GLORIOUS ENDEAVOUR



தி.மு.க. அறக்கட்டளை
பொருளாளர்
அன்பகம்
சென்னை-18
அறிவாலயம்

Speech delivered by

Dr. M. KARUNANIDHI

President of the D.M.K.
and
Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu

at the
Salem District D. M. K. 5th Conference
held in Salem
on 16th and 17th of August 1975

திரு. பா. ஜான்,
(வசந்தம் கார்டன்,
மகாகவி [illegible], சென்னை)

The Salem District Fifth Conference of the Dravida Munnetra Kazahgam was conducted in Salem on 16th and 17th August 1975. The attendance at the Conference was of mammoth dimensions and the political consciousness of the participants was of a high order.

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This booklet contains the text of the Speech delivered by Dr. M. KARUNANIDHI, President of the DMK on 17th August '75.

அறக்கட்டளை
திரு. க. அண்ணா அறிவாலயம்-தி.நகர்
பேராசிரியர்
ஆய்வக நூல்
நிலையம்
சென்னை-18

"THIS Conference of the DMK is being conducted in a grand manner here in Salem and the credit for the success of the occasion goes to you all, who have assembled in your lakhs with inspiring enthusiasm and intensity of fervour. The turn-out for the deliberations on these two days has been such that one is led to wonder whether it is only a district-level Conference or a rehearsal for the State-level Conference itself.

"I have observed on many occasions that there is some steady connection between Salem and rain and myself. Rain fell in torrents just when it was my turn to speak and as a result, some of you have had to rise to your feet and remain standing. I would advise the standing menfolk to emulate the womenfolk who are seated here in a disciplined manner, despite the dampness of the earth. Dampness of feet and valour in the heart—such is the situation in which you are all attending this Conference.

"Salem is a place renowned for the weaving ir.dustry. It could be said that the weaving industry is one that underlines Democracy in this world. A dhoti or a saree would come into being only when the thread is spread in warp and woof. Likewise, only when the ruling Party and the Opposition are present, could the grammar of Democracy remain

in the world. Salem is the town where live weavers who, as if by way of annotating this grammar of Democracy, put the thread through warp and woof and shape it into dhoti and saree and other categories of cloth that go to protect our dignity.

"Our Party is dedicated to the fundamentals of Democracy and that is one reason why it is viewed with disfavour by those who have never had faith in the creed. Since the DMK Government had not fallen even after the recitation of the canto of allegations some persons are eagerly seeking to topple it in the canto of Emergency at least! Finding fault with the Resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the DMK soon after the proclamation of the Emergency, these gentlemen are submitting petitions to the President of India, the Prime Minister and the Central Ministers visiting Madras, seeking the ouster of the DMK Government.

DMK on Gandhian path

"What exactly does the Resolution of our Executive Committee say? It does not demand the release of all those in prison today—the smugglers and the bootleggers, the hoarders and the anarchists and the religious and communal fanatics—they who have been collecting skulls as trophies! The demand in the Resolution is for the release of the senior national leaders who do not belong to our Party and who do not have any alliance whatsoever with the DMK.

"Another demand is that the Emergency needs to be reviewed. Yet another demand is that the just rights of the Press should be restored. We have not said anywhere that there should be agitation or struggle to get these demands fulfilled. On the contrary, what the Resolution stipulates is that Tamil Nadu, in order to win these demands, should approach the problem in a manner suited to its traditions—along the Gandhian path—along lines of action evolved by Dr. Anna—and without in any way impairing law and order and general peace; and thus seek a proper and happy solution to the problem.

"When I explained this Resolution to Press-correspondents, they asked: "In that case, could you tell us whether the DMK Government in the State would implement or not implement the directives issued by the Central Government on the basis of the Emergency?" I told them: **"The Executive Committee of the DMK has not directed the State Government not to implement the directive of the Central Government; and no such decision has been taken".**

Emergency and Tamil Nadu

"It is being asked: "Is it not a fact that the present Emergency is useful for the purpose of curbing the enemies of society, the economic offenders, the smugglers, the tax-dodgers and those who indulge in fraudulent transactions of foreign exchange; and to place these elements behind

the bars and bring their business to a standstill?" I do not deny that. The Emergency is certainly useful that way and on behalf of our Government we have instituted all necessary measures and steps in the context of the Emergency.

