

[Shri Kamalapati Tripathi]

ment in the railways' transport capability, high level of productivity and punctuality, improved discipline and better quality of service. The 200 million tonne mark, around which our originating freight traffic has hovered for many years, has, I hope, been finally crossed. None of this would have been possible without the wholehearted cooperation and dedicated hard work of all levels of railwaymen. Sir, I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation of the devotion to duty and high sense of responsibility shown by railwaymen. Our combined earnest endeavour in 1976-77 would be not only to consolidate the gains made in the current year but also attain greater heights of physical performance and at the same time make the railways financially viable.

It is the aim of the Indian Railways to husband their resources, scarce as they are in our growing economy, and to seek and retain customer satisfaction: for the railway user in his millions expects reliable, speedy and safe service. With the goodwill of the House and the united effort of all levels of railwaymen, I have hope and confidence of a new image of the railways emerging from the mists of the past. May this vision come true.

12.35 hrs.

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE.
PRESIDENTS' PROCLAMATION IN
RELATION TO THE STATE OF TA-
MIL NADU—Contd.**

MR. SPEAKER: The House will now take up further discussion on the following resolution moved by Shri K. Brahmananda Reddy on the 9th March, 1976, namely:—

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 31st January, 1976 under article

356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Tamil Nadu."

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN (Coimbatore): Yesterday, when the House dispersed, I was pointing out how after the emergency, the party of Shri Era Sezhiyan, DMK, had been taking consistently an anti-emergency stand and the Ministry in that State had been resorting to various measures which were sabotaging rather than implementing the programme before us, after the declaration of the emergency. On the 27th of June, the executive committee meeting in Madras held under the presidentship of the then Chief Minister Karunanidhi, DMK passed a unanimous resolution noting that "the recent approach adopted by the Ruling Congress and the methods practised by the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi have tended to put out the fight for democracy and lead the country into the gloom of dictatorship. Hiding the image of truth; standing in the shadows of falsehood; having prepared schemes for stuffing the opposition parties; going in search of imaginary reasons for implementing such schemes and hurling calumnies; calling anything and everything as conspiracy, foreign contact reactionaries—Mrs. Indira Gandhi has inaugurated the advent of dictatorship in the early morning of 26th June, 1975 casting ever-lasting slur on the Indian people."

Now, this resolution was not seen in the Press in this country. Mr. Era Sezhiyan is so concerned about pre-censorship. Why was that pre-censorship brought? In my State, Tamil Nadu anything and everything was appearing in the Press. If you look at the issues of *Murasoli* of that period you will find all sorts of cartoons that were there, the comments that were there about the emergency, about the situation in this country about foreign conspiracies that were

there against our national independence and national freedom.

How is it that this resolution appears in the Press in America where I saw it on my way back from Mexico? It appears in the press in Britain; it appears in the press in West Germany. It is lauded by the Press of those countries who were at that time also spreading the same falsehood, the same calumny, against the Prime Minister, against the Emergency and against all patriotic and democratic forces in this country

This is what we have to remember. This is why the Communist Party of India the A.D.M.K and all democratic forces in the country have been demanding action against such a Ministry much earlier than the day on which the President's rule was imposed. Why did you have an strich-like attitude to all this? Why did you have your heads buried in sand for all this time? Why did you give them time to carry on the type of things that were going on there, introducing further and further distortions in the administration so that today in my State, you have got people with a sense of uncertainty; you have got people in my State wondering what is going to happen now. Will those distortions be removed?

Immediately after the President's rule was announced, what happened there? The police ran hay-wire. There are those persons who were recruited by the DMK during the recent period, who went out of their way to enter the offices of the Communist Party of India, to enter the offices of our trade unions. They beat people and dragged them to the police station saying, "We will see that the Communist Party of India and the democratic forces in the country are finished." At 2.30 A.M. in the morning, I get a telephone call; I have to contact the Superintendent of Police; I have to contact the Collector and I have to see that an investigation is

conducted, that policemen are suspended while the investigation goes on. It is not an easy thing.

Throughout the State, both political and administrative measures were being taken steadily by the DMK Ministry to point out that Tamil Nadu was different from the rest of India; that Tamilians will have to see that they find a place in their Government. That is why in the State Conference, you have a speech being made saying, "Whether the Centre conducts elections or not, our party will conduct elections and after the elections, Mr. Karunanadhi will become, not the Chief Minister, but the Prime Minister of a free Tamil Nadu....". This is what the people in Tamil Nadu were hearing all the time.

That is why on the 31st January, there was a feeling of relief and also a feeling of expectation. That is where the responsibility today comes on the Central Government to see that those expectations are fulfilled, to see that in every sphere of administration, the paramount task is to give the people of Tamil Nadu an efficient and a clean administration.

About those who were there in the administration, the officers who are there, what about their accountability? They cannot get away by saying that it was a Minister who did it. What are the officers there for? Officers who are the officers? How many are there? It is these officers who should give on the files their opinions saying that certain things are right and certain things are wrong.

How is it that a circular has been issued that no action be taken against the drivers of the State Transport buses who are responsible for accidents? The result is that today in Tamil Nadu, you have the bus drivers driving with impunity at any speed, breaking all the traffic rules because there is their Government to protect them. What is going to happen about that circular? What are you going to

[Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan]

do about the safety of passengers? What are you going to do about various circulars that were being issued and various instructions that were being given in order to help the disruptive elements, the goonda elements, the unruly elements to hold power over ordinary people? This is what you will have to find out and these are the steps that have to be taken.

It is not good that today for those who were earlier going around with red and black strips to go around—the same people—with white, orange and green strips and throw their weight around. We, in Tamilnadu, during the last four years, have seen the red and black strips sitting there in the police station and trying to conduct the lives of the people and that is why we are saying, from 1972, after the movement of the peasants for the writing off of debts which was dealt with in the most crude and most vicious manner—and Mr. Dinen Bhattacharyya forgets that the people of Tamilnadu were courageous enough to conduct that movement; the people were involved in the movement. And what was that movement? It was a movement for writing off debts, a peasants' movement, a state for wide movement. Then our party members and the members of the ADMK participated in the popular movement because that is when the rot started; that is when they started going back on their election promises and that is when the true face of the DMK was revealed and one could see bit by bit, the erosion of the economy of Tamilnadu. The betrayal of the election promises made to the people of Tamilnadu in 1971 began as far back as 1972 and today, after the emergency there has been a steep and a very hasty decline and you gave them a long rope; and today there is a situation in Tamilnadu where we see the same faces but in a new robe changed from black and red to green, orange and

white; you find them coming in the new grab and this is what is leading to a feeling of uncertainty. Therefore, we have been asking that you must involve the people in the participation of changing the face of Tamilnadu and in the implementation of the 20 point programme. Popular Committees should be set up for this purpose. It is through the popular Committees that you will be able to get down to the grass-root level and overcome the distortions that have taken place since June, 1975 and the distortions that took place even earlier. That is why, while the Communist Party has welcomed the dismissal of the DMK Government and has appreciated the setting up of a Commission of Inquiry, they have also been stressing and will continue to stress and demand that the face of Tamilnadu cannot be changed, the 20 point programme cannot be achieved and the ills and the damage of the past four years cannot be overcome unless and until you take steps to see that democracy and democratic institutions come up, that a feeling of democratic activity is generated and the people's involvement becomes a reality through the Committees.

When, the other day, I was raising the matter, what happened? I was asked by the Collector sitting there, "What people's Committees?" I said "Well, of the Parties that are supporting the emergency and the organisations that support the 20 point programmes. He said, "But under President's Rule, where is the room for political parties?" A very strange argument and a very strange philosophy.

Therefore, I would appeal to the Government to see that this type of distortion does not continue, because it is a very mischievous statement to make—that there is no political freedom under President's rule and there is no room for political parties under President's rule, a most amazing philosophy. When the 20 point pro-

gramme talks about people's involvement and when the Prime Minister, in many of her speeches, calls on the people to come forward and involve themselves in the implementation of the 20 point programme, why is it that these Committees have not come into being as yet? It is only when these Committees come into being that you will be able to militate against the distortions that have grown and you will be able, also, to raise in the minds of the people real confidence that, today, the past is a thing of the past and the future is what we should look forward to and that Tamilnadu can also participate in the implementation of the 20 point programme, and much towards a better future after the dismissal of the DMK Ministry.

SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN (Tiruttam): Mr. Speaker, Sir, all these years I have been practising the virtue of listening to my colleagues in the House, but now I thought I might crave the indulgence of this House and request my colleagues to listen to me for a while. I yielded even to the temptation of hearing my own voice because I thought the occasion demanded it. It is a historic occasion. The Prime Minister has earned universal gratitude. Except for those sinful and sordid DMK men and their collaborators, she has earned the gratitude of one and all in Tamil Nadu. So, I thought I should say something relevant on this very historic occasion.

Now we are going through the formality of this House approving the Proclamation. It is required by the Constitution. But I should like to tell you that this formality—I should not be mistaken when I say this—has become superfluous because the unprecedented gathering that assembled on the sands of the Madras Beach on the 15th February—it was a gathering never seen before; I am accustomed to seeing gatherings not only in Tamil Nadu but in other parts of our country as well, but here, in Madras, it was a vast sea of humanity; the Home Minister was also present; it equalled

the Bay of Bengal on the other side; such was the crowd—applauded and approved and put their seal of approval on the act of the Central Government. So, we are merely following the decision of the peoples of Tamil Nadu in putting our seal of approval on this most popular act of the Central Government and of the Prime Minister.

Article 356 is for a stop-gap arrangement. When something happens in a State, when there is a Constitutional lacuna, article 356 enables the Central Government to step in. This has happened several times; there is nothing new about it; it has happened in the case of many States in India. But there is something new about the present situation, and that is, it is not merely a stop-gap action; I would like to say, it is a rescue operation. The people of Tamil Nadu were writhing in pain under DMK rule that was imposed upon article 356 nine long years. So, article 356 has assumed, in content, a more serious function than merely providing for a stop-gap arrangement. It has actually rescued the people of Tamil Nadu from the oppressive rule that was never seen before in any part of our country at least. So, Sir, we shall not merely pay a tribute and say that this article has come to our help to provide for a stop-gap arrangement; it has actually given a great relief to the people of Tamil Nadu. That was why they assembled there in millions to celebrate the event, to celebrate the day as a day of deliverance and to thank the person who inspired that deliverance. It can be compared—if I can be excused for going into our puranic lore—to the rescue of the Elephant King from the death-grip of the devil crocodile. Similarly, the people of Tamil Nadu have been rescued. It is a very strange thing. No Government has been dismissed before on such a massive criminal charge-sheet. The Governor's report is a veritable long list of criminal acts of omissions and commissions of the DMK Gov-

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ernment. A mere perusal of it will convince anybody that this action has come not a day too soon. Even my friend the Leader of the DMK Group here, Mr. Sezhiyan, I do not think has tried to defend the indefensible; he did not do it; he has a much too refined moral conscience to defend all the corrupt acts of his own Party Government. He has welcomed the appointment of a Commission. Never before a Commission of Enquiry was appointed. He has welcomed the appointment of a Commission and he has also said rather apologetically that their party itself will take action if people are found guilty by the Commission. It should be said to his credit that he was not able to hide or swallow it because he knows much more than you and I do. I do not mean Shri Manoharan, he also knows quite a lot; I was talking only of our party men. Shri Sezhiyan knows much more than what anybody from outside can know. He has been in the inner councils and he has been a confidential adviser to the late Mr. Annadurai. He knows what all has happened and he should be suffering from a greater guilty-conscience than all the rest. His only grouse was that the actions that were taken in very many previous cases have not been uniform. Action is taken on the merits of a case. You cannot expect action to be uniform in all cases. You have to examine whether the action is constitutional or whether it is called for under the circumstances, but you cannot ask for uniform action. His only complaint—as I was going through his speech, I was not present during his speech yesterday—was that the action has not been uniform. I would like to submit that action cannot be uniform in all cases, it has to take into account the differences in the situations and prescribe a remedy, but take care that it is constitutional.

Not only for the DMK Government
I mean the political party—but it

has been our misfortune that all this happened in Madras which enjoyed the reputation of being one of the foremost States, its administration was praised all over the country. It was a model to the rest of the country. As the Home Minister put it, the first requirement is to provide the Tamil Nadu people with a clean, efficient and honest administration. The administration in the State of Madras, the then old Madras, and later on Tamil Nadu, was known as the best and there were only a few equals. A few other States could come near it. For instance, the old Bombay administration was supposed to be a very good administration. I would be wrong in praising only one administration. There were few administrations which could be compared either to Madras—Tamil Nadu—or Bombay—Maharashtra. Such a state of affairs has been completely vitiated in these long years of rule of DMK.

Many collaborators within the services have been actively collaborating, many officers have been actively collaborating with the evil designs of the DMK Government and though the Government has been dismissed, these people enjoy the protection of the Constitution. You cannot touch a single hair on their body and so the circus merry-go-round goes on. Now it is for this House to demand that such of those people who actively collaborated in the evil designs and actions of the DMK Government, should also be dealt with suitably.

When the Emergency was declared, it was almost non-existent in the State of Tamil Nadu under DMK. It was something like the Moon showing in several parts of the world, but not showing in one part of the world. It is called eclipse of the moon.

MR. SPEAKER: It is 1'0 clock now. The House may now adjourn and meet at 2.00 p.m.

15 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch
till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at three minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE.
 PRESIDENTS' PROCLAMATION
 IN RELATION TO THE STATE
 OF TAMIL NADU—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Raghuramaiah.

THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): The allotted time will be over by 20 minutes past four. I see many hon. members both from this side as also from that side wish to participate. So, I would suggest that the Minister may be called at 5.15 p.m. That will give nearly 6 1/2 hours for the debate.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Is that the pleasure of the House?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, Mr. Alagesan to resume his speech. Mr. Alagesan.

SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN: Before the House rose for lunch I was saying that the Emergency moon did not shine in the State of Tamil Nadu while it was shining in other parts of India. Emergency was eclipsed in Tamil Nadu. In States like Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, etc., making use of the emergency, certain very useful steps were taken. All the corrupt elements—if was quite a large number—in the administration were weeded out but no such thing has happened in Tamil Nadu. Now, the people of Tamil Nadu expect that this deficiency will be made up and strict action will be taken against officials and others who erred in the past. Now, a certain official—I am not criticising, the new Advisers' regime has just taken over, it

has to settle down—has been transferred to a particular job. The new regime has to consider various matters and take decisions. Those people expect quick action. We understand quick action cannot be equated to hasty action. It has to be considered action. I shall quote one instance. One officer who was very near the powers that then were and who owed allegiance to them, made a lot of money. He has been transferred to some other post, I am told, connected with fishing. He has been fishing on land, in inland waters. Now he has gone to fish in deep sea. This is what people talk about and if this is the action taken or punishment meted out, then there will be dissatisfaction. The new advisers' regime has to take a long broom and sweep the whole thing clean. It is a difficult task. I do realise. But the job has to be done. Full satisfaction has to be given to the people.

There are infiltrators, infiltrators in the various services, police, and other services. People were appointed purely on account of nepotism. Ministers' sons, sons-in-law and near relatives had been directly recruited as Deputy Collectors and R.D.Os. These appointments were supposed to have been made by the Madras Public Service Commission, but the Madras Public Service Commission was entirely innocent of the appointment. All the appointments were made by the Executive itself. Of course, the false seal of M.P.S.C is there. Now, how to tackle such a situation? That is the task with which the new advisers' regime is now confronted.

So much has been talked about corruption. I do not know how to describe the extent of corruption that has seeped through all the levels of administration—high, middle, low and everywhere. It has permeated everywhere. There is not a single place where corruption has not operated. It should be said to the credit or discredit

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of the D.M.K. Government that they have streamlined and systematized corruption and exalted it to a way of life as it is the fashion to say. It should be said to their credit or discredit, whichever suits the hon. members. Now, how to tackle this situation? I am told that there is a Minister who hails from very near my place, thereby nothing attaches to me, I suppose. He has prepared, I am told, a manual as to what amount should be received for what jobs. A regular manual has been prepared and the manual is strictly followed. Neither higher sums are demanded nor lower sums are accepted. It is faithfully carried out. (Interruptions)

I shall be very lucky to come into possession of a copy of the manual and hand it over to my hon. friend.

We in the Constituent Assembly used the words Consolidated Fund of India, Consolidated Fund of a State. We thought it was almost a forbidding expression. It is very difficult, it is impossible to draw monies from the Consolidated Fund of the State or India except with the strictest scrutiny and approval. That is what is understood. In fact, we thought that the term consolidated fund was a forbidding expression. Nobody can tamper with it. But we found to our dismay, the people of Tamil Nadu found it to their dismay, that this Consolidated Fund was not too consolidated to prevent the DMK from siphoning off funds from it, which was used by the DMK to consolidate their party gains. They devised various sorts of ways by which funds of Government treasuries and consolidated fund could be used for the benefit of the party and it is certainly a novelty and nobody else has done it. Any likeminded people can surely sit at their feet and learn this art of how to defraud the consolidated fund for purposes not at all intended by the constitution. One of the things which

have been said is whether we have been following constitutional provisions in removing the Government or not. May I here ask one simple question, Sir? Are all the acts done to defraud the people of their legitimate dues by the DMK Government constitutional? Can you say so even if you stretch your imagination to the farthest extent? This is the state of affairs obtaining under the DMK regime in Tamil Nadu.

