార్థించమంటారు. ప్రజలను దేవుణ్ణి ప్రార్థించమని చెప్పచూ శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు మాత్రము ఇద్దరిని ప్రార్థిస్తున్నారు. వారిద్దరు ఎవరంటే వ్యాపారస్తులు, ధనిక రైతులు. వ్యాపారస్తులకు 'మేము మీకు సర్వాధికారము ఇచ్చినాము. ధాన్యాన్ని న్యాయంగా ప్రజలకు అమ్మి ప్రభుత్వ విధానాన్ని తోడ్పడండి' మరి రైతులకును 'మీకు ధరల ఇబ్బంది లేకుండా చేశాము, గనుక మీ ధాన్యాన్ని మీ ఇష్టమువచ్చిన ధరలకు అమ్ముకొండి, ఆహార పదార్థాలు ఎక్కువగా పండించి ప్రభుత్వానికి ఆహార కొరతలో ఇబ్బందులు రాకుండా మాత్రము చూడండి' అని వారికి చెప్పారు. వీరి మధ్య సామాన్య ప్రజలు, మధ్య ప్రజానికమే కష్టపడుచున్నది. రైతులు ధరలు ఎక్కిస్తారు, వ్యాపారస్తులు అధిక లాభాలు తీసుకుంటారు, కనుక కంట్రోల్సు తీసివేయడంవల్ల వచ్చే లాభమంతా వ్యాపారస్తులకు రైతులకేగాని సామాన్య ప్రజాసీకానికి గాదు. మనకు స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చినూడా పరిపూర్ణం లేదు. ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యములేని కేవలము రాజకీయ స్వాతంత్ర్యముతో ప్రజల పరిస్థితి ఎట్టు బాగుపడగలదు. కనుకనే దేశానికి ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యాన్ని చేకూర్చే ఆశయముతోనే మేము కాంగ్రెసు వదలి యు.డి.యఫ్. అని సంస్థ స్థాపించుకొన్నాము. అదే ఆశయముతోనే మేము కృషిచేస్తున్నాము. అటువంటి యు.డి.యఫ్. ఈ నాడు శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు విమర్శిస్తూన్నారం టే, మేము సహించలేము. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు గొప్ప వేదాంతి పారుశీకుడు, మేధావి కదంతా సరే ఒప్పుకుంటాము, వారు భారతము, మొదలగు వేదాంత గ్రంథాలు వ్రాసినారు. అందుకు వారిని గౌరవిస్తాము, వారికి నమస్కరిస్తాము కాని రాజకీయాలకు సంబంధించినంతవరకు వారు రాజకీయ చరిత్రలో చాలా అపరిణతులై యుండవచ్చు కాని, ఈ నాడు ఇతరులయొక్క ఆశయాలు, కార్యక్రమాలు గమనించకుండా మా అధిపత్యాలను వ్యతిరేకిస్తూ, విమర్శిస్తూ నామీద విశ్వాసము మాత్రము ఉంచండి అంటేమాత్రము మేము విమాత్రము ఒప్పుకోము. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఇదివరకే రాజకీయాలు వదలిపెట్టి వేదాంతంలో మగ్నులైనటువంటివారు ఆ స్థే ఉండకుండా మరల రాజకీయాలలో జోక్యము కలుగజేసుకొనుట చాలా విచారకరంగా ఉన్నది. ఇప్పుడు కూడా వారికి రాజకీయాధికారమనుయొక్క భ్రమ, ఆశ ఇంకాపోలేదు. రాజకీయాధికారమంతా తమ చేతుల్లోనే ఉంచుకోవలెనని ఆశిస్తూ యుంటారు.

ఇతరులకు భిన్నవర్గీయులకు ఆ అధికారము లేదనుకొంటారు. ఇప్పుడు యు.డి.యఫ్. లో ఉన్నవారే మొదటి కాంగ్రెసులో ఉండి దేశ స్వాతంత్ర్యానికి పాటుపడినవారే. అదే ఆశయముతోనే ఈనాడుకూడా పాటుపడుతున్నారు. మనము పీడ ప్రజాస్వామికానికి ఆర్థికాభివృద్ధిని చేకూర్చగలిగిన నాడే మనదేశము సుఖపడుతుంది. స్వాతంత్ర్యము యొక్క ఫలితాన్ని అనుభవిస్తుంది. పండిట్ జవహర్లాల్ నెహ్రూ వారి ఆత్మకథ లోనూ Glimpses of World History లోను తరువాత Discovery of India లో కూడా వ్రాశారు. అందులో సామ్రాజ్యవాదము మనకు పనికిరాదు, మనకు కావల సింది ప్రజాస్వామికము, సామ్రాజ్యవాదులు మనకు వ్యతిరేకులు అని అన్నారు. కాని ఈనాడు మనదేశము కామన్వెల్తులో మెంబరుగా చేరింది. ఒకసారి Round Table Conference లో మహాత్మాగాంధీగారిని మీరు ఎవరు ప్రతినిధి అని అడిగితే, నేను దరిద్ర నారాయణుని ప్రతినిధి అని ఆయన చెప్పారు. మనదేశానికి చిన్నగా ఉండవలసినది బ్రిటిష్ రాజ్య కిరీటంకాదని అభిప్రాయపడినారు. మనదేశానికి సామ్రాజ్యవాద దేశమైన బ్రిటిష్ దేశంలో సంబంధం ఉండరాదు. Commonwealth లో చేరడమనేది మన ఆశయాలకు, సిద్ధాంతాలకు, ప్రజాస్వామిక విధానానికి విరుద్ధమైనటువంటిది. ఇప్పుడు మనదేశము Commonwealth మెంబరుగా చేరింది అంటే, మన గుర్తు గాంధీగారు ఇచ్చినటువంటి దరిద్ర నారాయణుడా, లేక Commonwealth యొక్క గుర్తు ఆయిన్ స్టువంటి రాఫ్ఫీ గారి కిరీటమా ? మనము మహాత్మాగాంధిగారి సిద్ధాంతాలకు, ఆశయాలకు కట్టుబడి ఉండవలెనంటే మనదేశము నిజమైన ప్రజాస్వామిక దేశము కావలెనంటే, మనదేశానికి ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యాన్ని సంపాదించవలెనంటే మనము గాంధిగారి చెప్పినటువంటి దరిద్ర నారాయణుని చిహ్నాన్ని అవలంబించవలసి యుంటుంది. యు.డి.ఎఫ్. మొదట స్థాపింపబడినపుడు వారికి మంత్రివర్గము వస్తుందని వారు అనుకోలేదు. కాని వారి ఆశయము దేశంలో సుస్థిర ప్రజాస్వామికాన్ని నెలకొల్పడమే. ఇప్పుడు యు.డి.ఎఫ్.లో కమ్యూనిష్టులుంటున్నారని అంటున్నారు. ఈనాడు కమ్యూనలనబడే వారు చాలామంది ఆనాడు కాంగ్రెసులో ఉండేవారు. అడిలో కాంగ్రెస్ ఒక యు.డి.ఎఫ్. గా ఉండేది. ఆనాడు అందులో మిల్వాదులు, ఆవివాదులు, ఇతర ఆనేక దృక్పథాలవారు ఉండేవారు. ఆనాడు విదేశీయుల చేతులనుంచి హిందూదేశాన్ని దాస్య విముక్తిచేయడమనే ప్రధానాశయంతోటే వివిధ దృక్పథాలవారు కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థలో చేరినారు. ఆదేవిధంగా ఈనాడు పెట్టుబడిదారులు భూస్వాములు మొదలైనవారిలో నిండిపున్న కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థయొక్క అధికారంనుంచి ఈ రాష్ట్రాన్ని తప్పించే ఉద్దేశంతో కాంగ్రెస్‌ను ఎన్నికలలో ఓడించివచ్చిన వివిధ పార్టీలకుగుంపే యు.డి.ఎఫ్. అంతేకాకుండా మా యు.డి.ఎఫ్. యొక్క కార్యక్రమము, విధానాలు ప్రజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతాలపైన ఆధారపడియున్నవి. మేముకూడా ఆ రోజులలో దేశ స్వాతంత్ర్యముకొరకు కాంగ్రెస్‌లో ఉండి ఆందరితోపాటు ఆనేక త్యాగాలుచేసి నానా పాట్లుపడి కృషి చేసినవారమే అయితే, ప్రస్తుతము కాంగ్రెస్‌లో ఉన్నటువంటి వారు కొంతమంది నిన్న, మొన్నటిదాకా కాంగ్రెస్ విధానాలకు వ్యతిరేకంగా కృషిచేస్తూ యుండినటువంటి వారున్నారు. సర్ ముత్తయ్య చెట్టియార్ గారు మొన్నటివరకు కాంగ్రెస్‌ను oppose చేస్తూ వారికి వ్యతిరేకంగా నడుచుకొంటూ యుండినటువంటివారు ఈ దినము కాంగ్రెస్ పక్ష సభ్యుడనిపించుకొంటున్నాడు. యు.డి.ఎఫ్. లో ఆనేక రాజకీయ పార్టీలు, భిన్న వర్గీయులున్నారని విమర్శించు కాంగ్రెస్ సభ్యులు, బహుశా ముత్తయ్య చెట్టియార్ వంటివారు కాంగ్రెస్‌లో ఇప్పుడు చేరియున్నారని మరచిపోయారు కాబోలు. ఈనాటి కాంగ్రెస్ వారితో మాకు విభేదాలు రావటానికి ముఖ్యమైన కారణం ఒకటున్నది. మా బోటివాళ్లు ఆనేకమంది కాంగ్రెస్‌లో చాలాకాలము ఉన్నారు. మేమంతా ప్రతి పోరాటంలోకూడా పాల్గొ

పాల్గొన్నాము. అనేక సంవత్సరాలపాటు జైల్లలో ఉన్నాము. మహాత్మాజీ ఆజ్ఞలు జాడల్లో నడచాము. కాని, స్వాతంత్ర్యం సంపాదించిన తరువాత కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ రాజకీయ రూపమే మారిపోయింది. త్యాగులు, నిస్వార్థులు అయిన అనాటి కాంగ్రెస్ వారికన్నా నేడు కాంగ్రెస్‌లో పెద్దపెద్ద భూస్వాములు, పెట్టుబడిదారులు అభివృద్ధి నిరోధకులు హెచ్చుగా ఉన్నారు. స్వాతంత్ర్యము రానిముందు జవహర్‌లాల్ నెహ్రూ గారు సంఘంలో విప్లవాత్మకమైన మార్పులు రావాలని పదేపదే చెబుతూ ఉండేవారు. ఆర్థిక రంగంలోనూ, ముఖ్యంగా వ్యవసాయ రంగంలోనూ ఎన్నో మార్పులు చేయాలని ఆయన అభిలషించేవారు. సంఘము నేడు మారుతూ ఉండాలని ఎప్పుడూ ఒకేమాదిరి స్థబ్ధంగా ఉండరాదని ఆయన అనేవారు. Status quo ను నిలబెట్టుటకు ప్రయత్నం చేసేవారు. అభివృద్ధి నిరోధకులకన్న ఆయన వెల్లడించేవారు. మార్పు అనేది సంఘ జీవితంలో సహజమైనదని ఆయన చెప్పేవారు. ఈ విషయాలనే ఆయన ఉద్గ్రంథాలలో వ్రాశారు. ఆ అభిప్రాయాలే, ఈనాడు మేము కాంగ్రెసు సంస్థను పదవిలో వానికి ప్రత్యర్థులుగా ఇక్కడ నిలబడటానికి ప్రేరేపించాయి. నేటి కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ భూస్వాముల సంస్థగామారిపోయింది. సర్వజనాంగీకారమైన ప్రజా సామాన్యానికి శుభకరమైన విషయాలంటే కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ వివరించుకొనే పరిస్థితి వీర్పడింది. పాత పద్ధతులు, భూజగట్టిన భూస్వామ్య విధానం అది సిర్మూలించక పోయింది. దేశకాలపాత్రానుగుణంగా విధానాలలోనూ మార్పులురావాలి. ప్రపంచకంలో ఎన్నో మార్పులు జరుగుతున్నాయి. ప్రజాశక్తులు విజృంభిస్తున్నాయి. ఈ మార్పును గుర్తించకుండా కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ అభివృద్ధికి గుదిబండ తయారైంది. ఈ స్థబ్ధతనుంచి ఈ ప్రభుత్వము మేలుకోవాలి. అంతవరకు కాంగ్రెసును ప్రజలు అభిమానించరు.

"ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు యు.డి.ఎఫ్. ను కలగూరగంప పార్టీ అని అవహేళనం చేస్తున్నారు. వారు ఒక విషయం మాత్రం గమనించాలి. యు.డి.ఎఫ్. లోని సభ్యులమైన మేము సాధారణంగా ఎన్నికలలో ఏ పార్టీ ticket పైనగాని స్వతంత్రులుగా గాని విజయం పొందినప్పటికీ, మా ఆశయం అభివృద్ధి నిరోధకమైన కాంగ్రెసును ఓడించుటే అని గుర్తించాలి. ఆదే సంకల్పంతో మేము ఎన్నికలలో పోటీచేశాము. జయించాము. ఇప్పుడు ఇక్కడ కాంగ్రెస్ పార్టీని ఎదిరిస్తున్నాము. కాని ఈనాడు మావలె కాంగ్రెస్‌ను ఎదిరించి జయించిన సభ్యులు కొందరు ఇప్పుడు కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని బలపరుస్తున్నట్లు తెలుస్తున్నది. బహుశా వారు వారి అభిప్రాయాలను, ఎన్నికలలో ప్రజలకు చెప్పిన మాటలను మరిచిపోయారని అనుకొంటున్నాను. అధికారంలోవున్న వర్గమే ఎప్పుడు విజ్ఞాలయంవలె ఉంటుంది. ఆ విజ్ఞాలయానికి వెళ్ళినవారికి విందో ఫలహారం లభిస్తుంది అలాగే అధికారం ఉన్నవారిని ఆశ్రయించడానికి అనేకమంది ఆపేక్షించవచ్చు. కాని మా యు.డి.ఎఫ్. శివాలయం వంటిది. ఇక్కడ విభూతి, మారేడు పత్రులే తప్ప తినుబండారాలేవి లభ్యము కావు. ప్రసాదాలలోసాని ప్రాకులాడక ప్రజల కిచ్చినమాట చెల్లించుకుండని వారిని కోరుతున్నాను. అధికారమనేది అందరిని ఆశ్రయిస్తుంది. ఆ మోహాన్ధత్వమే ఆ అధికార మన్న మే కాంగ్రెసు ఈనాడు అత్యధికమైపోటానికి కారణము. అధికారాలలోసాని, ప్రసాదాలలోసాని ప్రాకులాడకూడదు.

"మన రాజ్యాంగ నిర్మాతలు ఒకరకమైన అలంకార శాస్త్రము అవలంబించినట్లు కనిపిస్తుంది. అన్నిరకాల అలంకారాలనుంచి కొంత తీసుకొని, వాటినన్నిటిని కలిపి ముద్దచేసి ఒక విక్రితాకారాన్ని తయారుచేసినట్టుగావుంది మన రాజ్యాంగము. అమెరికా రాజ్యాంగంలోనుంచి కొంత, ఆస్ట్రేలియా రాజ్యాంగములోనుంచి

కొంత, బ్రిటన్, ఐర్లాండు దేశాలనుంచి మరికొంత తీసుకొని కలిపి పాకంపెట్టి వంట చేసినట్లుంది ఈ రాజ్యాంగం. దీనిని అమలుపరిచే పోల్చాలలో లేక సాంబార్‌లో పోల్చాలలో నా కేమి తెలియడంలేదు. ఇటువంటి : లగాపులగపు రాజ్యాంగం గనుకనే దేశము నానాటికి అధ్వాన్నమైపోతూంది. ఒకసారి ఒక రాజ్యాంగ శాస్త్రవేత్త ప్రభుత్వమంటే **rich class** యొక్క **working committee** ధనికుల కార్యవర్గ సభ అని వర్ణించాడు. మన ప్రభుత్వాలుకూడా ఆలాటివే. పేద ప్రజల ప్రతినిధులకు ఈ ప్రభుత్వాలలో అవకాశంలేదు.

"రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు గొప్ప **psychologist** అని చెప్పాను. సమయాను సారము ముందుముందుగా రాగోపు ప్రజల **reactions** ఆలోచించి కావలసిన చర్యలు తీసుకొంటూయుంటారు. '**Rubs ou the wrong side**' అనే న్యాయాన్ని అనుసరించి ఇప్పుడు బడ్జెట్ తీర్మానము రాబోతున్నదని, ఈ సమయంలో కంట్రోళ్ళు తీసివేస్తే ఆమాయకమైనటువంటి ప్రజానీకము తృప్తిపడుతుందని ఇక వారి గొడవ తీరిపోతుందని, ఆ విధంగా ఈ బడ్జెట్ ఆమోదాన్ని సులభంగా సంపాదించవచ్చునని ఈ కంట్రోళ్ళను సమయోచితంగా లేపివేశారు. ఇంక వీరు ఇప్పుడు వ్యయంచేసిన బడ్జెట్ చూస్తామంటే, ఈ బడ్జెట్‌లో లోటు వచ్చిందని చెప్పి బీద ప్రజానీకంపై అనేక రకాల పన్నులు విధించారు. ఇప్పటికే ప్రజానీకమంతా పన్నుల భారంతో క్రుంగిపోతుంటే ఇవి చాలవని చెప్పి, పెద్దపెద్ద భూస్వాములను పదవిపెట్టి, మరల ఈ పేద ప్రజానీకంపైనే పడుతున్నారు. ఈ విధంగా ఈ బడ్జెట్ నిర్మాణానికి ఒక నీతి నియమమంగాని, ఒక పద్ధతిగాని లేకుండా బడ్జెట్‌లో లోటు వచ్చిందని ప్రజల స్థితి గతులు గమనించకుండా ఏదోవిధంగా ఆవకతవకలుచేసి భర్తి చేశారు.

"ఇక ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్ర విషయంగురించి మనవిచేస్తాను. వినాటినుంచో భాషా రాష్ట్రాలను విర్వరుస్తామని కాంగ్రెసు ప్రజలకు వాగ్దానం చేసింది. ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం మిస్తామని చెప్పారు. **Three-man-committee** కొన్ని సూచనలుకూడ చేసింది, ఆ సూచనలను ప్రభుత్వం ఆమలు జరుపలేదు. పైగా ఆంధ్రలో సహకారిని, రాయల సీమ అని విభేదాలు కల్పించడానికి తన శక్తినంతా ఉపయోగిస్తూంది. కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థచేసిన వాగ్దానాలను మన్నించకపోవడంవల్లనే కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వాలు ప్రజాభి మానాన్ని కోల్పోతున్నాయి. ఆంధ్రుల జాతీయ ఆశయాన్ని ఆణగద్రొక్కాలని ప్రయత్నిస్తున్న ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఎంతోకాలం మనగలుడదు. ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం కావాలనే ఆంధ్రుడెవడు ఈ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని బలపరచలేడు.

5 p.m. "తరువాత క్రిష్ణా-పెన్నార్ ప్రాజెక్టు విషయం మనవిచేస్తాను. రంగా రెడ్డిగారు ఈ మధ్య కర్నూలు జిల్లాలో మాట్లాడుతూ, క్రిష్ణా-పెన్నారు ప్రాజెక్టు తప్పక నిర్మించ బడుతుంది అని అన్నారు. ఇక్కడ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు రంగా రెడ్డిగారి అభి ప్రాయము కొంతవరకు సరి అయినదేనని అన్నారు. కాని రంగా రెడ్డిగారు మద్రాసుకు తిరిగివచ్చి తాను కర్నూలులో క్రిష్ణా-పెన్నార్ ప్రాజెక్టు గురించి చెప్పిన విషయం పై విధంగా కాదన్నారు. ఢిల్లీనుంచి ప్రకటింపబడిన వార్తలను చూస్తుంటే ఇంకా రోసలా కమీషను ఎటువంటి రిపోర్టు పంపలేదని తెలుస్తూంది. ఆంతేకాకుండా మద్రాసు ప్రభుత్వము క్రిష్ణా-పెన్నారు కావాలని పట్టుబడుతూందని కూడ కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వ మంత్రిగారు చెప్పారు. క్రిష్ణా-పెన్నారు ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్మిస్తే ఆంధ్ర దేశానికి తీరని నష్టం కలిగించినవారవుతారు. క్రిష్ణా తీరవాసుల చైనేటియక హక్కులను గుర్తించకుండా దక్షిణాదినవున్న జిల్లాలకు క్రిష్ణా జిల్లాలను తగ్గించకపోవ డం ఏమి న్యాయమో గమనించండి. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు ముఖ్యంగా ఆంధ్రులకు తమిళులకు వివాదాలు తెచ్చిపెట్టేదే. ఆంధ్రదేశములోని నదీజలాలు ఆంధ్రులకు ఉపయోగపడ

కుండా చేసే ప్రయత్నమే ఇది. కావేరి జలాలను మరో ప్రాంతానికి తరలించుకు పోతామంటే ఏ తమిళుడైన అంగీకరిస్తాడేమో ఆలోచించండి. క్రిష్ణా తీరవాసుల అవసరాలను గమనించకుండా క్రిష్ణా జలాలను ఇతర ప్రాంతాలకు తీసుకుపోవడం అన్యాయం. క్రిష్ణా నీటిని దక్షిణాదినఉన్న సౌత్ ఆర్కాటుకు తీసుకువెళ్లడం అంత అవసరం కాదు. దక్షిణ ఆర్కాటులో భూగర్భంలో ఎంతో నీరు ఉంది. ఆ నీటిని పైకి తీస్తే ఎంతో లాభముంది. ఆ జిల్లాలో లిగ్నేట్ నీటి పొరల మధ్య ఉన్నది. ఆ నీటిని తోడి వేస్తేనేగాని లిగ్నేట్‌ను పైకి తీయడానికి వీలులేదు. ప్రకృతి దక్షిణ ఆర్కాటు జిల్లా ప్రజలకు రెండు మహా ఖనులను ఇచ్చింది. ఒకటి నీరు, రెండవది లిగ్నేట్. ఆ నీటిని తోడటానికి 50 వేల కిలోవాట్టుల శక్తి కావాలి. ఈ శక్తిని ఉత్పత్తి చేయడానికి కావలసినంత బొగ్గు అక్కడ ఉంది. ఆ బొగ్గును ఉపయోగించి నీరును బయటికి తోడివేయండి. నీరును తోడి బొగ్గు తొవ్వండి. ఆ ప్రాంతమంతా సస్యశ్యామలమై నిత్య కల్యాణము, పచ్చతోరణమవడానికి ఇంకేమి కావాలో నాకేమి అర్థం కావటంలేదు. ఎక్కడో నాలుగువందల మైళ్ల దూరానఉన్న క్రిష్ణానీటిని క్రిష్ణా తీరవాసుల కోర్కెలను మన్నించకుండా తెచ్చి దక్షిణ ఆర్కాటు ప్రజలకు మేలు కలుగజేస్తామంటే అందులో పురుషార్థమేమిటో గమనించండి. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు ఆంధ్రులకు తీరని నష్టం కలుగజేస్తుంది. ఆంధ్ర ప్రజాసామాన్యాన్ని ఈవిధంగా బాధించడంకన్నా ఎక్కడవున్న సదుపాయాలను అక్కడ సద్వినియోగం చేయడం మంచిది. సిద్ధేశ్వరం, నందికొండ, పులిచింతల ప్రాజెక్టులు కట్టండి. క్రిష్ణా తీరవాసుల సహజమైన, న్యాయమైన హక్కులను మన్నించండి. నందికొండవద్ద ఆనకట్ట కట్టినచో లక్షలాది ఎకరముల భూమిని సాగులోనికి దీసుకొని వచ్చుటే కాకుండా, 50, 60 వేల కిలోవాట్ల విద్యుచ్ఛక్తిని ఉత్పత్తి అవుతుంది. దానితో దక్షిణ ఆర్కాటు జిల్లాలోని లిగ్నైటును త్రవ్వవచ్చు. దక్షిణ ఆర్కాటులోఉన్న లిగ్నైటును త్రవ్వినట్లయితే దక్షిణాది జిల్లాలకు కృష్ణా నీటిని తీసుకొనివెళ్ల నవసరం ఉండదు. ఏ ప్రాంతప్రజలయొక్క అభిమానాన్ని పోగొట్టుకో నక్కరలేదు. ఈ విషయాలను గమనించకుండా క్రిష్ణా-పెన్నారు ప్రాజెక్టును నిర్మించటానికి ప్రయత్నించే ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఏఆంధ్రుడువిశ్వశించడు విశ్వసించలేడు.

" ఇంక, ఎన్. జి.ఓ. ల విషయములో చూస్తే, వారు సంవత్సరముల తర్బడి వారి జీతములు, అలవెన్సులు హెచ్చుచేయవలసిందని మొరపెట్టుకొంటుయుంటే, రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి ప్రభుత్వము వచ్చిన తరువాత ఏదో నామమాత్రముగా వారి కంటినీళ్లు తుడుచుటకు కొంత విద్యాసౌకర్యాలు, చికిత్సా సౌకర్యాలు ఇచ్చి గొప్పగా మేలు చేసినట్లు చెప్పుచున్నారు. కాని ఈ స్వల్ప సౌకర్యాలు వారి నిత్యజీవితావసరాలకు ఏమి తోడ్పడవు. సరికదా, ఏదో ఈ సౌకర్యాలైనా కలుగజేశామనుకొంటే మరుసటి దినమును దీనే రెట్రెంచిమెంట్ ప్రారంభంచేశారు. కొంతమంది ఎన్.జి.ఓ. లను తీసివేసినారని మిగతా ఎన్. జి.ఓ. లు తమ అసంతృప్తి తెలుపకుండా చేయుటకుగాను ఎన్. జి. ఓలకు విద్యా సౌకర్యాలు కలుగచేసినారని ప్రజలు, ఉద్యోగులు అనుకొంటున్నారు. ఇదే వారు ఎన్.జి ఓ. లకు చేసిన మేలు.

" ప్రజలకు ఏ ఘనకార్యాలు జేశామని రాజగోపాలచారిగారు తనమీద విశ్వాసమున్నదాలేదా అని మమ్ములనడుగుచున్నారో నాకు తెలియుడంలేదు. ఇతరుల కార్యక్రమాలు, విధానాలు-అవి ఎంత ప్రజాహితకరమైనవియైనటువంటివైనా, ఎంతమంచివైనా, వారికి నచ్చవు. పరిపాలనాధికారమంతా మొత్తముగా వారి చేతులలో నేడుంచుకొని వారి ఇష్టానుసారమే జరుగవలెనని అనుకొంటున్నారు. ఇతరుల సలహాలు ఒప్పుకోమంటారు గాని అందరికి తమపై నమ్మకము విశ్వాసము ఉండవలెనంటారు. యు. డి. ఎఫ్. యొక్క విధానాలు, కార్యక్రమాలు ఎంతమంచివైనప్పటికి వీరికి నచ్చవు. సంపూర్ణ రాజ

[Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishniah] [1st July 1952

కీయాధికారము వీరి స్వాధీనములో ఉండవలెనంటారు. ఇదంతా చూస్తే వీరిది నియంతృత్వ సిద్ధాంతమే అని చెప్పకతప్పదు. ఇటువంటి వీరు విశ్వాసుంచేసినటువంటి మంత్రివర్గము పూర్తిగా ప్రజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతానికి విరుద్ధమైనటువంటిది. యు.డి.ఎఫ్. పార్టీవారికి అత్యధిక మెజారిటీ ఉన్నప్పటికీ, మైనార్టి పార్టీ అయినటువంటి కాంగ్రెసు పార్టీతోనే మంత్రివర్గము విశ్వాసుంచేశారంటే, ఇది People's Ministry అని అనడానికి వీలువేదు. అటువంటప్పుడు రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు నామీద, నా మంత్రివర్గంమీద విశ్వాసమున్నదా అని ఎట్లు అడుగగలరో ప్రజలెట్లు ప్రభుత్వమునకై విశ్వాసముంచగలరో ఆలోచించుకోవచ్చు. ఇటువంటి అనవసర తీర్మానాలవల్లనం చర్చలవల్ల public money వృథాగా ఖర్చుచేయడం, సభ్యులకు టి.ఏ. లు చావడంతప్ప ప్రజలకు మాత్రము మేలుకలుగదు. కనుక ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానాన్ని వ్యతిరేకిస్తున్నామని చెప్పుతూ ఇంతటితో విరమిస్తున్నాను.

'When wilt Thou save the people?
O, God of Mercy; when?
Not Kings alone, but nations!
Not thrones and crowns, but men!
Flowers of Thy Heart, O God, are they;
Let them not pass, like weeds, away—
Their heritage a Sunless day:
God save the people!''

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Confidence Motion comes at a particular period in our history. It is not without significance that it comes after the Budget has been presented. The Budget makes the Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam, almost forces him, to say that our economic position in India and particularly in Madras State is in a very bad condition. But he does not tell us how the present problems particularly in the export trade, in the case of the unemployed and in the case of the falling purchasing power are going to be solved by him. He wants a blank cheque for himself and wants that all these burdens should be shoved on to the common man. That is the gist of his Budget speech and Sri Rajagopalachari wants complete power under the cloak of an emergency. This has been, in fact, not merely our experience but the experience of other countries too. There have been dictators—fascist dictators,—who almost created a sense of emergency, a sense of a very great impending danger in the minds of ordinary men. They told them, 'There is a great danger here again. The Bolsheviks are around the corner. They will come and devour us. Therefore, you give me all powers and I am going to save every one of you and the entire nation.' That has been the tactics of Hitler; it has been the tactics of General Franco. Every time Hitler wanted to have a war he used to have a plebiscite. Even the Government that heads the French nation repeatedly asks for a Vote of Confidence because it is having an anti-national policy—the very same policies that are being pursued by Sri Rajagopalachari. Sri Rajagopalachari wants to create in us the very same sort of an emergency and the very same kind of anti-Communist phobia, and he wants

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to tell us that he alone and no other person is going to solve this problem. We are here to solve all these problems including the economic problem by the most democratic means, and our Constitution actually lays down that democracy is its corner-stone. Now, Sri Rajagopalachari and his Ministry have actually indicated the policies that they are going to pursue. They are nothing but anti-democratic policies. Now there is a great demand on the part of the bourgeois in South India that they should take away all their burdens and put them on to the shoulders of the working class. They want to cut their wages. They want perhaps to see that a good number of men are rendered unemployed. Sri C. Rajagopalachari is already leading them. He has already told us that he is going to render unemployed a number of people in the Civil Supplies Department. That is how he is going to show us the way and lead the economy of this country, and because he is going to lead the economy of the country in such unpopular paths it is going to raise a lot of discontent, and to meet that discontent he wants emergency powers and confidence in him so that he can assume a dictatorial role. That is the precise meaning of the Confidence Motion. But, apart from this, let us know what Sri Rajagopalachari is.

" Mr. Rajagopalachari is no stranger to us. If I remember aright, he is taking part in politics from 1920 or so. Mr. Rajagopalachari has been throughout an opportunist of the very first rank. He has been telling us here in the Assembly that the Communists are his ' enemy No. 1 '. During 1942–43 he was the greatest friend of the Communists. He would attend all their meetings then. I am told that in one of the meetings sponsored by the Communists, Mr. Rajagopalachari had said that there were two plans, one was the plan of Herr Hitler and the other was the Socialist plan adopted by the Soviet Union. Now I would like to know under what plan—the fascist or the socialist—the Budget can be classified. Now we are asked to entrust our destinies to such an opportunist who would so easily sail with the wind. I believe that the destinies of our people ought not to be entrusted to such people. 5-15 p.m.

" The very first announcement, Mr. Rajagopalachari made before the Members of his party was that the separation of the judiciary from the executive was something bad and that he did not like it. The hon. Members may know the history of the separation of the judiciary from the executive. Mr. R. C. Dutt who was a great patriot and who was the author of several great books which inspired all patriots was the first person who said, ' If democracy is to function in India it is only possible by separating the judiciary from the executive.' Unfortunately 150 years of enslavement have bred in us a number of slavish ideas which we will have to get rid of by a thorough judicial reform. I will give you one instance. In India men are not punished for what they do but for what the police imagine they could have done. That is the whole tragedy in India. Policemen in India are also supposed to be astrologers and soothsayers. They went into our brains and

found that we were going to have a demonstration. Even thoughts which are interpreted as having existed in our brains are also crimes and that is the biggest atrocity in our law. On that basis a number of people were arrested. Many of us, on this side of the House, have almost been ruined by this policy. It was Mr. Saxena, when he was talking on the Preventive Dentention Bill, who said that politicians in India were made to rot in jails, each for at least five years. That is the whole tragedy here. I ask, in all seriousness, are the Members of the Government nationalists? Do they claim to belong to the Indian National Congress that carried on a struggle for emancipation? Are R. C. Dutt and the great men who came after him who demanded the separation of the judiciary from the executive Communists? This principle of separation of the judiciary from the executive finds a place in the very Constitution of India. Why then do they oppose it? Actually the reason can be found in the very pronouncements of Mr. Rajagopalachari himself. Mr. Rajagopalachariar has got a very great fondness for the Police. In fact he said on one occasion,—I think it was on the occasion of his address at a Police Officers' Conference,—that but for the Police—I think I will be more correct if I say, 'but for the C.I.D. and Special Branch Police'—the Congress regime would not have existed. We know, as a matter of fact, this Special Branch has been the cause of the ruin of our own political movement. It was for that reason the Congress opposed the Rowlatt Act in those old days, and the fight for democratic rights was the corner-stone of our national existence. Mr. Rajagopalachariar wants that the judiciary must be controlled by the Police, and this thing, we must note about him.

