

[The Vice-Chairman]

The Committee also recommended that the House should sit up to 6.00 P.M. daily and beyond 6.00 P.M. as and when necessary, for the transaction of Government Business, from today, the 28th July, 1988.

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

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am taking my stand here to oppose the Resolution moved by the hon. Home Minister for continuance of the President's rule in Tamil Nadu.

This Resolution itself is an undemocratic resolution by the Government of democratic country.

Sir, I am surprised to see that in words the Members of the Congress Party criticise the MGR Government in Tamil Nadu. I think, this is a contradiction of his greatness because this was the Government which conferred upon MGR posthumously the highest award, Bharat Ratna. But now they are criticising MGR posthumously with harsh words, with bad words. It is a contradiction of his greatness.

It is seen that it has become customary for the Government to extend President's rule once proclaimed in any State. Seeking extension of President's rule in Tamil Nadu indicates that the Government is not considering this time as favourable for Congress(I) in Tamil Nadu.

It is known to all how they hold elections. We have got the experience of holding elections by Congress(I) in Assam in 1983. In 1983 nobody in Assam cooperated with the Government for holding elections, and, therefore, the Government recruited people from all over the country to hold the elections there. By doing that they

actually tried to stab democracy in Assam. But somehow or other the people of Assam saved democracy in Assam.

It is a way, it is a means to postpone the elections to reap the fruit in time. But the people of Tamil Nadu, as has been expressed by my friends of the Opposition parties, are not going to accept Congress(I) in Tamil Nadu to rule the State whether the election is held just now or after some days. But the habit of the Government to postpone elections is not quite a healthy one. The Government always speaks of democracy, but in reality they want to kill democracy for their own benefit. It is quite against the democratic spirit, democratic norms and democratic ethics. Therefore, I urge upon the Government to amend the Resolution to the tune of the amendments made by Dr. Subramanian Swamy and to hold elections at the earliest. The Government should have the courage to face the elections, to face the people and have the people's verdict.

With these words, I urge that the Resolution be amended and that the popular Government should be installed in Tamil Nadu.

I conclude by saying that I oppose the Resolution moved by the hon. Minister for the continuance of the Presidential Rule in Tamil Nadu.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (मध्य प्रदेश): महोदय, इस बहस में भाग लेने का मेरा इरादा नहीं था, लेकिन तमिलनाडु के सदस्यों ने इस सवाल पर जो गरमागरमी दिखाई है, उसके बाद मेरे लिये ठंडा रहना मुश्किल हो गया है अगर चुनाव करा लिये जाते तो चुनाव के मैदान में दो दो हाथ हो जाते और अभी तक तमिलनाडु की जनता का फैसला भी आ जाता। अंत में तो जनता को फैसला करना है। जनता से मेरा मतलब जनता पार्टी से नहीं है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय) :**  
भारतीय जनता पार्टी से तो नहीं है ?

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** मेरा मतलब समाजवादी जनता पार्टी से नहीं है। सवाल यह है कि चुनाव क्यों नहीं कराए गए। जन के महीने में अनेक उप-चुनाव हुए, भयंकर गर्मी थी, लपटें चल रही थी, लेकिन चुनाव कराने के सरकार के फैसले का सबने स्वागत किया क्या जून में तमिल नाडु में चुनाव नहीं हो सकते थे ? अब गृह राज्य मंत्री श्री चिदंबरम ने चुनाव न कराने के, जो कारण दिये हैं वे इतने लचर हैं, इतने सतही हैं, इतने अतर्कसंगत हैं कि अगर वे स्वयं भी विचार करेंगे तो उन्हें लगेगा कि बात कुछ बनी नहीं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मान लीजिये कोई गैर कांग्रेसी सरकार चुनाव में पराजय की आशंका से चुनाव टालने की कोशिश करे और चुनाव के अवसर पर राज्य कर्मचारी हड़ताल कर दें तो क्या राज्य सरकार को यह छूट होगी गैर कांग्रेसी सरकार को यह छूट होगी कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों की हड़ताल का बहाना बनाकर वह चुनाव टाल दे ? उस समय केन्द्रीय सरकार हस्तक्षेप करेगी और कहेगी कि राज्य सरकार के कर्मचारी हड़ताल पर गये हैं, चिन्ता मन करा, केन्द्र पूरी मदद करेगा, आवश्यकता होगी तो केन्द्र रिट-निंग आफिसर भेज देगा, आवश्यकता होगी तो सारा चुनाव दस्ता दिल्ली से चला जायेगा, मगर चुनाव होना चाहिये। क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार ने असम में ऐसा नहीं किया था ? 1983 में चुनाव के नाम पर असम में जो मखौल हुआ, वह इस देश के लोकतंत्र के माथे पर एक स्थाई कलंक के रूप में रहेगा। लोग चुनाव नहीं चाहते थे चुनाव की परिस्थिति नहीं थी, लेकिन केन्द्र में बैठे हुये सत्ता पक्ष को असम में चुनाव का नाटक करना था, अपने दल की सरकार बनानी थी। मुझे मालूम है पोलिंग बूथ ट्रकों में घूम रहे थे और मतदाता उनकी तलाश में घूम रहे थे संगीनों के साथे में चुनाव हुये। तब केन्द्र का वह रवैया

था। आज केन्द्र का रवैया अलग है, क्योंकि तमिलनाडु में तत्काल चुनाव कराना सत्तापक्ष के हित में नहीं है। कर्मचारी हड़ताल पर चले गये। वाग्नियार कमेटी आन्दोलन कर रही है। उस आन्दोलन के हल का रास्ता निकालना चाहिये था। समस्या को हल करना चाहिये था। हमारा अनुभव साक्षी है कि बहुत सी समस्याएँ चुनाव से हल हुई हैं अगर कोई वर्ग या समुदाय असन्तुष्ट है और यह अनुभव करता है कि उसके साथ अन्याय हुआ है तो वह भी चुनाव के मैदान में उतर सकता है और अपनी शक्ति के बल पर, अन्य वर्गों के समर्थन के बल पर, अपने साथ न्याय को ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा कर सकता है। अतः यह कारण किसी के गले के नीचे नहीं उतरता।

नेमुझे खेद है कि इलेक्शन कमीशन अप दायित्व का ठीक तरह से निर्वाहण नहीं कर रहा है। पिछले कुछ वर्षों में लोकतांत्रिक संस्थाओं का क्षरण हुआ है और उनमें इलेक्शन कमीशन की स्वतंत्रता और निष्पक्षता का क्षरण खतरे की घंटी है। इस देश में चुनाव कब होना चाहिए इसका अन्तिम निर्णय कौन करेगा ? हमारे कांग्रेस के मित्र कहते थे कि तमिलनाडु चुनाव के बारे में कि जब श्री राजीव गांधी विदेश से वापस आ जायेंगे, तब फैसला होगा। क्या मतलब है इसका ? केन्द्रीय सरकार फैसला करेगी कि तमिलनाडु में कब चुनाव होना चाहिए ? क्या इलेक्शन कमीशन उसकी हाँ में हाँ मिलायेगा ? क्या इस संबंध में इलेक्शन कमीशन निर्णायक नहीं होगा ? तावडू उपचुनाव का मामला सुप्रीम कोर्ट में गया था। सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने जो फैसला दिया उसका एक अंश मेरे पास है। वहां वाईइलेक्शन होना था 1984 में। मामला सुप्रीम कोर्ट में गया और सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने कहा :

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

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

यह सरकार के अधीन नहीं है। मगर आज इलेक्शन कमीशन की क्या भूमिका है? 1983 में असम के चुनाव गलत समय पर कराने के लिये, असम में चुनाव के नाम पर नाटक कराने के लिये उस समय के चीफ इलेक्शन कमिश्नर को गवर्नर बना कर भेज दिया गया। क्या चीफ इलेक्शन कमिश्नर के रिटायर होने के बाद उसे गवर्नर बनाना जरूरी है? क्या यह उसे निमन्त्रण नहीं है कि अपनी स्थिति से समझौता करो, सौदा करो? स्वतंत्रता कैसे रहेगी अगर उसे रिटायर होने के बाद केन्द्रीय सरकार के दरवाजे पर नौकरी के लिये आना है और केन्द्रीय सरकार उसे गवर्नर का पद देगी।

**श्री पशुपति नाथ मुकुल (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** बहुत योग्य आदमी है

**अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** योग्य है मगर गलत हाथों में पड़ गया है।

**श्री एन० के० पी० साल्वे :** आपके साथ यही हुआ है

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** इलेक्शन कमीशन कैसे निष्पक्षता रखेगा? यह तरीका नहीं है इस देश में लोकतन्त्र को मजबूत करने का। यह तरीका नहीं है लोगों को लोकतन्त्र में निष्ठा को बढ़ाने का। अगर चुनाव की निष्पक्षता के बारे में और इलेक्शन कमीशन की स्वतंत्रता के बारे में लोगों का विश्वास पूरी तरह से उड़ गया तो फिर फैसला बैटक बाक्स से नहीं होगा। परमात्मा न करे इस देश में वह दिन आये। मगर हम धीरे-धीरे उसी तरफ जा रहे हैं। सत्ता का खेल कहा तक चलेगा? किस सीमा तक हमें ले जायेगा? तमिलनाडु में चुनाव करा लेते तो फैसला हो जाता। तमिलनाडु में अगर कांग्रेस पार्टी वापस आ जाये तो मुझे खुशी होगी। और अगर हार जाये तो उससे ज्यादा खुशी होगी। लेकिन चुनाव कराइये। तमिलनाडु के राज्यपाल इस तरह से व्यवहार कर रहे हैं जैसे वे शाहंशाह हों। शाहंशाह

