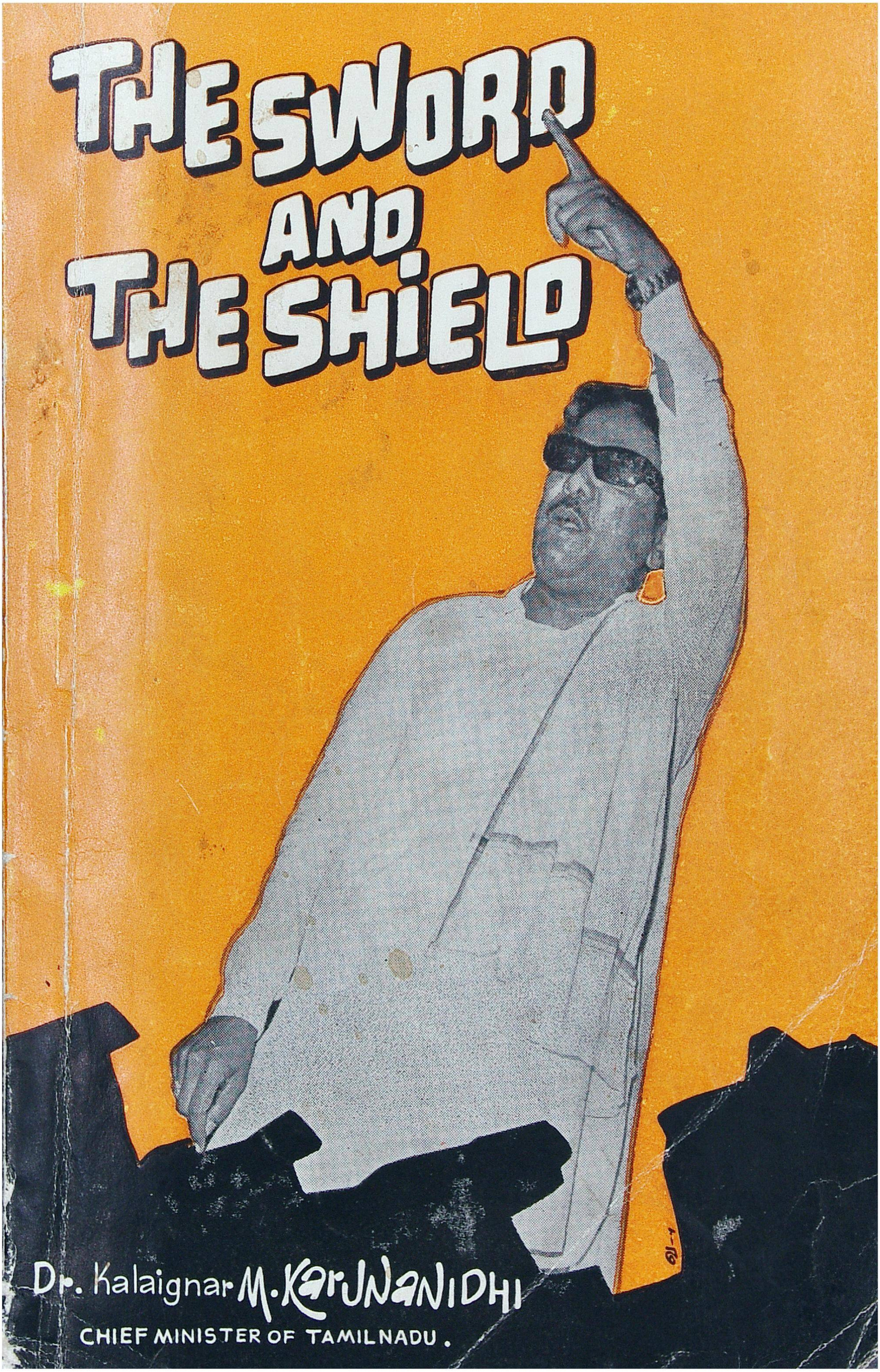
THE SWORD AND THE SHIELD



Dr. Kalaignar M. KARUNANIDHI

CHIEF MINISTER OF TAMILNADU.

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THE SWORD AND THE SHIELD

Dr. M. Karunanidhi
Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu

About This Book ...

How surprising indeed would it be if Europeans were to make bold to instruct Africans as to how the latter could protect themselves from the scorching intensity of Summer? And how odd would it be if Arabians were to come forward to impart lessons to Canadians of the subject of winter-clothing! Congress MLA Mr. A.R. Marimuthu reminded us of just these when he tabled in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly a Censure Motion to the effect that the Twenty Point Programme announced by the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi was not being implemented by the Government of Tamil Nadu—a Government, which under the dedicated and dynamic leadership of Dr. M. Karunanidhi, is functioning with the welfare of the people as its sole objective.

The Debate on this Censure Motion lasted three days in the Legislative Assembly. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr. M. Karunanidhi spoke in the House for two hours on 30th October '75, by way of explaining the stand of the Government with reference to the Censure Motion and the views presented by the Members in the course of the Debate.

The Chief Minister's Reply on the occasion is in the nature of a golden chapter added to the history of Parliamentary Institutions. This book, containing the text of Dr. Karunanidhi's Speech, would undoubtedly serve as a rare Treasure-House to all those who desire to know fully the characteristics of Representative Government and the tenets and traditions of Democracy.

MORE than twenty Members have expressed their opinion on the Censure Motion brought before this House by our good friend Mr. A.R. Marimuthu and seconded by the leader of the Communist Party of India, Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani. Mr. Marimuthu who tabled the Motion delivered his speech with great nobility, although the situation was whether the views he gave out could be acceptable to us or not. Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani too set out his views in a steady manner, whether they related to charges against this Government or whether they pertained to certain aspects of the attitude of the Central Government which he could not approve of.

The speeches of the Leader of the Organisation Congress, Mr. R. Ponnappa Nadar and the Leader of the Legislature Swatantra Party, Mr. B. Venkataswami were touching and at the same time helped to underline facts, for they said that they had stood up to help bring up the numerical requirement for the procedure to table such a Motion; and expressing views contrary to the Motion, they explained they were adopting a neutral stand in the matter.

The Deputy Leader of the Anna D.M.K. Mr. G.R. Edmund utilised the intricacies of Law for the advantage of his arguments and his speech in support of the Motion was essentially that of a Lawyer.

On behalf of the Muslim League, the Forward Bloc and the Tamil Nadu Communist Party, which are in alliance with the ruling Party, the Leaders and Members who spoke here have explained in detail how the present Censure Motion is unnecessary.

The very basis of the Censure Motion is the charge that the D.M.K. has not implemented in Tamil Nadu, the Twenty Point Programme announced by the Prime Minister in the wake of the proclamation of the Emergency. Before proceeding to list the 20 points of the Programme and before taking up for analysis whether or not this Government had commenced to implement those measures, I would like to give expression to certain views as a sort of preliminary exercise.

FIFTH PLAN HAS VANISHED !

The Fourth Five Year Plan for the Indian sub-continent was announced on behalf of the Central Government, the total outlay of the same being Rs. 25,000 crores. On the conclusion of the Fouth Five Year Plan, the draft of the Fifth Five Year Plan was prepared and the outlay for the same was announced after a session of the National Development Council in which the Chief Ministers of all the States in India participated. As I stated, the outlay of the Fourth Five Year Plan was Rs. 25,000 crores. As far as our State, Tamil Nadu, was concerned, the extent of Central Assistance in the course of the Five Years of the Fourth Plan was Rs. 200 crores.

Out of this Rs. 200 crores, we have to repay 70 per cent which is in the nature of Loan. The mode of repayment

is that, when they make the allotment for the next year as Rs. 40 crores or Rs. 50 crores, they would deduct from that the instalment to be repaid and sanction only the balance. The amount given by the Central Government during the Five Years of the Fourth Five Year Plan—70 per cent of which was Loan and 30 per cent was Grant—has been Rs. 200 crores approximately.

The Fifth Five Year Plan was styled as the biggest Plan of all and a gigantic Plan even; and when it was announced that the outlay would be Rs. 53,000 crores, we were indeed overjoyed. The reason for our elation was that the investment was more than two-fold and so we felt that it would be possible to fulfil in entirety the needs of the States. The draft of this Rs. 53,000 crore Plan was discussed at a session of the National Development Council for two days.

Two years have elapsed since. But even after these two years, no-one is able to say what exactly has become of that Fifth Five Year Plan!

The Five Year Plan has shrunk to mere One Year Plans and that is the manner in which allotment is being made to each of the States. What we have to consider is whether, at this rate, we could at all achieve the target of Rs. 53,000 crores. The allotment under this Five Year Plan is only of the same proportion as was made annually to our State during the Fourth Plan. For example, the allotment for the year 1974-75 was Rs. 41 crores; and for the year 1975-76, it is again Rs. 41 crores. If they make allotment for the remaining three years too on the same scale, the total receipts during the five-year-period would be only

Rs. 200 crores. Thus the Fifth Five Year Plan is just like the Fourth Plan, and what they had announced has not actually materialised.

And so, what indeed has become of the Fifth Plan? *Even as this scene is in progress, the curtain falls, much in the manner to present the road-scene in stage-plays! The announcement is made of a Twenty Point Programme. That is, the scene of the Fifth Five Year Plan vanishes and the Twenty Point Programme takes its place.*

ANNOUNCEMENT OF TWENTY POINTS

At a time when the State had been visualising that they would receive substantial allotment under the proposed Fifth Five Year Plan and thereby they could implement their own Plans for State development, this Twenty Point Programme has been announced after flinging to some remote corner a big Plan discussed in detail over two years back, and without providing any answer to the question as to what became of the Fifth Plan.