Regarding Land Reforms, as you know, this is one of the important items under the Prime Minister's 20-point programme. I can tell you the position in this respect in Tamil Nadu. Whereas it had been difficult for the DMK to find and allot land for the poor people, DMK partymen were freely assigned land. The *modus operandi* is something like this. They go to the tahsildar. They threaten him. Immediately some piece of land is found, quite a considerable extent of land, 30 or 40 acres and if the land revenue happens to be small the extent of land is more as per standard acres and he gets 30 or 40 acres assigned. Now, immediately this man goes to some Land Mortgage Bank where his brother is sitting for a lakh of rupees of loan. A land is assigned to him yesterday and today he does all these things and gets this money. I do not know whether the land is reclaimed or not but the man comes to possess considerable extent of land and considerable sums of Government money. This is what happens and as I said this is the sort of *modus operandi* that is going on. Even in my own taluka one of the hon. Members of the House got assigned such land and I am told that some lakhs of rupees have been given as loan for reclamation of that land and all this money has gone down the drain in this way. The cooperative institutions are misused in a very ingenious manner. They have become dens of vice. One would have never dreamt of such things when the cooperative movement was launched.

Various atrocities are being done in a most ingenious way. Provision has been made to put in directors of the Government in any of these co-operative societies and to unseat any honest office-holders there, to bring in the DMK office-holder so that he can continue these things as he pleases. This is what happens. This is an ingenious way of doing things and this is beyond the imagination of anybody here.

So, I say that if only the lands that have been assigned to D.M.K. M.L.As. their partymen and their relatives could be taken back, quite a lot of land will be available for distribution amongst the poor. I feel that it can be legitimately taken away from them. When we take away the land which a landlord has been owning for generations, certainly, the new landlord could be deprive of his land which has come into his possession unjustly and by unfair means and by misuse or abuse of government machinery. That land could be very easily taken back from them and distribute to the landless poor.

The people of the North have several misunderstandings about the D.M.K. One such misunderstanding is that they do not believe in God. But I wish to inform the House that God is much too concrete and propertied a person to be ignored by the DMK because he is not to be believed by the DMK. Nobody has chosen to be heirs to God's property as DMK people have done. They may not believe in God but they have appropriated God's own money which no believer had ever done before! Maybe, some people might have misappropriated money to some extent but the so-called non-believer DMK have misappropriated God's money to the entire extent. I shall give you a concrete instance to make my point clear. There is an honourable member of this House who happens to be the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of a temple which is again in my area. And this gentleman draws regularly every month a sum of Rs. 1,000 from

that temple. The Executive Officer has been ordered to pay Rs. 1,000 to this man. You know tickets are sold for *archanas*. The cost of the ticket is only Re. 1 but one ticket is sold in that temple for Rs. 2 because this extra one rupee goes to that Chairman! Suppose he is not there to maintain this God. How will this god prosper? So he is equally entitled to this rupee one.

I ask the new regime which has been there only for a short time, whether this also should not be gone into. There is not a single temple where the DMK trustees have not been appointed. In all the temples you will find these non-believers as Trustees. How can it be said that they are non-believers? They too believe in God—is taking away God's money.

There is another example which I want to give. There is a wayside Pillayar Temple in my place. All the people who drive trucks, buses and all the people who drive in cars put in the *hundi* kept there ten paise or more. He was once supposed to be a very poor God. Now he has become suddenly rich and in the *hundi*, the collection comes to Rs. 10,000 per mensem. Now, how to defraud this poor Pillayar of a sizeable portion of this amount? A way was found. That way is called 'Karunai Illam'. If you literally translate this word it would give the name of 'mercy homes' where orphans are kept—thanks to the mercy of the then DMK Chief Minister. Fifty orphans are supposed to be there. But you will not find any orphan, there is hardly any orphan there, everybody has got parents. At the rate of Rs. 100 per mensem per head, about Rs. 5,000 is taken away by the DMK functionary in my own town. There are so many *Karunai Illams* in the State. I have also written to one of the Advisers that these *Illams* may be abolished and that money could be used purely for temple purposes. (Interruptions). In all these things, I would only appeal that these should be gone—into and suitable action taken against the persons concerned.

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Sir, coming to the law and order situation, I tell you, it is not a question of absence of law and order but it is the jungle law that operates in Tamil Nadu. Some of the instances have been mentioned in Governor's report. Sir, a member of the legislative assembly who belongs to my constituency and who walked over from DMK to ADMK was beaten up black and blue in the streets of my town. The only thing done was that they showed black flags to the Chief Minister. Paid goondas were engaged and brought from Madras city and this MLA and others were beaten on the streets of Chingleput. The same people who were beaten have been made into accused. It was the government's case that these people beat up other people and this case was going on for some time against this MLA and 28 others. The judge who went into the case has something very caustic to say. I would like to quote a few lines from the judgement so that the hon. Members may understand the extent to which deterioration had taken place in the law and order situation over there. The very same people who were the victims of this brutal assault by other people were chargesheeted and made the accused. I quote from the judgement delivered by the Chief Judicial Magistrate, Chingleput:

"The materials placed before the court lead me to suspect very strongly that the Inspector of Police (P.W. 10) for reasons best known to him without properly investigating into the incidents at Chengalpatta rushed to lay a charge-sheet against the accused leaving the real culprits."

Further:

"It is not known what prompted him to act like that. The attacked have been brought before the court as accused leaving the attackers, who took law into their own hands to

scot free. This does not redound to the credit of the police force. This case is really a blot upon the renowned Tamil Nadu police force which has good reputation."

Sir, I may be allowed to quote a little more from the judgement:

"It is really unfortunate that PW 10 should have been responsible for such a blot upon our renowned police force. It is not known whether PW 10 acted himself or under the instructions of others."

It becomes clear that he acted under the instructions of others because no action has so far been taken against this Inspector. Further, I quote:

"Whatever it may be, I hope, that before long the blot will have been removed and the original prestige restored by all policemen acting unflinchingly in upholding the rule of law."

"In the result it will be clear that the prosecution has miserably failed to prove the case. Accordingly I find all the accused not guilty of the offences with which they are charged and acquit them with reference to the provision in Section 248(1) Cr. P.C."

Now, Sir, this shows how the police have been completely converted into tools of the executive. The police force, the custodians of law and order, have been converted into private goondas of the DMK government.

Again, Sir, another incident I would like to quote. If hon. Member, Shri Sezhiyan, is not there he may note this at least. This also happened in my district under the instructions and direct commanding of the MLA there. The poor people, the fishermen living in a coastal village, were beaten up horribly. Their homes were burnt. The police force at the command of this local MLA had all sorts of atrocities committed on them. There was public agitation and the DMK Govern-

ment was forced to refer this to a one-man enquiry commission. The enquiry went on and the officer appointed as the one-man commission ultimately absolved the local police and the local MLA, while everybody knows that the atrocities were committed in broad daylight by the police at the instance of the local MLA! That officer still continues on extension, though he could not be promoted! This is the sort of thing that was going on in the realm of law and order.

Coming to the issue of secession, the inspiration for the DMK came from the leader of the DK Party, E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker, called Periyar meaning "The Great". All these have been done to equate the separatist movement in the south with the leaders of the nationalist movement. Just as we refer to Gandhiji as Mahatma Gandhi, Ramaswamy Naicker was called Periyar which is the Tamil equivalent of Mahatma. He has remained the spiritual guru of DMK and he was preaching secession. First the idea was that the entire south—Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamilnadu, all the four Dravidian States—should become separate. That was later given up and they said that Tamilnadu should form a separate State. That spirit is still there. If they had passed a resolution in their party meeting saying they have given up secession, it is only a change in strategy they still remain secessionist at heart. This cry of State autonomy is only a garb to keep alive the spirit of the secessionist movement in Tamilnadu. Let nobody be lulled into a sense of complacency that this demand has been given up by that party. Let us not have any illusions about it. Whenever the conditions are favourable they will certainly raise the issue again. This demand for secession will raise its head and become a serious problem. That has to be kept in mind in all the actions of the Central Government in regard to Tamilnadu.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY: (Rajnandgaon): Is there any foreign power behind it?

SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN: It is not for me to say.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY: The Home Minister can say.

SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN: This State which was in the vanguard of economic progress and industrialisation has now come to be counted among some of the bottom States. That is the most saddening aspects of the DMK rule. And I would like to enlarge upon the cultural debasement that has also been brought about by the DMK. Again, there is an illusion that these people are working for the uplift of the Tamil language and that they are the masters of Tamil literature. What a sad mistake you are making, my brothers! If at all they have written anything, it is some sexy stuff, stuff which cannot be read in your homes before the children, or read by the children in schools. The text-books have been tampered with and false history has been given in the new text-books. It is for the new regime to go into the various text-books and see that all this false history and the praise and the extolling of the DMK leaders, is done away with and the boys are fed on healthy stuff. You will find in the text-book, no history of the freedom movement, but instead only the DMK movement. If it is possible for them, they will see to it that people forget that there was a freedom movement in this country, at any rate as far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, and that people are told that the only political party that has mattered and will matter is the DMK. It is on these lines that they were working. I will not say anything more. One last suggestion, and I will close the speech. I will not take more time of the House. I find that the Chair is very impatient. I would like to request the hon. Home Minister and the

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hon. Prime Minister to see that all the institutions which have become hotbeds of corruption and which have become the stronghold of DMK, are purified. Panchayat boards, panchayat unions, municipalities, cooperative institutions and various public sector factories, sugar factories, cotton and spinning mills—all these have been in the hands of the DMK men. They have converted them into their private property. It is high time that Government comes forward with suitable steps and clears the cobwebs in these institutions and makes them work for the purpose for which they were created. Sir, I support the resolution.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri H M. Patel.

SHRI H. M. PATEL (Dhandhuka): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have before us a Resolution which says that the Proclamation issued by the President relating to Tamil Nadu, be approved. That Proclamation says this:

"Whereas I have received a report from the Governor of the State of Tamil Nadu and after considering the report and other information received by me I am satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the government of that State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India."

That is the Proclamation. If we read the report of the Governor, we will see that it is a narration of certain allegations of malpractices, maladministration, corruption and misuse of power for partisan purposes. Are all these not known to occur in any other State to-day in India? In fact, maladministration, corruption and misuse of power for partisan purposes are known to occur in almost all the States in this country. But what do we do in such circumstances? Does the Constitution require that whenever this is the case, the President issues

a Proclamation and takes over the administration of that State? The wording here is clearly "that the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution". What are the provisions of the Constitution? Hitherto, there were only two grounds on which it was considered proper to take over the administration of a State, only two circumstances in which it was considered that the administration of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and they were (a) that no Government can be formed, enjoying the majority support in the Assembly, and (b) break down of law and order.

Let us not forget the fact that ours is a federal Constitution, where the States have certain rights. The State Assemblies are elected by the people of the States concerned. When the Home Minister says that nine years of tyrannical rule by the DMK party came to an end on the 31st January, he forgets the fact that in those nine years there intervened a general election, and it is the people of that State who in spite of this "tyrannical rule", re-elected and gave power again to this party. Not only was the party re-elected, but it was re-elected with a bigger majority. While in 1967 the party had secured 137 or 138 seats out of 235, in 1971 after the tyrannical rule of four years, it secured 184 out of 235 seats. Was it a mark displeasure by the electorate?

We have a Constitution. We say that it is the people who rule, and the people had manifested their preference. The Centre now says "no, you have no right to exist, even though the people have elected you". This is not the way to deal with a democratic State in a federal set-up.

Certainly, powers are given to the Centre to take over the administration of a State, but they are to be exercised only when the administration of that

State has collapsed, or could not be run as it was intended to be run. You have chosen to act differently.

Look at the Governor's report. It is stated that the report which was received the day before the proclamation is issued has been given the most careful consideration by the Government as well as the President. How is that possible? A series of allegations, not one but a series, were listed but not one of them has been proved. What does the Government say now? They say that they have appointed a Commission. That is a very good thing. I welcome the fact that these allegations have been referred to a judicial tribunal. But, should this not have been done before taking action, as if they had been proved? Even assuming maladministration etc. are grounds on which you can take over the administration of a State, should not these allegations have been at least scrutinised judicially before hand? What is the purpose of doing it afterwards? I say that this should have been done at proper time. I say that such allegations should be gone into as soon as they are made, and for this purpose there should have been established a permanent tribunal, as was recommended by the Santhanam Committee. You have ignored that healthy recommendation.

You now proceed to take over the State and then say that this is how the State was being run. I cannot but feel very sad that straightforward moral considerations have ceased to operate these days in dealing with any matter.

The same Governor says that he had been hearing about all these allegations for a long time, but thought that the Government would improve. Did he ever take any step whatsoever to inform the Government of Tamil Nadu that he was not satisfied with the way they were running the administration and that it should be improved? Did he ever write to the

Central Government before? On the contrary, as Mr. Sezhiyan has shown by quoting from various speeches of this Governor, he has been in raptures over the wonderful administration of DMK. The same Governor within a few months of such public pronouncements comes to the conclusion that this Government is unfit to run the administration of the State!

If I may quote some of his encomiums once again—I think they are worth listening to—just consider what he has said. Speaking on 5th July, 1975, which is a date after the declaration of the emergency, he said:

"The Tamil Nadu Government, under the dynamic leadership of our able Chief Minister, has been taking up one scheme after another to help the weaker sections of the society."

So were they not carrying out the directives of the Central Government? But now you say that the DMK Party was ignoring them. And in what terms did the Governor speak?—"dynamic leadership".

SHRI K. MANOHARAN (Madras-North): At times he has to speak a lie also.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I am glad he says that the Governor tells lies, that in fact he is expected to tell lies.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: Decency requires it.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: In that case, do not forget also it is the same Governor on whose report you are acting.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: I said "at times".

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I think all this is not quite appropriate. I think this is not something that should just be brushed aside. The Governor may be expected formally at least not to say anything to the dis-

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credit of the Ministry, but, at any rate, he need not go into raptures over things. Let me give another quotation from another of his speeches. He said:

"I am happy that the administration is in tune with the declared policy of democratic socialism. It is capable of maintaining healthy standards and giving a lead to other States in recognising the common man as the real master."

And then the same Governor says that he had seen malpractices happening, but he had kept silent because he thought that the Government would improve. How can these be reconciled? Evidently his hopes had been belied and so he proceeds to narrate what?—not something which is proved, but something which is alleged. It is allegations on the basis of which he recommends "action". This is what the report puts forward.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola):
That is an under-statement.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I note that when one says something which is not to one's liking, then you say that it is an under-statement. What was the real fault of the DMK Government? Was it that it was a bad administration, that it was corrupt more than any other Government? I think we should bear in mind that there is a great deal of corruption today throughout the country in all administrations. There is a great deal of mal-administration also. Was there greater corruption, more corruption, more mal-administration and more misuse of power? That is what we have to consider. But even that I say, strictly speaking, is not relevant to the taking over of power. The Central Government is not expected to take action against States on these grounds, for they are largely

autonomous in this matter. The people of a State elect their own Government, and that Government is answerable to them. What you are now saying is that the people of that State are not fit to elect; you have no right to say that.

The Central Government cannot do it under our Constitution as it stands but they may certainly amend that Constitution to take fresh powers. That is another matter. But, at least, so far as the Constitution stands today, that is not the intention of the Constitution; that was never the intention of the Constitution. If you read the Debates leading up to the framing of our Constitution, you would see that what I am saying is accurate and in no sense an exaggeration. In fact, it is an understatement.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, almost everybody has spoken for half an hour. I do not wish to speak for half an hour. I shall keep to the point unlike most of my predecessors.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am just drawing your attention in keeping with the pattern—when Members take more time than allotted to them—instead of seven minutes, I have given you more than 15 minutes.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I am grateful to you for whatever you have given (Interruptions).

