

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION
APPROVING CONTINUANCE OF
PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION IN
RELATION TO TAMIL NADU—
Contd.**

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Subramanian Swamy.

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मान्यवर, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। यह प्रश्न कल भी यहां उठाया गया था कि तमिलनाडु के गवर्नर ने जो रिपोर्ट भेजी है उसको प्रतियां सदस्यों को दी जायें। उपसभापति महोदया ने यह बात मंत्री महोदय के विवेक पर छोड़ दी थी। मेरा कहना यह है कि माननीय सदस्य जब तक उस रिपोर्ट को पढ़ेंगे नहीं, देखेंगे नहीं, तब तक वे इस चर्चा में भाग नहीं ले सकेंगे। इसलिये सभापति जी, मेरा आपसे अनुरोध है कि आप मंत्री महोदय को डायरेक्शन दें कि वे गवर्नर की रिपोर्ट को सदन में रखें। कल भी उपसभापति महोदया के सामने यह बात रखी गई थी कि इस प्रकार की कंवेन्शन है, लेकिन यह बात मंत्री महोदय के विवेक पर छोड़ दी गई थी। इस सदन में बहुत सी कंवेन्शन हैं। कल प्रधान मंत्री जी ने मंत्रियों का इंट्रोडक्शन लंच के बाद कराया जब कि प्रेक्टिस यह है कि क्वेश्चन्स शुरू होने से पहले इंट्रोडक्शन कराया जाता है। इसलिये मेरा अनुरोध है कि आप अपनी कुर्सी छोड़ने से पहले मंत्री महोदय को डायरेक्शन दें।

श्री सभापति : मैं कुर्सी नहीं छोड़ रहा हूं। चूंकि यह मामला उनके सामने उठा था इसलिये मैं सन्नमता हूं कि वे ही इसका अच्छी तरह से उत्तर दे सकेंगे।

[उपसभापति महोदया पीठासीन हुई।]

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : उपसभापति महोदया, कल ही आपने कहा था कि मंत्री महोदय अपने विवेक का इस्तेमाल करें, लेकिन वे अपने विवेक का इस्तेमाल नहीं कर रहे हैं।

उपसभापति : इस बारे में मैंने कल ही बता दिया था।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : आपने मंत्री जी के विवेक पर इसको छोड़ दिया था। मेरा आपसे अनुरोध है कि आप मंत्री जी से कहें कि वे अपने निर्णय से सदन को अवगत करें।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): It has never been the precedent in this House to present the papers as demanded by Mr. Malaviya. In Rule 249—PAPERS QUOTED TO BE LAID ON THE TABLE—it is also said: "If a Minister quotes in the Council a despatch or other State Paper which has not been presented to the Council, he shall lay the relevant paper on the Table.... Provided further that where a Minister gives in his own words a summary or gist of such despatch or State Paper it shall not be necessary to lay the relevant papers on the Table." So, in this context, I think there is no necessity for deviating from a precedent, because it can happen any time.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu): Even the first report itself was not submitted to the House earlier and because of the pressure and justification from the opposition, it was realised by the Treasury Benches and that was presented. Earlier, the report from the Governor was not at all circulated to the Members but it was repeatedly demanded by the opposition and it was thereafter accepted by the Government. The point for consideration is whether the Governor's report is necessary or not, whether it is helpful for a discussion or not, because now the hon. Minister is giving new grounds which have not been disclosed so far to the House.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): The Minister in his speech, or by way of introduction, had stated that the Governor in his letter to the President, gave two reasons for not initiating elections

latest by 20th June as the Presidential Proclamation of 29th or 30th January was to expire in six months and if elections are to be held before expiry of Presidential Proclamation, then the latest date by which election process has to be initiated, is 20th of June. The Governor, according to him, according to the Minister, had given two reasons why this could not be done. One reason was the Vanniyar agitation and the other was the strike by the employees and teachers. Now, both these reasons are no more operative. The Vanniyar agitation was there only for a few days. It is true that they have said that they will boycott the elections, they will try to prevent the elections. So did the extremists in Punjab say in September, 1985. So many people say such things all the time. Therefore, this cannot be a valid reason. Moreover, the agitation was localised. It was quite a bit localised in the State of Tamil Nadu. Anyhow, there is no agitation now.

As far as the strike or the agitation by the employees is concerned, it was got over on the 26th July by, shall I say, a sleight of hand of the Government whereby they were able to satisfy a section of the employees. Anyway, it is not on. Most of the employees are back at work. Therefore, I would say that if the Government were to initiate the process, say, from tomorrow, the earliest date on which elections can be held will be the 9th of September. That is why, in my amendment, I have suggested 15th September as the date for the elections. My colleague, Mr. Maran, has suggested 30th August. But I am afraid, that is not a feasible date. The Election Commission will not be in a position, under the law, to hold elections before the 30th August. Therefore, in a sense, his amendment....

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu): Do we have any law? Only Allah. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I appreciate Mr. Maran's sentiment. I have given an amendment of the same type but I have suggested 15th September. This also happens to be the birthday of late Shri Annadurai. Therefore, it is a good day for holding the elections. Therefore, Madam, I am making a suggestion. I am suggesting, through my amendment—this is also in line with the spirit of the amendment of Mr. Maran—a respectable way out of what you have done. You are trying to postpone the elections for other reasons. First of all, let me ask you, why did the Vanniyar agitation take place? The agitation took place because the Vanniyars wanted reservation in Government jobs. This is a very genuine demand. This should have been conceded a long time ago. But they chose to exploit it and they tried to divert the attention of the people. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): How do you say that? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: It is only the Government who have done this. (*Interruptions*) You are still new to Parliament. You should know. (*Interruptions*) You want to disown MGR after giving him Bharat Ratna? (*Interruptions*) I am only taking in general terms. (*Interruptions*)

Madam, as far as the employees are concerned, theirs was a genuine demand. They want parity with the Central Government employees. When they are doing the same kind of work, why should they not get the same pay? There should be same pay for same work. This is a very genuine demand of the employees and this should have been accepted. Why did you not concede it? This should have been conceded. In this respect, you should have learnt a lesson from what happened in the case of Mr. Bansi Lal. In Haryana, he tried to crush the employees for the same reason and you know what the sub-

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sequent reactions were. I am afraid, the way Mr. Chidambaram behaves and talks, he is becoming another Bansi Lal; Bansi Lal of Tamil Nadu perhaps. The mentality is the same. Crush the employees wherever they are. (Interruptions) These are excuses. They had an excuse that the electoral rolls were not ready. They were ready by the 7th of May. What prevented them from announcing elections on the 7th May? But they got it postponed. Then they came out with a new excuse. The Prime Minister made the most astounding remark, maybe due to lack of political experience or lack of complete education, but he made a remark that the elections are to be decided by the Governor. The Governor immediately said, no, it has got nothing to do with him, go back to the Prime Minister, he has to decide. (Interruptions). That was the second stage. Afterwards, it was said, "Governor in consultation with the Election Commission." The Election Commission made a statement that they were ready anytime the Government was ready.

Therefore, these are the reasons given by them, but the real reasons are different. What is the real reason? The real reason is that the Governor rule in Tamil Nadu today has become an indirect Congress (I) rule. The Congress (I) says, when we can postpone it, why not postpone it as much as we can so that we could have the advantage of ruling the State without having to go the people. They want to postpone it as much as they can. That is one reason why this is done. In fact, this has been conceded. Their leader, at least Mr. Chidambaram's leader Mr. Moopanar in an interview.

...
SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: No, he himself is the leader. That is his position.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Oh, he is the leader of Mr. Moopanar, that is the latest position.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Latest development,

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): Madam, you should adjourn the House so that they can settle their quarrel.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Well, Madam, Mr. Moopanar in an interview to Patriot, of which there is a record in Parliament Library, has said, yes, the people all over Tamil Nadu think that the Governor's rule is an indirect Congress (I) rule. Of course, he has said among other things that it is not correct and all that, but he says that the general impression amongst the people of Tamil Nadu is that the Governor's rule is an indirect Congress (I) rule.

Secondly, the Congress (I) having betrayed the Janaki faction in the Assembly, hoped that they could cash on the alleged popularity of Miss Jayalalitha, who is Member of this House, I do not know where she is. Maybe, she is underground in the hospital. So they thought they could cash but unfortunately for them, Miss Jayalalitha has become a bigger cowboy than Ronald Reagan and she has been shooting all around before asking questions, as they say.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is not present in the House. Please do not make any such remarks.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Miss Jaya'alitha is a Member of this House and you cannot cast aspersions on her. Please do not do that. She is a Member of this House

and it is not fair on the part of a senior Member like you to cast aspersions on her. An experienced Member like Shri Subramanian, who has been here for a long time, should not make this mistake.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: She is a Member of this House, she can defend herself. It is only for those who are not Members of this House about whom you should not say anything.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: No aspersions should be cast as per rules on any Member of the House. If any aspersion has to be cast, it has to be given in writing to the Chair and it is for him to decide.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: It is not an aspersion, it is only an allegation. It is a common thing.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: It may be a common thing for you but it is a derogatory statement as far as I am concerned. It is a question of opinion. You have to refer to the dictionary and refer the matter. I strongly object to what Mr. Subramanian Swamy has said.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will request the hon. Member to refrain from making any such reference.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: If I compare Miss Jayalalitha with Ronald Reagan, it should be taken as a compliment because many people think I am an admirer of Reagan and everything American.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may think like that, but everybody cannot take things like that.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Most of the things that Shri Subramanian Swamy has said are not complimentary. In that context, I want to correct him. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him continue now.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You should ask him to be more restrained when he is on the Indian Airlines.

The third reason is that the normal technique that the Congress party adopts in elections is intimidation of voters, getting false electoral rolls at the last minute, cutting of sections of voters who are favourable for which it needs the employees' support. Now there is total hostility in the employees and therefore their normal methods of fighting elections have been greatly hampered by the employees' strike. They have learnt their lesson in Haryana as to what that does. That is the third reason why they are wanting to postpone.

And finally, the fourth reason is the souring of Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. The Accord was signed and the hope was that this will give them electoral benefits. Instead it has boomeranged on them and therefore they want more time.

Now underlying all this Madam, is the Congress central leadership's arrogance in dealing with the Tamils in general. This arrogance is greatly fortified because the Tamil leadership in the Congress Party is supine; they cannot stand up to their leadership here. Except for Satyamurthy and Kamraj, it has been the general rule with the leadership in this country from Tamilnadu that they do not stand up for the interests of the Tamil people.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Please include people like Rajaji and Venkataraman also.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Except for Satyamurthy and Kamraj, this has been the general pattern.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): He is groping in the dark. To which party does he belong now?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order please.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Whom are you representing now?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Whichever party Mr. Swamy belongs to will be split.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You have now Miss Jayalalitha. You do not have to worry.

So this is the general pattern of the Tamil leadership of the Congress Party. They all behave like tigers in Tamilnadu, but when they come to Delhi they become pussy-cats. That is the essential problem. That is why they do not accept me as a Tamil because I do not fit into this pattern of being a tiger in Tamilnadu and a pussy-cat in Delhi.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please speak on the Resolution.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Yes, I am very much on the Resolution. It is their interruptions which are derailing it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No interruptions now. Please, let the discussion go on.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: He does not know anything about Tamilnadu.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Why are you so agitated? You are going to lose an election; you are not going to lose your life. Now let us look at the facts.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: How many elections have you lost?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I have lost none.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please let him complete now.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:

Let us look at the facts. Economically speaking, today, the per capita income of Tamilnadu is 25 per cent below the national average. In 1951, the per capita income of Tamilnadu was the third highest in the country. Today it is the fourth lowest. Now they are supporting me, Orissa, U.P. and Bihar are below Tamilnadu. In ten years hence, because the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar growth rate is very much similar to the national growth rate and the Tamilnadu's is not, Tamilnadu will have the lowest per capita income if the policies that have been pursued by the Congress and its allies are continued. In fact, Tamilnadu's growth rate over the last decade is only 7 per cent per year in per capita terms, whereas nationally it is going up by 2½ per cent. So this is one fact that has to be recognised and the people of Tamilnadu have to ask their leadership as to what they have been doing. Is there something wrong with Tamilnadu? The population is growing so fast that the per capita income is becoming low is the normal excuse trotted out by the Congress Government. In fact the rate of growth of population in Tamilnadu is one of the lowest. It is lower than that of most States, except a few—maybe two. The rate of growth of Tamilnadu population has in fact been consistently low. In fact the constitutional amendment that was brought to freeze the number of seats was because Tamilnadu was losing Lok Sabha seats, because the Lok Sabha seats were, at that time, on the basis of population. It has not got to do with the population growth rate. We had a discussion today in the Question Hour on the population growth rate, but you know that this cannot be a fact. Now, along with this fact is the alarming fact of the unemployment rate in Tamilnadu. According to the data of the National Sample Survey, which is a Government agency—their data—the all-India unemployment rate however calculated, is 9.5 per cent whereas in Tamil Nadu

it is 16 per cent. Poverty: The all-India level is 37 per cent but in Tamil Nadu it is 44 per cent. What is this due to? If it has not got to do with population growth rate, what has it got to do with? Does it mean that the Tamilians are illiterate? But don't judge it by the Congress Members of Parliament. They may be, but the general Tamil population is a highly literate population and, in fact, has the second highest literacy rate in the country. For males the all-India average is 47 per cent literacy, and in Tamil Nadu it is 60 per cent. For females it is 25 per cent and in Tamil Nadu it is 40 per cent... (Time-bell rings)... Madam, I am not taking much time. As you know, I am the first speaker and Janata being the largest party, and likely to be the ruling party ... (Interruptions)...

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Janata is sunk already ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Don't whistle in the dark ... (Interruptions)... What new suffixes are you going to add now? Congress (I), Congress (J), Congress (N), how many suffixes they have got! Soon you are going to find a new suffix—Congress (ND), ND standing for Narayan Datt Tiwari ... (Interruptions)... So, if it has not got to do with population, if it has not got to do with illiteracy, what then is responsible for Tamil Nadu's backwardness, for the slipping down situation? Whereas Tamil Nadu was one of the most advanced States in the late 40's and early 50's, today Tamil Nadu has slipped far behind U.P., Bihar and Orissa which have a traditional problem of lack of resources and they happen to be ahead of Tamil Nadu. What is it due to? Is it due to lack of infrastructure?

Here again I will come to who should be complimented. Here again, if you look at the index of infrastructure, whether it is roads, whether it is power and so many other things, Tamil Nadu is placed only after Punjab and Haryana. So, again you

will find that it has not got to do with this. Then may I ask what is it due to? If it is not due to these things, what is it due to? The reason again—I will come back—is the supine Tamil leadership of the Congress Party which cannot secure justice for the Tamilians, and that is the message that the Tamilians have now got. You can see this now in other ways also.

Look at the per capita Plan outlay. If there was not supine Tamil leadership, it should be reflected in the Plan outlay. In the Fourth Plan, the per capita Plan outlay for the country as a whole is Rs. 142; for Tamil Nadu it is Rs. 134. For the Fifth Plan it is Rs. 262, average, for the nation; for Tamil Nadu it is 201. Sixth Plan, Rs. 687; for Tamil Nadu, only Rs. 651. Consistently low.

Look at the per capita allocation for the Minimum Needs Programme, which is another index. For the Sixth Plan, all-India per capita expenditure under the Minimum Needs Programme was Rs. 84.80, about Rs. 85; in Tamil Nadu it was only Rs. 50. Is not this an index of supine leadership that the Congress Party has brought to the Centre?

See the Finance Commission's transfers. Under the Seventh Finance Commission, the all India per capita total transfer was Rs. 385; for Tamil Nadu it was only Rs. 365. Orissa had a better leadership. If there are any Oriyas sitting here, I would compliment them. They got Rs. 449. Under the Eighth Finance Commission Rs. 729 was the national per capita transfer; for Tamil Nadu it was only Rs. 598. Orissa got Rs. 870. For a small State like Orissa, which has got only 16 or 20 MPs. and Tamil Nadu, with 39 MPs, this is the situation.

Madam, I won't take much time; I would like to conclude. But I would like to say that all these figures show

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criminal neglect of a State which has such a glorious history, with so much resources and literacy. All over the world Tamilians are there. I just attended a Tamil conference on Tamilians all over the world. They are all such talented people and are doing so well. But, here this State has been condemned to poverty and unemployment and decline in economic status. Who is responsible for all this? Who can be responsible, except the lack of self-respect and Tamil pride in the Congress Party? So, that brings me to the last point.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, are you going to allow this matter on record?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are going to speak after that.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: But, are you going to allow it on record? He said we are illiterate. I kept quiet. He said, we do not have self-respect. I kept quiet. Are you going to allow it? That is what I am asking.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You Please keep quiet. You can answer back during your turn.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I would not descend to his level, Madam. It is only up to you whether you are going to keep it on record.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Unless it is unparliamentary. I cannot expunge. You can reply back, if you want to.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You can follow the principle of rising to your own level of incompetence.

Madam, that brings me to my last point. Tomorrow is the anniversary of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. This Accord was signed by this Government with the oppressors of the

Tamils in Sri Lanka without consulting the Tamils. And after having trained the Tamils to fight their oppressors. Nobody can deny that the militants in Sri Lanka were trained in India. I hope at least now they will not have this pretence that they did not train them. They trained them.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): What about your trip to Kachchativu?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I will come to that in a minute. I will take you next time when I go and leave you there.

