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MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
DEBATES.

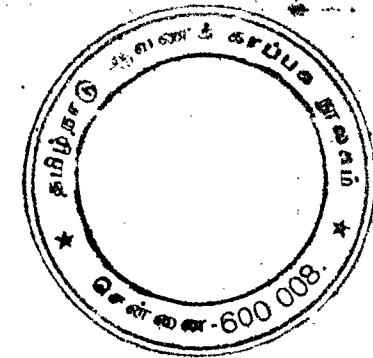
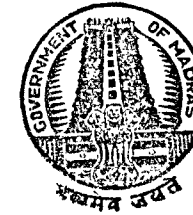
OFFICIAL REPORT.

TUESDAY 13TH May - 1952

VOL - 1 - NO. 546

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V21, 32 / N152
N52, 1.5-6, 1
128774

Issued—28-6-1952



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MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
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OFFICIAL REPORT

TUESDAY, 13TH MAY 1952

VOLUME I—No. 5

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PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT
GOVERNMENT PRESS
MADRAS
1952

PRICE, 4 annas

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Tuesday, the 13th May 1952.

The House met in the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Chairman (THE HON. DR. P. V. CHERIAN) in the Chair.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

I.—CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION *RE* THE DEATH OF DR. U. RAMA RAO.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ Hon. Members might have heard about the sad demise of Dr. U. Rama Rao. I have received notice of a resolution from Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari, Leader of the House, in that connexion. The Hon. the Leader of the House may move the Resolution.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a very sad duty that we have to perform on this occasion. We all knew that our ex-Chairman of this Council, or as he was then called the President of the Council, was old, but we did not expect that he would pass away in this sudden manner. He was beloved of all the people of Madras. He was beloved of all the Members of this Council and the Assembly for many, many years past. He performed his duties as President of the Council in such a way as to create no friction or difficulties. Everybody respected and honoured him. As regards the services rendered by him to society in general and to sick people in particular, I need hardly repeat what has already been said by many and what has been written by many. He was specially beloved because of his great gentlemanliness, accessibility, frankness and readiness to serve on all occasions. He was a self-made man. He began life humbly and lived a rich life and when he passed away he deservedly met his death in a peaceful and happy manner. He hardly knew and his family hardly knew that he would pass away in the early hours of the morning of yesterday. He had hardly any pain or any sickness previous to that. Now, such a death would be the envy of everyone who valued things according to their proper values. In particular, Sir, this House owes it to him and his memory that we should record our appreciation of all his services to society and to the people who required the services of the profession to which he belonged. We must specially record our appreciation of his services in the Council. I need not say all that I have said in another place. I am sure other hon. Members who will follow me will refer in detail to all that he did for the public. I move that the following Resolution be adopted by the House :—

That this House places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the demise of Dr. U. Rama Rao, a former distinguished President of this Council and a Member of the Legislature for many years and conveys its sense of sympathy to the members of the bereaved family’.”

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[13th May 1952]

* SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is my painful privilege to associate myself with the Resolution just now moved by the Hon. Chief Minister. Dr. Rama Rao died full of years and honours. I have known him for a pretty long time. Long before he became associated with the politics of this State, he played a very memorable role in the Corporation of Madras in those days when there was an official President who was also the Commissioner of the Corporation. I remember the many memorable fights in which he took part along with the late Dr. Nair. Both of them were redoubtable fighters for various rights that the Corporation wanted in those days, and which were stoutly resisted by the then official party in the Corporation. Besides this, he came to public life and played a very humble, but at the same time a very important role in politics. He was associated with every movement started for the betterment of the political and social conditions of our people. I should like to say that the end of a righteous man, as the Bible puts it, is something to be observed. As the Hon. Chief Minister pointed out, Dr. Rama Rao had a happy end. He usefully spent his life after retirement. I used to meet him occasionally when he used to go out for a walk, and he was always kind and he used to ask me, how I was getting on. He lived not only a long and laborious life, but at the same time, he lived to see his beloved son, Dr. U. Krishna Rao occupying the Mayoral Chair of the Corporation of Madras, and during the last one month, becoming a Member of the Council of Ministers of this State. I wish to convey, along with other hon. Members of this House, through you, Sir, my feelings of sympathy and my sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family.”

* JANAB MAHOMED USMAN :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I wish to associate myself with the Resolution that has been so ably moved by the Hon. Chief Minister. Dr. Rama Rao was the President of the Council for about 2½ years or so. I think that when the Council was inaugurated in 1937, I was the temporary President. At that time, I remember that Dr. Rama Rao was elected permanent President of the Council. I very well remember the very dignified way in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council. As has been pointed out by the Hon. Chief Minister, Dr. Rama Rao was a good doctor and he was always kind to the poor people. He was a great gentleman. He has many friends and I do not think that there can be anybody who can be called his enemy. It is a matter of great regret and sorrow that such a good man has passed away. I am sure that the resolution that we are passing will give a certain amount of consolation to Dr. Krishna Rao and his family. As was rightly said by my Friend, Sri Chakkarai Chettiar, it is a matter for satisfaction that God has allowed him to see his son, Dr. Krishna Rao, become a Minister of this State. I associate myself with the sentiments expressed in the Resolution so ably moved by the Hon. Chief Minister.”

DR. C. NATHAMUNI NAIDU :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is with feelings of profound sorrow that I get up to associate myself

[13th May 1952] [Dr. C. Nathamuni Naidu]

with the sentiments expressed by the previous speakers on the sad and sudden demise of a veteran medical man in the City of Madras. He was the organiser of the St. John's Ambulance Brigade in the City of Madras and many men have taken their training in first aid from him. I wish to bring to the notice of the hon. Members of this House that he belonged to a class of medical men who formed the backbone of the medical profession. He was one of those medical men who fought very hard in those days to bring in a uniform standard of medical education. There was the dual system of medical education. He fought hard and he impressed upon the then Health Minister, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, the need for having a uniform standard of education. Dr. Rajan consequently introduced a very good reform in medical education. Dr. Rama Rao said that the Licentiate course should either be ended or mended. Dr. Rajan took the advice of Dr. Rama Rao and other medical men in this matter and ended that Licentiate course. That is why we have to-day only one system of medical education, namely, the Degree Course. I should say that the whole credit for this should go to the late lamented Dr. Rama Rao. He has left a very good tradition in this House. I am glad that you, Sir, are occupying this Chair, as a second medical man. Dr. Rama Rao, during his Presidentship of the Council had set up a very good tradition, which could very well be followed by those who occupy the Chair.

“ As regards his love for the City, he evinced keen interest in the civic administration of the City of Madras and I think he served on the Madras Corporation for 2 or 3 years. In the death of Dr. Rama Rao, we have lost a very good patron and a veteran Congressman. I saw him just a month back. I cannot describe, Gentlemen, in words, the zeal with which he was expressing to me that the Congress should form the Government in this State under the able leadership of Sri Rajaji. I am glad that his idea has been fulfilled. I am also glad that Dr. Rama Rao died only after seeing his son occupying a place in the Council of Ministers under Rajaji's leadership in this State. I once again associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the Hon. Chief Minister. I pray that Almighty may be pleased to keep his soul in peace. Thank you, Sir.”

* MRS. M. N. CLUBWALA :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of the women of the St. John Ambulance Nursus' Corps, I would like to associate myself with the Resolution before the House expressing sorrow and sympathy at the passing away of Dr. Rama Rao. Sir, it was at his instance that voluntary lady workers came together for nursing work in hospitals. He always encouraged the nursing profession especially in the old days when it was not the habit for Indian ladies to come forward and do nursing. Right from those early times, he took a great interest in the profession and encouraged younger people to do their bit for the country in other fields of work. On behalf of the women volunteers, I associate myself with the resolution and convey my deep sympathy to the members of his family.”

11-15
a.m.

[13th May 1952]

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, on behalf of the Opposition, I associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the Hon. the Leader of the House. Dr. U. Rama Rao was well-known to the older Members of the House. He was a distinguished surgeon and he was keenly interested in the advancement of the medical profession. He was known to the world outside the medical profession, as a fighter in the cause of freedom. In Madras City, he and Mr. T. Prakasam, were responsible to a great extent for the great freedom struggle which was waged in the last three decades. He was generous-hearted and no Congress worker who went to him ever returned empty-handed.

“ Sir, as President of the first Legislative Council constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, he did great service in establishing good precedents and he is known to have moved well with the Members. There was no case of friction between him and any Member whether of the Government or of the Opposition. I, therefore, associate myself with the Resolution and would like to express my deep sense of sorrow at the unhappy event.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I would like to associate myself very closely with the Resolution of Condolence moved by the Hon. the Leader of the House. Dr. Rama Rao's name was a household word in Madras City and I still remember when I came to Madras as a young medical student in 1912, Dr. Rama Rao was already famous as a doctor. He started life humbly and from a small beginning, he had been able to establish a very big reputation for himself and his family. Young medical men always looked up to him for help and advice which were always given without stint. To me personally he had been of very great help both professionally and otherwise. As the Hon. the Leader of the House said, nobody could wish for a better form of death than passing away without any pain and very quietly. He had the great privilege and satisfaction of living long to realise the highest ambition of seeing one of his sons as a Minister of this Government and another son enjoying very great reputation as one of the finest surgeons not only in India but outside. With these words, I associate the Chair with the Resolution before the House.

“ The Resolution is—

‘ That this House places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the demise of Dr. U. Rama Rao, a former distinguished President of this Council, and a Member of the Legislature for many years and conveys its sense of sympathy to the members of the bereaved family ’.”

The Resolution was carried *nem. con.* all the Members standing.

II.—CHANGE IN THE ORDER OF BUSINESS.

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Order Paper mentions the Motion that I have given notice of as the next item to be taken up. It would be more convenient to all concerned if the discussion on the Governor's Address is continued uninterrupted? I suggest we might perhaps close it before lunch time and then my Motion may be taken up.”

[13th May 1952]

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON :—“ Apart from the suggestion of the Hon. the Leader of the House, under Rule 6 of the Council Rules, the discussion on the Governor's Address shall last till such time as the Chairman may consider necessary and shall have precedence over other business of the House except business of a formal or ceremonial nature’. So, Sir, the Chairman's hands are fettered and he has no discretion to deviate from the Rules governing the conduct of business in the House. On a point of order, therefore, I say that the discussion on the Address may be continued before the other Motion is taken up.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ I am quite willing that it may be taken that the change in the order of business is made at the instance of the last speaker himself and not at my instance. (Laughter.)

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ I want to raise a point of procedure. You are aware, Sir, of Rule 22 (3) which says that the order of business, as arranged in the list, shall not be revised except on a Motion accepted by the House. We have already had the agenda and all that I say is that a formal Motion be moved. We have agreed to a change in the order of business. When we do so, let us do it in the proper way prescribed by the Rules. I would request the Hon. the Leader of the House to make a formal Motion which will be formally accepted by the House.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ I am sorry, Sir, we are needlessly prolonging the discussion. I made the suggestion to the Chairman and it was about to be accepted when an hon. Member on the other side raised a point of order and I yielded to him. I said, let it be discussed in the order mentioned originally and so no question arises of a motion now.”

III.—PANEL OF CHAIRMEN.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I have to announce to the House that under rule 15 of the Madras Council Rules, I have nominated the following four Members of the Council to be the panel of Chairmen for the first session of the Legislative Council under the new Constitution :—

- 1 Sri K. Bhashyam.
- 2 Srimathi S. Manjubhashini.
- 3 Srimathi J. Sita Mahalaxmi.
- 4 Dr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty.”

IV.—DISCUSSION ON HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS—*cont.*

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ The House will now continue the discussion of the Governor's Address.”

* SRIMATHI J. SITA MAHALAXMI :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the previous speakers who supported the motion of Thanks to His

[Srimathi J. Sita Mahalaxmi] [13th May 1952]

Excellency the Governor for his Address and request you, Sir, to convey to His Excellency our hearty thanks for the Address he has delivered.

"The most important item of work which His Excellency's Government have undertaken is to alleviate the distress of the people in the famine-stricken places of the State and the work they have done is highly commendable. His Excellency's sympathy towards the people of such areas is a great solace to us and I am sure that His Excellency's Government will bestow their attention to improve the irrigation works and open up new projects in order to prevent the occurrence of famine again and again. In this connection, I would like to bring to the notice of the Government that there are many irrigation projects which are minor in size and which can be taken up in Rayalaseema and other places where famine conditions exist. For instance, there are the Vamsadhara project in Visakhapatnam, the Eleru project in East Godavari district and the Tammileru project in West Godavari district, which can be taken up immediately without waiting for any loan or grant from outside. The Government say they want funds. With great respect, I would suggest that the projects I have mentioned will not cost much and that the Government can find ways and means to execute them. These projects, if executed, will help the ryot population much and I hope that hon. Members will give their hearty support to any measure that will root out famine for ever and will help to solve the food problem of the State.

"Next I come to education. The need to impart education to the people must be understood in the real sense, namely, that social, economic and industrial education should be given to the people. The State cannot undertake this responsibility solely by itself. It is up to every legislator to take up this work and see that the citizens of this country are educated in all spheres of life. In this connection, I feel that the kind of education given in China will be all right for us so that we can acquire knowledge at the cheapest cost. It is the duty of every brother and sister in this House to see that no physical or mental energies of our fellow citizens are wasted, but are put to use to the advantage of the people of our country.

"Then, Sir, the finances of our State need to be augmented. Side by side with augmenting the finances of the State, the earning power of the individual citizen should also be improved. There is a lot of land that can be brought under cultivation, may be either on a co-operative basis or by leasing the land to individuals, who are interested in cultivation. As a lawyer, I know there are a number of applications filed in this connection and nothing has been done so far. Industries in the State including cottage industries should be developed. Cottage industries can very well be taken up by the womenfolk of our State and developed. Assignment of public lands should always be made on the basis of auction. Similarly, the right to operate bus routes should also be auctioned. If the Government do this, then much more money

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will begin to flow into the coffers of the State than now. I am sure the revenue will increase doubly and trebly and make the State richer, so that the State will be in a position to solve all the problems that face us.

"I would next take up the question of the poorly paid teachers. I must express my profound gratitude to our leader, Rajaji, for granting certain concessions to the N.G.O.'s and local board employees in the matter of education and medical treatment. I would request the Government to extend the same facilities to the poorly paid teachers also. I also understand that the pay of teachers under local bodies is different from the one given to teachers employed in Government institutions. May I request the Government to examine this question carefully and see that every one is paid the same salary, because it is the teacher that trains the younger generation for life. Unless and until the teachers are properly paid and to their satisfaction, we cannot have good and efficient teachers to whom we can entrust our future generations.

"During my extensive tour in the north, I may submit to the House, Sir, I found that a great majority of the teachers and their families are living in poverty. So, I request the Government to get this question thoroughly examined and find out ways and means of improving the lot of the teachers and the low paid employees of the Government and other institutions. 11-30 a.m.