इलाहावाद में नहीं आया। श्री चिदम्बरम् जाते हैं जैसे तमिलनाडु जागीर हो। ठीक है आप केन्द्र में राज्य मंत्री हैं, गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री हैं। मगर इस समय तमिलनाडु ट्रस्ट है, केन्द्रीय सरकार के पास एक ट्रस्ट के रूप में सुरक्षित है और आपको वहां पर जल्दी से जल्दी चुनाव कराकर सत्ता जन-प्रतिनिधियों को वापस कर देनी चाहिए। आपने एम. जी. आर. को भारत रत्न दे दिया, लेकिन अब एम. जी. आर. की सरकार को कलंक का अध्याय बता रहे हैं। अगर उनकी सरकार कलंकित थी तो उनको भारत रत्न देने की क्या आवश्यकता थी? लेकिन उस समय भारत रत्न देनी जरूरी था, इस समय सरकार की निन्दा करना जरूरी है। चुनाव में सब कुछ ठीक है। राजनीति में भला-बुरा सब अच्छा है..... (व्यवधान)

**श्री सीताराम केसरी (बिहार) :** श्री राम जन्मभूमि और बाबरी मस्जिद को साथ रखना भी जरूरी है।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** सभापति जी, अभी एक मिनट कर रहे थे कि 1977 में विधान सभा भंग कर दी गई थी। क्या 1977 की स्थिति आज है? 1977 के पहले चुनाव हुए थे, किन परिस्थितियों में हुए थे? उस समय जो विधान सभाएं चुनी गई थीं वे अपना जन-प्रतिनिधित्व का स्वरूप खो चुकी थीं। लोगों ने लोकसभा में कांग्रेस को उखाड़ कर फेंक दिया था। विधान सभा अगर बनी रहती तो यह लोगों के साथ न्याय नहीं होता। लेकिन चुनाव कराये गये, तत्काल चुनाव कराये गये।

**श्री बंभ प्रसाद राय (पश्चिमी बंगाल) :** लेकिन इसके बावजूद लोक सभा तो बनी रही।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** वह तो आपकी कृपा से। इसलिए बनाकर रखी गई कि उस समय बनाकर रखना ज्यादा लाभदायक था।

**श्री सीताराम केसरी :** यह तो हमारी उदारता थी, लाभदायक नहीं था।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** अब केसरी जी भी उदार हो गये हैं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय) :**  
इलाहाबाद घूमकर आये हैं।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** इलाहाबाद  
की याद मत दिलाइये।

**DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEP-  
TULLA:** The Chairman is supposed  
to be independent. (Interruption).

**SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:**  
If he is not independent, he cannot  
comment at all. (Interruptions). He  
said, he had only been to Allahabad.  
Is Allahabad some foreign country?  
Is it in Pakistan?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA):**  
Why should you be afraid of Allah-  
bad? (Interruptions)

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** मैं यह  
बात पहले भी कह चुका हूँ, यह बात फिर  
दोहराना चाहता हूँ। सत्ता पक्ष में और  
प्रतिपक्ष में प्रतिस्पर्धा होनी चाहिए, प्रति-  
योगिता होनी चाहिए कुछ बेहतर काम-  
कर के दिखाने के लिए। अब आप  
गलत काम करें और कहें कि जो विरोधी  
दल में बैठे हैं उन्होंने भी पहले ऐसा किया  
या तो इसका जवाब मैं पहले एक बार दे  
चुका हूँ उसको फिर दोहराना चाहता हूँ।  
सन् 1978-79 में गड़बड़ी की वजह से  
ही हम यहाँ आए और अब आप वही  
गड़बड़ी करेंगे तो आप भी इधर आयेगे।  
यह इलाहाबाद की चेतावनी है। काम-  
राज का नाम चुनाव की वैतरणी को पार  
करा नहीं पाएगा। श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री  
का नाम आपको इलाहाबाद में नहीं जिता  
पाया। तमिलनाडु के मतदाता बड़े प्रबुद्ध  
और जागरूक हैं। वे केवल कामराज के  
नाम के आधार पर आपको वापस नहीं  
लाएंगे... (व्यवधान)। लोक सभा के  
उप-चुनाव हुए, आपकी हालत क्या रही ?  
एक के बाद एक प्रदेश आपको छोड़ते  
जा रहे हैं। तमिलनाडु में ज़रूर आपके  
आशा के पंख फड़फड़ा रहे हैं। वे कितने  
उड़ेंगे, यह भविष्य ही बताएगा। लेकिन  
लोगों के मन में यह सदेह बद्धमूल मत  
कीजिए कि तमिलनाडु में तब तक चुनाव  
नहीं कराए जायेंगे जब तक कांग्रेस की जीतने

की संभावना नहीं होगी। क्या आप रुके  
रहेंगे श्रीलंका की समस्या के समाधान  
के लिए? क्या जब तक श्रीलंका में एक-एक  
तमिल टाइगर का सफाया नहीं कर दिया  
जाएगा, तमिलनाडु में चुनाव नहीं होगा ?  
किस लिए चुनाव टाले जा रहे हैं तमिल-  
नाडु में? अगर श्री राजीव गांधी की  
नीतियाँ अच्छी हैं और उन्हें जन समर्थन  
प्राप्त है, जैसा भाषणों से लगता है तो  
शुभस्य शीघ्रम्, जल्दी चुनाव कराइये।  
लेकिन बरसात की वजह से अभी नहीं  
हो सकते।

**श्री हरबेन्द्र सिंह हंसपाल (पंजाब) :**  
आप तो समझदार हैं।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** मगर  
जिन से पाला पड़ा है उनके बारे में ऐसा  
नहीं कह सकते।

महोदय, मेरा निवेदन है कि चुनाव  
टालने का कभी विचार मत करें। नीति  
के तौर पर यह निश्चित होना चाहिए कि  
जल्दी से जल्दी चुनाव कराये जायें।  
तमिलनाडु में राष्ट्रपति राज की अवधि  
को बढ़ाने का कोई औचित्य नहीं है।  
जितना आप राष्ट्रपति राज को खींचेंगे  
उतनी ही लोक प्रियता नहीं बढ़ेगी। दूसरों  
पर आरोप लगाकर आप बड़े नहीं हो  
सकते। इसके लिए आपको अपने आचरण  
का मानदण्ड रखना होगा। अगर नहीं  
रख सकते तो राष्ट्रपति राज आपकी मदद  
के लिए नहीं आयेगा और गवर्नर महोदय  
के बलबूते से आपकी नैया पार नहीं  
होगी।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह :** मान्यवर, इस  
रेजोल्यूशन के जरिये इस सदन में राज्यपाल  
के पद के ऊपर बहस करने का अवसर  
मिला। आपसी वादविवाद में जो बातें  
हुई हैं मैं उसकी ओर ध्यान न खींचकर  
कुछ बुनियादी सवाल उठाना चाहता हूँ  
भारत के संविधान की धारा 356 का  
जिस तरह से दुरुपयोग हो रहा है उस पर  
सदन को गंभीरता से विचार करना चाहिए।  
जिसकी भी केन्द्र में सरकार दो हो  
सकता है हमारी सरकार कल हो अजमे

[ श्री राम अवधेश सिंह ]

तो इस बात पर बहस होनी चाहिये कि संविधान की इस धारा, 356 का, दुरुपयोग कैसे रोका जाये। यह है बुनियादी सवाल क्योंकि गवर्नर एक ऐसी संस्था है जिसके ऊपर कोई अंकुश नहीं है। प्रेसीडेंट के ऊपर इम्पीचमेंट का अधिकार सदन को है, सदन को हक है कि प्रेसीडेंट अगर गलती करे तो उसको इम्पीच किया जाये। सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज के खिलाफ भी इम्पीचमेंट लाया जा सकता है। लेकिन राज्यपाल का दुरुपयोग कर अगर दिल्ली की हुकूमत, चाहे वह कांग्रेस पार्टी की हुकूमत हो या किसी अन्य पार्टी की हुकूमत हो, जनतंत्र का गला घोटने लग जाये तब क्या होगा। हमारे संविधान का ढांचा मूलरूप से संघीय है, फेडरल है। जब ऐसा संविधान है तो अलग अलग राज्यों में अलग-अलग पार्टियों की सरकारों की परिकल्पना संविधान में है। जब अलग-अलग राज्यों में अलग-अलग सरकारों की परिकल्पना है तो दिल्ली की हुकूमत के इशारों पर हो, उसकी मर्जी पर ही सबों की सरकारें चलें तो इस बारे में सदन में गंभीरता से सोचा जाना चाहिये, आने वाली पीढ़ी के लिये। क्योंकि यह जो प्रावधान है, धारा 356, इसका सब-क्लाज 4 है। सब सेक्शन-4 में स्पष्ट है अब अगर इस पर बहस हो और अमेंडमेंट आए तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें से एक शब्द को हटा दिया जाना चाहिये ताकि दुरुपयोग का मौका किसी भी पार्टी की सरकार को न मिले। जैसे अभी बहस के दौरान हमेशा बात कही जाती है, जब कोई बहस होती है तो ट्रेजरी बेंच के लोग यह बोलते हैं कि आपकी पार्टी ने क्या किया। अरे भाई उसने गलती की तो कम से कम आप तो उस गलती को मत दोहराओ लेकिन आप कहते हैं कि नहीं तुम ने गलती की इसलिए हम भी गलती करेंगे। यह कोई तरीका नहीं हुआ। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि 356 की उपधारा-4 में जो लिखा हुआ है उसमेंसे दो शब्द हटा देने चाहिये और इससे हमारा काम बन सकता है।

“356(4): A Proclamation so approved shall, unless revoked, ...”