"Almost all the Central Ministers who come to Tamil Nadu voice the allegation that there is no Emergency in the State. I have the duty now to furnish certain statistics to those at the Centre: The Ordinance was promulgated on 25-6-75 and the statement of figures that I proceed to give is for the period up to 4-8-75. That is, I shall detail the steps taken by the Food Department and the Police Department, during the period of about 40 days from the date of proclamation of the Emergency, to bring about reduction of prices, put down smugglers and prevent hoarding. The prosecutions launched by these two Departments in pursuance of the steps to check hoarding and to curb smuggling are 565 in number, out of which 116 cases relate to hoarding and are under the Essential Commodities Act. Ninety-nine persons have been detained in this connection.

"The prosecutions pertaining to smuggling are 176, the number of persons arrested being 145. As many as 273 cases have been booked for failure to placard price-lists as required under the DIRs; and 15 persons have been arrested in this connection. Six persons have been detained under the MISA for crimes of adulteration. Thus the total number of cases registered is 565 and the arrested persons are 265.

"During these forty days alone—that is, after the declaration of Emergency—the value of the food-articles seized is Rs. 11,60,992/-. Among the vehicles seized are 24 lorries, on van, one car, 49 carts and 10 cycles. Even before the Emergency, numerous persons had been arrested for such offences and a vast number of cases registered.

"Apart from all this, in order to make Prohibition a success and put down the trade in illicit liquor, as many as 160 persons have been detained under the MISA; and action in this direction has been taken without fear or favour although some of the offenders might have been associated with our own Party.

"Under the Act known as the CFEPOSA (Conservation of Foreign Exchange and Prevention of Smuggling Activities Act) more than 125 persons have been arrested for indulging in Foreign Exchange frauds.

"Sixteen major anti-social elements dealing in stolen goods have been arrested.

"What we have to consider is whether the price-level has come down in Tamil Nadu as a result of these measures. Central Ministers Mr. C. Subramaniam and Mr. V. C. Shukla, who were in Tamil Nadu recently, have said that prices have come down throughout India, with the exception of Tamil Nadu.

"It is the practice to sanction Dearness Allowance to Government Employees on the basis

of the Composite Price Index. I hope that Central Ministers Messrs. Subramaniam, Shukla and others would be able to follow the matter when I trace the changes which this Composite Index has gone through. In June-July 1973, this Index had risen by 7.9 per cent; and in June-July 1974 by 4 per cent. But now in 1975 the Index has come down by 2.4 per cent. More than this concrete illustration regarding the drop in the Composite Index I am at a loss to understand what exactly Mr. Subramaniam and Mr. Shukla want by way of proof of the fact that prices have come down.

Mr. Subramaniam's queer logic

"A statement attributed to Mr. C. Subramaniam was published in the newspapers the other day. According to the news-item, the Union Finance Minister Mr. C. Subramaniam said in a Television interview that, in Tamil Nadu the prices were going up, "perhaps because the Emergency does not exist there". He himself said in the very next sentence: "But it would take about six weeks for the downward trend to be reflected at the retail level". All this he said in the course of a Television interview in Delhi on August 7th. **Thus according to Mr. Subramaniam's own computation, it would take six weeks for the downward trend in prices to be reflected at the retail level—that is, we have to wait till 21st September!**

"However, friends. I asked our Food Department and the officials of the Statistics section to prepare a

comparative study of the prices prevailing in different States in the context of the repeated announcements on the part of the Central Government to the effect that prices have come down. I am furnishing the available particulars and in case there is any error I am willing to correct myself:

	Price per quintal	
Rice	July	August
	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
Madras	346-67	346-67
Calcutta	350-00	360-00
Maize		
Madras	180-00	160-00
Vijayawada	120-00	135-00
Delhi	155-00	160-00
Bombay	175-00	180-00
Karnataka	150-00	150-00
Gujarat	135-00	155-00
Gingelly Oil	June	August
Madras	865-31	831-25
Delhi	900-00	875-00
Bombay	810-00	820-00
Groundnut Oil	July	August
Bombay	720-00	790-00
Calcutta	760-00	770-00
Madras	750-00	745-00

Bengal Gram	June	July	August
Madras	240-00	235-00	235-00
Bombay	235-00	225-00	240-00