"Another point I wish to urge is about the condition of women. Of course, I do not mean to say that the claims of a woman should be considered because she is a woman. My only request is that sex should not be a disqualification. By considering woman as a mere woman what are we doing? We are practically not caring to utilise the energies of half the population of the State. Is it not necessary in the interests of our State that the energies of all the people of the State should be utilised in the best possible manner for the service of the Nation. Hon. Members might ask, 'What is it you have done?' Before joining the Bar, I was able to do a lot of work as a result of which there are a number of institutions. We have to give proper facilities for education and training to one and all. I therefore request the Hon. the Chief Minister and His Excellency the Governor to consider this aspect and see that the energies of all the people of this State, including woman, are utilised for the good of the country.

"Last but not the least is the problem relating to the uplift and maintenance of destitute men and women by the establishment of poor houses. The beggar problem is another which, I am sure, must be immediately tackled. Mentally and physically, the position of beggars is deteriorating; they are getting disease and they are spreading disease. Is it not then necessary, Sir, that this beggar problem is rooted out by proper legislation? Poor houses must be opened all round and beggars must be given work and provided with food and clothing. By extracting the maximum

[Srimathi J. Sita Mahalaxmi] [13th May 1952]

possible work from the beggars, I am sure the Government will be able to meet the cost of the poor houses to some extent and minimise their burden of maintenance.

“Lastly, it is up to one and all of us, who are elected by the people not only to sit here and pass legislation from time to time, but also to see that we work and fulfil the desires and wishes of our constituencies. The Government by themselves will not be able to do everything and they will be often asking, ‘Where are the funds?’. Funds are not wanting; funds will be forthcoming automatically provided we take up the work in a missionary spirit. I would therefore appeal to the Hon. the Chief Minister and the hon. Members of this House to see that our time as legislators, is utilised to the best advantage of the nation, so that our people will be happy, wealthy and healthy. With these few words, Sir, I request you once again to kindly convey our hearty thanks to His Excellency for his Address and we hope that His Excellency's Government will be only for the people and people.”

* SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI :—“Mr. Chairman, Sir, இன்று விவாதிக்கப்படும் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய பிரசங்கத்தை ஆதரித்து சில வார்த்தைகள் கூற விரும்புகிறேன். இந்த தேசம் சுதந்திரம் அடைந்த பிறகு புதிய அரசியல் சட்டப்படி கூட்டப்பட்டிருக்கும் கூட்டமாகும் இது. இந்த தேசம் என்ன செய்யப்போகிறதென்பதை உலகம் எதிர்பார்த்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறது. ஆயிரம் வருஷங்களாக அடிமைப்பட்டிருக்கொண்டிருந்த இந்த தேசம் இன்று சுதந்திரம் அடைந்துவிட்டது. ‘ஓராயிரம் ஆண்டு ஓய்ந்து கிடந்த பின்னர் வாராது வந்துதித்த மாமணியைத் தோற்போமோ’ என்று பாரதியார் சொல்லிப்போனார். ஆயிரம் வருஷங்களுக்குப் பிறகு கிடைத்த சுதந்திரத்தை நாம் மிக ஜாக்கிரதையாகப் பாதுகாக்கவேண்டும். மனதினுள்ள குரோதங்களை விட்டொழித்து, தேசத்தின் பணியைத் தெய்வப் பணியாகக் கருதி, கடமையைச் செலுத்தவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. இந்த நிலைமையில், மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் புதிய சட்டசபைகளைத் திறந்து வைத்து பேசிய பேச்சில் கிரியாமசையில் உடனே செய்யாத காரியத்தைத் திட்டவாது சொல்லத் துணியவில்லை. இப்பொழுது தான் இந்தச் சபை கூடுகிறது. நாம் புதிய மந்திரி சபையையும் அமைத்திருக்கின்றோம்; மந்திரிகளும் சட்டசபை அங்கத்தினர்களும் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து, திட்டங்களை வகுத்து, அந்தத் திட்டங்களை தேசத்தின் முன் சமர்ப்பிக்க வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. இவையெல்லாவற்றையும் நன்றாக யோசித்து மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் உடனடியாகச் செய்யவேண்டிய வேலைகள் என்னவென்பதைக் கவனித்து பஞ்ச நிவாரண வேலையை நமக்கு எடுத்துக்கூறியிருக்கிறார்.

“இந்த நாடு பஞ்சத்தில் மூழ்கிக் கிடக்கிறது. ஆறு வருஷங்களாக மழை இல்லாமல், மக்கள் பசியால் வாடியிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு உண்ண இல்லை, உடுக்க உடை இல்லை, இருக்க இடமில்லை, குடிக்கத் தண்ணீர் இல்லை. இந்தத் தரித்திர கோலத்துடன் தரித்திர நாராயணர்களாக மக்கள் காட்சியளிக்கிறார்கள். இதைத் தடுப்பதற்கு ஒவ்வொரு அங்கத்தினரும் தங்கள் கடமையைச் செய்யவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. மக்களின் வோட்டுப் பெற்று வந்த அங்கத்தினர்கள் என்ன பிரதிபலன் செய்யப் போகின்றார் என்று வாக்காளர்கள் எதிர்பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதை அனுசரித்துதான் அன்று மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் பிரசங்கத்தில் ராயலசேமைப் பஞ்சம் முதலியவற்றைத் தடுப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய யோசனைகளைக் குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறார். முதன் முதலாக அமைக்கப்பட்ட இந்தச் சபையில் இந்த இராஜ்யத்தின் தலைவராக நியமிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய பிரசங்கம் என்ன வென்பதைப் பொறுமையாகக் கேட்டு, அதிலுள்ள குற்றங்களுகளை அறிந்து பதில் சொல்லுவதற்கு சக்தியற்றவர்களாக இந்தச் சபை பரிமளிக்கிறது.

13th May 1952] [Sri N. Annamalai Pillai]

மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் பேச்சைத் தடுத்துவிட்டு சிலர் வெளியேறினது வெட்கப்படவேண்டிய விஷயமாகும். மாகாண சுயராஜ்ய கவர்ன்மெண்டிற்குத் தலைவராக ஒரு கவர்னரை நியமித்தோம். அந்தக் கவர்னர் சொல்கிற யோசனைகளைப் பொறுமையுடன் கேட்பதற்குச் சக்தியற்ற தன்மையில் இந்த முதல் கூட்டம் ஆரம்பமாகியிருக்கிறது. ‘முதல் கோணல், முற்றும் கோணல்’ என்பதுபோல் இந்தக் கூட்டம் ஆரம்பமாகியிருக்கிறது என்று தான் நான் சொல்லவேண்டியிருக்கிறது.

“மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னருடைய வார்த்தையைக் காது கொடுத்துக் கேட்டு என்ன திட்டம் இருக்கிறது, என்ன செய்யப்போகின்றார் என்பதைத் தெரிந்துகொண்டு அவைகளில் தவறுகள் இருந்தால், கவர்னருடைய பிரசங்கத்திற்குப் பிறகு குணதோஷங்களைப் பேசியிருந்தால், இந்தச் சபையிலுள்ள அங்கத்தினர்களை உலகம் பாராட்டியிருக்கும்.

“மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் பிரசங்கத்தின்போது அஸெம்பளியில் நடந்த காரியம் இந்த தேசத்திற்குக் களங்கத்தை உண்டுபண்ணியிருக்கின்றது. என்போலுள்ள தேசபக்தர்கள் இதைச் சகித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கமுடியாது. எவ்வளவு பெரிய தேசபக்தர்களாக இருந்தாலும், எவ்வளவு செல்வாக்கு வாய்ந்தவர்களாக இருந்தாலும், அவர்களுக்கும் கடமை இருக்கிறது. அந்தக் கடமையை அவர் நிறைவேற்றாமற்போனால் தேசம் முன்னேற்ற முடியாது. உதாரணமாக, கவர்னர் பிரசங்கம் ஆரம்பிக்குமுன்னே கவர்னரை அலட்சியம் செய்து, கவர்னருடைய பிச்சங்கத்தைக் கேட்காமல், அவர் இந்தச் சபையில் வருவதற்கு யோக்கியதையில்லை என்று சொல்லும் படியான நிலைமையில் இந்தச் சபையில் சில மெம்பர்கள் இருந்தார்களென்றால் இது வெட்கப்படும்படியான விஷயமாகும். உலகம் நம்மைப் பார்த்துச் சிரிக்கும். நான் காங்கிரஸில் 32 வருஷங்களாகச் சேவை செய்திருக்கிறேன். எழு முறை சிறை சென்றிருக்கிறேன். அப்படி 7 வருஷம் சிறையில் வசிக்கிறேன் என்பதனால் எனக்குக் கடமை இனிமேல் இல்லை என்று யாராலும் சொல்லமுடியாது. கடமை இருக்கிறது. அவர்களுடைய செய்கையால் தேசத்திற்குத் தாங்க முடியாத அவமானம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

“கனம் அங்கத்தினர்களில் சிலர் கவர்னர் பிரசங்கத்தை மறித்து, கவர்னர் பேசுவதற்கு லாயக்கில்லையென்று சொல்வதற்குத் துணிந்து பேசிவிட்டு வெளியேறன் செய்கையானது விபரிதமானது. இந்த தேசம் இன்னும் அடிமையாக இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று அவர்கள் நினைக்கிறார்களா அல்லது சுதந்திரமாக வாழவேண்டுமென்று நினைக்கிறார்களா என்று நான் கேட்கின்றேன். பேசியவர் ஒருவர் மாதிரிப் குற்றவாளியல்ல அப்படிப் பேசியவரைப் பின்பற்றி வெளியேறிய அத்தனை பேர்களும் குற்றவாளிகள் தான். வெளியில் இருப்பவர்கள் நம்மைப்பற்றி என்ன நினைப்பார்கள் என்பதை அவர்கள் தெரிந்துக்கொள்ளவில்லை போலும். சென்னை ராஜ்ய மக்கள் மரியாதை இன்னதென்று தெரியாதவர்கள், அரசாங்கத்தை நடத்தும் யோக்கியதை இல்லாதவர்கள் என்ற கெட்ட பெயரை அவர்கள் வாங்கிக்கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த நிலைமையில் கவர்னர் பிரசங்கம் நடந்திருக்கிறது. ‘தொண்டு செய்யும் அடிமை உனக்குச் சுதந்திர நினைவோடா’ என்று பாரதியார் சொல்லிப் போனார். அடிமைகளே, உங்களுக்கு சுதந்திரம் வேண்டுமென்ற நினைவோ என்று கேட்டிருக்கிறார். அதே முறையில் நாம் இன்றைய தினம் இருக்கின்றோம்.

“வட ஆற்காடு ஜில்லாவானது பஞ்சத்தில் மூழ்கிக் கிடக்கிறது. என்னுடைய ஜில்லா மலைப்பிரதேசம். எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் தண்ணீர் கிடையாது. எவ்வளவு ஆடும் வெட்டினாலும் கிணறுகளில் தண்ணீர் டைப்பதில்லை. ஜனங்களுக்குக் குடிக்கத் தண்ணீர் இல்லை. இயற்கை விரோதமாக இருக்கிறது. இந்த நிலைமையில் சென்ற மந்திரிசபையிலிருந்த ஸ்ரீ பக்தவத்சலம் அவர்கள் வடாற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் சாத்தனூர் அணைத்திட்டத்தை ஏற்படுத்தினார். அதற்கான ‘சர்வே’ யாவும் செய்து முடித்தாய்விட்டது. ஐந்து வருஷ திட்டத்தில் அது சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இந்த மந்திரிசபை அதைக் கவனிக்குமென்று நினைக்கிறேன். கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்கள் இதில் சவனம் செலுத்தி வறண்டுபோன வடாற்காடு ஜில்லாவிற்கு ஒரு நீர்த்தேக்கம் கிடைக்கும்படிச் செய்வாரென்று நம்பு

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கிறேன். எங்கள் ஜில்லா நீர்த்தேக்கம் இல்லாத ஜில்லா. ஒரு செவகரியமும் சர்க்காரால் செய்யப்படாமல் பஞ்சத்தில் மூழ்கிக் கிடக்கின்ற ஜில்லா. ஆகையால் அந்த அணைக்கட்டுத் திட்டத்தை ஏற்படுத்தும்படி நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ உபாத்தியாயர்கள் விஷயத்தில் ஒன்று சொல்ல விரும்புகின்றேன். கவர்ன்மெண்டு சர்வீஸில் இருக்கின்ற உபாத்தியாயர்களுக்கு ஒரு விதமும், உதவி பெறும் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களில் இருக்கிறவர்களுக்கு ஒரு விதமும் சம்பளம் கொடுக்கப்படுகின்றது. அலவன்ஸ் விஷயத்தில் பல கோளாறுகள் இருக்கின்றன. இந்தக் கோளாறுகளை ஒழித்து, சர்க்காருடைய பள்ளிக் கூடங்களில் இருக்கின்ற உபாத்தியாயர்களுக்கு என்ன செவகரியங்கள் உண்டோ அவ்வளவையும் மற்ற பள்ளிக்கூடங்களில் இருப்பவர்களுக்குச் செய்வதுடன், இதை மாகாண சாவீசாகச் செய்யவேண்டும். கவர்ன்மெண்ட் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களில் வேலை செய்யாமல், உதவி பெறும் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களில் 10 வருஷ சர்வீஸ் செய்திருப்பவர்களுக்கு இந்த சர்வீஸ் கிடைக்காமற் போய்விடுகின்றது. ஆகையால், அவர்களையும் மாகாண சாவீசாக மாற்ற வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ மற்றும் ஒரு வார்த்தை சொல்லிவிட்டு என்னுடைய பேச்சை முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன். மதுவிலக்கைப்பற்றி ஒரே ஒரு வார்த்தை. மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டத்தை முதன் முதலில் கொண்டுவருகையில் இந்த பாஜ்யத்தின் பிரதம ராக் கனம் ராஜாஜி இருந்துவந்தபோது, ஜனங்களுக்கு அவர் என்ன உறுதி மொழி கொடுத்தாரென்றால், இந்த மதுவிலக்கினால் ஏற்படக்கூடிய நஷ்டத்தை சரிக்கட்டுவதற்கு விற்பனை வரி போடுகிறேன். மதுவிலக்கினால் ஏற்படும் நஷ்டத்திற்கேற்ற வருமானம் விற்பனை வரியிலால் விந்துவிடும்’ என்று சொன்னார். ஒரு சில அங்கத்தினர்கள் சொல்லுகின்றார்கள், கள்ளுக்கடைகளைத் திறம்பவும் திறக்கவேண்டுமென்று. நான் சொல்லுகின்றேன், கள்ளுக்கடைகளைத் திறக்கக்கூடாதென்று. அதனால் ஜனங்கள் தூர்த்தர்களாகப் போய்விடுவார்கள். மதுவிலக்கு அவர்களை நல்லவர் களாகச் செய்திருக்கிறது. மதுவிலக்கு மிகவும் அவசியம். ஆனால், மது விலக்குச் சட்டத்தை ரத்து செய்துவிடவேண்டுமென்று யாரேனும் சொல்லு வதைக் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு அம்மாதிரி செய்வார்களானால், இந்த விற்பனை வரியையும் எடுத்துவிடவேண்டுமென்று நான் சொல்லுகின்றேன். மது விலக்கை எடுத்துவிட்டு, விற்பனை வரியையும் மக்களின் மேல் விதித்தால் அது கொள்ளையடிப்பதுபோலாகும் என்று சொல்லி, இந்தச் சபைமுன் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கும் தீர்மானத்தை நான் ஆதரிக்கின்றேன்.”