अनलेस रिवोकड को हटा दिया जाए तो यह बाईडिंग हो जाएगा उसको थोड़ा सा भी मौका नहीं मिलेगा। ज़रूर भी कहें किसी भी राज्य में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होगा तो उसके 6 महीने के अन्दर चुनाव कराने ही होंगे। इसलिए सारी मानसिक तैयारी उसके लिए होगी और इसी 6 महीने के अन्दर चुनाव कराया जाएगा। जैसे हम लोग यहां 6 साल के लिए चुनकर आते हैं यह बात तय है कि हम 6 साल के बाद रिटायर कर जाएंगे और इससे एक भी दिन हम आगे नहीं जा सकते हैं और इसके लिए मानसिक तैयारी है और संविधान में भी प्रावधान है कि हम एक भी दिन इससे आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते हैं। इसलिए मेरी इस सदन के माध्यम से सरकार तक यह बात पहुंचाने की मंशा है कि ऐसा प्रावधान हमारे संविधान में हो इसमें कोई लेचेस कोई न करे हम भी नहीं करें और आप भी नहीं करें। सरकार जनतंत्र में तब की रोटी की तरह से बदलती रहती है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नर के पद का दुरुपयोग किया जाता है क्योंकि उसके खिलाफ इम्पीचमेंट का किसी को अधिकार नहीं है अकाउंटेबिलिटी किसी के प्रति नहीं है। सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज अकाउंटेबल है, प्रेजीडेंट अकाउंटेबल है, मिनिस्टर्स अकाउंटेबल है लेकिन गवर्नर अकाउंटेबल नहीं है। इस मशीनरी के चलते इस एजेंसी के जरिये दिल्ली की हुकूमत जसी चाहती है वैसी रिपोर्ट लेती है। एक और धारा 174(2) (बी) है जिसके अन्तर्गत गवर्नर को अधिकार है कि वह विधान सभा को डिसमिस कर सकता है। इस धारा के तहत वह किसी राज्य की विधान सभा को डिसमिस कर सकता है। धारा 356 के तहत प्रेजीडेंट विधान सभा को डिसमिस करता है और 174(2) (बी) में तो गवर्नर मुओमोटो भी डिसमिस कर सकता है अगर प्रेजीडेंट नहीं भी चाहे और गवर्नर के मन में यदि आ जाए अगर वह कठपुतली हो तो वह विधान सभा को डिसमिस कर सकता है। हमारे बिहार में यह 1971 में हो गया। 1971 में जब बंगलादेश का युद्ध हुआ और वहां हमारी जीत हो गई और 18 दिसम्बर को सीज़फायर हो गया तो उसका पोलिटिकल लाभ लेने के लिए सेंट्रल

पालियामेंटरी कांग्रेस पार्टी ने फैसला किया कि बिहार में चुनाव कराए जाएं और बिहार में चुनाव कराने की बात को लेकर उसने वहां के मुख्य मंत्री को बुलाया गवर्नर को कहा कि तुम डिसमिस करो और 174(2)(ब) के तहत बिहार की विधान सभा को भंग कर दिया गया और फिर उस भंग किये हुए को दोबारा धारा 356 के अन्दर भंग किया गया। मतलब यह कि एक मुर्गी को दो बार हलाल किया गया। बिहार अस्सेम्बली 30 दिसम्बर, 1971 को एक बार भंग की गई और फिर उसी को 10 जनवरी को फिर डिसमिस किया गया 356 के तहत। अब आप यह देख लीजिये कि यह भारत के संविधान और गवर्नर के पद का कितना दुरुपयोग किया गया है। महोदय, मैं इस पर इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं और मैं चाहता हूं कि इस रेजोल्यूशन के जरिए मैं बहुत विनम्रतापूर्वक आगे आने वाली पीढ़ी के लिए कहना चाहता हूं कि यहां सदन में इस पर विचार हो और गवर्नर के पद को भी एकाउंटेबल बनाया जाए और उसको भी इंपीचमेंट के अन्दर लाया जाए। आज ऐसी स्थिति में हैं समझ लीजिए कल हमारी सरकार हो जाए और आपकी सरकार बन जाए महा-राष्ट्र में... (व्यवधान) फर्ज करिए कि अगर ऐसा हो जाए ?

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** सावन के अंधे को हरा ही नजर आता है।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह :** ऐसा मत बोलिए। हो सकता है कि हम फिर वही इस्तेमाल करें तो यह बहुत बुरा है। हमारी सरकार करे या आपकी सरकार करे लेकिन यह जम्हूरियत के खिलाफ है। महोदय, यहां डेमोक्रेसी के बारे में बहुत बात-चीत की गई। गवर्नर का पद तो नोमीनेटेड है ही, इसकी नियुक्ति होती है इसलिए इसका दुरुपयोग तो होता ही है लेकिन जो पद चुनाव से आता था उस पद को भी ये लोग नोमीनेटेड कर दें, उस पद को भी नियुक्त कर दें ट्रांसफर और पोस्टिंग की तरह से कर दें तो यह ठीक नहीं कहा जा सकता। किसी सूबे का मुख्य मंत्री उस सूबे का नेता हुआ करता

था लेजिस्लेचर पार्टी का नेता चुनाव के जरिए हुआ करता था तथा सूबे की जनता का उसमें विश्वास होता था और आस्था होती थी लेकिन अब मैं क्या कहूं, दुबे जी यहां हैं। ये बिहार के सम्माननीय नेता हैं। कैसे हुआ, ट्रांसफर हो गई। इनको बिहार से ट्रांसफर करके दिल्ली ला दिया और यहां से दूसरे आदमी का रातों-रात बिहार में पोस्टिंग कर दिया।

**अम मंत्री (श्री विदेश्वरी दुबे) :** मैंने रिजाइन किया है।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह :** रिजाइन तो आपने किया ही, इस्तीफा तो आपने जरूर दिया लेकिन यह सब कैसे हुआ इसे सब लोग समझते हैं। दिल्ली की हकूमत ने ट्रांसफर किया और पोस्टिंग किया इसमें दो राय नहीं हैं और न ही इसमें कोई छिपाने की बात है। इसे सारे देश की जनता जानती है। लेकिन यह अच्छी बात नहीं है। अगर वोट लेने की बात होती तो आप जीतते, आपकी मेजोरिटी वहां थी इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। लेकिन जिसकी पोस्टिंग बिहार में हुई उसकी हालत और भी खराब है। तीन महीने में ही इतनी खराब है कि कुछ कहा नहीं जा सकता और मैं उसमें जाना नहीं चाहता हूं। मैं केवल इस बात को कहना चाहता हूं कि आप जनतंत्र की बात मत करो कि हम बहुत डेमोक्रेसी चाहते हैं, हम बहुत डेमोक्रेसी चाहते हैं। डेमोक्रेसी तुम क्या चाहते हो? जो चुनाव का पद है उसको भी नियुक्ति का पद बना दिया गया है। यहां हमारे गुजरात के भूत-पूर्व मुख्य मंत्री जी बैठे हुए हैं इनका वहां अपार बहुमत था, लोकप्रिय नेता थे और इनको जबरन हटा दिया गया तथा यहां भेज दिया और किसी दूसरे को वहां बना दिया। यह तो ऐसे हो रहा है कि जैसे ट्रांसफर एंड पोस्टिंग वाली बात हो। इस लिए जनतंत्र को तो आप खत्म कर रहे हैं।... (व्यवधान) हम तो साफ-साफ बोलने वाले आदमी हैं। अपनी गलती भी कहेंगे और आपकी गलती भी कहेंगे। इसलिए हम कोई पक्ष वाली बात नहीं बोलते। जब भी बोलता हूं तो इसलिए बोलता हूं कि इसे लोग आगे भी

[श्री राम अवधेश सिंह]

पढ़ेंगे और सुनेंगे कि यह क्या बोलते हैं। महोदय, तो मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि तामिलनाडु में जो नाटक खेला जा रहा है... (व्यवधान)

श्री महेन्द्र प्रसाद (बिहार) : कर्पूरी जी का बहुमत था और राम सुन्दर दास जी को लाया गया।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : : यही सारी चीजें जनतंत्र की नींव को कमजोर कर रही है, लेकिन कर्पूरी जी और राम सुन्दर दास जी में एक चुनाव हुआ और उसमें 15-16 वोट इनको कम आ गए। जो भी हुआ लेकिन चुनाव हुआ और वोटिंग हुई। यह जरूर है कि वह ज्यादा क्वाली-फाईड थे, ज्यादा सक्षम थे और इसे सब लोग जानते हैं। फिर भी जनतंत्र का तकाजा था और उसमें वोटिंग हुई। हमारा आप पर चार्ज है कि आप धीरे-धीरे जो जम्हूरियत की चीजें हैं उनको समाप्त कर रहे हैं। जहां वोट से तय होता है वहां उसको आप नोमिनेट कर रहे हैं, उन्का आप नोमिनेट कर रहे हैं, एपायंट कर रहे हैं, ट्रांसफर कर रहे हैं, पोस्टिंग कर रहे हैं। यह काम आपके लिए आपकी नींव खोदेगा और आपकी ही नहीं, पूरे देश की जम्हूरियत पर कुठाराघात करेगा। केवल आपकी नींव खोदे तो बात अलग है, लेकिन यह पूरे देश की जम्हूरियत की नींव खोदने वाला है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय) :  
आप अब समाप्त करें।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : माननीय तन्काबालू ने हर बार अपने भाषण में घुमा-फिरा कर कामराज का नाम लिया है, जिससे बंटवारा हो गया, जिससे अलगाव हो गया। अब जैसे हमारे यहां भोजपुरी में कहावत है कि अपना तो सत्यानाश कर दिया, कुछ नहीं था, खाने को नहीं था, हमारे यहां एक आदमी कांधे पर सिकरी लेकर घूमता था किसी ने कहा

कि क्यों सिकरी लेकर घूमते हो? कहा कि हमारे दादा का हाथी था। तुम्हारे दादा का हाथी था, तुम्हारा क्या है? कहा कि हमारे तो द्वार पर खाट भी नहीं है बैठने को। खाट भी नहीं है बैठने को दरवाजे पर, लेकिन दादा का हाथी था, इसलिए सिकरी लेकर चारों तरफ घूमा करता था कि देखो, हमारे दादा का हाथी था। उसी तरह से कामराज के किए हुए काम को आप बार-बार भुना रहे हैं कि कामराज ने यह किया, कामराज ने वह किया। कामराज तो तुमको लात मारकर अलग हो गए, कामराज ने तो तुमको लतिया दिया, अपनी अलग आइडेंटिटी कायम की।

वर्मा (श्रीमती) नजमा हेपतुल्ला :  
राम अवधेश सिंह जी, यह सिकरी क्या होता है?