So, they have signed an agreement without asking the Tamils about it with the oppressors of the Tamils. There was genocide going on in Sri Lanka. This is not a decision alone. The Government of India itself told the Human Rights Commission at one stage and in the past Mr. Bali Ram Bhagat, when he was Foreign Minister, said that genocide was going on in Sri Lanka. So, Sinhalese were oppressors. They had signed an accord with the oppressors without asking the Tamilians about it. What does this reflect? Contempt for the Tamilians. And to make matters worse, they said they had in fact, bought the peace by giving Rs. 50 lakhs to Mr. Prabhakaran of LTTE. I am no admirer of LTTE. My friends in the DMK know that. I am no admirer of Mr. Prabhakaran. But is this the way to devalue him by having the Ambassador or the High Commissioner leak deliberately to a foreign newspaper that he had been given Rs. 50 lakhs or Rs. 70 lakhs, whatever it was? Actual amount we don't know, but Rs. 50 lakhs was given and it was admitted ultimately by Mr. Natwar Singh in this House on the basis of the leak. So, this itself shows a contempt for the Tamilians. That is what the theme is in the Congress. A supine Congress leadership is being treated with justi-

fiable arrogance by the Central leadership of the Congress Party. As on 21st July, 1988, 523 IPKF soldiers have died in Sri Lanka. For what? So that Tamils are forced to live with their oppressors. And maybe the Prime Minister gets the Nobel Prize. The day he signed the Accord, Mr. Stephens Solar made the statement that Mr. Jayewardene and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi together should get the Nobel Prize.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Rajiv Gandhi. What? Through Bofors?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Well, that is a different kind of Nobel Prize. That is Nobel Prize. Anyway, so, Tamilians could be sacrificed so that the Prime Minister could get the Prize. That is what the implication is.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Madam, I am not going to take much time. I would say only this, if the Tamils of Sri Lanka want Eelam who are you to oppose it? If you cannot support it, who are you to oppose it especially after you have trained them to get Eelam? You gave them military training; you gave them sanctuary; you gave them supply routes, you gave them protection. And now you say no, you cannot have Eelam. Who are you to say that? I want to know. You are getting away with saying that because of the supine Tamil leadership in the Congress Party. Maybe there are other reasons also. Sinhalese say that they are Aryans.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Come to the subject. Come to the Resolution.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I am talking on the subject. You have been all the time floating around. You do not know what is happening in the Country. You have

been playing cricket too much in Pakistan.

The Sinhalese say that they are Aryans, the Tamils are Dravidians and North India as Aryans.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about you?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Well, I do not know. Sinhalese may regard me as Dravidian. You may regard me as Aryan. But the fact is that the Sinhalese are systematically saying North India as Aryans. They have said that they do not mind dealing with them. They have said that in an international conference, I had been to an international conference where Sinhalese intellectuals were there and they have said that they have affinity with North India because they are Aryans, we do not want to do anything with the Tamils because they are Dravidians. I do not know whether this is part of the psyche that is operating in the Central leadership. But the fact of the matter is that this is happening. Let me say that EELAM Tamils feel if they wanted they will come to pour help when you feel it becomes essential. But it will also be in spite of you if it becomes necessary. So Madam, I conclude by saying that I commend my amendment to this Government. But the way the Congress Party is functioning, you may have the same problem in Tamil Nadu as you are having in other parts of the country like Punjab. You are ignoring Tamils. You are neglecting Tamil Nadu. You have looked down on them. You have trampled on their aspirations. You have reacted slowly to their interests. Before the situation gets very bad, you allow a popularly elected Government even if it is going to be of Kalaingar Karunanidhi. Let him come. Have a popular elected Government and save the country's national unity and put an end to the supine leadership from Tamil Nadu the Congress party has. Thank you, Madam.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the proposition. I think, Madam, in one sense I may be justified in saying that I am almost the first speaker in this debate because my learned colleague who spoke just before me, apart from EELAM front, a paranoid attack on the Congress party—probably because of certain crisis of identities they do not know any more which party they belong to apart from certain statistics it only proved what we have been saying all along that it is 21 years of non-Congress rule that has led the States to the stage of stagnation which ought to be changed at least now—apart from very astounding and factually incorrect statements as far as I could hear, he did not say anything about the Resolution that is now before the House. If the House permits me, we come back to the Resolution.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: He was shedding crocodile tears.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Coming back to the Resolution which is before the House...

SHRI SURRAMANIAN SWAMY: Is she a crocodile?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: You were shedding crocodile tears, not I.

The Resolution seeks for continuance for another six months of the proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution of India which was issued on the 30th January, 1988. This is not some kind of political exercise that is being indulged in by the Government of India and I want to make that position very clear. This is a Constitutional obligation being duly exercised under the Constitution of India. As long as the Constitution of India permits it, as long as the Constitution of India envisages a situation like this and sets up the authority who have the power to exercise this, then, we cannot call this as unconstitutional or a political exercise. Madam as the House

is aware, it is not possible to oppose this Resolution because if this Resolution was not carried by the 29th, that is, tomorrow, Tamil Nadu would be in a state of vacuum. It would not be possible to run the Government because there would not be any Government and there would be no authority under the Constitution of India. I am only stating this to take us back just one minute to the situation as it existed on the 28th June of this year because that is a situation which should really concern us. I am referring to the 20th of June because it is on that date that the election process should have been set in motion. If election could have been held in time and an elected Government installed before the last date, that is the 30th of this month, the process should have begun on the 20th of June. If we go back and refresh our memory a little bit, my learned colleague who spoke before me, talked about the electoral rolls being revised on the 8th and 9th of May and asked what prevented the Government from announcing elections at that point of time. Well, I would like to reply to him. To take his memories back to the 19th or 20th of June because when the preparation for elections were being held in full force, it was on the 20th of June that Government servants, NGOs and teachers all over the State who were being egged on and spurred by certain political parties, who are also present here, who also promised to conduct agitation in their support, launched a State-wide agitation demanding parity with Central pay and also asking for one month pay as bonus. Madam, on the 22nd June, if I have my facts correctly, 9182 of these NGOs were arrested. Almost 10,000 State Government employees were behind bars, 961 of them had been remanded to custody for intimidating the Government servants, who wanted to

attend their office and go back to work and it was in that context and in that view of the matter that the Governor found that elections could not possibly be held in the State when the entire State administration had been threatened... (Interruption).

SHRI M. VINCENT (Tamil Nadu): Why didn't you announce the date?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: You are apparently unable to follow English. That is exactly what I am saying. If you want, I can explain it to you later. Therefore, Madam, it was impossible for my Governor, for any Government and for the Election Commission to have possibly announced the election which they should have been done on the 20th unless... (Interruption)... Would you like to speak first? (Interruption)...

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: He wants to prevent her from committing errors, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No interruption, please.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, I just want to make a request to you and through you, to my learned colleagues on the other side that if they want, let them speak first. If I am insulting or if I insult anybody like Mr. Subramanian Swamy did just now, I will take all the angry abuse. As long as I am speaking facts, let them not interrupt me or if they have facts... (Interruptions)...

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Figures are not facts, Madam.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Your figures are not facts, Madam, as long as they are not disputing whatever facts or figures, I am stating, let them sit down. Otherwise, let them get up and interrupt

me and tell me how I am wrong because if this kind of intervention goes on, it will not be possible for me to continue and if they have a political argument, let them get up and say... (Interruption)...

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: You are beating about the bush.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, therefore, it was impossible at that point of time. We really have to go back to that point of time to consider why electoral process could not have been set in motion and once the electoral process was not set in motion and the situation worsened and intensified, we had no option but to come to this position that we are in now of extending the period of President's rule and allowing the situation to go back to normal.

Madam, talking about President's rule itself, it was almost 12 years ago, almost to a day that the man who by his advent brought to an end the President's rule which had been imposed on the State at that time, once again brought President's rule by his death. What happened on that day which has now come to be known as Black Thursday is better left unsaid. It was a slur on democracy. It was against all democratic institutions and it is a shame to the pride of the people of the State and I will not take this Hon'ble House through those events again because no Parliamentary Institution could possibly tolerate any such event occurring ever again. Suffice for me to say that it was events of that black Thursday which led to the imposition of President's rule. This was an act of dramatic symbolism not only because of the slur on democracy which was brought to an end by its advent but also because in one sense it brought to an end the period of total stagnation of the State. For 21 years the State had

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been in a state of stagnation. I would just like to read from a survey which has been conducted by the Madras Institute of Development Studies. I quote:

"Whether in the matter of growth of State Domestic Product, agricultural output and agriculture's share in SDP, unemployment rate or incidence of poverty, the State's record raises a grim alarm. The State has the second highest rate of unemployment and nearly 50 per cent of its population is below poverty line. In terms of capital investment in projects of Rs. 100 crores and above each, the State occupies a lowly 12th place with a meagre 2.6 per cent of large-scale investment for all India."

But the position of the State is ninth in Central Government investment. This is in reply to what Mr. Swamy was talking about. The State has the sixth largest number of sick units in the large-scale sector and the third largest number in small-scale sector, almost 15,171 units, next only to West Bengal. This is an indication of the industrial stagnation to which the State has fallen. Madam, I will not trouble you with the other figures except to say that the growth in SDP has been at 20 per cent from point to point between 1960 and 1961 and as against 36.7 per cent, the nation's share. Agriculture's share in SDP was down from about 40 per cent in the early 70s to 20 per cent in 1982-83. Then again, Madam, Mr. Swamy was talking about Plan allocations. The outlays which have been done by the State Government, the infrastructure development has been lopsided in these years. You will find, on a simple analysis, that infrastructure development which is represented by irrigation, power, transport and communications has steadily lost ground to social and community services. While infrastructure development claimed 66.6 per cent of the

First Plan, which was during the Congress rule, its share came down to 40 per cent in the Sixth Plan. But in the same period, the outlay on social and community services went up from 20 per cent to more than 33 per cent. This is because, Madam, the Congress has not indulged in any gimmickry or in any short-term or populist measures which are purely intended for vote-catching. It confined itself to the hard option of development of the State, all-round development, in the long run; whether it means immediate votes or not.

Coming back, Madam, to the proclamation, it would be my duty to remind the Members of this hon. House that at the very earliest point of time, as early as the 15th January, the then Governor, who recommended that President's rule be established in the State, said in his report that he was recommending President's rule only to resolve the deadlock and pave the way for early elections. After that, Madam, at every point of time, both the Prime Minister, who is the President of the Congress party, and the present Governor have said that it is their intention and it is their desire that early elections be held. I would just quote some dates. The Prime Minister himself said on the 30th January that elections would be held as soon as possible. In one of his very first public utterances, the present Governor, Mr. Alexander, declared on the 15th February that he would see that elections were held as soon as possible. On the 22nd February, the President's Address to Parliament said that elections in Tamil Nadu were proposed to be held at an early date. I need not take you through all the other dates. Suffice it to say that there is enough material on record to show that everybody concerned on this side has every intention of holding elections at a very early date and this is the intention of the party as a whole. Madam, what happens is that a part from standing for the highest concepts of democracy, we also have a duty to the people that the kind of democracy that we should

practise should be informed and should have an active participation in the electoral process, and should not be something that is short-term, in a healing process as some parties are indulging in mouthing popular slogans and even going to the extent of subverting the democratic institution for short-term electoral gains. I have been reading some of the statements that were made in the other House and I hope most fervently that such statements will not be repeated over here because just for the sake of attacking a political party or attacking in a political sense we are trying to subvert whatever has been gained by questioning the extension of President's rule. We have here a Constitutional functionary who is the head of the State; it is a solemn Constitutional obligation that the Governor has discharged and it would be totally incorrect, to put it mildly for any Member of this honourable House to question the propriety of the Governor's action or his subjective satisfaction and by doing this we would be subverting the entire democratic process and pulling down every democratic institution that has been built. This country is one of the greatest parliamentary democracies in the world. I, therefore, request most humbly that we should not do this, we should not concern ourselves with the subjective satisfaction of the Governor, we should take what he has said in his report and consider how we can participate in this long process so that the State can go back as early as possible. It is the desire of all of us. All of us belong to political parties. We do not want to continue with a Government that is not run by elected representatives of the people.

There is one more point I want to bring before the honourable House. Any matter, as long as Tamil Nadu is under President's rule, can always be brought before this House, brought before Lok Sabha. It is not as if anything that is happening under President's rule is beyond the jurisdiction

of this House. Whatever happens, any apprehensions that Members might have, can easily be taken up in this forum because now we are the debating legislature for Tamil Nadu and I do not think I need remind my honourable friend any further...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:
But she is not Pandian!

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Thank God, I am not.

I would just want to refer for a minute to what has been read yesterday regarding the Governor's report. I do not want to go into any further details because as I said just a few minutes ago, it is not correct for us to question what he has said in the report. But just to remind this honourable House and for the sake of record, we must remember that here you have a socio-economic problem. This is different from a law and order problem. It is a socio-economic problem, it is a socio-economic tension, that is brewing in a large section of Vanniyar community and it is not only a dissatisfaction and a militant discontent that they are displaying but also it has been leading to tensions with other sections of society. And this is being actively encouraged by certain political parties. What has happened, as has been recapitulated earlier, is some of the Vanniyaars are demanding 20 per cent reservation. This is within the 52 per cent which has already been given to backward classes and they represent a section of the backward classes. We have the greatest sympathy for the demands of Vanniyaars but we have also to look at the demands of the other communities in the State. It is the Congress Party at that juncture which first brought into practice by the First Amendment to the Constitution the whole principle of reservation, and, therefore, it is a commitment to see that socio-economic justice is obtained for all sections of the community. But apart from that, just confining myself to the connection, the

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nexus, of this agitation of Vanniyars to the elections, in over a hundred constituencies in the State they claim—I do not know whether these facts are correct—that they are in majority. They have declared that they will boycott the General Election and that they will prevent people from participating in the electoral process. They have also declared that they will also actively and militantly pull down the flag posts and make sure that in these areas, in the six districts in which they claim to be dominating, no kind of political activity is carried on at all. In this view of the matter this is a problem that has been going on for many years now but this is the first time, the first time, that they became militant. In September 1987 when they started a *rasta roko* agitation there was a lot of agitation in those districts at that time. And now they have resorted to saying that they will not only boycott the elections, they will see to it that the public does not participate in the elections. They have even gone to the extent of saying that they have suicide squads who will see that these elections are not conducted at all in any of these constituencies in which they are in a large number. In addition to these, they are in conflict with other sections of society and these conflicts lead to uprisings, to clashes, and there is no doubt—I am not talking about insurgency problem, I am not talking about law and order problem. But I am trying to put before the House a scenario where, if you hold the election, there is no doubt that there will be bloodshed, that the situation will be disturbed and this will only aggravate the situation. This is the context that we have to consider and this is the context in which we have to look at the matter. It is no use saying that the problem of the Vanniyars has existed for many years. It is true that it has existed for many years. But there is no doubt, and I have no hesitation in asserting, that it is the elected Government that will

deal with these problems and it is only right that it should be so. I am only concerned with saying that unless things get calmed down and quietened down a little, it will be totally incorrect for any responsible Government to bring an election at a time like this and it will only exacerbate the matter further. The second aspect of the issue is the Statewide agitation by the Government servants, the NGOs and teachers, which came to an end only on the 15th of July and they promised to go back to work from the 26th of July. Mr. Swamy was incorrect in saying—we have total sympathy for them—that it was equal pay for equal work. It is not equal pay for the same amount of work because they do a different amount of work. I am not going into the merits of the matter except to say that, from my point of view, I think that the State Government headed by the Governor and the Advisers and the officers handled the strike in an exemplary and tactful manner. They did their best that they could do under the circumstances. We have also to keep in our minds the fact that the State has now a deficit Budget, a deficit of about Rs. 320 crores, and if you take into account the interim concession that has been announced, that is, Rs. 70 or so, we will increase the deficit even further by about Rs. 60 crores and, therefore, in that view of the matter, the manner in which the strike was handled was also exemplary.

I just have one more point, Madam. The State of Tamil Nadu, in 21 years, after Independence and after 1967, has witnessed a glorious era of development. But, after that, Madam, we have seen nothing but a gradual and steady downward slide in the economy of the State and I just want—I do not want to repeat anything that has already been said—to bring to the notice of this House certain facts and one is that even in the Plan document that was prepared by the State Government for 1985–90, it has been stated—and Mr. Swamy has already

mentioned—that the State's share of the unemployed in the entire Indian context was as high as 16.48 per cent even when the State's share in the labour force was only 806 per cent. We have the highest rate of unemployment in the entire country except for Kerala. More than 180 lakh people live below the poverty line, roughly about 47 per cent. of the population. Our rural per capita income at Rs. 578/- is the lowest in the country. Even Bihar has Rs. 590/- And, Madam, the per capita tax burden as a percentage of per capita income is the highest among all the States. Then Madam, it is only in the recent past, in the last decade or so, that the growth rate of foodgrains production in the State became much lower than the all-India average and we have the lowest one today. As already mentioned, we have 15,171 sick units, and the Central investment in the non-departmental undertakings has gone up from 4.3 per cent in 1980-81 to 5.4 per cent in 1985-86 and this year we have a Budget allocation—the Planning Commission has approved on February 12—of Rs. 1,457 crores as Plan outlay for the State of Tamil Nadu. For the first time a new thrust was given to developmental activities in the State and this kind of development, if taken up and continued at the same momentum as was there during the six months of the President's Rule, will no doubt pull the State finally out of the stagnation that it has already reached.

Madam, a final word about what has been done during the five months of the President's Rule.