Earlier, in May 1967, they had proclaimed a Ten Point Programme at the All India Congress Committee. Our friend Mr. K. Suppu pointed out yesterday in the course of his speech here that only the contents of the Directive Principles of the Constitution are taking shape as these Programmes. What were the Ten Points of the Programme? They were: (1) Nationalisation of Banks; (2) Nationalisation of Insurance; (3) Abolition of Privy Purses to Princes; (4) Rural Programme, Land Reform; (5) Ceiling on Urban Property; (6) Fulfilling the basic needs of the people; (7) Restriction of Monopoly; (8) Expansion of the

Co-operative Sector; (9) State take-over of the Foodgrains Trade; and (10) Commodity-wise improvement in Exports and Imports. This was the Ten Point Programme.

Which of these Ten Points were fulfilled and which were embarked upon but broke down afterwards ?—this is something we should not forget. They had announced that Banks would be nationalised. But only 14 Banks were actually nationalised and not a step has been taken further. Insurance was nationalised and Privy Purses were abolished. The Rural Programme (Land Reform) is among the 20 Points announced now, as also the Ceiling on Urban Property. As for the next Point, namely, fulfilling of the basic needs of the people, this was stated in vague and general terms without specifying the needs referred to. The next item was the Restriction of Monopoly, but, for some reason, it does not find a place in the Twenty Point Programme. As regards the expansion of the Cooperative Sector, no-one can deny that in Tamil Nadu the Cooperative Sector had been expanded even before the time of announcement of the Ten Points and it has been still further expanded since. What they have done in the present Twenty Point Programme is to leave out the Cooperative Sector and add a new item in its place.

The ninth Point of the Ten Point Programme of 1967 was the State take-over of the Foodgrains Trade and accordingly, the Government took over the wheat trade. But within a few days, the Point was given up, as it was not found feasible. Next, the commodity-wise improvement in Exports and Imports—even this does not appear to have been done properly. Such has been the Ten Point Programme; and now the Twenty Point Programme has been

announced. When the erroneous charge is being set out that we are not implementing the Twenty Point Programme or that we are opposing it, any volume of evidence could be adduced to the effect that the D.M.K. had accorded its approval to the Ten Point Programme.

Dr. H.V. Hande (A.D.M.K.):—The Hon'ble Chief Minister said that the Fifth Five Year Plan was dropped, and in its place has come the Twenty Point Programme. My information is that this Twenty Point Programme is in addition to the Five Year Plan. It is not in the place of the Five Year Plan. The Five Year Plan is continued. Yearwise or five-year-wise, it is continued. The Twenty Point Programme is in addition. So, there is no contradiction between the Twenty Point Programme and the Five Year Plan. I expect clarification from the Hon'ble Chief Minister.

Mrs. T.N. Ananthanayaki (Cong.):—Food, Clothing and Accommodation are the basic needs and it is these that have been referred to. How to explain this in greater detail ?

Chief Minister:—What I said was that the "basic needs" had not been specified but only set out in a vague or general way. That should be understood. What need has arisen now that Food and Clothing and Accommodation have to be mentioned separately ? In the Twenty Point Programme, they have only set out in some more detail what had been stated earlier.

We did not oppose that Ten Point Programme either. On the other hand we supported it even when it was announced. At the time when 14 of the Banks were

nationalised, we presented 14 articles to Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, which gift was offered only in Tamil Nadu and not in other States. Although it had angered persons such as Mrs. Ananthanayaki who were in another Party then, we went ahead with that presentation!

In regard to Dr. Hande's question, all that I desire to say is that a curtain has been drawn over the Fifth Five Year Plan and we have now come to the Twenty Point Programme. What has become of the Rs. 53,000 crores allotted for the Fifth Five Year Plan? When they could not provide the Rs. 53,000 crores intended for the Fifth Plan, how are they going to provide funds to the States for the expenditure on account of the Twenty Point Programme announced now? It is only on that basis that I have said this.

PRODUCTION ON FOOD-FRONT

What exactly are the Twenty Points? Hon'ble Members who spoke here emphasised some five or six Points. What the Prime Minister announced over the All India Radio was that in the first place, the Government would undertake a series of steps to stimulate production, speed up procurement and streamline the distribution of essential commodities. Has the Government of Tamil Nadu paid attention to this or not?

In the context of the favourable situation prevailing as an outcome of the monsoon rainfall since June this year, the Government has undertaken vigorous measures to step up production on the food front. If an instance is to be cited, in that production-point which the Prime Minister has referred to, the procurement of paddy was only to the

extent of 9,500 tonnes every year so far. By communicating the fact that, during the current agricultural season, we have procured and distributed a quantity of about 18,000 tonnes of seeds in paddy alone, I would like to point out how the activities being carried out here are only in support of the Programme and not against it. New rice varieties, ADT 31 and PUSA 33 were released this year, the former covering an area of 1.30 lakh acres and the latter, an area of 56,000 acres.

Fertiliser is very important for agricultural production. During the months of July, August and September '75, a quantity of 25,123 'N' tonnes of pool fertiliser was distributed against the normal supply of 20520 'N' tonnes. Further distribution would be made for the Sambha and other crops; and thus there is no scarcity of fertiliser. We are certainly keen on maximising production. In like manner, our workers are constantly engaged in the task of controlling and eradicating pest-nuisance. There has been an increase in the number of sprayers and there is vigilant protection of the crops.

During the months of drought, this Government announced a subsidy to the extent of Rs. 1,000 for each oil-engine pumpset; and under this special programme, as many as 12,200 pumpsets were supplied to the farmers. So that the benefit of this scheme may reach out to 15,000 persons, we had set apart a sum of Rs. 1,50,00000. The agriculturists are aware how this was a veritable boon to them at a time when they were severely afflicted by drought.

I am dwelling on the subject in some detail, inasmuch as Mrs. Gandhi has called for steps to stimulate production.

During the summer months of 1975, about 500 tonnes of hybrid cholam and maize seeds were supplied in the districts of Coimbatore, Tirunelveli, Madurai and a part of Salem. Consequent on these vigorous measures, the production of foodgrains is estimated to be as shown in the table below and this assessment is of course subject to Nature not letting us down as it did during the last year.

	1974-75	1975-76
	(In lakh tonnes)	
		(Anticipated)
Rice	41.66	61.00
Cholam, Cumbu, Maize etc.	7.74	17.00
Cotton	2.20	4.03
	lakh bales	lakh bales

Hon'ble Member Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani referred to sugarcane yesterday. In a letter from the Central Government received yesterday they have said that it would not be possible to raise the price of levy-sugar. This decision however is not applicable to the whole of India. The price could be raised in the States of the Northern Region but our plea is not to be conceded. I cannot refrain from pointing out that, as a result of this decision, our farmers engaged in sugarcane cultivation would definitely be affected adversely and, as a consequence, sugarcane cultivation is bound to go down.

Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani:—Our stand, which the Chief Minister is also aware of, is that, for purposes of pricing,

there should not be two separate categories as levy-sugar and non-levy-sugar. While fixing the price for levy-sugar, it has been lowered much for Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. If this Government were to come to the decision that the pricing should be uniform, I am prepared to support the same.

Chief Minister:—Happily do I welcome this. That is why I mentioned at the outset that Mr. Thangamani spoke on this Motion in a steady manner and in a manner that showed awareness of the issues involved.

Mr. P. Srinivasan:—Is there any reason for the Central Government to reject his demand ?

Chief Minister:—Reasons alas, are not to be sought in the present situation !

PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM

Speaker Sir, even when severe drought conditions prevailed in the State, we undertook efforts to provide some rice, although it could not be adequate, to 52 lakhs of families out of a total of 98 lakh families. We made arrangements for the supply of rice to these families through an extensive public distribution system comprising 9926 retail points run by the Tamil Nadu Civil Supplies Corporation and the Co-operative and the Local Bodies. In urban areas, particularly in places such as Madras and Coimbatore, assured supply of rice to card-holders having income of Rs. 500 and above has been raised from 10 kilos to 20 kilos per month. Further, this scheme has been extended to Tiruchirappalli and Salem too. What all I have said so far

is with reference to the first point of the Twenty Point Programme.

TAMIL NADU AND LAND CEILING

2. The second point of the Twenty Point Programme is this: 'The vast majorities of our people live in the rural areas. We must implement Ceiling Laws and distribute surplus lands among the landless with redoubled zeal. We want the help of the local people in completing land-records." Let us see now to what extent we have distributed surplus lands. They have brought out a booklet titled "A HUNDRED NEW GAINS". This issue however is found to have been recorded in an incorrect manner therein. In regard to Tamil Nadu they have stated that 10 lakh acres of land have been distributed. No such distribution has taken place nor is it possible. When has this distribution taken place, according to them? After the proclamation of the Emergency! Is this a Maya Bazaar for such miracles to occur? They have written that after the proclamation of the Emergency, all the States have intensified the Land Redistribution programme; and that in Kerala, an extent of 1,30,000 hectares has been distributed. Even this could not be correct, as we could ascertain from the Government of Kerala.

Mr. P. Srinivasan:—The zero might have been printed by mistake.

Chief Minister:—If only numerals had been used in the text we might suspect that a zero has erroneously appeared in excess. What they have recorded actually in this booklet is the figure '10' (in numerals) followed by the word 'lakh'!

Mrs. T.N. Ananthanayaki:—It is only the Government of Tamil Nadu that has given this wrong information.