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : हाथी का पैर बांधने वाला, हाथी का पैर बांधकर रखने वाला। वह कहता था कि हमारे दादा का हाथी था और ऐसा कहता फिरता था। उसी ढंग से आप लोग दादा का हाथी है, कामराज-कामराज की शरण में आकर अपना बचाव करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन उससे आपका बचाव होने वाला नहीं है।

एक बात और कही माननीय तन्काबालू ने, महोदय, कि कांग्रेस पावर नहीं चाहती। कांग्रेस पावर नहीं चाहती, आप देखिए, यह तो "सौ चूहे खाकर बिल्ली हज को चली" वाली बात है। आप कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस पावर नहीं चाहती पावर के लिए आप कौनसा पाप नहीं कर सकते हो, कौनसा कुकर्म नहीं कर सकते हो? इस का तो आसाम का चुनाव गवाह है, 1983 का आसाम का चुनाव इस बात का गवाह है।

महोदय, एक बात और उठाना चाहता हूँ, जिसे आप अंतिम समझ लें। आप लोगों को भी और अपने सभी लोगों के लिए मैं यह कह रहा हूँ।

[उपसभापति पीठासीन हुई]

महोदया, इस समय देश में एक बहुत अहम डिबेट चली है कि देश में जनतंत्र चलेगा या नहीं, जनतंत्र बचेगा या नहीं बचेगा। इस पर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि शासक दल का संविधान अगर खुद गैर-जनतांत्रिक हो तो क्या देश का संविधान जनतांत्रिक रह पाएगा क्योंकि शासक दल का संविधान है, जिसमें 21 बकिंग कमेटी में 14 नोमिनेटेड है, मनोनयन है, जबकि निर्वाचन जनतंत्र की आत्मा है और मनोनयन जनतंत्र का खातमा है। आप जहां मनोनयन चलाओगे वहां आप समझते हैं कि जनतंत्र चलेगा? जिस परिवार, जिस गिरुह या जिस ग्रुप के हाथ में एक बार सत्ता आ जाएगी उसके हाथ से न दल सत्ता निकलेगी और न राज सत्ता निकलेगी। इस विषय पर देश को पूरी गंभीरता से विचार करना चाहिए। मैं विरोधी पक्ष के लोगों से भी कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि आज ये लोग भी जिस तरह कांग्रेस का प्रेसीडेंसियल फार्म आफ कांस्टिट्यूशन है, उसी ढंग से वे भी प्रेसीडेंसियल फार्म आफ कांस्टिट्यूशन बना रहे हैं। उसी का यह नतीजा है कि पावर सिकुड़ते सिकुड़ते एक आदमी के हाथ में आ रही है। यह खतरनाक है। अगर कोई भी दल प्रेसीडेंसियल फार्म आफ कांस्टिट्यूशन बनाएगा और यहां कहेगा कि पालियामेंटरी फार्म आफ कांस्टिट्यूशन चले तो यह नहीं चल सकता है। आज प्रतिपक्ष अगर प्रेसीडेंसियल फार्म आफ कांस्टिट्यूशन चलाएगा तो जनतंत्र खतरे में पड़ जाएगा और आनेवाली पीढ़ी इस बात की भर्त्सना करेगी।

उपसभापति महोदया, मैं डा. लोहिया की उक्ति से अपनी बात खत्म करूंगा। उन्होंने कहा था, “शासक दल की तिलभर की गलती, प्रतिपक्ष की पहाड़भर की गलती से भारी होती है।” क्योंकि शासक दल अगर कोई गलती करता है तो उससे देश को भारी नुकसान हो सकता है। हमारी विदेश नीति को, व्यापार को, एकोनोमी को नुकसान हो सकता है। इसलिए जब भी आप आक्षेप करो तो यह बात हमेशा आपके दिमाग में रहनी चाहिए। मैं अंत में यही कहना चाहता हूँ और यह जो रिजोल्यूशन है, मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ। इन्हें उम्मीद थी कि हम

छैः महीने में वातावरण बना लेंगे और चुनाव करा लेंगे लेकिन इनकी जोड़ताड़ सफल नहीं हो पाई। आप अपनी जोड़-तोड़ के लिए यदि चुनाव टाल देंगे तो यह संविधान के प्रावधान के साथ मजाक होगा। लेकिन मैं आप को बर्न करना चाहता हूँ कि खेतों में, खलिहानों में जो लोग हैं वे हमारी ओर देख रहे हैं। गांवों में, जंगलों में, पहाड़ों में, कंदराओं में आज यह आवाज उठने लगी है कि वोट का दुरुपयोग किया जा रहा है। कोर्ट में न्याय नहीं मिल रहा है। वोट, कोर्ट मुर्दाबाद के नारे लगने लगे हैं। हम लोग डा. लोहिया और गांधी के अनुयायी हैं। अगर आप संविधान के प्रावधान का मजाक बनाएंगे, उसे अपने ढंग से इंटरप्रेट करेंगे राजनीतिक वातावरण अपने अनुकूल बनाने के लिये संविधान के प्रावधान को ठेल देंगे तो यह ठीक नहीं है। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि आर्टिकल-356 में जो यह है कि “अनलेस रिवोकड” — यह शब्द हटाने के लिये सरकार एक बिल लाये और यदि वह नहीं लाये तो प्रतिपक्ष के लोग लायें। गवर्नर को एकाउटेबल बनाया जाय, उस पर इम्पीच करने का अधिकार संविधान में संशोधन कर के लाया जाये।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि चाहे जितने भी दांव-पेंच हो जायें लेकिन तमिलनाडु में दुनिया की कोई भी ताकत कांग्रेस को सत्ता में नहीं ला सकती है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I request the hon. Member to be very brief in their speeches because after this the Minister will reply and there is another statement by the hon. Minister and there will be clarifications. So, please try to be brief.

श्री राम चन्द्र विक्रम : (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
उपसभापति महोदया, मैं माननीय गृह मंत्री द्वारा जो संकल्प प्रस्तुत है उसका समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। साथ ही विपक्ष की तरफ से बहुत से सवाल डेमोक्रेसी के नाम से उपस्थित हुये। अटल जी की इस सच्चाई के बाद 1977 की घटना मैं याद तो नहीं दिलाना चाहता

[श्री रामचन्द्र विकल]

था जो उन्होंने खुद कह दी, शायद उसी की बदौलत उधर आ बैठे। पर एक सचचाई यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि लोकसभा के चुनाव का असेम्बली से क्या संबंध था, यह मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ? 9 राज्यों की कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट लोकसभा के चुनाव की वजह से हटा दी, जनता ने जो असेम्बली बनाई हुई थी तो वह कारण मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। दूसरी बात और कहना चाहता हूँ डेमोक्रेसी के हिमायतियों से कि गवर्नर की रिपोर्ट 9 राज्यों में कहीं भी नहीं मंगाई जब असेम्बली तोड़ी गई, हम गवर्नर की रिपोर्ट को मंगाने रहे। कोई भी फैसला हुआ राज्यपाल की रिपोर्ट के बगैर कभी भी नहीं हुआ। उस वक्त 9 राज्यों की असेम्बली तोड़ने में जनता राज ने गवर्नर की रिपोर्ट मंगाई ही नहीं, फैसला दे दिया। यह डेमोक्रेसी का तर्क नहीं है। मैं एक तर्क और देना चाहता हूँ। ऐसा भी हमने कभी नहीं किया आज तक। चिकमगलूर से जीती इंदिरा गांधी की सदस्यता लोकसभा से भंग कर देना, ऐसा हमने नहीं किया। विपक्ष के सदस्यों ने बहुत सी बातें कही हैं, समय नहीं है, मैं कहना चाहता था दिल खोलकर कि डेमोक्रेसी में हमारा विश्वास विपक्ष से कहीं कम नहीं है। हम भी डेमोक्रेसी चाहते हैं हर तरह से।

मैं उपेन्द्र जी के उस आक्षेप में सहमत नहीं हूँ। एक लीडर होकर के इतनी हल्की बात यहां कह देना उस व्यक्ति के लिये जो सदन में उपस्थित भी नहीं है, गंभीर आरोप करप्शन का लगा दिया करोड़ों रुपये का। यह आक्षेप है गृहमंत्री जी उसके बारे में बोलेंगे, मैं कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता। अलादी अरुणा और अनेक सदस्य जो बोले, उनका जो जोश-खरोश और नाराजगी और परेशानी है उससे मुझे अंदाजा हुआ कि कांग्रेस का पलड़ा वहां भारी है, तभी तो उनकी नाराजगी है। कांग्रेस वहां भी पापुलर होने जा रही है। उसकी वजह से उन्हें कुछ चिन्ता, कुछ परेशानी, कुछ घबराहट है। वे मिलकर चुनाव लड़ेंगे या नहीं लड़ेंगे यह तो वे लोग जानें लेकिन कांग्रेस पार्टी का जो फसला है वह तो हमारे लीडर और पार्टी जाने, लेकिन चुनाव जल्दी होने चाहिये इसका हमने भी