I have already set out before this House the tremendous state of stagnation that the State has been in all these years. And after that as soon as President's rule was announced and as soon as the Administration swung into action, various activities have been taken up. First of all, there was a cleansing process. Over 92 persons have been brought to book in 11 departments and 12 public

undertakings. There was absolutely a tremendous backlog of files. Important projects had not been cleared for many years. Over 3743 files were disposed of in record time of three weeks. A comprehensive package was announced by the Governor to improve industrialisation in the State. It included rationalisation of commercial taxes. This was announced on the 8th of May. Several new concessions and incentives were also announced which helped to pull the State's economy out of the depth to which it had fallen.

An important area of Tamil Nadu's economy is the power sector. As far as the power sector was concerned, Government announced quick measures, certain short-term measures, to alleviate the circumstances immediately. This included the abolition of consumption tax on capital generation. In February 1988, out of 41 textile mills 13 started functioning immediately. One thousand, three hundred and sixty-six sick units were assisted. Out of 58 large and medium units, 10 were brought back to normalcy.

An important problem of water supply, especially in the city of Madras and also in the districts, has been stabilised now. I won't go into the figures. Water is a chronic problem of the State. And there is now a certain stability in the supply of water. In previous time the political elements that had been ruling at that time had taken over the water supply and they were selling water to the people. And it is only now that the supply of water has been stabilised and the people are getting a certain amount of water both in the Madras city and in districts.

Another important thing that has been done by the State Government—I would be failing in my duty if I did not mention it—is that in the sphere of education there was a bracket in the issuing of community certificates to students. Every appl

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cation to a professional college or any other college had to be accompanied by a community certificate by a student to help him to get the seat he was entitled to under reservation. During the period of time the student would have to apply 30 times for that certificate which not only led to enormous corruption in those areas but also to harassment to the students and their parents. It is for the first time that the State Government has announced and has also implemented the security number of the community certificate that is issued only once, and thereafter for every application to a professional college or any other college it is only that number which has to be quoted in the application; and also, the original can be retained and produced to the authorities at the right point of time. Particularly in view of the State-wide agitation of Government servants and teachers, this has helped the students enormously during those times. This is an indication of not only large-scale developmental activities which have been put into force but also the fact that the present Governor's administration has taken into account the smallest concerns of the people and has tried to redress them as speedily as possible. And for this we pay him tribute, and not give brick-bats.

In conclusion, madam, I assert that without the extension of president's rule at this point of time the uncertainties in the State will be aggravated, confusion compounded and Government machinery which has been for 21 years given to lethargy and corruption further paralysed. In this context, I want to clarify that the attitude of the Central Government and the Governor entering upon the scene with a clear-cut agenda is to solve the paralysed administration's problems. And they will see to it that President's rule is not continued for a day longer than necessary. We will not opt for the soft option of populist gimmickery

and announce elections but see that conditions are stabilised and make sure that elections are held in a free and fair manner.

Madam, finally I would like to draw attention to two serious problems in the State's economy. As I have already mentioned, power is one of the problems. In this we have also the problem of coal linkage. So I call upon the Central Government to immediately clear the expansion of the Neyveli project, to immediately start the functioning of the Kudamkulam power project and to take steps to see that the Cauvery and Krishna water disputes are also settled so that the people of the State get some kind of relief from the chronic problem of water. Finally, I end with my earnest desire that President's rule which we are now extending will be a curtain raiser and a catalyst—not a hyphen or a hiatus.

1.00 P. M.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): Madam, I rise to strongly oppose this motion. I heard very patiently Mr. Chidambaram when he moved the motion and our lady Member when she spoke. The guilty conscience of the Government is very much clear from the speeches of Mr. Chidambaram and my lady friend. I think that the Government firmly believes in one dictum. You have a right to vote so long as you are prepared to vote for me. When I realise that you are not going to vote for me, I will try to do everything to stop you from voting. They have brought forward this proclamation to deprive the people of Tamil Nadu from voting for the next six months. That is the main intention of this proclamation.

Madam, I heard very patiently about the achievements of the Governor. I was wondering as to why Mr. Chidambaram and his Government are not bringing forward a thorough amendment of the Constitution dismantling all popular Governments in all the States and imposing one Governor there so that the minutest

details of the people's interests are taken care of, as is done by the Governor in Tamil Nadu, as stated by Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan. Similarly, I feel that at the central level also, the Central Government should be dismissed here also and some sort of Administrator should be appointed so that he can also take care of the people's interests throughout the country. That is what comes out in a nutshell from the speech made by Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan.

Madam, I was wondering whether the Government has made up its mind to give a burial to the democratic norms of our country. Otherwise, what is the necessity of deterring elections in Tamil Nadu? Mr. Chidambaram has said about some agitation of the Government employees and also about the agitation of a particular community in Tamil Nadu. These are all faulty reasons or simply childish arguments in order to confuse the people. But they cannot confuse the people. Our people are not so stupid. Our people are intelligent. They will show their intelligence at the time of voting. In order to befool the people, they are advancing all sorts of childish arguments. The Government has scant regard for democratic principles and norms. I remember that six months back when Mr. Chidambaram brought forward this proclamation for President's rule in Tamil Nadu, so much of noise was made in Parliament as to why the President's rule had been imposed. He himself is on record as saying that the Congress Party was the first party to demand elections in Tamil Nadu. Now after six months of the backdoor rule by the Congress—What is President's rule? It is the Central rule or it is the Congress Party rule—Mr. Chidambaram is advocating deferment of the elections and continuation of the President's rule for another six months. What for? Perhaps they have now realised that after six months of experience people are not going to renew their rule. So, now they are determined to

defer it, to deprive the people of their right of voting. Madam, about the reasons they have advanced...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): People are not going to choose Mr. Chidambaram as Chief Minister.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: ...they said the agitation by the Vanniar Sangham and the teachers. Madam, this time, so far as our knowledge goes, in Tamil Nadu there was no violent agitation by any particular community. So far as I remember, it was only a year back, a little more than one year back when the Vanniar agitation took a violent turn and there was a road blockade and some felling of trees. All this happened one year back when MGR was in power, not when the Governor's Rule was going on. No violence then took place. There was some agitation. But agitation is taking place throughout the country. If on the plea of agitation you have to forestall the election, election has to be forestalled in India for ever. You cannot hold elections in any State in the country either for the State Legislature or the Parliament at any time because throughout India one section of the people or the other are always on an agitation. So, can it be an argument? About the teachers and the NGOs, when did they go on strike? They went on strike only from 22nd June. What the Government did before 22nd June? Only one month has lapsed since the strike began. Then, what has the Government done before 22nd June? Have they prepared for the election? Have they announced the date for election? I understand their argument if they have declared the date of election and meanwhile employees went on strike and so the preparation was stalled and it was not possible to hold the election since the strike was going on. That argument could have some validity. But they did not think of elections. They did not make any preparation. The Government employees have been on strike since 22nd June.

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Now they come with the argument that the Government servants are on strike from 22nd June and so how can we hold the election? What is this argument? Even then, Madam, Government servants served the notice three weeks back. During those three weeks they never tried for a settlement. Even after the strike started, what did the Congress party do, what has Mr. Chidambaram done? Have they advised the Governor to settle the strike? They did not advise the Governor. On the contrary, they were interested in prolonging the strike. The Governor was arresting the people. Mrs. Natarajan stated as to how many were arrested, how many were suspended and how many were dismissed. All oppressive measures were taken against the employees to suppress the strike. The Central Government, the Home Minister, the Congress MPs could have easily advised the Governor to settle the strike so that the elections could be held. No, Madam, they were not interested, they were interested in prolonging the strike so that ultimately they could take a plea that the employees and teachers are on strike and so the elections could not be held. So, Madam, these are all subterfuges. People have some intelligence to understand their subterfuges, their cleverness, their cunningness. So, Madam, these are not arguments.

Madam, my friend, Mr. Subramanian Swamy has said how Tamil Nadu has gone down and is now occupying the fourth position in the list at the bottom. Mrs. Natarajan said that it is what the non-Congress Government has done. Madam, was this Congress party not an ally of Mr. MGR's rule? Is it a fact that this non-Congress rule has brought down Tamil Nadu to this fourth position at the bottom, and that is why they have awarded Bharat Ratna to Mr. MGR? Is it a reward for that? So, when they speak they should speak very clearly. So, Madam, they cannot escape. So, this is what they have done. Then, Madam, they want to recover from this position. How do they want to recover? Perhaps

through Governor they want to implement some schemes as Mrs. Natarajan has stated. The Governor is taking the minutest deal of the interest of the people.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Are you objecting?

SHRI SUKOMAL SÉN: Madam, so many schemes are being implemented—development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, industrial policy, etc. Madam, perhaps, on the 17th of July, there was a television programme—Focus. I was watching that programme. The Governor was speaking and some others were speaking. It was entirely a Congress show. The Government media, the official media was used for projecting the image of the Congress(I) party in Tamil Nadu so as to prepare a favourable ground for winning the elections. This is the way in which the programme was focussed. I feel that what we have said earlier that the Governor's post should be abolished, is right. There is no necessity for this Governor's post. Governors are being used as agents of the Central Government. In Tamil Nadu I found that the Governor was not only used as an agent of the Central Government but as a propaganda secretary of the Congress(I) Party.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, is he going to discuss the Governor's conduct. I want to draw his attention to rule 238 of the Rules of Procedure, where it is said that the conduct of persons in high authority cannot be discussed.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: The Minister has referred to the Governor. The office of the Governor is not a sacrosanct one.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Let him quote the rule where it is said that it is not sacrosanct (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order please. Please sit down.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: All I am saying is that under the Rules the conduct of a Governor cannot be discussed. I leave it to you to decide.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: This is conduct relevant to the Resolution. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Now, Madam, this is the way in which the Governor rules, this is the way in which the Governor's rule is being conducted in Tamil Nadu.

Madam, if we recollect the earlier events in April when there was Congress (I) Session in Kamrajanagar...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please speak on the Resolution.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: I am coming to the Resolution, Madam. When the session was held in Kamrajanagar, the Government machinery was blatantly used for that session. The Advisor, the Chief Secretary, the Chief Engineers and all high officials rushed to the spot. They went there to oversee the arrangements for the various functions of the session. In that way the Governor's rule has been used for the benefit of the Central ruling party.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, he is making allegations which cannot be answered and all this is going on record. How can he make allegations against persons who cannot defend themselves.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Any allegation made has to be replied by the hon. Minister and we have got every right to speak against the officers. Parliament is here to criticise

the administration. If we are not allowed to criticise the administration, what is our use then? It is his job to protect the interests of his administration and administrators. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: It is not only the Minister who can reply to the allegations. You do not have to become a Minister to raise a point of order. How can they object to my right of speech in the House?

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Madam, I would appeal you to restrain her. She is taking away my time.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: When she was speaking, she objected to interruptions.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I said, if I make a wrong statement, you can interrupt me.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Whole of your speech was wrong.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Madam, I will not dilate on this issue. I want to make only one conclusion about the functioning of Governor's rule in Tamil Nadu, namely, that the Raj Bhavan has been converted into a propaganda office of the Congress (I) party. In this situation and in the changed situation the Congress (I) party is trying to improve their image in Tamil Nadu. They have tried to manipulate with so many parties. Till now they are not sure whether they will be able to face the electorate and whether they will be routed. That is why out of this fear they want to defer the elections.

As far as my party is concerned, we are not opposed to Sri Lanka accord. But I feel that the Congress Party is so worthless that they could not sell it to Tamil people. Perhaps, they are waiting for some settlement in Tamil Nadu or the results of the elections in the northern and eastern parts of Sri

[Shri Sukomal Sen]

Lanka so that they will try to convince the Tamil people that they are for them. So all these political calculations are being made by the Congress Party. And now they say that only because of an agitation by a particular community or by teachers or by NGOs, they are not in a position to prepare for the elections. These are all untenable and childish arguments. Not only that, I would say that in Tamil Nadu there is no incident of any breakdown of law and order. There is no mention in the Governor's report that law and order situation is not good for holding elections. There is no mention of it; otherwise the Governor's report could be placed on the Table of the House. Yesterday we demanded for it but it has not been accepted. There is no breakdown of law and order. Then what is the point? The point is that the ruling party here does not find it politically convenient to hold elections. Perhaps they want some more political manipulations, some more time, and they want to use the Governor to further confuse the people about this concession and that concession. They want to show to the people that whatever concession they are getting from the Governor, it is because of the ruling party at the Centre so that the image of the Central ruling party is bright in Tamil Nadu and that is why they are taking time. I demand that this Proclamation should be withdrawn in the interest of democracy, if they have any respect for democratic norms; otherwise, I am afraid that they will again come up with a Proclamation extending President's Rule for another six months if within these six months, the image of the Congress Party does not brighten up, or if they feel insecure to face the electorate, they may come up with a Constitutional amendment as was done in the case of Punjab, because in one year they cannot change their image. May I know whether they are preparing for that, because again they will say that

there are so many agitations against the Governor's rule, or agitations by the teachers, by the NGOs, by the peasants, by the shopkeepers and so it is not possible to hold elections. One after the other you will advance the plea of agitations and go on deferring election. So I would plead with them not to play with fire. People in Tamil Nadu want elections. Almost all political parties, barring the Congress Party are demanding elections. Tell me which party is opposed to elections. Rather there are agitations for elections. It is only the Congress Party which is opposed to elections. Six months back you said you want elections. Now you defer it. All political parties and the people are demanding elections. In fact, problems of Tamil Nadu cannot be solved unless there is a popular Government because there is so much of deterioration in every front, in the economic front and other fronts and it is only a popular Government which can take care of the people's interest and without a popular Government, problems of Tamil Nadu cannot be resolved. Governor's rule cannot solve these problems. It is to be done by a popular Government. That is why I strongly oppose this Resolution and demand that immediately in Tamil Nadu, date of elections should be announced and preparations for elections should be made.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Thindivanam K. Ramamurthy.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: He is the great leader of Vanniyars.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY (Nominated): I will explain that.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: He organised the agitation to get the elections postponed.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: I have taken what Mr

Maran has said as a compliment. I will explain it in detail.

(Interruptions)

Madam Deputy Chairman, the reasons for extension of the President's Rule have been given. First of all, I would like to say something about the strike by Government servants and teachers and I will place certain facts.

Madam, it is not that this problem had come up after the President's Rule. It is not a fact that the Government servants were ready to postpone their strike. But it is a fact that they had a number of grievances. They could not fight them out when there were the DMK and the AIADMK Governments. They were denied.

(Interruptions)

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: There have been agitations earlier also.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMA-MURTHY: When the Congress Party was in power, there was parity in the emoluments of the State and the Central Governments employees. The problem did not come up because of the Congress Party, because of the Congress rule. The problem came up only because of the DMK rule who denied them seven increments; not one but seven. After this, the AIADMK came to power. In the ten years of the AIADMK rule, the employees got a pittance of Rs. 10. Of course, there was Pongal Inam or something which they gave. A token of Rs. 100 was given. *(Interruptions)*

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): It seems, you are not sure.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMA-MURTHY: I am sure. You are not sure.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Madam, if he is not sure of the facts, it is not advisable for him to talk about it. He

himself says 'I am not sure of the fact'. Then, why does he speak about it?

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMA-MURTHY: You will have your chance to speak.

After giving the Pongal Inam, you took away a part of it from them. This is the way in which you gave it. Then, Government servants started thinking that an elected Government will not do them justice. This was their thinking. I had discussions with the representatives of the Government employee and teachers belonging to all political parties. *(Interruptions)*

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: An elected Government won't do them justice? You are saying something very childish.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMA-MURTHY: You are making a childish remark. I am only pointing out the view of the Government servants. *(Interruptions)* You should understand what I am saying.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No cross-talk please. Mr. Ramamurthy, please continue.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMA-MURTHY: This was the way in which the State Government employees were being treated. They thought that this was the opportune time when they can agitate and try to get their grievances redressed. In fact I can tell you, I can inform the House, that the Governor's rule was sympathetic to them. For the first time in the history of Tamil Nadu, or for that matter, in the history of any State, an interim relief of Rs. 70 was given. Many of them were satisfied. Still, they thought that this was the time when they can get their grievances fully redressed. This was the attempt. It is not that the Congress Party was away from them or was against them or was working behind

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their back. In fact, it was the Congress Party which took the initiative. It was the Congress Members of Parliament numbering about seven who called on the Governor and requested him that the grievances of the employees should be redressed. It is not that we were interested in the continuance of the strike. In fact, I am not accusing any Member of this or that House from Tamil Nadu, but the fact is that Members belonging to other political parties did not take up their issue with the Government, they did not take up their issue with the concerned officers, they did not impress upon the Government how the problem can be solved. On the other hand, these were the Congress MLAs and MPs who did it. When the State Government servants and the teachers are on strike you cannot hold elections. You cannot hold elections on the one side and be an onlooker to the strike on the other side. Moreover, it is not the making of the Congress party. If at all any political parties are involved, they are the DMK and ADMK parties. Mr. Subramanian Swamy must understand this.

The leaders and the representatives of the Government servants and teachers were categorical in saying that they wanted the parity question solved then and there because they had the experience of other political parties running the Government for 20 years.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:
You were the allies with them.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: That was the ADMK Government. We aligned during elections only. The Government was run by the ADMK party. Whenever they did any wrong or whenever there was a misrule, we always criticised them. We pointed them out their mistakes, we opposed them which perhaps you are not aware of. You are very much

away from Tamil Nadu and yet you are speaking about Tamil Nadu.
(interruptions)

So the Government servants and the teachers strike was a justifiable reason for not holding the elections.