Chief Minister:—If we had supplied that wrong information, we might have capitalised on that error and boasted that we have distributed 10 lakh acres! Thus, since that booklet titled "A HUNDRED NEW GAINS" contains certain items of incorrect information, I would not prefer to cite from that publication. The Land Ceiling Act had been passed on 6th April 1960. From that date up to the year 1967, the extent of land notified as surplus in the State (during the seven years) was 24,194 acres. Out of the 24,194 acres declared surplus, the extent of land taken possession of was 16,330 acres. But no assignment was at all made to anyone. And since no assignment was made, not one person had derived benefit under the Act!

Since the year 1967, however, the total extent of land notified as surplus so far is 1,08,065 acres. Out of this the extent of land taken possession of is 88,146 acres and the extent assigned is 62,682 acres. The number of persons benefited by this is 38,504. Our Land Ceiling Legislation reducing the Land Ceiling to 15 standard acres was brought on 15th. February 1970. Since that date, as a result of energetic efforts on our part, an extent of 62,682 acres has been assigned to the landless. *The All India Congress Committee (Ruling) has itself given a testimonial in this regard that it is Tamil Nadu and Tamil Nadu alone that is foremost in India in the matter of Land Ceiling and Land Reform.*

Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani said that we have not yet lifted the exemptions granted to orchards and the like. If

we take the total area of the orchards in Tamil Nadu, it is only 18,169 acres. In case we bring the orchards too under the Ceiling, it would affect production and exports to other States and other countries even. And it is for this reason that we have left out the orchards. If an example is to be cited for this, there is a place in Karnataka where a plant known as 'Linole' is grown; its extent is 1000 acres and it belongs to a former film-artiste by name Devika Rani. This land has been exempted from Ceiling there, for the reason that plants for the manufacture of aromatics are grown there. On the basis that the plants could be grown only on a thousand acres so as to provide material for export, exemption has been granted in Karnataka. The exemption granted to orchards here is only on the same pattern.

Indeed, how many are the exemptions annulled by us ? Exemptions were there for sugarcane lands and we repealed them. Similarly, exemptions were there for grazing lands and dairy-farming lands. We annulled those exemptions also. We stipulated a Ceiling for Public Trusts. This does not obtain in Kerala or in Andhra Pradesh. In those States no limit has been placed on the Public Trusts; only the income therefrom should be spent for those very Trusts. But here we have laid down the extent of Public Trusts that could be kept and prescribed further that the income should be spent only for the same. Even this would apply only to those Trusts that were in existence on 1st March '72. We have made it very clear that new Trusts should not be brought into being for the purpose of getting round that Legislation. Under this Law, Public Trusts should not hold more than 40 standard acres for Colleges. High schools should not have more than 20 standard acres, Elementary

Schools more than 10 standard acres, Students' Hostels more than 25 standard acres, Technical Schools more than 25 standard acres, and Agricultural schools and Orphanges more than 25 standard acres. The Ceiling fixed for other Trusts is 5 standard acres.

5. Next, the Prime Minister has stated that records should be there and registrations made in respect of tenant cultivators and the like. This has also been carried out by us Not after the date of the Prime Minister's announcement, but well before that! In the year 1969 itself this Government enacted the Tamil Nadu Agricultural Land Record of Tenancy Rights Act so that tenancy-rights may be recorded at village-level. So far 3,99,350 tenancies have been registered involving an extent of 6,03,899 acres.

Apart from this, a unique scheme intended to assist the landholders by giving them full particulars of their holding was introduced in 1972 itself (long before the Twenty Point Programme) by issue of patta passbook. So far 1.04 crores of patta passbooks have been issued at a cost of Rs. One crore.

Among the 20 Points announced by the Prime Minister is one relating to the assigning of cultivable lands to the landless poor. From the year of Independence up to 1967, an extent of 2,88,000 acres had been assigned to 1,15,000 persons. But during the eight years after 1967, we have assigned 7,19,000 acres to 3,69,000 persons. Mr. Marimuthu mentioned that benami transactions are taking place under the Land Ceiling. One or two took place of course but quite a few instances had occurred in those times. Even a relative of a very prominent Minister of that era (I do not

desire to mention his name) possessed 282 ordinary acres, equivalent to 141 standard acres, on 6th April 1960. But before 2nd October 1962 he sold off 135 standard acres out of the 141 standard acres and thereby he escaped from the Land Ceiling Law. Although the stipulation was there that no-one should cheat the Ceiling Law and effect any sale during that period of two years from 6th April 1960 to 2nd October 1962, this relative of the prominent Minister went ahead with the transaction, since he was of the view, "Money comes, Appa, why leave it?" and since he was apprehensive of the Ceiling to come. He should have been proceeded against for this before 1967 itself, but nothing of that sort was done. Only after Anna came to power in 1967—after the D.M.K. took over the Government in 1967—was action initiated for that wrong-doing. Thus it would be seen that benami transactions were not indulged in by ordinary persons but by a relative of a prominent Member of the Cabinet of that time.

Mrs. T.N. Ananthanayaki:—Why not disclose his name? What he did was wrong. If he was a relative of the Minister why not identify him?

Chief Minister:—Our friend Mr. Varadappan! The lady-Member was eager that the name should be disclosed!

Mrs. T.N. Ananthanayaki:—Would you disclose what all the lady-Member likes to know! Why say this, just to involve me in trouble!

HOUSE-SITES FOR THE POOR

Chief Minister:—We come to the Third Point now. "The programme of providing house-sites in rural areas will

be vastly expanded. Laws will be introduced to confer ownership-rights on landless labourers, who have been in occupation of house-sites of the landlords over a certain period"—This is the announcement of the Prime Minister.

A recent survey prepared by the Government of India shows that, at the time of the announcement of the Twenty Point Programme, the Law concerning conferring ownership-rights to agriculturists for their house-sites was satisfactory only in the States of Bihar, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Orissa and Tamil Nadu. Even in this, Tamil Nadu was the one and only State where the agriculturists and the agricultural labourers acquired ownership-rights on house-sites free of any charge, whereas in the other States the beneficiary had to pay for the cost of the house-site before obtaining full title.

We had enacted the Tamil Nadu Occupants of Kudiyiruppu (Conferment of Ownership) Act in the year 1971 itself. Not in 1975, after the announcement of the Twenty Point Programme over the All India Radio but in 1971 itself! The total number of pattas granted under this Act is 1,75,000. Out of these, 1,02,404 persons belong to the Depressed Classes, 40,550 to the Backward Classes and 32,123 to other Classes. The expenditure incurred by the Government on this account is nearly Rs. 21,00,000.

Under the scheme to assign house-sites from Government lands, 63,770 persons had been given house-pattas in the course of the 20 years up to 1967, by the previous regime. During the past 8 years, the beneficiaries under the scheme are 5,03,697 in number.

Under the programme of the Government of Tamil Nadu for the acquisition of house-sites for Harijans, 2,36,000 Harijan families have benefited so far and the expenditure incurred on this account is Rs. 4.25 crores. Apart from this, as a Point not to be found in the Prime Minister's Programme, pucca houses are to be provided to 30,000 Harijans before the close of December this year, the cost per house being Rs. 4,000. This programme is nearing completion, the expenditure in this connection being Rs. 13.30 crores.

Likewise, a sum of Rs. 2 crores has been allotted for building 5,000 houses for he fisherfolk in the first stage and work in this regard in procceding apace. This again, does not find a place in the Prime Minister's Twenty Point Programme.

The Slum Clearance Programme was initiated here, not in 1975 after the proclamation of the Emergency or the announcement of the Twenty Point Programme, but in 1970-71 itself. On behalf of the State Housing Board, 3,220 tenements were constructed for the rehabilitation of slum-dwellers; and on behalf of the Slum Clearance Board, as many as 17,019 tenements have since been completed. The number of tenements in the process of construction is 3,312. Thus at a cost of Rs. 17 crores more than 20,000 tenements have been constructed. This too is outside the Twenty Point Programme announced by the Prime Minister.

You could chide us for having initiated and implemented these (when they have not been included in the Twenty Point Programme)! Apart from that, I submit that there is no ground for any Censure!

LIQUIDATION OF INDEBTEDNESS

The Prime Minister has announced: "We propose to take action by stages to liquidate rural indebtedness. While new schemes will be drawn up to devise alternative agencies to provide institutional credit to landless labourers, rural artisans and small and marginal farmers who own less than two hectares, there will be a moratorium on suits and execution of decrees for recovery of debts from sub-groups. Debts from Co-operatives, Commercial Banks and Governments will be excluded from this Scheme".

We enacted the Tamil Nadu Debt Relief Act, 1972 in order to liquidate not only rural indebtedness but the indebtedness of those residing in the urban areas also. In the context of the recent drought, the Tamil Nadu Indebted Persons (Temporary Relief) Ordinance, 1975 was promulgated in January 1975. Under this measure, there is a moratorium for one year for the execution of suits and other legal proceedings for the recovery of debts. Although debt payments to Cooperative Societies and on Government loans do not come within the purview of this, Hon'ble Members should not forget that the same was sought on behalf of this Government and the facility was obtained for those in the rural areas that these debt payments too stand postponed for one year.

Under the Tamil Nadu Indebted Persons (Temporary Relief) Ordinance, 1975 promulgated in July 1975, Relief is provided to indebted persons who are non-agriculturists; and no interest shall accrue in respect of debts for a period up to 15th January 1976. Some Members here said that the debts should be liquidated altogther. In this connection,

what Mr. Krishnamurthi had said when that Bill was before this House connot be easily brushed aside. If we go to that advanced stage where debts could be altogether liquidated, then there would be none to lend money. That could be thought of at some point in future when, in addition to the loan-facilities available to the people in the rural areas on the basis of their produce and on the basis of their agricultural lands and implements, Banks and Co-operative Societies have spread out to lend money for the urgent needs of this section of our population. Even the Prime Minister does not seem to have stated anywhere that the loans should be altogether liquidated. What the Prime Minister has stated is that it is proposed to take action by stages to liquidate rural indebtedness and that, relief should be afforded accordingly. Even that we have been attending to by stages during the last two, three years. Therefore the only charge that could be levelled against us is that we had implemented the measure in advance; and no-one could arraign us for not having done this or for refusing to do this.