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am only drawing your attention.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I will conclude very briefly. I do not wish to take more time of the House, because I have already made the essential points that need to be made. I cannot help feeling that the Tamil Nadu administration there has been taken over not so much because the D.M.K. Government had failed in any relevant constitutional respect.

but because of other reasons. Now what was the real fault of the D.M.K. that led the Centre to take this step? I think there is no doubt that it was their inability to accept the Central Government' and perhaps the Prime Minister's words as Gospel. It was the DMK's attempt to preserve due and proper independence of the State within its own sphere as allowed by the Constitution; that was resented, that independence of action that is allowed by the Constitution to all the States in a federal set-up. The DMK Government chose to stand up for its right. That was its crime. Its effort to look at the emergency... (Interruptions) I think if you are a lawyer, you should study the Constitution. (Interruptions) I was only trying to say that the D.M.K. Government's offence was its effort to look at the emergency and its punitive provisions with a sense of proportion. Unfortunately that was regarded as disregarding the emergency and the Central Government's directives under the emergency. There is no one, not even the Home Minister, who has quoted any instance of the failure of the D.M.K. Government to carry out any specific action that it was expected to carry out under the emergency which they did not. There is really nothing that you can charge the D.M.K. Government on the score of their having ignored the Central Government directive. It has its own right to act as an autonomous State within the federal set up. As far as I can see it has always acted correctly since the emergency.

Now, this attempt to Denigrate DMK goes on. There are statements, one after another, saying, everybody rejoiced in Tamil Nadu with the taking over of the administration by the Central Government and heaved a sigh of relief. Of course, we must accept what you say because there is no other means of judging it.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF PLANNING, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS AND MINISTER OF SPACE (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Nothing prevents you from going there.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I am very glad that the Prime Minister is satisfied, quite genuinely, that everybody in Tamil Nadu.....

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Not everybody.

SHRI H. M. PATEL:..... that majority of the people of Tamil Nadu are over-joyed that the Government elected by the people, elected by them, has been removed, has been dismissed, and in its place, the President's rule has been set up. I do not think that that impression of the Prime Minister is correct. I say this without having gone there but with complete confidence that what I am saying is correct.

SHRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN (Madurai): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support wholeheartedly the Resolution moved by the Home Minister and the Proclamation of the President, dismissing the Government of Tamil Nadu and also dissolving the Tamil Nadu Assembly.

Many hon. Members who opposed the Resolution began to talk about democracy and said that it was against democracy that D.M.K. Government had been dismissed. Everybody thinks that the democracy is a privilege of some minority parties and some people, and under democracy, they can do anything they like, they can attack anybody, they can even attack the majority party and they can speak anything they wish. Under democracy, we have freedom of press and freedom

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of speech. Sir, you may not be able to read Tamil but I can collect some Tamil newspapers and submit to you and you will be surprised to read the filthy language in these papers. You will be ashamed to read even one or two words. Such a filthy language is being used in Tamil newspapers, yellow newspapers. These newspapers are also being allowed under democracy, under freedom of the press.

What is DMK party? To know about origin of DMK party, we should trace 40 to 50 years of history of Tamil Nadu. During 1928-29, I think, Shri E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker who was popularly known as "Periyar" started a movement called, self-respect movement in a conference at Chenleput organised by him. Under that self-respect movement, he began to speak about anti-religion, anti-God, anti-Brahmin, anti-Aryan anti-North, anti-khadi, anti-Hindi and what not. He also began to say that Congress was dominated by Brahmmins and that is why, he said, "he will not support Congress. He will not allow Congress to function in Tamil Nadu."

I remember, in 1935, Babu Rajendra Prasad visited Madras and addressed a very huge meeting. In December, 1934, he was elected as the Congress President and, as the Congress President, he visited Madras and addressed a huge meeting, when there was a hue and cry against Brahmin domination in Congress. That is why they wanted to boycott the meeting. But Babu Rajendra Prasad made a very good speech. I still remember it. It is ringing in my ears. He said "I am President of the Indian National Congress but I am not a Brahmin, I am a non-Brahmin". I think the members from Bihar in the House will agree with me that he was a non-Brahmin. (Interruptions).

Then there was the Justice Party Ministry. The Justice Party was ruling in Tamil Nadu from the time when

the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were introduced and they were also doing some kind of propoganda against Brahmins, and also about backward classes, Harijans and all that in Madras. This Justice Party had two papers by the name of 'Justice' in English and 'Dravidan' in Tamil. This Party took the advantage of EVR's propoganda for their own purpose. Later on E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker started the DK, the Dravida Kazhagam and young people like Mr. Manoharan jumped into the Party because they were carried away by the slogans. I would like to mention that during the year 1931 when the Congress had the privilege of boycotting foreign goods shops and today shops under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and they were burning foreign cloth at public meetings, the EVR's people came and burnt khadi at the public meetings just to spite Congressmen. Then the British Government were enamoured of these acts of EVR as they thought "here a Daniel has come to judgment" and they also thought they were going to get help from EVR against the Congress movement (Interruptions). This DMK Party is an off spring of the separatist movement,—first self respect movement of the DK and later of the DMK. (Interruptions).

Of course, Periyar was a Congress man and he was President of TNCC. I don't know what quarrel he had with which leader or which Brahmin leader. Anyways, he left the Congress due to quarrel with some leaders. Real people don't leave the Party if they fall out with the leader, they will remain and fight out. For instance, I joined the Congress in 1929 and now, for 47 or 48 years I have been in the Congress. I had differed with many leaders and I have fallen out with some leaders, but I never left the organisation. I joined politics as a Congressman, I will continue to be Congressman, and I will die as a Congressman; I shall remain a Congressman throughout my life.

What happened is that some DK Members and leaders came out of the Party and formed the DMK. They fell out with the DK leader and they formed the DMK Party. All these parties the Justice Party the DK and the DMK parties are all based on the secessionist movement. They believe in separatism and they wanted to disintegrate the country, that is their policy. They may say they have given up the separatist policy but it is very difficult to believe in that statement.

Recently, at a Coimbatore DMK conference speeches made by some of the important DMK leaders confound our feelings. What did they speak? They wanted to have elections and they said that if there are no elections the DMK Government will hold the Assembly elections and also the Parliamentary elections that after the Assembly elections their leader Karunanidhi will be the Chief Minister and if the Government of India does not conduct the Lok Sabha elections, the DMK will conduct the elections and after that he would become the Prime Minister. If they had given up their separatist idea they would have pulled up the members and asked them not to speak like that. They did not do anything of that sort, nor have they taken any disciplinary action against such speakers for that. This is how they have been indirectly propagating the separatist idea.

15 hrs.

After the dismissal of the DMK Government the Prime Minister visited Madras and she addressed a meeting which was attended by more than two million people. We had never before seen such a big meeting. I have witnessed several meetings, but I had never before seen such a big gathering. It was a huge gathering. The previous speaker was mentioning that a majority of the people might have supported the action of the Government. It was not only a majority of the people but an overwhelming majority of the people which supported our Prime Minister

and the Central Government's action. Their only regret was that this action had been taken belatedly, it ought to have been taken long ago, that was their feeling. Somebody asked now could there be two million people. It is a fact, there were more than two million people who attended the meeting in Madras. That was because the people wanted to give their approval that the Prime Minister had done the right thing. After dismissing the DMK Government she had visited Madras and she had conquered the hearts of all the people of Tamil Nadu and had returned to Delhi as a victor. If elections are conducted in Tamil Nadu today, I am sure that we will win the elections and get the overwhelming majority and there is every chance of our winning the elections, and we the Congress party will form the Government. This is the position today in Tamil Nadu.

Now, I want to say one or two words about the omissions and commissions of the DMK Government. Take for instance the cooperative movement. The cooperative movement was working perfectly well in Tamil Nadu all these years setting example to others, and as a matter of fact, people from the other States used to come to Tamil Nadu to see how the cooperative movement functioning. Such a good movement has been spoiled by one of the DMK Ministers. As soon as he became the Minister, he got a Bill passed, under that Bill, he took powers to nominate some members. For instance if in a society eight members were there he nominated ten DMK members, by that he made the majority and immediately ordered election of the President. That way, he had taken over the cooperative movement.

I want to tell you, there was a person in the DMK Government as a Minister, who never believed in politics, he believed only in ministership. This person, with his power on press and money, became the Minister and

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he wanted to overdo things to please his Chief Minister and his Party. This man once joined the Congress Party also when we achieved independence, and he was in the Congress Party for some time. In Pondicherry where our Congressmen had launched some agitation for independence the French Government had promulgated an ordinance prohibiting outsiders entering Pondicherry. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister, sent private instructions that they were negotiating with the French Government and that they were going to take it over soon. Therefore, he had asked the Congressmen not to trouble Pondicherry Government and to keep aloof, and let the local people fight with the French Government. But this man wanted to go to Pondicherry. I was sitting with Shri Kamaraj when he came and said that he would go to Pondicherry, he added 'Let me go to Pondicherry now, they will arrest me, but then they will release me the same day, I will come out and then I will become a Tyagi, I have not been to jail. I have joined the Congress just now. Hence in this way let me become a Tyagi.' But Shri Kamaraj did not permit him. This was the thinking and attitude of that person. Later on, he joined the DMK and became a Minister.

I have told you about the cooperative movement. Now, I come to the temples. The temples were being run perfectly well. I know, the Congress Government used to have and appoint as trustees very pious people, people who believed in God and religion. But the DMK Government had nominated all sorts of people who had no belief in God and religion. Here I want to mention one incident which happened some time ago. D.K. people organized a procession in Salem town. They carried pictures of Krishna, Rama, Sita, Siva and they were beating those pictures with shoes. If this type of people are nominated as trustees to the big temples, what will happen?

These temples are very sacred places, where millions of people from North and South go every year for worship.

Someone said, why we tolerated all these things for such a long time. I would say that it is the greatness of our Prime Minister and our Government of India that they gave a long rope, they thought that they would correct themselves, but they never corrected. That is the reason, they had to take action now. People of Tamil Nadu had got fed up with the DMK administration. It is said that the DMK enjoyed majority in the Assembly. What is this majority? In the whole of Tamil Nadu, nobody has shed tears when the DMK Government was dismissed. Even the DMK members have not shed tears, they are running away one by one from the DMK party. This is the state of affairs. Our people of Tamil Nadu are overjoyed for this action taken by the Government of India. Everybody believes that this was a timely action for dismissing the DMK Government. We all support this A. a Member from Tamil Nadu and a citizen of India. I have a great responsibility in Tamil Nadu, and as a Tamillian I believe that this was a timely action, and the Prime Minister has done the right thing. I support this resolution moved by Shri Brhmananda Reddy and the action taken by the Government, which was necessary for the welfare of the people.

SHRI SATYENDRA NARAYAN SINHA (Aurangabad): Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I have very attentively listened to the speeches made in support of the proclamation. The impression left on me is that those who are supporting the resolution for approving proclamation are greatly dissatisfied and frustrated with the DMK's stronghold on the people, their popularity in the masses, and perhaps their own inability to get rid of the DMK from Tamil Nadu; otherwise they would not have trotted out such excuses as enumerating instances of mal-practices and misdeeds justifying.

the imposition of President's rule in Tamil Nadu.

I have gone through those papers which show the occasions when President's rule has been imposed. Except for Kerala, where the Governor reported, as a ground, the acts of omission and commission of the Ministry and demonstration against the Government, nowhere else the grounds row trotted out by the Governor here were considered to be good grounds for dismissing a Ministry.

In fact, and as my learned friend, Mr. Patej has just now submitted before this House, the intention of the framers of the Constitution was never this, that this Article 356 would be used for serving partisan ends. The Governor says that the DMK Government was working for partisan interests and I say and I think it is clear to everyone, that this action of the Government in dismissing the DMK Government is hundred per cent a political decision, politically motivated, unadulterated and shamed in order to subserve their political interests. . .

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizama-bad): You are making a political speech.

SHRI SATYENDRA NARAYAN SINHA: I am giving my interpretation of Art. 356 and what you should have done. Whatever they may say, the dismissal of the DMK government has caused disquiet and an uneasiness in the minds of the people of not only Tamil Nadu but elsewhere also, all over the country and we of the Opposition Parties are filled with a certain amount of doubt and apprehension about the intentions of this government to preserve democracy in this country despite their protestations to the contrary. All these acts, blatant in their manner, are leading us to believe that they want one-Party rule in the country and they do not want any Opposition Parties to function. I would beg of this House to consider

this question calmly and quietly and not in a partisan manner. Can you show me one instance, barring the Kerala Ministry where the Governor made a report that the Ministry was guilty of acts of omission and commission and there were also demonstrations against the government, where a Ministry has been dismissed for Mal-administration or on charges of corruption? We welcome the appointment of an Inquiry Commission. But I support my friends' suggestion that there should be a permanent tribunal and whenever such charges are made, they should be looked into without let or interference by the Central Government.

The charge made against the DMK government is that they were using the governmental machinery for partisan ends, that they were helping their own partymen and that they were not allowing others to function. But, what is your record? We can understand your banning such organisations and parties which believe in violence and are communal. But what about those who share common ideals and more firmly believe in non-violence. You are treating all with the same stick. You are holding meetings everywhere but you are not allowing anybody else to hold meetings. It is not misuse of power? On 2nd October 1975 the DPCC (Organization Congress) sought permission to hold a meeting in celebration of Mahatma's birthday. Permission was given but just a few hours before the scheduled time, the permission was cancelled and they were not allowed to hold the meeting. What is this? We cannot even hold a meeting to pay our tribute to Mahatma Gandhi?

AN HON. MEMBER: They would not care about Mahatma Gandhi.

SHRI SATYENDRA NARAYAN SINHA: Is this not misuse of power? Likewise in other States also you have received such charges and it really

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passes my comprehension that you did not think it necessary to take action against those governments. Why? Only because they were your party governments. Whereas in this case this Governor who used, as my friend said, panegyric terms in this praise for the performance of Tamil Nadu and their Ministers, went to public meetings and extolled their services, suddenly says that things have taken a bad turn and that he could no longer look upon it with equanimity.

It has been stated by my friend, Mr. Alagesan, that ever since this government came into power, Tamil Nadu has been sliding down the scale of development. May I here be permitted to refer to one statement of the Governor where he has said:

"Tamil Nadu ranks third in industrial development and is making a notable contribution to the Green Revolution. The production of rice per acre in Tamil Nadu is the highest in India. In the generation and distribution of power as well as rural electrification we have an excellent record. We have chosen the path of self-reliance. There is an allround enthusiasm in Tamil Nadu for rapid development."

Then he goes on to say—

'various ameliorative measures like slum clearance, rural water supply have been taken to serve the common man with the pivotal point of programmes'

This was stated by the Governor. The same Governor comes forward and says that the affairs have worsened and I cannot be silent spectator to them. Now he comes forward & makes a report contrary to what he had been saying all these years.

(Interruptions)

I am not yielding. Shri Alagesan never yielded.

Under Article 356 the Governor should have also stated precisely 'where the State Government has failed to carry out the directive of the Centre'. He has mentioned only one instance and that is with regard to censor. According to the Government... (Interruptions).

SHRI R. S. PANDEY: On a Point of Order, Sir. Generally, the speeches are made by the Government and the Governor used to read them.

SHRI SATYENDRA NARAYAN SINHA: My friend does not know the procedure.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am prepared to learn about a Point of Order from my good friend Shri R. S. Pandey. I need to be educated.

SHRI SATYENDRA NARAYAN SINHA. I am making my submission that in terms of Article 356, what was required was that the Governor should have instead of enumerating the various charges of corruption which were preferred in 1972, should have specifically said that this is the point where the State Government has ignored the directive of the Centre. There were 32 charges preferred by the ADMK and 20 charges were made by the CPI and all these charges related to the period between 1972 and 1974. With regard to the censor, he says that the authorised officer has not carried out the directives in regard to censor in letter and spirit. Therefore, the Central Government sent its own Censor Officer. They wanted Mr. Karunanidhi to appoint another man and to change the man who was not carrying out the work faithfully. But the then Chief Minister Dr. Karunanidhi told the Central Government, we did not want any State Officer to administer it and therefore requested the Centre to send their own officer. Therefore, in July, just a month after the imposition of emergency, a Censor Officer was sent

there to enforce censor. And what did he do? Mr. Maran who is an Editor of a paper and a DMK member of this House felt aggrieved as he was discriminated against in his order. Therefore, he went to a court of law to challenge the Order. Therefore, my submission is that in terms of Article 356, the Governor has not made out a case where Centre's intervention was necessary.

With regard to secession, I do not want to go into the history of it. Mr. Sezhiyan has already stated his case most lucidly and convincingly and the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has also stated this. They have made no secret of it that they belong to a party which believed in secession.

In 1963 when there was the Sino-Indian war and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri had convened a Conference of all the Chief Ministers and leaders of all parties. It was late Dr. Annadurai who got up and said that they believed in the integrity and unity of the country and they would give whole-hearted support.