Then there is the problem of the Vanniars. I would like to deal with this problem in detail. It is a fact that the Vanniars have their own grievances. They do not enjoy the benefits of reservation. Reservation is made for backward communities but Vanniars are the one community which is not enjoying the benefits of the reservation policy. Till 1967 they enjoyed it. After that there were many changes made in the reservation policy. Many new changes were made whereby the sufferers mainly are the Vanniars. Of course, there are other small communities, but the main aggrieved community is of the Vanniars. It is not a question whether the Vanniars Sangam is justified in having the agitation or not. The problem should not be approached on those lines whether the Vanniars Sangam had the backing of the community as such. They may not have supported the violence in agitation, but the grievances relate to the Vanniars community as a whole and it is a fact that they were giving indirect support to the activities of the Vanniars Sangam. They gave indirect support because they felt that they could not achieve anything during the period of this 20 years' rule. Unless the agitation was made violent the Government would not do anything for them. That is what they felt. The ADMK Government said that the leaders of the community had to come and discuss with them. Of course, our friends are saying, if one community is agitating why should you be worried of that? Vanniars form one-third of the population and they are in more than half of Tamil Nadu.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House now stands adjourned for

lunch and will meet again at 2.30. Mr. Ramamurthy will continue his speech.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled, after lunch, at Thirty-two minutes past two of the clock. **The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagesh Desai)** in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Shri Ramamurthy to continue his speech.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: Sir, I was speaking about the Vanniars and their problems. As far as the Vanniar problem is concerned, apart from the methods that the Vanniar Sangam or other representatives of the Community followed to express their grievances, they want that their grievances should be looked into. One may or may not agree with the methods that they followed and the way in which the Vanniar Sangam conducted the agitation, but it is a fact that they are backward. Rather, I would go a step further and say that they are the most backward community in Tamil Nadu. They are the poorest of the communities and they were not enjoying the benefits, or, the benefits did not reach them, whatever the benefits were. In fact, the history of the Vanniar community must be looked into in detail. They were once termed as a criminal tribe in the State. Only after a very big agitation and a very big move they were taken out of the list of criminal tribes and then they were termed as most backward during the Congress rule. Till Kamraj was alive they had the benefits of the reservation policy but, after that, the fruits of the reservation policy did not reach that community. The DMK, of course, for its part, contributed to it by enlarging the number of communities which come under the purview of reservation and, naturally, when many communities were included in the list of backward communities, the better among the backward communities had the benefits of reservation and the worst among

the backward communities or the most backward among the backward communities did not have these benefits. So that grievance has been there in the community, and the community's representative, whether in Parliament or in the Assembly, irrespective of their party affiliation, expressed the position of the community either in the party forums or in Parliament or in the Assembly. Somehow, when they could not succeed, they had no other opinion and they resorted to other methods—not that we or anybody approve of it. In fact, I have been going around in Tamil Nadu and canvassing against the violent methods that the Vanniar Sangam was adopting. But, including me, including the DMK, the AI-ADMK, the Congress and other political parties nobody could say that their grievances are unjustified. They have said they are justified. In fact, nearly a month back, I think the DMK leader, Shri Karunanidhi, said they should be called for discussions. The AI-ADMK leader, Mrs. Janaki, has also said they should be called for discussion. The death of it is such, the area in which the grievance is felt is such, that no political activity is taking place in those places.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Nobody spoke against.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: You will have an opportunity and you can convey that. Under such circumstances there cannot be any action without making some sort of a statement or some sort of good approach to the problem. They should feel that their problem is being attended to. You should give them the confidence that their grievances are being looked into. This is similar to the Government service. They were fighting for it, but they did not get it for the past 20 years and the elected Government of MGR has not been able to have it. No party is in power. Every one is going to face the election. No one will come in the way. So, let us have it. I am

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years have been given a raw deal to such an extent that they feel that it is better to have Governor's rule than an elected Government. That is the way they were treated by the 20 years of misrule. If I put it that way, *(Interruptions)* I know fully well that they will not come in the way of Vanniyars because that will be published tomorrow and they will know the repercussions also. So, what is needed is a proper solution to the Vanniyars' agitation. It is not that while this community is agitating, you can conduct the election. You cannot because they have gone to that desperateness and they feel that this is the time that they can have something done. So, they are prepared for any sacrifice. I am not advocating that that should be in the democratic process and in the democratic way, but that is another thing. But if you put together the feelings of Vanniyars as a whole, who form more than one-third of the population, who are spread over half of the State, you have got to give some justice before fixing the date for election. So far you have not done that. I expect the Governor's rule to do it.

What is the injustice that has been done to Vanniyars? Out of the Sub-Magistrates who were selected only three or four years back, only three of the most backward communities. Out of 300 Magistrates who have been selected, only three belonged to that community. That is the way they have been treated. They are being treated as second-class citizens. In the history of the Madras High Court, which is more than one hundred years old, Vanniyars did not have even one judge belonging to that community. That is the way in which they were prevented. After 100 years, it was Madam Gandhi, who gave them the first judgeship. This is how it is happening. Today under the Governor's rule, the District Munsifs who were selected, about 56 in number, 17 Vanniyars have got into them. They were selected and are able to prove

their ability. This is the way in which they were prevented from coming into positions. Even though they are the most backward, even though every political party says they are with them; at least the political party which ruled the State says it was all out for that community, but what was the result? On one side you pay lip-service, on the other side you are treating them hardship. So, they had to rebel. You forced them to rebel. If at all any party has done for them, it is the Congress party. It is the Congress party that has done. It is the Central Government that has given them the benefits. Now, they are enjoying the benefits under the President's rule. They have to come around and they cannot have their violent methods. It is not like one person running the show. All sections and all leaders of the Vanniyar community should be called for discussion. Now there are some vacancies in the High Court which are going to be filled up. I also expect the Centre to look into the gravity of the situation. They should also come forward to help the backward communities and the Harijans to get their people appointed in the High Court. There are some people who are eligible for such posts and who are capable also. They must find a place there. When we go through the backward communities, Vanniyar community should find a place to fill up these vacancies that have arisen in the Madras High Court. Vanniyar problem is one of the biggest problems. They came in the way of holding elections. Now, nobody can say, no. Unless the situation is conducive we cannot hold elections there. We have to pacify all sections of the people to hold elections. This is not only the concern of Congress party or DMK party or AIADMK party. This is the concern of all. We must create a situation that is conducive for holding elections. There is a valid point in the Governor's report. There is a justification in his report saying that the Vanniyar agitation has come in the way of holding

peaceful elections and, therefore, elections should be postponed and the Governor's rule should be extended. It has become a necessity.

One of my friends spoke about law and order situation. Vanniyar problem itself is a law and order situation. The State Government employees' strike and teachers' strike itself were a law and order situation. In fact, if I remember correctly, the DMK leader Kalaignar Karunanidhi appealed to the striking employees to go back to their work because when he comes back to power he would see that their grievances are redressed. In spite of his appeal, they did not go back to work because of two relevant points. They knew that he will not come back to power. They also knew that whoever comes back to power, it is not an easy task for them to agree to their demands. So they were in a mood to fight to the last and got the maximum out of it. It is not the misrule of our party. It is the misrule of a non-Congress(I) party for the past 20 years that has led to this situation.

The Governor's rule has really started yielding results. I do accept indirectly for argument's sake that people feel that Governor's rule is the rule of the Centre. It is the rule of the Congress party. When the Governor's rule has started delivering them goods, people felt the difference between 20 years of misrule and present six months of good rule.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): The golden era.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: They feel this is the kind of Government they want. This is the kind of Government they need and their feelings go to the extent of thinking that this is the kind of Government that Congress Party will give. So they support this Congress Party. The other parties come up saying that it is only for putting you in power. We are doing good things for the people or at least, we are not doing the things that you did. We are

not committing the mistakes that you committed. What are those mistakes? For example, the fair price shops for the common people ... (Interruptions) ... tions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Still ten speakers are there and we want to complete. You may not respond to them. You go ahead.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: For the first time, goods are delivered through the fair price shops at fair price. Previously, mostly the things went into the black market. I am not making a new charge. The D.M.K. people have been making this charge on the floor of the House. Other people have been making this charge, the Congress people have been making this charge on the floor of the Tamil Nadu Assembly. You must accept it. It is not a new charge that is coming up. But today, it is not there under the President's rule. They have been able to check it. But you get angry with the officers, you get angry with the Governor, you get angry with the Congress rule. What has Congress to do?

Then I come to cooperative aspect. It is the cooperative act and the way in which the cooperative societies are functioning is a mockery. It is complete exploitation. It has to be streamlined. It is being streamlined. I am happy that the Minister has assured that the cooperative elections will not be held unless it is streamlined. (Interruptions)

SOME HON'BLE MEMBERS: What about the collection?

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: Your own man showed a bag of Rs. 5 lakhs in the other House about the collection. Your own men are making these charges. (Interruptions).... Tiruvannamur man has come out openly and the arrest of the corrupt and investigation of the corrupt have brought out many revealing facts. He has thrown new light to what extent they have misused the

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power, misused the Government. It is an indication. This is the way in which you have ruled the State. Even today, the impact left by the misrule of your Government is yet to be rectified in some quarters. For instance, the houses built for the poorer section of the society are to be named after Mrs. Indira Gandhi. In many districts, it is not being followed even today. This is the way in which the district officers behave themselves. They are still under the grip of influence in which they behaved earlier. They are yet to be freed from those memories. This is how they are functioning.

So about corruption. In the local authorities, identification has to be made by the Chairman, the Commissioner or the MLA. Now the MLAs are not there. What is happening today? The Commissioner or the BDO or the District Collector certifies that he is not prepared to get into it and find out. The net result is that in every loan that is being sanctioned to the weaker section, commission is still on. In every contract that is given to the contractor, commission is still on and it is given not only to the individuals, it goes to the political parties and for election collection also. That is why our Minister said, he will have to look into the matter.

Let us make an enquiry about it.
(Interruptions)

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:
What happened to that enquiry?

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: He is doing it. We will have it. (Interruptions) You tell us where we got money from for Maraimalai Nagar. You prove it if you are capable. Do not make wild allegations. (Interruptions)

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: We cannot prove even Rs. 65 crore Bofors scandal. (Interruptions)

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: That shows your incapacity as a Member of the House. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please, sit down. Order, please. (Interruptions)

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: In this House, you should be very responsible in making a charge of corruption. You must be in a position to prove it. You are not in a position to substantiate your charge. You are not even saying the truth. You are uttering untruths and trying to get away with them saying that there is no evidence. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Ramamurthy, please conclude now.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: Yes, Sir, these are the other things that have to be looked into by the Government. At the lower level the Government machinery has still to be geared up, cleaned up and toned up. No doubt, this does take some time. Apart from that, I am, happy that the Governor, the Advisors, the Chief Secretary and the other officers of the Government are tackling the problem of Government servants and teachers in a proper way. But other things are yet to be tackled. I can inform this House that for three years, in the educational field, no higher elementary school was upgraded as a high school.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please do not bring in new points. Please, conclude now.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: Only one point. No high school was upgraded as a higher secondary school for three years. (Interruptions)

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: For your information, 150 schools have been upgraded.

I can prove this. Every year more than 50 schools were upgraded. I am running a school. Please do not mislead the House. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please do not interrupt. You have a chance to speak.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: By every sentence he is misleading. He is always giving false statements.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You should not make a remark on every sentence. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: After three years, this is the first year... (*Interruptions*)... that upgrading has taken place. I am speaking with authority. As regards upgrading, it means welfare schools. You have no other way. You are taking funds from the Centre and you have to account for it. (*Interruption*) If you say, you have got it, perhaps, you have got it and you alone have got it. You know the price that was fixed for transfers of college teachers and high school teacher and others and the price that was fixed for cancellation of transfer orders and the price that was fixed for undoing both these. Let us be fair. I know how Parliament Members belonging to their own party were waiting at the doors of Ministers for days together to have an interview with them. That is the way the Government was running. (*Interruption*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Chief Ministers could not get interview with the Prime Minister.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: He should have had the permission and come here.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: The same permission is there also.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: It is not as if you can casually come. You should give prior intimation (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. S. B. Chavan could not get an interview for two months when he was the Chief Minister of Maharashtra.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please, sit down. Do not interrupt.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: And this waiting for interviews caused the biggest damage to Tamil Nadu. Most of the bigger industries ran away to other States. And this is the charge made by Mr. Gopalsamy's leader on the floor of the Tamil Nadu Assembly. This is not a point I am making. His leader made it. He may have new friends now. But he cannot forget the charges made by his leader on the floor of the Tamil Nadu Assembly.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Please stand up and deny that also.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I know what to deny and what not to.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: As far as Mr. Subramanian Swamy is concerned, I can say only one thing. He was referring to Dravidians and Aryans in an eloquent way and he was saying that he was on the side of Dravidians. He quoted figures of 1951 but not figures after that when Kamaraj ruled Tamil Nadu. I know Subramanian Swamy will not pay compliments to Kamaraj Government. He was referring to 1951 figures with regard to poverty in the State...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: May I make a clarification? I said very clearly, if you see the record, that the two great leaders that Tamil Nadu produced were Satyamurthi and Kamaraj. So there is no question of my demeaning Kamaraj. Only I said Congress rule was a disgrace to Tamil Nadu.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: You know how Kamaraj felt when Emergency was declared. (*Interruption*) Subramanian Swamy

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was kind enough, was gracious enough, to say that Satyamurthi and Kamaraj were great leaders. But he was not gracious enough, generous enough or prudent enough, to refer to Kamaraj rule and to say that there was a better Government. He quoted the Congress Government up to 1951. In 1951 Kamaraj was not the Chief Minister. He was not prepared to quote Kamaraj rule, the Congress Government run by Kamaraj. That is my allegation...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I have no statistics of my own. I was quoting the statistics; unfortunately the statistics produced by the Government does not refer to the earlier period because there was so much chaos with the partition of the country. So I quoted from 1951. He is trying to misinterpret that.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: Of course, I do not expect to get a better treatment from Subramanian Swamy. Kamaraj was the one man who till the day of his death ran around Tamil Nadu saying that the DMK and AIADMK should be wiped out, they are not fit to run the Government.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: What Kamaraj said. I agree but you were allied with our party.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: That is how you were trying to take advantage...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: They were supporting the Dravidian movement.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: Mr. Swaminathan knows better than anybody in this House as to what Janata can say, what Congress can say, what AIADMK can say, what DMK can say. which section...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He had not joined DMK.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I never joined DMK ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You will also get your chance. You can say what you want at that time.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: He is saying something about me. I am sorry this kind of insinuations should not be allowed. I have to deny the allegation. Let him not say things which are not correct.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: It is not against you. I am not saying anything against you. I am talking about joining parties...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: You ask him to stop talking like that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Your name is there in the list. You can speak when your chance comes.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: But he is talking something against me. Let him stop talking about me.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: So these are the problems that are facing the State. In the past six months the State has, to a great extent, faced the problems and tried to solve the problems. Still there are very important, grave, problems that have to be solved by the Government. It may take another one or two or three or four months. Let normalcy return. I tell you, we will face the elections.... (Interruptions)...

3.00 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): He is a very mild speaker. Please allow him to speak.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: Sir, let me say one thing. Let the other political parties, the DMK or the many factions of the AIADMK, whichever it may be, let

them come out and say, "We are one party and we will go without any alliance." Let them say that. They cannot say that. They do not have guts... (Interruptions) ... You don't have the guts. (Interruptions)...

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: But can you say that? ... (Interruptions) ... Can you say that? You are searching for allies... (Interruptions). * You are searching for allies... (Interruptions)...

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: We are saying that; but you are not saying. (Interruptions)...

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: You are not saying. You are only begging ... (Interruptions) ... You are only begging for alliance... (Interruptions)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: We are not begging ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: Normally, Sir, I am against any extension of the President's Rule. But, under the circumstances there is no other go but to extend it. Therefore, my appeal is this: Tackle the backward communities' problem, tackle the Vanniyars' problems and tackle the various other problems and, after the elections, let us see how the democratic institutions emerge. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Now, Mr. Upendra. There are many speakers and so, be brief.

SHRI PARVATHENI UPENDRA: All right. But do not ring the bell!

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Be as brief as possible.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to.....

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Support!

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: ...oppose this Resolution because it is undemocratic and it is against the will of

the people. It betrays the totalitarian attitude of the ruling party and the Government at the Centre. Also, I fail to understand the words used by the ruling party Members and I do not know what value you have to give to their certificates and condemnations. Here is a party which honoured posthumously a leader with the highest award in this land, with the award of "Bharat Ratna", for the services rendered to the nation and to his State and within four days they betrayed his wife and pulled down her Government! And Sir, today they say that it was the darkest period in Tamil Nadu's history, the seven years of his rule. We had similar experience, earlier also. We had the same spectacle of the President of India extolling the services of a Chief Minister, the then Chief Minister of Punjab, in his Address to the Joint Session of Parliament as the greatest Chief Minister and as the most efficient Chief Minister and within three months pulling him down and imposing President's Rule. Therefore, we attach value to these words and we do not value their words also and this only shows how quickly they change their opinions about men and matters.

Sir, much has been said about the Governor's Report. I do not give value to that Report and I do not give much importance to it. It is not worth the paper on which it is written. Governors are the agents of the Centre and all their reports are tailor-made and whatever comes from Delhi comes on his letter-head. That is the only difference. We have heard about the reports of the Governors but we need not give much importance to them. But what is the reason which the Government has given for extending the President's Rule there? It is very strange that, from what has been revealed by the Minister of State for Home Affairs, the reason is the agitation by a particular community, a backward community. And another is agitation by the employees. And if you have to take such factors into consideration for postponing elections, it is not possible in this land, in this country, for any State Government, for any political party, to create such circumstances, to create agitations, as an excuse for postponement of elections or bye-elections. Should we succumb to this kind of situation?