समर्थन किया, हमारी पार्टी ने भी समर्थन किया, इसमें तो कोई विवाद है ही नहीं। जो कारण हमारे गृहमंत्री जी ने दिये वे कारण तो थे। तो जो स्टेप 6 महीने बढ़ाने का इसको, जिसकी कि 30 तारीख को मियाद खत्म हो रही है राष्ट्रपति जी ने भी कहा कि जल्दी चुनाव कराने चाहिये। लेकिन राष्ट्रपति जी जिस परिस्थिति में कहा था, वे परिस्थितियां बदल गई तमिलनाडु के हालात से। चाहे वे शिक्षा के आन्दोलन, कर्मचारियों के आन्दोलन और चाहे जो जातियों के आन्दोलन हैं उनकी वजह से बदली हों। हमारी सरकार जल्दी चुनाव कराये और विपक्ष ने कहा गृहमंत्री से कि कोई तारीख मुकर्रर कर दो लेकिन चुनाव की तारीख तो इलैक्शन कमीशन मुकर्रर करेगा, गृहमंत्री क्या कर सकते हैं। इलैक्शन कमीशन जल्दी चुनाव कराये, यह उनकी मांग होनी चाहिये और जल्दी से जल्दी चुनाव हो जायें यह हम भी सिफारिश करते हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं जो संकल्प गृह मंत्री जी का है, उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Madam, I stand to oppose the Motion put forward by the Minister of State for Home Affairs for the simple reason that the Leftists are vehemently opposed to this Article 356 which authorises the Central Government to take-over the administration of any of the constituent States. In this particular case, when originally the President's Rule was imposed in order to hold the elections as early as possible, nothing was done to hold the elections. And 6.00 PM now taking advantage of that inaction a proposal has been put forward in the House to further extend the President's rule in the State because of the changes in the Constitution. The reason for this proposal was made bare by the speakers from the Congress(I) side. Mr. Ramamurthy made it clear that the President's rule was the Congress rule and the people of Tamil Nadu had come to realise the benefit of the Congress rule and they are looking

forward to the Congress rule in their State. Another lady Member made a detailed enumeration of the advantages accruing to the State because of the President's rule. Her speech actually suggested that the President's rule should be perpetuated in Tamil Nadu. But since the Constitution, as it is, does not allow that, the extension for a very limited period has been sought because everybody is aware that in Tamil Nadu whatever may be the development made by the President's rule, even Mr. Rajiv Gandhi stayed there for more than a couple of days, but they have not been able to create any sentiment or emotion in favour of the Congress (I) at least. In whose favour ultimately it goes, that has to be decided actually through the elections. Therefore, what is urgent and what is imperative is the holding of the elections as early as possible.

While opposing this proposal, I am quite aware of the compulsion of circumstances which has come before the House at a time when without some concrete proposals from this House there will be a complete vacuum in the State, which naturally is not possible. I think it is because of that while opposing the proposal, that Dr. Subramanian Swamy and another Member suggested 15th September and 31st August as the dates up to which the President's rule should be extended, knowing fully well that the ruling party won't be in a reasonable frame of mind. They are now trying to fish in the troubled waters of Tamil Nadu. They are trying to destabilise the existing political parties and trying to reap benefit out of it. And as long as they won't be in a position to win the elections, the President's rule may not be lifted. An hon. Member from Congress(I) benches, hailing from Tamil Nadu made boast to say that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi would be enough to win the elections in Tamil Nadu. If this was the real perception of these Members of the ruling party then what prevented them from holding elections? Is it

the strike by the teachers, strike by the Government employees or some movement by other sections? Such movements will always be there in the country. I have no doubt that in Tamil Nadu even if there are no strikes and movements, the Congress(I) will not be able to win the elections. Therefore, without taking shelter behind such worthless pretexts, the Government of India should own up that this Resolution has been brought forth in order to enable the Congress-I party to win the election in that State, as has been declared by some of the defenders of this Resolution. Let the Minister of State for Home Affairs own it up. Thank you.

**SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM:** Madam Deputy Chairman, I would have wished to speak in Tamil, but in deference to the latter-day friend of the Tamils, Mr. Subramanian Swamy, whose knowledge of Tamil, I believe, is rather inadequate, I think I should speak in English.

**SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:** Is your English good?

**SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM:** Good enough to make myself understood though not good enough to make you understand.

Madam, I was greatly touched by Vajpayeeji's advice, but I would most humbly submit, it is not possible for someone like Vajpayeeji to understand what it is to be a Tamil today in Tamil Nadu. I do not know how often he visits Tamil Nadu. He charged that I visit Tamil Nadu often. I do not hide it. I visit Tamil Nadu; I also visit Punjab. These are two States which are under President's rule and, therefore, I believe that there is a duty upon someone in the Home Ministry to visit these two States as often as necessary, so that we will know what is happening in these States. We can try to help the administration; we can ensure that the administration delivers the goods to the people.

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I have no hesitation in agreeing with my friend, Upendraji, Mr. Swaminathan and several others. A good government is no substitute for self-government. It is not our philosophy; it is not our policy that President's rule will do what self-government will not do. In fact, each one of us has a personal view. It is not one's personal view which matters. What matters is the collective judgment which people, charged with the duty of making that judgment, arrive at. On the 28th of January, on that black day when a government which, in my view, had usurped power was defeated on the floor of the Legislative Assembly, it is not the Congress Party alone which voted against that Government. The DMK voted against that Government and that is hailed as a vote on principle. The CPM voted against that Government and that is hailed as a vote on principle. It was the Congress which had the largest number after that party which was in power at that time with about 64 members. If the Congress decides to vote against that Government which Congress believes—rightly or wrongly—had usurped power and did not command majority, that is decried as a vote which is not a vote on principle. We voted on principle, and it is the people who will judge the correctness or otherwise of that decision. Fortunately, that decision does not have to be approved by this House or the other House. The performance of the President's rule does not have to be approved in this House or in the other House. That is a decision which rests only with the people and people alone will make that decision.

I started by saying that Vajpayeeji really does not understand; not that he cannot; but he does not have the opportunity to understand what it is to be a Tamil in Tamil Nadu. After twenty years, Vajpayeeji, we have a Government which is working. (*Interruptions*) I am not saying that at

no time....(*Interruptions*) I did not interrupt you, Mr. Aladi Aruna. May I expect the same courtesy from you?

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: It is not your monopoly to give false information.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I can give my view as much as you can. I interrupted Upendraji but with a purpose. I am sorry I interrupted. But otherwise I would have had to raise it after he concluded. I did not interrupt any other speaker.

After twenty years, we have a Government which is working in the right direction. It is not a Congress Government. I do not claim any credit for the Congress Party in this regard. But inevitably, it is seen as a reflection of the Central Government and since the Central Government is run by the Congress Party, it is seen as a reflection of the Congress Party. Whatever good is done will naturally, to some extent, go to the credit of the Congress Party and whatever faults are there in the Government will also go to the Congress Party. I know what President's Rule is. We had President's Rule in Tamil Nadu in 1976. That was a year of very bad drought. There was tremendous performance. Yet I knew then and I know now that President's Rule never brings long-term credit to the party in power at the Centre. It is not as though we do not know that. It is not as though we are blind to this fact. It is not as though we think that the longer the rule by bureaucrats and administrators, the greater will be the credit to the political party in power at the Centre. We are conscious of that. Yet, as I said, it is not my view, it is not his view, it is not anybody's view which matters. What matters is the collective judgement of those who are charged with the responsibility of running the Government in the State.

To be a Tamil in Tamil Nadu today, Vajpayeeji, means that for the first time your children are admitted

to schools and colleges without having to pay a bribe. I can show you letters which parents have written saying 'If you are holding elections, please hold the elections after July, after the admission season is over'. To be a Tamil in Tamil Nadu today is to get your anti-poverty programmes off the ground and get some implementation done. I still recall that in early 1987, after I toured several districts in Tamil Nadu including my own, which had been badly affected, I called on the then Chief Minister, the late Shri M. G. Ramachandran. After speaking at great length about various things, I told him 'There is one important thing which you have to do'. I told him 'Every year, the drought relief measures commenced only in the month of July or August; you cannot do that this year; please issue instructions that the drought relief measures should commence in February to March so that the impact will be felt in April and May when the worst period of drought will hit Tamil Nadu'. I must say to his credit that he called his PA. In his own way, he made his PA call one of his officers and conveyed to him that the drought relief measures must start in February or March. But last year, perhaps, because he was very ill, perhaps, because he was not able to move or he was not able to talk or he was not able to discuss, we went through a bad period of drought while the administration simply did not rise to the occasion to meet the immediate needs of the people.

Today, after we decided the Plan allocation for this year at Rs. 1,457 crores, which is 16.5 per cent more than that of last year, work has started on the 15th April and I know, in my district and in the neighbouring districts, much of the work is already over. For example, under the Indira Housing Scheme, group housing scheme for the Harijans, much of the target is already complete. In fact, my fear, my apprehension, is that all the money for the anti-poverty programmes will be spent by the month

of November-December and there may not be any activity in January, February and March which are the last three months of the financial year.