"In his address at the meeting of the Congress Legislature Party, Mr. Rajagopalachariar said that the bureaucracy—by bureaucracy I mean Government officials—was the greatest blessing to the Indian nation, and that no Member of the Legislature should interfere with the working of a bureaucrat. There was a time when it was said that there should be no Indian Civil Service. There was also a time when it was said that the Heavens would fall if there were no Indian Civil Service Officers, and that wherever an Indian Civil Service official was posted everything would be all right, and that if anybody interpellated about their conduct in the Legislatures or unnecessarily interfered with their work, the whole administration would be spoiled. I know, Sir, among Indian Civil Service officers, there were very many great men. Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao was one such person. There were among them patriots also. But from 1939, a new type of Civil Service is being bred in India. The officials think that they are not responsible to the people at all. In the old days, the Deputy Collectors, the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies, the District Collectors, and even the Registrar of Co-operative Societies like Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao used to go to the people and discuss with them the policies of the Government. In fact they were half patriots themselves. But from 1939 onwards emergency powers were given to these

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officials and they were told that their will was law, that there was no appeal against any action taken by them and that there was nobody to question them. Anybody who questioned their actions was sent to jail either under the Defence of India Act or under the Preventive Detention Act; and many other sections like Section 151, Criminal Procedure Code, were also used for this purpose. The result was that there was an autocracy of the officialdom. Unless and until this autocracy of the officialdom is got rid of, the Constitution is going to be a mere scrap of paper. As I understand it, the people of our country under the present Constitution have got sovereign rights. The Constitution does not deny any right to anybody so long as they are citizens of India. I ask the Gentlemen on the Government side to read the speeches of our great national leaders. It was Mr. Gopalakrishna Gokhale who said, 'With this wooden bureaucracy, with this soulless bureaucracy no kind of progress is possible.' From 1940 onwards another type of officials had been added on to the already existing wooden bureaucracy. Whatever this new type of officials do is law. I ask in all seriousness, is one man's rule law? That is exactly the way how District Administration is being carried on. I know in my own district of Nellore a particular District Magistrate well merited the odium of the people including some members of the Congress Party, but a Member of the Board of Revenue who came to enquire about his conduct found him to be the best man living on earth. I ask, are these officials thinking of themselves as the old Nawabs? Are they administering law, I ask? Mr. Rajagopalachari was telling us that there is, on one side, law and order and, on the other side, chaos. I ask Mr. Rajagopalachari, 'Does he want this kind of law investing the bureaucrat with autocratic powers, with powers which nobody will be able to question unless one wants to risk his own personal liberty?' The Government have ousted the jurisdiction of the Courts in almost all the pieces of legislation they had passed with the result that whatever the officials do is supreme.

"There is another thing with regard to these officials or bureaucrats. Most of the correspondence they carry on is treated as confidential. Nothing they do is public. I say that under a democratic regime there should be no correspondence which is treated as secret. Why are the Government afraid of anything becoming public? The administration will become pure only when Government do everything in public. I will give you an instance. There are the District Urban Co-operative Banks. The Registrar tries to dump a number of his cousins and persons who are his friends on these banks as Secretaries and so on, by just saying that the banks are working badly and that they require departmental supervision. If a bank does not take a particular Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies suggested by the Registrar as its Secretary, serious consequences are threatened such as the refusal of the loans by the Provincial Bank. Thouh the Registrar says that he does not want to send any of his men, still in the D.O. letters he asks the banks to take the men recommended by him as Secretaries and so on. This confidential

correspondence, so long as Government encourage it will ruin democracy. If the Constitutions were to function properly a new kind of set-up has to be introduced. On of the important things which we on our side are not going to tolerate is the Hon. Minister telling us while answering questions, 'that it is not in public interest to disclose the facts . . .' This land belongs to us all and nobody can have a monopoly of anything.

"Mr. Rajagopalachari thinks that every one of us is corrupt. Previously Congressmen used to go to the officials for permits, etc. That is why Mr. Rajagopalachariar thinks that all men are corrupt and that there are no pure men in the country. We had our forefathers, very great men. We had our forefather Mahatma Gandhi. We had our forefather Ramakrishna Paramahamsa. I ask, 'Is it honest nationalism to say that all men in India will be corrupt and therefore there should be no interference with the District Administration?' I say that Mr. Rajagopalachariar is not the person who should lead this country or for the matter of that this State at this particular time.

"Mr. Rajagopalachari has a very great fondness for the Police. We have found that the Police always invent things. If a person were to possess even a copy of Bepin Chandra Pal's speeches, his house would be raided, and every time there was a raid in and around the place where he lived, his house would also be included for a raid. I ask, how long do the Government want this regime to continue? Are the Police the rulers of this land?

5-30 p.m. The position has become so bad that the Police are not doing their jobs properly. I would really say that the Police in India have been the ruin of our country.

'Sir, I will give you some instances. When Mr. Rajagopalachari's Ministry came in 1937, we had a great amount of love for his Ministry. At that time precisely communal riots broke out in Nellore. I asked, why? It was said that it was fomented by the Police, because they said that the Congress Ministry was inefficient, it was a Hindu Ministry and that it would not bring about communal harmony. That is the way how the Police created a big havoc.

"There is another thing I would like to ask. There was the Criminal Tribes Act and it was a very inhuman Act, and not to have repealed it earlier reflects upon democracy. Under that Act they called men criminals. That was a most atrocious act. It was repealed not by Communist agitation but by the agitation of the Congressmen themselves. Immediately the Act was repealed, we know what happened. The policemen said that robberies increased after the Criminal Tribes Act was repealed. Therefore they wanted to sabotage the Congress movement in the country. There is also one other thing. The Police people will come and say, 'Well, the U.D.F. is coming and therefore we must have law and order strictly enforced.' But, I ask, is there law and order to-day at any rate so far as this State is concerned? I know that in Nellore pick-pockets go about freely in open day-light armed with knives and swords and even at 6 p.m. when ladies go

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about in the streets with their jewels on, these pick-pockets come and snatch away their jewels and if anybody intervenes, he is threatened with the sword. That is the sort of thing that is going on in Nellore. And Sir, for the last six months in Nellore, we are not going out into the streets after 9 o'clock in the night. In fact, the position is such that one Assistant Editor of an anti-Communist Weekly told me, 'Well, Mr. Krishna Rao, you are going to the Legislative Asembly; please see that you make the streets of Nellore safe after 9 p.m.' I understand the same is the position in Anantapur. Mr. Nagi Reddi told me that the other day six houses were raided in Anantapur. In fact, when the burglars are confronted by anybody they show the sword and threaten their life. That is the way things are going on in the mufassal. I sometimes used to think that when such is the case, why is it they bring in Communist phobia. I hope, Sir, you will excuse me if I say that it is perhaps engineered by a big gangster ring. I think they are having their trade unfettere. You must know that these gangsters are a part of a big ring that is working. In fact, many people in Nellore told me that they live in Nellore, go to Madras with their loot of jewels and other things and there they are melted and the whole thing is sold. I am also told that they have got a lot of influence in the Secretariat. I say, Sir, that if law and order is to be effective, people must have the right to go freely and safely into the streets at any time of the day or night. But they do not have that right, because the police are creating all kinds of cock and bull stories. Everything is attributed to the separation of judiciary and the police. The police say, 'what shall we do, the judiciary is acquitting a number of cases. Therefore, we have absolutely no discretion and we cannot do anything.' It seems they are non-co-operating. So, whether it is the Congress Party or any other party, they should not rely on the service of the police, because I have great doubts about the police. For instance, Mr. Sanjivi Pillai was trained in America and is an agent of the American Government and if he had the power, who knows what he will do; he may even sell our country to America."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Order, order."

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" That is the position here and I would really like most of our friends to know that it is this maintenance of law and order that is causing a lot of disturbance. In fact, women are not willing to go to cinemas for the second show. Therefore, I say if there is chaos and anarchy, it is the Congress regime which is fomenting anarchy, disturbance and chaos . . ."

SRI N. MAHALINGAM :—" On a point of order, Sir. I want to know whether the Inspector-General of Police who is a servant of the Government can be accused of being an agent of the American Government? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" That is why at the time the hon. Member made the remark I called him to order."

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" Then, Sir, everybody would like law and order to be maintained. Some people probably think that if the U.D.F. form the Government it will bring about anarchy in the State. As a matter of fact, it is the present Government that are creating it. The British Government always said that law and order should not be enforced here at all. I would here refer to an incident which happened in Chittagong some time ago. There was a case where a Sub-Inspector of Police was shot dead. Immediately, they asked a number of Muslim hooligans to go into the houses of Hindus and they raped the ladies and did all sorts of havoc. I ask, whether such things do not occur here. Is this the tradition that is to be followed by the police? The Britishtradition was to treat the thief better than they treated the nationalists. Similarly, what our Government do is to treat the Communists as murderers and treat the murderer well. For example, if a murderer refuses to take food, the District Superintendent of Police tells him ' Please take food '. I ask, how many destitute men are begged like that in our street. Whereas, I say, murderers are treated well in our regime. Therefore, I say it is this conception of law and order that has landed us in this condition, because you follow too much the British tradition. That is why you are finding yourself in a morass. This is the state of affairs in the mufassal and I do not know how things are in Madras. In Nellore and in many of the district towns, life during the nights is becoming so difficult. As a matter of fact, if anybody knocks at the door during nights, we refuse to open, because after all he may be a burglar. That is how things are happening there. And many people tell different stories. It is said that these pick-pockets have got a number of political leaders as their sharers. It looks as if there is a partnership among them. They say that these gangsters share the spoils with some of the people who are pulling the strings from behind. That is what many people tell me. That is why I say this is not the kind of regime that will be appreciated or commended.

" Now, let us take, for example the question of Prohibition. In all my life I have never seen men drinking as they do to-day. In fact, I used to go into the villages and I found that people drank even during the middle of the day. I could, of course, conceive of people drinking at nights and coming to a *Harikatha* smelling arrack. Now-a-days whenever people go into the roads, whether at mid-day or at any other time of the day and talk to people, you will find them smelling arrack. Moreover, I have heard people in Nellore saying that there is nothing more paying than illicit distillation, because it will give them 80 to 100 per cent dividend. Naturally, it has become the biggest business. We do not know whether there is a big secret company dealing in illicit distillation. So, Sir, when the Government are not able to enforce the Prohibition law, what is the good of that law? If it is not being enforced, but its violation is tolerated, I ask, are you the respector of law and order? If you want to maintain law and order such laws should be enforced by getting the co-operation of the people as well. Actually the Prohibition police are saying

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that if they are beaten by illicit distillers, all the people in the village also join together and beat them. But it should be the other way about. If the Prohibition law has to command the respect of the people, what should be done is, all the people must join together and catch hold of the illicit distiller, because it is not the function of the State only to maintain law and order, but it is also the function of the people. Why is it that the people do not have confidence in you? It is because they don't believe what you say and they think that the reverse of whatever you say, is the truth. If you say one thing, they think that you mean the opposite of it. For instance the Registrar says, 'I do not want to dump my men on the Central Bank.' What happens next is, more men are dumped. It is just like what the Turkish people do. If the Turkish people say one thing, you will have to take the opposite of it to be the truth. Therefore, I ask, when the Government are not able to enforce their laws, why should such laws be on the Statute Book? In fact, many of them are dead letters and they should be actively opposed. For these reasons, I say this Government are incapable of ruling this State and so no honest democrat should have confidence in the Ministry."

SRI B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDI :—"ఆధ్యక్ష, ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని దీనుకొని రావడం చాలా శోచనీయంగా ఉన్నది. ఈ నాడు కాంగ్రెసు సంస్థ ప్రజల ఆదరాభిమానాలు కోల్పోయినది. కాంగ్రెసువారు స్వరాజ్య పోరాట కాలంలో సక్రమంగానే వర్తించారు. కాని, అధికారంలోకి వచ్చిన తరువాత వారిలో చాలా మార్పులు వచ్చినవి. అందుచేతనే దాదాపు ఇరువది సంవత్సరాల నుంచి కాంగ్రెసులో ఉన్నటువంటి మూబోటివారు ఆ సంస్థను వదిలిపెట్టి పోవలసివచ్చింది. అనేకమంది కాంగ్రెసువారివలెనే నేనుకూడా 1942 వ సంవత్సరంలో అరెస్టుచేయబడి మూడు సంవత్సరాలు జైలులో ఉన్నవాడిని. స్వరాజ్యంకోసం పోరాడిన రోజులలో కాంగ్రెసువారిలో అవినీతిలేదు కాని, గత ఆయిదు సంవత్సరాల పరిపాలనను గమనించి చూచినట్లయితే గాంధీజీ ఆశించిన రామరాజ్యంకన్న ఈ కాంగ్రెసువారు నరకరాజ్యం కల్పించారని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. గత ఆయిదు సంవత్సరాలలో ఉన్న నరకపాలనకు సహించలేకనే ప్రజలు కాంగ్రెసుకు మొన్న జరిగిన సాధారణ ఎన్నికలలో ఓడించివేశారు. ఈ దుష్పరిపాలనకు చాలావరకు కారకులైన వారిలో మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలోని కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులలో ఒకరైన శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారుకూడా ఒకరు. మొట్టమొదట 1946 వ సంవత్సరంలో శ్రీ ప్రకాశంగారు అధికారంలోనికి వచ్చినపుడు పరిపాలనను సక్రమంగా నడుపుటకు ప్రయత్నంచేశారు. కాని ఆయన ప్రభుత్వాన్ని పడకొంటు నెలల పాటునైనా ఉండనీయకుండా శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డి వంటి వారు కృషిచేశారు. ఆ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని పడగొట్టి అధికారంలోనికి వచ్చిన గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి వర్గంవారు గత ఆయిదు సంవత్సరాలలో వివిధంగా పరిపాలన కొనసాగించారో ప్రజలకందరకు తెలుసును. ముఠాతత్వం ప్రబలిపోయి ప్రభుత్వపరిపాలన అయినా ఆశ్రిత పక్షపాత బుద్ధితోనే కొన సాగించారు. మా జిల్లాలో ముఖ్యంగా పరిపాలనా యంత్రమంతా గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి క్రింద పనిచేస్తూ ఉన్నారా అనిపించినది. జిల్లాను ఒక్క గోపాలరెడ్డి యే పరిపాలిస్తున్నాడా అన్నట్లునిపించింది. కలెక్టరు దగ్గరనుంచి క్రింద ఉద్యోగి వరకూ శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారు వివిధంగా చెబితే ఆ విధంగా చేయవలసి వచ్చింది. ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగులలో లంచగొండితనం, అవినీతి ప్రబలిపోయినాయి. పెద్ద పెద్ద ఉద్యోగులు కూడా ప్రజల వద్దనుంచి ఎంతకొద్ది మొత్తాలనైనా లంచం క్రింద తీసు

కోవడం మొదలు పెట్టారు. మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలో ఒక కలెక్టరు ఉండినారు. వారు ప్రజలవద్ద పది రూపాయలు కూడా లంచం తీసుకున్నారు. అట్టివారిని బదిలి చేయమని ప్రజలంతా పెద్ద ఆందోళన చేశారు. గవర్నమెంటుకు మొరపెట్టుకున్నారు. శ్రీ గోపాల రెడ్డిగారికి కూడా తెలియజేశారు అందుకు శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారు చెప్పారట :—'నాకు వ్యతిరేక పార్టీవారు బదిలీచేయనన్నందువలన నేను బదిలీచేయ దలచుకోలేదు.' ఇదియే నా ప్రభుత్వ మంత్రులు చేయవలసిన పని. పరిపాలన ప్రజలకొరకుగాని పార్టీ కొరకు గాదని గోపాలరెడ్డిగారు గుర్తించలేక పోయారు. ఈ ఆక్రమ విధానాల వల్లనే ఈ సుధ్య జరిగిన సాధారణ ఎన్నికలలో మహా మంత్రులు అందరూ ఓడిరి తరువాత ఇంకొకరు ఓడించబడ్డారు. ప్రజలు దేశాన్ని పాలించుటకు తామే సమర్థులని విర్రవీగిన కాంగ్రెసువారికి పాఠంచెప్పారు. గత అయిదు సంవత్సరముల పరిపాలన అంతా ముఠారాజకీయాలతోనూ, లంచగొండితనంతోనూ నిండిపోయింది. మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలో శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి అనుయాయులలోనైనా ప్రభుత్వం నడుపబడుతుందా అని అనుకొన్నారు ప్రజలు. బ్లాక్ పర్మిట్లు, ఇతర వైనెన్సులు అన్నిటిలో కూడా శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి అనుచరులకే పంచిపెట్టబడుతూ ఉండేది. ఇంకా అధికారులలో పెరిగిపోయిన లంచగొండితనం సర్వసాధారణమైపోయింది. అనేక సందర్భాలలో ప్రజలు వై అధికారులకు మొరలు పెట్టుకున్నా, ఎటువంటి ఆలనాపాలనా ఉండేది కాదు. నామట్టుకు నేను ఒక మేజిస్ట్రేటు చేయచున్న పనులగురించి కలెక్టరుగారికి మనవిచేశాను. కాని ఎటువంటి న్యాయము జరుగలేదు. వైనా నామీద కేసు బనాయించబడింది. దాని విషయమై నేను డిల్లీలోని సుప్రీము కోర్టువరకూ పోవలసి వచ్చింది. దానికి చాలాచోటకూ శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారు వారి ముఠావారుకూడా కారణం అనుకొంటున్నాను. లంచగొండితనాన్ని ప్రతిఘటించడం వారికి బహుశః ఇష్టం లేక పోయి ఉండవచ్చు. ఏదో విధంగా నా మీదు మూసాలు శిక్ష విధిస్తూ ఉత్తరులు జారీచేశారు. నేను ఈ శిక్ష అనుభవించడానికి నిశ్చయించాను. కాని ఏ కారణాల వల్లనో 2 రోజులు నేను శిక్ష అనుభవించిన తరువాత ప్రభుత్వంవారు ప్రజలు చేసిన ఆందోళన ఫలితంగానో మరొక కారణంచేతనో నన్ను విడుదల చేశారు. ఇదంతా గత అయిదేండ్లలో పరిపాలన ఏ విధంగా ఆమలు జరుపబడిందో అనేదానికి ఉదాహరణంగా మనవి చేశాను. ఇంత దుష్పరిపాలన నరక రాజ్యపాలన చేశారు. కనుకనే గోపాల రెడ్డి వంటివారు ఎన్నికలలో ఓడింపబడ్డారు.