11-45 a.m. * SRI V. RAMAKRISHNA :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I join Sir Mahomed Usman in tendering my respectful congratulations to His Excellency the Governor for having invited Rajaji, one of the greatest living statesmen of our country, to form the Ministry. His Excellency's action was criticised on the ground that he had not followed the constitutional practices set up in recent times in Great Britain. In my view, His Excellency is not only constitutionally correct but also politically just. Ours is a written Constitution. While section 164 (2) lays down that the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly, section 177 read with section 194 (4) permits the Chief Minister, although he is not a Member of the Lower House, to take part in the proceedings of that House. Whereas, Sir, in Great Britain if the Prime Minister is a Member of the House of the Lords, he cannot in any circumstances address the House of Commons. It is therefore just and right that the people's representative in Great Britain must have the chance of dealing with the Prime Minister directly. Here, as we have already seen, our Chief Minister has played a very great part already in the

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deliberations of the Lower House. The Lower House here can possibly have no complaint as to his being absent from its deliberations and it not being able to influence him in his policies.

“ As regards the political aspect, Sir, those hon. Members who know the history of the State know full well that the Congress Party was divided into three groups. I have the honour to represent one of those groups—the Krishikar Lok Party—in this House. The K.M.P. Party is led by my hon. Friend, Sri Prakasam. These groups, especially the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party and the Krishikar Lok Party parted company with the Congress because some of the Congressmen in the State forgot the bases of their political and economic policies which they had derived from the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and misused power for their personal ends. Sir, the electorate have rightly rejected many of those gentlemen, especially pseudo Congressmen who, in the garb of the Congressmen, tried to exploit their position for their personal ends and for the personal benefit of their friends. The electorate must therefore be deemed to have returned people who are wedded to the principles and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, of truth, non-violence, democracy, and communal harmony. Now, Sir, the mandate which the people gave to my hon. Friend, Sri Prakasam, is to implement these policies and not to associate himself with the Communists who believe in falsehood and violence as against truth and non-violence of Gandhism. They believe in the supremacy of the class over the nation. They believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat. There can therefore be no possibility of a mandate from the people for any such association with the Communist Party. We, Sir, have agreed to support and give Rajaji responsive co-operation. Because of our support and the support of such of those Independents who believe in Gandhism, though they have been returned on the anti-Congress ticket, Rajaji had rightly been invited by His Excellency the Governor to form the Ministry.”

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—“ On a point of information, Sir. Did the electorate ask the K.L.P. to support the Congress Ministry which was rejected by it? ”

* SRI V. RAMAKRISHNA :—“ I am glad that the representative of the Communist Party in this House has raised this question. The electorate who voted for us have certainly indicated to us not to have any truck with the Communists at any rate.” (Laughter.)

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ On a point of order, Sir. I submit that it is not only waste of time but entirely out of order to go into partisan politics on the floor of the House. What the electorate told their members, the members know and will answer their electorate whoever the electorate may be and whoever the leaders. We need not go into that discussion.”

* SRI V. RAMAKRISHNA :—“ Sir, His Excellency has rightly laid stress on the problems facing the people of the Ceded

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districts. While the Government have taken fairly adequate steps to meet the situation, I would like to submit for the consideration of the Hon. Chief Minister that if the amount of effort which they are concentrating in that area is to bear the fullest fruit, he should have a high-ranking officer like a Member of the Board of Revenue, posted in those areas to see that the Collectors get the job done and are not tied down too much by red-tape. He should also be given wide financial powers, so that he can see that the benefits which the Government propose to pass on to the people are fully utilized.

"Sir, the most urgent problem which faces this State is the problem of food. The Governments, commencing with that of my hon. Friend, Sri Prakasam, under which I held a high office, have unfortunately not solved this fundamental problem. Our State is becoming poorer and poorer day by day. When the British left us, we had about 16 ounces of food available *per capita per diem*. To-day, Sir, we have barely 12 ounces. This deterioration is very serious. It is undermining the health of our people and their moral fibre. In a State like ours, where all the natural factors are in our favour, there is no reason why we should not be able to solve this problem. Sir, food is a function of four variables: sunshine, manpower, fertilizers and moisture. As regards sunshine, there are few countries in the world which have such an abundance of it as we have. Manpower is equally abundant. Fertilizer is a thing which can be manufactured by us as nitrogen, the most important constituent, is abundant in the air around us. There is therefore no reason why as in other countries we should not synthesise it and use it for increasing food production. As regards moisture, we have rivers like the Krishna and the Godavari, which are perennial ones, most of whose waters go waste into the sea. These waters can be utilized by developing some of the projects like Nandikonda which, I believe, is now under the consideration of the Planning Commission set up by the Government of India. With these words, Sir, I support the motion before the House."

12 noon. SRI M. SATYANARAYANA :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion moved by my hon. Friend, Sri M. Sitharama Dass, to thank His Excellency for his Address."

HON. MEMBERS :—"Please speak in Hindi."

SRI M. SATYANARAYANA :—"Sir, I am willing to speak in Hindi provided you get me Hindi reporters."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"You can speak in simple Hindi suitable for this House."

SRI M. SATYANARAYANA :—"Yes, Sir, I will do so for a few minutes towards the close if the Chairman will permit me."

"In supporting the Motion of thanks to His Excellency, I want to make a few observations. Sir, I am a very humble worker in the field of constructive activity. I have not had much to do either with power politics or politics as such. Of Course, I had

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the honour of being a Member of Parliament and of the Constituent Assembly, because I was wanted there for some specific work in connexion with some language problems, as I am a language worker. With very little experience I find myself rather in a more advantageous position, because I have not developed any definite inhibitions either about parties or about politics. In the course of this debate in which people belonging to various parties have participated there were a number of complaints and criticisms. One of the criticisms that was levelled against the Address of His Excellency the Governor was that it was very brief and did not mention many details as was expected by the people. I really do not understand the need for this criticism. His Excellency joined duty as Governor very recently and the new Government was also formed very recently. It was therefore in the fitness of things that the Address should have been very brief. If the Address had dealt with many things it would have certainly been considered as something that was very unjust as His Excellency and his Government could not have studied these problems properly. They did not know what was the position in this State and it was for the purpose of giving an opportunity to the Members who do not belong to the party in power to state what they want that the Address was made very brief. This is what I consider to be the reason for its brevity. It was also stated that the Governor was not very constitutional and he did not show sufficient statesmanship in asking Sri Rajaji to form the Government. I do not want to enter into details because they have become so controversial for the reason that there are a number of personal as well as party problems involved. I will leave it to those who can deal effectively with these problems. As we all know His Excellency comes from a family with high educational attainments and it is impossible for me to conceive that he could be unconstitutional or unjust. As one who was very closely associated with the Central Government as Minister in charge of Natural Resources, as one who was associated with the freedom struggle and as one who was associated with democratic institutions in this country as well as outside, he could never have been unconstitutional. If at all he has done anything, not only by virtue of his position but by virtue of his knowledge and experience, he has acted very constitutionally. This is what I feel.

"In the course of these discussions I found one or two points which I think I must answer. It is always better in a House like this that we do not indulge in personalities and personal criticisms. But, in spite of this, I find that some Members while discussing the politics of the State also try to make certain comparisons and certain analogies. I do not claim to be very proficient or to have studied much of English literature, but it pained me much to hear one comparison that was made as far as our Chief Minister was concerned, by one of the Members. It pained me a good deal. Why? It was because our Chief Minister was compared with one of the third-rate and fourth-rate poets of England. As one who has been in the public life of this country

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for about thirty years now, I have been watching the career, the service, the sacrifices and the greatness of our present Chief Minister. Why should anyone compare Rajaji's life and Rajaji's qualities with a third or fourth-rate poet of England? Rajaji's life itself has been a great poem, a poem of great activity, great service and great sacrifice. Is it not sufficient for everybody to get the necessary inspiration to do some useful work? I am really surprised to find that such a comparison should have been made and it occurs to me some people are not able to make proper comparisons on account of personal inhibitions. I would also try to make a comparison and to my mind it appears that through his services and sacrifices Rajaji has become a spotless diamond and whoever goes to him sees his own reflection. If a man has made sacrifices he sees his own sacrifices in him; if a man happens to be a youth he sees his own youth reflected in him; if he happens to be a poet he sees a poet in him; if he happens to be a politician he sees a politician in him; if he is a diplomat he sees a diplomat in him and no man can see in Rajaji anything except what he himself looks like. On this analogy I find that the comparison which was sought to be made by a particular Member who compared Rajaji's life with that of a third or fourth-rate poet has become true of the Member. (Hear, hear.)

"Another criticism that was made in the course of the discussion was that the Governor had not only made his Address very brief but had allowed his Chief Minister to dictate his policy. Really, it is the duty of the Governor to consult his Chief Minister in regard to the policies to be pursued. The Chief Minister who has also entered on his office recently is placed in a disadvantageous position. He could not have decided on the long range and short range policies of the Government so soon and it is up to the Opposition to state what type of policy should be pursued; how best we could distribute the 53 crores of revenue of this country among the 55 crores of people here; how best it would be possible for the Government to distribute the sources of wealth or the sources of production among the people; how we can reduce the highest to the lowest pedestal and how the common man could be made more than a common man. It is a question of the process to be gone through and in the course of the process we, the legislators, are given the privilege of discussing these matters without hurting anybody. If we abide by what Mahatmaji said it is only by gentle persuasion that we should reach a level where every Member would have the option of offering suggestions for the good of this House. That is how legislators should perform their duties. It is only for the purpose of giving us an object lesson in order to enable us to perform our duties properly in this Legislature that the Governor has deliberately made his speech very brief.

"I understand, Sir, that we are going to meet again next month when we might expect the Government to have made up their minds in order to give us an inkling of their views, what exactly is their policy in respect of economic and social institutions, what exactly is their policy in respect of land reform and what

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other legislation will be brought before the House. We will then have ample opportunity to discuss these matters. This is the reason why the Governor's Address has been so brief and I congratulate the Governor for having given us not only a very brief Address but a very good Address.

"Now, my time is up and I cannot touch on many points I wanted to mention, but I would like to mention one important point which occurred in the course of the debate. One hon. Member made a challenge to the Government saying, 'Give us six months' time and we will make this State a heaven.' I really admire the courage with which this challenge has been made. I wish I were much younger in order to be as responsible or irresponsible as the person who made that statement. This State is very well known for its wisdom, for its democratic traditions, for its greatness and for its statesmanship. With all these and, with the experience the Congress Party has, even that party has not been able to convert this State into a heaven. Therefore the statement made by the hon. Member is one which only people who are ignorant about the real state of affairs could make. It is therefore better that in the course of the debates we make statements for which we are fully responsible."

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—"I take full responsibility for what I have said."

SRI M. SATYANARAYANA :—"The hon. Member may take the responsibility but I am not willing to credit him with that responsibility. I quite agree with the hon. Member that he can make this State a heaven provided he is given full responsibility for killing all opposition by chopping off their heads. It is not possible, therefore, for anyone in this House to feel enthusiastic over remarks of the kind made by the hon. Member. With these words, I feel it my pleasant duty to support the Motion of thanks to His Excellency so ably moved by my hon. Friend, Sri M. Sitharama Dass. If the Chair would permit me, I am willing to speak a few words in Hindi."

* THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have great pleasure in associating myself with the Motion of thanks that has been moved by my hon. Friend, Sri Sitharama Dass. Apart from the valuable Address that His Excellency has delivered I would like to pay my personal tribute to him for all the tours that he has undertaken in Rayalaseema and other parts of the State where famine has been raging, at very great inconvenience and personal discomfort and in the hot weather too. He went through the whole area and acquainted himself with all the difficulties, and the relief measures that this Government have taken are not a little due to the interest that he has taken and therefore, Sir, I would like to pay my tribute to His Excellency.

"At one point, Sir, I did not want to intervene in this debate but I was compelled to do so for the reason that many

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hon. Members made mention of many projects—irrigation projects—that have been undertaken but whose pace has been slowed down. The hon. Member, Srimathi Sitamahalakshamma, made her maiden speech and I offer my congratulations to her. People might say that a lawyer is necessarily a very good speaker. I beg to differ from this proposition. I have known very great and distinguished lawyers with a very lucrative practice at the Bar, who have been failures as parliamentarians. But to-day I find that Srimathi Sitamahalakshamma has made a good speech. (Interruption.) I am only saying that every lawyer need not be a good parliamentarian. I can quote many instances from English parliamentary life. I can say, Sir, that though Sir Edward Hall and Mr. Bennet had been in Parliament for more than 11 years, their best admirers have said that they have not been good parliamentarians. That is my opinion. Sir, I particularly referred to the speech of Srimathi Sitamahalakshamma because she has made a very good suggestion in regard to the policy that ought to be pursued by this Government. She has said that minor irrigation projects should be taken up with speed and executed immediately. I may state, however, for the information of this hon. House that these great rivers—the Godavari, the Krishna and the Cauvery—are not flowing throughout the land and it is only some parts of the State that are benefited by these great rivers. If the other parts of the State are to be benefited there is no other go except to take up the execution of small irrigation projects. But, when we are faced with a food crisis like the present one, we should consider whether any project that is to be undertaken would yield satisfactory results. There was a time, i.e., before we were importing food from outside, when we could take up any project. Now, the food that is being imported from outside is very costly and we have been thrown back on our own resources. The shorter the time in which we could make ourselves self-sufficient the better it will be.

12-15 P.M. “Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that we should spend our money on projects which will give us not only immediate return but also the largest return. Let it not be understood that this Government have no sympathy for the irrigation projects that have been undertaken by the previous Government. If any project has been slowed down it is because of the difficult financial position of the State which forced the Government to draw up an order of priorities. The Government are also trying their level best to see that the finances of the State are carefully husbanded and spent properly. In this connexion, I should particularly commend the example of the people of Tirunelveli district who have subscribed a very large sum of money as loan for carrying out the Manimuttar Project.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“The work on that project has been slowed down by the Government.”

* THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“I have no information that the work on that project has been slowed down. The

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work on that project has been going on. If really our State ought to progress, I submit that all the moneys that have been locked up with the agriculturists in this State should flow into the coffers of our State. I do not mean to say that the agriculturists should pay more by way of taxation. There are various other ways to get the money that has been locked up. It is wrong to think that the rich capitalists and traders have got large sums of money, and that they can help the Government by lending money. On account of the rise in the prices of foodgrains, the financial condition of the agriculturists has improved to a very great extent during the last seven or eight years. If they want to improve their economic position further, it is for them to come forward and liberally subscribe to the loans floated either by the State or the Central Government. The hon. Mr. Chakkarai Chettiar . . .”

SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY :—“I have not yet become a Minister.”

* THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“My hon. Friend Sri Chakkarai Chetty made mention of the fact that land has not been given to the tiller of the soil. To-day there is a famine prevailing in large areas of the State. May I submit, Sir, even if land belongs to the tiller of the soil, if there is no rain, famine will continue in the country. After all, the remedy that is proposed has no connexion at all to the problem of solving the famine prevailing in many parts of this State. I can understand the hon. Member saying that the economic position of the tiller of the soil can be improved by making him the owner of the land. But I cannot understand the argument that famine can be eliminated if the tiller is made the owner of the land. It is all very easy to raise a slogan that land should belong to the tiller of the soil. What does the hon. Member mean by the term ‘tiller of the soil’? Does he mean the actual person who holds the plough or the owner of the land who employs him? I submit, Sir, that in matters relating to the improvement of the position of tenants and tillers of the soil there should be clear-cut ideas and there is no use merely quoting slogans in this respect.

“My hon. Friend, Sri Rajeswara Rao, at one time, in the course of the debate, said that the Members of the Government had made interruptions in the course of his speech because they were afraid of him. Let me tell him that this Government is not afraid of any one, least of all the Communists. Probably the hon. Member has been thinking that by the method of violence which his party has been advocating he can bring down anybody and he can crush us. Let me tell him that if he were to pursue that policy, we are also prepared to do all that lies within our power, and only when it is inevitable we will bow down to what he says. I would like to quote on this occasion what a famous politician in England had said, ‘We will not be cowed down by threats. We will make our will and do our deeds.’ I only wish to say that and nothing more. If the hon. Member has got any constructive

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suggestions to make or offers any constructive criticism, this Government is prepared to listen to him. Let him also state what he wishes to state at the right time, in the right place and in the proper manner.

“ Mr. Govinda Menon, in the course of his speech, praised my revered leader to the skies and narrated all his past achievements and I thought there was no selfishness on his part when he made mention of these things. But I could discern a note of selfishness when he said towards the end of his speech: ‘ Whatever Rajaji has said has come true. In one of his speeches, he has referred to the event of his coming back to the politics of this State as his downfall. Probably this may also come to be true.’ (Interruption from Sri M. P. Govinda Menon.) Probably the hon. Member is frustrated by the fact that Sri Rajaji has become the leader of the Congress Party and a Congress Ministry has been formed. He has been fondly imagining that the leader of his Party (Sri T. Prakasam) would form the Ministry and that he would be able to sit on the Treasury Benches. It is very unfortunate that this did not happen. I should only say that the hon. Member had been living in a fool’s paradise. Let the hon. Member understand that the present Government is not going to fall and this Government will gather more and more strength soon. The Opposition groups measured their strength with the Government by putting up a candidate for the Speakership. (Interruptions.) I do not want to say anything more on this subject except to say that the Congress Party is gaining strength day by day. Let not the Opposition fondly think that by criticizing the Government they can occupy the Treasury Benches.

“ The hon. Members have referred in their speeches to the execution of some of the irrigation projects. I have all my sympathy for those projects and we shall do our best in the matter.”

* Mr. T. J. M. WILSON :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I think that I should really thank you for having at last called me to speak. In fact there is hardly any need—and it is presumptuous—for any member of my party with the Hon. Chief Minister as its leader to speak or to seek to answer any of the criticisms levelled by the other side. But, we have also to justify our membership and I rise therefore to formally support the Motion of thanks to His Excellency the Governor for his Address and say a few words.

“ It is a matter of regret and pain that people and parties get upset when any reference of appreciation or emulation is made to a feature or event of another system or country. As it has been amply explained, the reference here in His Excellency’s Address to the Head of the Commonwealth and British monarchy is only a formal one and is a constitutional propriety. We have voluntarily agreed to be a Member of the Commonwealth and we are. I often wonder what theory or ideology it can be which blinds men to facts that exist. But even if a reference of appreciation is made, what is wrong with it? Whatever may have happened in the past in the long period of evolution, in striking contrast against that

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background of the past, the Commonwealth has now come to symbolise the unity and the voluntary association and membership of different countries. And the British monarchy symbolises that continuity and the amazing capacity of a people to conserve what is best in their past and yet to break away from it and go forward. It symbolises the glorious efforts of a nation to achieve equality and yet not to allow the flame of liberty to flicker. Mankind has been struggling from the dawn of history and moving forward—in different paths, of course, on account of their different features and varying conditions of development and certainly often falling and failing—but yet moving forward to the goal of human happiness and welfare and whatever experiments and achievements any people have made are the common legacy of all the people and they afford lessons for other peoples to learn and draw upon. And history in its dynamic motion and sweep will leave by and shall not forgive those who get stuck up in old ruts revolving and smarting under by-gone events and struggles such as those between India and England.

“ Much has been said now of democracy but there is nothing new or surprising, for democracy has since its birth been used and misused, mauled and mutilated; but what is surprising and lamentable is the almost similar fate being inflicted on ordinary concepts like majority and which have been so much bandied about and are invested with a mystic and supernatural air and meaning which we mere mortals cannot comprehend. But I might say that the Congress Party here, whose record is there now both as a political party and the Government in charge of conducting these phenomenal elections under the leadership of one of the foremost Indians, would uphold the high principles and purposes which inspired and sustained it and strive to work for democracy, for democracy is after all not a finished product to be borrowed or purchased, but is yet an ideal which all the progressive peoples all the world over are struggling to reach and enjoy.

“ To the argument that His Excellency’s Address has not laid down the legislative policy of the Government, adequate answers have been given and may I venture a guess that that perhaps reveals that the Hon. Chief Minister and the Government headed by the Chief Minister are more wit and less art. A friend on the other side generated a lot of heat yesterday when he mentioned this. He argued that the Address deliberately omitted this, because the party wanted to assess its political position and party strength. I think that is a pretty correct reasoning. And instead of it being wrong or a mistake which my friend wanted to take it to be, is it not just the correct thing and the democratic thing for the majority party in the Legislature here to come to compromise with the other parties as far as possible, not deflecting of course from its basic principles, and seek to reflect the desire of the electorate which seems to have deliberately expressed such an opinion by not returning a majority of any party?

12-30
p.m.

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"The various amendments given notice of present a familiar picture of the problem in the State which again, if I may say so, resolves itself into two parts, namely, administrative and legislative. So far as administration is concerned, there has been a terrific lowering down of its morale, chiefly in its lower ranks, and there is much to be done to tone up and purify the administration. But I may say that the very fact of Rajaji's acceptance of leadership has already made a marked improvement in it and I hope that he will take early steps to build up and leave for the future an absolutely non-political, foolproof and efficient administrative machinery, for, after all, it is the basis and pivot of Government by any party.

"Regarding the second aspect, the Hon. Chief Minister rightly said that agriculture is the soul of our problem. I plead with him to take early steps to get over the present crisis in agriculture, of the increasing fragmentation of land, agricultural indebtedness, etc., resulting in under-production. There has been much stress during these two days from the Government side on the word 'priority' in the matter of capital works. I plead with the Government not to bring in any question of priority but to find ways and means of overcoming the financial stringency, and not to prune down any capital works, but to go ahead with all the works which have already been initiated, and even to take on hand more minor irrigation works which would prove fruitful. I plead with the Government to bring down the still high prices by carefully watching the slump and to take immediate measures to increase industrial and agricultural production in the same emergency spirit and on the same war footing as we are fighting that ugly demon of famine which is bewitching the fair land of Rayalaseema.

"It must be realized, Sir, that those terrible problems of poverty, disease and ignorance cannot be solved by a magic wand and they require years of toil and suffering and sacrifices. To those who ask why the Government have failed to solve them in the last six years and pronounce the judgment that the Congress Government have failed, may I reply that even in Soviet Russia, after perhaps the bloodiest revolution in history, there was more poverty, and far more suffering and terrible starvation than here for a much longer period than these six years? But I trust that the Government would lay emphasis and devote all the energies and resources towards building up a Welfare State. I hope that the Chief Minister would live long and give to this State not only the benefit of his ability which is known to be matchless, but also of his imagination which has sometimes in our country's history stirred the hearts of the people to an unprecedented extent.

"I may point out that these complex and baffling problems of poverty and ignorance cannot be solved by legislation alone. Something more than mere legislation, that psychological atmosphere, some mental and moral virtues on the part of both the Government and the people and the parties are required.

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"I pray that with the co-operation of all parties and all people true and sure foundations will be laid for a democracy in which there will not only be plenty and prosperity, but also freedom of the mind and the spirit."

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :— "Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise with pleasure to associate myself with the Motion before the House, viz., the Motion of thanks to His Excellency for the Address he delivered to both Houses of the Legislature on the 6th of May 1952. In his Address His Excellency has referred to the orderly way in which the recent elections have been conducted. He has said that millions of our countrymen and countrywomen, some of them literate, but the majority of them illiterate, came to the polls in large numbers and voted to choose their respective candidates. Well, Sir, it should be admitted that the elections on the whole have been conducted in such a manner as would redound to the credit of all concerned."

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—"No, they were not."

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—"Well, I am sure, my view will be accepted by a vast majority in this House. I hope you will then not be able to object to that."

AN HON. MEMBER :—"What about the nominations to the Council?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—"Nominations to this Council were only to a very limited extent.

"Of course, it is true we have not been able to get an absolute majority. In this connexion, criticisms have been levelled against the nomination of some members to the Council by the Governor. Well, it is not my duty on this occasion to talk at any length on the propriety of the nominations. I shall confine myself to more important matters.

"An objection has been raised at the outset, that His Excellency was not competent to deliver an Address to both Houses of Legislature, because he had called upon a minority party to form the Government and had asked a person who is not the chosen representative of the people to lead the Government. I shall not, Sir, in this connexion, go into the propriety of the allegations concerning the Governor's action. I shall confine myself to the question of the competence of His Excellency to deliver an Address to both Houses of Legislature and the competence of the leader of the Congress Party to form the Government.

"All those who contested the elections have received proportionate representation. The single largest party that has been returned to the lower House is the Congress Party."

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—"No, it is not so."

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—"Well, Sir, the figures speak for themselves. No one can contradict such a statement. Next to the Congress came the Communist Party. The

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Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party could not set up candidates for all the seats in the Lower House. Among the candidates set up by the K.M.P. Party, only 35 candidates were returned. Hence it did not come with any grace from the leader of that party to tell His Excellency that he was not competent to call upon the single largest party to make an effort to form the Government. The suggestion that the people gave a mandate that irrespective of its strength the Congress alone was not competent to make an effort to form a stable welfare Government for this State, that other parties who had not the commensurate strength as the Congress though they had secured only 35, 25 and 60 seats were alone competent to form the Government—I may well call it not a suggestion but a sophistry—was too much for the public to swallow. Sir, I do not like to say anything more than what I have said on this aspect of the question.

“The gravamen of the charge of the Socialist Party with regard to the Governor's Address has been that the Address did not contain all the programmes and policies that are adumbrated by this Government. Sir, it is very clear in His Excellency's Address and he has specifically stated, that he would be addressing the two Houses of the Legislature again during the Budget Session when there would be an opportunity for a comprehensive review of all the measures which the Government propose to implement during the year under review for the development and welfare of the State. It has been pointed out that such an occasion would not give an opportunity to the members to discuss in detail the Governor's Address. I beg to submit, Sir, that there would be ample opportunity for the members to discuss vividly and threadbare every item in the programme and policy of the Government.

“His Excellency has referred in his Address to the two most important and urgent problems with which the Government are faced at the present juncture, i.e., firstly, the famine conditions in Rayalaseema, and secondly, the food situation. The Government, under the leadership of Rajaji, are earnestly concerned with the investigation of famine conditions in other parts of the State also. We are concerned with the ways and means to ameliorate the condition of the masses in those areas also.

“The next session being the Budget Session, it would give hon. Members ample opportunities to follow our policies and offer constructive criticisms. It was in that spirit of complete frankness and sincerity that His Excellency delivered this Address and he was also advised by us to do so.

“The Socialist Party has questioned the *bona fides* of the party-in-power and its leader. They have also contended that they would be denied the privilege of discussing in detail the programmes and policies of the Government during the Budget Session. I should respectfully submit to this House and through this House to the public at large that the whole of the Governor's speech especially his promise to give an opportunity to hon. Members of both Houses to hear him again during the Budget

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Session when the policies of the Government could be discussed threadbare, item by item, has been couched in a spirit of complete sincerity and I think that it is the most honest way of dealing with this House and the people at large. In this connexion, I am sorry to observe that the Socialist Party has been less than fair in its criticisms.

“Some of the hon. Members returned by the Teachers' Constituencies have made references to our educational system and to the condition of the teachers in our State. The question of the status of the teachers, their difficulties with regard to emoluments and conditions of living and all that, have been under the consideration of Government for a long time. It has been remarked that we did not care to advise His Excellency to include a reference about them in his Address. Sir, I should like to state that we have not ignored them altogether. The concessions that were announced quite recently are indicative of our earnestness to improve their living conditions. We are most anxious to do what we can under the present circumstances.

“As regards the revision of the salaries of secondary-grade teachers I should like to observe that the matter is receiving the earnest consideration of the Government. The question of the total revision of the scales of pay is a question of finance, which everybody knows. We want to look at it from the point of view of giving amenities according to needs and not in terms of money. I may also state in this connexion that the Government are considering the extension to teachers in aided schools, the concessions they have already announced in the case of teachers in schools under the control of local bodies. The financial aspects of such an extension are being carefully looked into.

“References have been made with regard to the reorientation of our educational policy. I should like to state in this connexion that many reforms to reorient our educational system have been made during the last decade. It would be the policy of our Government not to proceed in haste. You may take it that due consideration will be given to each and every policy that we want to implement. In doing so I take this opportunity to welcome the co-operation of the esteemed educationists in this House and outside. We would respectfully welcome their co-operation and advice in every matter concerning the reorientation of our educational system.

“I do not want to take up much of our time. I think, Sir, that I have said quite enough. With these words I heartily associate myself with other hon. Members in thanking His Excellency for his Address.”

* SRI M. ETHIRAJULU :—“கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே ! இன்று 12-45 பேசப்படும் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களின் பிரசங்கத்தை ஆதரித்து p.m. சில வார்த்தைகள் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன்.

“முதலாவதாக பது அரகியல் சட்டப்படி தேர்தல் நடந்து அப்பிரதி நிதிகளைக்கொண்டு கூட்டப்படும் முதல் கூட்டமாகும் இது. சென்ற 1952-ம் ஆண்டு 6-ந்தேதியில் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள்

[Sri S. Ramakrishniah] [13th May 1952]

గారి ఆదేశమును విని ఆంగీకరించేందుకు ఈ సమావేశాన్ని ఏర్పాటుచేసి ఇంత ప్రజాద్రవ్యము ఖర్చు చేయబడినది. ఇదంతయు నిష్ప్రయోజనమగుచున్నది. అందుచేత, గవర్నరుగారి ఆదేశములో ప్రభుత్వంయొక్క వివిధ పోలీసు తెలిపి యుండవలసినది. కనుక అటువంటి సూచనలేవీవారి ప్రస్తావనలో లేకపోవడం అనేది చాలా లోపంగా కనిపిస్తున్నదని నేను మనవిచేయుచున్నాను.