	June	*July*	*August*
Thuvar Dhal			
Madras	266-67	261-11	261-11
Green Gram			
Madras	240-00	230-00	230-00
Delhi	263-00	230-00	255-00
Bombay	260-00	225-00	240-00
Mustard			
Madras	250-00	210-00	210-00
		(Drop by Rs. 40/)	
Delhi	240-00	250-00	235-00
		(Reduction of Rs. 15/- only)	
Chillies			
Madras		1,250-00	1,250-00
Delhi		1,400-00	1,250-00
Turmeric			
Madras	350-00	340-00	335-00
Delhi	425-00	460-00	450-00
Bombay	505-00	375-00	375-00
Coriander Seed			
Madras		390-00	390-00
Delhi		600-00	550-00
Bombay		450-00	450-00
Sugar			
Madras			448-00
Delhi			500-00
Bombay			476-00

In case there is any error in the figures furnished to me by the officials, I request Messrs. C. Subramaniam and Mr. V. C. Shukla—who come to Tamil

Nadu and complain that the Emergency does not exist in the State and **that is the reason why the prices have not at all come down here—to publish the catalogue of prices prevailing in all the States in India and point out those articles for which the prices have not registered decline here.**

No desire for clash

"At a time when Emergency has arisen in a country and particularly in a vast sub-continent such as India, should we not consider what is to be done and how exactly the matter is to be approached?

"Emergency is proclaimed when there is foreign invasion—how do they go about the matter on such occasions? All the Parties are invited, the details of the situation are given out, the cooperation and support of the Parties are sought and they are told, **"Let us all stand together and combat the alien let us defend India and let the whole of India remain united".**

"Although we might differ in policy today, although we happen to be among those who raise the query as to whether all these things could not have been done even without recourse to Emergency—as far as the Government of Tamil Nadu is concerned, the Government here is being run by a Party which does not desire to clash with the Central Government in the sphere of administration.

"At such a juncture, in what manner should the Ministers at the Centre—Mr. C. Subramaniam,

Mr. V. C. Shukla and others—go about their tasks? Instead of holding themselves in a position to offer constructive advice to us, "You are to do such and such a thing in such a such a manner," should they peddle destructive criticism? They cannot bear to see us of the DMK continuing in power and it is this anger born of frustration that makes them talk in this fashion!

"I have already explained the steps taken by us on the food-front and the measures undertaken to control prices. Could it be said, even with regard to any other field, that this Government failed to to take effective action, wherever such action was necessary and justified?

"Other speakers here before me declared that they were but waiting for my command and that mine would be the last word as far as they were concerned. And then they proceeded to ask me to initiate discussions with the Central Government on the present situation with a view to ushering in normalcy. It is in order to create this confidence—it is in order to ensure that the confidence, once created, is not shaken or shattered, that as far as this Government is concerned, we are taking action in a manner that would not leave the slightest room for any clash or confrontation.

Impartial enforcement of law

"A few individuals belonging to our Party wrote about separation—**is it not a fact that they were arrested?** Is it not a fact that

the paper Neetolai, considered to be one of the DMK journals, was stopped when it carried matter on the topic of separation. Is it not a fact that the DMK journal **Sabatham** was seized?

"When it is seen that our State Government ordered seizure of the copies of one issue of the DMK daily **Murasoli** even, does it not mean that the Government of Tamil Nadu continues to be one that takes impartial action?

"What is the situation obtaining today? They say that the proclamation of Emergency is for the purpose of saving Democracy, for battling atrocities and for curbing economic offenders and other enemies of society.

Too strong of weapon

"You all know the Kolli hills near Namakkal in the Salem district. This place was once ruled by a Chieftain-philanthropist by name Valvil Ori. A certain poet called Van-paranar comes seeking gifts from Ori and he brings a poem composed by him for the occasion. That poem of rugged grandeur runs as follows:

O valorous Chieftain,
Val-vil Ori !
The arrow released
from your sturdy bow
is of the prowess
to fell an elephant.

You aimed it at a tiger
and it sped on
to kill the ferocious quarry;
and having devoured
the life of that beast,
it flew on to pierce
a spotted deer;
Unquenched even then,
it sought out a boar
and made short work of it;
Still not resting
on its many laurels,
your arrow proceeded
to impale an iguana
that had sought refuge
in an ant-hill there!

"What the poet says in such graphic splendour is that the arrow which was of the status and strength to bring down an elephant, killed actually a tiger, a deer, a boar and at last an iguana.