5-45 p.m. "అంతేకాకుండా రాజకీయ బాధితులకు పొలాలు ఇచ్చే విషయంలో చాలా అన్యాయాలు జరిగాయి. మా జిల్లాలో శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి పార్టి మనుష్యులకే భూములు ఇవ్వబడ్డాయి. ఇతర రాజకీయ బాధితులకు ఎట్టి ఉపకారము చేయడానికి గోపాల రెడ్డిగారు ఎటువంటి ప్రయత్నము చేయలేదు. జిల్లా అధికారులవద్దనుంచి కూడా ఈ మూతా తత్వాన్నే అనుసరించవలసివచ్చింది. రాజ్యమంతాకూడా శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డి వ్యూహానే నడుస్తున్నదా అనేటట్లూ ఆయన ప్రవర్తించాడు. ఎలెక్షన్లలోకూడా, చాలా అక్రమాలు జరిగాయి. ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగులు అనేక సందర్భాలలో నిష్పక్షపాతంగా లేక శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారికి, వారి అనుచరులకు అనుకూల ధోరణిలో ప్రచారము చేయవలసివచ్చింది. ప్రభుత్వ యంత్రాంగాన్ని ఈ విధంగా అవినీతి పథాన్ని నడిపించడానికి ఆయన ఎంతో కృషిచేశాడు. పోయిన బిటికి ప్రభుత్వమే రొంపగని ప్రజలు అనుకొనేటట్లు ఆయన చేయగలిగాడని అంటే ఎంతమాత్రము అతిశయోక్తి కాదు.

"ఇక ప్రొహిబిషను విషయం చూద్దాము. ఈ శాఖ కార్యకలాపాలు ఒక పెద్ద ఫోర్సుగా తయారయ్యాయి అని చెప్పవచ్చు. ప్రొహిబిషన్ పెట్టిన తరువాత రొంగ

1st July 1952] [Sri B. Ramakrishna Reddi]

సారా కాచడం మరీ హెచ్చిపోయింది. ఇదివరకు త్రాగేవారికన్నా ఇప్పుడు త్రాగే వారి సంఖ్య అధికమైపోయింది. ఈ విధంగా ఈ శాఖ పాడైపోయిందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

"దొంగ తనంగా ధాన్యాన్ని ఇతర ప్రాంతాలకు రవాణా చేయడం, బ్లాకు మార్కెట్లలో అమ్ముకోవడం విరివిగా జరుగుతూయుండేది. ఒకసారి గూడూరులో కలక్టరు పది పుట్ల ధాన్యము దొంగతనంగా రవాణా అవుతూయుంటే పట్టుకొన్నారు. కాని పైనుంచి ఆనగా శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి ఆజ్ఞానుసారంగానే స్టేషన్ మాస్టరులు రావడంచేత ఆ కేసు నడుపు చేయబడలేదు. ఇదే విధంగా అనేక సందర్భాలలో అధికారులు దొంగ వ్యాపారస్తులను అటకాయించినా, మంత్రి ప్రమేయమువల్ల దొంగ వ్యాపారానికి ప్రోద్బలమివ్వబడింది. ఇదే విధంగా కేసుల తీర్పుల విషయంలోకూడా తమ వర్గీయులకు అనుకూలంగా తీర్పు ఇవ్వాలని అధికారులను మంత్రులు ఒత్తిడి చేసేవారని ప్రజలు అనుకొంటున్నారు. ఇటువంటి విధానాన్ని అనుసరించడంవల్లనే గత కాంగ్రెసు పరిపాలన నరక పరిపాలనగా మారిపోయింది. ఈ కొత్త కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం వచ్చిన తరువాతకూడా పరిస్థితులలో ఎటువంటి మార్పు వచ్చినట్లు కనుపించడం లేదు. ఇటువంటి పరిపాలనను ప్రజాస్వామ్యమని ఎవరూ అనుకోరు. పరిపాలన సక్రమంగా రావాలంటే యు.డి.యఫ్. వారు అధికారములోనికి వస్తేనేకాని సాధ్యపడదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. కాంగ్రెసు అధికారములో ఉన్నంతవరకూ ప్రజా సామాన్యం సుఖపడలేదు. భూములు పరిశ్రమలు జాతీయం చేయనంత కాలం దేశంలో ఆసంతృప్తి తొలగదు. ప్రజల అభిప్రాయాలకు విరుద్ధంగా పరిపాలన సాగించే ఈ ప్రభుత్వంమీద నేను విశ్వాసం ప్రకటించజాలనని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం సామాన్య రైతులకు కూలీలకు వ్యతిరేకమైనది. కాబట్టి వారిని భయపెట్టడానికి హంస్‌గా పోలీసువారిని ఈ ప్రభుత్వం నియమిస్తోంది. కాంగ్రెసు పరిపాలన అంటే, నేడు పోలీసు పరిపాలన అని తేలిపోయింది. బ్రిటిషువారి పరిపాలనలో అమలు జరుపబడుతూ వచ్చిన దమన నీతి ఈ ప్రభుత్వం అమలు జరుపుతుందనడంలో ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు. ఈ పరిస్థితులను తొలగించడానికి ప్రతివాడు ప్రయత్నం చేయాలని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. దానికి సాధనం యు.డి.యఫ్. అధికారంలోనికి రావడం ఒక్కటే మార్గం. మహాత్మాజీ మనకు ఏ విధంగా పరిపాలించాలో అనేక విధాలా చెప్పి ఉన్నారు. ఆయన ఆదేశాలన్నింటిని కాంగ్రెసువారు ఈ నాడు మరచిపోయారు. కాంగ్రెసు సంస్థ ఇదివరలో జయప్రదంగా, ఇతరత్రా చేసిన తీర్మానాలను కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వాలు అమలు జరుపజాలక పోయినందువల్లనే ఈనాడు కాంగ్రెసు దేశంలో అప్రతిష్ఠాకరమైందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఇటువంటి కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వంలోనూ, ఆ ప్రభుత్వ ప్రధాని శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారియంచునూ నాకు విశ్వాసం లేదని తెలుపుతూ ఇంతటితో విరమిస్తున్నాను."

*SRI K. T. RAJU :—"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, இந்தச் சபையின் முன் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் இத் தீர்மானம், இன்று அரசாங்கத்தில் இருக்கக்கூடிய குறிப்பாக நமது கனம் முதல் அமைச்சர் அவர்களும் அவரைச் சேர்ந்த மற்ற மந்திரிகளும் தொடர்ந்து இந்தப் பதவியில் இருப்பதா வேண்டாமா என்பதையும், அதற்கேற்ற முறையில் இந்தச் சபையில் பெரும்பான்மையான அங்கத்தினர்களின் ஆதரவைப் பெற வேண்டுமென்ற நோக்கத்தோடேயும் இரண்டு தினங்களாக விவாதிக்கப் பட்டு வருவது அங்கத்தினர்களுக்குத் தெரியும்.

"இப்பொழுது என்னைப் பொறுத்தவரையில், கனம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கக்கூடிய இந்த தீர்மானத்தை நான் எதிர்க்கிறேன். ஏன்? மற்றவர்கள் பேசியதைப்போல் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியார் அடக்குமுறையைக் கையாண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதற்காக மட்டுமல்ல.

நானும் மாஜி காங்கிரஸ்காரன்தான். 1930-ம் வருஷத்தில் நானும் சிறையில் இருந்திருக்கிறேன். கோவை ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள ஸ்ரீமான்கள் அவினாசிலிங்கம் செட்டியார், வி. பி. சுப்பையா, இன்னும் மற்ற அனேக காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடன் நானும் சிறையில் இருந்திருக்கிறேன். ஸ்ரீமான் ஓமந்தூர் ராமசாமி ரெட்டியார் பிரதமராக இருந்த காலத்திலும் சிறையில் இருந்திருக்கிறேன். ஸ்ரீ குமாரசாமி ராஜா பிரதமராக இருந்த காலத்திலும் நான் சிறையில் இருந்திருக்கிறேன். பிரிட்டிஷ் ஆட்சியிலும் சரி, காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியிலும் சரி, நான் சிறையில் இருந்திருக்கின்றேன். அந்த முறையில் நாங்கள் பிறந்தோம். சிறையில் அனேக கொடிய கஷ்டங்களை அனுபவித்தோம். ஜெயில் Superintendent மீனுக்குச் சமானம் செய்த அட்டகாசத்திற்கெல்லாம் உட்பட்டோம். சிறையில் மலத்தை வாயில் வைப்பார்கள். எங்களுடைய நண்பர், இப்பொழுது இந்தச் சபையில் அங்கத்தினராக இருக்கும் நண்பர் மதனகோபால் அவர்கள், திண்டுக்கல்லில் அம்பா முறையில் செய்த கிளர்ச்சிக்காக சிறையில் வைக்கப்பட்டிருந்தார். நாங்கள் என்ன குற்றம் செய்தோம் ? எனக்குத் தெரியவில்லை. ஹைக்கோர்ட்டாருக்கும் தெரியவில்லை. 2½ வருஷங்கள் வைத்திருந்தார்கள். பிறகு விட்டுவிட்டார்கள்.

" நான் சட்டசபை அங்கத்தினராக ஆவதற்கே காரணம் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் தான். ஸ்ரீமான் ராமலிங்கம் சட்டசபை அங்கத்தினராவதற்கும் அவர் தான் காரணம். நான் ரயில்வேயில் பிட்டர் வேலையில் இருந்தேன். ஸ்ரீமான் ராமலிங்கம் ஸ்டேஷன் மாஸ்டராக இருந்தார். ' நீங்கள் எல்லோரும் ரயில்வேயில் இருந்தால் ரயில் விழுந்து விடும், நீங்கள் வெளியே வந்துவிடுங்கள் ' என்று கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் கவர்னர் ஜெனரலாக இருந்த காலத்தில் ஒரு சட்டம் போட்டார். அதனால் நான் வேலையிலிருந்து நீக்கப்பட்டு, ஜெயிலுக்குபோய், இப்பொழுது இங்கு வந்திருக்கிறேன். அவர்கள் எங்களை வேலையிலிருந்து நீக்குவதற்கு சட்டம் போடாமலிருந்தால், நானும் ஸ்ரீ ராமலிங்கம் போன்றவர்களும் சட்டசபைக்கு வந்திருக்க முடியாது. நாங்களெல்லோரும் இங்கு வந்ததற்குக் காரணம் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்கள்தான். அந்த அளவுக்கு நான் அவருக்கு நன்றி தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இம்மாதிரி இந்தச் சட்டத்தால் பாதிக்கப்பட்டவர்கள் ஆயிரம் பேர் வெளியே இருக்கிறார்கள். காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களாக நாங்கள் இருந்த காலத்தில் சிறைக்குப் போனோம். ஆனால், காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் இப்பொழுது 5 எக்கர் 10 எக்கர் நிலங்கள் வாங்கியிருப்பதைப்போல நாங்கள் வாங்கவில்லை. வித்தியாசம் இவ்வளவுதான். அன்று முதல் இன்று வரை, 14 வயது முதல் இன்றைக்கும் நான் சேவை செய்து கொண்டு வருகிறேன். நாளைக்கும் சேவை செய்வேன். ஆகையால், இன்றைய தினம் இங்கு கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் தீர்மானத்தின் மீது அவரவர்கள் இஷ்டம்போல் வோட்டு கொடுக்கலாம். நாங்கள் மக்களுடைய நலன்களுக்குச் சாதகமாகச் செய்யவில்லை யென்றால் மக்கள் எங்களை சும்மா விடமாட்டார்கள். அதே முறையில் அன்று முதல் இன்று வரை மக்களுக்குடைய நலன்களுக்காகவே சேவை செய்துகொண்டு வந்திருக்கின்றோம். நாங்கள் தேர்தலுக்கு நின்ற காலத்திலே, எங்கள் தேர்தல் திட்டத்திலே, நாங்கள் " கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளுக்கு வோட்டுப் போடு " என்று கேட்கவில்லை, " சோஷலிஸ்டுகளுக்கு வோட்டு போடு " என்று கேட்கவில்லை, சைனுவைப் போலவோ, ரஷ்யாவைப்போலவோ இந்த நாட்டிலும் இருக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்கவில்லை.

" சமீபத்தில் நடந்த தேர்தலிலே 128 கூட்டத்திலே காங்கிரஸ் அங்கத்தினர்கள் கோயமுத்தூர் ஜில்லாவில் பேசியிருக்கிறார்கள். நானும் அந்த இடங்களிலெல்லாம் பேசியிருக்கிறேன். அருப்புக்கோட்டையிலும் எட்டையபுரத்திலும் பேசியிருக்கிறேன். மூன்று மாத காலமாக கனம் ஸ்ரீ. ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் பேசிய இடங்களிலெல்லாம் நானும் பேசியிருக்கிறேன். மக்களுடைய ஆதரவைப் பெறுவதற்கு காங்கிரஸ் எப்படி முயற்சி செய்கிறதோ அதேமாதிரி மக்கள் மத்தியில் நானும் வாழ்ந்து வருகிறேன். என்னைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களுக்கும் பொது மக்களுடன் தொடர்பு இருக்கிறது. காங்கிரசுக்கு எவ்வளவு ஆதரவு இருக்கின்றதோ அதேமாதிரி எங்களுக்கும் எங்களுடைய கொள்கைகளுக்கும் பண்டமங்கு அதிக ஆதரவு இருக்கிறது.

1st July 1952] [Sri K. T. Raju]

" நாங்கள் போன ஒவ்வொரு கூட்டங்களிலும், பேசிய ஒவ்வொரு கூட்டங்களிலும் அதைத் தெரிந்து கொண்டோம். அதைப் புரிந்து கொண்டோம். இன்றைய தினம் மக்கள் நன்றாக எல்லா விஷயங்களையும் உணர்ந்து கொள்ள ஆரம்பித்து விட்டார்கள். முக்கியமாக இன்றைக்கு கோவை மக்கள் அதை மிக நன்றாக உணர்ந்திருக்கிறார்கள். சமீபத்தில் நடந்த தேர்தல் புள்ளி விவரமே இதை நன்றாக எடுத்துக் காட்டியிருக்கிறது. இதே நிதி அமைச்சர் வெற்றி பெற்று வந்திருக்கும் கோவை நகரத்தில் இன்றைய தினம் அவருக்குக்கிடைத்த 20 ஆயிரம் வோட்டுக்குப் பதிலாக சமீபத்தில் நடந்த தேர்தலில் எங்களுக்கு 18 ஆயிரம் வோட்டுகள் கிடைத்திருக்கின்றன. கொண்டாமுத்தூர் தொகுதியிலும் எங்களுக்கு அதிகமாகக் கிடைத்திருக்கிறது. இதை நான் சும்மா சொல்லவில்லை. தேர்தல் புள்ளி விவரம் சொல்லுகிறது. இதை நான் எதற்காகச் சொல்லுகிறேன் என்றால் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் கோயம்பத்தூரில் காங்கிரஸுக்கு ஏதோ பெரிய மெஜாரிடி வந்துவிட்டது போல் பேசினார்கள். அது உண்மையில்லை என்பதை எடுத்துக் காட்டவேதான் நான் இதை இங்கே சொல்லுகிறேன்.