“గవర్నరుగారి ప్రస్తావనలో ఎన్నికలుగురించి ఎన్నికలు చాలా సక్రమంగా జరిగాయని సూచించబడింది. ఈ ఎన్నికలు గురించి గౌరవనీయులగు విద్యార్థులు మాత్రము ఉపన్యాసంలాగూడ అందులో ఎన్నికలు కొంతవరకు చాలా చాగుగా జరిగాయని చెప్పటంలో, కొన్ని కొన్ని చోట్ల సక్రమంగా జరుగలేదని ధ్వనిస్తున్నది. అయితే జనరల్ ఎన్నికలకు సంబంధించినంతవరకు అవి వివిధంగా జరిగినవోగాని, బహుశా సక్రమంగానే జరిగియుండవచ్చు. కాని కాన్సిల్ ఎన్నికలు మాత్రము విమాత్రము తృప్తికరంగా జరగలేదని నేను గట్టిగా ఘంటాఘటంగా చెప్పగలను. కాన్సిల్ ఎన్నికలు వి పద్ధతి ప్రకారము జరిగినది ఈ సభలో ఉన్నవారందరికీ తెలిసియున్నది. ఉపాధ్యాయ వర్గాల ఎన్నికలుగాని, స్థానిక సంస్థల ఎన్నికలుగాని లేదా Graduates constituencies ఎన్నికలుగాని ఇవన్నీ కూడా ఎంత ఆక్రమంగా అన్యాయంగా జరుగబడినాయి, అనేటటువంటి విషయము నేను మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. జనరల్ ఎన్నికలలో అనుసరింపబడిన వోటింగు పద్ధతి కాన్సిల్ ఎన్నికలకు అనుసరింపబడలేదు. జనరల్ ఎన్నికలలో రహస్యపు (secret voting) వోటింగు విధానము అనుసరింపబడినది. అంతేకాకుండా బ్యాలెట్ పేపర్లను అభ్యర్థులుగాని, వారి తరఫున నియమింపబడిన ఏజెంట్లుగాని, ఇతరులుగాని ముట్టనవకాశములేకుండా, అవి ఉంచబడినచోట్ల వాటికి పోలీసు రక్షణ ఇవ్వబడినది కాని కాన్సిల్ ఎన్నికలలో ఈ సక్రమ విధానములు అనుసరింపబడలేదు. ఈ ఎన్నికలలో వోటర్లకు బ్యాలెట్ పేపర్లు పంపబడి పోస్టల్ బ్యాలెట్ విధానాన్ని అనుసరించినందున ఎంతో అక్రమానికి అన్యాయానికి దారి గలిగినది. వోటర్లకివ్వబడిన బ్యాలెట్ పేపర్లు, చాలా చోట్ల అభ్యర్థుల (candidates) చేతికి వట్టి సంతకాలతో అట్లనే ఇవ్వబడినవి. న్యాయంగా అభ్యర్థులు బ్యాలెట్ పేపర్లను అసలే ముట్టుకొనకూడదు. కాని చాలా మంది అభ్యర్థులు వోటర్ల దగ్గరనుండి బ్యాలెట్ పేపర్లు ఇప్పించుకొని తామె స్వయంగా గవర్నమెంటు ఆఫీసులకు అందజేశారు. ఈ విధంగా ముఖ్యంగా మార్చి 16 వ తేదినాడు జరిగినటువంటి అన్యాయము ఊహించుటకు సాధ్యంగాదని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. ముఖ్యంగా ఉపాధ్యాయవర్గాలగురించి మనవి చేయుచున్నాను ఎప్పుడైతే బ్యాలెట్ పేపర్లు ఉపాధ్యాయులకు పోస్టులో పంపబడినవో లేదో, వెంటనే అనేకమంది అభ్యర్థులు మ్యానేజిమెంట్లు ప్రతి స్కూలుకువెళ్లి ఆక్కడి ఉపాధ్యాయులయొక్క బ్యాలెట్ పేపర్లలో కేవలం సంతకాలు మాత్రము పెట్టించుకొని తీసుకొనిపోయినారు. ఈ విషయంలో అనేక నిదర్శనాలు ఉన్నాయి. పత్రికలలో ప్రకటించినటువంటి నిదర్శనాలు కూడా వున్నాయి. ‘అభ్యర్థులు మా బ్యాలెట్ పేపర్లలో సంతకాలు మాత్రము వుచ్చుకొని తీసుకొనిపోయినారు. మా వోట్లు ఎవరికిచ్చామా అని మాకే తెలియకుండా ఉందని ఉపాధ్యాయులు చెప్పినారు’. ఈ విషయము విమాత్రము సత్యమార్పమని కాదు. దీనికి అంతయు కారణము పోస్టల్ బ్యాలెట్ పద్ధతే అని చెప్పవలసి యుండుంది. ఈ పద్ధతిలో వెబిథమైన అన్యాయాలు జరిగేటందుకు అవకాశముండుంది గనుకనే, ఈ పద్ధతి మంచిది కాదు, రహస్యచాటు విధానాన్ని అమలు జరుపవలెనని ఉపాధ్యాయుల పక్షమున ఉపాధ్యాయ సంఘాల పక్షమున అనేక విధములైనటువంటి విజ్ఞాపనలు ఎన్నికలకు ఎంతోముందుగానే ప్రభుత్వానికి పంపబడినకూడా ప్రభుత్వము వాటిని చెవిని పెట్టలేదు. ఈ విధంగా

3th May 1952] [Sri S. Ramakrishniah]

సజాన్యమిక పద్ధతులకు వ్యతిరేకంగా ఎన్నికలు జరిగి, దాని పర్యవసానము సుభవించే అవస్థ ఏర్పడినది.

“తరువాత, క్రింది తరగతి ఉద్యోగస్థులయొక్క జీతములగురించి కొంత మనవి చేయుచున్నాను. ఉపాధ్యాయులకు యు.జి.ఓ. లకును ప్రభుత్వం యిస్తున్నటువంటి జీతాలు ఎంత తక్కువగాయన్నవో అందరికీని తెలిసినదే. ఉపాధ్యాయులు యు.జి.ఓ. లే కాదు. మీనియర్స్ (peons) మొదలగువారి జీతాలు చాలా హీనంగా ఉన్నాయి. వారు దినమంతా పనిచేస్తున్నప్పటికీ, వారికిచ్చే జీతాలు మాత్రం వారి అవసరాలకు విమాత్రము చాలనటువంటివి. ఉదాహరణంగా, ఈ సమావేశములో ఇదయం 8 గంటలనుండి సాయంత్రము 8 గంటలవరకు పనిచేస్తున్నటువంటి వాళ్లకు ఎంత జీతము యిస్తున్నారో అందరికీ తెలిసినదే. వారికి 18 రూపాయలు జీతమి, 18 రూపాయలు కరువు అలవెన్సు అని, మరో 7 రూపాయలు ఇంటి అలవెన్సు అని అంతా కలిపిన 43 రూపాయలే ఇస్తున్నారు. ఆ కొద్ది జీతము వారి కనీస అవసరాలకైనా వివిధంగా సరిపోతుందో ప్రభుత్వమున్నూ, సభ్యులున్నూ అలోచించవలసి యున్నది. సామాన్యంగా 4, 5 గురు మంది ఉండేటటువంటి కుటుంబాలుగలవారికి ఈ జీతము పూట గంజీకైనా చాలదని చెప్పితే అశ్చర్యమేమీ లేదు. వారికి ఒక పూట కైనా చాలినంత ఆహారములేక దేహమంతా కుప్పింది, శరీరములో రక్తమింసాదులు లేక, కండ్లు లోపలికి దిగి, కేవలము జీవచ్ఛక్తులవలే కనవిస్తున్నారు. వచ్చే నాల్గు రాళ్లనుండి కుటుంబాలు పోషించలేనటువంటి దుర్భర జీవితాన్ని భరించలేక ఆత్మహత్యలు చేసుకొన్నటువంటి నిదర్శనాలుగూడా మనము వింటున్నాము. పత్రికలలో గూడ ప్రకటించబడుతూ ఉంటుంది. ఈ సందర్భమున అమలాపురములో జరిగినటువంటి ఒక ఘోర సంఘటనను మనవిచేసి నట్లయితే హృదయము కరిగి నీరపోతుంది. ఒక హైస్కూలు ఉపాధ్యాయుడు ఒక దినము ఇంటిలో బియ్యము లేకపోతే ఆ దినము సాయంత్రము భార్య మెడలోని తాళిని అమ్మి ఎక్కడ నుంచో బయటనుండి కొంత బియ్యాన్ని పట్టుకొని వస్తుయిండగా, మధ్యన పోలీసులు ఆతనిని పట్టుకొని బ్లాక్ మార్కెట్టు అనే నేరముక్రింద నేషనుకు తీసుకొని వెళ్లి మూట లాగుకొని వదిలి పెట్టారు. ఇంటివద్ద ఆకలితో వాళ్లరమనే బిడ్డలు దిగులుతో కృపించి, బక్కచిక్కిన భార్య బియ్యంకొరకు ఎదురుచూస్తున్నారు జరిగిన విషయం తెలుపగానే గొల్లమని ఏడ్చారు. అది భరించరాని దృశ్యం. శిల్పాలు విడిచివెట్టి నిద్రపాడ్యారు. భార్య కూడా—పాపం మధ్యాహ్నం ఎంగిలిపడిందో లేదో శోషతో తలవాల్చింది. యజమానికి మాత్రం నిద్రపట్టాలి. ఈ దుర్భర పరిస్థితిని భరింపలేక ఆ రాత్రి కొంతనేపటికి అందరు నిద్రపోయినదిరువాత దొడ్డిలోకి పోయి భావిలో పడి ఆత్మహత్యచేసుకొన్నాడు. ఈ లాంటి నిదర్శనాలు అప్పుడప్పుడు వింటూనేయున్నాము. కనుక ఇటువంటి విషయాల్ని పట్టిని ప్రభుత్వమువారు కరుణార్ధిహృదయంతో గమనించి పరిష్కరించవలసి యుండుంది. ప్రస్తుతము యు.జి.ఓ. లకు 45 రూపాయలు జీతము కేంద్రం, 22 రూపాయలు కరువు అలవెన్సు కేంద్రం మొత్తము 67 రూపాయలు ఇస్తూ యున్నారు. అదే విధంగా ఒక ప్రాథమిక ఉపాధ్యాయునికి 50 రూపాయలు ఇస్తూ యున్నారు. ఇది వారికి కనీస అవసరాలకైనా వివిధంగా సరిపోతుందని రెక్కచేయవలసి ఉండుంది. కనుక నేను ప్రభుత్వాన్ని, సభ్యులను కోరునదేమనగా, ఒక ఉపాధ్యాయునకు, అతని అవసరాలకు కనీసము ఎంత డబ్బు కావలసియుండుందో బియ్యానికి ఇంతయని, బట్టకు ఇంతయని, ఇంటి వాడుగకు ఇంతయని, ఈ విధంగా అతని అవసరాలకు కావలసిన డబ్బును రెక్కపెట్టి ఒక ఉపాధ్యాయుని బడ్జెట్ ఏర్పాటుచేసి దాని ప్రకారం ప్రభుత్వ బడ్జెట్ ను తయారుచేయవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను అదే విధంగా ఒక

[Sri S. Ramakrishniah] [13th May 1952]

య.జి.పి. యొక్క బడ్జెట్‌కూడా తయారుచేసి ఆ ప్రకారము ప్రభుత్వ బడ్జెట్‌ను సవరించవలసియుంటుంది. అదే మాదిరిగానే మీనియర్స్ విషయంలోనూ వారి ఖర్చును తక్కువ కట్టి దాని ప్రకారం వారికి జీతాలిచ్చేటట్లు ప్రభుత్వ బడ్జెట్ తయారు చేయవలసిన అవసరమున్నదని మనవిచేస్తూ మోషన్‌ను వ్యతిరేకిస్తూ ఇంతటితో విరమించుకొంటున్నాను.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I think we have had a sufficient number of speeches. I am afraid I cannot call on any more members to speak. I will now call upon Mr. Adityan to speak.”

SRI G. KRISHNAMOORTHY :—“ I am the mover of an amendment and I asked for an opportunity to speak twice the other day and also to-day, but I have not yet had a chance.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ I suggest a general discussion on all the amendments.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I can give only five minutes to the hon. Member.”

* SRI G. KRISHNAMOORTHY :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, the fact that I have been granted only a short time, and that it has become necessary for the Chair to give me only a short time, is, I think, a good augury that the problem of the teachers is going to be solved in a short time.

“ Now, Sir, I have given notice of an amendment that there has been a serious omission in His Excellency's Address regarding the steps that are intended to be taken by the Government to ameliorate the condition of the teachers. I say, Sir, that this is not a demand from the members of a particular profession, the teaching profession, but it is a demand from the public, inasmuch as the teacher is after all in *loco parentis* and the duty the teacher has been discharging in the school is nothing but the duty of the parent done for the nation. If the Government gather the families of the lakh and thirty thousand elementary school teachers in one concentrated area, it will be clearly seen that the lot of these one lakh and thirty thousand families of elementary school teachers is, as bad as, if not worse than that of, the people affected by the Rayalaseema famine. But the only point of difference is that these teachers are scattered. They are dying, dying every inch, every moment; they are half-clad, ill-housed and half-fed. And, if these lakh and thirty thousand families are given a living wage, then Indra, the God of Gods, Indra, the king of kings, will be really glad that the Chief Minister in the position of a king in Madras, has done something right and then he will make rains shower like anything.

“ Then, Sir, these teachers, a lakh and thirty thousand of them, have not had any opportunity to voice forth their feelings all along. As a Member elected from the teachers' constituency, I ask, can the teacher be anything otherwise than famine-stricken if he is paid Rs. 27 plus Rs. 19 or Rs. 46, which is less than what a

[13th May 1952] [Sri G. Krishnamoorthy]

menial in Government service gets? Is this the way in which the moulder of the nation, who by teaching history contrary to the slavish way indicated in the books produced great men who won freedom for the country, and who is still there teaching history in the proper way to preserve the hard-won freedom, should be treated? Is that moulder of the nation to be treated worse than a menial in this country even after five years of Swaraj? Can the teacher be anything worse than famine-stricken if his children are not given free education, if priority in free education is not given to the children of the man who is actually engaged in teaching? Even the highest paid railway officers are given railway passes because they are running the railway. But, are not the teachers running the educational machinery? And, can the teacher be anything but famine-stricken if he is driven out into the streets in his 50th year or so after three months of divorce notice business, called contract, under the Educational Rules? It looks as if the higher the salary the lesser the security; the greater the experience the lesser the security. Can the teacher be anything otherwise than famine-stricken if he in his 55th year, after discharging his useful service for nearly 30 years, is driven out without pension, for the reason that he had been serving in a quasi-Governmental or aided institution? Can the teacher be anything else than famine-stricken if the caste and sub-caste system in the name of Agency is perpetuated? That might have been the case when the Britisher was here. There is a caste called the local board teacher with sub-castes of municipal, district board and panchayat teachers. Then, you have got the caste of teachers in aided institutions and Government institutions. Of course, I have no quarrel with these different names. But different names mean different salaries for men with the same educational qualifications, men with the same professional qualifications, men handling the same syllabus and teaching the same Indian children and inspected by the same Government officers. Then, Sir, these people are being discriminated against in a Secular State, which claims to give equality of opportunity to all. When are all these things to go, if they are not to go under the aegis of our able Chief Minister, Rajaji here? By one stroke of the pen the Hon. Chief Minister can take away this divorce business. I know the previous Education Minister promised to do that, but it has not been done. I say, Sir, that by one stroke of the pen the Hon. Chief Minister can do these and thus enable the teacher to discharge his primary function of teaching in contentment and peace in respect of his living wage and security of service. If these things are done by our able Chief Minister, I think, I can repeat what I said earlier in my speech that Indra will shower his blessings and the whole country will be blessed with prosperity.”