AGRICULTURAL WAGES

"A review of the existing Legislation on minimum wages for Agricultural labourers will be undertaken and action will be initiated for suitable enhancement of minimum wages, wherever necessary." This is the Programme announced by the Prime Minister. In the year 1969, a Commission was set up under the Chairmanship of Mr. V. Karthikeyan, Member, Board of Revenue, to go into the question of minimum wages for labour employed in Agriculture and ancillary occupations in Thanjavur District; and we have implemented the Recommendations of that

Commission. We convened a Tripartite Conference in which the Agriculturists and the Agricultural labour, the Unions and the Government participated and we arrived at a happy decision.

Now once again—after the proclamation of the Emergency and the announcement of the Prime Minister's Twenty Point Programme—we have set up another Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. Srinivasan and this Committee is conducting its investigation. The Committee would study the position in the several districts.

In the meanwhile, it has been announced by the Central Government that equal wages should be paid to men and women. On that basis too the Committee would go into the matter and arrive at appropriate decisions in the near future for the fixation of wages for specific items of work, rather than for men-workers and women-workers as such. The Report of the Committee would be examined by the Government and the needful done.

EXPANSION OF IRRIGATION-FACILITIES

6. The sixth announcement of the Prime Minister runs as follows: "Water and power hold the key to higher agricultural and industrial output. Steps are being taken to bring under irrigation at least another five million hectares of land." Five million hectares means 1.25 crore acres. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi should certainly be felicitated for seeking to initiate action for introducing irrigation-facilities to 1.25 crore acres in India, for our country is a region of the Earth that is largely dependent on Agriculture. In such a country it is Agriculture

that should be accorded pre-eminence and predominance over other Industries. For having realised this at least 28 years after Independence and for having announced the appropriate decision through the Twenty Point Programme that irrigation-facilities need to be expanded, I should certainly express my appreciation !

I would like to mention just one detail. Up to the year 1947—that is through the reign of the Chera, the Chola and the Pandya monarchs and later, the Britishers—the extent of land brought under irrigation in Tamil Nadu was about 44 lakh acres. In the course of the next 20 years—that is, after those ancient monarchs and the Ferringhees, right up to the close of the revered Mr. Bhaktavatsalam's reign—an additional eight lakhs of acres received irrigation-facilities. During the subsequent eight years of the D.M.K. rule, a further 15 lakh acres have been brought under cultivation.

Not only that. The amounted spent by the Government for new irrigation-projects after the year 1967 is Rs. 148 crores. At present, projects involving an outlay of Rs. 49 crores are under implementation. More than Rs. 62 crores worth of irrigation-schemes are pending clearance by the Government of India. By assessing the target of foodgrains production after 1967, the extent to which we have expanded the irrigation-facilities would be understood.

DRINKING WATER

"Harnessing of present underground water-resources and undertaking of further surveys for irrigation and for the provision of drinking water, especially in drought-prone

areas"—these are important Schemes indeed and we welcome them whole-heartedly. The groundwater potential in Tamil Nadu is only 11.5 million acre feet, which is a mere 5 per cent of the All-India potential of 213.6 million acre feet. Even so, the number of energised irrigation wells in Tamil Nadu is 7,15,000 which is 30 per cent of the 24,35,000 energised irrigation wells in the whole of India.

Apart from this, on the subject of surveys of underground water resources referred to by the Prime Minister, water atlases are being prepared for each district in Tamil Nadu. So far, a sum of Rs. 7.5 crores has been spent on groundwater investigation. No assistance has been received from the Central Government for this effort.

They have spoken of drinking water facilities. Since the year 1967, an expenditure of Rs. 14.15 crores has been incurred through Panchayat Unions for the purpose of supplying protected drinking water. 33,000 dug-wells and 4,444 overhead tanks have been constructed under this programme.

Under the Tamil Nadu Water and Drainage Board—nowhere else in India is there such an organisation—only in Tamil Nadu was it created in the year 1971 itself—that is, long before the proclamation of the Emergency and the announcement of the Twenty Point Programme—7,736 schemes have been implemented since 1971, at a total expenditure of about Rs. 12 crores.

In the recent drought relief operations, the expenditure on drinking water supply alone outside the Plan was Rs. 3.52 crores. During 1975-76, the allotment for drinking

water supply in drought-affected areas amounted to Rs. 7.10 crores in addition to normal Plan provisions.

Thus it would be seen that these schemes too were being implemented steadily by our Tamil Nadu Government, even before the announcement of the Twenty Point Programme.

POWER-GENERATION ON PAPER!

8. The eighth Point in the Prime Minister's Programme is as follows: "Action is being taken to generate further 2600 megawatts. Adequate funds are being provided to implement power-projects. For long-term needs, super-thermal power stations under the Central Government are bein planned. State Electricity Boards are being streamlined". This is a very important Point in the Prime Minister's announcement.

As far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, this Point is fraught with problems. If the additional generating capacity is to be 2600 megawatts, we have to remember one thing. The amount set apart by the Central Government for power-generation throughout India during the current financial year is Rs. 250 crores. The total outlay for our Tuticorin Thermal Plant is Rs. 120 crores. We have spent Rs. 5 crores in 1974-75; and the estimate for 1975-76 is Rs. 18.67 crores. An allotment of Rs. 10 crores has already been made in the State Plan and we have applied to the Centre for the balance of Rs. 8.67 crores. Only if an expenditure of Rs. 18.67 crores in 1975.76, Rs. 53 crores in 1976-77, Rs. 30.5 crores in 1977-78, Rs. 17.5 crores in 1978-79 and Rs. 4.5 crores in 1979-80 is incurred, would this scheme be taken to completion in 1979-80.

Out of the large sum of Rs. 250 crores announced by the Centre for power-generation, they have allotted a mere Rs. One crore to us after the release of the Twenty Point Programme and this meagre allotment too has been made only after repeated requests from us.

This is what Mr. K. Suppu referred to yesterday when he pointed out how everything is presented attractively on paper but no provision is made for the requisite wherewithal! *After having spelt out the Twenty Point Programme, should they not have specified as the 21st Point that so many crores of rupees are being set apart for the implementation of the said Programme?*

Rs. 250 crores for the whole of India; but out of that only Rs. One crore for expansion of power-generation in Tamil Nadu!

For how long indeed has Neyveli been doing penance? Even when Mr. Kamaraj and Mr. Bhaktavatsalam were in power here, the demand had been raised for a second mine-cut. Had they started the work then itself, it would have been completed only now, for the task is of seven or eight years' duration. But the work has not been commenced even.

In the meanwhile, an issue of alarming dimensions has arisen, with the Centre thinking of the Ramagundam Thermal Project in Andhra Pradesh. As soon as this was heard of, I addressed a letter to the Prime Minister saying that if the Centre were to abandon Neyveli and take up in its place the Ramagundam Project of Andhra Pradesh, there would be a huge gap in power-generation in Tamil

Nadu; and so they should give up the Ramagundam Project and proceed with the second mine-cut in Neyveli.

RESERVATION FOR HANDLOOM

9. "The Policy of reservation for handlooms is being rationalised to give greater protection to weavers". This problem, relating to handloom-weavers has been discussed on many occasions here in this august Assembly. When yarn-prices ruled very high in 1974, the Tamil Nadu Government organised supply of yarn valued at about Rs. 16.5 crores through the Co-optex and the Tamil Nadu Handloom Finance Corporation to the weavers, utilising the production from the 12 Cooperative Spinning Mills. Thereby the Tamil Nadu Government rendered what aid it could to the handloom weavers.

The Prime Minister has announced that certain varieties of cloth should be reserved for the handloom. This is not a new scheme by any means; and the Prime Minister herself has acknowledged this with graciousness when she said: "Some of them are new; others were set forth earlier but require to be pursued with greater vigour and determination". We have no difference on this point of view.

Even when Rajaji was in power here, our State pleaded for the reservation of certain varieties of cloth such as dhotis, saris and lungies for exclusive production in the handloom sector. After the passage of so many years—when a Memorial has come up for Rajaji and two Anniversaries have been observed after his demise—the Prime Minister has stated that there should be reservation for handloom !

In this very House, a Resolution was adopted unanimously in the year 1974, to the effect that certain varieties of cloth should be reserved for the handloom sector. That Resolution was also duly forwarded to the Central Government.

At least now they have come forward to do this. The Central Minister Mr. D.P. Chattopadhyaya too sought my views on reserving standard cloth for the Mill sector. I told him in categorical terms that if that were to be done, it would ruin both handloom and khadi. All this has been made clear to them by our Government in the course of our discussions with them, long before the proclamation of the Emergency and the announcement of the Twenty Point Programme.

The responsibility for carrying it out rests only with the Centre and certainly not with the State Government.

ORDINANCE ON URBAN LAND TAX

10. *Ceiling on Urban Land:*—The Tenth Point in the Programme of the Prime Minister is this: "Legislation is being initiated to impose Ceilings on the ownership and possession of vacant land, to acquire excess land, to restrict the plinth-area of new dwelling units and to socialise urban and urbanisable land."