To be a Tamil in Tamil Nadu today is to be able to get your grievances redressed. It is not as though all grievances are redressed. But the machinery is working today. To be a Tamil in Tamil Nadu today is to get your small demands, which have been pending for years, met. I shall give you an example. One of the towns in my constituency is connected to another town in my constituency. There is a bridge whose life was 40 to 50 years. The bridge was built in 1920 or 1930s. The life of the bridge was over. It takes a heavy load of traffic. The file had been moving up and down for the last 20 years and, I am not exaggerating, that file was cleared by the Governor, that is one of the 3000 odd files that were cleared. I am not apportioning blame. My friends, Mr. Aladi Aruna and Mr. Swaminathan, should not think that I am apportioning blame. What happened is, good government followed by a very long and bad phase. Today, after 20 years the Tamil Nadu people are taking stock of what happened and they are preparing for the next government which will have to come, whether we wish it or not. It is a constitutional obligation, it has to come soon. As I said again, it is not the personal view of 'A' or 'B' which matters, it is a collective judgement to which I will come a little later. So, Vajpayeeji, bear with me. I think I know my people, I think I know the people of Tamil Nadu. I travel around I address people, I speak to people. Today the people of Tamil Nadu are not mentally ready for an election. The people of Tamil Nadu today want consolidation, the people of Tamil Nadu today want stability, the people of Tamil Nadu today want the administration to be put back on the rails before elections can be held. It is true I spoke in major meeting in Trichy. I spoke in Trichy that

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elections will come any day after 56 days which was the time for electoral rolls. Let me take the House into confidence, Madam. When Mr. Siddhu was appointed Adviser, the advisers and officers came and we insisted that they go through the revision very quickly. If you will consult the Election Commission, they will tell you that the Government of India put pressure on the Election Commission to complete the revision of the electoral rolls quickly and the electoral rolls were to be completed by 56 days. I spoke and I said that the elections are likely to come any time after that date. In fact, I would have been happy if the elections had come. On the 28th January, even when the Legislative Assembly of Tamil Nadu had been dead-locked, at 12 noon Mr. K. N. Singh, General Secretary AICC, was the first person speaking for a major political party to demand that the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly should be dissolved and elections should be held immediately. Again, breaking with precedent, when we imposed President's rule, an announcement was made adding a statement that we want elections to be held as soon as possible. In fact, none would have been happier than I and the Congress Party and Government of India if elections had been held within the first period of six months, if elections had been held in May or June as soon as electoral rolls were ready. But then what happened? What happened is, the Tamil Nadu Elementary School Teachers Federation organised a token fast in front of Taluk officers, held rallies and demonstrations from the 1st of May to the 7th of May. JACTTEA, the Joint Action Committee, attempted to picket collectorates and the Secretariat from 2nd May to 6th May. The Tamil Nadu Elementary School Teachers Federation organised similar picketing of collectorates from the 9th of May to the 13th of May. In this agitation 25,403 teachers of the Federation, 12,346 teachers and 6,016 employees belonging to JACTTEA were arrested and later

released. The Federation resorted to a stay—in strike of teachers from the 2nd of June to the 15th of June and called for an indefinite strike from the 16th of June. This is what happened in May and June. A Committee of Secretaries was appointed by the Governor consisting of Finance Secretary, Secretary (Personnel and Administrative Reforms) and Secretary (Education), to hold talks with the employees' associations. They held three rounds of talks in May and June 1988. These were not successful. Subsequently the Chief Secretary held discussions with all associations on 16th of June and again on the 19th of June. Based on these discussions, an interim relief of Rs. 70 and a decision to set up the Pay Commission were announced on the 19th of June. Two unions which we believe have the largest following—the Tamilnadu Government Officers Union and the Tamilnadu Elementary School Teachers Federation—accepted the offer and agreed not to go on strike.

Later on, perhaps due to other compulsions—and I am not attributing motives—one of them went back on their word and joined the strike on 4th July, 1988. The Governor and his Advisers are experienced administrators. Dr. Alexander, M. Ramakrishna, Dr. Sidhu and Mr. Padmanabhan are very senior administrators and I do not think anyone here or elsewhere has said anything about them, about their independence, about their reputation as administrators, about their honesty. They collectively took a decision roundabout 20th of June that it was not possible to hold elections because the crucial date for taking that decision was 20th June. They took a decision after seeing what happened in May-June, that it is not possible to hold elections and they have been in correspondence with the Government, they have been in touch with us and finally the Governor sent his report saying that in view of these events, in view of these happenings, it is not possible to hold elections in Tamilnadu before 30th of July, 1988.

That is why we have come before this august House asking for continuance of President's rule.

As I said, one has to trust the collective judgement of those who have been charged with the duty of making that decision. They have come to a decision, the Government has accepted their judgement, the Government has advised the President and the President has been pleased to accept it and we are coming forward with this Resolution to continue President's rule.

Mr. Subramanian Swamy and I think Mr. Maran made a point "why should you extend it by six months"? I agree that we need not extend it by six months. But the Constitution obliges that if President's rule is continued, it shall continue for six months unless earlier revoked. There is no other way in which this Resolution can be framed.

**SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:** You announce the date of the election.

**SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM:** Therefore your amendment is out of order. The only way in which this Resolution can be framed is to ask for the continuance of President's rule for a period of six months and when the persons who are charged with the duty of taking the decision take the decision to hold the election, certainly if it falls within Six months, and I believe it will, we will come before this House asking for revocation of the Proclamation. But I have to follow article 356(4). I cannot bring a Resolution contrary to the terms of article 356(4). This then is the background.

Madam, the debate has covered much wider ground. We have heard "political" speeches, we have heard "economic" speeches, I believe the "economics" which he narrated is what is described in a country which he is more familiar with, as voodoo economics. I do not wish to dwell at great length on the political situation or on

the economic situation of Tamilnadu. But I have to answer some of the points which have been made because this is a matter of great importance and concern to the people of Tamilnadu.

Madam, let me first touch upon the political situation. The teachers went on strike, the Government servants went on strike. Fortunately, all that I have said, all that the President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, Mr. Moopnar, has said is in print and no paper has misquoted us, not even papers which are not usually friendly to us. From day one, we said we understand the gravity of your Problem, we know why you find yourself in such a situation, but the Governor says and the budget speech says that we have a deficit of Rs. 327 crores and an interim relief of Rs. 70 will add to the deficit by another Rs. 80 crores. There is no way in which a non-representative government can levy taxes and therefore the resolution of this problem would have to await the constitution of a Pay Commission and a decision by a popular government. Now I ask Vajpayeeji, I ask honourable Members belonging to all parties, was this a fair and balanced approach by the Governor or not? Let us, for a moment, keep political motives out of this. Let us ask ourselves, is it a fair and balanced approach of the Governor or not? He offered interim relief, he offered to set up a Pay Commission, he offered to refer the question of parity to the Pay Commission, he offered to refer the question of bonus to the Pay Commission, and he said "I would like to give you more but I have no money. My deficit is now Rs. 407 crores. I will appoint a Pay Commission and let the Pay Commission give its report, and a popular Government will take a decision."

Madam, a lot of debate was there. I am sure, anything that I say will only spark off a controversy, but facts cannot be denied. What are the facts? There was an agitation in 1973. I can

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quote what the then Chief Minister said in the Legislative Assembly. I can quote what the then Education Minister said in the Legislative Assembly. It just so happens that the then Chief Minister and the then Education Minister are in different parties today. So, I will not only raise the hackles of one party but I will raise the hackles of two parties if I quote them. But the point is, eight instalments of dearness allowance were denied to Government servants and that has accounted for this gap of about Rs. 400 to 500 between the State Government employees and Central Government employees. But this is accumulated injustice. This injustice did not come with Governor Alexander and it would not go with Governor Alexander. This injustice can be cured only by appointing a Pay Commission which will make a report. I can give you the dates on which the previous Pay Commissions were appointed. For the first time we have stipulated the date by which the Pay Commission shall give its report—a period of nine months—and, as Minister of Personnel in the Government of India, I have said, "Just as we took only 66 days to take a decision on the recommendations of the Fourth Pay Commission, without any general strike, without any general agitation. I promise the Government servants of Tamil Nadu, Government of India will ensure and fill persuade, whichever Government of India will ensure and will persuade, whichever Government is there on that day, to take a decision within a period of two months on the Pay Commission's report." This should have settled the matter. Unfortunately, it did not settle the matter. I can only blame my inadequate persuasive powers. I can only blame Shri Moopanar's inadequate persuasive powers. But our persuasive powers were pitted against the persuasive powers of certain others who were persuading people to con-

tinue the strike. While we persuading people to continue the strike. While we were persuading the people to come back so that the Administration is not dislocated, so that people do not suffer, there were others who were persuading people to continue the strike.

Madam, in the lexicon of Tamil politics, in 1973 a new phrase was coined. The Tamil phrase was *Irumbu Karam*—Iron Hand People of Tamil Nadu know who coined that phrase, who used that phrase and when that phrase was used. In 1973, teachers were asked to submit, in writing, an apology for making a demand and going on strike and only after they signed the apology letter were they released from jail and taken back to work. The Governor has done no such thing. The Governor has acted fairly.

Vajpayeeji, before you join others in condemning President's rule and continuance of President's rule, I would most humbly urge you, come with me to Tamil Nadu. Let us go together, let us address the same... (Interruptions). I say this because fortunately his party does not have a stake in Tamil Nadu, so that he can take an unbiased view of Tamil Nadu. I shall greatly welcome Upendrajai also: His party has no stake anywhere except in one State. You come with me, let us travel round and let us speak to the people. You address the people in English and I will translate you in Tamil. Let us talk to the people and see the response. I promise you, Vajpayeeji, today it is not to my linking. I believe in self-Government. I think self-Government is any day better than good Government. We believe in self-Government. But I promise you, you begin your speech, and when you praise President's rule you will get your first round of applause. That is the situation today. I can't help it. That is the kind of accumulated injustices of the last 20 years.

Mr. Subramanian Swamy recited a number of statistics. Well, I am grateful to him for the figures he gave. But statistics can always be selectively

used. In 1956 to 1961 the per capita Plan expenditure in Tamil Nadu—we are talking about the Kamaraj rule, the Kamaraj period now—the per capita Plan outlay in Tamil Nadu... (Interruptions)...

Wait a minute. I am coming to that. You missed the Plan. I am not going to miss any one.

It was Rs. 57 as against the all-India average of Rs. 51. In 1961 to 1966 it was Rs. 98 as against the all-India average of Rs. 92. Tamil Nadu at that time moved up, not to the fourth place as has been popularly said, but it was between 6th and 9th if you take the various heads—you cannot take a weighted average in these matters—under various parameters. Other States were far backward. Obviously, therefore, the Plan outlays in other States were increased to bring them up.

In the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Plans, Tamil Nadu's per capita outlay was marginally lower than the all-India average. This is the figure you cited. I have no quarrel with that figure. I accept that figure.

But in the Seventh Plan, from 1985 to 1990....

**SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:** We will have to see when reappraisal comes.

**SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM:** We can see that. This is the fourth year of that Plan. We already have the figures.

**SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM:** During the British period the Madras State's figure would be very higher than that of Calcutta and other States. Can you compare with that figure?

**SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM:** Tamil Nadu's per capita Plan outlay so far is Rs. 1,063 as against the all-India average of Rs. 1,026. That is the per capita Plan outlay. In the fourth year of the Plan the outlay is Rs. 1,457

crores which is 16.5 per cent increase over the last year's Plan outlay, Rs. 1,250 crores. The Annual Plan provides for an outlay of Rs. 502 crores for the power sector, Rs. 136 crores for agriculture and allied services, Rs. 247 crores for water supply, housing and urban development, Rs. 118 crores for social welfare and nutrition, Rs. 84 crores for transport and communication and Rs. 69 crores for industry and minerals. I can go, head by head, and tell you the increase under each head. The point is, Tamil Nadu is not being starved of any Central funds, Tamil Nadu is not being treated differently.

Yet, what is the situation of the Tamil Nadu economy in the last two decades? The last two decades have been a period of disappointing performance for the economy as a whole.

There is a rate of growth—I am sure Subramanian Swamyji will understand this better than I do—in the State domestic product. It is 2 per cent per annum which is below the all-India average. The agriculture sector has stagnated with a growth of only 11 per cent between 1970-71 and 1984-85. The manufacturing sector shows an uninspiring and in fact decelerating trend. The strong industrial base built up in the 50's and 60's has been allowed to wither with neither the traditional industries like textiles and engineering sustaining their growth nor the sun-rise industries, for example, chemicals and electronics making a strong entry. The only impressive growth has been in the public administration sector. This is on account of increasing Government staff both for general administration and for implementing populist programmes. The primary beneficiaries have been the employees.

**SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:** Do you mind one interruption? You have quoted the figures of the growth rates of the 20 years, you are talking of the last 20 years. It is well known—if you had learnt Economics at Harvard or anywhere else....

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Madam, he was trying to teach me, but I could not learn anything.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Whatever it is. Anybody knowing a little bit of Economics, would know that the growth rate in any period is due to the investments made in the period before that. There is a gestation lag. Because you stopped funds in the time the Congress was in power that is why in the 20 years the situation was much worse.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Madam, I am sure, nobody is wiser after Mr. Swamy's intervention. He is trying to teach Economics to others as he tried to teach me, I did not learn anything from him, and I am sure nobody has learnt anything today either.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, he is very poor in Economics. I can teach him.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: The Central Statistical Organisation has been publishing comparable estimates on per-capita SDP of the States in India since 1960s and the series is available upto 1975-80 at current prices. A scrutiny of this data, which is the most reliable one available for the purpose, reveals distinct evidence of slippage. Throughout the 60s the per-capita SDP of Tamil Nadu was above the All-India average, when Kamaraj and the Congress Government were there. It ranked among the fifteen major States that is, the States with the population of ten million or more, varying between six and eight. In the early 60s, the per-capita State Domestic Product (SDP) of Tamil Nadu was around 85 per cent of the State with the highest per-capita SDP. In contrast, in the decade between 1970 and 1980-1970-1980 are crucial dates which anyone familiar with Tamil Nadu's political history will understand—Tamil Nadu's per capita SDP exceeded the All-India average and that too marginally in only three years. Its rank among the

fifteen major States slipped to between seven and nine. And towards the end of the decade, the end of 1980, the proportion of per-capita SDP in Tamil Nadu to that of the State which had the highest per-capita SDP fell from 85 per cent to 50 per cent. In most years Tamil Nadu ranked below Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra Punjab and West Bengal and ranked above only Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. One way to describe it would be to say that Tamil Nadu was a leading State among the back-benchers. This is an analysis by one who was held in high esteem by the Government of that day; one who held the post of Finance Secretary during that Government.

Madam, I could go on. The per-capita rural income in Tamil Nadu is Rs. 578. In Karnataka, it is Rs. 1,074 and in Andhra Pradesh it is Rs. 1,093. I wish the two States well. I wish Tamil Nadu also well. I want Tamil Nadu to come up. Tamil Nadu's per capita taxation is the highest in India. The poverty proportion in Tamil Nadu is about 45 to 47 per cent. According to MGR's own statement in 1983, 180 lakhs of people were below the poverty line. My estimate from other figures, is that it is close to 225 lakhs i.e. 2.25 crore. Tamil Nadu's share of the labour force is 8.6 per cent. Tamil Nadu's share of the registered unemployed is about 16.4 per cent. So, Tamil Nadu has slipped in the last 20 years. There is no getting away from that fact. There had been periods of good administration, but the long-term trend is one of slippage and decline. People understand that. People understand that because their sons do not have jobs; their daughters do not have jobs.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: What about the other States?

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: What about the history of Uttar Pradesh? What about

the income of the people in Uttar Pradesh? What about the people who are below the poverty line there? It is the State which is producing Prime Ministers for the last forty years. (Interruptions)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: This is what is called cognitive dissonance. You don't want to face reality. Mr. Subramanian Swamy started by saying that the Governor's report is unreal. I think most of the speeches made on the other side were unreal. What is unreal? The reality of Tamil Nadu's pervasive poverty? The high poverty proportion? High unemployment?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Comparison is very unfair. I would say between 1947 and now there are many countries which got independence and if we compare them to India, they are far better off. Suppose I start comparing other countries with India under the Congress rule during the last so many years. It would look very awkward. Compare Japan, compare other countries and how had we have become under the Congress rule. Suppose I begin comparing other countries and compare your administration with theirs for so many years, then how do you react? (Interruptions)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: What about the three years of black Janata rule?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Madam, I have no doubt in my mind that such comparisons will be made and ought to be made. In fact, I would expect the national Opposition parties to make such a comparison, to mount such a campaign and go to the people and when such a national Opposition party is formed, in his long excursion, Mr. Swaminathan can join that party also.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I am very sorry, I wanted to convey an information here which may be permitted to

me because this was raised by another Member also and by Mr. Chidambaram himself. That is a wrong statement. I have never changed parties. I had been in Swatantra party till Rajaji's death. When Rajaji died I changed to Congress and after Congress I came to AIADMK party. The only party I changed was after Rajaji's death, every party, every person from Swatantra party came to the other party. That was the only case. When he said that I have changed parties, this is unfair of him. When Mr. Chidambaram was denied Congress party ticket to contest the elections he went away from Congress. He accused Mrs. Gandhi. Now he speaks for Mrs. Gandhi ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I apologise to Mr. Swaminathan for calling it a long excursion. It is a short excursion ... (Interruptions) ... Let me continue. Therefore Madam, today the Government is bringing back stability, bringing back some kind of order, bringing back some kind of discipline, bringing back some kind of direction to administration there. One major problem, I believe, has been settled. The teachers and Government servants' agitation has been settled to the satisfaction of the Unions. A Pay Commission has been appointed. The Pay Commission is expected to submit its report. But there is another problem, Vanniyar agitation. Again my friends from States in the North may not quite know the intensity of feelings that has been developed in Tamil Nadu over reservation and the denial of legitimate rights to the most backward people. Obviously, it is not possible for me to spend too much time on dealing with it. But let me say a few things. Madam, reservation for backward classes is a policy of the Congress party and, in fact, it is to implement that policy, the Constitution was first amended. It was interpreted in one of the earlier cases that you can make reservations only for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. There is a long history starting from what

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is known as a communal G.O. in Tamil Nadu. We have provided reservation to backward classes. It was challenged. It was struck down, I believe, by the High Court and the Supreme Court. I am not going into the details. Then, we brought reservation to socially and educationally backward classes of people. The Vanniyars are extremely backward people. If Mr. Vajpayee will accept my invitation to travel in Tamil Nadu we will first go to the districts which are populated by Vanniyars. They are extremely backward people. They are agricultural labourers. They are artisans. They live side by side with Harijans. This is an important point. They live side by side with Harijans in the same villages. They work on the same farms. They work for the same land-owning classes and their economic level and social level are not much higher than that of the Harijans. In fact, there was some community in Tamil Nadu which was characterised as criminal tribes. There is one community in my constituency where, because that community was branded as a criminal tribe, named persons from certain villages were required to sleep in the police stations during the night. The Nadars of Kamaraj district and Tirunelveli district were treated as badly as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, more or less like untouchables. In the last 70 or 80 years the Nadar community because of its commercial enterprise has come up in life. The point is that this community which essentially lives off the land is in extreme poverty, extreme destitution and in numerically very large and it has now found a sense of identity. I am not saying an identity with one caste or community is good. But they have now found a sense of identity and they have rebelled against the system. Again it is not the fault of this party or that party only. But when reservation was introduced in Tamil Nadu, this reservation was stepped up from time to time and

finally, Shri M. G. Ramachandran tried to introduce an economic criterion. There is an economic criterion in Kerala today. There is an economic criterion in Karnataka today. Shri M. G. Ramachandran introduced an economic criterion. But then there were protests from certain parties and the matter was litigated in court and finally he gave up the economic criterion and went back to reservation without any economic criterion. He raised the reservation for backward classes to 50 per cent. Today, in Tamil Nadu, there is 18 per cent reservation for Scheduled castes and 50 per cent for backward classes. But who gets the benefit of this reservation? The top layer of certain backward classes have taken the benefit of this reservation and the Vanniyars rebelled. I travelled in the districts with my colleague Mr. Ramamurthy. I spoke in centres which were the hottest spots of the agitation, where firing had taken place, where rioting had taken place. I told them that "rioting in streets and cutting down trees is not going to solve your problem. Your problem is a genuine problem. Just as we understand that backward communities have a certain kind of grievances which are different from Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes, Sir, the Congress Party, the State Government, the Central Government understands that the most backward communities have genuine problems vis-a-vis the other backward communities. This has to be settled by talks, by negotiations and by understanding their problems. Unfortunately what has queered the pitch is something which did not come out in the debate. What has queered the pitch is that the Vanniyar Sangam has openly proclaimed its its relentless opposition to one political party in Tamil Nadu. That may be right, that may be wrong, but that is a fact. The Vanniyar Sangam has said that whatever it does or does not do, it has set its face against one political party in Tamil Nadu. This has led to clashes in some places. This had led to exacerbation of

feelings between the Harijans and the Vanniyars. We cannot play with fire. Somebody quoted the example of Assam. Yes, we live and learn in Assam, in retrospect, it was a mistake to have held elections at that time because there was widespread violence at that time. We cannot take that kind of risk in Tamil Nadu. We are trying to restore balance and stability and some direction to the administration. Do we put all that in peril for the sake of some electoral gains? We have to sort it out. Whether we will sort it out, I cannot say. This is for the Governor to see. He has got a good team of advisers. He has got a good team of officers and I am sure, they will find a way as soon as possible. I hope, they would be able to find a way in which the feelings of Vanniyars are assuaged, their genuine grievances are noted, certain modalities are worked out—the final decision will always have to be by a popular Government—but some kind of solace and relief should be granted to the Vanniyars. We can do it in many ways. Mr. Ramamurthy mentioned about the appointments. Yes, it is a matter of immediate concern to me and I want to assure the Vanniyars and the people of Tamil Nadu that in appointments which are made to high offices in Tamil Nadu, we shall take into account the fact that Vanniyars are under-represented and we will try to find a way in which some of their grievances in that matter can be solved. Madam, it will take some time for them to sort it out and when they sort it out, that will also be behind us and then we can hold elections.