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tion? Where will this country go then? How will democracy be saved? And this is caste agitation. Of course, I do not know the merits and demerits of that agitation and their demands. These are happening everywhere. And it is the handiwork of the Congress Party. Today we have communal riots taking place; they are all taking place in the Congress-ruled States. The caste conflicts take place only in the Congress-ruled States. Or they create caste conflicts in other States which are ruled by non-Congress parties. The classic example is the help and support given by the Congress Party to a caste organization, caste convention, which was held in Andhra—the Kapunadu Convention. The General Secretary of the AICC declared: we support this agitation. And they want it, because they have lost popular support. And they want to catch hold of any straw now to cling on to power. Therefore, they support any agitation even if it goes against the national interests. That is how they are behaving. The Vanniyar agitation is one excuse for extension of President's rule.

The employees' agitation was started in June. Did you plan for elections in February, March, April or May. And today you come in and say: there is the employees' agitation? Is this the post-script or a pre-planned thing? We cannot accept such arguments.

The real reason, to my mind, is that there are two fond hopes which they are entertaining. One is that something can happen in Sri Lanka, some kind of settlement, and that will add to your credibility and image building in Tamil Nadu. It is your own misadventure in Sri Lanka. Everybody knows how you have been bungling. You have bungled. You will never come out with honour from Sri Lanka, we are sure. That will never bring any votes in Tamil Nadu to you. That is a very fond hope. You do not know what to do, how to come out of it. You do not accept the cease-fire. You do not accept a negotiated settlement. You want to kill and suppress the freedom fighters. If that is your intention, you can never

solve the Sri Lanka problem. You can never claim credit for any solution.

The second fond hope is contesting alone and coming to power. I do not know what to call it—dream or what? For decades and centuries, I can assure you, Mr. Chidambaram, you can never come back in Tamil Nadu. (Interruptions) I may tell you that, You have been catching hold of this man, this party, that party. You have been trying to catch hold of the saree of this lady and that lady. (Interruptions) But I am sure you can never come back to power. But in the process, you are only causing heart attacks to the heart-broken women. One lady has to go to New York for treatment, for check-up; another lady has to go on medical leave for two months. This is how you are torturing ladies also there ... (Interruptions) ... after the death of the gentleman. (Interruptions) I am very happy that the lady has to curtail her medical leave and is found fit after two weeks. (Interruptions) What is this game you are playing there? And you want to split parties. You have been trying this everywhere. That is your game, whether it is Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Assam or Karnataka. Everywhere your hand is there. And this hand, this truncated hand, is *Bhasmasura's*; wherever you put it, all is burnt. Our friends realised it very late. We have been telling them for a long time: do not defend them, do not defend them. I have been telling Aruna for a long time. Now, Aruna realised it earlier and Swaminathan has realised it now. (Interruptions). There are one or two in Jammu and Kashmir and other places and they will realise soon. This is how you are treating the parties. If you have got guts and strength, go alone and contest. Why do you want to split the parties? Is it not a fact that you have promised five crores of rupees to one of the factions of the AIADMK to split that party so that it should contest separately from Miss Jayalalitha? Have you not given an advance of Rs. 50 lakhs?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I think this is a very serious charge. Against whom is he making the charge? Whom is he addressing? Is he addressing you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): If the charges are like that, they are to be ignored.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: You know that better, Mr. Chidambaram.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I think he is addressing you, Sir. Have you paid 5 crores of rupees? Sitting here I am ashamed.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: You can answer. You can refute the charge. That is the information we have got. That is the rumour which is spreading in Tamil Nadu.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I beg you to make your charge fully and completely. Who is this 'you'?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: It is the Congress Party.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Given money to whom?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: You paid to Panruti Ramachandran.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: You have charged that the Congress Party has promised Rs. 5 crores to Panruti Ramachandran and that Rs. 50 lakhs have been paid in advance to Mr. Panruti Ramachandran. Do I understand your charge? You should stand by your charge.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: This is how the Congress Party hopes to come back to power.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You, as the Home Minister, have a responsibility to go to the bottom of it.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I entirely agree with you. I invite Mr. Upendra to go and lodge an F.I.R. We will get it investigated. I will formally write to Mr. Upendra. I want to make it very clear now. I will formally write to Mr. Upendra so that I can register a case.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: This is the information I have got. I am passing it on to you. Now you can investigate.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Regardless of the protests of Mr. Upendra, I want to place it on record that I will formally invite him to frame the charge. F.I.R. will be registered.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I am formally passing on the information to you and it is for you to investigate.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: He made a charge against the Congress Party.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: You inquire into that.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am grateful to you.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Another strange thing which is happening is to extol the performance of the Governor. It is also an argument against popular rule. It is a very strange argument. Even the Prime Minister said that the people of Tamil Nadu want a Government like the Governor's rule. What is I am ashamed that the people's representatives here speak of the rule by the Governor or by the bureaucracy and that it is better than the rule of the popularly elected Government.

SHRI K. V. THANGARAJA: I never said that. We said that. (Interruptions)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: That is their theme. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He has been removed from power because of misrule.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, popular governments have limitations. When the Governor's Rule is imposed, when the Governor's Rule is imposed, the bureaucracy goes free hand. Their responsibility is reduced. Therefore, for a few months or a few days they try to show some results. But that is not enduring and that is not to the advantage of the State or the nation. Therefore, to set it against a popular Government and praise it, condemning the Government which was there earlier and for

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which you have given Bharat Ratna, is very strange. I do not know what type of argument you are putting. That means, if you apply the same argument in every State, then there is no need for any elections. You can impose the President's Rule everywhere and you can have a direct Administrator's rule. An ex-Cabinet Secretary can rule here instead of the Prime Minister. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Ramamurthy, the Minister will reply. He will take care of it.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Instead of Prime Minister, some ex-Cabinet Secretary can be employed here. Is that the argument which you are putting? That is a very strange argument to postpone the elections. And how long will you continue with that? There is a limit in the Constitution. You cannot say that the President's Rule or the Governor's Rule will continue indefinitely because it is producing some results. I do not want to go into his performance or anything. Their own actions show that one day they transfer him from the Prime Minister's Secretariat to far away London because something happened in the Secretariat. Now you call him Alexander the Great. You can do that. That is in your mouth. But we do not accept the theory that the Governor's Rule or the President's Rule or an indirect rule is better than a popularly elected Government. We would not accept that theory. It is dangerous to democracy in this country.

They are making so many promises to Tamil Nadu. Supplies are being rushed. People of West Bengal have seen a thousand-crore promise. People of Haryana have seen Rs. 450-crore donation. People of Assam have seen Rs. 400 crores. And everywhere people have been seeing your promises. And they have not fallen for that. Anyhow, if some indirect benefit comes to Tamil Nadu, I am very happy because of that. But you cannot buy

people or their support through these methods and promises. People are clever and they will not fall for your tactics.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please conclude now.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I am concluding. They have disturbed me. Otherwise, I would have finished by now. And the writing on the wall is very clear. You cannot stop the DMK from coming to power. If you have got any respect for democracy and democratic values, hold the elections immediately. Let a popular Government be elected. Accept it gracefully because you have no future there at any rate. Therefore, why do you get this odium of postponing elections and getting defeat after six months or one year? Therefore, in your own interest, better hold the elections quickly and allow a popular Government to come into power.

Lastly, I also want to make a comment on the performance of the Election Commission. Should we leave it to the discretion of the Government at the Centre and the Governor's judgment that the elections should be postponed? What is the role of the Election Commission in this? Do they not assess whether the situation is congenial for holding the election or not? Why should they accept the version of a State Government or the Governor or the Central Government in this matter? Election Commission is supposed to be independent. They should hold elections in time wherever it is possible. What are the extenuating circumstances which prevent the Election Commission from going ahead with holding elections? Therefore, I charge the Election Commission also that they are not performing their job properly and they are not living to that reputation that the Election Commission should be independent and take independent decisions.

Therefore, Sir, with these words, I oppose the Resolution. And I hope better sense will prevail in them. I know within two days you cannot hold the elections. At least declare the date for elections immediately in the next two or three

months and save this country from getting a bad name that democracy is being butchered in this country. Thank you.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: Sir, I rise to oppose the Resolution moved by our hon. Home Minister for continuance of the President's rule in Tamil Nadu for a further period of six months. The extension of President's rule in Tamil Nadu under article 356 for a period of another six months is unwarranted, unnecessary, uncalled for and it is highly undemocratic and anti-federal on the part of the Centre. The Proclamation of the President's rule was first made on the 30th January, 1988. It was totally opposed by the Anna D.M.K. on the ground that the imposition of the President's rule was necessitated due to the betrayal of the Congress rule against our Ministry under Janaki MGR. Sir, the Congress Party with its traditional treacherous character stabbed us from behind without any justification in the last moment. We know how it has betrayed Charan Singh, how it has betrayed Farooq Abdullah. That same role was repeated against our Ministry also. Perhaps the Congress Party might have succeeded in the battle of betrayal, but the war still continues. And the war will continue up to the last when the Congress party is removed from power at the Centre. *(Interruptions).*

Sir, I would like to remind the House that the people of Tamil Nadu will never forgive and forget the perfidious character of the Congress. That is why in order to escape from the punishment of the people under some pretext, they have now moved the Resolution for continuance of power in the State without any justification valid reasons and acceptable causes.

Sir, soon after the Proclamation of the President's rule in January, all political parties with the exception of the Congress demanded immediate elections. But even though the Congress party from press and platform proclaimed that they are for elections, they are ready for elections, yet in a clandestine manner they are manoeuvring all steps to postpone the elections. And because of their efforts now the Home Ministry have come forward with this Resolution. Gandhiji has rightly pointed

out once that a good government is not at all a substitute for self-government. Similarly, President's rule is not an acceptable alternative to a popular Government. Politicians alone are able enough to know the pulse of the people, not the bureaucrats, they alone are able to understand the problems and crisis of the people, not the bureaucrats. But unfortunately some of our friends from the Congress Party are approving and accepting the principle that the Governor's rule or the President's rule is more acceptable than the popular Government. It is a dangerous theory which they are advocating. If it is applied at the Centre, they will be thrown out of the power. Whether they will accept this principle or not, I do not know. The reason stated by the Home Minister for postponing elections or for the continuance of the President's rule for another six months is ridiculous and mockery of democracy. While he has moved the Resolution or the extension of the President's rule, the reasons he has stated are that there are communal disturbances and the strike by the teachers and NGOs is an impediment to the holding of elections.

Sir, I beg to remind this House that this is the first time that the Government has come forward with predetermined this kind of reasoning that there are communal riots and strike by a section of the employees. I would like to ask the hon. Minister whether the Chief Secretary of Tamil Nadu has expressed any difficulty in the holding of elections. Has the Governor of the State ever expressed that communal violence was the impediment in holding elections? I may remind the House that the hon. Minister himself has come forward to state these reasons because it is an innovation. They deliberately want to take time to do some political intrigues. Now, he has said about communal violence and disturbance in the State. No Government is free from problems; no Government is free from agitations. Agitations, demonstrations are the acknowledged principles in our democratic system. These are the great values that we have accepted. I am proud to state that Tamil Nadu is one State which is free from communal problems. Tamil Nadu is one State which is free from religious

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fanaticism. Tamil Nadu is a State where secularism is acknowledged and practised everywhere. Thanks to the services of Thanthai Periyar, Dr. Anna, Dr. M.G.R., Dr. Kalaingar. Because of their remarkable services, we see peace and tranquility in Tamil Nadu. There is no communal disturbance or violence, as stated by the hon. Minister. Is there any violence? Is there any riot? There is no such thing. Deliberately, the hon. Minister is misleading the House and the nation. It is quite natural that in a big State having five crore people there may be some problems. Of course, there is the problem of Vanniyars; we are not against them; we are for them. At the administrative level, we are not against them. But what is the Congress Party trying to do? It wants to feast in the mud. And that is the greatest danger to the nation. Instead of solving the problems, they are engineering violence; they are financing and helping it. Of course, Mr. Upendra has received some authentic information... (Interruptions).

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: If there was no movement in the State, how was your Government paralysed? Do you mean Congress Party finance it?

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: You ask Mr. Solanki how many times the Government in the State was paralysed because of these movements. These are common at administrative level. It is quite common. But what has been going on now? For the past so much time, all the schools were closed; all the offices were empty. That was the pathetic position in the Governor's rule... (Interruptions).

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: Allegation was made by your own leader, Mr. Veerappan, that his own colleagues financed the agitation.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: No, he has not said it. It is wrong. You are financing it. I charge the Congress Party of instigating and encouraging communal violence in Tamil Nadu. I charge the Congress Party of financing some of the communal heads.

I charge the Congress Party of helping some of the communal organisations in Tamil Nadu. In 1957, after the elections, it instigated the Harijans under the leadership of Imannel. Now you are instigating Vanniyars under the leadership of Ramadas against Harijans. You are treading a dangerous path. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Mr. Ramadas is a nice man. He has stated that he is not for any violence. He has proposed to boycott elections. That is his decision. But at the same time, the force under Ramadas is capable enough to jeopardise the process of election. That is what I want the Minister to clarify. It is a negligible force. These types of disturbances everywhere in the administration are quite common. But unfortunately this is the first time that I see... (Interruptions). So, far I thought Mr. Ramamurthy was a Congressman. Now I come to know that he is a Vanniyar man, rather than a Congressman. So, I would... (Interruptions).

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: You are the enemy of Vanniyars.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Sir, he is a disciple of Kamaraj. Shame. He claims that he is a disciple of Kamaraj. It is a shame to the nation. Anyway, that is a different matter.

While justifying the proclamation of President's Rule in Tamil Nadu, the President assured Parliament that there would be early elections. In his Address to the Joint Session of both Houses of Parliament, the President said that the provisions of article 356 of the Constitution were invoked in view of some developments in Tamil Nadu. At the same time, he said that elections in the State were proposed to be held at an early date. What does it mean? This was the assurance given by the President when he addressed Members of Parliament from both the Houses. He clearly said, The Head of the State gave an assurance.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): On that day.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: He said that elections would be held at an early date. Are you defending the Government?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAG-ESH DESAI): No.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARU-NACHALAM: The President clearly said, assured, that elections would be held at an early date. It is the responsibility of the Central Government to implement the assurance given by the President. It is the first time in our history that even an assurance of the President has been thrown to the winds by the party in power at the Centre.

It is appropriate to remind the House that the Governor of Tamil Nadu, Dr. Alexander, is a dupe of Mr. Moopanar, always carrying out the messages of Mr. Moopanar. After attending a conference of District Collectors and Superintendants of Police, while meeting the Press, he clearly said that the Government machinery was ready for holding the elections. With your permission, Sir, I would like to refer to what has been reported in the Press.

"The Tamil Nadu Governor, Dr. P. C. Alexander today assured the people that elections to the State Assembly would be held efficiently, fairly and impartially. All the resources of the State would be utilised for the purpose.

He could not indicate when the elections would be held. But it was his duty to get the administrative machinery fully prepared for the conduct of the poll 'whenever the dates are fixed by those responsible for it', Dr. Alexander said briefing Presspersons on the deliberations of the two-day conference of Collectors and Superintendants of Police, which concluded here today.

It was a 'loaded question' he said, when asked if the elections could be held in June considering the drought conditions. He had not stated that the elections would be held in June. However, he was satisfied that the drought conditions would not stand in the way, whenever the Election Commission decided on the date.'

Therefore, Sir, as far as the Governor is concerned, he clearly said that elections would be held early. The date has to be fixed by the Election Commission and not

by the Government. The hon. Minister says that the Governor has given a different report. I am not able to understand this. It is a contradictory one. It is a different one. That is why I would like to know what is the real fact and what is the actual report of the Governor. Normally, when a Parliament or an Assembly is dissolved, in the Western countries, on the date of dissolution, the date for elections is also fixed. As you know, in the U.K., when the House of Commons is dissolved, the date for the elections is fixed. This practice is followed in Canada also. Similarly, in France, recently, when President Mitterrand dissolved Parliament, simultaneously, he fixed the date for the elections. It is only in India that we are not at all following any healthy practice. Instead, we prefer to hold elections at a time convenient and advantageous to the party in power.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAG-ESH DESAI): Please conclude. You have already taken fourteen minutes.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARU-NACHALAM: There were so many interruptions.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: There were no interruptions.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARU-NACHALAM: I would say that unless the Constitution is suitably amended to check the arbitrary attitude of the party in power at the Centre, there will be no guarantee for democratic elections in any State. Therefore, I demand not only immediate elections in Tamil Nadu but also a suitable amendment to the Constitution so that on the day of dissolution of an Assembly, the date of elections is also fixed. In this context, I would like to draw the attention of the House that so far as the State machinery is concerned, it has expressed its readiness to hold the election but the Election Commission has not come forward to hold the election. I would like to know, what is the delay on the part of the Election Commission to hold election? Now I suspect the honesty, integrity and fairness of the Election Commission under Shri Peri Sastri. It seems he is expecting a green signal from Congress Headquarter rather than from the State Government which is responsible for making arrangements to

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hold the election. Neither the drought nor the teachers and NGOs' strike, nor any communal problem, are the impediments to hold election. The insurmountable impediment for the Congress is the adverse position in Tamil Nadu. They are not in a position to improve their position that is why they are exploring all the avenues to improve their position. I am to remind this House, what ever time they take, whatever concessions they may announce, whatever gestures they may show, the people of Tamil Nadu are not at all going to support them. The reason is that the Congress party is an anti-Tamil Nadu force. It has been proved beyond reasonable doubt, whether it is the language issue or the Sri Lankan Tamil problems or any other problems concerning our State.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): You were having alliance with the Congress Party a few months back. At that time . . .