" இன்றைக்கு நம் மூன்றில் இருக்கும் பிரசீனை காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சி நீடித்து பதவியில் இருக்க வேண்டுமா ? நீடித்திருப்பது மாகாணத்திற்கு நல்லது தானு ? காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி பதவியில் ஒரு நாளும் இனிமேல் நீடித்திருக்கக் கூடாது என்று சொல்வது காங்கிரஸிடம் நாங்கள் காட்டும் துவேஷ மனப்பான்மையால் அல்ல. கடந்த கால அடக்கு முறைகளை இன்னமும் மனதில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு அதனாலும் சொல்லவில்லை. நமது ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் பதவிக்கு வந்த மூன்று மாதங்களுக்குள்ளேயே நடந்த காரியங்களைக் கொண்டேதான் இன்றும் வற்புறுத்தி இந்த மந்திரிசபை போகவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறோம்.

" இந்த மூன்று மாதங்களுக்குள்ளே நடந்த சம்பவம் என்ன என்று சொல்லுகிறேன். காட்பாடியிலே ஒரு ரயில்வே தொழிலாளி கொல்லப்பட்டு அவரது பிரேதம் வெளியிலே தூக்கிப் போடப்பட்டு விட்டது. அதைப்பற்றி முன்னூறு, நானூறு பேர்கள் கையெழுத்திட்ட ஒரு அறிக்கையை சர்க்காருக்கு அனுப்பியிருக்கிறேன். சேலம் ஜெயில் Superintendent ரகுநாதன் என்பவர் ஒரு காருண்ய ஆத்மா. அஹிம்சா சர்க்காரின் உத்திரவுப்படியே அவர் எல்லாவற்றையும் செய்து வைக்கிறார். அது வேறு விஷயம். இருபது பேரை அவர்கள் சுட்டுக் கொன்றிருக்கிறார்கள். அதைப் பற்றி விசாரணை நடத்த வேண்டுமென்று சொன்னோம். அதை சர்க்கார் மறுத்து விட்டது. கடந்த காலத்தில் நடந்த விஷயங்களுக்கும் தற்போதுள்ள சர்க்காருக்கும் சம்பந்த மேயில்லையென வைத்துக் கொள்வோம். இந்த சர்க்கார் பதவியேற்று மூன்று மாதங்களுக்குள்ளேயே குறிப்பாக தஞ்சாவூர் ஜில்லாவிலே எவ்வளவோ விவசாயிகள், ஆயிரக்கணக்கான விவசாயிகள் நிலங்களிலிருந்து வெளியேற்றப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதைப்பற்றி ஸ்ரீ ராமமூர்த்தி அவர்களே நேரில் முதன் மந்திரி அவர்களிடம் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் இதுவரையில் எதும் நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கப்படவில்லை. கோயம்பத்தூரிலோ இம்மாதிரி அக்கிரமங்கள் நடந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறது. அதைத் தடுக்க எந்தவிதமான நடவடிக்கையும் எடுக்கப்படவேயில்லை. குறிப்பாக ஹரிஜனங்கள் படும் துன்பங்கள் சொல்லமுடியாது. இதையெல்லாம் புள்ளிவிவரங்களுடன் நான் சொல்லமுடியும். இதையெல்லாம் நான் எதற்காகச் சொல்லுகிறேன் என்றால் அவர்களுடைய கஷ்டங்களை நீக்க இந்த சர்க்கார் என்ன ஏற்பாட்டை செய்திருக்கிறது என்று கேட்கத்தான் ? நிலச் சுவாந்தார்களுக்கும், நிலப்பிரபுக்களுக்கும், ஜமீன்தார்களுக்கும் உண்மையாக இந்த சர்க்கார் வேலை செய்யத் தயங்கவில்லையே தவிர, ஏழை குடியான மக்களைக் காப்பாற்ற எந்த முயற்சியையும் எடுத்துக் கொள்ளவில்லை என்பதை நான் சொல்லவேண்டாம். அது அவர்களுக்கே தெரியும். நாங்கள் ஏதோ அவர்களுக்கு முட்டுக்கட்டை போடுவதாக அவர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். நாட்டில் குழப்பத்தை உண்டுபண்ண முயற்சிப்பதாகச் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். யார் குழப்பத்திற்கு அடி கோலுகிறார்கள் என்பதை அவர்களே நெஞ்சைத் தொட்டுக் கொண்டு சொல்லட்டும்.

" உதாரணமாக கனம் முதல் அமைச்சர் கோயம்பத்தூர் வந்திருந்த போது " நாங்கள் கடவுள் பக்தியற்றவர்களாம். நாங்கள் பைசாச்சங்கள்

[Sri K. T. Raju] [1st July 1952

போன்றவர்களாம். அதனால் தான் அவர் எங்களை எதிர்க்கிறாராம் " என்பதாகவெல்லாம் பேசினார். நாங்கள் என்ன பைச்யாச்யங்களா ? நாங்களும் உங்களைப் போன்ற மனிதர்கள் தானே. காங்கிரஸூ கடவுள் என்றே, சோஷலிஸ்டு கடவுள் என்றே, தனிப்பட்ட கடவுள் இந்த உலகில் இருக்கிறதா ? நாங்கள் கடவுளின் விரோதிகள் இல்லையே. கடவுள் எங்கும் இருக்கிறார் எனறுல அவர் என் உள்ளத்திலும் இருக்கிறார். அவர் தான் என்னை இப்படி பேசவும் வைக்கிறார். நாங்கள் ஒவ்வொருவரும் ஆத்ம சோதனை செய்து கொண்டு தான் எங்கள் உள்ளத்தில் தோன்றுவதைப் பற்றி பேசுகிறோம். கோயம்பத்தூரிலே முதல் அமைச்சர் எங்களைப் பைச்யாச்யங்கள் என்றார். உடனேயே அவரது சிஷ்யர்கள் அங்கே வேப்பிலையை எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் தேர்தல் காலத்தில் பிசாசை விரட்ட என்று கட்டித் தொங்க விட்டுவிட்டார்கள். ராமநாதபுரத்திலும் செய்திருப்பார்கள். ஆனால் சென்ற சில ஆண்டுகளாக அங்கே மழையில்லை. அதனால் வேப்பமரத்தில் பசும் தழைகளே இல்லை. இல்லாவிட்டால் அவர்களும் கட்டியிருப்பார்கள். (சிரிப்பு.) இதை எல் சொல்லுகிறதென் என்றால் அவர் சொன்னபடியே அவரது சிஷ்யர்கள் நடந்து வருகிறார்கள் என்பதை சுட்டிக் காட்டத்தான். திருநெல்வேலியில் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களை வானர கூட்டங்களுக்கு ஒப்பிட்டு வெகு அழகாகப் பேசினார். அந்த வானர கூட்டங்களும் கோயம்பத்தூரில் நடந்த தேர்தல் பிரசாரத்தில் தங்கள் சுபாவத்தைக் காட்டவேண்டுமென்ற கருத்துடனே என்னவோ மேட்டுப்பாளையத்தில் எங்கள் கட்சி பிரசாரகரின் கண்ணையே பிடுங்கி விட்டார்கள். அவர் இப்போது ஜெனரல் ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறார். தலைவர் என்ன சொல்லுகிறாரோ அதன்படியே நடக்க அவருக்கு சரியானதொரு கூட்டம் பின்னணியில் இருக்கிறது. அவர்கள் பலாத்காரத்தில் இறங்கினாலும் அதற்குப் பெயர் அஹிம்சை. இது அஹிம்சையின் ஒரு அம்சம். (சிரிப்பு.) இது போகட்டும்.

6 p.m. " உணவு கண்ட்ரோலை எடுத்த ராஜாஜி பெரியதொரு காரியத்தை சாதித்து விட்டது போல தன் மார்பை பார்த்துக் கொள்ளுகிறார். கண்ட்ரோலை எடுத்ததற்கு வந்தனம். அதை வரவேற்கிறோம். எப்போது ? கண்ட்ரோலில் கிடைத்து வந்த அரிசியின் விலையை விட மலிவாக வெளி மார்க்கெட்டில் விலை இருந்தால் அது அப்போது நல்லது தான். ஆனால் ரேஷன் எடுத்த பின் இப்போதைய நிலைமை என்ன ? ரேஷனில் ரூ. 0–13–3-க்கு கிடைத்து வந்த படி அரிசி இப்போது ரூ. 1–3–4 உயர்ந்தது தான். எழைத் தொழிலாளிக்கு ஒரு படிக்கு ஐந்து, ஆறு அணா உயர்ந்தால் அவன் எப்படி அரிசி வாங்கி உண்ண முடியும் ? ரேஷன் எப்போது எடுத்தாரோ அப்போதே வெளி மார்க்கெட்டில் அரிசி விலை உயராமல் பார்த்துக் கொண்டிருக்க வேண்டாமா ? இன்று எனக்குத் தந்தி வந்திருக்கிறது. எம். அண்டு. எஸ். எம். க்ரைன் ஷாப்புகளில் ஒரு படி அரிசி விலையை ரூ. 1–4–3 வாக உயர்த்தி விட்டார்கள் என்று. பல்லாயிரக்கணக்கான தொழிலாளிகள் எப்படி இதை வாங்கி உண்ண முடியும். ஒரு வாரத்திற்கு அவனுக்கு மூன்று, நான்கு ரூபாய்களுக்கு மேல் இப்போது ரேஷன் அரிசிக்கு பணம் கொடுக்க வேண்டுமே. அவன் எங்கே போவான். எறுமுகமாக இருக்கும் தானியத்தின் விலையைக் கட்டுப்படுத்த சர்க்கார் என்ன நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கப் போகிறது. எனக்குத் தெரியும் ; நம் எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியும் இந்த சர்க்காரால் ஒன்றும் செய்ய முடியாதென்று. ரேஷனை எடுத்த போது பெரிய பெரிய நிலச்சுவான்தார்கள் எல்லாம் சர்க்காரோடு ஒத்துழைக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக ராஜாஜி வேண்டிக் கொண்டார். அவர்களை ஒத்துழைப்பார்களா ? மகாத்மா காந்தி அவர்கள் உயிருடன் இருந்தபோது துணி கண்ட்ரோலை எடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று சொன்னார்கள். மத்திய சர்க்கார் அந்த யோசனையை மறுத்தது. மகாத்மா உறுதி அளித்து அதை எடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லி பெரிய பெரிய முதலாளிகளை அதற்கு உதவி அளிக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொண்டார். கண்ட்ரோலை எடுத்தார்கள். ஆனால் எற்பட்ட நிலைமை என்ன ? மூன்று மாதங்களிலேயே அவர்கள் நூறு கோடி ரூபாய் லாபம் சம்பாதித்தார்கள். துணிகள் பதுக்கப்பட்டு விட்டது. உடனேயே கண்ட்ரோலை அமலுக்கு கொண்டு வந்து விட்டார்கள். அப்படி மகாத்மா காந்தியின் வேண்டுகோளையே புறக்கணித்து மூன்று மாதத்தில் 100 கோடி ரூபாய் திரட்டிய வியாபாரிகளா இன்று ராஜாஜியின் உணவுக் கொள்கை வெற்றிகரமாக நடக்கவேண்டுமென்று தானியத்தை பதுக்காமல் விலையை

தஞ்சாவூர் ஆவணக் காப்பக நூலகம் D07465

1st July 1952] [Sri K. T. Raju]

உயர்த்தாமல் ஒத்துழைக்கப் போகிறார்கள். கடவுளே வந்து சொன்னாலும் கூட பதுக்கல் செய்து பணம் கொள்ளை அடிப்பதை அவர்கள் ஒரு நாளும் கைவிடமாட்டார்களே. அவர்கள் மனதா ராஜாஜியின் வார்த்தை களால் மாறிவிடப்போகிறது. நாங்கள் அராஜகர்கள், நாங்கள் குழப்பத்தை உண்டு பண்ணத்தான் இருக்கிறோம் என்று ராஜாஜி சொல்லுகிறார்கள். நாங்கள் என்ன சொல்லுகிறோம். நாங்கள் இறந்து போனபின் நீங்கள் குழப்பம், அராகஜமின்றி அமைதியாக மக்களுக்கு தொண்டு செய்ய முடியும் என்று நீங்கள் சொன்னீர்களேயானால் நாங்கள் இவ்வளவு பேரும் இறப் பதற்கு தயாராக இருக்கிறோம் என்று தான் சொல்லுகிறேன். அதை விட்டு எங்களை நசுக்கி விடவேண்டுமென்று விரும்பினால் அது முடியாது.

"எப்படியாவது சுகமாய் இருக்க வேண்டும்" என்றுதான் நாங்களும் எண்ணுகிறோம். ஒருவரும் நாசமாய்ப் போய்விட வேண்டுமென்ற எண் ணம் இடையாது. எல்லாரும் மனிதனுக வாழ வேண்டு மென்று தான் நாங்களும் ஆசைப்படுகிறோம். அதனால் எல்லோருடைய மனம் மாறினால் நல்லது தான். நல்ல காரியத்தைச் செய்தால் யார் குறுக்கே இருக்கப் போகிறார்கள். இந்த மோட்டார் வரி இல்லாமல் இருந்தால் ஜனங்களுக்கு சொம்பவும் நன்றாக இருக்கும். சுமார் நாற்பது லட்சம் பட்டாதார்கள் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் இருக்கிறார்கள். மேலெழுந்த வாரியாக நான் சொல்லுகிறேன். இன்றைக்கு மாகாணத்தில் பட்டாதார்கள் விவசாய ரயத்துகளாக இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய நல்வழி திட்டத்தை இந்த மந்திரி சபை கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறதா? ஜனநாயக அரசாங்கத்தில் சர்க்கார் ஜனங்களுக்குக் கொண்டு வரும் நல்ல காரியத்தில் நாங்கள் முட்டுக்கட்டை யாக இருந்தால் கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியாக இருந்தாலும் சரி எந்த கட்சியாக இருந்தாலும் சரி அது ஒழிந்து போகட்டும் என்று தான் மக்கள் சொல்லு வார்கள். நாங்கள் ஒழிந்து போக வேண்டு மென்றால் அதற்கு ஒரே ஒரு வழிதான் இருக்கிறது. அதற்கு இந்த போலீஸ் படைக்காக ரூபாய் ஏழு கோடி செலவு செய்ய வேண்டாம். இப்பொழுது டி. டி. கிருஷ்ணமாச்சாரி கமிட்டியின் ரிபோர்ட்டு வந்திருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது சிலர் கையில் சுமார் ஆயிரம் ஏக்கர் நிலங்கள் தேங்கிக்கிடக்கிறது. அநேகம் பேருக்கு வராள மான பூமி இருக்கிறது. லோயர் பவானியில் தண்ணீர் வரப்போகிறது என்றவுடனேயே பெரிய பணக்காரர்கள் இன்றைக்கு பூமியை எடுத்துக் கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். ஐந்து எக்கர் நிலத்தை வைத்துக் கொண்டு அதை விவசாயம் பண்ணமுடியாமல் இருக்கும் ஒவ்வொரு சிறு நிலச்சுவாந் தாரும் அதை விற்று விட முயன்று கொண்டிருக்கிறான். அதை பெரிய பண்ணைக்கார்கள் வாங்க முயன்று வருகிறார்கள். இது கூடாது என்று தான் கம்யூனிஸ்டு சொல்லுகிறான். லோயர் பவானி திட்டத்தால் சுமார் இரண்டு லட்சத்தி ஏழு ஆயிரம் எக்கர் நிலம் சாகுபடியாகப் போகிறது. அதுவும் ஒரு சுமார் விரல் விட்ட எண்ணக்கூடிய சிலர் கையில் தான் இருக்கிறது. தண்ணீர் வந்த பிறகு தங்களுடைய நிலங்களை வைத்துக் கொண்டு சாகுபடி செய்ய முடியாது என்று தான் இப்பொழுது சிறிய நிலச்சுவான்தார்கள் தங்களுடைய நிலங்களை விற்றுக் கொண்டு வருகிறார் கள். ஆனால் அந்த நிலங்களை வாங்கும் பணக்காரர்கள் அதை வைத்துக் கொண்டு சாகுபடி செய்யப் போகிறார்களா என்றால் அதுவும் இல்லை. நிலத்தை விற்ற விவசாயிகள் வேலைதேடி மதராஸ் சென்று தார் ரோடை அனுபவிக்கப் போகிறார்கள். அப்படி அனுபவிப்பவர்கள் இப் பொழுது ஒன்றரை லட்சம் பேர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த திட்டம் வந்த பிறகு அவர்கள் தொகை இரண்டு லட்சமாக அதிகரித்த விடும். இதை நான் எதற்குச் சொல்லுகிறேன் என்றால் இன்றைய நிலைமையில் இந்த காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சி நடந்து வருகிறது என்பதை எடுத்துக் காட்டத் தான். சர்க்கார் செய்யப் பொகும் நல்ல காரியங்களுக்கு நாங்கள் முட்டுக் கட்டை போட்டால் அதை மக்களுக்கு மத்தியில் அம்பலப்படுத்தப்படும். இதைச் சொல்லப் போனால் தான் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் நல்ல காரியத்தைச் செய்யப் போனால் எதிர்க்கிறார்கள் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். விற்பனை வரி போட வேண்டாம். மக்களுக்கு நாங்கள் நன்மை செய்யாவிட்டால் நாங்கள் நாசமாய் போகிறோம். அதைப்பற்றி நீங்கள் கவலைப்பட வேண்டாம். இன்றைக்கும் மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டு மென்று தான் நீங்கள்