Pakistan war was there in 1970. It was the Tamil Nadu Government and it was this Dr. Karunanidhi who paid the highest contribution to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. That was an amount of Rs. 6 crores. And that was the time when the ruling party and the DMK were hand-in-gloves. They had not discovered then that the DMK Government was a Government which was corrupt and inefficient. Since 1967 they were running the State. The Ruling Congress did not hesitate then to have alliance with them. You gave them complete blanket support just for the sake of getting 9 seats from them in the Parliament. That was done because the Central Government was concerned with its own party majority in the Centre. And therefore it is that they allowed the DMK to have its complete and clean sweep and the result was, they got 184 seats in the

Assembly. And now what is the grouse. The Assembly's term was coming to an end on 19th March. Why impose this President's rule just on the eve of this, just a few weeks before this is to happen? This is what everybody is asking and I am telling this to you in all sincerity. This is bound to create widespread apprehensions and feelings in people's minds that the ruling party is not prepared to tolerate any opposition government in any State. This is a most unwise step. You people have made allegations against even Gujarat Government. You might have seen in the papers that the Chief Minister of Gujarat has sent you explanations regarding allegations made against the Gujarat Government. He wanted you to send an all party Parliamentary Committee to enquire into those allegations. You did not do so. He has himself appointed a Committee to go into and enquire into these very allegations. Yet the Home Minister in the Consultative Committee said that he was watching the situation as if the Centre is above-board. He said the Centre is not at all guided by party interests. I am very surprised at this statement. All these things create feelings in people's minds that the ruling party is not going to tolerate any party which is opposed to them. How can an opposition party, even if it comes to power through constitutional means, hope to continue in office in this situation? You will not allow them to function. This is the general feeling which is being created in the minds of all.

It has been said that this step has been hailed by the people of Tamilnadu, and so many people—2 million—attended the Prime Minister's meeting, and all that. I know how the people were brought; you search your heart and tell me. It was all stage-managed. You talk of newspapers that they have welcome this action. What else can they do? Yesterday Mr. Era Sezhiyan made out a case, he spoke for one hour, not a word of it has been published in the newspapers. This is the type of treatment which

[Shri Satyendra Narayan Sinha]

you are giving out to the opposition. Yet you talk of reception which Prime Minister had and all that. I warn you that reactions of the people may not be expressed today, because there is no means of expressing this, there is no newspaper which can publish such things and the views of the opposition parties, but the feeling is growing, the resentment is sitting up, it will well up and erupt when there is an opportunity for it and would sweep you off completely. With these words, I oppose this resolution.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA (Eluru): I rise to support the Motion. While supporting the Motion, I wish to make a few observations. Out of our experience of Tamilnadu we can say this that most of the Andhra are associated politically, geographically and socially with the people of Tamil Nadu.

Sir, I want to remind this House that Tamilnadu is not only for the Tamilians. We still feel that it is for all. Before separation, whenever we hapened to go over to North India, we were all called as *Madrasis*. We are very proud of it. It is not Tamilnadu but it is South India. Therefore, we want to take interest in a good administration of South India. In those days we were closely associated with the people of Tamilnadu, especially with the people in the capital city Madras. I may now cite one example. Recently, on the 31st of January I was there in Madras at 7 O'clock. In the evening on that day we came to know that Government had taken a decision and the President's Rule was imposed there. At that time, I was thinking that the people there might rise in revolt and the trains might be stopped. On that day I had to go back to Eluru from Madras. But, to my surprise, I found that the people were very happy and nothing of this sort happened and there was no stopping of trains by the people. I should

tell you that instead of talking so much in this House you should all go to the people and tell them what you want to do for them in a democratic way, educate the people as to what Government of India is doing for them.

In this connection I want to bring to your notice once again one classic example of what happened immediately after the First World War ended. Mahatma Gandhi openly supported the British during the First World War because he believed that soon after the World War ended we would get Independence for our country. In the same way, the Governor also waited for so long patiently by giving the then Tamilnadu Government a long rope. But they did not come up to the expectation of his. Then, the responsibility fell on the Governor and he started taking action. He recommended to the President for the imposition of President's Rule there. What is wrong with it? The Government of India should not be blamed or that because they have not banned the DMK Party as such. They have only removed the DMK ministry. They have got the right to do that. Shri Alagesan referred to instances of misrule in Chingleput district alone. So many friends from all the districts have told us many things about the maladministration of the former regime. We have not done anything here for the sake of opposition. We have heard about the attitude of the former Tamilnadu Government. The Central Government have not done anything because of political reasons. The Government of India have done the right thing and they have taken action at the proper time. By so doing they have avoided any possible anarchy that was likely to take place in that part of the country and put an end to the maladministration of the DMK Government there. After the split in Congress, we were not obliged to Shri Kamaraj to join the election in Tamilnadu. They took advantage of this

split and were able to form the DMK ministry there. In 1971 also opposition parties had challenged us to fight the elections. The results are known to the world. We were not afraid of the election; nor we wanted to wait for some more time. When a proper time comes, you will know that our party would do well. You all know that our life in the Parliament has been extended by one more year. Otherwise, you would have been outside this House. In the same way, at the appropriate time, the DMK Assembly had been dissolved, our elders, anticipating such an eventuality, had already provided for in the Constitution itself. Whenever there is anarchy, the Central Government can take action according to the provisions in the constitution. The ordinance by the President was promulgated imposing the President's Rule in Tamilnadu according to the constitutional provisions.

After hearing Shri Alagesan, I am sure, he is very happy to accept the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry. We all support this. Now that a Commission of Inquiry has been appointed to go into the charges of corruption etc against the former DMK Ministry, those charges will be dealt with by that Commission. Similarly, if you have any charge to make against any other State and if it is found necessary, the Government of India will have no hesitation in appointing a Commission of Inquiry to go into those charges. Don't you know we are allowing the Gujarat Government to function there even though it is a non-Congress Government?

The Chief Minister of Gujarat attended the Chief Ministers' meeting here also. Now they are going on very well. If they do not go on very well action will be taken against them as well. The provision to take the action is there. I would like to

appeal to MPs and other friends from different States that people are not interested in ballot, they want a better government.

In the old days DMK slogan was "one rupee a padi". They did it for one or two months. Then it went up to Rs. 3/- a measure. This year prices have come down. We stand for the ordinary man. They say there were no agitations and strikes but were these things going on anywhere in the country?

Sir, I was in Madras on 31st January and second February. I met all sorts of people there—the educated and the uneducated. I talked to the taxi people and the colonies. They are all very happy now. Earlier there were several people working as nurses and doctors in a hospital in Madras. If there is difference of opinion is it the way to prevent them from going on strike or closing down the hospital. No doubt the Government has now taken the appropriate action but we are sorry why did they not take this action earlier.

Sir, wherever you go in the Madras city it is full of statues. In my opinion that is the only thing that DMK government has developed. Wherever you go there are Tamil signboards. If I go there I will have to consult my Tamil friends to go to a place. Is this the way! The Central Government must come with a law that in every State there will be three languages to be used—one the local language, then the national language and then the international language.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Do they have statues of the living people also?

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: Yes.

AN HON. MEMBER: Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru inaugurated the statue of Kamaraj when he was alive.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: In 1923-24 there was a satyagraha in Madras city against one European Mr. Neil who butchered and murdered so many people in Madras State. Sir Sambamurthy and Shrimati Durgabai, all of them offered satyagraha, and the statue was removed. In the same way, I have seen in the Tamil Nadu press that your own people, your own so-called followers, are discussing about what to do with regard to removal of one statue. They have resigned. They want to offer satyagraha to remove the statues. I have seen that. So do not allow this situation there. Please be with the people, satisfy them and associate with them. The people should all get together to get a good government. In the not distant future, the Government may also order elections.

I want to make an appeal to other friends from other States. They will be speaking. But let them speak after knowing the facts, without relying only on the papers. The Governor has known all the facts. He was convinced and then he acted himself. He showed a lot of patience. It is not a question of just blaming the DMK Government or praising the Central Government. Our Central Government has only taken appropriate action.

Of course, in the 1971 elections, we joined with that party to fight the other enemy which was not associated with our policies. We did a good thing in that. But you have gained by that. Now after taking all the advantages of our friendship, of friendship with our party and association with us, you blame the Central Government. You have taken so many

advantages from the Centre. You get grants and all those things. You have misused the funds also. There is proof of that. There need be no misunderstanding. There is no need to blame the Government of India saying that their action was politically motivated. There will be time for elections. This is not a communist country. We are all dedicated to democracy. When the time for election comes, we will join together and work for the development of the country. We always support that. Now Andhra Pradesh has agreed to give water to Madras, even though we did not get these things before. We shall all associate together to develop South India and the entire country. In this way good government will be established.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN (Madras North): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I have heard the speeches made by members of both the Opposition and the ruling Party. I heard the speech of Shri R. V. Swaminathan also. I have nothing to comment on his speech except to say something about him. He belongs to the ruling Party. I quote from a famous speech of his made at Madurai in the presence of the Chief Minister (ex-) of Tamil Nadu:

"The Chief Minister, Dr. Kalayar Karunanidhi is an ideal Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. He has done remarkable service for the people, and the Chief Ministers of other States must imbibe the finer qualities of Shri Karunanidhi".

This was what Shri R. V. Swaminathan said. He has changed his opinion. Consistency is the virtue of an ass. So anybody can change his views.

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI (Berhampore): Like Shri K. K. Shah has done.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: Shri K. K. Shah also has changed his views.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi):
 Manoharan also.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: If you go through his Report, what has he said? He said that he did not like to bring in any allegations openly. He said, 'On the contrary, I have had a talk with the President, I have had a talk with the Prime Minister.' I know for cent per cent certain that he had discussions and confabulations with the Chief Minister on certain occasions warning him, on certain other occasions advising him, to behave properly. But having found that all his attempts failed miserably, he had no other option but to submit this Report to the President and see that the Ministry was dismissed.

As the Home Minister rightly pointed out, the people of Tamil Nadu consider January 31 as a day of deliverance. It was a red letter day for them. For your information, Mr Deputy-Speaker, the entire Tamil Nadu was full of jubilation, ecstasy and rapture. Not only that, Throughout Tamil Nadu, the people distributed sweets also to celebrate the downfall of Karunanidhi's discredited, debased, immoral Ministry.

Now, my friend Mr. Alagesan has brought out certain facts. I want to bring in certain facts. Of course, I do not like to enter into constitutional niceties as Mr. H. M. Patel has done. Mr. Patel has said: Constitutionally how could you topple a Government duly elected by the people? But I want to submit that the deposed Karunanidhi's Ministry had lost the confidence in the year 1972. The mandate given by the people, moral and legal sanction given by the people, everything was withdrawn by the people. But Mr. Karunanidhi stuck to the office with the technical majority in the Assembly. The moment he goes out what would happen? That was a question posed

throughout the country. A feeling was spread out that there would be a wild conflagration and the country would be consumed with fire, this and that. So many things were talked about. What happened after the dismissal of the Karunanidhi Ministry? The people are very happy. A sense of discipline has been imposed, corruption is almost gone and the administration is being streamlined and had Mr Karunanidhi been allowed to continue, I won't be surprised, he would have purchased the whole of Tamil Nadu for his family. In his own street there are more than 7 houses to his credit. Mr. Alagesan has asked how in, various branches, the Karunanidhi's Ministry is rearing its ugly head or ugly hands. Now the most important point which I want to establish is this. Where is the law and order situation? This was the question asked by so many people. One by one I want to narrate. The moment I joined the Anna D.M.K.—Mr. Dhillon was the Speaker then—I was assaulted and mauled at the airport by Karunanidhi's goondas. While Dindigul bye-election was conducted, one Vethalagundu Arumugam was openly stabbed and the fellow was killed. Then, a student of Annamalai University was killed and butchered by Karunanidhi goondas. In another case, a father and his son were shot dead. Who did these gruesome murders? The entire Tamil Nadu knows this but till the D.M.K. Ministry was dismissed no charge-sheet was made. No F.I.R. was there. The culprit was not arrested. Now, of course, the fellows are arrested, that is, after one year. Not only that. There was a lady called Fatima, a Muslim lady, who was mauled and she was raped by the D.M.K. goondas and subsequently she died. Her body was buried deep. After that Karunanidhi's henchmen got a letter written from her husband that she was a bad character and so he killed her. I would now quote another instance. When the famous Dr.

[Shri K. Manoharan]

Karunanidhi was entering into the portals of the Annamalai University to get the doctorate, he virtually walked on the dead body of one Mr. Udai Kumar. The tragic part of the story is this. He approached through somebody his father and got a letter mentioning that Mr Udai Kumar was not at all his son. Nowhere in the world such thing could happen. But here in Tamil Nadu it has happened.

Now, after the emergency what was the situation in Tamil Nadu? During the time of Emergency what did Mr. Karunanidhi do? During the time of Emergency what did Mr. Karunanidhi's sentiments express? In the morning Mrs. Parvathi Krishnan has said that the executive of the D.M.K. passed a resolution openly opposing the Emergency, criticising the Prime Minister's 20-point economic programme and he asked the Prime Minister to release the leaders who had incited the army, police and students and what not. But these things were not published for the simple reason that the Emergency was invoked and censorship was there. But clandestine pamphlets have been printed by Karunanidhi Party men and these were sent all over the Embassies in the capital cities of the various countries. Now, for your information, I may tell you that Mr. Karunanidhi has engaged a lawyer to file a case against the imposition of President's rule in Tamil Nadu challenging the validity of it. This information I did not know when I was in Tamilnadu I heard it through the Voice of America and the Voice of Australia. That shows clearly that after the emergency all the anti-national elements found in Tamilnadu a convenient asylum.

Shri Karunanidhi openly preached separation. Two years ago, when the Prime Minister came to lay the foundation-stone of the Pamban Bridge, a day prior to that, Mr. Karunanidhi

said at Madurai: "In 1947, this sub-continent was divided into two. In 1971, the same sub-continent was divided into three, i.e., after the emergency of Bangladesh This much I will speak now. The rest follows." Sir, what does this mean? Does it mean that Shri Karunanidhi is for the balkanisation of the country and secession of Tamilnadu? When we were talking here about democracy being in danger in collusion with a foreign fascist power and other anti-national elements, not only Shri Karunanidhi but the brother of my esteemed colleague Shri Sezhiyan, Shri Nedunchezhiyan openly said, "Democracy is not in danger, but Indira Gandhi is in danger". Throughout Tamilnadu there were wall-posters proclaiming "Long live the Mujibhur Rehman of Tamilnadu, i.e., Karunanidhi!" I have submitted certain photographs to the Prime Minister. In that, it is clearly written, "Long live the Chief Minister of independent Tamilnadu!" In the conference Shri Karunanidhi openly said, "We are by compulsion talking about State autonomy. If that is not conceded, I would not be surprised if the original demand for secession is revived." This was an open threat given to the Prime Minister and Shri Karunanidhi was preparing for an actual confrontation with the Centre. While we are discussing this resolution, let us not think that we are talking about Tamilnadu politics only. We are discussing the Tamilnadu situation from the national standpoint. Once a State is being instigated by foreign powers to revolt against the Central Government, what will happen in future? Mr. accusation is, Shri Karunanidhi is not only a rank fascist but a secessionist. Let me quote a speech he was delivering in 1973. He wanted to take a statue of Raja Raja Chola to the Tanjore Temple which was prevented by the Central Government for the reason that the beauty of the temple should not be polluted. But Shri Karuna-

nidhi said, "As a mark of protest, to start with I am going to take the statue inside the temple. I will see what will happen next." He openly asked his friend to speak, "We want an independent, sovereign, democratic Tamilnadu". I want to ask whether any of my DMK friends here would contradict my statement (*Interruptions*).

In a place called Tirupparankunram near Madurai, where the general council meeting of the DMK was held, it was said in that meeting, "The Central Government's duty is to defend the people. So, defence is the only subject we can give to the Central Government. The rest are all with us." I cannot understand the federal concept. My friend, Mr. Patel, was talking about the federal aspect. I do agree that each State must have some powers, because the infrastructure is the State. I have been maintaining this point, from now, I have taken a different view-point altogether from that of Karunanidhi. Karunanidhi was accusing me that I was not raising this issue, as an issue for separation. I told Karunanidhi point-blank: "Of course I have been talking about this issue as a constitutional issue. We must sit around the table, headed by the Prime Minister. Let all the Chief Ministers come. Let us see what changes are necessary. Thereby we can have more changes to strengthen the State." But Karunanidhi's idea was to see how far this country can be divided. That is one of the reasons why we severed our connections with Karunanidhi. MGR, the general Secretary of Anna-DMK told Karunanidhi openly that the anti-national attitude should not be there. Karunanidhi did not like it. He said: "This is the only trump-card that we have." Not only this. He raked up the Hindi issue. We are for Hindi. The Hindi language must flourish and must be nourished, for each and every language has a hoary tradition. But Karunanidhi very cleverly raked up the issue and said that the Central Government was imposing Hindi on the unwilling people

of the South. By doing it, he thought that the people as well as the student community would rally behind him and give him full support. But he was completely relegated to the background and rejected lock, stock and barrel by the entire people. You should not forget this. There is another incident. It is not only gruesome, but it is barbaric. You might have heard about the Clive's Hostel incident. There is a hostel in Tiruchirappalli by that name. Only SLC students are staying there. What happened is this. One of Karunanidhi's friends in the cabinet was pook-pooked by some students. That fellow got infuriated and asked the Police to see that those students were beaten down. I have seen with my own eyes. I saw blood-stained clothes and blood spread all over. Students were beaten up brutally and many students were taken to the hospital. People told us that there was no provocation from students that everything was in order. An One-man Enquiry Commission was appointed by Karunanidhi. It is a good thing that he has done. Its report, called the Kuppannan Report was out.