We are those who had welcomed the proposal for imposing a Ceiling on urban property, even at the time when the matter was mooted first. I think it was the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh Mr. P.C. Sethi who announced it. He said that he would impose Ceiling on urban property in his State, that he had as good as done

it even! When pressmen asked me about this in Delhi and Madras, I told them: "It is a nice, attractive slogan; I don't know, however, how it would be implemented".

We must examine the problems related to this Ceiling. Are we to restrict ownership and possession of vacant land in urban areas? We should find an answer to this question. Should the proposed Ceiling be on the basis of houses already constructed; or should it be on the basis of the property-value of the houses and the vacant plots? When all these issues crop up, there is bound to be some confusion as to the manner in which the Ceiling Law is to be formulated. I feel it is because of all this that no decision in the matter has yet been reached by the Central Government. It is only with the object of being of assistance to them when they do take a decision, that the State Government has promulgated an Ordinance on the Urban Land Tax. We have given shape to the Ordinance after taking into consideration the views of the Members of the Legislature, through the process of discussion.

Through this step we would now itself know the aggregate holding of each person and thereby we are working out ways and means for the Centre to bring Urban Land Ceiling. This has not been done in any State. It is only in Tamil Nadu that we are preparing the groundwork for the Centre to implement the Tenth Point of the Twenty Point Programme. It would soon be brought before this House.

Mrs. T.N. Ananthanayaki.—For imposing a Ceiling on Urban Property, you don't have to wait till the Centre

brings in Legislation. Cannot you do that yourself on the pattern of other States ?

Chief Minister:—In which of the States have they done that and in what manner ?—without saying this, is there any purpose in interjecting queries and resuming the seat ?

Mrs. T.N. Ananthanayaki:—You said Mr. P.C. Sethi has done that in Madhya Pradesh !

Chief Minister:—He said so, but we do not know whether he actually did that ! They say, but do not seem to go further !

Dr. H.V. Hande:—In Madhya Pradesh there are no Cities at all, except for Nagpur.

Chief Minister:—If there are no Cities, one could easily talk of Urban Ceiling of course !

HUNT FOR BLACK MONEY

11. The next Point of the Prime Minister's Programme is the proposal to set up special squads to prevent the undervaluation of property and for the purpose of property valuation. Punishments would also be stern for those evading Income Tax.

In the year 1973 itself we adopted a Resolution in this Assembly and forwarded the same to the Centre. Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani had demanded to know whether we would pass such a Resolution. On my asking by way of counter whether they (of the C.P.I.) would support such a Resolution, he was enthusiastically affirmative. We felt

that if only Mr. K.T.K. were to extend support, the Resolution would surely be accepted by the Centre and we proceeded to adopt the following Resolution:

> "Pointing out that the circulation of Black Money is mainly the cause of economic disorders, rise in prices and high cost of living in the country; and stressing that the State Government also should be clothed with the same powers which the Central Government are having, to take action on the Recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee to unearth Black Money, this Assembly requests the Central Government to confer such powers on the State Government also."

Thus, as early as 1973, we had accorded our concurrence in advance, to this the eleventh Point of the present Twenty Point Programme. And so there is no hitch in regard to this either.

WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN INDUSTRY

12. The next Point of the Programme relates to Schemes for workers' participation in the Industries and for employee-participation in the equity-capital.

From March 1973 itself, we have been insisting on this measure being implemented, but we have not received concurrence from the Centre till date. All we got was a letter expressing appreciation of the Scheme. And now the Prime Minister has included the Point in her Programme.

Let me say one thing from my experience as story-writer: When stories are written and handed over to

someone, that person would publish the writings as his own! Likewise we announced in 1973 this scheme of workers' participation in Industries and dividends for workers on the shares; and we sought the concurrence of the Centre for the measure. Incidentally Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani said that there should be no investment in this. The fact is that, if investment is made, workers do not have to bear liability in case of loss, but would receive share in profits. The only snag in this is that dividends should not be calculated after payment of Income Tax; on the other hand Income Tax should be paid after working out the dividend —only then would the workers get more. We addressed the Government of India to amend the Company Law and the Income Tax Act so that the guaranteed dividend payable on the shares to Employees may be treated as an admissible deductible item of business-expenditure so that it can be taken into account before arriving at the net taxable income.

Thus it would be clear that we had inaugurated this scheme in March 1973 itself and that could certainly not form the contents of a charge!

HELPING THE STUDENTS

13. "In order to help students from poor families, essential commodities will be supplied at controlled prices to all hostels and approved lodging houses"—this is the thirteenth Point in the Prime Minister's Programme.

There are 570 hostels for Harijans and the Scheduled Tribes, with a strength of 35,782. And there are 231 hostels for students of the Backward Classes with a strength of 16.332. Essential commodities are already being supplied to these hostels at controlled prices by the Civil Supplies

Corporation. We have been doing this all the while and so it is not a Point that we would oppose !

LOW-PRICED TEXTBOOKS

14. The fourteenth Point of the Prime Minister's Programme is that textbooks and stationery should be available at reasonable prices to all School, College and University students. Price would be strictly controlled and Book Banks established.

Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani himself expressed open-hearted praise for the setting-up of Book Banks and the nationalisation of textbooks by the Tamil Nadu Government. At the same time he said that prices of textbooks were rather high and should be reduced. I would like to explain that point.

Members on the other side should consider whether, even before the announcement of the Twenty Point Programme, the Tamil Nadu Government had not evolved arrangements for setting up the Tamil Nadu Textbook Society so that textbooks to all school-classes may be printed, published and supplied solely through the Government Sector and not through the Private Sector.

Such an organisation had already been set up; and that is why we asserted boldly that we had completed the implementation of that scheme.

And now to Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani's plea for price-reduction. Our Education Minister Mr. Nedunchezhian had explained in detail all these points in the course of his speech on the grants for his Department. I would like to

bring to the attention of the Prime Minister a certain shortcoming that has occurred under the Government of India's measure for price-control. *Publishing concerns in the Private Sector that obtain printing paper at cheap rates and bring out textbooks, applied to the Central Government for approval to fix the selling price at three times the cost-price and the Government of India too has acceded to their plea.* We should bear this in mind while approaching this issue.

Every year, we are giving textbooks free of cost to 18 lakhs of children in Standards I to III and the amount spent so far under this scheme is Rs. 85 lakhs.

It was stated that the price is on the high side. The book in my hand is "Richardson and Livingstone—Some Task For Education". The number of pages in the book is 88 and its price is Rs. 5. This has been published by a private Company. The second book with me is '*Ariviyal*' (Science) prepared by our Tamil Nadu Textbook Society; comprising 386 pages, it is priced Rs. 4.80.

The price of an 88-page book from the Private Sector is Rs. 5; and the price of a Government publication of 386 pages is only Rs. 4.80.

Next, see this textbook '*Puvi-iyal*' (Geography) for Standard III published by Manickam Company in the Private Sector. No colour pictures are to be found in this book and the cover too is only in double-colour. There are only 44 pages in this book but it is priced Rs. 1.50. And it is the Government that supplies paper at cost-price for this.

For the same Standard III, the Tamil Nadu Textbook Society has published a 64-page book priced Re. 1 only. See the beautiful pictures and colour-pictures. (I am not saying all this to promote sales, but only by way of explanation to Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani !)

The publication of textbooks has been nationalised in several States in India. Scanning the statistics, we find that the sale-price per page in Rajasthan is 1.08 Paise; in Gujarat it is 2 Paise and in Himachal Pradesh 4 Paise. In Tamil Nadu, however, it is only one Paisa !

Let me point out that, in the whole of India, it is only in Tamil Nadu that textbooks are sold at the lowest prices.

Yet another book here, titled "Martin Luther King—Question and Answers"—its price is Re. 1. This book of 420 pages, "New Secondary School Geography" is priced Rs. 13 and it is a publication from the Private Sector. This Government publication '*Ariviyal*', (Science) of 402 pages, is priced Rs. 4.80 only.

Thus, even before Mrs. Indira Gandhi announced all this we had undertaken these tasks in our State.

APPRENTICES' TRAINING

15. The next point is to provide training to educated youth under the Apprenticeship Act.

When our Minister for Labour, Mr. Rajaram announced some time back that, in the matter of utilisation of Apprentices' training places, the Tamil Nadu Government had surpassed the target and achieved a utilisation of 107

per cent, I myself was surprised. Only when I went through the figures could I see that 4,264 seats had been set apart in the Private Sector establishments and 2.123 on the State Sector establishments, the total being 6,387 places.

Mrs. Ananthanayaki asked whether all this should not have been publicised. It has been done in Karnataka under the title "Twenty Point Programme", with portraits of the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister. Only here is it a sin! If we publicise like that here, a full-fledged delegation would go to Delhi!

On the subject of providing training, what they have stated in Karnataka is "..... a specially-designed training programme for about 1,000 locally-recruited persons during this year in selected growth-centres in the State." That is, only 1,000 persons there, where the matter has been publicised. But here the number is 6,387! And yet they bring a Censure Motion stating that we have not implemented the Twenty Point Programme!

You say we have not publicised our achievements. Well, look at this; is a bigger advertisement necessary? And have we left out the Prime Minister in this? The text itself commences with the words. "In pursuance of the Economic Programmes announced by the Prime Minister...". And while concluding the Advertisement we have said, "Tamil Nadu marches on to implement the rest of the measures announced by the Prime Minister."