சர்க்கார் கட்சியில் இருக்கிறீர்கள். நாங்களும் மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டும் என்று தான் இந்த பக்கம் இருக்கிறோம். இரண்டு பேர்களும் மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டும் என்று தான் வோட்டுப் பெற்று வந்தோம். ஆனால் கொள்கைகளில் தான் வித்யாசம் ஏற்படுகிறது. இவ்வளவு வோட்டுக்களைப் பெற்று வந்தது மக்களுக்கு நன்மையைச் செய்ய வேண்டு மென்று தான் வந்தோமே யொழிய கலகம் செய்ய வரவில்லை. மக்களுக்கு வேண்டிய நல்ல காரியங்களை சர்க்கார் செய்ய முன் வந்தால் அதை வரவேற்கிறோம். இந்த மாதிரியான எண்ணம் கொண்டுதான் கனம் ராஜாஜி வருவதற்கு முன் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளும் சோஷலிஸ்டுகளும், இன்னும் மற்ற மெம்பர்களும் வோட்டுப் பெற்று வந்தார்கள். அதன்மேல் யு.டி. எப். வந்தது. ராஜாஜி வருவதற்கு முன்பாகவே இந்த யு.டி. எப். வந்தது : அதன் பிறகுதான் கனம் சி. சுப்ரமணியம் அவர்கள் டில்லிக்கு ஜவஹரிடம் போனது. அதுவும் யு.டி.எப். வந்த பிறகு தான். இப்போழுது அந்தப் பக்கத்தில் இருக்கும் கனம் மாணிக்கவேலு நாயகர் அவர்களும் இன்னும் பத்து நாட்கள் ராஜாஜி வராமல் இருந்திருந்தால் இந்தப் பக்கம் வந்திருந்திருப்பார். காமன்வீல் கட்சியும் இந்தப் பக்கம் சேர்ந்திருக்கும். அந்தப் பக்கம் பத்து வருஷங்களாக இருந்து வந்த கனம் டி. வில்வநாதம் அவர்களும் இப்பொழுது இந்தப் பக்கம் வந்து விட்டார். அங்கிருந்து இங்கு வரும் படலம் தான் நடக்கிறதே யொழிய இங்கிருந்து அங்கு போகும் படலம் நடக்கவில்லை. இனியும் அங்கிருக்கும் மெம்பர்கள் இங்கு வரக்கூடிய படலம்தான் ஏற்படலாமே யொழிய இங்கிருக்கும் மெம்பர்கள் அங்கு போகும் படலம் இனிமேல் ஏற்படாது. அது போகப் போகத்தான் தெரியும். ஆகவே இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் நிலைமையில் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் முதல் அமைச்சராக இருந்து அரசாங்கத்தை நடத்தக் கூடாது என்று தான் சொல்லுகிறேன். இந்த ஐந்து வருஷ ஆட்சியில் அநேகம் சகோதரிகள் கற்பழிக்கப்பட்டார்கள். அதற்காக நாங்கள் இருக்கக்கூடாது என்று சொல்வதா ? நாங்கள் மக்களுக்கு நல்லது செய்ய வரும்போது அது கூடாதா ? இப்பொழுது அந்த ஜெயில் Superintendent மீனாட்சிசுந்தரம் அடித்தது ஞாபகம் வருகிறது. அவர் தடியால் அடித்ததும் உதைத்ததும் எல்லோருக்கு தெரியும். கனம் மாதவ மேனன் அவர்களுக்கும் தெரியும். இந்த கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் அவ்வளவு பேர்களுக்கும் நன்றாகத் தெரியும். தண்ணீர் கேட்டால் ஜெயிலில் தண்ணீர் கொடுப்பாரா. நாங்கள் ஜெயிலில் இருந்தோம். வெள்ளைக்கார ஆட்சியில் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடன் நானும் ஜெயிலில் இருந்தேன். இப்பொழுது காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் தலையில் பகவான் அப்படி எழுதி இருக்கிறான். நாங்கள் ஜெயிலில் எந்த வாழ்க்கை நடத்தி இருப்போம் என்பது அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். எங்களை எவ்விதம் நடத்தி இருப்பார்கள் என்பதும் அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். எங்களுக்கு குறிப்பாக கெட்ட எண்ணம் ஒன்றும் இடையாது. கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் என்றால் நாங்களும் மனிதர்கள் தான். மக்களுக்கு நாங்களும் தான் பாடுபடுகிறோம். நீங்களும் தான் மக்களுக்கு பாடுபடுகிறீர்கள். ஆனால் இரண்டு பேர்களுக்கும் வித்யாசங்கள் இருக்கலாம். கருத்து மாறுபாடுகள் இருக்கலாம். நாங்கள் கடவுளின் விரோதிகள் அல்ல. மத விரோதிகள் அல்ல. நாங்கள் ஒரு கோயிலையும் இடிக்க வில்லை. அப்படி நாங்கள் கோயில்களை இடித்தோம் என்றால் அவைகள் அபத்த வார்த்தைகள். நாங்கள் எதாவது பிசகு செய்தால் ஆண்டவன் இருக்கிறான். அவன் எங்களை தண்டிக்கட்டும். ஆண்டவனுக்காக நீங்கள் வக்காலத்து வாங்கிக் கொள்ள வேண்டாம். எங்களையும் தான் ஆண்டவன் படைத்தான். ஆண்டவனுக்கு எல்லோரும் ஒருவன் தான். எங்களைப் படைத்தவனுக்கு நாங்கள் தவறு செய்தால் அதை தண்டிக்க முடியாதா ? நீங்கள்தானு அவனுக்கு வக்காலத்து வாங்கி வரவேண்டும். ஆண்டவன் ராவணனையும் ஹிரண்யனையும் படைக்க வில்லையா ? அவர்களுக்கு தண்டனை விதிக்க வில்லையா ? கொள்கையில் மாறுபாடு இருந்தால் அதனால் துரோகிகளா ? மக்களுக்கு சர்க்கார் நல்ல காரியங்களைச் செய்யும் போது நாங்கள் முட்டுக்கடையாக இருந்தால் அது ஆண்டவனுக்குத் தெரியாதா ? நாங்கள் தவறு செய்தால் எங்களால் மக்கள் நடுவில் போக முடியாது. எங்களை கல்லால் அடிப்பார்கள். நாங்கள் நன்மை செய்யாவிட்டால் நாங்கள் மக்களின் நடுவில் நாசமாய் போகிறோம். நீங்கள்

எங்களுக்கு தண்டனை கொடுக்க வேண்டாம். எங்களுக்கு மக்களின் நடுவில் விசாரணை நடக்கும். நாங்கள் தவறு செய்தால் மக்கள் விசாரணை நடத்துவார்கள். இன்றைக்கு கடவுள் இருக்கிறார். எங்களுக்கு ஐம்பத்தி ஒராயிரம் வோட்டுப் போட்டுப் எங்களை அனுப்பினார்களே அவர்களுக்கு கடவுள் இல்லையா ? அப்படி வோட்டுப் போட்டவர்களில் மூஸ்லீம்களும் கிருஸ்தவர்களும் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கும் கடவுள் இல்லையா ? அவர்கள் எல்லோரும் கடவுள் இல்லை என்று வோட்டுப் போட்டார்கள். கடவுள் இருக்கிறாரா இல்லையா என்பது அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். ஜனநாயக மக்கள் அதிக சக்தியுடையவர்கள். அவர்களை ஒன்றும் செய்ய முடியாது. சர்க்கார் செய்யும் காரியங்கள் நியாயம் என்று தெரிந்தால் நாங்களும் அதற்கு ஒத்துழைப்போம். நான் ஒரு சாதாரண மனிதலோகத்தான் இருந்தேன். அதன் பிறகு காலணா செலவுசெய்யாமல் இந்த சபைக்கு வந்தேன். அது ராஜாஜிக்குத் தெரிய வில்லை. என்னுடைய பிராவிடெண்டு பண்டு பணம் ரூ. 400 ஐ கடனுக்குக் கொடுத்து விட்டு வந்தேன். அது கனம் சி. சுப்ரமணியம் அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். அவருடைய நண்பர் ஹாஸ்டலில் வார்டனாக இருந்தேன். சாதாரணமான ஒரு ஆள் இன்றைக்கு இந்த நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறேன். மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டுமென்ற கருத்துடன் இருந்து வந்ததால இன்றைக்கு இந்த நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறேன். இன்றைக்கு இருக்கும் ஜனங்களுடைய மனம் மாறி இருக்கிறது. எண்ணங்கள் மாறி இருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது அநேகம் பேர்கள் எதிர் கட்சியில் வீற்றிருப்பதைப் பார்க்கிறோம். அவர்கள் அரசாங்கத்தில் பல வருஷங்களாக சிறையில் அடைக்கப்பட்டு கேவலமாக சர்க்காரால் நடத்தப்பட்ட சாதாரண மனிதர்கள் அவர்கள். அவர்கள் இப்பொழுது இங்கு மெம்பர்களாக வீற்றிருக்கிறார்கள். அதை நாம் இப்பொழுது பார்க்கிறோம். இதிலிருந்து தெரிந்து கொள்ளுங்கள் மனிதர்களுடைய மனம் மாறி இருக்கிறது என்பதை. மக்களுடைய எண்ணங்கள் இப்பொழுது மாறி இருக்கிறது. அப்படிப்பட்ட மனமாற்றத்தினால் அரசாங்கம் நடக்கும் என்றால் என்னுடைய சொந்த கருத்து என்னவென்றால் அது நடக்காது என்பது தான். கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் அரசாங்கத்தின் முதல் அமைச்சராக இருக்கக் கூடாது என்று தான் நான் விரும்புகிறேன். இந்த முறையில்தான் நீங்கள் எங்களைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். நாங்கள் கலகம் பண்ணுவதற்கு இங்கு வரவில்லை. அப்படிச் செய்தால் பொது மக்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் பார்த்துக்கொள்ளுவார்கள். நாங்கள் குழப்பத்தை உண்டாக்க வரவில்லை. நல்ல காரியங்களைச் செய்வதற்கு முட்டுக்கட்டை போடுவதற்கு இந்த சபையில் நாங்கள் இல்லை. செய்யக் கூடிய நல்ல காரியங்களை கண்டிப்பாக ஆதரிப்போம். அப்படி நாங்கள் செய்யத் தவறினால் மக்கள் எங்களை ஆதரிக்கமாட்டார்கள்.

6-15 p.m. "இரண்டு கருத்துக்கள், இரண்டு நோக்கங்கள் உலகம் பூராவும் இருக்கின்றன. அதே மாதிரி இந்தச் சபையிலும் இரண்டு விதநோக்கங்களை உடையவர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். குடும்பத்தில் வேறுபட்ட அபிப்பிராயங்கள் இருப்பதைப் போலவே, ஒரு குடும்பத்தில் ஒரு பையன் திராவிடக் கழகத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவனுகவும், ஒருவன் கம்யூனிஸ்டுக் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவனுகவும், இன்னொருவன் சோஷலிஸ்டு கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவனுகவும் இருக்கிறான். இது காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். ஒரு வீட்டிலும் இரண்டு கட்சிகள், இரண்டு நோக்கங்கள், இரண்டு கருத்துகள் இருக்கின்றன. அதே மாதிரி இந்த நாடு பூராவும் இருக்கிறது. இதை தடுப்பதற்கு முடியாது. உலகத்தில் இம்மாதிரியான எண்ணங்கள் நாளுக்கு நாள் வளர்ந்துக்கொண்டே வருகின்றன. இதில் வியப்போன்றுமில்லை. இது ஒரு கட்சியினரால் ஏற்பட்ட தல்ல. நான்கு வருடங்கள் சிறையில் இருந்தோம். இவ்வளவு கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் வந்ததற்கு காரணம் என்ன? அவர்களுக்காக என்ன பிரசாரம் நடந்தது? பிரசாரங்கள் இல்லாதிருந்தும், எப்படி அவர்கள் இத்தனை பேர் வர முடிந்தது? ஜனங்களிடத்தில் ஏற்பட்டிருந்த மனமாறுதல் தான் காரணமாகும்.

"இன்றைக்கு இந்த நாட்டில் ஒரு நல்ல அரசாட்சி இருக்கவேண்டும். நிரந்தரமான, உறுதியான ,பெரும்பான்மையான மக்களுடைய அபிலாஷைகளைப் பூர்த்தி செய்யும்படி இருந்தால்தான் எந்தக் காரியமும் நடக்குமென்று ஒத்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அப்படி ஒரு நிலைமை இருக்கவேண்டுமென்பதுதான்

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என் அபிப்பிராயம். இன்றைக்கு இருக்கக்கூடிய மந்திரி சபையினால் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் இந்த வரவு செலவுத் திட்டம் மக்களுடைய அபிலாஷைகளைப் பூர்த்தி செய்யக் கூடியதாக இருக்கவில்லை. இதை நான் மாத்திரம் சொல்லவில்லை. சுதேசமித்திரன் போன்ற பத்திரிகைகளும் இந்த வரி இனங்களை எதிர்த்திருக்கின்றன. சுதேசமித்திரன் பத்திரிக்கையில் சுறுமீன் படம் போட்டு ஒரு 'கார்டூன்' இருக்கிறது. அந்தக் கார்டூன் மூலம் இந்தப் புதிய வரி இனங்களை அது எதிர்க்கிறது. ஜயசக்தியோ, விடுதலையோ அம்மாதிரி சொல்லவில்லை. சுதேசமித்திரன் தான் அம்மாதிரி சொல்லியிருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் நாங்கள் சொல்வது எதோ ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு ஒவ்வாத காரியங்கள் என்று நினைக்கக் கூடாது. இந்த நாட்டில் அராஜகத்தை உண்டுபண்ணிவிடுவார்கள் என்று யாரும் கருத வேண்டியதில்லை. ஆகையால், நாங்கள் இந்த வரிகளை எதிர்க்கும் போது, இந்த மந்திரி சபை செய்யும் அக்கிரமமான காரியங்களை எதிர்க்கும் போது, மக்களின் நலனுக்காகவே நாங்கள் பாடுபடுகிறோம் என்பதை எல்லோரும் கவனிக்க வேண்டும். அந்த அளவுக்கு நீங்கள் இதைப் பார்க்க வேண்டுமென்று நான் உங்களைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஆகையால், எங்களைப்பற்றி தவருன அபிப்பிராயங்களைக் கொள்ள வேண்டியதில்லை. "நாங்கள் 'கடவுள் விரோதிகள், மதத்திற்கு விரோதிகள், எப்படியாவது நல்ல காரியங்களுக்கு முட்டுக்கட்டை போடுகிறோம்" என்று திருநெல்வேலியில் எங்களைப்பற்றி பேசி இருக்கிறார்கள். நான் மறுபடியும் வற்புறுத்திச் சொல்லுகிறேன், 'நாங்கள் எந்த நல்ல காரியங்களையும் ஆதரிப்போம்'.

"எங்களைப் பேய், பிசாசு என்று சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். எங்களுடைய கொள்கைகள், குணங்கள், கருத்துக்கள் ஒன்றும் பேய் பிசாசு மாதிரி இடையாது. ஆகவே, எதிர்த்தரப்பார்கள், சர்க்கார் செய்யும் காரியங்களில் குற்றங் குறைகளை எடுத்துச் சொல்லத்தான் இருக்கிறார்கள். அது தவிர்க்க முடியாதது. எங்களுடைய கொள்கைகளை மக்களிடையே நாங்கள் பிரசாரம் செய்யக்கூடாதென்று எங்களைத் தடுக்கக்கூடாதென்று நான் அவர்களைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன் இந்த முறையிலே நான் கனம் நிதிமந்திரி அவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கும் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரிக்கவில்லை. இந்த மந்திரி சபை இருக்கக்கூடாது, குறிப்பாக முதல் மந்திரி கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் பதவியில் நீடித்து இருப்பார்களேயானால், கடந்த மூன்று மாத அனுபவத்தை வைத்துக்கொண்டே, சென்ற 5 வருஷமாக காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சி நடந்துவந்தப் போலவேதான் இன்னும் தொடர்ந்து நடந்து வருமேயொழிய, கொள்கையில் மாறுதல் எதுவுமிருக்காதென்பதைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டு, கனம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கும் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை நான் எதிர்க்கிறேன்."