15.54 hrs.

[SHRI P. PARTHASARATHI in the Chair]

I think I am now very safe. What happened is this. People were beaten up brutally; bishops and Christian Fathers wrote letters to the Prime Minister. Kuppannan has passed strictures on the police for their excesses. That was the time when I had expected Karunanidhi's voluntary resignation from the Ministry, because he was the Police Minister. My friend Mr. Alagesan has profusely quoted the strictures, based on the Chingleput incident. That was the occasion when a decent chap like Karunanidhi should have offered his resignation. But Karunanidhi stuck to office like a leech. Unless he was pushed out, he will never go. That is the tragic thing which has happened. That is the only thing which the Prime Minister could do. That is the reason why his Ministry was dismissed. Had Annadurai lived, this sort of thing would not

[Shri K. Manoharan]

'have happened, I am not happy about the President's rule clamped on Tamil Nadu. Really speaking, I am speaking with mental anguish. For the past 26 years, President's rule had been imposed on many occasions in many States. The only exception was Tamil Nadu. We had got a tradition. That tradition has been completely destroyed, and destroyed to pieces, by no other person than the discredited Karunanidhi, who is now facing trial, and he will be sent to jail, not as a political prisoner. I tell you.

Shri Alagesan's account is not an ordinary thing to be brushed aside. But he confined himself only to his district. I want him to have a wider vision; he should refer to the entire Tamil Nadu, because everywhere this is going on.

Shri R. V. Swaminathan said something about the elections. Let us not think of the elections now. Let us settle ourselves first. Let us sweep the dirt that has been heaped by the DMK Government in Tamil Nadu. The administration was at a standstill. Let us start moving. That is the most important thing that we have to concentrate on, not the elections. He claimed that if they contest the elections, they will win and form the Ministry. I do not know why he has referred to that. I would tell him: Let us not rub on the wrong shoulders. Let us speak reasonably. Why should we bring in the elections in this debate? I can say that if we contest the elections, the ADMK can form the Ministry. But I am not foolish enough to say that. Let us face the realities of the situation. The 20-point programme has to be implemented. For that we must join hands. We must sit around a table, discuss matters, thrash out differences if there are any, and clean the administration of its maladministration.

The Karunanidhi Ministry was noted

for its maladministration, misuse of powers, abuse of powers and corruption. Very recently, our friend, Shri K.K. Shah, who happened to be a controversial figure—I think he is—alright now—he said that three of the DMK Ministers preached open secession at a meeting of the Dravida Kazakam just five days before the imposition of President's Rule in Tamil Nadu. Addressing a meeting in Delhi he said that the DMK was using DK for secessionist purposes. He also said that there were several cases of corruption and nepotism and that in one case the Accountant-General's Report was not even shown to the Governor. This is a shocking statement. From this one can understand how things were going on in Tamil Nadu.

It is good that the Karunanidhi Ministry has been dismissed. Long back the Prime Minister could have done it. Then we would have been happier still. Now the people of Tamil Nadu are having a sigh of relief. The people are very happy now. Even nocturnal lovers can move about freely and nothing would happen. Previously, what used to happen was that people were stabbed in the back or murdered. If a person belonged to the ADMK, the only intention of the Karunanidhi goonda was to assault him and murder him, if possible. I cannot tell you what a miserable life the people of Tamil Nadu were living under the DMK Ministry. Now the entire suffocation has been removed and there is peace everywhere.

I am very happy that the Prime Minister has done it. She is talking of the 20-point programme. This programme must be popularised not only in Tamil Nadu, but throughout the length and breadth of the country. As has been rightly stated, for that we must form certain committees. There the Congress party members should not have a mentality of isolation. We must join hands. It is a common venture for the economic deve-

lopment, regeneration and prosperity of the country. If I may be permitted to say so, they should not adopt a sort of big-brotherly attitude. You were good people. Let us do things for the sake of the country. He must reach the grass roots, the people in the villages. There is no point in simply talking on the floor of the House. We must go to the villages, we must educate the people regarding the evils of the dowry system, regarding the evils of family planning.... (interruptions) For heaven's sake, let me not be misunderstood. I am for family planning.

These things ought to be taught to the people of this country. But you cannot enforce these things through legislation. You should understand that. Mental revolution is the only way. Through that revolution only, through education only, can you do all these things.

16 hrs.

For example, how can you stop the giving of dowry? I do not know how you are going to implement it

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY): We are on Tamil Nadu now.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: I am talking about the 20-point programme of the Prime Minister. Are you opposing the Prime Minister? What is it? Now I understand you are not aware of the 20-point programme

My humble submission is that you cannot send an official to the marriage *pandal* to find out the articles, utensils, jewels etc., given in dowry. Nor will the girl's father be in a position to inform the police saying that the boy's father asked him for dowry. That means that that is the end of the girl's life. So, mental revolution is necessary.

In the matter of family planning, for instance, do you mean to say that you can send an officer to the bed room. It is impossible. We must, therefore, create favourable conditions, so that the people of this country realise their responsibilities. A sense of involvement and participation on their part is a must. For that we want the full co-operation of the Congress Party. So far as the CPI is concerned, we are jolly well travelling fine. So far as the Congress Party is concerned, they are gradually coming towards us, and we are moving towards them. It is good thing, and this must be developed.

My hon. friend there also said something about elections. He said they would do this and do that. You must give up this "holier than thou" attitude. I have every right to speak and to do things. I am not at the mercy of anybody. Now, of course, I am at the mercy of the Prime Minister because she has extended the life of Parliament! Otherwise, we have got equal rights.

So, my humble submission is that you have done the correct thing, though belatedly, but this is not enough. You must expedite the whole thing. I request you to see that the Sarkaria Commission gives its report quickly so that people understand how things go.

In Tamil Nadu, corruption is stinking. Karunanidhi is the topmost fountain head of corruption. My hon. friend Sezhiyan is a sober man. I was told that he advised the Chief Minister to behave properly. Poor man, Karunanidhi did not heed him. I was told that several times Sezhiyan advised Karunanidhi not to have any confrontation with the Centre. Sezhiyan is now here because of that. Certain people who talked ill of the Prime Minister openly in the public, who indulged in nauseating talk which no-

[Shri K. Manoharan]

body can tolerance, are now behind the bars. I feel sorry for them. I hope they will reform themselves and come out as good citizens of this country.

The Home Minister visits Tamil Nadu now and then. I request him to go there more often. There is no point in talking about constitutional niceties. Let him go to Tamil Nadu and observe the people, see what they talk about, in what a jubilant mood they are at the action taken by the Prime Minister. Nobody has any grouse or any regret except some DMK people who still believe that Karunanidhi can do something. Some people said about it wholeheartedly. I tell you that the entire people of Tamil Nadu, except Karunanidhi and his colleagues, are in a joyful and jubilant mood. I welcome this with mental anguish for the simple reason that this is for the first time that President's Rule has been imposed there. This is really a sad thing. I hope elections will be conducted shortly and my request to the Home Minister is this. You must allow us to speak and thereby we must be able to allay the fear of the people regarding certain points. What is going on is this. The foreign Press have played a havoc. They have written certain articles stating that Democracy is raped and Madras is shown in a red square where the tiger is there, thereby inciting the people that democracy in India is gone and Tamil Nadu is completely finished, not only that, even the non-Congress Ministry was completely finished. We must explain to the people that Karunanidhi's Ministry deserves the demolition and the toppling game. People may think, I hope so, that if Karunanidhi is allowed to speak, he may draw thousands and thousands of crowds. Of course, people may come to hear him whether

he has changed his mind. If he has not changed, here is a Home Minister who can see which way Karunanidhi is to be sent. But what I say is that you give us an opportunity to speak. Let everybody get an opportunity to speak. I hope shortly that ban will be lifted and everybody will be allowed to speak and thereby explain the position very clearly we must remove this stigma that is going on in the country. That sort of thing you should not tolerate. I hope the Home Minister will think about my humble submission of lifting the ban and allowing the political parties to function freely so that true democracy will be in operation.

DR. HENRY AUSTIN (Ernakulam):
I rise to support the Statutory Resolution moved by our Home Minister, seeking the approval of the proclamation issued by the President on the 31st under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to Tamil Nadu.

Sir, several hon. Members, notable Shri Alagesan and Shri Manoharan have catalogued many omissions and commissions committed by the Karunanidhi Ministry during the last nine years' tenure. Therefore, I would not like to go into the various acts which attracted Article 356 of the Constitution necessitating the issuance of the proclamation by the President.

Yesterday, my friend and colleague Shri Era Sezhiyan referred to certain references made by the late Dr. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Constitution Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly regarding the supposed federal structure of the Union. I think the whole trouble with the D.M.K. Ministry was that they were feeling their inability to appreciate and correctly interpret the provisions of our Constitution in relation to the federal structure of our Constitution.

Any student of Constitutional Law would know that the founding fathers of our Constitution, including Dr. Ambedkar, made it specific in their references, in their speeches that the Indian Union is conceived as a Unitary State, not a federal State. Of course, the Constitution is no doubt a political contrivance to reconcile the various entities, various political institutions, various peoples into an homogenous unity, but, notwithstanding that, it was contrivance to preserve national unity through an essentially Unitary State. That is the very essence of our Constitution. The basic test of a Constitution is where-in lies the ultimate repository of political power. It is clear that under the Constitution, the ultimate repository of political power rests with the Union and not with the States. As a matter of fact, the States themselves are the creature of our Parliament. Even in regard to Tamil Nadu, there was no such state called Tamil Nadu when the Constitution was inaugurated or when it came into force in 1950.

Tamil Nadu, as a concept, came much later after the reorganisation of States on linguistic basis. The erstwhile composite State of Madras, composed of Tamil Nadu, parts of Kerala, parts of present Karnataka and parts of Andhra Pradesh. There was no such entity called Tamil Nadu. The Indian Parliament and the executive organ of State power, the Central Government, conceived the State of Tamil Nadu. Unlike many other federal States, in India, the reality is that the States were created by the Indian Parliament, by the Centre. This is the reason why, when the Centre intervened under article 356, in respect of the States of Kerala and West Bengal, the Parliament gave its unstinted support.

The ultimate repository of political power vests with the Centre and the Centre, as the Home Minister said

in the Rajya Sabha, has a certain responsibility to various States. The State Governments are no doubt elected by the people under the federal provisions of the Constitution. But it does not give the States the power to run the Governments the way in which they want. That exactly was the situation developing in Tamil Nadu.

Various acts of commissions and omissions of the Tamil Nadu DMK Government have been catalogued. I do not wish to go into them. In our country, the various States form integral parts of an integrated whole. The whole has a responsibility towards the part. The multi-lingual, the multi-racial, multi-religious States are integral parts of the Union and the Union for the very reason has an added responsibility towards the States in their duties to preserve the unity and stability of the country. It is in deference to its duty to various States that the Union had to intervene. As is known, the integration of our country as an integrated whole is the primary concern of the Central Government. Against the backdrop of things that were happening in Tamil Nadu, as mentioned by Mr Manoharan, for the last nine years, particularly for the last five years, the Centre had no other option but to intervene.

I had to look after the interests of my party in Tamil Nadu for a number of years during the DMK rule. I would like to recall to you, Sir, that there was a clear discrimination between citizen and citizen in Tamil Nadu. No party other than the DMK was allowed to function properly in the State. I know how the Congress party workers suffered. I was the General Secretary of the Congress; I was looking after Tamil Nadu unit. I know how they had to face day in and day out the cycle chains. The hon. Members from Tamil Nadu will re-

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member it. The cycle chain was the weapon with which they used to crush down dissent. Our party workers stood all the sufferings, all the tests. That is the reason why Congress has emerged there triumphantly ultimately. They never yielded to that sort of suppression, cycle chains and other lethal weapons. That way, they discriminated between citizen and citizen. It was the same situation that warranted the President's rule in Kerala in 1959 and also in West Bengal later. Nobody would shed any tear when justice is restored and when people are treated before law as equals.

Another point that I want to highlight is this. So much has been said about cultural revival, rejuvenation or regeneration. Some of us also come from South. I come from South. We are proud of our culture. The DMK was supposed to be founded on the basis of rejuvenation of the Dravidian culture. But what happened recently in Tamil Nadu. As was pointed out by Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan, every Malayalee was hounded down, even the poor pan-wala. In Kerala, there is so much pressure on land. The people have per force to leave the State and seek their livelihood elsewhere. In Tamil Nadu, every Malayalee, fellow Dravidian was hounded down. Hearing woeful tales of their torture when chauvinistic elements in my State came forward in defence of those people who were affected by this, our party leaders, the Chief Minister and responsible people in public life came forward to protect the interests of the Tamilians taking stern measures, but the torture of Malayalees continued in Tamil Nadu. We believe in a sort of cultural unity. That cultural unity should not be prejudicial to the national interest. What was happening in Tamilnadu was that they were putting forward stance, that militat-

ed against the cultural ethos of our country. We don't want to nurture a culture which militates against our national ethos; we want the Tamil culture or South Indian culture—if there be such a concept—to be part and parcel of the world culture and the Indian culture. But what they were seeking in Tamilnadu was to use this culture or cultural regeneration as a facade to create a receptacle for the gradual secession from this great country of India. It was this concept that was given vent to at the Madurai Conference recently, where three Ministers, according to the Governor's report itself, openly said they stood for secession from the Indian Union. Again, even at the Coimbatore Conference of the DMK, if not in so many words, the entire spirit of the Coimbatore Conference was vitiated by a threat posed against the Central Government—threatening the Central Government that if their Government is not allowed to continue, they will secede. So, Sir, when the President, in his constitutional duty to protect the interests of every State, took steps—after giving a very long rope—and intervened, the people appreciated it. And that is the reason why, when the Prime Minister visited the State on the 13th of last month, two million people thronged to hear her. Nowhere in India had so many people assembled before. This is not the first time that the Prime Minister went there but, still, when she went, the people thronged and cheered and applauded her. Wherever she went, she was welcomed because this decision was the right decision in the interests of the people of Tamilnadu.

Sir, so much has been said about the 20-point programme. Do you know what happened in Tamilnadu? Perhaps Tamilnadu is the only State where the concept and the practice of the 20-point programme was pooh-poohed. The very first day of the

announcement by the Prime Minister the Chief Minister or some other responsible Minister was heard to say "We have already implemented the 20-point programme"—and they are the very people who shed crocodile tears for the down-trodden people. And I can say from my experience of the last few months since the 20-point programme was announced that this was perhaps the definite and concrete step taken by the Government, which had given hope for a better day for the down-trodden people. When land was distributed and house-sites were distributed, a new wave of electric excitement shook the country. This 20-point programme was a platform which was supported by the entire people whereas the Tamilnadu Government did raise a single finger for its implementation; they just pooh-poohed it, saying that they have already implemented it but did not do anything about it. On the other hand, Tamilnadu became a sanctuary—you know for whom? It was for the very people who tried to pull down the Central Government and who wanted to sabotage every progressive measure. It is well known that they were given sanctuary in Tamilnadu.

This was the state of affairs in Tamilnadu but if you now go to Tamilnadu you will find that the people heave a sigh of relief. During the last few days or few weeks, the people have been coming forward with positive response to the various appeals made by the Governor and his advisors. I was there and I spent three or four days in Tamilnadu recently and I know from a cross-section of the people how they are prepared to come forward voluntarily to support the 20-point programme.

I would like to say just a word more and I will have done. The integration of the country is a top-priority need of our country. I come from

a State where the Europeans first landed in our country—the Portuguese — when they came, the Zamorin of Calicut, a feudal Chief, gave them a little shelter by putting up a godown or something. But the then Maharaja of Cochin who had personal rivalry went and welcomed the Portuguese people and sought their military aid against Calicut. So, it is our own quarrels and our own centrifugal tendencies that paved the way for the foreigners to come in. This is the situation the DMK wanted to create again. History is there for guidance and yet they were trying to help repeat the destructive aspects of our history. The people of Tamilnadu wanted to develop a separate culture and in that so-called cultural pattern the Malayalees have no place; the Telugu people have also no place. I tried to find out the opinion of the Telugu and Canarese linguistic minorities in Tamil Nadu. They had no place in the structure of things, in the Tamil Nadu of the DMK pattern. The people from other South Indian States had no place in the "Dravidasthan". The Dravidasthan shrank and shrank into—what they call Tamil Nadu, but I should not say so—perhaps it confined itself to Shri Karunanidhi and his henchmen only. When they say of Dravidian culture, Malayalees are out of place, Canarese are out of place and Telugu are out of place. (Interruption) The cultural spectrum will ultimately boil down to Karunanidhi and a few of his friends. That was the sort of cultural empire which he wanted to build. The political, cultural and social structure that was obtaining in Tamil Nadu was completely derogatory to the national ethos, the sort of united India which we wanted to build, the sort of independent India which we wanted to build. So, I would say, the step taken by the President was a wise step, taken in the interest of preservation of the integrity of our country, preserva-

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tion of the independence of our country, and I am sure that, in these troubled times when in the Indian Ocean or the Bay of Bengal the foreign elements are trying to create bases, this situation, if it had been allowed to develop, would have posed a tremendous threat to the very integrity and independence of the country. Therefore, I welcome the move taken by the President and I solidly support this Statutory Resolution.