Madam, a question was asked, who is opposing elections? It is a very good question. I went through my record to see who is opposing elections. I found that nobody in the Congress Party is on record in Tamil Nadu as having pleaded for postponement of elections. Nobody has spoken. (Interruptions). But I can name some very eminent leaders of Tamil

Nadu belonging to other parties who have spoken publicly in favour of postponing elections. If names are to be said, I will give them.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Yes. Please name them.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Mr. S. Ramachandran has spoken...

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: At your instance, (Interruptions)

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM: You have asked them. Mr. Ramachandran and Mr. Tirunavukarasu are stooges of your party now. They are advocating your causes, (Interruptions).

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Mr. Ramachandran who was a dear and good friend of Mr. Aladi Aruna for the last nine or ten years, who was again a good friend of Mr. Maran for 20 years, has spoken so. And I do not want to attribute motives to Mr. Ramachandran. Mr. Sivaji Ganesan. You cannot call him our stooge. He has said that we should not hold elections today. I have got his speech. I know where he made his speech and what he said. Mr. Sivaji Ganesan has said so. In fact, madam, in a lighter vein, I think it will be unfair to hold elections now when one of the leaders of a party is convalescing in America and one of them is convalescing in India. In fact, I think we are doing a good turn to them by postponing elections. Another leader of a major party has again welcomed this postponement because it would give him an opportunity to script and write the screenplay for five films. What are they complaining about? None of them is aggrieved. Each one of them is either convalescing or is busy writing scripts and screenplays. I think they should do their jobs and the Governor will do his job. Each one of them should look after his work. The Governor and his Advisers will look after their work and bring back stability and direction to the State administration.

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Madam, a mention was made about political corruption. We do not have to go back to remote history or recent history. The Governor is trying to take a number of steps to cleanse the administration of corrupt elements. He has already taken some hard decisions. I sincerely hope that when he continues his drive against corruption, it will not bring out many skeletons from the cupboard. But if some skeletons are brought out of the cupboard, I am afraid, those who put the skeletons there will have to take their share of responsibility and blame. On one thing I think there has been a certain amount of remiss. In respect of the incidents on January 23 in the Assembly a case has been registered. I am afraid the investigation of that case has been tardy. I have requested the Chief Secretary to ensure that the investigation of that case is speeded up and those who entered the Legislative Assembly and indulged in the worst form of violence inside the Chamber—not Members of the House but people from outside—should be brought to book.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARU-NACHALAM;\* (Interruptions)

SHRI THINDIVANAM K. RAMA-MURTHY;\*

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARU-NACHALAM;\*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, Please. Please sit down. Sit down everybody. These will not go on record.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Therefore, Madam, this ... (Interruptions)

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARU-NACHALAM;\*,

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Nobody is allowed. Now stop it. Stop it. It is not going on record.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: It is not going on record. That is the only way to save Mr. Aladi Aruna. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is not your Tamil Nadu Assembly, Please. (Interruptions)

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARU-NACHALAM;\*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Those who were not Members of the Legislative Assembly but who had entered the Assembly and indulged in violence and injured MLAs belonging to whatever party have to be brought to book. We cannot allow a decision in the Legislative Assembly of any State to be determined by violence brought into the Chamber by outsiders. I am sure everybody agrees with this and we will take action. We will prosecute them. Finally a mention was made about cooperative elections. Again, one's views can differ on this. I only want to repeat: Yesterday the Home Minister made a statement in the Lok Sabha that he would speak to the Governor in this behalf and advise him to take a suitable decision. The Governor has since communicated that he is looking into the complaints which have been made and he will take a suitable decision. But, as I said, these are peripheral matters. What is important is to bring back stability and direction to the administration of the State. That is being done by Governor Alexander and I think it is unfair to denigrate the whole administration or attribute motives to them. In conclusion let me say what the opposition has said. They have said we have no future; they have said the Congress will never win; they have said the Congress can never come back to power. What are they worried about? We will not come back to power. If so, fine. People have kept us out of power for twenty years. But we have continued as a political party. We have not disintegrated in Tamil Nadu. Within fifteen days of the passing away of Shri M. G. Ramachandran whom I hold in high esteem, his party began to disintegrate. It is not the Congress Party's fault. If the disintegration of the Dravidian parties is an inevitable historical process, it is not the fault of the Congress...

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARU-  
NACHALAM: All these are splinter  
groups of Congress. They are the off-  
spring of Congress..

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: The Cong-  
ress Party in Tamil Nadu was in power  
for twenty years, was out of power for  
twenty years. During these forty years  
it has conducted itself with dignity. We  
have not tried to foment any agitation;  
we have not tried to foment any commu-  
nal trouble. We have accepted the fact  
that people have not voted us to power.  
One honourable Member from West Ben-  
gal—I am sorry, I am unable to recall his  
name—said, you were defeated three  
times in West Bengal you have no right  
to speak. If that principle applies, Shri  
Murasoli Maran and Shri Gopalsamy can-  
not speak either. The point is not that.  
The point is today, as Vajpayeeji said,  
we hold the administration of Tamil Nadu  
in trust. Have we discharged that trust  
reasonably well? Have we committed a  
breach of that trust? We have not com-  
mitted any breach of that trust. We have  
tried to bring stability and direction and  
some order to the very chaotic conditions  
which were there in Tamil Nadu.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I am grate-  
ful to the honourable Members for parti-  
cipating in this debate and sharing with  
us their views. I would still hope that  
after my reply they will see the reasons  
behind the Governor's report the logic  
of the situation, and support this Resolu-  
tion.

SHRI VIRENRA VERMA (Uttar  
Pradesh): May I seek a clarification?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: We are  
against this undemocratic, authoritative,  
Resolution. We are walking out.

(At this stage some honourable Mem-  
bers left the Chamber.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Earlier  
in a lighter vein I said something about  
the Tamil Nadu Assembly. I did not  
mean any disrespect or reflection on the

Assembly. It was said purely in a  
lighter vein and it may be treated so.

Now I am putting the amendments to  
vote. First Mr. Subramanian Swamy's  
amendment...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I  
have to say something on my amend-  
ment...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no;  
I cannot allow you now. I am putting  
the amendment to vote. The question  
is—

"That in the said Resolution for the  
words 'for a further period of six  
months with effect from the 30th July,  
1988' substitute the words 'up to the  
15th September, 1988'."

*The motion was negatived.*

7.00 P.M.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall  
now put the amendment moved by Shri  
Murasoli Maran to vote.

The question is:

"That in the said Resolution for the  
words 'for a further period of six  
months with effect from the 30th July,  
1988,' substitute the words 'up to the  
30th August, 1988'."

*The motion was negatived.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall  
now put the Resolution moved by Mr.  
Chidambaram to vote.

The question is:

"That this House approves the conti-  
nuance in force of the Proclamation  
issued by the President on the 30th  
January 1988, under article 356 of the  
Constitution, in relation to the State of  
Tamil Nadu, for a further period of six  
months from the 30th July, 1988."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The  
Ayes have it, the Ayes have it, the Ayes  
have it. The motion is adopted...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The Noes have it... (Interruptions)... The Noes have it... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It has already been passed. What can be done? ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I do not understand it... (Interruptions)... The question is that it has to be voted and I have to register my vote against it ... (Interruptions)... Why not? ... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Those who do not want the Resolution to be passed may please stand up.

SHRI M. KADHARSHA (Tamil Nadu): Madam, you are creating a new precedent. It is not correct... (Interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Where is the precedent for this? ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI M. KADHARSHA: This is not an elementary school for us to stand up ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: We want a Division and there is no other way. We ask for a Division and you have to order a Division and there is no other alternative ... (Interruptions)... Where is the rule for what you are saying? You give your ruling... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You see, I have no objection, but... (Interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I am pressing for a division. You give your ruling and I will abide by your ruling. Even if one Member says, "The Noes

have it.", you have to call for a Division. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You see. Rule 252(3) says:

"If the opinion of the Chairman as to the decision of a question is challenged, he may, if he thinks fit, ask the members who are for "Aye" and those for "No" respectively to rise in their places and, on a count being taken, he may declare the determination of the Council. In such a case,..." ... (Interruptions)... In such a case, the names of the voters shall not be recorded."

So, I will choose this method... (Interruptions)... Therefore I will say first that those who oppose the Resolution may please stand up.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: We are voting against the Resolution. You give your ruling and we will abide by your ruling. We want to say and we want to record that we are against this Resolution. So you give your ruling and we will abide by your ruling.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, first I will say... (Interruptions)... Just a minute, please... (Interruptions)... First, I will ask those in favour of the Resolution to get up.

Those who are in favour of the Resolution may please get up.

Now, those who are not in favour of the Resolution may please rise in their seats.

(After taking a count)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Resolution is passed.

The motion was adopted.