* SRI P. N. MARTHANDAM PILLAI :—“ Sir, I got up half-a-dozen times the other day and to-day, but as yet I am sorry I have not been able to catch your eye. I did not know you were

[Sri P. N. Marthandam Pillai] [13th May 1952]

asking for slips from Members wishing to speak. In fact, I did send my slip about an hour ago. If it is not inconvenient I would request you to give me an opportunity to speak to-day."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I did not ask for slips, though certain slips were sent to me and certain names also were given to me. As far as possible, I have accommodated most of the hon. Members. Of course, it is not possible for every Member to speak and we must come to the end of our business some time, somehow. So far, we have had a full day the day before and one half day to-day. But, if the hon. Member is particular, I shall certainly give him five minutes."

* SRI P. N. MARTHANDAM PILLAI :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, the main motion before the House is a very simple one and, if I may add, it is a normal, formal vote. Those of the hon. Members who heard the speech of the Governor are anxious to say, ' We thank you, Sir, for the Address you have given.' Those of the Members who walked out possibly do not know what the Governor said and, therefore, they may say, ' We do not know what the Governor said and, therefore, we are not prepared to associate ourselves along with you.' Well, Sir, I will be content if you allow those who heard the Governor and who appreciated the Governor's Address to present an Address to him of thanks. It does not stop with that. The Members who have given notice of amendments, accept the Motion of Thanks. I want you, Sir, to note it. The Members of the Opposition who have given notice of various amendments have accepted so far as the thanks part of the Motion is concerned, but they only added to it, ' but regret,' etc. There are 23 such regrets in the amendments given notice of. I would only request you, Sir, to omit this chapter of regrets and pass only the Motion of Thanks. I thank you, Sir, for the opportunity given."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" Mr. Chairman, the Motion before the House is to express our thanks to the Governor for the Address which he has been pleased to give us. Sir, the Address is a short one, a brief one, and the Governor has shown very commendable economy in words and I only wish he had shown equal economy in another direction, in the direction of his salary and emoluments. Out of public funds, something like 10 lakhs of rupees are spent for the purpose of pomp, paraphernalia and the staff of the Governor. While there are persons in the employ of the Government drawing Rs. 18, is it right that the Head of the State should draw ten lakhs of rupees per annum towards his salary and allowances alone . . ."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" The figures are all wrong."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" I believe it is about 10 lakhs or so. (Interruption.) Very well, Rs. 7,20,000. Now, Sir, I ask what justification is there for spending such a large sum?

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Let us assume that, in this year's budget, they have provided for Rs. 7 lakhs. Even then it does not reduce the force of my argument that it is out of all proportion to the average income of the people of this State. I do not, of course, deny the great service that the Governor has done to the party to which he belongs and if he is to be paid for his services to the party, then that money should come out of party funds and not out of public funds. I know that this matter is under correspondence—I mean the subject of reduction of the salary of the Governor—between the State Government and the Central Government. I know how official correspondence takes time—it may be months, it may be years, before the decision is taken. In the meantime, I would appeal to the Governor to make a voluntary reduction and a substantial reduction, so that it may be agreeable to the vast bulk of the people in the State. Sir, if he wants the respect and regard of the people . . ."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I rise to a point of order. Sir, I do not think that the discussion should be prolonged in this manner. I do not see the end of it and if it is to go on in this manner, I raise a point of order that the subject cannot be discussed in this Legislature."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" Sir, I anticipated this point of order, because I know the Hon. Chief Minister is living in the last decade. It has been already ruled that, after the new Constitution, this subject can be discussed, but the only thing which we cannot do is to vote on it."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" That is the point."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" It was in the olden days, that is during 1937-39, this subject was kept out of discussion, but now we are under the new Constitution and so it is open to full discussion."

" Now, Sir, I was saying that, if the Governor wishes to have the respect and regard of the people of the State and if he wants to justify his existence as the Governor of this State, he should voluntarily reduce this huge drain on public funds and thus save money, so that the people at large may have the benefit of it."

" Sir, in the Address for which we are asked to thank the Governor, mention is made about the food and famine situation in the State. The Address says, ' Gruel centres have been opened, in large numbers and free gruel is served to infirm and disabled persons and to women and children.' It is stated as the Government policy that the gruel, for what it is worth, is given to the infirm, to the disabled and to women and children. What about the able-bodied person who is unemployed? I read an extract from the *Indian Express*, dated 12th February 1952, in which it is stated that the Food Minister of the Central Government, Mr. Munshi, came and toured the areas affected by famine. He visited various gruel centres . . ."

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SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY :—"Gruel centres or cruel centres?"

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—"Gruel centres. It appeared in that paper that the gruel supplied in some of the centres was bad. In fact, in one of the gruel centres, the Hon. Mr. Munshi saw hundreds of persons clamouring for the little gruel, the colour of which was red. He thought he could taste it, and it appeared in the press that the Hon. Food Minister tried to taste the gruel and put it into his mouth but he could not get it down his throat.

1-15
p.m.

"That shows the quality of the gruel supplied. It is reported that Mr. Munshi proceeded to a nearby village where he got an able-bodied man removed from the gruel centre saying that he objected to such people being fed at the gruel centres. Here is a case of an able-bodied person not being allowed to take the gruel from the gruel centre. If he has no employment, what does the Government want him to do? Are the Government refusing to give him gruel, so that he may starve, get diseased, become decrepit and thus become disabled and then come under the benefit of the gruel supply scheme? Is that the policy of the Government? When will the Government accept the responsibility for providing employment for the people? If you read the U.D.F. programme, you will find we have accepted the responsibility to provide employment to every adult of the State. That is one of the basic principles of any civilized Government in the world, let it be a Communist Government, or a Capitalist Government. Are this Government prepared to accept the responsibility of providing employment or adequate relief to the people? I require an answer from the Hon. the Chief Minister and I hope that, when he replies, he will categorically say that the Government accept the responsibility of providing employment or adequate relief to the people, every adult man and woman in the State.

"There is an appeal in the Address for sound traditions being established. In this connexion, I wish to state that it gives me no pleasure to criticize the Hon. the Chief Minister. I find persons, not merely his followers but devotees, saying that the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari can do no wrong and one of the hon. Members went to the extent of saying that if what he does is not in accordance with law, then the law must be wrong. I have no quarrel with such devotees, but I have also a duty to perform, an unpleasant duty to perform, the duty of pointing out the misdeeds of the Government, just as the Government Members have got to sing his praise; otherwise, I will not be worth my salt. The Hon. the Chief Minister has come into the ring and he cannot plead he is old. How I wish he had retired in glory! Many a boxing champion, Joe Louis, Max Baer and Max Schmelling and others did not know when to retire from the ring and every boxer goes again and again into the ring only to retire in shame. If the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari had desisted from coming into the ring, it would not be necessary for me to hit him as I have to do to-day with regret."

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"I do not mind your hits."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—"I am glad the Hon. the Chief Minister does not mind hits. I may not say that again because it is only my sense of duty that eggs me on to do this unpleasant duty of pointing out the wrongs and misdeeds committed by the Government under his charge. The first wrong thing, the first mistake, as has been pointed out again and again is his nomination to this council under Article 171 (5). While replying in the other House, he dexterously avoided referring to this Article and he proceeded as though the criticism was with reference to Article 164. He imagined that we, on this side of the House, were accusing him for having gone against Article 164. If he had been nominated as a Minister under Article 164, I will have no quarrel with him because he will have to stand for election, if not now, within six months from the date of his appointment as Minister, but we take strong exception to his nomination under Article 171 (5). This is what that Article of the Constitution says :

'(5) The members to be nominated by the Governor under sub-clause (a) of clause (3) shall consist of persons having special knowledge or practical experience in respect of such matters as the following, namely :—

Literature, science, art, co-operative movement and social service.'

In other words, this Article provides for nomination of certain experts, experts in literature, experts in science, experts in art, experts in the co-operative movement and experts in social service. I daresay the Hon. the Chief Minister was not nominated for the reason that he is an expert scientist, or an expert artist, or an expert in literature or social work. For his nomination, there were other reasons, which the country knows. And while getting himself nominated what is it that he has done? He has taken the chance from out of a man to whom the nomination is rightfully due; this nomination ought to have gone to some educationist, dramatist or artist and so long as he retains this seat, I fear, Sir, he is grabbing the seat and retaining it to the exclusion of one of whom it is legally and morally due. There are able artists who are worth appointing who have not come into the Council. For example, there is Mr. N. S. Krishnan, the able actor and dramatist; he has not been appointed and there are so many journalists left out and it is a pity that the Hon. the Chief Minister has put himself in their position. In justification of retaining his seat and his membership of the Council, the Chief Minister said that if he were younger, he would stand for election and contest a seat. Now, his willingness to stand for election is cancelled by the phrase 'if I were younger'. One of the Members on the Government benches mentioned the story of Markandeya. If there is any method of preserving eternal youth—I do not know the method—if there is any elixir of life, I will gladly hand it over to the Chief Minister in order to make him stand for election."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"I am not prepared to accept a prescription from the hon. Gentleman."

[Sri S. B. Adityan] [13th May 1952]

* Sri S. B. ADITYAN :—“ I should like to ask, Sir, if the mere fact of advanced age is a bar to stand for an election. Is that a real handicap? The only drawback of an aged person is that he cannot run about and he cannot make speeches. We know well how active the Chief Minister is. Were not persons put up for election who were under greater handicap? Were there not people who were put in prison and asked to contest the elections? Were there not people who contested the elections with warrants of arrest hanging over their heads, and with charges of conspiracy against the Government pending against them; were there not people who contested the elections while they were running about with warrants pursuing them? Were there not people who contested the elections while they were actually bed-ridden? That being so, why not the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari contest the elections?

“ The time given to me is very short and I will have to refer to one or two things more before I close. At the time the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari took up office, it was widely said that he was undertaking the cleansing work; public life in the State had become dirty, there were nepotism, corruption and bribery and he was going to eradicate them. That was what was said. But how did he eradicate nepotism? The word is derived from ‘nephew’; if a person appoints one who is related to him or his friend, then that is nepotism; if a person appoints his nephew, it is nepotism; if someone close to the appointing person is appointed, then that is nepotism, it may be a friend or a relative. How did the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari eradicate nepotism, Sir? The very first appointment that he made, the Secretary to the Legislature here, how was it filled? By a person known to him. Mr. R. V. Krishna Ayyar was appointed as Secretary to the Legislature; it is a key appointment. In that connexion, I will have to ask, Sir, ‘Were applications called for, were they scrutinized, and was the opinion of the Public Service Commission invited?’ No, Sir. The only qualification which is known to the outside world is that the candidate knew the Chief Minister personally, otherwise, what is the justification for appointing a person to the service 13 years after he had retired and what is the justification to bring him back? Did he apply for the post? What are his qualifications? Did he produce a medical certificate? Were there not other applicants and what did the Public Service Commission say about it? You say, Sir, that it is a temporary appointment and you call it temporary for the purpose of appointing a person who is known to you and who did some service which was pleasant to you for these twelve years. That is why he has been appointed without calling for applications and without consulting the Commission. I say, Sir, that this will go down in history as one of the outstanding examples of nepotism and if it is how you are going to cleanse this State of nepotism then I know what the fate of this State will be. I ask the Hon. Chief Minister, ‘While you are here to stamp out corruption, what about the huge organized corruption which is going on, the gift of ten acres of land to people because they

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happen to be members of the Congress Party, in order to enable them to continue their support to you? What justification is there to continue this grant of land to 10,000 persons? I ask the Hon. the Chief Minister to examine every case; there are Ministers who have been given lands and in every case of the grant of such lands, it is the poor cultivator who was in possession of the land, who has been dispossessed and whose livelihood has been taken away from him. The lands have been distributed and the previous cultivators lost their livelihood, so that your party can run this Government and you can have the support of these people. Is it not corruption and if it is not, I ask, what else is corruption? In the U.D.F. programme, the first and the foremost thing is that such lands will be confiscated and they will be restored to the original owners, the cultivators who must have their means of livelihood.

“ In reply to the criticism that had been made regarding the absence of any policy in the Address, the retort came: ‘What is the difficulty, the Congress policy is there.’ If you are going to pursue the Congress policy, I would like to remind you, what the verdict of the people was on the Congress policy? What was the Congress policy with regard to food? You levied sales tax on food and even on salt. Mahatmaji fought against salt tax and you are retaining it in the shape of sales tax and the sales tax on food and salt alone comes to Rs. 7 crores. Each individual in the State, however poor he may be, will have to buy his food and salt and he will have to pay the tax. When the question was raised, the Hon. Mr. Gopala Reddi said that though it was hard on the poor, yet it was his *kamadhenu*. But he was defeated in the elections and is not here, and yet you say that that is the policy which has the support of the people. Regarding Prohibition, you are going to continue it as the last Government did. The last Government wanted several lakhs of rupees for the purchase of muskets, revolvers and handcuffs for the enforcement of Prohibition, and you are supporting the enforcement of Prohibition with muskets, revolvers and handcuffs. You are also continuing the same old policy with regard to the Armed Police and Rs. 2 crores per year are being spent on that account. If you are going to continue the same old policy, that only shows that you have not learned any lesson from the last general elections. Where are the Ministers who wanted imposition of taxes on food and salt and the maintenance of the Armed Police? They have not been returned; Sri Gopala Reddi is not here and the former Chief Minister is not also here. But one thing is plain, Sir, and it is that the drama is the same, but only the actors are different. Sir, I shall be finishing in a few minutes.

“ Then, Sir, it was said that the policy of the present Government is to declare war against all Communists. A to Z. I say with all respect to the Hon. Chief Minister, ‘If that is your policy you do not know the people. The very name of Communism may be abhorrent to you; the very name of Communism may be abhorrent to your Ministers.’ ”

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SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY :—" No chance of war for the next two years."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" Perhaps the Hon. Ministers, the Rajah of Ramnad, the Rajah of Kapiyeswarapuram and Mr. Palaniswami Gounder may think that there is a general hatred against the Communists in the land. Sir, let me tell them, 'You are sadly mistaken, you have all lost contact with the people.' Those who are well-off hate Communism. But those who work in the fields, those who work in the factories, those who work day in and day out to eke out their daily bread, the common man, and the middle classes, do not hate the Communists. Only those who go to dinner parties, garden parties and attend dancing parties—it is only they who fret and foam in their mouths and get red in their eyes at the mere mention of the Communists. But, what about the person who toils in the field for his daily morsel of food who does not know wherefrom he will get his food for the morrow? He does not hate Communism. You, Sir, say, 'War against all Communism, War against all Communists.' I tell you, such a device to cause a split among other political parties will have no result. If war against all Communism is to be declared, I say it is a war against all the people in the land belonging to the other political parties who have joined the United Democratic Front. So, if you declare war against all Communism, it means war against all those persons. I know you, the Hon. the Chief Minister, have got every advantage on your side. I know you have the Public Safety Act, you have the power to start proceedings under Section 144, Cr.P.C. Now, you have found another mighty weapon, namely, action under the privilege of the House. Besides these, you have other repressive laws. But, in this war against Communism, the people will win. I tell you, the people who are leading a bitter life to-day, it is they who will win in this war. I tell you, people want happiness, not through prayer, not through devotion to divinity but through an abundance of wealth—happiness not through doping the mind, but through an abundant supply of material goods required for their daily needs. That is the only way in which any Government should improve the lot of the people and not by asking them to pray. Sir, I have no hesitation in asking the House to reject the motion."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" The House will now rise for lunch and meet again at 2-30 p.m."