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI (Berhampore): Let me make it clear at the outset that, on certain major political issues, I have fundamental differences in outlook and ideology with the DMK Party. I am not here to defend either their politics or their ideology. But the way this thing has come before us has almost a touch of the ludicrous about it.

The first question that arises in one's mind is what the Governor was doing. About what the Governor was saying openly, in public, enough quotations have been cited here, and uptill now it has not been denied that this Governor who sent the report to the President against the DMK Government on January 29, was, even on January 31, openly praising the DMK Ministry and the Chief Minister. If this is incorrect, let the Home Minister deny that. I think, under the President's rule, the Governor runs the administration as the accredited representative of the President. I would like all Members to seriously ponder if the interests of the State would be safe in the hands of a person who says one thing publicly and does another thing behind the public eye.

Now I come to the allegations levelled by the Governor which are contained in the report. When did the dereliction of the DMK Govern-

ment start according to the Governor? It was not a recent thing. Shri Manoharan thinks that DMK administration under Shri Karunanidhi forfeited its right to rule in 1972, but here in the Governor's report, we find that as early as 1970, they were doing very illegal things. The very first instance that has been given in this Report about Veeranam project indicates that the tender for the firm was tentatively accepted in May, 1970 even before the feasibility report was available. That means financial impropriety of the highest order in the knowledge of the Governor was being committed as early as 1970. But was it not a fact that in 1970, the ruling Congress party was in some kind of an alliance or understanding with the party of the same Shri Karunanidhi who is being abused now by so many members of the ruling party as also some from this side. What was the Governor doing? I need not go into other instances given here. Some relate to as early as 1971, some are of 1974 and the Governor it seems, was sleeping. The only explanation that we get is this. He says:

"Although I have at times discussed with you as also with the Prime Minister and Home Minister various aspects of the situation in the State, I have refrained from referring to these matters in any formal report firstly in the hope that the Ministry might improve its style of functioning and things might take a turn for the better."

He was patiently waiting like Micawber for six long years. The second reason that he has advanced is:

"My action might be construed as undue interference in the functioning of a duly elected Ministry"

I think, there is a practice that every State Governor sends a fortnightly report to the President and that practice

has not been discontinued. Will the Home Minister take the House into confidence and tell us, on how many occasions, not in the last report sent by him under Article 356, but in his normal fortnightly reports, did the Governor, Shri K. K. Shah, refer to the dereliction from constitutional propriety, financial propriety and other proprieties that were being committed by the DMK administration? That apart, we know that under our Constitution although normally the Governor has to act according to the advice of his cabinet, the Council of Ministers, enjoying the confidence of the majority, he has also the right to caution, to advise and to point out the wrongs that were being committed. And we also know that under our Constitution the powers of the Governor vis-a-vis the State Legislature and the State administration are much greater than the President vis-a-vis the Central Legislature and the Union Ministry. May I know from the hon. Home Minister how many times and on how many occasions did Mr. K. K. Shah point out the wrongs to the Chief Minister or was there ever any occasion when he had sent back some proposition of the Cabinet or the Government for reconsideration by the Council of Ministers for changing it in the right direction? There is no indication I have said that it has a touch of ludicrousness. Why? Because only less than two months were there to go before the term of the legislature and the term of the Ministry would be over. If you could wait for six long years, why not.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: Why not for another three years?

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI: Not three years, it is less than two months or to be exact 52 days more.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar): His mathematics is wrong. His everything is wrong, eye-sight also.

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI: If you could wait for six long years, in an-

other 52 days the life of the legislature would lapse and Mr. Karunanidhi's government would have lost its term to rule. Why could you not wait for these 52 days?

Already some weeks have passed since the President's Rule was imposed and you are now lamenting that you could not cleanse the Augean stables created by Mr. Karunanidhi. I have not seen any bureaucratic rule, even though carried out in the name of the President and under the authority of the Parliament, can really tackle the problems that face the people. Everywhere you had to go back to the popular and duly constituted Ministries. Perhaps you do not know how and when you would be able to do that in Tamil Nadu. I however, tell the Government, such efforts will fail and perhaps by this single act, you have

SHRI P. K. DEO: ...tarnished....

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI: ..not tarnished the image of DMK but you have almost invested the DMK government and the DMK administration which you condemn, with the crown of martyrdom and that does not rebound to your credit—from which perhaps Mr. Karunanidhi whom you are condemning now is going to reap the dividend if free and unfettered elections are held in the State.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): Mr Chairman, Sir,

MR CHAIRMAN: Only five minutes.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: I do not want even five minutes. Only 3 minutes will do.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: He does not want those three minutes also. Then he can stand up and sit down.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: Mr. Chairman, many speakers have spoken.

[Shri M. Ram Gopal Reddy]

I do not want to repeat all that they have said. But I want to say that the Governor has given a very good certificate to the DMK Government. In that connection, I want to say a word about it. In our country, there is something like courtesy—'Maryada' we say in Telugu. I am told in Tamil also it is said 'Maryada'. Once a rustic and innocent kisan invited a European lady to his house and gave her some mango pickles. It was very red and she thought that it was some sort of a sweet and she put it in her mouth and her mouth began to burn like anything. Then the rustic asked her, 'How is it Madam?' She said, "Very nice, very nice." Then he said, "Have more, have more". This governor, out of courtesy said a word or two about this Government that it was good. Now these people are asking the Governor to have more and more powers which the Governor has refused to do. This is correct appreciation of his statement.

The Tamil language is a very sweet language I know little of it and I like it. It is mainly meant to express fine feelings. But in the hands of DMK people it has been used very wrongly and roughly and they have spoiled its gentleness. In their hands it has been spoiled. There are so many honest persons in the DMK Party who have been believing that their leader has been doing good work. Now they realised the whole fallacy of the DMK Government and felt that Mr. Karunanidhi's Government was not meant for Tamil Nadu or even for the DMK Party. It was only for a chosen few. Many people have already started deserting it.

In Macbeth, Shakespeare said—Many have deserted and those that are waiting for the nearest opportunity to desert. It is the state of affairs with Mr. Karunanidhi in Tamil Nadu. Very soon he will be left above.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM (Tiruchirappalli): Mr. Chairman, I rise to support this Resolution with all the emphasis at my command and any Indian who believes in the unity of the country and the independence of the country must support this Resolution. Why? It is not a very pleasant thing. It is true, if you look at it from a distance you will feel that democracy is outraged because Mr. Karunanidhi had an overwhelming majority in the Assembly till it was dissolved. Do we take a superficial view of it? Are we going to examine whether the Governor was consistent all these four years or whether Shri R. V. Swamathan was consistent all these years in fighting or co-operating with them? That is not the point. What was the DMK Government doing all these four years, especially after the declaration of emergency? If we examine that, then all these things will be clear.

I will ask our friends here on this side who are opposing, did they care to know what is happening in Tamil Nadu to their own followers. Even the followers of the parties which are opposing the motion here, are supporting the dismissal. Even those who do not support the Prime Minister's other policies are supporting this action. That is why so many lakhs of people could attend the meeting on the 15th, i.e. 15 days after the dismissal of the Ministry. How do they justify that? They would not have come if she had not dismissed the Ministry or if she had not appointed a Commission of Enquiry and if she had not dissolved the Assembly. Normally, she would not have got on her visit to Tamil Nadu even 1/10th of the crowd which was there on the 15th. Karunanidhi was acting as though he was leading an independent State. Not only that, he was pleading for State autonomy. He was functioning as if he was independent of the Central Government. No income-tax official can raid any of his friend's houses and no police will help

[Shri M. Kalyanasundaram]

the ITO in his raid. The ITO has to be at his own mercy. How many instances do you want? I can give you any number of instances, Sir. My party is one of the parties which suffered the worst. 4 of my party workers were killed during these four years. How many thousands have gone to jail? How many cases are there against me personally? Are all these permissible? Is this the way the law and order has to be maintained by any Government? Why should this happen? The Communist party is one of those parties which supported the DMK in 1971 and I will tell you the reason. It is a fact of history and even the ruling Congress party supported the DMK at that time. I will myself explain why it was so. We wanted to defeat a certain common force and we had to do that. That force is now rallying behind Mr. Karunanidhi. Those forces are now helping Mr. Karunanidhi. One thing must be clear to everybody. Even when the late Mr. Annadurai was alive, the DMK as a single party never contested the election singly and won the majority on its own. My friend Mr. Manoharan will agree with me. This was the case whether it was 1967 or 1971. They were taking the help of other parties. Rajaji was alive at that time, 1967, and Ismail Sahib helped the Indian Union Muslim League and the Swatantra Party. In 1971 the Congress and the CPI helped them to get the majority. They never got on their own. But when the CPI began to find it is changing policies, its link with the imperialists, finding its policy for state autonomy and so on, we broke away and we opposed these very policies as early as in March 1972. We collected all the facts regarding corruption, mal-administration and what they were doing to foster the demand for State autonomy and we brought it to the notice of the Governor. The Governor was aware of it even then. He was also following things in his own way

even then. Then he said, if you give it to me then we have to send it to Mr. Karunanidhi himself, what is the use. Then we brought it here and we handed it over to the President and then these various things followed. And this is what has been going on all these 4 years from 1972, uptill this very day. And it is these very charges which have now been referred to the Commission of Inquiry. Now what do we find? Many of the supporters of Mr. Karunanidhi are now deserting the DMK, they are dissociating themselves with it, and that is because of the wrong policies followed. Because of his policy of confrontation with the Centre this thing has happened.

Some of them have even demanded a meeting of their Council to demand his removal. That is the situation. So, please don't be pleading for Shri Karunanidhi.

The people of Tamil Nadu have now a feeling of relief. They now expect that the Central Government will intervene and undo all that has been done during Shri Karunanidhi's regime. So, it remains to be seen how far the expectations of the people are fulfilled. What happened to Shri Karunanidhi Ministry must be a lesson to everybody, he was a model for how a Chief Minister should not be, how a Chief Minister should not behave and should not act. This is a lesson for all.

Now the administration of Tamil Nadu is in the hands of the officials. So, kindly try to understand Shri Karunanidhi properly. I warn my Congress friends not to be complacent. After listening to the speeches of Shri Swaminathan and Shri Alagesan, I feel that they are very complacent as if everything is over now and if tomorrow the elections are held, they would be able to get a majority and form a Government of their own.

SHRI O. V. ALAGESAN: I was never complacent.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: Being complacent is not an offence.

SHRI Q. V. ALAGESAN: Kindly read my speech first.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: I shall never do that.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM. There are so many political and economic factors which were so cunningly and cleverly used by Shri Karunanidhi to go to the people and mislead the people of Tamilnadu for the last four years. These factors still continue to exist. The forces that supported him were themselves responsible for the declaration of this emergency. In June 1975, those were the persons who gave their support to the DMK. The seriousness of this situation must now be realised. But, much will depend on how the President's Rule is going to function and give relief to the people of Tamilnadu.

In the speeches of my Congress friends, I do not find any reference to the issues of the people such as how the Karunanidhi Government misled the people. In the Chief Minister's Conference held recently, I read in the papers, that the Prime Minister fixed the target date as 30th June for the implementation of land reforms and distribution of lands to the peasants. What are you going to do? Can the land reforms as desired by the Prime Minister be implemented in Tamilnadu based on the legislations that are there now? What are the legislations that are there in Tamilnadu? When Congress Government was there, they fixed a ceiling of thirty standard acres for a family. But Shri Karunanidhi wanted to appear to be more radical than Shri Kamara; himself. He reduced that to fifteen standard acres. It is on the basis of an individual. Even a minor child of three months was enabled to have fifteen standard acres. So, all the big farms belonging to the landlords—capitalists—are intact. Suppose the DMK Government had been allowed to continue a day longer, more than 15,000 tenants would have been evicted. Three days ago an Ordinance was

issued and the eviction was stopped. With these legislations framed by Shri Karunanidhi, land reforms could not be implemented effectively. The owners of the temple and trust lands are associates of Shri Karunanidhi. The lands in their possession may run into a million acres. Unless you take over these lands and fix a ceiling on the basis of the family, wherefrom are you going to get the surplus lands and implement this programme? Formidable tasks are facing the Advisers under the President's Rule. I do not know how they are going to carry out this formidable task. A corrupt administration has been left behind. The administration is infiltrated with DMK party-men. I suggest that those who have been appointed during the last three four years, should be tamed and reeducated to serve the people. I particularly lay emphasis on the police. The police at the lower level go and harass the small vendors. There are orders that price list must be shown in the shops but what these policemen do is they go to small tea shops and pan shops and threaten them and arrest them and sarcastically say, "This is President's rule or India Gandhi rule." That is how the police is provoking the people. I would suggest that the police officials should be educated about the present political situation in the country. I wonder how many of the government officials know about the 20-point economic programme? So, Sir, the administration must be toned up and made to behave properly. The Governor should be instructed to involve the people as far as possible in the implementation of the 20-point economic programme. The implementation of the 20-point programme cannot take place relying only on the officials and advisors however efficient they may be. I would like to know from the Home Minister as to what instructions have been given to the Governor with regard to involvement of the people in the matter of implementation of the 20-point economic programme.

As regards the question of economic development the expectations of the people are very high because the Prime Minister herself has said that the money allotted for the drought relief work has been mis-spent and mis-used by the DMK government. Drought is still continuing in several parts of Tamil Nadu consecutively for the third year. So drought relief works must be organised effectively and people must be convinced that the assurance of the Prime Minister is meant seriously and not for countering the propaganda of the DMK. So drought relief must be organised properly with the co-operation of the people. Now proceedings for recovery of loans are taking place in several ways. Loans had been granted during the drought in 1974. Government loans and co-operative loans. Now the officials themselves go there and provoke the people in this way. When the DMK was in power, we gave them time. Now immediately President's rule was ushered in, they say 'I will take your pumpset' or 'I shall attach your cattle'. This is going on in several villages. I feel this is deliberately provoking the people and turning their anger against President's rule. This is what is happening.

So the Central Home Ministry must take note of this serious situation and give proper instructions to the Governor and the Advisers to take the help of the political parties, kisan sabhas, agricultural labourers (inter-ruptions). They must take the help of only those who believe in the 20-point programme and its implementation and not those who will sabotage it. This is my submission.

SHRI S. RADHAKRISHNAN (Cuddalore): Mr. Chairman, since my time is limited, I shall confine my observations only to one or two points. Since yesterday, article 356 of the Constitution has been drawn into controversy

in this debate. After hearing our learned member, Shri Kalyansundaram, I even thought of accepting President's rule as a favourable remedy for all the evils. But after hearing Shri Manoharan, and Shri O. V. Alagesan, I see there is some controversy as regards the official statement.

When the Home Minister, Shri Brahmananda Reddy was speaking, he said that this was a sigh of relief after a long period of 9 years of evil deeds. But the hon. member, Shri Manoharan, while speaking, made a qualification to that. He mentioned only 4 years, do not know whether he thought he could escape from responsibility for some of the things that had been done during his association with that party.

In my humble opinion, this article 356, which has been very much discussed since yesterday, has been an instrument of a comedy of errors in the whole administration of this country. On January 27, His Excellency Mr. Shah was summoning the Assembly of Tamil Nadu to meet for two or three weeks. On that day he was issuing a summons to the Assembly.

On 28th evening he was recommending to the Centre that situation had arisen that the State could not function according to the provisions of the law. Is it in accordance with any provisions of common-sense or in accordance with any provisions of ordinary minimum justice or in accordance with minimum provisions of 'Satyameva Jayate'? Can this question, which is lingering in the minds of 50 million people in Tamil Nadu, be explained how a responsible person who is the head of the State had summoned the State Assembly on 27th January but had recommended within the next 24 hours the dissolution of the Ministry and the Assembly? This is the main thing that has to be explained by the Home Minister. Many previous speakers had spoken about the actions of Mr. K. K. Shah. I

[Shri S. Radhakrishnan]

need not go into their detail. But I want to know one thing. Various Members of the House have given some colour to Article 356 of the Constitution. Shri Dinen Bhattacharya was mentioning that in 1971 there were some bed-mates. In 1971, there was a grand alliance and to that alliance—I think it is a valid document for a political matrimony—Mr. Alagesan, Mr. Swaminathan and Mr. Gopal and even Mr Manoharan were a party.

17 hrs.