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: It is the Congress party which was having alliance with us. We were the majority party and Congress was the minority party. We were the ruling party. (Interruptions). (Time Bell rings). I will take another two minutes, Sir. What was the history of the split Congress in 1967. The DMK party helped the Congress to continue in power. That is number one. Secondly, whether it was the DMK rule or the ADMK rule, the Congress always got support and now it is a shame, disgrace to the party to criticise the administration. At that time you were also a party to administration. (Interruptions).

Now the situation in Tamil Nadu is very peaceful, convenient to hold election. There is no communal riot. There is no law and order problem. There is no disturbance in any area. Therefore, when peace and tranquillity is prevailing in Tamil Nadu I would appeal to the Minister not to pass this resolution. Instead of that I would ask him to move an amendment to the Resolution so as to fix the date as early as possible or accept the amendment given by Shri Subramanian Swamy so that democracy would be restored in our State.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:

They are gutless Ministers. How can they do anything?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Mr. Chairman, Sir, some of the points opposing the Resolution have been made by my esteemed friends and a few points, I would like to raise here.

One of the points that was discounted by the hon. Minister yesterday and also today by the hon. lady Member, Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan, is that no reasons need be given for continuation of the President's rule in Tamil Nadu. The point was made that as per rules there was no need for the reasons to be placed on the Table of the House or need be mentioned to the House. The point is that the Members of Parliament should be fully aware why the Resolution is now being moved to extend President's rule in Tamil Nadu. I would like to bring to the notice of the Chair that even the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State relations has clearly stated that the reasons for either the proclamation of or continuation of President's rule in the State under article 356 should be told to Parliament and also given wide publicity. That is what the Sarkaria Commission has recommended. If the publicity has not been given and if the information is not given to Parliament about the reasons for the continuation, we may not be able to have a meaningful discussion on this issue.

Again, there should be some reasons for the continuation of the President's rule and for article 356 to come into operation. Certain things have been mentioned both in the Constitution and also in the report of the Sarkaria Commission. It has been enumerated there that under the term "failure of the constitutional machinery" either there should be a political crisis, or there should be internal subversion, or there should be a physical break down or there should be non-compliance with constitutional directives of the Union executive. Only because of these four reasons, article 356 can come into operation. For continuation of the process also, any of the four reasons should be given as the reason for continuation of the President's rule in Tamil Nadu.

Now, there is no political crisis in Tamil Nadu, there is no internal subver-

sion, there is no physical break down or non-compliance with the constitutional directives of the Union Executive. Hence, there is no reason why President's rule should be continued in Tamil Nadu.

If President's rule has to be continued after a period of one year, as per our constitution, only two reasons have been mentioned for that. One is, if a proclamation of emergency is in operation in the State, or if the Election Commission certifies that the continuance in force of the proclamation is necessary on account of difficulties in holding general elections. Now this point should also be told by Election Commission to the House that the elections cannot be held because the situation is not ripe in Tamil Nadu.

Now coming to the main point that has been discussed here and which has also been agitating the minds of the Members of the Opposition here, two reasons have been advanced by the Treasury Benches. One reason is the Vanniyar agitation about which my hon. friend, Mr. Ramamurthy, has very vociferously and committedly spoken, especially because, I hope he will not mind if I say this, he belongs to that community.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: It is not a shame to be from that community.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I do not say that, but since you belong to that community you are committed to the community. I do not say that being born in any community is a matter of shame. One has to be born in some community or the other. But perhaps because he is born in that community, he should be more committed than me, because I am not born in that community. Naturally he has given a lot of reasons...

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: Sir, the hon. Member is trying to communalise it. I cannot expect anything more from Mr. Swaminathan. I know it.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I am not communal. The only point I wish to raise is that somebody has to be born in some community or the other in this country. Nobody can get away from that, because you have to be born either in the Vanniyar community, or you have to be born in the Brahmin community or a forward community, or whatever community you may belong to. Naturally after a period of so many years in this country, your future also depends on the community in which you are born. Suppose you are born in a particular community, I want to very clearly state this, that determines the educational opportunities in this country. Especially in Tamil Nadu—I do not know about elsewhere—if you are born in a forward community, your educational chances are not that bright as they are if you are born in a scheduled caste family or a backward community. Your opportunities of employment are also dependent on the community in which you are born. It is destined that way. Formerly it was said that if you were born in Brahmin community or a forward community, your future would be bright. Nowadays, if you are born in a backward community or a Scheduled Caste community or a most backward community, your future in this country will be more bright... (Interruptions)...

SHRI M. PALANIYANDI (Tamil Nadu): For a number of years they were given all these privileges because the forward communities were enjoying... (Interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I don't deny all these arguments. ... (Interruptions)... I don't deny that privileges had been enjoyed by the forward communities. Over a period of years or centuries, they had been enjoying these privileges and now, naturally, the backward and other communities may like to have their advantages.

The point raised in Tamil Nadu is—that has been said by the President of the community—that they have about 2.4 crores of people in that particular community. When honourable MGR was alive, he convened a conference of a

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the communities. At that time, the Mukkulathavar community, which is also a very large community, informed him that that community had about 3.5 crores of people. Ultimately when he calculated the whole thing he found that Tamil Nadu consisted of 10 crores of people while the actual population was only 5.5 or six crores of people. So he was not able to understand how this process would work—how educational and employment opportunities should be given by percentage of the people. The argument then given was that because people were not able to understand how many people belonged to a particular community, in the election process itself the communities have to be mentioned and, while preparing the voters' lists, the caste to which a particular person belongs should also be enumerated. So, unless you do that you will not be able to know how many people belong to a particular community. So, a time has now come when 20 per cent has to be given to a particular community.

The other day I was talking to a man from the Mukkulathavar community. They have been saying that 35 per cent should be given to them because of their population. Now I understand that in Karnataka—I am told, I do not know; my friend, Mr. Gurupadaswamy, is here—reservation has been made according to castes. That was one of the things which was raised in Tamil Nadu and I think the honourable DMK leader has also accepted that it has been done in Karnataka. Mr. Murali Maran can correct me if I am wrong. If that is so in Karnataka, the same thing may be given in Tamil Nadu also. Reservation can be done on the basis of communities. My argument is that if reservation can be done on community basis for education, if reservation can be done on community basis for employment, then reservations should also be done on the basis of community for elections. It has been said by some of my friends in Tamil Nadu that seats in Parliament and Assemblies, as in the case of Scheduled Castes, could also be given on the basis of community, and 20 per cent seats could be given to the Vanniar community and

35 per cent seats could be given—honourable Mr. Mooppanar is here—to the Mukkulathavar community, and every community should have their block of votes and their block of seats in the Assembly and Parliament... (Interruptions)... That is the suggestion given, I am only extending the argument... (Interruptions)... I have got every right to say what I feel. I am only saying by way of extension of the argument, reasonably, because the same number of 18 per cent seats have been given to the Scheduled Castes people. The same thing can be extended to the other areas also. So, ultimately we will have communal based election all over. That is the position in Tamil Nadu.

Now I would like to say one or two points regarding Tamil Nadu. One point they say is that because the Vanniar agitation is there, election could not be held. Nobody has given a date, the Vanniar leaders have not given a date or said that immediately after the Resolution is passed here they are going to stop the agitation. They are very clear in their mind that during President's rule their position has to be clarified and they have to be given this 20 per cent. If it is not given during President's rule, they will not allow the elections to be conducted in Tamil Nadu. Their position is going to continue for ever, and I don't think that the Government is going to give a plausible excuse for not having an election. Because the Vanniar agitation is there, they will not be able to conduct their election after six months or even one year because they are not, as I understand, going to compromise on that issue. So, about this argument of the NGOs, strike and other thing, I should very clearly inform the House, if at all the Governor has been interested, my personal feeling is that he would have called the Vanniyars, MGR had called them and had discussions. They have been crying that they want to meet the Governor. They have been crying that they want to talk to the authorities concerned. Till today, under the Congress Government they have never been called. There has never been personal discussion with the Governor. I stand to be corrected. They want to come, and they want to have a

thorough discussion on the matter. I think, if they had had a discussion earlier, they could have solved this problem in Tamil Nadu.

Another kind of argument that he has given is that during the previous period there have been 21 years of misrule in Tamil Nadu and that now the Congress is going to correct the misrule in Tamil Nadu. It is a funny argument as far as I am concerned. I have been talking with Congressmen. We used to talk aside and tell them that if you are having about 60 MLAs in Tamil Nadu, it is because the ADMK supported you.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMA-MURTHY: Mr Swaminathan has forgotten the fact that he came to the Congress Party and he was begging for including himself but ran away without telling us.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I was in the Congress Party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Swaminathan, please conclude now.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: How can I conclude now? You have given so much time. (*Interruptions*)

[**The Vice-Chairman (Shri Satya Prakash Malaviya)** in the Chair.]

I never asked. I have always contested as independent and I have won.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Your name was announced by the Congress Party.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: No, Sir. You are wrong, Sir. No. I want to be very clear. Our hon. friend, Mr. Moopnar is here. I was in the Congress Party. I was the leader of the Congress Party in the Council. Because I had been in the Congress Party, I know you thoroughly well; what you are, I know. Somebody outside may not know what you are. I know thoroughly what the Congress Party is. If I am talking of the Congress Party.

I am talking with all the knowledge because I had been with you, I know all the things. I know what you had been doing including that during the Sukhadia regime, the emergency regime. I know how you have been ruling this country. I know how every Congressman had been ruling this country. The Collectors had been asking the Congress what they should do. I do not want to expose all those things. If I begin exposing, I will be washing dirty linen. That is an irrelevant matter.

Ultimately, the point is, they now say this. They have been saying all the time. We have been telling them, if they had seats in Parliament, if they had seats in the Assembly, it is because of the DMK, the ADMK. At that time they used to say the other way. "If you are in Tamil Nadu, if you have gone to Parliament, it is because Congress has supported you". I want to tell them here that when the ADMK rule came in Tamil Nadu, may be it was a contribution of the Congress Party to the ADMK to come and rule in Tamil Nadu because there was an alliance. Who was contributory to whom is a matter to be decided. If you ask us, we say, we were contributory to you to get seats. If you ask them, they will say that they were contributory to our coming to power. The same thing happened there over a period of years, during the period of the DMK, during the period of the ADMK. You were contributory for the Dravidian parties coming to power. They have been there, and having got success through us and most probably we got success through them, now accusing the Dravidian Party rule as misrule and the 21 years as a dark period for which you are also responsible because you were responsible to bring these parties to power in Tamil Nadu. I think, it is not fair.

Finally I would like to tell one more thing. Better be careful before telling that there were 21 years of misrule and that you will stand alone. As one who knows you continuously for 21 years and as one who knows the Tamil Nadu politics, it will not be possible, I wish you

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to assure in this House, that you will stand alone. If you stand alone, you will lose the deposits in almost all the constituencies. It has happened before, and it will happen. It has happened in Dindigul also. When great Kamraj along with Rajaji opposed the Dravidian rule and contested in the Dindigul constituency, he lost. What you could not accomplish during the period of Kamraj, I wish to say, you will not accomplish now. What you will do now by saying that about the 21 years of the Dravidian rule is that you will make all the Dravidian parties join together. That is what you are doing. We have been feeling that by accusing us, the Dravidian parties, you will get isolated. One day all the Dravidian parties in Tamil Nadu will join together and will give a fight to the Congress party. Most probably that will be a death-knell for the Congress in Tamil Nadu.

I also warn you, having told you all these things, tomorrow, if it so happens that the Congress seeks an alliance of any Dravidian party, then you will lose face. So, before that you decide that you will not seek any alliance in Tamil Nadu. I know you are going to have an alliance with one or the other Dravidian party in Tamil Nadu. It may be a DMK party, it may be the Jayalalitha party or the Janaki party, but ultimately you would have to have an alliance with a Dravidian party. After having talked against the Dravidian parties, tomorrow if you seek an alliance, the Tamil Nadu people will really see your face and you will lose your face in Tamil Nadu.

Under these conditions I strongly oppose the Resolution. It is not warranted. It is unreasonable. And if you are going to have the same argument, you will never hold elections in Tamil Nadu.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Of late, there has been a tendency on the part of the Central Government to prolong the Presidential rule more than it is necessary. If you want me to give you an example, Punjab

is the example. The Presidential rule is being prolonged there. In the same way Presidential rule is being prolonged in Tamil Nadu more than it is necessary. It is a sign, in our opinion, of anti-democratic elements; it is a sign of authoritarian trends in the Government.

Six months of suspended democracy was not enough for the Congress to buy time, to find allies and to fight elections in Tamil Nadu. Therefore, an argument is being concocted and articulated artificially to buy some more time, to find allies and to build a combination in Tamil Nadu so that it can reach the point of power in that State. If unresolved piled-up problems are said to be the reasons for postponements of elections, then I am constrained to say that the country itself should be brought under the Presidential rule.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like the Minister to tell me what achievements had taken place during the rule of the Governor. The Governor has not been able to solve any of the problems during the six months' tenure. The Cauvery water problem has not been solved. Not only that, the water around that basin has dried up. Its agriculture has been affected. The agricultural workers are now being paid Rs. 2/- per day, according to a report published in a leading journal. Not only that, the peasants are being denied all agricultural loans. Cooperative banks are not giving loans. And the Governor has not been coming to the aid of the peasants. There has been a rampant power failure. Industrial production is really hampered because of that. Water crisis in the city of Madras is really a problem. And if rains take place, then there may be an epidemic as we have seen in Delhi now a days. Therefore I would like the Minister to tell us what are the reasons that led him to conclude that Presidential Rules is necessary to bring about an improvement in that State. If it is a question of teachers' strike, if it is a question of NGOs' strike, I am constrained to say that the strike has been deliberately prolonged by the Governor and the Government in power

to find an alibi for the postponement of elections there. I take this opportunity to put on record my protest against the brutality and repression that the Government has let loose on the striking workers here. Therefore, my point is Article 356 is being grossly misused to suit the narrow partisan interests of the ruling party. I can only tell you that more the Presidential rule is prolonged, the more the Congress party will be away from the centre of power in Tamil Nadu because more you do it the more exposed you are and the more exposed are your designs. Therefore, people will become more vigilant. I can only tell you, Sir, the present Government led by the spectre of Allahabad. The spirit of Allahabad. The spirit of Allahabad is haunting Mr. Chidambaram and the spectre of Allahabad is haunting the Rajiv Gandhi Government. Therefore, they are really reluctant to face the electorate in Tamil Nadu. They would like to buy time so that the spectre does not hover over them. They would like to buy more time to find some allies. They would like to buy more time to resort to undemocratic, unconstitutional means to come to power in Tamil Nadu. I can tell you, their tactics will not be crowned with success. The people of Tamil Nadu will throw them back as they have thrown them back some 20 years back. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I deprecate the Statutory Resolution which is before us because it is anti-democratic and authoritarian. The reasons quoted by the Government for the postponement of elections in Tamil Nadu are an indication of dishonesty on the part of the Government and the wanton postponement of elections is nothing but a fraud perpetrated on the people of Tamil Nadu. What are the reasons for postponement of elections? They have quoted two reasons. One is proposed agitation of the Vanniyar Sangam. So far they have not started any agitation. They have only threatened to launch an agitation. They have issued a notice. They have said that they would agitate if their grievances are not redressed. The other is strike by teachers

and the State Government employees which is already over. So on these two grounds they have come to a conclusion to postpone the elections. I think that Vanniyar Sangam, NGOs and teachers would be surprised to find the reasons because they themselves have never accepted that these things would be quoted as reasons for postponement of the elections. We don't think that the so-called reasons have emanated from the Governor of Tamil Nadu, Dr. Alexander. It is a yarn spun by this Government of India. As Mr. Upendra has stated, all Governors are agents of the Centre and are glorified errand boys. So they have been asked to write like this. So it is the brain of the Home Ministry or the Prime Minister's Secretariat which might have dictated the letter to Dr. Alexander. Sir, those reasons are really perplexing. First I thought that I could compare this narration of this yarn to that of Bofors story. Then, I changed my mind because Bofors story is a mystery. But this is a ridiculous story. I can only compare it with Tenali Ramakrishna's story. Even children will not believe these reasons quoted by the Government. Sir, I recommend that this slapstick comedy of Dr. Alexander, Mr. Buta Singh and Mr. Chidambaram & Co. should be telecast as a children's programme on our T.V. I am very hopeful that our children will enjoy the fun.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: But they will be frightened to see some of the faces.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: That is different matter. But they will like the contents of the story. Even a child will not believe this story, but will laugh.