* Sri C. V. K. RAO :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Motion that is before this House appears to be a novel Motion. It may be novel for the simple reason that the Council of Ministers seem to have lost confidence in themselves and as such they have come before this House for a Vote of Confidence. As far as the verdict of this part of the House is concerned, it has been delivered long, long ago, and that is that this Council of Ministers do not have the confidence of this part of the House, do not have the confidence of the country. If a referendum is taken with that object even to-day, I am certain that it will reveal that they do not have the confidence of the country. One Constitutional point makes it perfectly clear, and that is that this Ministry has been formed by the Ministers themselves for themselves. The simple fact that the Chief Minister has been nominated and that this is a Ministry selected by that nominated Minister shows that it is not based on democratic principles. It is also not based on the principles laid down in the Constitution of India itself. Naturally such a

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Ministry cannot have confidence even in themselves. They have come before this House after two months to seek our confidence, having lost confidence in themselves. Do they expect a vote in their favour from us, the United Democratic Front? Certainly not. They do expect a vote in their favour from those gentlemen who depend on the Ministry, who depend on a class that desires to rule this country. When that is the case, the place where this Vote of Confidence should have been sought is not this House but elsewhere. It should have been in its party meeting, in such sections as render support to this Ministry. But curiously enough, they have come before this House for a Vote of Confidence. One reason placed before this House is that there are many difficulties in the way of the Hon. Chief Minister, that his hands need to be strengthened, and as such he needs the support of this House. Another reason is that the result of the Aruppukkottai by-election is a vote of censure against the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar's Ministry and as such he wants to make sure whether this House supports him or not. These are the reasons offered and no other. This is a Ministry of political manoeuvre. I read in this Motion that there is something up their sleeves. One point has been missed for some time. Recently the Prime Minister of India has clearly stated that he was not aware that Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar was going to be nominated, and that he was informed of the nomination only after the event. Nomination to the Legislative Council should be done from persons who represent science, art, culture, etc. Nomination of persons with political standing is not correct. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's opinion was, as was given to the Press reporters, that this nomination was not a correct thing. Not that Sri Nehru wanted the U.D.F. Government here. His opinion was that a grave error had been committed and that this had to be answered one day or other. He felt that if at all any person sought the office of Chief Minister, the fair and simple method was for him to get elected. That is the method that Sri C. Rajagopalachariar should have adoptted The result of the vote on this Motion is an answer that he is going to give to the country as a whole. He wants to show that he has the backing of 152 Congress Members and some Independents who hitch their wagon to the Congress star. There are persons who, for political reasons or out of political shortsightedness or whatever it may be, want to sail in the same boat when Sri C. Rajagopalachariar's Ministry has got this much of support, surely that amounts to his being elected. That is the political game behind this Motion. This has got to be exposed from this side of the House. The best method for this nominated Ministry, which is not a Ministry based on the principles of the Constitution of India, is to get its Leader elected by a straightforward procedure. But I am afraid that is not going to happen.

" There is another political game behind this Motion. The Budget debate is going to take place. The opinions of the Members of the Opposition will be clearly known to the country and the country will realize what type of Budget it is. A vote for the Budget will be tantamount to a Vote of Confidence in the

Ministry. The political game is to sidetrack the issues and make it appear that a stable Ministry has been questioned by irresponsible sections of the U.D.F. and criticized by parties that are after power. That is how the Ministry wants to pose the question before the country. As I said, the object is to sidetrack the main issues of the waste of the country's money and the taxation on the poor people. They want to govern in the name of a single individual, as though he is the whole Assembly itself, as though he is the last word on democracy itself. They want to carry on publicity in the country on these lines : ' We have been saying for the last two months that this is a stable Ministry. We sought a Vote of Confidence. About 200 Members expressed their confidence in us and we won. Here are parties which have supported us. All the criticism levelled against us by other parties are criticisms that are levelled by irresponsible sections.' Certain newspapers in the City have written editorials adopting this line of argument in advance. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar has already thanked those papers. He has taken a clue from those papers, from those sections of vested interests. There is no use bringing into this Confidence Motion the issue of the U.D.F.'s abstension from attending the Governor's Address as was sought to be done. Hence he left that out. And the Chief Minister has laid stress on the
6-30 p.m. Aruppukkottai by-election. The result of the Aruppukkottai by-election was a foregone one. In his Press Conference, the Chief Minister stated that he was seeking a Vote of Confidence as the United Democratic Front did not attend the Governor's Address to the joint session. This is a political manoeuvre. In his statement to the House he has omitted this. Why is it that every now and then they are coming to the House with new tactics? Why is it that every now and then the Chief Minister wants to create enormous confusion? Within these two sessions, they have been trying to sidetrack the issues before the country. My answer to their move is that the Members sitting on the Treasury Benches do not believe in democracy. The Members sitting on the Treasury Benches know full well that the common man is awake today and that he wants that social justice should be done to him. The Government are not prepared to do that. They have no confidence in themselves, and, therefore, they are manoeuvring. They want to use this parliamentary machinery for their manoeuvre. That is the reason why this Motion has been brought forward. Last time at the close of the session a Motion of Censure was brought against the Leader of the United Democratic Front. This time at the very beginning of the session, a Motion of Vote of Confidence in the Ministry is brought forward, by the Members of the Treasury Bench. This is a very curious thing. The Government want to use every stick to beat the Opposition with. That is the fact. Last time when the session was about to close, the Government wanted to create in the minds of the people a feeling like this : ' Look here; we have a powerful Ministry; the Leader of the U.D.F. Party was up for mischief, and he had to answer before the bar of the Council '. Finally, it was exhibited, as though out of sympathy for an old man . . . "

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MR. SPEAKER :—" What took place in another place should not be discussed here."

* SRI C. V. K. RAO :—" I know that. But that has some connection to this. The motion was against the Leader of the United Democratic Front, and therefore it has some connection to what I say. The Chief Minister brought forward that Motion in another place. The same Chief Minister now comes here for a Vote of Confidence. This fact I want the country to note. This is done in order to strike terror in the minds of our countrymen. It was said here that the Communist Party was enemy No. 1 of Sri C. Rajagopalachari. It was not said in a spirit of rhetoric. It was said in order to rally round him those elements whom he wanted; he wants to rally round him at this moment the investing world, as he calls it. It is a nice phrase. He wants the investing world to rally round him, that is the world who are the allies of the ruling class that has left this country. The vested interests and the ruling classes want to dominate. The Chief Minister declared that the Communists were his enemy No. 1. He gave the announcement to the investing world, 'I take all steps to strengthen you; do not be frightened at our defeat at the polls; I declare war against the Communists; should you not realise this very simple fact that I have come into the Ministry, and Police is in my portfolio; Police means power, and that was the power which the Britisher had used; the same power I have now; you have not realised that I am declaring war against the Communists, whom I have singled out as my enemy No. 1; this is the power I have in my hand.' So, Sir, at this stage only the tune has changed, but the politics are the same. 'I must have a Vote of Confidence in my Ministry', says the Chief Minister, because the investing world must go with him. So, in this country, the question is whether we should have a Government of the type of the British ruling class which ruled by batons and by fire-arms, or whether we should have a decent type of Government. When the United Democratic Front is rallying all democratic forces in the country with the object of forming a good Government, here is a Ministry which wants to use this parliamentary machinery to sidetrack every clear issue before the public and to hoodwink the people and also the honest elements on that side. That is the reason why the Government have come forward with this Motion here. I do feel that this is a Motion which cannot be accepted by any honest man. Perhaps it may be too early for certain Members on the other side to see clearly where this Ministry is leading to. At the same time I would like the Members on the other side, after the experience of the last five years, to understand this simple fact. There was a clear majority for the old Congress Ministry. Let them remember the number of Ministries that were in office during that period. There were three Ministries, and the present one is the fourth. This Ministry is a continuation of the same old Ministry. How is it when there was a clear majority for the Congress during the last five years, there were three Ministries? Was it because they did not believe in God? Was it because there were Communists,

and there was the United Democratic Front opposing them? Was it because there was the same political consciousness in the country at that time as there is to-day? No. These factors were not there. The simple fact was that the Ministry which ruled during that period was a Ministry of the vested interests. It was a Ministry of zamindars. It was a Ministry of foreign capitalists linked with Indian vested interests. It is a very clear fact known to every one. There was nepotism, corruption and favouritism. This led to shuffling and reshuffling of the Ministry. When once these people went to the electorate, the verdict of the electorate went against them. The Ministry should have understood the verdict of the people. But it has not been understood by the Gentlemen sitting on the Treasury Benches, particularly the leader of that party. They may be thinking that manoeuvre is politics. They may be thinking that they should cling to power somehow and for as long as they can, and that the rest can be looked after afterwards. This is not the way that history taught us in this country. The Government have to face the people somehow or other. When they cling to power, they have to face the Opposition. The Government have to discharge certain elementary duties expected of them. Much of the procedure that is being followed by parliamentarians of this country is from England. They can take a lesson from England if they care to. They cannot carry on the Government as a single man's show. Even the Conservative Party in England, which wanted to keep up that power, and which wanted to maintain the Anglo-American domination in the world, wanted that no single man's show should be put up. Even they were very much scared by that type of power for the Members of the Conservative Party to carry on the Government in an autocratic manner. That can be a lesson to the ruling party here. I am not asking this Government to go to another part of the world for this lesson. They have got a number of lessons everywhere. Take the lesson from China. In China a Koumintong Party somehow wanted to be in power. It had not the support of the people. It sought help from elsewhere. It sought help from a smaller section of the people who made the country poor, wretched and miserable. What happened to them? They went into seclusion. Here it is a peculiar state of affairs. People have passed their verdict against the ruling party; they should have gone into seclusion. Curiously they sought to cling to power. But they cannot carry on through such manoeuvre. That is how I feel. Even if we are to judge the record of this Ministry

. . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member has one more minute."

* SRI C. V. K. RAO :—"For the last two months, what is the record of this Ministry? The record is only, as far as any self-respecting Member here knows, a prohibitory order. It is as though we are in custody. We sit here under a prohibitory order from the Commissioner of Police. We the legislators of this State are reduced to this state of affairs. Now I would ask the Members on the opposite side to say whether they have asked the leader

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of their party as to what objection he had to referring this matter to the Privileges Committee? It is a most humiliating position for any Member of this House."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member's time is up. The hon. Member Mr. Govinda Rao will now speak."

6-45 p.m.

*SRI K. GOVINDA RAO :—"అధ్యక్ష, నేను విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లానుంచి వచ్చాను. మా జిల్లాలో లోగడ ఎన్నికలలో కాంగ్రెసు పూర్తిగా చిత్తుచేయబడింది. పార్టీయున్న అయినా ఆ జిల్లాలో ఒక్క కాంగ్రెసు అభ్యర్థికూడా గెలుపొందలేక పోయినాడు. దీనికి కారణమేమో శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి ప్రకటించిన శెలవని కోరుతున్నాను. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు యిట్టి విశ్వాస తీర్మానం పెట్టడంకన్నా ఒక ప్రత్యామ్నాయం విశాఖపట్టణం జిల్లాలో సంచారంచేసి ఆక్కడి ప్రజలు అయినను గురించి విమర్శించుకొన్నారో, ఆయన అనుసరిస్తున్న విధానాల పట్ల ప్రజాభిప్రాయమేమో, మంత్రివర్గము, వారి చర్యలను ప్రజలు విశ్వసిస్తున్నారో లేదో, ఈ మంత్రివర్గ నిర్ణాణం విషయమై వారి అభిప్రాయాలేమో గమనించవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను. అంతేకాక ఈ మధ్య జరిగిన కాకినాడ బై-ఎలక్షన ్లలోనైనా కాంగ్రెసు అభ్యర్థి క్లెక్లేకపోయినాడనే విషయం ఆయన గమనించవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను. ఈ విషయములవన్నీంటినీ గమనించకుండా తన వైన విశ్వాసమున్నదా లేదా అని తీర్మానము తీసుకొనిరావడం బాగుండలేదు. ఇతి కాంగ్రెసు ముప్పుదిపాలక ఫలితంగా ప్రజలలో ప్రబలిన విముఖతే ఇందుకు కారణమని వారు గమనించగోరుతాను. ఈ విషయాలలో ఆయనకు విపులా సందేహమున్నట్లైతే ఆయన విశాఖపట్టణం జిల్లా వచ్చి స్వయంగా తెలుసుకొనవలసిన దని ఆయనను నేను అభ్యర్థిస్తున్నాను.

"ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని తెచ్చుటలో శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి ఉద్దేశ్యము బహుశా ఒక రాజకీయ ఎత్తుగడ అయివుంటుంది. ఈ మధ్యనే డి-కంట్రోలు చేయబడినది. దానివల్ల ప్రస్తుతం వీరో కొంత బాధ పడిలిందని ప్రజలు అనుకొంటూ ఉండవచ్చును. ఈ అవకాశం తీసుకొని శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఈ పలుకుబడి పెంచుకొనుటకే ఈ తీర్మానమును తెచ్చియున్నారని భావిస్తున్నాను. కాని, ఈ డీ-కంట్రోలు విధానం వల్ల ఉత్పత్తిలో ఏ విధమైన బాధలు కలుగుతాయో గమనింపగోరుతాను. డీ-కంట్రోలు చేసిన తరువాత పరిస్థితులు ఎలా ఉన్నవో తెలుసుకొనే నిమిత్తం ఈ మధ్య నేను మా విశాఖపట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలలో సంచారము చేసినాను. గ్రామాలలోని రైతులు తమ పద్దనున్న ధాన్యాన్ని వర్తకులకు అమ్మివేస్తున్నారు. ఈ వర్తకులు ధాన్యాన్నంతా కొనివేసి పట్నాలలో స్టాకు చేస్తున్నారు. పరిస్థితులు ఈ విధంగా సాగినే ఒకటి రెండు నెలలో గ్రామాలలో ధాన్యం ఉండదు. ఇక కూలీ నాలి చేసుకొనేవారి బాధలు ఎలా ఉంటవో గమనింపగోరుతాను. 1943 వ సంవత్సరంలో విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో సంభవించిన కరువు విషయం ప్రభుత్వంవారు జ్ఞాపకముంచుకొని తిరిగి అట్టి విషమపరిస్థితులు రాకుండా చేయాలి.

"విశాఖపట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలు వెనుకబడిన ప్రాంతాలు. ఈ జిల్లాలలో గోదావరి వంటి పెద్ద నదులు లేవుగాని, చిన్నవి చాలా ఉన్నాయి. ఈ నదులలోని నీరంతా సముద్రంలోకి వృథాగా ప్రవహించిపోతుంటే ఏ ప్రభుత్వం కూడా తగినంత శ్రద్ధ తీసుకోలేదు. సుమారు 40 లక్షల రూపాయలు ఖర్చుపెట్టినట్లయితే మా జిల్లాలో ఎన్నో వేల ఎకరాల భూమిని సాగులోనికి తీసుకొని రావచ్చును. ఈ విషయాన్ని ఆనేకసార్లు పూర్వపు మంత్రివర్గానికి ఆ నాటి సభ్యులు, ఆ నాటి శాసనసభ్యులు ఇతర ప్రజానాయకులు మనవి చేశారుగాని, ఫలితం శుద్ధ శూన్యం. పెద్ద మొత్తాలతో

[Sri K. Govinda Rao] [1st July 1952

కట్టకలిగిన రిజర్వాయర్లు ఎక్కో ఉన్నాయి. ఈ చిన్న చిన్న సైజర్ ఇరిగేషన్ భూమిని చేయించుటకు కూడా ప్రభుత్వం చేయకూడుతుందంటే ఈ జిల్లాల ప్రజలకట్ట ఎంతటి అదరము, అభిమానము వారికి ఉన్నదో విదితమవుతుంది. ముఖ్యంగా విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో కోరదా నదిపై ఆరంభేల్ ప్రాజెక్టు మొదలైనవి ఎక్కో నిర్మింపబడవలసి ఉన్నాయి. ఈ ఆరంభేల్ ప్రాజెక్టును నిర్మించినట్లయితే 20, 30 వేల ఎకరాల భూమికి ఉపయోగపడగలదు. ఆదేవిధంగా శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలో వంశధార, నాగావళి మొదలైన నదులు చాలా ఉన్నాయి. వీటికి ప్రాజెక్టులు కట్టే ప్రయత్నం ఈ ప్రభుత్వం చేస్తున్నదా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. ప్రజాబాహుళ్యాలు గుర్తించకుండా ప్రజలు కాంగ్రెసును నమ్మలేరు, కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం మీద విశ్వాసం ప్రకటించాలంటే, ఎలా సాధ్యమవుతుందో అర్థం కావడం లేదు. ఈ నాడు ప్రభుత్వం వారు అవలంభిస్తున్నది ఇరిగేషన్ పాలసీ కాదు. ఇది స్టార్వేషన్ పాలసీ అవారిభాన్యాలు కొనగలగా నున్న ప్రాంతాలలో నీటిపారుదల వసతులను కల్పించని ప్రభుత్వం ప్రజాహిత ప్రభుత్వమా ప్రజా వ్యతిరేక ప్రభుత్వమా గమనించవలసిందని తీర్మానిస్తున్నాను.

"ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు అవలంభిస్తున్న విధానం విశాఖజిల్లాను రాయలసీమగా తయారుచేసే పాలసీ ప్రజలను ఆకలి మంటలకు ఆహుతిచేసే పాలసీ. ఇటువంటి ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఎందుకు విశ్వసించాలో ఆసేదే నా ప్రశ్న.