In this two-page Advertisement we have announced what all we have done. Should not the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu have the same rights as Mr. Devaraj Urs of

Karnataka ? He has listed their achievements and what they propose to implement and I too have done the same thing. He has mentioned the Prime Minister's name and published her photograph also. We have not included the Prime Minister's portrait. The reason is that we did so once—that was when we contributed a sum of Rs. 6 crores to the National Defence Fund (which contribution had not been matched by any other State)—on that occasion, in the advertisement asking for contributions, we published the portraits of the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister, for which a mighty protest was conveyed by the Prime Minister's Secretariat ! Hence we thought now that they might object again if the Prime Minister's photograph were to be published; but we have included the Prime Minister's name in the material.

NO BONDED LABOUR HERE

16. "The practice of bonded labour will be abolished," says the Prime Minister.

As far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, we affirm that the practice of bonded labour is not prevalent here. Even if it is said that the practice is there in one or two places, the Central Government has promulgated an Ordinance ending the same. If it were to rear its head anywhere, it would be eradicated. We have no objection to this Point.

17. "Special legislation for confiscation of Smugglers' properties."

This legislation should be brought forward by the Centre. Therefore the Censure Motion must be moved there and not here, where it is out of place !

18. "Liberalisation of investment-procedures and action against misuse of import-licences".

I happen to know that the C.P.I. entertains some differences of opinion regarding this. Yet this House is well aware that effort on this has to be undertaken by the Centre. And so, on this Point too, the Government of Tamil Nadu has no responsibility to shoulder.

19. "National Permit Scheme for road transport."

We have already told them that as long as it is ensured that the rights of the State are not taken away, our Government would support the measure. They have said now something about 5700 permits for lorry, of which 200 would be for Tamil Nadu. Nothing definite has, however, been communicated to this Government. Nor do we know whether Ministers of that Department would meet and decide the issue. This Point is also one which the Centre has to undertake.

20. "Income Tax exemption limit will be raised from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 8,000 per annum"—this is the 20th Point. We have nothing to do in regard to this as it is entirely a Central affair.

And so, you gentlemen who have brought a Censure Motion saying that this Government has not implemented the Twenty Point Programme, should you not have left out at least four or five points and stated that fifteen of the Points have not been impremente? Without stopping to grasp what all come under the responsibility of the Centre and what all come under the responsibility of the State, to have

brought this Censure Motion stating that the Government has not implemented the total of Twenty Points is anything but appropriate! Had you but cared to show the draft to me, I would have amended it suitably; but you did not adopt that course of action.

Mrs. Sathiavani Muthu:—He says he has dealt with all the Twenty Points; but he has spoken nothing on the practice of bonded labour.

Chief Minister:—The Hon'ble lady-Member was not in the House when I spoke on that topic.

Mrs. Jothi Venkatachellum:—Merely for having called for the eradication of the practice of bonded labour, a certain Minister in the Karnataka State was himself sacked.

Mr. T.N. Ananthanayaki:—What is the basis for that?

Mrs. Jothi Venkatachellum:—I never speak without basis. I have always realised that the responsibility is greater!

Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani:—After the Prime Minister's announcement, they have promulgated Ordinances in many of the States. Why was not a similar Ordinance brought in Tamil Nadu?

Minister for Labour Mr. Rajaram:—The Government having examined and satisfied itself that there are no bonded labourers anywhere in Tamil Nadu—not even in the Nilgiris in particular, the Collector of which district was contacted to ascertain the position—there is no ground for such an Ordinance here.

Mrs. Sathiavani Muthu:—When I was Minister, I had been told by the Collectors of Salem and Coimbatore that the practice of bonded labour did exist there.

Mr. M. Chinnaswami:—There is no such practice in the Coimbatore district.

Minister Mr. Rajaram:—There are no villages unknown to me in Salem and Coimbatore. No petition (complaining of bonded labour) has come to the Government.

Dr. Hande:—In view of the fact that a former Minister and a present Minister have expressed differing opinions, why not there be a preliminary inquiry ?

Chief Minister:—This is an issue that is closed. Even if the practice were to be there (in some place), inasmuch as the Centre has promulgated an Ordinance to eradicate the same, the issue could be taken to have been disposed of. We need not make much of it.

'MAINSTREAM' ON TWENTY POINTS

I had said at the outset that it is the earlier Ten Point Programme that has developed into the Twenty Point Programme. In this context, let me now quote from the journal *Mainstream* which is known to our friend Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani. Its Editor is Mr. Nikhil Chakravarthy who is believed to be a member of the C.P.I. —I presume this information is correct, for otherwise Mr. K.T.K. would have by now refuted it ! The 13th Annual Number of that journal has come out; it carries a message of greetings from the President of India even;

and quite a few of the Central Ministers have contributed articles to that issue. In the Editorial of that issue of *Mainstream*, Mr. Nikhil Chakravarthy, who is a member of the C.P.I., writes as follows about the Twenty Point Programme:

"On the programmatic plane, there is noticeable advance. From mere passing of Party-level Resolutions promising Reforms (and in this respect too, one can of course claim progress from the Ten Points of 1967 to the Twenty Points of 1975) there is all-round exhortation by public leaders at different tiers of relevance, calling upon the flocks under their command to take up the implementation of the declared programme. From Resolutions to exhortations marks a perceptible advance in commitment!"

The Editor of *Mainstream* Mr. Nikhil Chakravarthy who is capable of this degree of sarcasm writes further about the Twenty Point Programme:

"(Central Finance Minister) Sri Subramaniam's plan for setting up Rural Banks with the World Bank funds but without taxing the rural rich, deserves the serious note of every patriotic Congressman. Those who think that the popularisation of the Twenty Point Programme is by itself a guarantee for socio-economic advance, tend to forget that the first Party to welcome it within a couple of hours of its announcement, as pragmatically realistic, was the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, then already fortified by the Prime Minister's official assurance against further nationalisations!"

Thus has Mr. Nikhil Chakravarthy commented in *Mainstream*. From this alone could one understand the

nature of reception accorded by the commoners to the Twenty Point Programme.

ONLY A RADIO-SPEECH

They have handed out the Twenty Point Programme without stating or coming forward to state the ways and means to raise the resources required for its implementation. As Mr. Manali Kandaswami (of the Tamil Nadu Communist Party) said, they in the Parliament conveyed praise to the Government for the announcement of the Twenty Point Programme, but did they pass any Resolution to the effect hat necessary funds should be allocated for the Programme ?

Or did the Centre invite all the Chief Ministers, convene a session of the National Development Council and ask, "In which of he States are these Points to be implemented and in what manner ? What all has been done so far; what is yet to be done; and what is the quantum of the financial assistance required for the purpose ?"

Not only that, It is the radio-speech that we have taken as the Twenty Point Programme and we are in raptures over it, saying, "Indeed, what a revolutionary Programme this !" What I ask is: "In the Programme that I read out now, which of the items is revolutionary ?"

In the broadcast, Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi had also mentioned that there would be no further nationalisation of Industries. Why was this not tagged on as the 21st Point of the Programme ? We have picked out a few and we call those the Twenty Points !

CENSURE WITHOUT PURPOSE!

Even after seeing for themselves that this Government had already commenced implementation of fourteen or fifteen Points of the Twenty Point Programme; that it had implemented in full one of two of them; that, during the last four-five years, it is implementing the Manu Needhi Scheme under which our Officers go to the villages and listen directly to the grievances of the people; that in a trail-blazing endeavour, which surpasses the Twenty Points, it has started the Government Employees' Family Welfare Scheme under which as many as 2,200 families of Government Employees have been paid Rs. 10,000 each; that it has undertaken a number of social welfare schemes such as Eye Camps, Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped, Rehabilitation of Widows, and Homes for Orphans; and that, by way of demonstrating that we march along the Gandhian path, it has done what even Congressmen have failed to, namely, the enforcement of total Prohibition although it had been suspended for a while; and that it has abolished Raffles altogether apart from putting a stop to horse-racing—even after seeing for themselves that this Government has thus gone ahead of the Twenty Points, is there any meaning in their seeking to censure such a Government?

In which other State is there a Water Board? Is there a Slum Clearance Board in any other State? Is there a Corporation for providing Housing to Harijans in any other State? Asserting that the only plans are those set out in the A.I.R. Broadcast, to say that we are to be censured for not implenmenting them—is there any meaning in this?

Could it be said that we are carrying out all these only after the proclamation of the Emergency ? Is it not a fact that we were implementing them even before—during the last six-seven years ? Was the breath of life imparted to these schemes only after they gave the word ? I appeal to everyone to ponder all these.

WHEN C.P.I. CONDEMNED EMERGENCY

The Emergency *qua* Emergency has not been mentioned in the Censure Motion; but it has been referred to as marking a period of time; that is, the Twenty Point Programme has been described as a Programme that was announced after the proclamation of the Emergency.

However, to give expression to views opposed to the Emergency is not wrong by any means. There are many precedents for this. There were those who had opposed even the Emergency proclaimed in the context of foreign Aggression. There were also those who had given notice of Motions opposing that Emergency !

In the year 1964, my esteemed and senior friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, who is one of the Leaders of the C.P.I., proposed a Resolution itself in the Rajya Sabha demanding the Repeal of the Emergency. In his introduction to the Resolution proposed on behalf of the C.P.I., Mr. Bhupesh Gupta had stated that the Emergency was not at all necessary for promoting the Defence Efforts and for stepping up the Economic activities of the country.

What is being said today ? That the Emergency is necessary for all these Economic plans and measures !

Let me now quote verbatim from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's speech demanding the repeal of the Emergency:

"They use the Emergency here in order to build up bureaucracy, to build themselves up and to give security to the Congress regime, security to the Congress administration—a bad administration. That is what I say. That is there. Therefore they want to create an artificial political atmosphere under the Emergency, in order to divert the people's attention from the real day-to-day issues. Emergency powers are needed to shield corruption, inefficiency and nepotism in the administration and cover up the bankruptcy in their whole policy and execution. That is clear. The Emergency powers are needed to intimidate the working people and suppress the democratic movements".