"What was intended to be killed was the tiger; but when it is described that along with the tiger, even the deer was butchered, we are naturally grieved!

"If this tale of Val-vil Ori could be amended somewhat and dragged in the direction of the politics of the Indian sub-continent—that sturdy arrow 'Emergency', which is capable of felling the elephant, has pierced the saboteurs, the smugglers, the black-money-holders, the dealers in foreign exchange, the

tax-dodgers, and other enemies of society who could all be likened to man-eaters. We are indeed happy that the arrow has thereby achieved the objective. **(Applause)**

"However, what causes sorrow to us is that the arrow instead of stopping with the tiger, might proceed further and hit the "just rights of the people" which could be likened to the deer! **(Prolonged Applause).**

"That is why we are all atremble to save the deer—to pull out the arrow sticking to the side of the deer and to apply appropriate medication in order to save the life of the hapless victim.

"Tamil Nadu is renowned for the Siddha system of medicine. The medicines in the Siddha pharmacopoeia are compounded from herbs collected in the Kolli hills, the Yercaud hills, the Ootacamund hills, the Kodaikanal hills and the Courtallam hills. He who prepared these precious medicines, made them into tablets and gave them to us was none other than our Dr. Anna who brought us up in loving care!

"We have with us such a medicine and we say. "You let loose your sturdy arrow, which could dispose of the elephant, on the tiger and we were indeed gladdened over that. But, alas, the arrow has hit the deer too, and we say we want to save the deer. **We say this in the confidence that Mrs. Indira Gandhi who is the unique representative of womanhood and a repository of the finer feelings, would not say "no" to our endeavour!**

"We adopted a certain Resolution in our Tirunelveli District Conference and this Resolution has elicited two different opinions. One view expressed is that we have backed out from the earlier Resolution—the one that had been adopted by the Executive Committee of the Party. The other view is all praise for the Resolution which is taken as a clear indication that the DMK approaches the problem with good intention.

"I do not propose to anlayse these reviews. This does not however mean that we do not respect the voice of the people. Our sole objective is that normalcy should somehow be restored in India.

CPI Sakuni's antics

"Mr. M. Kalyanasundaram, the CPI leader, says that, after having adopted the Tirunelveli Resolution, we of the DMK should withdraw the earlier Resolution passed by the Executive Committee. Who says this?—Mr. Kalyanasundaram whose alliance in the political circles reminds us of the role of "Sakuni" of the **Mahabharata**! He has stated that the two Resolutions are entirely different.

"What I would like to tell Mr. M. Kalyanasundaram is that the Resolution of the Executive Committee could be likened to the tresses of a damsel plaited in Madras. The Tirunelveli Resolution is the equivalent of flowers bedecking that plait. Is it laid down anywhere that to a plait done in Madras, flowers should not be added on in Tirunelveli? **(Prolonged Applause)**

"What Mr. M. Kalyanasundaram dictates is that, once you have fixed the flowers on to your head, you should unloose the tresses!

"While dressing, we tie our dhoti first and then put on our shirt. The Madras Resolution is the first stage of dressing and the Tirunelveli Resolution is a continuation of the process. Mr. Kalyanasundaram however says, "Once you have put on the shirt, why do you need the dhoti?—Remove the latter forthwith!"

"The overwhelming anxiety of these perverted individuals is that the DMK should somehow be pushed to attract the adverse attention of the Centre and then the Government here toppled!

Prime Minister's constructive response

"Actually, however it is after the adopting of our two Resolutions—and particularly, it is after the passing of the Resolution at the Tirunelveli District Conference of the DMK—that the statements of Mrs. Indira Gandhi have been such as to lend us hope and confidence. We do not of course presume to claim that it is by way of response to our Tirunelveli Resolution that Mrs. Indira Gandhi made a particular pronouncement. All that we say is that whether you take the recent statements of Mrs. Indira Gandhi or her press-interviews or her speech on the occasion of Flag-hoisting on Independence Day, 15th August—although we might not identify them as a direct reply or response to any

particular Resolution of ours, they are such as to be in tune with our line of thinking and our pleas.

"On 13th August, the Prime Minister granted an interview to the journal **Socialist India;** and six items in that interview are of a nature to appeal to us.

"The first point in Mrs. Gandhi's pronouncement is that there is no intention to enforce one-Party rule in India—this is something that definitely deserves to be welcomed.