Sir, once there was a circus company in U.S.A. called Barnum's circus. Dr. Subramanian Swamy may know it very well. The circus owner was cheating the people and collecting lot of money. When he was questioned by pressmen, why he was doing like this, he replied: "My theory is that one sucker is born every minute in the world. So long as there are suckers, I will do my job." I think the Government of India is following the same

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philosophy. They think that people of Tamil Nadu and people of India are full of suckers, fools and gullible persons so that they can continue with their antics. But people will not believe this cock and bull story any more. Sir, we have heard all the Members from the ruling party. They have been praising President's rule in Tamil Nadu. They say that manna from heaven is falling and that for the first time, everything is available. They say that all those officials are functioning properly. Sir, if President's rule is so glorified, so beneficial to the people, I will ask the Congress people to impose President's rule in all the 25 States. Then if you apply this theory, why should you have popular Government in Delhi? Let Mr. Rajiv Gandhi resign and let us have President's rule in Delhi also. Thereafter, we can have in India Ram Rajya or Venkataraman Rajya because it will be President's rule. Are you prepared to do that? Sir, it is a very pernicious doctrine as Mr. Aladi Aruna has pointed out the Father of the Nation had stated "Good Government cannot be a substitute for a responsible Government," even assuming the Governor's rule is good, I do not think it is a good Government.

Sir, we all know Dr. Alexander. We have nothing against Dr. Alexander. We are told that he is a great administrator. He is said to be an honest man. He should be an honest man. When he was Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, half of his assistants were arrested in Coomaraswamy's spy scandal case. He was honest enough to resign. I do not know whether he was asked to resign. But no action was taken against him. Then Sir, he was promoted and sent to London as our High Commissioner. This is the Policy of this Government. If a Cabinet Minister does not function, then he is promoted and sent to the State as Chief Minister. If the State Chief Minister fails, then he is promoted as the Cabinet Minister. Like that,

Dr. Alexander the great was also promoted and sent to London and then he came back. Now, I would tell you, Sir, what are the gifts of the so-called President's rule or the gifts by the so-called Dr. Alexander the great. Sir, firstly, he announced elections to the cooperative societies—30,000 in number—after 13 years. Elections were held to the cooperative societies in Tamil Nadu only during D.M.K. regime 13 years ago. Dr. Alexander the great ordered that election should be held on a particular date. Sir, we have been asking for a general election to the Legislative Assembly. He said, no. Top priority was given to the election to the cooperative societies alone. What happened later? Even our Minister or State for Industries Mr. M. Arunachalam questioned whether the Governor has got the authority to order for cooperative elections before Assembly Elections. Dr. Alexander the great asserted, "Yes, I have got the authority." He challenged the Minister of State of the Union Government. In fact, it is his own Government. Yet the Governor asserted like this. Many other Congressmen had their own fear other Congressmen had their own fears. They thought they would be defeated. What happened? You know, suddenly one fine morning, Dr. Alexander cancelled all the elections to the cooperative societies. The loss to the State exchequer is estimated to be to the tune of Rs. 4 to 5 crores and you say, it is an efficient Government. But they have wasted Rs. 4 to 5 crores just by ordering an election to satisfy their ego.

Then what is the next gift of Dr. Alexander the great? He reduced the sales tax to the Indian-made foreign liquor by 10 to 15 per cent. Sir, we made a lot of hue and cry. We wrote in our editorials in news papers asking, "Is it necessary? Why should we reduce the sales tax on Indian-made foreign liquor? Whome are you speaking for? Whom are you acting for? Are acting for the liquor lobby? This is not necessary." Then we got a reply from the Secretariat saying

that the decision was taken by the previous Government and hence they are implementing it. I am asking you, this Alexander the great has revoked all the orders of the 23 days old Mrs. Janaki Government. But why are you implementing this alone? You are having such a big deficit in your budget. Why are you allowing liquor to be sold at a price 10 or 15 per cent less? Why are you losing sales-tax? Is liquor the most important thing? You say you will bring Kamaraj rule. Is this Kamaraj rule? Did Kamaraj do that? (*Interruptions*). This is all bunkum. Sir, the third best gift from Alexander the Great is this. Two Governments successively abolished horse-races. Now, horse-race is being brought back. You may reply: What can we do? The Supreme Court has given the order. No. In the Managing Committee there members appointed by the Government of Tamil Nadu. They did not withdraw the particular member who himself was a horse owner. So, with his help they voted to have horse-race once again. That is why horse-race which was abolished by two Governments is going to come back next month. Only these people say that they are 'sishtas' of Kamaraj.

SHRI M. PALANIYANDI: I want to remind him that it is only Dr. Kalaignar who lifted prohibition and spoiled Tamil Nadu.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Why are you continuing it?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Mr. Maran, you do not reply to him. You continue. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: Sir, ..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Are you on a point of order?

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: Yes, There was no reduc-

tion of sales-tax for Indian-made foreign liquor. There was no reduction made by the Government.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I was announced in the press. We go by the press.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): You have already taken 11 minutes.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Please I will complete just now. I have been listening to the speeches of hon. Congress Members. They have been referring to the past 'twenty years'. They have been actually clubbing, when they referred to it as the darkest rule, the DMK rule and the Anna DMK rule. They are totally wrong. I would say, Sir, what we have done during the DMK regime. In the twenty years of congress regime from Independence, about 1.15 lakh persons have been assigned lands. But in the nine years of DMK regime that followed, 3.8 lakh persons were assigned lands. Similarly, house-sites were given by the Congress rule to a little over 63,000 persons while the DMK alone distributed pattas to over 5.14 lakh persons. The 'kudiyiruppu patta' (that is, land-sites, house-sites) legislation was brought forward only by the DMK which provided shelter to the poor farm workers numbering 1.75 lakhs. I can continue the list if they want. When Kamaraj was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Tamil Nadu was ranking sixth among the States. When Mr. Bakthavatsalam was there, it was advanced to to fifth. When Dr. Anna was the Chief Minister, it was the fourth state. When Mr. Karunanidhi was the Chief Minister, it was the third State. Nobody can forget these facts. These are facts of history.

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMAMURTHY: What is the stage now?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: It is for them to answer. I stop at my stage. I do not want to go further. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you know the famous

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saying, about the superlative of statistics: lies damn lies statistics". If you quote a set of statistics, I can quote another. I want to ask one crucial question. If Congress rule was the golden era of Tamil Nadu, why was Congress defeated in 1967? Why could it not come to power for the last 20 years? Why are you confusing the people with incorrect facts and figures? (Interruptions) You look at the first Presidential Address of Mr. Venkataraman. He said that elections were proposed to be held at an early date. This is what Mr. Venkataraman had said in his first Presidential Address to the combined Session of Parliament. You denigrated the President in USSR by asking him to read a message from the Prime Minister. Now you are denigrating the President again by asking him to retreat. Mr. Alexander, even when he was in London before joining as Governor, said, "My first priority will be to prepare for elections." On March 8 Mr. Alexander says elections are to be held soon. On March 13 somebody else says with emphasis, at a public meeting that 'the next 56 days are very crucial for Congress workers'. That is the final electoral rolls would be published on May 8. Therefore, elections to the Tamil Nadu Assembly will be held by the third week of June. Who said this? No less a person than Mr. Chidambaram. I ask him: Is he not ashamed to eat back his words? Is he sensible enough? In Rajya Sabha Mr. Buta Singh assured us on March 29 that elections would not be delayed even by a single day. The same thing was repeated by Mr. Buta Singh in the Lok Sabha on April 5. On May 19 the electoral rolls were ready. The honourable lady Member spoke of June 20 as a cut-off date. But on May 19 itself the rolls were ready. The officials worked hard. Really you have to thank them for that. You never expected the rolls to be ready so soon. Then what made you postpone the elections when the electoral rolls

were ready on May 19 itself? This is the question which the Minister should answer. Then, suddenly something happened on June 10 in Tamil Nadu. The posts of Special Deputy Tahsildars appointed for electoral preparation and other connected work were abolished. We knew right from June 10 that elections would not be held now. Now the question is very crucial: Why are they postponing the elections? The reasons given by them are not the true reasons. They are cock and bull stories. As Mr. Upendra has rightly pointed out, they are in search of allies. They are going from door to door. They are knocking the doors of all parties, this party and that party. Probably they have knocked the doors of Mrs. Janaki Ramachandran's party also. And the result is they have received a slap in the face. What they have done is, as Mr. Upendra explained, they have launched a programme, a big programme, to split parties. He has mentioned the names. They want to create Bhaskara Raos in every camp, to split parties, to reduce their strength and then it will be possible to align with them. That is their strategy. Another strategy is, as Mr. Upendra has said, Rs. 50 lakhs advance has been paid to one Bhaskara Rao of Tamil Nadu with a promise of Rs. 5 crores. What for?...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA):

Why are you repeating what Upendra said?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I am explaining it. The advance of Rs. 50 lakhs as the first instalment is not for splitting parties alone. It is also to create a caste war in Tamil Nadu because in Tamil Nadu people have only one feeling and that is that 'we are Tamils'—that is why we are fighting for Eelam of Tamils. But now you want to create a caste feeling, you want that the Tamil feeling should go and the caste feeling should take its place, everyone should feel about his own caste. That is why you are indul-

ging in these gimmicks. I will tell the Congress that they will be sadly disappointed in this strategy.

Then there is the bigger, or the biggest, question: Who is the authority to decide as to when elections should be held? I say the Election Commission is not functioning properly. Mr. Peri Sastry, I would accuse him, has become subservient to the Government of India. You know the Supreme Court ruling in Touru bye-election in 1984. The Supreme Court has clearly stated:

"The ultimate decision as to whether it is possible and expedient to hold the election at any given point of time must rest with the Election Commission."

So, the Supreme Court has given all the powers to the Election Commission. But Mr. Peri Sastry is not holding it. He has been subservient to the Central Government. It is very shameful. In the biggest democracy in the world, the Election Commission is not functioning independently. I warn you that if this situation continues India will become another Philippines of Marcos. You may remember, Sir, that in 1983, when Mr. R. K. Trivedi was the Election Commissioner what happened? He held farcical elections in Assam in February 1983 with disastrous consequences. Sir, at that time in the Brahmaputra river water was not flowing, but only blood was flowing. There was violence everywhere and yet they conducted the elections there. But the officers did not oblige them. So, they recruited officers from all over India and they paid extra money and they held the elections. But what is happening in Tamil Nadu? Sir, even one of the Advisers to the Governor, Dr. Siddhu, has said: "I find here communal harmony." In Assam you conducted the elections when there was violence. In Punjab also there was the threat by the terrorists and yet you conducted the elections. But what prevents you from conducting the

elections in Tamil Nadu; The only reason is that you are searching for your allies. Sir, I would like to say one thing. If they think that by strengthening Congress(I) they can conduct the election there, then I will say that during this kali Yuga there won't be elections in Tamil Nadu. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government to hold the elections. Don't think that the people of Tamil Nadu are fools. They want a representative Government. What it would be is a different matter. Governor's rule or President's Rule means rule by the Centre and the Congress(I) may be happy. But we cannot allow it and that is why I want to warn you: Before the people rise like one man and revolt against this Government and its authoritarianism, you must hold the elections. I urge upon you to hold the elections as early as possible and not to wait for six months more. I would like to seek an assurance from the Minister. He has recently stated about the strike by the NGOs that the Pay Commission will give its report within six months and then, after two months, they will implement it. That means eight months later. So, it is the vision of Mr. Chidambaram, perhaps. Probably he is the adviser here who is doctoring all this information. So, he has said that. That means, I am very much afraid, the President's Rule may be extended further also. Therefore, I would request the Government on behalf of all the Opposition parties to conduct the elections there. Shri Subramanian Swamy has made a point. They are waiting for a settlement in Sri Lanka.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): You have to conclude now. Otherwise, I will call the next speaker.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Just one minute, Sir. Probably they are waiting for a settlement. But we want a negotiated settlement. We all want a negotiated settlement. Sir, if Mr. Rajiv Gandhi thinks that just by

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creating a stunt of some kind of an agreement he can cheat the people, I would like to tell that we won't be cheated and we won't allow ourselves to be cheated because we ourselves want a negotiated settlement. Negotiated settlement will be a victory for the DMK, for Mr. Subramanian Swamy, a victory for the Telugu Desam and other opposition parties and for the people of Tamil Nadu. Therefore, don't wait for the elections. Therefore, I advise you to go in immediately for a negotiated settlement. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Now, Mr. Thangkabal.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Sir. I rise to support the Resolution of the Government moved in this august House for the reasons stated by the honourable Minister of State for Home Affairs which are true, relevant and right.

Sir, my honourable friends from this side, my colleagues from this side, Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan and Shri Thindivanam Ramamurthy, have been categorically telling the facts and they have clearly told as to what is happening there in Tamil Nadu. I do not want to repeat those facts. I do not want to tell what has taken place in the State. Anybody, any political leader, will agree what has been done in the State whereby the people of Tamil Nadu are very happy. I am not the one to tell untruths in this august House. We have to tell truth. During the last six months, since Dr. Alexander came, the entire administration was toned up, the administrative machinery was geared up; thereby today the people are feeling that there is a Government which is functioning. After 20 years they have got this feeling. Our friends, particularly from the DMK and ADMK, repudiated this. But the real facts are there. By way of example, I may mention that when the hon. Prime Minister was visiting Tamil Nadu, he visited a number of districts, he

addressed a number of meetings where he mentioned about the President's rule. He received a big applause from the people. It was not by any party; it was from individuals. Parties and individuals are different. (Interruptions)

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह (बिहार) :
परमानेंट प्रेन्टि खल करा दो ।

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: I never interrupted you when you spoke. When Mr. Subramanian Swamy spoke, he exposed himself that he is interested in Tamil welfare; I am happy. When did he start this kind of career? (Interruptions) My dear friend, when your name was called, your own party rejected your name, don't forget that. (Interruptions) I feel sorry. Mr. Subramanian Swamy, do not dream that you can come into power and you can do something in Tamil Nadu. You can only go to Kachathivu where nothing is available. Of course, you are trying to march into Trincomalee. There also it is not possible for you.

Another friend said here that President's rule was misused by the Congress Party at the time of Maraimalai Nagar session. Mr. Sukomal Sen must understand and realise how. They are functioning in West Bengal, how Government machinery in West Bengal is being misused by the CPM in the State. Do not forget that (Interruptions) You have to listen. You have to digest. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Please hear him.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: When you spoke, I never interrupted. You must also listen.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Why are you replying to him? Address the Chair.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, our party did not use any of the Government machinery. Any party can use Government machinery at a cost. They have paid the cost. What has been paid it is known to the

public. They have no right to ask (*Interruptions*) Mr. friend, Mr. Upendra, showed great concern for the then Government of Mrs. Janaki Ramachandran. He was pointing out that the Congress Party has given Bharat Ratna to Dr. M. G. Ramachandran. The Congress Government at the Centre and the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, certainly gave Bharat Ratna to M. G. Ramachandran for his excellent contribution towards national integration. ment in four days. The Congress Government in four days. The Congress Government at the Centre did not interfere in the internal affairs of the AIADMK Party at any time after the death of M. G. Ramachandran. The Prime Minister and the Congress leadership categorically stated that they would like to support the undivided legacy of M. G. Ramachandran. It is not the Congress Party which divided the AIADMK Party through which the Janaki Government lost power. It is the Janaki Government and the Janaki Party which did not enjoy the majority in the Assembly and that is why they lost power. I would like to ask the hon. Home Minister what happened the day when Janaki Government lost power. It is a black day in the history of our parliamentary system. On this day of 28th January, atrocities were committed by rowdies and undesirable elements who entered the Assembly Hall and attacked the people. The people of Tamil Nadu wanted some action to be taken against them. But the Central Government did not take any action. I would like to remind the Home Minister about that and request him to please take action. Don't keep quiet on this issue. If you allow this kind of attitude to prevail, you will never be able to run any Assembly anywhere. This will happen in other places also. Mr. Upendra was telling that we are trying to create communal disturbances. My dear friend, Mr. Upendra, please don't forget what happened in Padrikuppam near Tirupati. Harijans were attacked and butchered and humiliated. Their houses were burnt.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA:
For his information, I can say that that happened before we came to power.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Your Government witnessed that. It was not the Congress rule.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA:
You check the dates.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: What happened in Neerukonda? Your own Chief Minister went and arrested people and attacked them (*Interruptions*) Indira Gandhi went to Belchi and helped Harijans there. They are ignoring the constitutional rights of the Governor. In 1977-78, the Janata Government dismissed all the duly elected Governments in the States through the Governor.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: In 1980, you dismissed 9 Governments.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: My dear friend, Mr. Aruna, said that the Congress Party stabbed his leader, Mrs. Janaki Ramachandran. In 1984, when Mr. MGR was not in India but in America getting treatment, at that time, it was Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, it was the Congress Party which brought back Mr. MGR as Chief Minister. It was the contribution of Congress. It was Mrs. Indira Gandhi's blood which brought back Mr. MGR and your party to power in Tamil Nadu. Don't forget that. It was the truth. (*Interruptions*) We never stab any of our friends. And there is no need for us to stab you or anybody. And because of your own pitfalls and because you were not having enough majority in the Assembly, you were compelled to get out of power. That was the truth. And at that time, you begged the DMK, you begged the CPM for their support and nobody was prepared to help you because they know you. And you are now saying that the Congress party stabbed you. And we never stab. (*Interruptions*) People of Tamil Nadu know that. because of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's charisma, because of Congress leadership, because of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's blood, you got back to power and not on your own. And I may tell you that in all the constituencies of Tamil Nadu, Congress candidates in Assembly and Parliament

[Shri K. V. Thangakabalu].

won with thumping majorities, whereas the AIADMK people have never won with more than 10,000 votes' majority.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I stand on a point of order. You say that it was Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who was responsible to bring the AIADMK to power. Then why do you call it a dark chapter in the history of Tamil Nadu?

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: I will come to that.

AN HON. MEMBER: Is it a point of order?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): There was no point of order.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, when Mr. Aruna quoted some lines... Mr. Aruna, please listen. Mr. Aruna quoted some lines. He quoted: Whenever the Election Commission decides, we will hold the elections.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, 'lies' is unparliamentary.