"Actually Emergency means more powers for bureaucracy; Emergency means more powers for the Ministers; Emergency means more powers to issue threats to the democratic rights and liberties of the people; Emergency means a sword in the hands of the Ruling Party to brandish over the heads of he Opposition Parties; and Emergency means that when the Elections take place he can go and tell the people that if they voted against you, then the Defence of India Rules would be used as has been done in parts of the country. That is called Emergency."

Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani:—Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's speech was made in 1964 and it pertained to the Emergency that had been proclaimed in 1962. In that Resolution he said that the Emergency was no longer necessary.

Chief Minister:—Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has given the characteristics of the Emergency as such; and he has not stated that his comments apply to a two-year-old Emergency alone. His elucidation is in general terms and would apply to Emergency proclaimed at any time.

ANNA'S VIEWS ON EMERGENCY

Next, it was said here that if only Anna were with us now, he would have supported the present Emergency. Some do talk as if they were close to Anna like me or Mr. Nedunchezian or Mr. Anbazhagan or Mr. Madhialagan and others. Mrs. Sathiavani Muthu had also been with us—I do not deny that—and that is why what she spoke sounded distinctly odd to me.

Our friend Mr. P. Srinivasan too said that his Party is supporting the Emergency only in the path shown by Anna.

I would like to read out here what Anna said in the Rajya Sabha in the year 1966, while speaking on the President's Address to the Parliament:

"I would request and demand of this Government to repeal this Emergency and this D.I.R. They have got enough powers with the laws that they have, to deal with any mischief, with any anti-social elements.

"Why are they apprehensive of their own people?

"Therefore I would demand of this Government that they should forthwith lift this Emergency and this D.I.R. and release those who are kept in jail. And unless and until they do that, they would not have a claim to decency

and democracy. To the public the first and foremost and the one question that they will have to answer will be, 'Why do you keep this Emergency and the D.I.R.?'"

It was only in the path charted by Anna and in accordance with the views held by him on the subject of the Emergency at that time that the Executive Committee of the D.M.K. evolved its Resolution in July '75.

The C.P.I. might have had a particular view in 1964 and might entertain a different one in 1973. But so far as the D.M.K. is concerned, inasmuch as it has been nurtured by Anna as a Party with a corpus of excellent political traditions, its Executive Committee adopted the Resolution in July '75 only on the basis of the views given expression to by Anna in 1966 and in accordance with the rules of the basic grammar of politics that judgements should be formed only on the merits of issues, whether those involved happened to be our allies or opponents.

CONSISTENT POLICY OF D.M.K.

Dr. Hande, in the course of his speech, said that the Executive of the D.M.K. passed a particular Resolution, that a different Resolution was adopted at the public meeting held on the Beach and that a still more different Resolution was passed at the D.M.K. Conference of Tirunelveli; and he wanted to know why we had been retreating!

The implication of Dr. Hande's query seemed to be, "Should you not have proceeded on even more vigorous lines?" If Members such as Dr. Hande had been on this side, it looks as if they migh have put forward such

suggestions and advised us to march ahead at a speedier pace. Their indignation with the Central Government is indeed of that intensity ! They seem to be inwardly sad and bitter as a consequence of the feeling, "Oh, they have brought this Emergency. It has to be battled tooth and nail, but, alas we cannot do so, for we are caught under such leadership !"

Dr. Hande:—On many an occasion before, I have praised Kalaignar's imaginativeness. He has now provided yet another opportunity for me to do so; and I would like to point out that what he has stated is a wholly contrary point of view !

Mr. P. Srinivasan:—Anna went to the Rajya Sabha and spoke (on the Emergency). But when the present Emergency was proclaimed, you (of the D.M.K.) condemned it at public meetings and also while talking to pressmen Why could you not have promptly arranged for a Resolution to be passed by this Legislative Assembly and forwarded he same (to the Centre)?

Chief Minister:—A warrior knows in which hand he should hold the sword and in which the Shield !

Speaker Sir, what are the contents of the Resolution adopted by the Executive of the D.M.K.?

(1) The proclamation of Emergency should be revoked,

(2) The national leaders of renown, who have to their credit great sacrifice, should be set at liberty forthwith, and

(3) The restrictions imposed on pressmen which, in effect, have tied up their hands, should be removed and the just rights of the Press restored without impediments.

This is the Central point of all the Resolutions adopted by our Party. Only if the expression "Point" is used at the present time would the matter be grasped by all ! The first point of the Resolutions is that the Emergency should be repealed, the second point is that the national leaders should be freed immediately and the third point is that the just rights of the Press should be restored.

How to get these points fulfilled ? The Resolution of the D.M.K. Executive stipulated that Tamil Nadu, in order to win these demands, should approach the problem in a manner suited to its unique traditions—along the Gandhian path—along lines of action evolved by Anna—by adopting peaceful means—and without in any way impairing law and order.

Nowhere have we said that we would resort to Agitation. When, soon after the adopting of the Resolution by the D.M.K. Executive, pressmen asked me, "In the context of such a Resolution, could you tell us whether the D.M.K. Government in the State would implement or not implement the directives issued by the Central Government on the basis of the Emergency ?," I enquired of them what sort of directives they had in mind. They replied, "Directives, for instance, to arrest some persons and to take action against smugglers and unlawful organisations." I told the pressmen: "The Executive Committee of the D.M.K. has adopted the Resolution, but it has not directed the State Government not to implement directives (of the nature re-

ferred to by you) from he Centre." This elucidation of mine had been published then itself.

Accordingly, during the last two, three months, in the matter of the directive issued by the Government of India, whether they were orders in the context of the present Emergency to the effect that smugglers should be detained or that the COFEPOSA and the MISA should be applied or that certain Parties or Organisations should be banned and their Branches, if present here, prevented from functioning or that those belonging to these Parties and Organisations should be arrested—not disregarding any of these orders, we have been conducting ourselves without giving rise to any administrative confrontation.

SOLUTION THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS

That was as the Executive of the D.M.K. had directed us, namely, to seek a solution to the Emergency through peaceful means and without any impairment of law and order. What emerged at the D.M.K. rally on the Beach in Madras was only in continuation of this.

In what manner have we come down at the Beach ? What was the Pledge taken there towards the close of the Meeting ? Rising to their feet, lakhs of people took this Pledge:

"WE SOLEMNLY AFFIRM THAT WE WOULD NOT HESITATE IN ANY MANNER TO SAFEGUARD INDIA'S DEMOCRACY, WHATEVER BE THE ODDS AGAINST US AND WHATEVER BE THE CRISIS THAT CONFRONTS US.

"THIS VAST ASSEMBLAGE OF THE PEOPLE OF TMIL NADU REQUESTS THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA TO FULFIL ITS DEMANDS THAT THE NATIONAL LEADERS BE SET AT LIBERTY AND THE JUST RIGHTS OF THE PRESS RESTORED.

"LONG LIVE DEMOCRACY"

In that Pledge we have stated that we would not hesitate to safeguard India's democracy, whatever be the odds against us and whatever be the crisis that confronts us. It is that stand in unhesitating defence of Democracy that has been demonstrated here through our making provision for the Question Hour in this Legislatvie Assembly, through our allowing the introduction of Adjournment Motions and through our countenancing a No-Confidence Motion even (it was Dr. Hande who, by not being present in the House in time, provided occasion for the Motion to fall through!) Although others have not come forward to acclaim the manner in which the Assembly has been conducted here, I am not unaware that Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani, who has abiding faith in Democracy, is all appreciation for this. They would not have expected to this extent; for they would have thought that the Assembly-session would be on the pattern of the recent session of the Parliament!

PARLIAMENT AND ASSEMBLY

What actually happened in regard to the Parliament-session? On the opening day of the Parliament-session, a directive was handed out to all M.Ps. Issued from the Office of the Chief Censor, Government of India, Shastri Bhavan, the directive under the heading 'Revised Guide-

lines for the coverage of Parliament proceedings reads as follows:

"The statements of Ministers may be published either in full or in a condensed form, but its contents should not infringe censorship.

"The Speeches of Members of Parliament participating in a Debate will not be published in any manner of form, but their names and Party-affiliation may be mentioned. When publishing names of Members who participated in a Debate, the fact that they supported or opposed a Motion can be mentioned."

But here on the day the present Censure Motion was tabled (against the D.M.K. Government), you might have seen the headline in the ruling Congress newspaper to the effect that charges had been levelled in the Legislative Assembly against the Government of Tamil Nadu! Do you think that, on the same pattern, headlines could have been published that charges had been levelled in the Parliament against the Government of India?

Mrs. T.N. Ananthanayaki:—Not all Members belonging to the Opposition Parties in the Parliament are like their counterparts here in Tamil Nadu. We here are most dignified. That is why.....

Chief Minister:—Even the C.P.I. is an Opposition Party in the Parliament! I realiy am not able to endure Mrs. Ananthanayaki saying that the Members of the C.P.I. are lacking in dignity to that extent!

Mrs. T.N. Ananthanayaki:—The C.P.I. is a Party in alliance with us.