"Secondly, the Prime Minister has said that in a country of our diversity, the people should have the right to elect any Party of their choice. This is exactly what the DMK says.

"Thirdly, Mrs. Gandhi has expressed the view that the Central Government should have adequate powers to hold the country together and deal with basic national challenges. This constitutes the principle of State Autonomy enunciated by the DMK. Mark what the Prime Minister has said. She has not declared that all the powers should be with the Centre but only those powers necessary to meet the challenges facing India and to hold the country together.

"In the fourth place, the Prime Minister has said that only by making adequate provision for the expression of regional loyalties, a vast country such as India could remain strong and united. This too is only the view which is being set out by the DMK.

India is a land of multi-racial, multi-lingual people who have distinct cultural traditions and characteristics. All this has been in Mrs. Gandhi's mind when she expressed her opinion in this regard.

New Constituent Assembly ?

"The Prime Minister has stated next that it could be examined in detail whether such varied points of view may be taken to fruition through conventions or through statutory charges. It is on the basis of this line of thinking of the Prime Minister that the Central Law Minister Mr. H. R. Gokhale said recently that the Constitution of India needs to be revised in entirety. The Law Minister said further that the matter is under consideration as to whether a new Constituent Assembly could be convened for the purpose or whether the present Parliament itself may be converted into a Constituent Assembly. The Prime Minister could be said to have relayed only these thoughts.

"Lastly Mrs. Gandhi has declared that even at present, it is not as if all the Opposition Parties in the country have been gagged.

"In an interview granted to a West German paper, the Prime Minister has said that the holding of Elections is not feasible at a time when the political conditions and the feelings of the Opposition Parties are vitiated.

"I do not want to enter into a discussion as to whether Elections should be conducted now

or not. All I would like to point out is that when we look at the fact that Mrs. Gandhi has used the expression "at a time when the political conditions and the feelings of the Opposition Parties are vitiated," we could certainly come to the conclusion that the phraseology of the Resolution adopted at the Tirunelveli District Conference of the DMK has been appropriate.

"What is the text of our Tirunelveli Resolution?—"An unnatural situation prevails in India today; hence normalcy has to be brought about. Certain feelings have been hurt—those feelings need to be safeguarded"—it is this explanation that we placed at our Conference in Tirunelveli. This is by no means contrary to the view given expression to by the Prime Minister.

Alas, Bangladesh !

"What had occurred in Bangladesh has been published in detail today—not in any paper or journal of the DMK—but in a paper supporting the ruling Congress which is opposing the DMK. That paper explains how there was a Parliament even under the new Constitution of Bangladesh—only it was different in many ways from the democratic Parliament. The Ministers were appointed by the President, Mujibur Rahman himself. The responsibility for guarding the fundamental rights of the people was taken away from the Supreme Court and transferred to the Tribunal appointed by the Parliament. One-Party rule was imposed and all Parties

other than the ruling Party were banned. All the dailies, with the exception of two, were stopped. These two newspapers too were converted into the organs of the Government.

"One-Party rule came about in Bangladesh. But the Emergency that has arisen here in India is totally different. Mujibur stipulated one-Party rule there. Mrs. Indira Gandhi has however said that she is not for one-Party rule and that Opposition Parties may function here.

"A blanket-ban was imposed on all the papers in Bangladesh; but in India it is not so. What has been imposed here is only Press-censorship. Even in regard to this, the Resolution of our Executive Committee does not say that the Press should have all the rights: we have only stated that just rights of the Press should be restored.

"If, for instance, a paper were to say without any basis that the Chief Minister's residence was raided and a sum of Rs. 5,00,000 was recovered or that Rs. 10,00,000 was seized from the Prime Minister's house, such writings could not be classed within the ambit of Press-freedom. Journals of this nature belong to the yellow variety and if action is taken against them, we would have no objection whatsoever.

"It is on the basis of this agreement of principle that the yearning has blossomed in our hearts that the unnatural and abnormal situation which has

intervened could be altered through discussions and through mutual exchange of ideas.

Opposition not silenced

"It is to be noted that the Prime Minister has declared that it is not as if all the Opposition Parties have been silenced. What are the organisations that have been silenced?—they are the Naxalities, the Anand Marg, the RSS, the Jamaat-e-Islami-e-Hind and the like. The DMK has not been silenced, and so, it may certainly continue to elucidate its policies and give expression to its views.