"ఈ విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో ఎక్కో వేల ఎకరాలు యీనాందార్ల చేతుల్లో ఉన్నవి. నిన్న మొన్నటిదాకా జిల్లాలో చాలాభాగము జమీందారుల హస్తగతమై ఉంది. ఇప్పటికీ కొన్ని జమీలు యింకా రద్దుకాలేదు. ఈ జమీందారులు, యీనాందారులు తమ శిస్తులలోనం తాపత్రయము పడుతున్నారేగాని పాడైపోయిన జలాశయాలను మరామ్మత్తు చేయుటకు పూనుకొనడం లేదు. ఇటువంటి పరిస్థితులలో కూడా ప్రభుత్వం రైతాంగం యొక్క మొర ఆలకించడం లేదు. జమీందారులను, యీనాందారులను తొలగించి భూములపై సర్వహక్కులు దున్నేవానికి సక్రమించజేయాలి. అ నాడే దేశం సుభిక్షం అవుతుంది. ఆహారధాన్యాలు చాలినంత పండుతాయి. ఆదీగాక పేద రైతాంగంపై యీనాందారులు జరుపుతున్న అత్యాచారాలు నానాటికి అధిక మవుతున్నాయి. కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులమని చెప్పుకుంటున్న పెద్దలే ఎక్కోవిధాల రైతులను బాధిస్తున్నారు. బలవంతంగా దౌర్జన్యంతో పేద రైతులను భూములనుండి ఆక్రమంగా తొలగించడానికి యీనాందార్లు ప్రయత్నిస్తున్నారు. ఈ మధ్యన నిమ్మలపట్నం తాలూకాలోని పోలిపిల్లి, మజ్జిమలస మొదలగు గ్రామాలలో రైతాంగాన్ని యీనాందార్లు తుపాకులు చూపించి దౌర్జన్యంచేసి బలవంతంగా తొలగించివేసారు. ఇదే విధంగా సుప్రసిద్ధ కాంగ్రెసు నాయకుడైన మాజీ ఎమ్మెల్సీ సభ్యుడు శ్రీ పి.యల్.యన్. రాజుగారు, వారి తుపాకులు చూపి, బంధువర్గం రైతాంగాన్ని బెదిరించి భూమి స్వాధీనం చేసుకున్నారు. కాంగ్రెసువారుచేసే పనులివి. ఇటువంటి పెద్ద భూస్వాములకే కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం తుపాకులు ఇస్తున్నది. వారు ఈ అయుధాల ఆసరా చూచుకొని పేద రైతులను భూమిని విడిచిపెట్టకపోతే కాల్చుతామని బెదిరిస్తూన్నారు. 1947-48 సంలో అలమండ, గంటాస్థంభం గ్రామాలలో యీనాందార్లు, భూస్వాములు రైతులిన్ని భూమినుండి వెళ్లగొట్టేందుకై, దున్నే రైతును భూమిలోనుండి తొలగించడానికే యిటువంటి అయుధాలను ప్రభుత్వం కాంగ్రెసు పెద్దలకు ఇస్తుందా అని రైతులు ప్రశ్నిస్తున్నారు. రైతులను కొట్టి, తిట్టి, బెదిరించి, వారు 40, 50 సంవత్సరాలుగా సాగుచేస్తున్న భూమిలో నుంచి తొలగించి వేస్తున్నారు. ఈ విషయం శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు తెలుసుకొన్నారా, తెలుసుకొని ఏమైనా చర్య తీసుకోడానికి

సిద్ధంగా ఉన్నారా? అని అడుగుతున్నాను. మీరు ఏ చర్య తీసుకోరన్న విషయం నాకు తెలుసు. ఎందుకంటే కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం భూస్వాముల ప్రభుత్వం. ప్రజా వ్యతిరేకమైన ప్రభుత్వం పేద సాదలను పీల్చి పిండే ప్రభుత్వం అని చెప్పడానికి ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహం లేదు. దేశంలో ఈ నాడు కాంగ్రెసుకు అండగా నున్నవారు పెద్ద భూస్వాములే. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఏదైనా తలపెట్టితే ఆ భూస్వాముల లాభానికే తలపెట్టుతుంది. ఇటువంటి ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఎందుకు అధికారంలో నుంచి తొలగించ కూడదని అడుగుతున్నాను. అంతే కాకుండా జమీందారీ విధానం రద్దుచేశామని అంటున్నారు. కాని ఆచరణలో చూచినట్లయితే రైతుకు ఇంకా అనేక విధాలా బాధలు తప్పలేద. రెంటు రిడక్షన్ ఇంకా కొన్ని జమీందారీ ప్రాంతాలలో జరగ లేదు. దరిమిలా ఇనాములవిషయంలో శిస్తు తగ్గింపు అమలు జరుపబడలేదు. దున్నే వానికే భూమి హక్కు ఉండాలి. భూస్వామ్యము రద్దు చేయాలి అని కాంగ్రెసువారు అనేకపర్యాయములు వేదికలలో నుంచి ఉపన్యసించారు. వారి తీర్మానాలు అలా కాగితపు తీర్మానాలు గానే ఉండిపోయినాయి. కాంగ్రెసుప్రభుత్వం ఉన్నంతకాలం రైతాంగానికి క్షేమం కల్గడం కల్ల. రైతాంగాన్ని అణచిపెట్టడమే ప్రస్తుత ప్రభుత్వం యొక్క కార్యక్రమంగా కనిపిస్తున్నది. భూస్వాములకు తుపాకులు మొదలైన ఆయుధాలను ఇవ్వడానికి ఉంచబడ్డాయి. ఈ విషయాలు మనవిచేస్తే కమ్యూనిస్టులు రైతులలో అశాంతి రేకెత్తిస్తున్నారని, విద్రోహచర్యలు చేస్తున్నారని వారిపై అభాండాలు వేస్తారు. వారు ఎంతవరకూ కమ్యూనిస్టులను నిందించడంతోనే సరిపెట్టుకుంటున్నారు గాని, ప్రజల కష్టాలు ఏమిటో గుర్తించడం లేదు. ఈ నాడు రైతాంగం కూలీలు కష్టాలు పడుతున్నారంటే, దానికి కారణం కాంగ్రెస్ వారా, కమ్యూనిస్టులా అని అడుగు తున్నాను. అయిదు సంవత్సరముల కాంగ్రెస్ పరిపాలన కాలంలో సామాన్య రైతు వర్గం శిథిలమైపోయారు. పేద ప్రజలు తినడానికి తిండి కట్టటానికి గుడ్డ లేక అలో లక్ష్మణా అని ఆక్రందిస్తున్నారు. కాబట్టి ఈ ప్రభుత్వంపై ఎందుకు విశ్వాసం ప్రకటించాలి.

" ఇక చెరుకు పంట విషయములో రైతులు పడే బాధలవిషయంలో శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి ప్రభుత్వం ఎంత పాక్షికంగా వ్యవహరిస్తున్నదో గమనించవలసివుంది. మా విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో చెరుకుపంట విస్తారంగా ఉన్నది. తుమ్మపాల, బొబ్బిలి మొదలైన పంచదార ఫాక్టరీలు ఉన్నవి. ఈ ఫాక్టరీలకు రైతులు జనవరి, ఫిబ్రవరి మాసాలలో చెరుకు సప్లయిచేశారు. కాని ఇంతవరకు ఆ చెఱుకుకు ధర ఇవ్వబడలేదు. ఏమయ్యా అంటే, ఫాక్టరీ యజమానులువారివద్ద డబ్బులేదనిన్నీ, సరుకు నిలవఉండిపోయిన దనిన్నీ అంటారు. సాగుకు ఎంతో డబ్బు పెట్టుబడిపెట్టి చెరుకు పండించే రైతు తన పంటకు సకాలంలో డబ్బు రానిదే ఏవిధంగా తిరిగివచ్చే సంవత్సరం సాగుచేయగలడో గ్రహించగోరుతాను. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఎంతసేపుచూచినా ఫాక్టరీయజమానులు భూస్వాముల ఇబ్బందులేమిటో గుర్తిస్తుందేగాని రైతాంగము యొక్క కష్టసుఖాలు గుర్తించదు. ఈ నాటికి చెరుకును మిల్లులకు సప్లయిచేసి ఆరు మాసములు దాటినా ఇంత వరకు ఏమీ వారికి డబ్బుమాటలేదు. ఫాక్టరీయజమానులు తమవద్ద డబ్బులేదనిచెప్పితే ప్రభుత్వం నమ్మి రైతులకు రెండువాయిదాలలో చెరుకుధర చెల్లించవచ్చునని పేర్కొంటూ ప్రభుత్వ ఆర్డర్లు జారీచేసింది. కాని రైతాంగము వేలాదిమంది తమకు సాగుబడికే డబ్బులేదని అడిగితే, షావుకార్లు తమను ఋణంతీర్చమని బాధిస్తున్నారని అంటే ప్రభుత్వం వినిపించుకోదు. ఈ విధానాన్ని ఏమని అనవలెనో తెలియడంలేదు. ప్రభుత్వానికి రైతుమీదకన్నా పెట్టుబడిదార్లమీద విశేషమైన అభిమానం, ఆదరము అని అనటానికి ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహములేదు, అని ఈ విషయాలు ఋజువుచేస్తున్నాయి.

నిజంగా డబ్బులేకపోతే ఎరువు రైతులా, మిల్లు యజమానులా ? ఇన్ని సంక్షేమరాజ్యాలుగా ధరలు ఉన్నరోజులలో డొంగవ్యాపారంలో డబ్బుసంపాదించిన ఈ మిల్లు యజమానులవద్ద డబ్బులేదంటే ప్రజాసామాన్యము విశ్వసించదము. కాని ప్రభుత్వం విశ్వసిస్తుంది. బొబ్బిలి రాజా, ఆడుసుమిల్లి గోపాలకృష్ణయ్యవంటి పెద్ద పెద్ద పెట్టుబడిదార్లు, భూస్వాములు, బాకీవద్ద డబ్బులేదంటారు. అయితే నిజమా, కాదా అని ఏ ప్రభుత్వం అధికారంలో వున్నా ప్రభుత్వం కానివ్వండి, కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వం కానివ్వండి, విశ్వసిస్తున్నది. అయ్యా పెట్టుబడికి మూడగ్గర డబ్బులేదు. ఏరోజు ఏవిధంగా కష్టాలకుబడ్డా బాధలుపడి భూమిని సాగుచేయడానికి మాత్రంపకు వెంటనే మాకు డబ్బుయివ్వండిఅంటే, ప్రభుత్వంవారిపై కక్షకట్టినా చూడలేదు. ఇటువంటి ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఎందుకు విశ్వసించాలి. ఇది భూస్వాముల ప్రభుత్వమా, రైతుల ప్రభుత్వమా అని ప్రభుత్వంవారే తర్కించుకొంటే మంచిది. ఆరు నెలలుగడుస్తూ రైతులు తమకు ధరరాక ఎన్నోసార్లు ఫ్యాక్టరీయజమానులచుట్టూ తిరిగిపోతున్నారు. ఇప్పుడైనా బాకీ ఇవ్వవలసిన డబ్బు బాకీ ఇప్పించటానికి వీలులేదట్లు ప్రభుత్వం ఇంకా కొంతకాలం ఆగండి, రెండు వాయిదాలలో డబ్బు ఇస్తాము, అని చెబుతున్నారు. ఆంటే మిల్లు యజమానులు పెట్టుబడిలేకుండా వ్యాపారంచేసుకొని లాభాలు సంపాదించుకుంటూ వారి ఇష్టమువచ్చినప్పుడు, వారిచేతులోకి డబ్బువచ్చినప్పుడు ఇస్తామంటే, అది ప్రభుత్వం ప్రోత్సాహిస్తున్నదన్నమాట. రైతులకు ఉపకారంచేస్తామనిచెప్పే శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఈ విషయంలో ఏంచెబుతోంది. ఆయన చెప్పేదానికి, చేసేదానికి ఎంతో వ్యత్యాసంఉంటుందని అనుకోవడానికి ఇది ప్రత్యక్ష నిదర్శనము. రైతుకు సహాయముచేయకుండా భూస్వామికి పెట్టుబడిదారి సహాయముచేసే ఉద్దేశ్యమే ఆయనది. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు అధికారంలో ఉన్నంతవరకూ పేదసాదిలగోడు ఎవరూ ఇలకించరు. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం పెట్టుబడిదార్లు ప్రభుత్వం, పెద్ద పెద్ద భూస్వాముల ప్రభుత్వం. మిల్లు యజమానుల ప్రభుత్వం. ప్రజాభిమతానికి విరుద్ధంగా నడిచే అభివృద్ధినిరోధక ప్రభుత్వం. అందుకనే వారికి ప్రజల బాధలు తెలిపితే అని వినటానికి వారికి ఇష్టముండదు. వారు అంతట వారు ప్రజల బాధలను గుర్తించరు. ఎవరైనా ఆ బాధలగురించి వారికి తెలియజేస్తే ఆటువంటి వారు కమ్యూనిష్టులని, దేశద్రోహులని అనడం అయనకు అలవాటు అయిపోయినది. వారి బాధలను ఆయన ఆలకించడు. ప్రభుత్వ అర్డరులకు వ్యతిరేకంగా చెరుకు ఉత్పత్తిదారులకు, వారు సప్లయిచేసిన చెరుకుకు ధరచెల్లించకుండా పీడించేదుంటున్న ఆడుసుమిల్లి గోపాలకృష్ణయ్య, బొబ్బిలి రాజా మిండలగు మిల్లు యజమానులపై ఎందుకు తగు చర్య తీసుకోరు ? బహుశా: ఆడుసుమిల్లి గోపాలకృష్ణయ్య, బొబ్బిలి రాజావంటి వారు ఆయనకు స్నేహితులైఉండవచ్చు. అటువంటివారి సహాయ్యము ఉంటేనే కాంగ్రెసు సంస్థ తనాడు పడకుబడుతూఉండవచ్చు. అందువలనే కాంగ్రెసుసంస్థ దేశంలోని పేదలను బాగుపరిచే సంస్థకాదు. అభివృద్ధినిరోధక సంస్థ అనే కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం పేదలపాలిట శత్రువుఅని చెప్పటానికి ఎంతమాత్రం నేను వెనుకాడను. చెరుకు నుండించే రైతులకు ఎప్పుడో ఆక్టోబరునెలలో సొమ్ము యిస్తామంటే ఏమిన్యాయము ? జనవరి, ఫిబ్రవరి మాసములలో వారు చెరుకు ఫ్యాక్టరీలకు సప్లయిచేస్తే ఆక్టోబరు, నవంబరు నెలలలోనో ఇంకా ఏపది నెలల తరువాతనో రైతులకు సొమ్ము చెల్లిస్తామంటే ఏమిటీన్యాయం ? కేంద్రప్రభుత్వము రెండువాయిదాలలో సొమ్ము ఇవ్వమన్నదిగదా అని ఆక్టోబరులో డబ్బు చెల్లిస్తామంటే ఏమిన్యాయము ? కేంద్రప్రభుత్వానికి మన రాష్ట్రంలోని చెరుకు పంట crushing season కాలంగూర్చి తెలియదు. వి.యు పి. లో దృష్టిలోపెట్టుకొని సాగుకు దేశమంతటికీ ఈ ఆర్డరు వ్యాపునుచేశారు. మొన్న సప్లయిచేసిన చెరుకుకు డబ్బు ఇవ్వనట్లయితే రైతు ఏవిధంగా వచ్చేసంవత్సరం పంటచేయగలడో ఆలోచించడంలేదు. వచ్చేఏడాదికి ఏవిధంగా సాగుచేయాలో అనేదానికి తోచడంలేదు.

1st July 1952] [Sri K. Govinda Rao]

డబ్బు చేతికి గా ఆశ్చర్యపడడంలేదు. ఆశ్చర్య పడినా, పెద్దపడ్డిని ధరించుకోలేదు. ఇటు వంటి విపరీత పరిస్థితులను వారిని ప్రభుత్వం ఎందుకు తరుముతున్నదో ఆర్థం కాకడంలేదు. పరిస్థితు ఇంత ఆధ్వాన్నంగాఉంటే రైతాంగము కాంగ్రెసును సమర్థించాలా అని ఆయనను ఆడుగుతున్నది. రైతులను ఆయన ఆయవయొక్క ప్రభుత్వం విమిమేలు చేశారని వారు ఈ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని, ఈ ప్రధానినీ, ఎట్లు బలపరచాలో నాకు ఆర్థం కాకడంలేదు."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member will continue his speech to-morrow. I now adjourn the House till 10-30 a.m. to-morrow."

The House then adjourned.

IV.—PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

G.O. Ms. No. 1839, *P.W.* (*Electricity*), *dated* 28*th April* 1952, *relating to acquisition of Periyakulam Municipal Electrical Undertaking.*