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, I had intended to wind up this debate on a note which might be called quiet and sweet. Unfortunately, Mr. Adityan has not permitted me to do so. Mr. Adityan, who has, I take it, got into this House on the vote of 12 or 15 gentlemen of the Lower House, advises me, in the first place, to retire and to stick to my retirement, and tells me that I was wrong in having come into

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the arena of leadership of the House and of my party, and asks me to reply to those observations. Anything that is said here by any Member is intended to be taken note of and to be replied to. Surey, Sir, we were not used to be asked to touch upon matters of this kind in a debate here or in any legislature, as to whether I should retire or not, whether I should bid good-bye to politics. These are matters, generally considered private, and however quasi-public the objects may be, they are not generally considered matters for debate and discussion. Since I am asked by Mr. Adityan to consider his proposal, I have to say, that when 100 or 150 odd members approached and pressed me to come out and preside over their work, I had pressed the very same argument and told them almost the same thing that Mr. Adityan had said to me. But it was not to be; and if I agreed, it is not as if any of the reasons, such as Mr. Adityan imagines was at the back of my mind. I agreed for totally different reasons, which even if I expatiate upon, I fear, will not be understood by Mr. Adityan. (Laughter.)

" The hon. Member, Mr. Adityan tells me also that I should go and stand for election. I said that I would have done a certain thing, had I been younger. He says that he would help me to do it by giving me necessary medicines for the purpose of being younger (laughter). Barring the temporary youth, which Mr. Adityan's attacks on me and my work give me for the moment, I do not think I can trust his ability to prescribe medicines. I hardly trust his capacity to work in politics. How can I trust his powers to treat ills of the human body, much less to make old people young! (Laughter.) Mr. Adityan has spoken in a manner which if it had been a brief interruption would have resulted in a counter interruption. But he has made such a long speech in the same strain that the shock became a rather chronic affair, and so I could not but allow him to go in the way he did. Mr. Adityan is connected with, I think he does actually edit, manage, and control, the policy of a chain of papers, for which he has earned justly, I think, a particular reputation for accuracy and decorum. (Laughter.) He has maintained that level on the floor of this House also. (Laughter.) Sir, it is exhilarating to attempt to do good to poor people around one. It is exhilarating, whether we fail or not, to be engaged in tasks which might help the fortunes of the poor people of our country. But the processes through which we have to go in order to be able to do that service as a Government, are unfortunately of a very unpleasant character. But, one cannot help it. If I get into a coal mine I cannot complain if the soot attaches to my clothes or face or hands. I shall assign that fore, not feel delicate in dealing with matters dealt with here, there, cannot afford to be delicate. (Laughter.)

" At an early stage of the debate, Mr. Burras expressed his opinion of me. I shall not express my opinion of him. (Laughter.) Mr. Adityan said—I am sorry, I have to deal with Mr. Burra Subrahmanyam a little longer. (Laughter.) He brought to the notice of the House my faults—of ability. (Laughter.)

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character. Well, I at once proceed to confess that all of us including myself have many faults, many defects, and let me hope that those who come after me to guide the destinies of this State and to advise the people of this country, may be better than I, better qualified than I, more able than I and of a better character. It is my fervent hope and trust that the tone of the people who will take charge of affairs will be better and better as the times go on. I do not mind confessing that I have many faults and that I wish I were much better than what I am. But let me assure Mr. Burra Subrahmanyam that he does not know me. (Laughter.) I do not know him either. I know his wife's father and his wife's mother and her mother and her father and all of them. (Laughter.) But I do not know him. The short experience I have had of him here compels me to make one observation, which, he will forgive me for making; the founder leaders of the party to which he is now affiliated in this election, would not have been happy to hear what he said. They are some of my old friends, old comrades and respected comrades. I do not mind what he said. For this is a coal mine I have got into, as I said earlier, and I do not mind the soot around me.

"Going now to what was said here in the debate, I must necessarily deal with more or less, what I may call, matters extraneous to the particular debate. Mr. Adityan spent a great deal of the time allotted to him in referring to the Secretary's appointment. As I already said, Mr. Adityan does not care very much for accuracy or even for diligent inquiry about matters of which he, for the time being, is not well informed, because he has got into the habit of his daily paper . . . (Laughter.)

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—"Sir, I rise on a matter of personal explanation. I sent questions on this subject as early as the 24th of last month and the rules provide that such questions should be answered within seven days of their receipt. But, still the questions have not been answered."

2-45 P.M. * THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"Let me at once assure my friend, Sir, that I have not seen those questions. If they had not reached me, the delay must be due to some error in form or to some other cause. If I had seen them I would have hastened to answer them and would not have given a chance to the hon. Member for raising the point in this House.

"With regard to the Secretary's appointment, let me point to the House that Mr. Adityan suggested that the gentleman who had been appointed Secretary to the Legislature is a kind of

* This mine according to the definition which he gave at full man, Sir, I hon. Members understand that he does not belong might be called to the sub-community or clan or group to which not permitted me at is irrelevant. What I wish to assure him is into this House only called to take up this appointment, I had House, advises me, in made to the gentleman who last acted and retirement, and tells me the Legislature and who had been for

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a long time in charge of the work of this House as Deputy Secretary. The gentleman who last retired as Secretary was in my opinion the only competent person to be recalled to take up the duty at the present moment. So, I had him asked. He has got a better job in a different field altogether and he would not think of such a proposal. So, I had to go one step backward. Mr. Adityan remarked that we did not refer the matter to the Public Service Commission. He is totally ill-informed. The Public Service Commission had the matter before it and I had its approval before I proceeded. Apart from all these, is it only forms that we should care for, or shall we be sensible men? I want to know whether it is good, wise or proper for us to appoint a gentleman selected from the Bar, who will be entering the precincts of the Legislature for the first time, and call upon him to discharge the duties devolving upon him with reference to forms, precedents, conventions and proprieties and the delicate and difficult tasks that arise in managing the affairs of a legislature composed of independent Members and groups and in which there prevail high passions almost amounting to acerbity. I wrote to the gentleman who had been selected for the office by the Public Service Commission. Let me again give information which generally is not given. But, since the propriety of my action has been challenged, I have to mention it. That gentleman warmly welcomed the recall of Mr. R. V. Krishna Iyer with all his experience in this office and said that he would be glad to work as his under-study for some time. He agreed to it as any gentleman who has commonsense and who wishes to do his work well would agree. This is a matter which Mr. Adityan thought he could raise in this House, although it had nothing to do with the Address.

"Then Mr. Adityan took up the policy under which some lands were given to political sufferers by the previous Government and described it as corruption. The one thing was nepotism and the other thing was corruption! The first thing I did as soon as I was asked to bear this burden was this. I said: 'Never mind the difficulties and sufferings we have gone through, the battle has not ended, the sufferings and sacrifices must continue. It is not possible for me to continue the policy of land assignment for political sufferers'. If a dam were built or broken, I could not suddenly change the policy. I have to begin it even as the boy who put his hand into the hole made in a dam in the Netherlands and averted the flood till other persons came and took charge of the danger. I cannot suddenly bring about cancellation of assignments and take the risk of suits and applications in Court with reference to the validity of my action. Let hon. Members remember that these assignments were made long ago and that many Members who are now sitting on the opposite side here as well as in the other House have taken assignments. Mr. Adityan may take off his fingers so that others might see his smile when I say this. If I proceeded to do anything which was not legal, or fool-proof, I would be exposing myself to a number of suits, comments, counter-comments, allegations and the like. Allow me to say that I do not like this policy.

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I was not the man responsible for that policy and I could not prevent it. The moment I came into office I said that this policy should not be continued and proceeded to do what was best in the circumstances. We cannot always go back on events. No man can undo what has been done. That is not only the lesson of history; that has been laid down as scientific fact in the law of Karma. We have to go through the effects of what has been done. If a bad name has been earned, whatever we may do, that bad name will continue and we cannot undo it. All that we can do is—and that is what I propose to do—to try to set that error right. Even before I began to do anything else connected with the Government, I had made my position on this point perfectly clear. And yet Mr. Adityan raises the question in this House! When his party also is living in a glass house, he cannot afford to throw stones. It is not quite safe. When we launch on propaganda, we do not generally check up calculations and we commit mistakes.

“Most of the speeches made here, unfortunately in my humble opinion, smack far too much of propaganda. The debate on the Address has been converted into party propaganda. Every political party is entitled to do it. It is not a point of order I am raising; it is an explanation I am offering to many of the things that have been said. I must say that that is not the right way to help or co-operate in the carrying on of Government from the one side or the other. We are co-operating with one another whether we sit on the Opposition side or on the Ministerialist side. This is not the way to debate on the Address or the budget. We may take a holiday now and then and indulge in propaganda and mutual re-crimination to add the spice of variety to political life, provided we are sportsmanlike. It is not right to deal with a policy speech in a propaganda spirit for party purposes. I say this definitely for this reason. It was said that a number of things had not been done. We all admit it. But they cannot be done unless we begin. I propose that we should begin to do things one by one. Let us get along in a spirit of helpfulness. It is quite easy for Members led by Mr. Rajeswara Rao to say: ‘Look at this! teachers are not paid adequate salaries, coolies are not paid adequate wages, industries are not sufficiently helped, small industries are being squeezed out by big industries, jaggery is squeezed out by sugar, sugar is suffering because there is not enough cane, the cane-grower is not given a fair price for his produce. Look at the capitalist! their income is highly taxed—Mr. Rajeswara Rao did not say this last thing but I say it on his behalf, to complete his catalogue. He said that his party would set all these things right in six months. If Mr. Rajeswara Rao will permit me to give my view of the matter, if he and his party took charge of the Government for six months, I have no doubt that the entire scheme of the Government will be so changed that there would be no opportunity to make any complaint whatsoever. (Laughter.) There will be no opportunity for any one to analyse achievements or failures. I speak from history. Mr. Rajeswara Rao and his associates have not founded

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the Communist Party; they have not planned the Communist policy here. Their policy has been taken from the books of another country, another people, another nation . . .”

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—“We are not referring for everything to England.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“The hon. Member will not refer to England; he will refer to something worse. (Laughter.)

“I do not think that the Communist Party can achieve all that Mr. Rajeswara Rao says it will achieve. It is inherently impossible. It is possible to do certain things. Let me tell my hon. Friend that it is not possible to do all the things which have been referred to in this and the other House within six months or even six years.”

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—“What this Government could not do in five years has been done in China in two years.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“If Mr. Rajeswara Rao had been sitting in Opposition, as he is sitting now here, in China and said all that he said in this House, I know where he would be in China. I know what the Government of China have done. Quite a different list of things have been done. I do not wish to talk much about China.

“Mr. Rajeswara Rao asked me to get inspiration from China. Let us get inspiration from China. What did China do with the Opposition party? Are we to do that with the Opposition here? It is not possible. The challenges which Mr. Rajeswara Rao, his party friends and allies can throw at me are easily answered. They are all based on the capacity to terrorise and enforce by physical force. I do not deny that what Mr. Rajeswara Rao wants to do may be good. But the means that he wants to adopt to do these things quickly as he proposes to do—are means which are not available and cannot be had in this country if we are true to ourselves.

“Unless we employ the physical compulsion which the 3 p.m.
U.S.S.R. and China use, unless we have a dictatorship of a particular class for the time being—they want a classless society, but dictatorship of a particular class, for the time being, is an absolute pre-requisite for the pace which he asks me to take—it is not possible here.”

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—“On a point of order, Sir. I submit that the Hon. Chief Minister is taking the last chance every time, and he is bringing in so many theoretical issues. The other party also must be allowed to speak on the theoretical issues. Let the Hon. Chief Minister . . .”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“The suggestion which the hon. Member, Mr. Rajeswara Rao, makes is that he should have a right of reply. In a debate it is usual—let me

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tell the hon. Member—for Government to reply. If he replies, I will have to reply to that also. There must be some termination to the debate. So, there has been a conventional order laid down from time immemorial, and that is the result of a Government being in power or the Opposition being in the Opposition. I am not surprised that he raised this point of order. He feels that I have made a point, and it has gone home. I am afraid, he cannot ask for the right to reply. If he replied, I must then reply to that, and there would be no end.

“ Another point that was touched upon again and again was that the Address was not long enough and that it did not cover enough points. I have already given the reason. The Address itself contains the reason why it does not cover much ground. I submit that it is a good reason and a commonsense reason, and a reason which does not deprive anybody of any rights. The reason is that we are meeting again when we will have the whole budget and the entire policy, more or less, for the whole year, will be before the House, and there will be enough opportunity to go through that policy. We will have a general debate, and we will have particular debates also at the time of the budget. Also, the Governor has stated that he will address the Legislature at the time. Though he may not be bound to address, he has said he will do it. Immediately following it, the whole ground can be covered, and there is absolutely nothing whatsoever of substance in the complaint that the present Address is short.

“ The hon. Member, Mr. Govinda Menon, began the debate in the House. He was sitting in front of me the other day, and I thought he was the Leader of the Opposition. But he simply took that place by chance, I take it. He said that the Address was remarkably short and had no parallel. I was able to find a King's speech in Parliament which was even much shorter, which totalled 65 words only, of which 30 words were a mere prayer at the end. Therefore, it is not quite correct to say that the Address delivered by His Excellency the Governor the other day on behalf of the Government takes first rank in brevity. There are briefer Addresses in Parliamentary literature. Apart from that, I have given my reasons why this Address was necessarily brief, unless indeed we wanted to copy again all our election propaganda, our boasts, our boasts, and our previous achievements and all that kind of thing, and make an election document and call it an Address of the Governor. That would have been improper. The Address at each session is intended to sketch the programme of that particular legislature at that particular session, and it has to give an opportunity for a review of the past and for a review of the proposals that are intended to be carried out in the legislature. Election propaganda can cover not only one year's programme, or a ten years' programme, but sometimes even a 50 years' programme. Following the dictates of commonsense, I submit that we were right in making this Address brief, and referring only to what has been done and what has been in the minds of most people at the time. I have nothing more to say on this point.

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“ Sir, I now proceed to the several remarks made by hon. Members. I am grateful to the House for the large number of proposals and suggestions that have been given in the course of the debate by various hon. Members, and I assure hon. Members that these suggestions and other details will be taken into account and will be considered by the Government when they shape their budget for the year, and when they shape their budget, if they are allowed to continue in office, for another year also. For all these suggestions—some of them very important and urgent—that were made, I express my gratitude.