"What is the policy of the DMK?—It is Autonomy at the State-level and Federal set-up at the Centre. We have given shape to this objective of the DMK.

"They say that it is proposed to revise the Constitution of India; and I feel that it would be relevant in this context to put forward the plea through the forum of this Conference: "When the Constitution is to be revised or recast, we appeal to you, Mrs. Prime Minister, Mr. Law Minister, and other leaders in power at the headquarters, please do remind yourself at least now, of what Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal. Nehru and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad said in the year 1946, that after India achieved Independence, full Autonomy should be given to all the States. And in the Constitution which you propose to recast, please ensure that while adequate powers—to strengthen India and to

prevent exploitation of or aggression on our country by foreigners—are retained at the Centre, all the other powers are passed on to the States.

DMK opposed to extra-constitutional means

"All are aware that we of the DMK do not extend support to any Movement aimed at toppling Governments. Actually when the Committee of Mr. Jayaprakash Narain's Movement took up for consideration the Resolution that the Bihar Government should be dissolved by the Centre, the representatives of the DMK made it plain that they were not for conceding to the Centre the authority to dissolve a State Government. Again, in the wake of the Judgement of the Allahabad High Court when the Parties in the J.P. Movement announced their plan of agitation demanding Mrs. Indira Gandhi's resignation, the representatives of the DMK did not affix their signatures to the Resolution but returned to Madras for instructions.

"It is on the basis of this consistently good intention that the DMK is approaching this problem today.

"The Prime Minister has asked, "Are not Opposition Parties in power in Tamil Nadu, Gujarat and Goa?" Are we not useful at least for the purpose of illustration? **(Applause)**

"To back up the contention that India is still a Democracy. they point out that the DMK is in charge of the administration in Tamil Nadu and the Janata

Front in Gujarat; and in Goa too, there is a non-Congress set-up.

"Only because Gujarat is like chutney for idli, Tamil Nadu like sambhar and Goa like chilly-powder, they are able to display the fare and proclaim, "Look, this is not mere idli but democratic idli; see Tamil Nadu here, Gujarat there and Goa in that corner !

Middlemen make mischief

"The Prime Minister is saying that she would provide opportunity for Opposition Parties to function and that she is as concerned as anyone else about the feelings of those Opposition Parties. It is the middlemen-priests who are up to something or other in the hope of getting into the good books of the Prime Minister.

"Let me now relate an incident from my own life. Years ago when I was writing the dialogues for a film of that outstanding comedian and humorist Kalaivanar N. S. Krishnan, it so happened that on one occasion my car was short of petrol. An employee of the film-company and a good friend of mine approached the clerk-in-charge for a petrol-coupon. The clerk obliged grudgingly, after passing some uncharitable comments about my being paid for my work. The very next day the clerk created an opportunity to meet N.S.K. and relate the incident to him in the hope of obtaining a pat on the back. Imagine his chagrin and scare when he witnessed the fury of Kalaivanar who chided

him for meanness. Not stopping with that, Kalaivanar, who was on the sets at that time, cancelled the shooting, came straight to my residence and left as many as 1000 petrol-coupons constituting nearly a year's supply for my car, with my mother by way of recompense for the attitude of his clerk!

"Likewise, I would say that the Prime Minister of India is in the place of Kalaivanar N.S.K., while Messrs. C. Subramaniam and V. C. Shukla are playing the role of that parsimonious clerk. When these two go to the Prime Minister with tales against me, the Prime Minister should reprimand them and tell them." Don't you have better work to do? Are you not aware that Tamil Nadu is a State that is foremost in implementing progressive measures? When the DMK extended support to Mr. V. V. Giri at the time of the Presidential Election in 1969, was it not a solid gesture of support for our progressive schemes as well? Even after bitterness had crept in, did not the DMK promise whole-hearted backing to Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed? How could we afford to forget all this ?

"One thing is certain—that the activities of these clerks I referred to are not such as to bring credit to the Prime Minister!

"Who are those that say **ad nauseam:** "The Tamil Nadu Government should somehow be toppled; and for this, Mrs. Indira Gandhi should assist us"?—They are our friend Mr. M. G. Ramachandran and the leaders of the CPI.

"What was the immediate cause for the proclamation of Emergency? Mrs. Gandhi has said that Mr. Morarji Desai and others threatened to stage a dharna in front of her residence and should she have to tolerate that?—hence the Emergency!