SHRI K. GOPAL (Karur). I was not in that.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN. Then our hon. Member, Mr. Alagesan was mentioning about the long period of nine years. Is he not responsible for these evils because he was elected from the Tamil Nadu in 1971? I may even remind you that Mr. C. Subramaniam was elected from here, by this corrupt machinery, corrupt rank and file which constituted this dismissed Ministry. Shri C. Subramaniam got elected from Krishnagiri constituency. He has mentioned about nine long years but Mr Manoharan has stated it was corrupt since four years. But after hearing Mr. Kalyanasundaram I am myself convinced that if it is the only solution to eradicate all the evils of duly elected Government by the people, why cannot you recommend the same thing to other States.

AN HON MEMBER Gujarat

SHRI S RADHAKRISHNAN I mean to all the States. It is a very valuable remedy. Then when the subject of separatism was being mentioned by some hon. Members, I can mention a name which Mr. Manoharan cannot object. Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, the present leader of the Anna D.M.K. was in an open conference challenging the Prime Minister—leave aside Mr. Karunanidhi or anybody else

in the DMK Ministry—that “if the Prime Minister sends any army to the Tamil Nadu, he will face them alone” That is on record.

Another important point which I want to mention is this. During these nine years of DMK Ministry, Central Ministers, one by one, visited Tamil Nadu. They were repeatedly visiting Madras, they were profusely garlanded they were given dinners and all that. They were openly saying that other States should follow Tamil Nadu. Our Home Minister had visited Tamil Nadu on various occasions and he was satisfied with the law and order situation there. The other Ministers who came were also satisfied with the implementation of the 20-point programme. Every department was praised. The Ministers who visited Tamilnadu complimented the administration there and said that the Congress Governments in other States should follow the example of the DMK Government.

MR. CHAIRMAN. Your time is over. Mr Stephen.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): Sir, I rise to support this statutory resolution. Much has been said about the report of the Governor. There are two aspects of this report. One is concerning the misrule in Tamilnadu and the other is concerning the violation of the provisions of the Constitution. The major part of the report is covered by the later, i.e., defiance of the directions given by the centre, refusal to carry out the centre's directions in performance of its executive power, misuse of the powers under emergency and under censorship regulations for party purposes, etc, with the result that the rules concerning the emergency have become inoperative and it has become impossible to work it out. That is the gravamen of the allegation. About misrule, it has to reach a particular point before you can possibly take action.

But so far as the breaking down of the Constitution is concerned, the moment that occurs action will have to be taken. It is the totality of the report that is to be looked at. The totality of the report presents a picture of misrule on the one side which is comparatively unimportant, and the break-down of the Constitution, defiance of the instructions given under emergency and persistence in non-implementation of the directions given, on the other side. What is worse than anything else is the conversion of the facilities given by the emergency, not for the achievement of the goals of the emergency but for enriching the party and personal enrichment. Once this report has come from the Governor, the question is whether action is to be taken or not.

Mr. Sezhiyan was trying to make an important point. He said, no Central Government has the authority under the Constitution in a federal structure to order an enquiry against a Chief Minister of a State. If that is the final decision of the Tamil Nadu Government I must say that that alone is sufficient ground to dismiss that government because under article 356, the executive power shall be exercised to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament. Here is a law made by Parliament which vests authority in the Central Government to order an enquiry against the Chief Minister of any State. When an explanation was called for, Mr. Karunanidhi took the position that "We are a separate entity. No enquiry is permissible under the Constitution against us." Mr. Sezhiyan has said the same thing again here yesterday. A State Government which assumes that position is certainly defying the provisions of the Constitution and cannot be permitted to continue.

Challenges were being thrown about going to the electorate etc. That is irrelevant. Even if the entire State Legislative Assembly is supporting a

government, if that government is defying the provisions of the Constitution and refusing to ensure that the executive authority is so exercised as to comply with the laws made by Parliament, if that happens, there is a break-down of the Constitution, and the Ministry will have to be dismissed. Therefore, in the first place... (*Interruptions*) if the Chief Minister has lost the support of the Assembly, Article 356 need not be invoked and he goes out and some other arrangement is made. Article 356 contemplates a situation when the Chief Minister loses his majority in the Assembly and another situation when he retains his majority and while doing so, uses that power for the purpose of defying the Centre and defying the Constitution. If that happens dismissal has to follow. Now, there is a wrong impression about the federal character of the Union of India. My friend Dr. Henry Austin elaborately dealt with it. I do not want to do it. In essence, it is a unitary government. No separate citizenship is permitted here, as is done in America. The State boundaries here can be altered, not by an amendment of the Constitution, but by a mere law passed by this Parliament. And even on the subjects which are in the State List, laws can be passed by Parliament. The matter came up before the Supreme Court in the State of West Bengal *vs.* the Union of India. The question was raised viz, where did exactly the sovereignty lie. It was in 1963 that West Bengal had said that sovereignty did rest in the provinces as well. The ruling given by the Supreme Court was that there was no sovereignty resting in the State; and that sovereignty rested completely and exclusively only in the Centre. There are different administrative arrangements in different States; and to call it a federation, is a sort of misuse of that particular word. It is a loose federation, a shading of a federation which is there; but in substance it is a unitary government; and the Centre's power has got to prevail. In a coun-

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

try like India, having different cultures and languages, to talk of any other thing is to argue for the dismemberment of the country. In view of the dangers that we are facing, the integrity and the unity of the country are the most supreme needs and steps will have to be taken to preserve them at any cost whatsoever. Therefore, when I support this Resolution, I do so because of what has been stated here and what I know from my personal experience and contacts in Tamil Nadu; I am only giving expression to the overwhelming feeling of exultation that is now there in the hearts of the people of Tamil Nadu. Somebody said: "Go to the election" Mr. Karumaidhi came out with a statement recently. He said: "We are not going to participate in the elections" Why? (Interruptions) Is it because he has become, overnight, a *sannyasi*? Does he want to become a hermit? That statement itself shows that there is a defeatism in his mind. He knows that if he goes to the polls, he will be completely routed. He says: "Let us have no more election I have been in power for nine years. I can go out" Here is a government which came to power on the crest of a wave. After that, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran left that party and quite a number of others had also left. Was there a single by-election thereafter, in which the DMK had won—either to the State Assembly or to Parliament? They were beaten in every election. (Interruptions) These challenges are absolutely misplaced because. (Interruptions) you are no longer to dictate it. Here is a national policy, which is being evolved, and the national policy will have to be implemented. No sort of adventurist challenges have any place here. Such adventurist challenges will be ignored. As to when the elections will take place, how the elections must be conducted and how it must be dovetailed with the national policy under the conditions of emergency is a matter of policy which will

have to be evolved in a separate platform altogether. Therefore, this is not a matter for adventurist challenges. For challenges, your own leader has given the reply "for heaven's sake, do not hold the elections; I am not ready for the elections. If the election is held, I will not be available for it." That is what he has stated.

I do support the Resolution. May I place on record that in exercise of the duty, the sacred duty, which is vested in the Central Government, it has acted and the sacred duty has been discharged, in the interest of the integrity of the country, solidarity of the country and unity of the country and for fighting secessionist and agencyship tendencies which were gnawing on. The agencyship for international sabotage has been stayed, and in that the people are with the Government. This is the answer which the people have already given to them. With these words, I support the Resolution.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY): Mr. Chairman Sir at the outset, I wish to express my thanks for the able support I received from the speeches of Shri Alagesa, Shri Gopal, Shrimati Parvathi Krishna, Shri Kalyanasundram, Shri Manoharan, Shri Suryanarayana, Shri Ram Gopal Reddy, Dr. Austin and Shri Stephen. They have made my work quite light.

In fact, day before yesterday when I spoke in the Rajya Sabha and yesterday here, I said that the people of Tamil Nadu have overwhelmingly welcomed President's Rule and particularly the dismissal of the DMK Government. I am not saying it just as a partyman. I have seen it.

AN HON. MEMBER: He is above politics.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Hold your enthusiasm for a while. I have seen the vast sea of humanity

that gathered on the Marina. I have seen the vast crowds... (Interruptions) Even if you want to collect crowds, crowds do not come... (Interruptions) Please do not interrupt me. Have patience, Mr. Sezhiyan. You are a quiet man. I have listened to you for one hour and heard all the harangue and all that. I have heard you. So, please listen; have patience. If you want to be a leader, the one thing that you must develop is patience.

AN HON. MEMBER: Develop that and become the Home Minister.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: You must have seen the vast sea of humanity that gathered in the Marina grounds.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: We must be shown that film; otherwise, we will not believe it!

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: The lakhs of people that gathered in the streets of Madras clearly demonstrate that the people have gathered there in such large numbers to express their gratitude to the Prime Minister for what she has done.

Let my opposition friends be not under any misapprehension that this act of the Prime Minister was not received well by the public of Tamil Nadu. If they want, even now they can go in separate batches and sense the feeling of the masses of the people, and not meet Karunanidhi alone. Therefore, you must take it as a day of deliverance.

Even there, at that public meeting, I had an opportunity to speak and I said, and I say even now, that it is not as if the Prime Minister is not used to crowds, lakhs of people gathering at her meetings. We have seen Nehru's crowds and Shrimati Indira Gandhi's crowds at other places, but this is a thing which caps it all, which beats the gathering in every place so far as I have seen in my 40 years and over of political experience.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: Every Prime Minister would attract crowds. Make me Prime Minister for a day and see the crowd.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: You are far distant from Tamil Nadu and if you become the Prime Minister, which God forbid some people will certainly come to see who this man is.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: That is exactly what happened in the case of your Prime Minister, they came to see who this lady is.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: If Shamim is there, crowds will be there but he will not be there.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Mr. Alagesan said, while speaking, that if he was to use folklore, it was like Gajendra Moksham. I say that the people of Tamil Nadu have seen in the figure of Shrimati Indira Gandhi a Mahishasura Mardini. I suppose you understand that means the lady who killed the demon. Therefore, let us not devalue it. Let us understand it in its proper proportions. That the feeling of the Tamil Nadu people was against the DMK Government not merely just now but for quite some time is evident. Therefore, I may say without much fear of contradiction that even a good number of DMK people welcomed this act of the Prime Minister.

SHRI K. GOPAL: Including Mr. Sezhiyan.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: I am not trying to drive a wedge between you all because the wedge is already there, and Mr. Sezhiyan also....

SHRI K. GOPAL: Welcomes it.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: I do not want to condemn it.

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam): Can I interrupt now with your permission?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : I have not said anything against you yet.

SHRI SEZHIYAN : Because when you say something about me, I am afraid.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : It is true that there can be a valid criticism that this is a delayed action, that the Government of India waited and waited for quite some time, especially after the proclamation of emergency, in the light of the attitude of the State Government and what they did not only against the emergency but in criticising the Prime Minister in a manner that does not rebound to your credit. When we hear the criticism that has been made by you against the Prime Minister, I do not think you deserve to be called a civilised party. You can have differences with political parties, you can criticise actions, you can show your disagreement, but the manner in which you show it to the Prime Minister of the country, the way you have done it, is a thing which is very wrong and I suppose you will bear it in mind not to repeat it hereafter at any time even at your gatherings. Now, Sir, I do not want to go into the several acts of mal-administration and mis-rule. Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan, Mr. Kalyanasundaram, Mr. Gopal and other friends have given a vivid description of what was happening in recent years and in recent months under the D.M.K. rule. How the labour situation has deteriorated. How so many people had to be thrown out and had to be locked out? In how many cases, the law and order in villages was subordinated to the dictates of party men in every area.

As I said in a public meeting in Madras, I say now that the D.M.K. Government has subordinated and prostituted the administration of the State to mere particular partisan ends of this Government. No police station, no Tehsil, no panchayat office, no co-operative office could work objectively

except at the behest of the party-men. Therefore, I do not want to go into it in great detail. It is a matter which is popularly known, which is commonly known, which any man in Madras can tell you. Even now, I would request Mr. H. M. Patel to just drop in at the Central Station at Madras and go to a street and ask any man. He will tell him. Therefore, let us not go into it. But you must also understand that this imposition of President's Rule, as Mr. Stephen had just now said, is what the Centre has done after reviewing the situation in the totality of the picture. You have to take the entire situation into consideration. I do not know where from either Mr. Patel or other friend has got the impression that it is only when there is a breakdown of law and order, that the Central Government can interfere or only when the Government cannot be constituted that the Central Government will have to interfere. I suppose it is a wrong notion. I may bring to your kind notice not only Article 356 but 355 also, which is relevant to this. It says:

"It shall be the duty of the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance and to ensure that the Government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution."

And Article 356 follows. Therefore, as I said even earlier, even in the other House also, it is not a power, it is not a right of the Central Government, but it is a duty cast under the Constitution on the Central Government to see to it. It is an obligation. It is the responsibility of the Central Government to see that every State in this country is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. Therefore, let us not have a distorted notion when the Central Government can interfere. I am taking the thing objectively. As Mr. Patel and someone else have said, that let us not look at Tamil Nadu only; let us look at the broad perspective. Sup-

posing some action is taken, if propaganda is preached that this State will be outside the country, that there will be dissociation, in spite of your protest or say even active steps are being taken to bring up your children in a manner which is exclusive of the entire nation, what would happen? Do you want to keep quiet? Do you want to say that the law and order has not been broken and the police stations are functioning, and therefore you should not take any action? I suppose that it is not within a restricted scope that the Constitution framers have framed this Constitution. In spite of the fact that after 25 years, you may find some loopholes in the light of experience to amend here and there some of the basic things, the wise founding fathers have gone into it at great length, have expressed it at great length, have thought about great things. Therefore I say—if my friends think, of course that we are a federal country. But, at the same time, you must also understand that this is a country with a strong Central Government. You must understand this. It is not as if they have merely copied the article from the Government of India Act, 1935. It is not so. They have considered fully the historical perspective of this country. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was telling you just now what happened when the Portuguese came and when they first landed in the State of Kerala. Therefore, they had a historical perspective before them. They knew the centrifugal forces at work; they knew the vast land of India with its complexity, with its diversity and they knew that it needed a strong Centre to keep all the forces together. They wisely adopted this Constitution.

Let us not loosely talk of federalism. Of course, that is there. The State has a responsibility. The State is elected by its people. Certainly, it has to govern the people. But, over and above that, if it becomes necessary, the Centre has to intervene. What does the Centre mean? It means, you

all. The Centre is a representative of this House. When you say that the Centre takes over the responsibility, it means that this House, in its wisdom, will have to take over the reins and run the administration of that State.

Another factor that has been mentioned is this. I wish to submit that it is not only for mere corruption, it is not only for mal-administration, it is not only for misuse of power, it is not only for prostituting or subordinating the entire administrative apparatus for the partisan ends, it is not only for using even the police force to collect party funds, it is not only for preaching secession in the guise of State autonomy, it is not only because of anti-Hindi feelings trying emotionally arouse the people of Tamil Nadu, it is not only all that but it is the totality of the picture, the totality of the situation, obtaining in the State at a particular point on time, that is the relevant consideration. This is what the Governor has said.

Then, some hon. Members said that at some time or other, the Governor has said something. After all, the Governor is a Constitutional head. He cannot criticise an elected Government. If the Governor criticises the Government tomorrow Mr. Patel, and Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari will come and say, "What right has the Governor, the constitutional head, to criticise an elected Government?" Therefore, let us not make much of it. Even if you want to make much of it, can I say even a man like Mr. K. K. Shah who was very well disposed towards you was compelled to say all this against you after having seen that he was not able to bear the mal-administration in the State? One can say even that. Let us not make an issue of it. How, for example, if I say, Mr. Seshyan is a good man, a quiet man, does it mean that after some time, I cannot say anything against him? You must take it for what it is worth. After all,

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: when the speeches are read, they are prepared by the Government of the day. Probably, they assumed that something may happen, in the future. So, they put the things in the mouth of the Governor which he would not have said.

My submission here is that in the Governor's report the Governor did not say that only because of corruption you are being removed. He has mentioned several things in addition to the corruption which my hon. friend Mr. Manoharan, has graphically described. They are innumerable in number. There is no time to repeat several of the things which have been said here. About the Commission of Inquiry if you see the Governor's report, it is contained in the last paragraph. He says, "I also recommend that a Commission of Inquiry may be instituted." It means that corruption is not the only ground. As I mentioned just now, it is the totality of the situation, the totality of the picture, the misuse of power, the maladministration, the secession tendency, the anti-Hindi feelings, the exclusiveness of Tamil Nadu, the prostituting of the party machinery, the Government apparatus, for the partisan ends, etc. The combination of these things led the President to impose President's rule, which he rightly did. And the President's discretion cannot be questioned. It is the sole right and responsibility of the President. It cannot be questioned even in a court of law. That apart, there is another factor. I was very glad, when Mr. Dinen Bhattacharyya spoke, when Mr. Patel and Mr. Tridib Chaudhuri spoke, even when Mr. Sezhiyan spoke, they did not go, rightly and wisely—I should say, not only rightly but also wisely—go into the arguments refuting the allegations of misrule. They know that they are on a weak wicket, on a lost ground and, therefore, they have taken the Constitutional position, namely, that under these circumstan-

ces alone a Government can be removed and not otherwise. I know their weakness. They do not have the strength of mind or the strength of heart to refute the allegations of misrule.