AN HON. MEMBER: He said lines and not lies.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: I said correctly. I said, a few lines. Governor never said that he will hold elections. He said, as and when the Election Commission clears the conducting of elections, he is prepared to do that (*Interruptions*) He expressed the readiness of the State administration.

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEP-TULLA (Maharashtra): On a point of clarification, Sir. When an hon. Member was speaking from that side and somebody was interrupting from our side, you said, "why are you talking directly to him?" Now, he is making a speech. He is directly interrupting and you are not saying anything.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): The point is of Mr. Aruna.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, I stand on a point of order. No Member can accuse the Chair. The hon. Member is accusing the Chair.

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEP-TULLA: I am only pleading. I am not accusing.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: She is accusing the Chair of partiality. She has to withdraw her statement.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Let Mr. Thangakabalu continue. Mr. Balu, please continue. They are wasting your time.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: It is an insinuation against the Chair.

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEP-TULLA: It is only a clarification.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: A former Deputy Chairman cannot do that.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at that time, there was no problem in the State. Only after that the Vanniar agitation started. The Venniar leaders issued a statement to the effect that they will not participate in the elections. After that there was agitation launched by the NGOs and the teachers. I will come to that later. And you say that the Congress party in Tamil Nadu is anti-Tamil. That is the greatest joke of the year. What have you done, when you were in power for 20 years, for Tamil culture, for Tamil development? It is the Congress Party which has upheld the merit of the Tamil culture and Tamil language when the Congress party was in power. He talked about the language issue, the Sri Lankan issue. What has happened to the Sri Lankan issue? It is Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who was prepared to sacrifice his life for

Sri Lankan Tamils, not Karunanidhi, not MGR, not anybody else in this country.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Rajiv Gandhi has become a mercenary. He should be ashamed. He is the mercenary of Jayewardene. He should be ashamed. *(Interruptions).*

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Rajiv Gandhi's Government killed so many LTTE men.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: It is because of the intervention by the Congress Government and the Congress leaders, like Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi, that thirty lakh Tamils in Sri Lanka are alive today. Otherwise, their lives would not have been spread today.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has become a butcher of Tamils.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: The DMK party does not have any issues with which it can go before the people. So it is trying to make use of the Tamil issue and trying to instigate the Tamil Tigers against Tamil Nadu, against the Congress Government. But I can tell you that in Tamil Nadu the DMK party or any other party can never oppose Rajiv Gandhi on Sri Lankan issue. The Sri Lankan Tamils will never forget the contribution made by the Congress party and Shri Rajiv Gandhi. *(Interruptions).*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: They will never forgive Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: Time is soon coming to punish you and push you out of the Tamil Nadu politics. It is going to happen.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: And the other thing they said is that the—both DMK and Anna DMK jointly said—Congress party was long-ing for an alliance with them. But the truth is otherwise. After 1971 it was Mr. Karunanidhi, the Chief Minister of DMK who dissolved the Assembly one year in advance, so as to be able to rule again, but why, it was because of the Congress Party and Indiraji's leadership... *(Interruptions).*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You were running a minority Government here at the time. *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Mr. Gopalsamy, please take your seat.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, he is not allowing the hon. Member to speak. He is interrupting him every minute.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): I have already requested Mr. Gopalsamy to take his seat.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: At no point of time was the Congress Party wanting to have an alliance with the DMK or Anna DMK. It was only the DMK and the Anna DMK which wanted to have an alliance with the Congress Party. We agree that we had an alliance with them. But we never surrendered our right and we never surrendered to the

[Shri K. V. Thangkabalai]

regional parties, parochial parties but all the time they were longing for an alliance with the Congress party so as to get power in the State.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Not a single seat in the Assembly was given to you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Mr. Thangkabalai, please complete your speech.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: I am going ahead, Sir. When they speak against the Congress Party, it is my right to defend my Party and to set the records straight. Mr. Maran of the DMK said that at the time of the DMK rule, the State of Tamil Nadu was industrially developed. I don't know which period he is referring to. Up to 1967, it was Kamraj rule; it was the Congress rule which brought the State to number one position in the country....

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Why did you then ditch Kamraj?

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: And the Congress was defeated in 1967.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: I agree. But it was due to the DMK's mischievous propaganda against the Congress and the false notions that they brought before the people saying that we will give two kilo of rice for one rupee and all that, as NTR did in Andhra... (Interruptions). They only made a mischievous propaganda against the congress and that is how they could come to power. But they could not achieve anything under the DMK or the AIADMK rule. I must thank Mr. Swamy for what he said that the State has gone down to the last position. I agree with him....

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: If you agree on this, why don't you agree on other points also?

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: And now you wanted to have alliance... (Interruptions). I know what you are doing. I will expose you... (Interruptions)

Our friends say that the Congress Party is longing for power. Congress Party has never wanted power. The Congress Party is only interested in the welfare of the people, in the welfare of the country... (Interruptions). It is our right. For 65 years, Congress Party fought for the freedom of the country and we won this freedom...

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: But that Congress is dead and gone.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You may correct the record, Sir, on one point because in his hurry, instead of saying that Congress Party is interested in the 'welfare of the people', he said Congress Party is interested in the 'farewell of the people'....

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: He does not seem to be in order.

Sir, Congress Party is always interested in democracy, always interested in the welfare of the State and that is what they did in case of Assam, in case of Mizoram. Congress Party wants democracy to be stabilised in Assam, in Mizoram and in other places... (Interruptions). It was the Congress Party which conducted free and fair elections in Assam and that is why AGP could come to power. We are not interested in power. We are only interested in strengthening democracy, unity and the integrity of the country and that is why Congress is alive... (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATA-
RAJAN: Sir, you are allowing them
to speak without your permission. I
do not know why.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA):
You are also speaking without per-
mission.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Sir,
Mr. Maran said that the Congress
Party was waiting for a settlement
in Sri Lanka.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V.
ARUNACHALAM: You leave some-
thing for the Minister also.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: When
you were speaking, I did not interrupt.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V.
ARUNACHALAM: He is answering
everybody.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU:
Yes. My party and my leader are
waiting for some settlement in Sri
Lanka. My party and my leader are
trying, are working hard day and
night, to find a permanent solution
to the problems of the Tamils in Sri
Lanka. We are trying our level best.
We are prepared to shed our blood
for the cause of the Tamils in Sri
Lanka. Not like you who are instiga-
ting the Tamils in Sri Lanka and
aiming for power through them, taking
advantage of their problems. No. We
are not interested. We are only inte-
rested in finding a permanent solu-
tion to this problem. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Your
party's and leader's image has be-
come a curse to most of the Tamils.
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Our
friends are saying that Rajiv Gandhi
and our party do not want to have
elections in Tamil Nadu. I would like
to point out one thing to our friends
here. When the Janaki Ramachandran
Government went out of power be-
cause of its own errors, because of

its own mistakes, at 3 p.m. in the
Assembly, when she could not prove
her majority on the floor of the
House, on that very day, our Party
General Secretary, Shri K. N. Singh,
issued a statement from Delhi that
Tamil Nadu must have elections, free
and fair elections, that an elected
Government must come to power and
that this was the only solution. It was
the Congress Party which wanted
elections first. We are not running
away from the scene.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V.
ARUNACHALAM: You say this to
Minister. He is not endorsing the
statement of your General Secretary.
He is violating it.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU:
My party and my Government are
committed to have free and fair
elections in Tamil Nadu so that the
people will have an opportunity to
exercise their franchise. The Con-
gress Party will never say that they
do not want elections. From the point
of view of our party, I can inform
this august House that we are not
afraid of elections like our friends
here. They give some excuse or the
other to avoid elections.

Sir, the Election Commission is an
independent authority. I am sorry to
find our friends ridiculing the image
of the Election Commission. They do
not listen to the Congress, the DMK,
the AIADMK or, for that matter, any
other party. As and when they want,
when they feel that the time has
arrived, they will announce the elec-
tion schedule. We are ready to face
elections any time. Another thing
which our friends have said is that
even after one year, we will come up
with the same excuse. My friends
should understand that under the
Constitution elections cannot be de-
layed beyond one year unless some
extraordinary situation arises.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir,
after one year, the Government can
come back to Parliament and say

[Shri G. Swaminathan]

that the Election Commission has said that elections cannot be conducted and, therefore, they want President's Rule to continue. It can be continued up to three years. There is a provision in the Constitution to this effect.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): This is not a point of order. Mr. Thangkabalu, how long you will take?

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU. I will take just a few minutes more. Sir, there are certain very important issues to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government, particularly, the Home Minister. There was a reference to the elections to the co-operatives to be held from the 1st of August. I am of the opinion that only an elected Government should conduct the elections to the co-operatives. This is my personal opinion. I would request the Hon. Minister to see that elections are postponed because of two reasons. One is, the managers and secretaries of these co-operatives have not given membership to all people. Membership is not open to all. 28-7-88. The existing people belonging to the DMK and the AIADMK are not willing to give application forms to people to become members. This is a ridiculous situation. We have been agitating and complaining to the Governor and the Government that whosoever wishes to become member should be given a free chance to become member. Another thing is, after the Act was last amended on 13-4-1988, lot of problems have come in. There is a lot of corruption. Free and fair elections in cooperatives are not possible. My leader and my party are always committed to the conduct of fair elections in cooperatives and panchayats. We do not want unfair elections anywhere. Therefore,

I urge upon the Minister and the Government to postpone elections till the new Government comes. Let any party come to power, let any party form Government, we are not interested in that. We are interested in democratic functioning of the institutions. That is why we are demanding that the elections to the co-operatives must be postponed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): You have covered almost all the points.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: He has still not talked about the problems in Punjab.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: I will take two minutes more. We are grateful to the Central Government and the Prime Minister because in the fair price shops now they are giving 12 kilos of rice to the family and palm oil 2 kgs in towns and half a kilo in villages. This discrepancy must go. Whether it is a town or a village, every family must get 2 kg of palm oil every month. Also 12 kilos of rice must be raised to 15 kilos per family. Also I want that the Government must enhance the quota from 50,000 tonnes of rice to 1 lakh tonnes of rice for the State of Tamil Nadu.

One more important point. In Madras everybody would be shocked to see the way in which the previous Government was involved, an enquiry in the famous Tiruvannmiyur murder case. Previous Ministers and MLAs were involved in this murder case. This was also referred to by my learned friend Shri Ramamurthy. The enquiry is not conducted in public and it is not known to the people. A number of murders since then have taken place. So many other atrocities have taken place which I do not wish to mention in this august House. Big officials and a number of politicians are involved in those cases. I urge upon the Central Government and

the Union Home Minister to entrust these cases to the CBI to unearth the truth and punish the guilty persons immediately.

Now I come to my last point. There are two important things. We are aware that the agriculturists are facing some problems. Though it is the Governor's rule, the Governor himself, his Adviser and the Chief Secretary have many a time advised the authorities down level not to disconnect pumpsets wherever electricity bills are pending. The officials in the down level are not cooperating, with the result the agriculturists are put to difficulties. I request that there should not be any disconnection. Even if some disconnections have taken place, they should be restored immediately to save the farmers in the State. (Interruptions). What is wrong in that?

Coming to my last point, the Cauveri water dispute is pending. Even my colleagues on the other side are agreed on that point. The State Government has been demanding a permanent settlement of the Cauvery water dispute. We demand that a tribunal be set up to sort out the problem. I do not know why the Government is not taking steps to set up a tribunal quickly. I urge the Central Government to sort out this problem.

Another problem is that of Telugu Ganga Project. My friends will be interested in the Telugu Ganga Project. The fact is that the Central Government is interested in sorting out the problems, whereas the NTR Government is not cooperating.... (Interruptions) you listen to me.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Sir, on a point of order.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Let me complete first. Listen to me first.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: Prof. Lakshmanna has a point of order.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Since the hon. Member has brought in this issue, now it is relevant for the House to know that it is the Central Government which has not given clearance to the Telugu Ganga Project and that our Government has been making all efforts to see that the Project is executed and what was promised to Tamilnadu is fulfilled. Therefore it is not the Telugu Desam Government of NTR which is responsible for this stalemate situation. I would like to state that there is an answer..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: No, please this is not a point of order. Mr. Thangkamalu to continue. Now please conclude.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: In the year 1976, Madam Indira Gandhi announced at Madras beach at a mammoth public meeting that the Krishna water was to come to Madras for a permanent solution of the water problem of Madras. At that time, the Maharashtra Government, the Karnataka Government and the then Congress Government in Andhra Pradesh each agreed to contribute 5 TMC of water. So 15 TMC of water was to come to Madras. After that the Telugu Desam Government, instead of giving 15 TMC of water to the State of Tamilnadu as drinking water component for Madras tried to have excess water for the Rayalaseema area... You listen to me.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: He is wrong on facts. He does not know anything.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Maybe untruth, but he has the right to speak. Now you please conclude, otherwise I will call the next speaker.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: The Telugu Ganga Project has two components.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: It was the Congress people who demonstrated in Andhra Pradesh that NTR is giving water to Madras without giving water to Rayalaseema. The demonstration was conducted by the Congress(I). So your party is responsible for not giving water to Madras and for not clearing the Project.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That is Congress culture.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Mr. Aladi Aruna is exposing himself. He is not interested in getting the water for Tamilnadu.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA (Assam): I want to know whether this point has any relevance to the Resolution moved by the Home Minister.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Yes, it has a lot of relevance. We want water from Andhra Pradesh. That is why it is very relevant.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: The party which is responsible for stalling the implementation of the scheme is accusing the other party.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: You are mistaken. I am urging the Central Government to come into the picture and try to solve this issue quickly. I want directions to go to Shri N. T. Rama Rao, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, not to divert the water to his own State and it should come to our State. Finally, Sir, Tamil Nadu.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): How long are you going to speak? Now I will call Mr. Saikia.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: Only two minutes, Sir. ... (Interruptions)... Sir, our friends were accusing that we are misusing the President's rule. The DMK party and the other party are collecting funds in the panchayat units and municipalities for election funds and they are threatening people.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Not from Bofors. ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: They are ordinary people of Tamil Nadu and you are trying to cheat the people of Tamil Nadu. For water connection and electric connection they have to pay money to the DMK Election fund. ... (Interruptions)... That is how they are collecting funds. I urge the Central Government that the Panchayat Raj system should be made more effective and only then people get the benefits. But the Panchayat Raj administration in the hands of the DMK and the AIADMK is misusing the Panchayat Raj system in the State. I request the honourable Home Minister to verify the facts and see that ordinary people are not subjugated and harassed and funds are not collected from them for unnecessary reasons and for political purposes.

Lastly, Sir, my friend there has said that even after the Kali Yuga the Congress Party will not come to power in Tamil Nadu. I can assure him in this august House that they do not know the mood and mind of the people of Tamil Nadu. We have been meeting the people daily, and they have understood the 20 years of dark, anti-democratic and anti-people rule there and now it is known, it is proven that President's rule itself is giving more opportunities and opening more avenues for the betterment of the people.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Why are you afraid of elections?

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: We are not afraid. You said that President's rule to be extended to Delhi also. ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Only Rajiv Gandhi has brought cholera... (Interruptions)...

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU: The Congress Party brought President's rule to the State only to safeguard the people from disastrous movements. ... (Interruptions)...

Finally, Sir, people are freed from corruption, people are freed from humiliation. Now the people want a permanent solution to their 20-year old problems. They want the Congress to come back to power. Whenever Mr. Rajiv Gandhi tours Tamil Nadu, lakhs of people, Harijans, downtrodden people, women—all sections of people—follow him and they want that Rajiv Gandhi should bring back the Karmaraj era, free from corruption. They want this to be enacted in Tamil Nadu. So, the Congress will never be defeated and, as I said, the

DMK or the AIADMK or, for that matter, any other party, cannot come to power without Congress, cannot dream of power without Congress, and Congress is going to rule there so that the same old traditions of the late Kamaraj are reenacted. So, as and when elections are held, Congress is going to emerge as the single largest party and, under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi, Congress will rule the State. Nobody on earth can stop that. Thank you.

ALLOCATION OF TIME FOR DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT AND OTHER BUSINESS

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA): Hon. Members, there is an announcement by the Chair.

I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held today, the 28th July, 1988, allotted time for Government legislative and other business as follows:—

Business	Time Allotted
1. Further consideration and passing of the Prevention of Corruption Bill, 1987, as passed by the Lok Sabha.	2 hours 30 minutes in addition to the time already taken.
2. Consideration and passing of the following Bills:—	
(a) The Merchant Shipping (Second Amendment) Bill 1987.	1 hour.
(b) The Delhi University (Amendment) Bill, 1988.	2 hours.
(c) The Beedi and Cigar Workers (Conditions of Employment) Amendment Bill 1987.	3 hours.
(d) The Maternity Benefits (Amendment) Bill, 1987.	2 hours.
(e) The National Waterway (Sadiya-Dhubri Stretch of the Brahmaputra River) Bill, 1988 as passed by the Lok Sabha.	1 hour.
(f) The Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment Amendment Bill, 1987.	2 hours.
3. Discussion on the Resolution seeking disapproval of the Bharat Petroleum Corporation Limited (Determination of Conditions of Service of Employees) Ordinance, 1988 and consideration and passing of the Bharat Petroleum Corporation Limited (Determination of Conditions of Service of Employees) Bill, 1988 as passed by the Lok Sabha.	1 hour.
4. Consideration and passing of the Alcock Ash down Company Limited (Acquisition of Undertakings) Amendment Bill, 1987 as passed by the Lok Sabha.	1 hour.