Credentials of the frustrated

"Did not Mr. M.G.R. who today tells Mrs. Gandhi that the DMK Government in Tamil Nadu should be unseated, declare at a public meeting that he would lead a march to the residence of the Chief Minister in Gopalapuram, embark on a literal invasion, at the conclusion of which mission there would not be any shred of evidence or a single witness even?

"Did not the CPI leader Mr. K.T.K. Thangamani tell a public meeting at R. S. Mangalam that Karunanidhi should either choose to commit suicide like Hitler or people should beat him to death, as it happened in the case of Mussolini. Has it not been proved in the Court of Law that Mr. Thangamani did speak in this manner? If persons such as these demand the ouster of the DMK Government, may we not be justified is questioning their credentials—their patriotism even?

"Their nagging anxiety is because the DMK is the real Communist Party with progressive content of policy, having earned the permanent affection of people of Tamil Nadu, ever striving to safeguard the culture and traditions of the Tamil people and pro-

அறிஞர் அண்ணா
தி.மு.க. பொதுச்சின்னம்
ஆய்வக நூலக
நிலையம்

pagating the glory of Tamil civilisation. They have come to the conclusion that only if the DMK is destroyed would they be able to get a place in the sun!

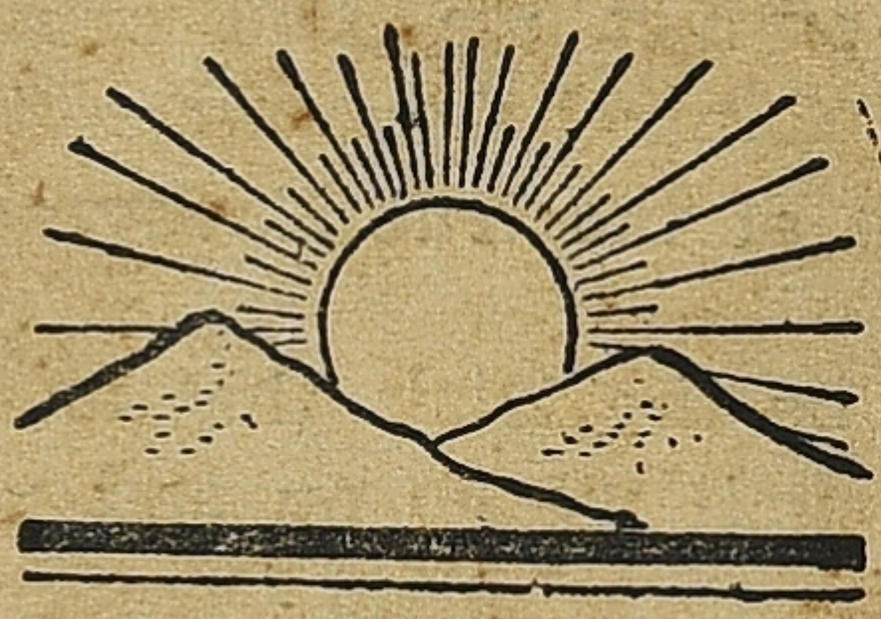
"The DMK would not come to an end with any individual. No-one can destroy it. If such a situation were to develop, if they were to act without grasping our good intent. I would still assure them of the purity and nobility of our thoughts.

"According to Thiruvalluvar, a true Envoy is one who, unmindful of his own destruction, stands steadfast in the cause of his monarch. Monarchy having become extinct, we could substitute "Government" or even "Central Government" for "Monarch" in the definition of the true Envoy.

"Whatever be the trials that arise and confront us, undeterred shall we go on and without slackening our efforts to save Indian Democracy. **(Prolonged Applause)** I request you to offer your blessings for the success of this endeavour.

"If instead of our endeavour succeeding. something else were to occur, then let us remember that we are of the clan that treats throne and prison **alike.** And so, my valorous comrades all, you who are of the lineage of Chera Senguttuvan, Pandya Nedunchezhian and Chola Karikalan—in the event of our having to encounter an unavoidable situation, you should be prepared for any sacrifice!"

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தி.தூ.க. அறக்கட்டளை
போராசிரியர்
ஆய்வக நூல்
நிலையம்
சென்னை-18
தூ.ஹை.ஸை அறிவகலையம்-சை