I want to take you to another aspect which is very important. In fact, it is the worst of the crimes. You all remember the secessionist movement in Tamil Nadu. Mr. Sezhiyan has spoken and Mr. Swaminathan has spoken about it. It started somewhere with Mr. Ramaswamy Naciker and then came the DK, the DMK and the ADMK. (Interruptions) I would request you to treat this subject with seriousness because this is a national matter, this is a matter of great importance. I am glad that Mr. Manoharan has said that they stand for the development of Hindi throughout the country. It is a very good thing. He is against all actions of rank parochialism. That is a very good thing. I welcome that statement, and I would request him and his leader, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, to repeat it *ad nauseam*, to repeat it as many times as they like, in every nook and corner of Tamil Nadu, because our young people in Tamil Nadu must grow with a better sense of responsibility, with better notions of all-India, with a better sense of national unity, national integrity. They should not be frogs in the well. That will act to your detriment in the long run.

I welcome Mr. Sezhiyan's statement also that they have given up the secessionist movement long long ago. Mr. Sezhiyan, your lifting the hand does not convince me. It is true, your brother Mr. Nedunchezhiyan has said that they have given that up long long ago. Even Mr. Karunanidhi has said that. But shall I tell you that, under the guise of State autonomy, under the veil of State autonomy, your Party people are saying, the responsible people in your Party are saying, if

State autonomy is not conceded as they want it to be conceded, then there will be secession. You want to keep alive this spirit, you want to keep alive this emotion, so that you can exploit it to your best advantage when a situation like that occurs.

SHRI SEZHIYAN: I want to make a submission. This is a very vital one. As you say, we have given it up. If there was anybody who had taken the other stand, even now I implore you, I request you, to take penal action against him? I will not stand in the way. The law of the land forbids anybody preaching secession. Treat it as a treason, put it in the court, give evidence and convict the person to any number of years as the law allows. I support you, I stand by the unity of this country.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: I thank you for it. But I want you, not merely you, I want the party cadres to be sincere. I want the party cadres to mean what they say specially in this matter. There can be some difference of opinion on some other programme, I can understand that, but on a matter like this, which is vital to national unity and national integration, there cannot be a difference of opinion.

Now, shall I take you to Shri Volampuri John? He is an MP.

SHRI SEZHIYAN: He has left the party and gone to your party (Interruptions).

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: He appealed to the people to accept the party as a liberation movement. He stressed that once Karunanidhi laid down office, the DMK will be converted into a liberation movement and Karunanidhi may even become the Prime Minister.

SHRI SEZHIYAN: The paper in which he wrote these things, was prescribed and it was suspended by the DMK Government itself.

SHRI ARAVINDA BALA PAJANOR (Pondicherry): He has used the same language in the Conference at Coimbatore. I have heard him a number of times.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Now, Mr. Asaithambi, Chairman Tamil Nadu Tourism Development Corporation in the 5th State Conference of DMK held at Coimbatore on 25th to 28th December, 1975 said that if the party's demand for State autonomy was not conceded, the DMK would have no alternative but to revive its earlier demand for separate Tamil Nadu. Shri Nellai Buhari threatened that in the event of imposition of President's rule, the DMK would seize the AIR and declare independence of Tamil Nadu.

I am not going into the other matters which Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan mentioned yesterday.

Shri Murasoli Maran—he is a Member of this House, warned that if the life of the DMK Government in the State was not extended, there would be a real revolution in Tamil Nadu and the State would be converted into a revolutionary base.

As I said at the party's Fifth State Conference at Coimbatore from 25th to 28th December, 1975 it was declared that if the party's demand for State autonomy was not conceded the DMK would have no alternative but to review its earlier demand for separation. The party also maintained—I am saying another thing—close report with the Dravida Kazhagam.

AN HON MEMBER: Who said that?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Even yesterday, what did Shri Karunanidhi say? He said, "You remember E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker and Annadurai. He has been sustaining himself on secessionist and anti-national sentiments. Now, therefore, I am

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submitting to you, my friends, with all sincerity, that this kind of keeping reservation, that is, reserving your right to speak for separation in the event of your not being satisfied on any issue, the sooner you get it out of your Party and out of your Party members, the better will it be for you

One other thing which you have been noticing and which my friend, Mr. Manoharan, has also said, is arousing people's emotion in the name of language. Everybody loves his own language. Everybody loves his own mother tongue. You have a right to love Tamil just as much as I have a right to love Telugu. But nobody has said Tamil language should not be permitted or Tamil language should not be loved. You are misleading the Tamil people that 'if this comes, Tamil is dead, Oh Tamil Mother, you are dead.' In an emotional manner this kind of thing should not happen. You are aware that the late Pandit Nehru has given you that assurance and Shrimati Indira Gandhi has also repealed that assurance....

SHRI THA KIRUTTINAN (Sivaranja): But what is your statement? You are mentioning the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, you are mentioning the statement of Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: My statement is what Shrimati Indira Gandhi has said.

I would only say this. There is an attempt—I would request hon. Members to note this also—Always to bring up their children insulating them from any ideas of nationalism, etc. This is a very dangerous thing. I want to put it before you. You love your language. You may do, You do everything possible. But you are insulating them from ideas of nationalism, and from ideas of unity of the country. This is a dangerous trend. You have been trying to put even in

your educational text-books, things like that. They do no good, they do not endure to your benefit. I am very much interested in the proper development and growth of Tamil Nadu as a part of India as much as Andhra Pradesh is I have lived 27 years of my political life in Tamil Nadu, not with the DMK but with other friends. Now, therefore, I would request you to consider this.

Now, you know, how the emergency was treated there. That I have just now mentioned. To-day also Shrimati Parvati Krishnan read out resolution:

"Passed a unanimous resolution nothing that the recent approach adopted by the ruling Congress and the methods practised by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, tended to put out the fight for democracy and lead the country into the gloom of dictatorship"

Now, I would like to say that you yourself have said—it is better to remind now and then

"Mr. Sezhiyan, MP asserted that fascism existed only in Delhi and not in Tamil Nadu"

He observed

Hitler amended the Constitution and took away many people's rights for the uplift of the country, Mussolini brought about reforms identical to those of the Prime Minister

SHRI SEZHIYAN I said this in the House itself.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: That does not make it different .. (Interruptions)

Then:

"Mr. Mariswamy declared that Hitler, Mussolini and General

Frango took away the fundamental rights of the people under a same kind of false pretext as is being currently employed in India."

So also, Mr. Maran and others said it.

So, you know about Hindi also. You know in 1965 there was an agitation in Tamil Nadu. There was a lot of violence. I may not be wrong when I say that in 1967 elections DMK's victory was the result of 1965 agitation and also some other people.. (Interruptions)

SHRI SEZHIYAN. In all humility I want to impress upon you if you want to draw conclusion that it is because of the agitation DMK came to power, it is not a fact. It is not a past history. If you say these things, somebody may get it into his mind that only by inciting people one can come into power. DMK came on other .. (Interruptions).

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: But all this the same do not say all this if Central Government does anything for Hindi. Karunanidhi himself has said; I have done it as a worker with a brush, now I will do it with a sceptre. Why do you go into all this unnecessarily? You may say, you want protection or whatever you want to say. But do not go on creating an atmosphere in the State, a kind of atmosphere by working up the emotions of the people so that they may be ready in any way of yours. That is what I am protesting against. What I am saying is, if you want to criticise, criticise some programme. But on these matters like secessionism, anti Hindi business, you will have to be very careful. Do not think that it will stand in good stead if you work up the people's emotions. I want you and I request you not to do hereafter anywhere

Now, that the President's rule has been imposed, it has been our endeavour to see that we give the people of Tamil Nadu a clean and efficient administration.

As Mr. Kalyanasundaram and Mrs. Parvathi Krishnan said, it is also our desire that in the execution of our policy and programme, and especially in the execution of our 20 point programme we should associate as many representatives of the people as possible who can co-operate and give us that co-operation, understanding and assistance. It is true that there is a lot of room for cleaning up the matters in the administration there. I do not want to go into the details. It would not be proper for me to do so. But it becomes necessary that in the administration, at the local level, at the Panchayat level, at the co-operative, at the temple level, etc., administration of these things is better done and any lapses, any other undesirable things that have come in or that have crept in, must be cleared. Therefore, it will be worth your while, our while to clean up to the extent possible with all sincerity.

It has been our endeavour also step up the tempo of development in the State. It has been the particular wish of the Prime Minister that these years, 1976-77's development programme of Tamil Nadu should not be of less than Rs. 200 crores. During the time of the DMK Government, they had agreed to a plan of only Rs. 177 crores and even there with some resources wanting, with some resources not in sight. But due to the efforts of the Prime Minister particularly let the Tamil Nadu people be thankful to us, not for the President's rule, but for this as well, over Rs. 200 crores is going to be utilised in Tamil Nadu for development. (Interruptions) Now, it should be our effort and naturally it becomes the duty of the hon. members of this House to give co-operation and understanding. In the next few days we will be forming a Committee of

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about 60 Members to see to the administration of that part of the country And I therefore think that we should have the blessings of the entire House is not only stepping up investment in Tamil Nadu, but bringing the administration nearer the people and in seeing to it that we give that State and those people a better and a clearer administration

One last word, Sir You know Tamil Nadu has rightly been mentioned as a State which has earned some reputation for good Government But now, somehow, it has fallen on evil days It is our duty to see that the per capita investment also increases in Tamil Nadu and the people of Tamil Nadu are able to derive the benefits of this Government

Sir, I thank all the Hon Members who have given us their support and I request the Hon Members to pass this Resolution unanimously

SHRI SEZHIYAN The action by the Central Government in Tamil Nadu is undemocratic and against the federal character We are not satisfied with the reply given by him And therefore, Sir, we refuse to be a party to this sort of fraud committed on the Constitution of India So, as a mark of protest, we are walking out

Shri Sezhiyan and some other hon Members then left the House

18 hrs

MR CHAIRMAN The question is

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 31st January, 1976 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Tamil Nadu"

The Lok Sabha divided.

AYES

[Division No. 2]

[18.02 hrs.]

Achal Singh, Shri
Agrawal, Shri Shrikrishna
Ahirwar, Shri Nathu Ram
Alagesan, Shri O V
Ansari, Shri Ziaur Rahman
Arvind Netam, Shri
Austin, Dr Henry
Awdesh Chandra Singh, Shri
Aziz Imam, Shri
Babunath Singh, Shri
Barman, Shri R N
Barupal, Shri Panna Lal
Basumatari Shri D
Besra Shri S C
Bhagat, Shri H K L
Bhargava Shri Basheshwar Nath
Bhatia, Shri Raghubandan Lal
Bhattacharyya, Shri Chapalendu
Bheeshmadev, Shri M
Bhuvarahan, Shri G
Bist, Shri Narendra Singh
Brahmanandji Shri Swami
Chakleshwar Singh, Shri
Chandrakar, Shri Chandulal
Chandrika Prasad, Shri
Chaturvedi, Shri Rohan Lal
Chaudhary, Shri Nitiraj Singh
Chavan, Shrimati Premalabai
Chhotey Lal, Shri
Chhatten Lal, Shri
Chukkalingaiah, Shri K
Daga, Shri M C
Damani, Shri S R
Darbata Singh, Shri
Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas
Daschowdhury, Shri B K
Deo Shri S N Singh
Dhamankar, Shri

Dharamgaj Singh, Shri
Dhillon, Dr. G. S.,
Dhusia, Shri Anant Prasad
Dixit, Shri G. C.
Doda, Shri Hiralal
Dumada, Shri L. K.
Engti, Shri Biren
Gandhi, Shrimati Indira
Ganga Devi, Shrimati
Gangadeb, Shri P.
Garcha, Shri Devinder Singh
Gill, Shri Mohinder Singh
Godara, Shri Mani Ram
Gogoi, Shri Tarun
Gomango, Shri Giridhar
Gopal, Shri K.
Goswami, Shri Dinesh Chandra
Gotkhinde, Shri Annasaheb
Gowda, Shri Pampan
Hansda, Shri Subodh
Hanumanthaiya, Shri K.
Hari Singh, Shri
Ishaque, Shri A. K. M
Jaffer Sharif, Shri C. K.
Jamilurrahman, Shri Md.
Jha, Shri Chiranjib
Jitendra Prasad, Shri
Kadam, Shri J. G.
Kadannappalli, Shri Ramachandran
Kakodkar, Shri Pursnottam
Kakoti, Shri Robin
Kalyanasundaram, Shri M.
Kamble, Shri T. D.
Kamla Kumari, Kumari
Kapur, Shri Sat Pal
Karan Singh, Dr.
Kaul, Shrimati Sheila
Khan, Shri I. H.
Kinder Lal, Shri
Kisku, Shri A. K.
Kotrashetti, Shri A. K.

Krishnan, Shrimati Parvathi
Kulkarni, Shri Raja
Kureel, Shri B. N.
Lakkappa, Shri K.
Laskar, Shri Nihar
Mahajan, Shri Vikram
Maharaj Singh, Shri
Majhi, Shri Gajadhar
Mallikarjun, Shri
Mandal, Shri Jagdish Narain
Manoharan, Shri K.
Maurya, Shri B. P.
Mishra, Shri Bibhuti
Mishra, Shri G. S.
Mishra, Shri Jagannath
Modi, Shri Shrikishana
Mahapatra, Shri Shyam Sunder
Munsi, Shri Priya Ranjan Das
Murmu, Shri Yogesh Chandra
Muruganatham, Shri S. A.
Negi, Shri Pratap Singh
Oraon, Shri Tuna
Panuli, Shri Paripoornanand
Pajanor, Shri Aravinda Bala
Pandey, Shri Krishna Chandra
Pandey, Shri Narsingh Narain
Pandey, Shri R. S.
Pandey, Shri Sudhakar
Paokaj Haokip, Shri
Parashar, Prof. Narain Chand
Patel, Shri Prabhudas
Patil, Shri Krishnarao
Patil, Shri S. B.
Patil, Shri T. A.
Patnaik, Shri Banamali
Patnaik, Shri J. B.
Peje, Shri S. L.
Pradhani, Shri K.
Raghu Ramaiah, Shri K
Ral, Shri S. K.
Raj Bahadur, Shri

Raju, Shri P. V. G.
 Ram Prakash, Shri
 Ram Sewak, Ch.
 Ram Swarup, Shri
 Ranabhadur Singh, Shri
 Rao, Shri J. Rameshwar
 Rao, Shri M. S. Sanjeevi
 Rao, Shri Nageswara
 Rao, Shri P. Ankineedu Prasada
 Rao, Shri Pattabhi Rama
 Rathia, Shri Umed Singh
 Raut, Shri Bhola
 Ray, Shrimati Maya
 Reddy, Shri K. Kodanda Rami
 Reddy, Shri K. Ramakrishna
 Reddy, Shri M. Ram Gopal
 Reddy, Shri P. Narasimha
 Rohatgi, Shrimati Sushila
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath
 Rudra Pratap Singh, Shri
 Saini, Shri Mulki Raj
 Salve, Shri N. K. P.
 Samanta, Shri S. C.
 Sankata Prasad, Dr.
 Sathe, Shri Vasant
 Satish Chandra, Shri
 Satpathy, Shri Devendra
 Savant, Shri Shankerrao
 Savitri Shyam, Shrimati
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.
 Shah Nawaz Khan, Shri
 Shallani, Shri Chandra
 Shankaranand, Shri B.
 Sharma, Shri A. P.
 Sharma, Shri Nawal Kishore
 Shastri, Shri Biswanarayan

Shastri, Shri Sheopujan
 Shenoy, Shri P. R.
 Shukla, Shri Vidya Charan
 Siddheshwar Prasad, Prof.
 Sinha, Shri Dharam Bir
 Sinha, Shri Nawal Kishore
 Somasundaram, Shri S. D.
 Stephen, Shri C. M.
 Sudarsanam, Shri M.
 Surendra Pal Singh, Shri
 Suryanarayana, Shri K.
 Swaminathan, Shri R. V.
 Swamy, Shri Sidrameshwar
 Tayyab Hussain, Shri
 Tewari, Shri Shankar
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.
 Tula Ram, Shri
 Yadav, Shri Chandrajit
 Yadav, Shri Karan Singh
 Zulfiquar Ali Khan, Shri

NOES

Deo, Shri P. K.
 Mavalankar, Shri P. G
 *Shetty, Shri K. K.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The result of
 the division is: Ayes 176; Noes 3.

The motion was adopted.

18.03 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till
 Eleven of the clock on Thursday,
 March 11, 1976/Phalgun 21, 1897
 (Saka).*

*Wrongly voted for NOES.

Sarvashri R. K. Khadilkar and K. K. Shetty also recorded their votes for AYES.