Chief Minister:—Indeed this is the second assault on the C.P.I., but let that pass! Coming back to the topic, the text of the Resolution adopted subsequently by the D.M.K. District Conference in Tirunelveli is as follows:

"THIS CONFERENCE REQUESTS THE CHIEF MINISTER OF TAMIL NADU, DR. M. KARUNANIDHI TO INITIATE SUCH APPROPRIATE EFFORTS AS WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO REMEDY THE EXTRA-ORDINARY SITUATION THAT HAS ARISEN IN THE COUNTRY TODAY, HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PROMINENT LEADERS OF INDIA AND THE CHIEF MINISTERS, MEET THE PRIME MINISTER AND DO THE NEEDFUL TO EVOLVE A CONGENIAL ATMOSPHERE IN A MANNER TO GLADDEN ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE LAND".

In what way is this Resolution contrary to the earlier Resolution adopted by the Executive of the D.M.K.? What has been set out in the earlier Resolution has only been extended up to Tirunelveli and there is certainly no retreat whatsoever.

In every one of the Resolutions we have only said that the Leaders should be set at liberty, that the Emergency should be revoked and that the just rights of the Press should be restored.

MR. KAMARAJ DID SPEAK OUT

On behalf of the Tamil Nadu Organisation Congress too, a Resolution was passed on 3rd July '75 condemning the Emergency. I have already read out our Resolutions. The Resolution of the Organisation Congress was couched in

strident terms and it went to the extent of condemning the Emergency.

Not only that. Some friends who spoke here yesterday said that Mr. Kamaraj had not expressed any opinion in the matter. In the issue of the newspaper *Navasakthi* has been published an item from Sholingur dated June 27 under the heading; "Proclamation of Emergency—Leaders Arrested—Not good for the country—Mr. Kamaraj's warning." Therein Mr. Kamaraj is reported to have spoken as follows at a public meeting itself: "Leaders have been arrested throughout the country. I am shocked by this. It is not known why they should have been arrested. This situation is not good for the country".

On the next day too, *Navasakthi* reports Mr. Kamaraj as having said that what atrocity did not take place even during the Britishers' rule had occurred now. He pointed out further: "From now onwards what all I say would not appear in the papers—and so, what is the purpose in speaking at all!" Here is the issue of *Navasakthi* dated 28th June 1975.

Dr. Hande is hurriedly noting down the date of the paper, perhaps thinking that I have had this sheet printed in the *Murasoli* press!

Mr. A.R. Marimuthu adduced some reasons here for the proclamation of the Emergency. He asked, "When it was due to Nature's vagaries that prices rose, how could the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi be blamed for it?"

Could they not have asked the same query in Tamil Nadu also ? When an Agitation was staged here saying that the D.M.K. Government alone was responsible for the price-rise, did objective politicians such as Mr. Marimuthu meet the agitators and tell them that the Chief Minister here could not be blamed for the situation. No, they did not.

NO SHORT-CUTS TO POWER

They themselves referred to the Bihar Agitation before proceeding to proffer explanations. When pressmen sought my views on the Bihar Agitation (that was during my visit to Bangalore). I told them in categorical terms, "Five years' time is there to change a Government elected democratically, on majority votes. Only after that duration should the people, if they so desire, change the Government through the ballot. Any effort to bring about such a change of the Government in the meanwhile through Agitations along short-cuts, would not meet with the approval of the D.M.K. Do not for a moment think that I say this because I happen to belong to the ruling Party now. This has been the policy of the D.M.K. right from the time it was an Opposition Party."

Mr. Manali Kandaswami, while speaking here, asked whether there was any difference between the Bihar Agitation and the Agitation that was staged in Tamil Nadu, when, in the year 1972, some friends parted company with the D.M.K. Mr. Latheef too referred to the same point. Mr. Marimuthu demanded to know whether it was the correct thing to coerce the Members of the Legislature to resign. Here in Tamil Nadu they took out processions

demanding the resignations of the M.L.As. belonging to our Party. Of course they have said now that they had done so in a peaceful manner. I do not intend to probe the matter in more detail.

MR. M.G.R'S. OUTBURST AGAINST PRIME MINISTER

They said that Mr. Jayaprakash Narain or Mr. Morarji Desai or Mr. Ashok Mehta used to comment on the Prime Minister in a harsh manner and hence such action had to be resorted to.

I would like to remind Mr. Marimuthu that at the time of the byelection in Coimbatore there was no alliance between the A.D.M.K. and the Indira Congress. On that occasion, the Assistant General Secretary of the A.D.M.K. speaks in Coimbatore, *'Is the Prime Minister for the seat or for the country?" This has appeared in their own paper Thennagam. The culprit who is instigating Secession is only Mrs. Indira Gandhi"—"Mr. Nanjil Manoharan's speech in Coimbatore"*. The said speech was made only last year, on 6th February 1974, to be exact.

Next, my good friend Mr. M.G. Ramachandran, while in Mahe at the time of the Elections in Pondicherry, spoke as to why the promises held out by Mrs. Indira Gandhi in the year 1971 were scattered to the winds. Thus, during their reign through 28 years, promises are being continually cast to the winds—whether they relate to the Ten Point Programme or whether they happen to be the Directive Principles enshrined in the Constitution. Speaking thus in Mahe, Mr. M.G.R. said: "Let us teach an appropriate lesson to the Prime Minister!" (I know not in what

manner the lesson was proposed to be taught—perhaps on the pattern of their march to Gopalapuram !)

Mr. P. Srinivasan:—The lesson of the Elections !

Chief Minister :—Is that so ?

Mr. P. Srinivasan:—The Chief Minister had undertaken an intense search for this one piece of evidence and utilising what was said in Election-time ..... . a

Chief Minister:—Is this a calm speech ? Let that go. I will cite another "Arrest Mrs. Indira Gandi—Anna D.M.K. M.P. Mr. Manoharan's outburst !" This too appeared in the newspaper.

A Party which thus demanded the arrest of the Prime Minister and characterised the Prime Minister of the country as a separatist and a culprit instigating secession is today, in the context of possible electoral alliances, extending effusive welcome to the Emergency and to programmes such as the the Twenty Points ! Is it not improper on the part of such a Party to indulge in tendentious commentary as if the D.M.K. is undermining the security of India and as if the D.M.K. has developed personal animosity towards Mrs. Indira Gandhi ?

RELEASE THE LEADERS

Both at the session of the Executive of our Party and at the Mass Rally on the Marina, we have pointed out how it cannot be denied by anyone that Mrs. Indira Gandhi is of a national lineage renowed for its traditions. The trouble is that the very elders who had showered affection

on her when she was a babe—those leaders such as Mr. Jayaprakash Narain and Mr. Morarji Desai—are now in incarceration. No-one need be apprehensive that by setting them free, an enormous Revolution would convulse the country. All we ask is, in what way would it be wrong to release these leaders from jail and to restore the just rights to the Press ?

To ask thus is not unpatriotic. Characterising this as unpatriotic and yearning to topple this Government on that pretext is nothing short of wild fancy.

We are raising a Memorial for Mr. Kamaraj; and we have accorded undying honours to him— police honours, military honours and the like. *A memorial loftier than all these and a symbol of our regard for Mr. Kamaraj's sacrifice would be to set at liberty the Leaders who were his colleagues and who are now in prison.*

We do not plead on behalf of murderers or evil-hearted men or conspirators and saboteurs or those subscribing to the cult of violence, according to whom the freedom of a country can come only through a bloody Revolution !

When I talked to the Prime Minister, as also on other occasions, and in the statements issued by the Prime Minister, I could realise her poignant feelings; and we are responsive to those feelings. The assasination of a Prime Minister or the eruption of a violent Revolution in the country is not something that could be countenanced at any point of time. The allegations of assassination attempts flung in the direction of the Prime Minister are certainly not those that could be tolerated.

NO CONFRONTATION WITH CENTRE

If someone is assassinated, there are a few who stoop to the extent of suggesting that the Prime Minister might have had a hand in it. The D.M.K. however, has never indulged in such undignified talk. When the D.M.K. was in alliance with Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Party and even after that alliance had broken, there has never been a trace even of undignified reference to the Prime Minister. Nothing is farther from our thought than to get into a purposeless confrontation or clash with the Government at the Centre.

It was only when we were in alliance with them that we put forward our plea for State Autonomy and for more powers to the States. It was only when we were in alliance with them that we invited the Chief Minister of Punjab and conducted the State Autonomy Conference. In our Election Manifesto of 1971 we placed State Autonomy as one of our objectives. Even they of the A.D.M.K. who are now opposing State Autonomy got elected only on the basis of that Election Manifesto! We had not surrendered even an iota of our Policy when we were in alliance with Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Party; and we did not say on any occasion that we would accept or acquiesce in Hindi imposition.

In the Conference conducted in Tiruchirappalli after Anna had entered enternal rest—at a time when the D.M.K.'s alliance with Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Congress was still intact—we of the D.M.K., including those friends who have separated from us subsequently, raised in one voice the five major slogans—"Tireless shall we strive along the path charted by Anna"; "We shall always oppose Hindi

imposition"; "We are determined to establish social order free of disparity"; "We shall vanquish poverty without recourse to violence"; and "Autonomy at the State-level and Federation at the Centre."

Never, never have we mortgaged our policies. No leader of the D.M.K. has ever commented on the Prime Minister in a manner that could be characterised as undignified even to the slightest extent. We only review and comment on policies, ideas and situations.

In conclusion, I too would like to take advantage of the present Censure Motion here in order to address a plea to the Prime Minister on behalf of this House.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi has said that a certain discipline is necessary if efforts are to be initiated to revoke the Emergency and to release the national Leaders now in prison. No-one is opposed to that. Orderliness and discipline are of course necessary and this Government is prepared to extend all coperation in this direction.

Appealing to the Prime Minister to take a favourable decision in the near future to restore the just freedoms of the Press, I request in humility that this Censure Motion be withdrawn, as it has been rendered unnecessary in the light of all these explanations and elucidations.

22, KA: 50