“ Teachers, especially, have spoken about their own grievances. It is natural and it is right. But may I, with all deference, point out the fact to them that in the Constitution we have provisions by which, as any one will see, all special constituencies have been abolished? We have no representatives for landlords. We have no representatives for planters, for tenants, for labour, and so on. If hon. Members will study the constitution of the legislatures, they will see that from top to bottom, all special constituencies have been abolished, deliberately. In the constitution of the Legislative Councils of certain States, including Madras, they have provided seats to which graduates can elect members and teachers can elect members. The object of that provision was not to create a special constituency for either graduates as such or for teachers as such. Representatives of teachers are not here to represent a special constituency. It is a temptation and a natural temptation too to think so. They spoke, as far as I could judge, as if their main function here were to ventilate the grievances of teachers. The grievances of teachers may be true. They may be important. But I take permission to explain that the teachers have been put down here as an electoral college in order that we may have their advice for the country as a whole and not about any particular interests. It is an enlightened constituency, unlike the adult suffrage constituency where, whether a man is literate or illiterate, he can vote. But the teachers' constituency is an enlightened constituency. When the question was raised it was felt that not only graduates should have it, but teachers of long standing and who sometimes taught even graduates, should have it. Therefore, a constituency was created by which the *Rishis* of the land, as was described by some one before, would have a fraction of the seats in this House. The teachers who are here should look upon themselves as teachers with a capital 'T', and as people who teach society, who teach the young ones of the country and bring them up, and who are interested in their character, welfare, ability, and in everything. Therefore, I would beg of the teachers to see that although they have a right like any other persons to represent any particular interest along with others, they should not only take interest in their own affairs but in the affairs of others also. But there should be no idea that they are here mainly as representatives of teachers. They are here having been elected by a very enlightened college of the electorate, and that is the important position which they occupy in this House. I have said this in order that there may be no progressive mistake about that point.

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"Then, Sir, if we go into what actually has been said by them, it is all true that we are poor. Not only the teachers, but every body is poor in our country. If, Mr. Chairman, my own view is of any importance, on this occasion, let me confess once for all that our country's finances cannot bear the weight of the administration that has been put upon our finances. The entire structure was invented for a police government. It is not possible for a Welfare State to bear the cost of the administration on the lines that it has been shaped. We are poor. How can we carry on the administration and all the details connected with it? It is not possible. But can I change it in one day? When I was young, many people in the district in which I was living were saying, 'What is the need for Collectors; let us abolish Collectors; What is the need for District Magistrates; let us abolish District Magistrates'. In fact people who travel in train may very well imagine that the guard is unnecessary and that the driver is unnecessary, because they do not see the driver working in the engine. They can say, 'Why do we want an engine driver and why do we want a guard? The train is going all right'. It is not possible to appraise the value of all the various units in the administration. But the totality of the weight is certainly unsuited to our finances and to our total national income, and even to our culture and civilisation. But what is the remedy? The only remedy is that we will have to trust one another. Let us not have so many people to sit down superintending so many other people. If I ask a man to light the lamp, it is necessary now that there should be another man to see that he does not neglect his duties. It is also necessary to appoint a third man so that these two people do not bribe one another. (Laughter.) Even if bribery is detected, the trial should be fair and just, and it is necessary to have an appeal against that judgment. Now, that is the structure into which we have grown. Mutual distrust has become our civilisation and our politics. Our finances cannot bear this burden of mutual distrust and the cost of it. I do not think that we can talk it out at a meeting like this. The whole structure has to be examined. But there is no time to examine. I am like the man who has to repair the motor car while going in the car. How am I to stop this car which cannot be stopped? It is a car which cannot be stopped and yet it must be repaired. God alone knows how it can be done. Hon. Members opposite can well retort by saying, 'Well, if you do not know, we will do it'."

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO:—"If you do not know we will do it."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"How the hon. Member Mr. Rajeswara Rao will do it. I know. But I do not believe in 'liquidation'. (Laughter.) That is my only objection. Therefore, since we have to bear and forbear, to live without killing anybody, and without plunging the classes into dismay and distrust, we have to carry on with patience and forbearance with one another."

13th May 1952] [Sri C. Rajagopalachari]

"Sir, I shall say only this and end. This much has been said and will be said. After this sitting is over, I have no doubt propaganda will start that it is only the dictatorship of the working class that will save the country. It was said, when I stated that I was opposed to Communists, that I was wrong in imagining that the country would welcome it. It was said that people wanted the Communists, and that, therefore, I was wrong in opposing them. The hon. Member Mr. Adityan said that common people did not share my hatred of the Communists. Where did he see my hatred of Communists? I ask, Sir, where did he see my hatred of the Communists in what I said or in what I did? I do not hate Communists. That is not what I said. But the hon. Member Mr. Adityan is noted for accuracy!" (Laughter.)

SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"The Hon. the Leader of the House said that the Communists were his enemy No. 1. That one statement is enough."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I stand by 2-15
that. Having said that Communists are my enemy No. 1 and I P.m.
am their enemy No. 1, I have no hatred in my mind towards them. In fact, the Leaders of the Communist Party were there when I made that statement. If any one could see their faces or understand their minds through their gestures or their reactions. I had no doubt in my mind that there was no feeling of hatred about it. I was quite frank and I thought that they were ready for the challenge. That was their attitude and they did not see any hatred. Unfortunately, Sri Prakasam cannot understand things outside the field of hatred. It is said that the people want Communists, that the people like Communists and that my hatred is not shared by them—let me put it in the Member's own words. Now if it be true that the people want Communists, I have said something which the Opposition should welcome. I say, I am against Communism. Why then should there be any nervousness about it? If that brings the country down against me, I can be dismissed in no time, which is the object of the Opposition. But, Sir, I know exactly what it means. They want only to make further propaganda. What I said was a plain matter of fact statement of my policy and my view. But the Opposition wants to make out to the people that Communism is good. By all means try to make it out, but it cannot be made out by simply saying that all the people are with the Communists. You will have to make out to the people that Communism is good before you can say that all the people are with Communists and that, therefore, the Chief Minister who is sitting here for fighting Communism should be sent away. It is possible; it may happen. I do not want it and yet if it happens, I go out and let the Communists rule the country. Let them rule and let people be happy. I do not mind. But if the people do not want it as I gather that they do not want, then why should Sri Adityan be nervous about my plain statement, inviting the wrath of the country against me?"

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If that would invite the wrath of the entire country against me, why should Mr. Adityan reply to it in the Legislative Council? I am done for in the country and there should be an end of the matter. Well, Sir, it is all propaganda. I have no objection to propaganda, but I must expose that propaganda. That is all.

"I myself want a dictatorship of the working classes, but in a different sense. Nobody should dictate and oppress and take charge of everything and liquidate other sections. I want everybody to become a workman. I want everyone to belong to the working class and that is the kind of dictatorship that I want. Let us make everybody work and let everybody work honestly and well. Then that means that all are workers. Then there is no objection to the dictatorship of the working classes. Sri Adityan does not belong to the working classes." (Laughter.)

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—"I am a working-class man."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"Mr. Adityan's political history is well-known to me though it is not known to all people here. (Laughter.) It does not matter. I also work 18 hours a day, if I may say so. But there are all kinds of work—work in which there is a joy in itself and work which is unpleasant, which is hard, and which is tedious. Work which is pleasant in itself pays its own wages though you may call it work. I want everybody to share in all the unpleasant works of the country and bear them in proportion, and if by licence or by permission, other people have to work in a different capacity, let them work. If all India begins to work like that and if all Madras begins to work like that, I have no doubt that our finances will bear all the burden necessary for the Government. It is because people do not work that our national income is small, our administration is heavy, our resources are insufficient and you have a long catalogue of grievances which any political party can make use of against any other political party which is in power. The moment Sri Adityan sits here, I can bring a longer catalogue of grievances and if I want to bamboozle people, it can be done. Sri Rajeswara Rao has ruled a certain part of the country by certain methods but it would not do in a democracy. Sir, I ask the House to reject the amendments and adopt the original motion."

SRI M. SITARAMA DASS :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have an opportunity to speak by way of right of reply. But I do not want to say anything more when Rajaji has given a good reply. Therefore, I request the hon. Members to accept my Motion unanimously."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"The Motion and all the amendments are before the House. Now I will take up the amendments one by one. Is Sri S. B. Adityan withdrawing his amendment or is he pressing it?"

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—"I am not withdrawing my amendment, Sir."

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MR. CHAIRMAN :—"Is any other hon. Member, who has moved an amendment, withdrawing his amendment? (After a pause.) As no hon. Member is withdrawing his amendment, I shall put the amendments to the vote of the House one by one. The question is—

'Add the following at the end :—

"but regret that your Government have failed to indicate any effective steps to alleviate the hunger, misery, distress and unemployment affecting the majority of the people of this State." (Sri S. B. Adityan.)"

The amendment was lost.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"As the hon. Member, Sri Alexander Gnanamuttu, is not in his seat, his amendment is deemed to have been withdrawn. I will put the next amendment to the vote of the House. The question is—

'Add the following at the end :—

"but regret to note that Your Excellency has not been advised by the Council of Ministers on the following urgent and vital problems that are confronting the people of the State :—

(i) Educational reforms so very important for the building of a sound society; and adoption of common scales of pay and service conditions of teachers working under various managements in the State;

(ii) miserable plight of teachers, N.G.Os. and other menial services that play an important role in the efficient running of the administration and the measures that are going to be adopted for raising their economic, political and social status;

(iii) guarantee of fundamental rights to all the services and repeal of all such G.Os. and circulars that are contrary to provisions of the New Constitution as is being agitated and demanded by several teachers' and N.G.O. organisations of the State; and

(iv) appalling conditions that are prevailing in the schools to-day as a result of inadequacy of staff and accommodation, enhanced school fees, unsuitable text-books and the remedies for redressal". (Sri S. Ramakrishnaiah.)"

The amendment was lost.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end :—

"but regret that nothing has been said about the steps intended to be taken to raise the pay and status of the starving teachers of this State". (Sri G. Krishnamurthi.)"

The amendment was lost.

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MR. CHAIRMAN :—" The question is—

'Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to express our entire dissatisfaction that your Government have failed—

(i) to uphold the principles of democratic system of Government;

(ii) to envisage the policies and programmes for the amelioration of the common man of rural areas and for the development of the State; and

(iii) to take any steps whatsoever for bringing pressure on the Central Government for the early formation of Linguistic States." (Sri P. Seetharamayya.) "

The amendment was lost.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" The question is—

'Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to find that Your Excellency's Council of Ministers does not propose to introduce any legislation upon vital problems affecting the people of this State and providing them with adequate food, clothing, shelter and employment." (Sri V. Gurunandan Row.) "

The amendment was lost.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" The question is—

'Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note with disappointment—

(i) that no steps have been proposed regarding the adequate protection of the Fundamental Rights of the citizens guaranteed in the Constitution of India and for putting a stop to the repressive measures and the curtailment of Civil Liberties such as banning of meetings and processions, arresting and jailing of public workers using of repressive machinery against workers, peasants and other sections of people struggling for the redressal of their just grievances, in the name of law and order;

(ii) that no steps have been proposed to put a stop to the grabbing of the lands of the peasants and public and banjar lands, etc., by the Zamindars and their utilizing dubious methods for circumventing the provisions of the enactment for the abolition of Zamindaries;

(iii) that no steps have been proposed to protect the present rights of the peasants in the inams and to put an end to the inhuman exploitation of the peasants by the big inamdars once for all;

(iv) that no steps have been proposed for the redressal of the grievances of the peasants in the matter of procurement of the foodgrains and for the adequate supply of the foodgrains to the consumers at rates within their reach;

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(v) that the measures proposed to deal with the famine conditions in Rayalaseema and parts of other districts do not touch even the fringe of the problem and that no steps such as construction of major irrigation projects are proposed for the eradication of the problem of famines in the State once for all;

(vi) that no steps have been proposed for the solution of the urgent and vital problems of the workers and middle-class employees such as unemployment, high prices, low wages and salaries, etc.;

(vii) that no steps have been proposed for the meeting of the just and minimum demands of the agricultural labourers and Harijans such as adequate wages, free house-sites, granting of banjar lands for cultivation, and strict implementation of the enactment for the removal of the disabilities of the Harijans passed by the Madras Legislature; and

(viii) that no concrete steps have been proposed to protect the rights of minorities, especially the Muslims." (Sri C. Rajeswara Rao.) "

The amendment was lost.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" The question is—

'Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that Your Excellency should have failed to inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons in so far as they relate to the entire period of the Session; and this House expresses its surprise and concern that Your Excellency should have postponed a clear indication of the contemplated legislative policies of your Government regarding several matters of vital and immediate interest such as food shortage, famine, land reform, prohibition, and the like." (Sri B. V. Subrahmanyam.) "

The amendment was lost.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I will put the main Motion to the vote of the House. The question is—

'That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor that the Members of the Madras Legislative Council thank His Excellency for the Address delivered to the Members of the Legislature on the 6th of May.' "

The motion was declared carried. Sri S. B. Adityan demanded a poll. The division bell was rung.

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON :—" On a point of order, Sir. One hon. Member is moving from one place to another."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" He is looking for his seat."

[3th May 1952]

The House divided as follows :—

Ayes.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 The Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari. | 22 Sri K. P. Yagneswara Sarma. |
| 2 Sri N. Ranga Reddi. | 23 „ S. Chengalraya Chetty. |
| 3 „ A. M. Allapichai. | 24 „ T. G. Krishnamurthi. |
| 4 „ C. Perumalsami Reddi. | 25 „ N. Annamalai Pillai. |
| 5 Dr. S. Muthulakshmi Reddi. | 26 „ T. J. M. Wilson. |
| 6 Srimathi R. S. Subbulakshmi Ammal | 27 „ M. Satyanarayana. |
| 7 „ S. Manjubhashini. | 28 Janab Mahomed Usman. |
| 8 Sri R. Nathamuni Reddy. | 29 Sri V. Bashyam Ayyangar. |
| 9 The Hon. Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao. | 30 „ T. Purushothama Mudaliar. |
| 10 Dr. C. Nathamuni Naidu. | 31 „ P. N. Marthandam Pillai. |
| 11 Sri S. O. S. P. Odayappa. | 32 „ V. R. Ranganathan. |
| 12 „ T. M. Daiwasikhamani Achariar. | 33 „ V. Ramakrishna. |
| 13 „ M. Ethirajulu. | 34 „ E. H. Parameswaran. |
| 14 „ G. Venkatachalam. | 35 „ M. Harischandra Prasad. |
| 15 „ V. Rangasami Naidu. | 36 „ Pendyala Sree Ramachandra |
| 16 „ M. Sitharama Dass. | „ Venkata Krishna Ranga Rao. |
| 17 „ M. P. Sivagnana Gramany. | 37 „ R. Govindaraju Naidu. |
| 18 „ S. P. Sivasubramanya Nadar. | 38 „ K. Balasubramanya Ayyar. |
| 19 „ R. Venkatasubba Rao Chowdary. | 39 „ N. Nallaseenapathi Sarkarai |
| 20 „ G. Venkata Reddi. | „ Mandradiar. |
| 21 „ D. Venkata Rao. | 40 „ A. Subramaniam. |
| | 41 Srimathi J. Sitamahalakshmi. |
| | 42 Mrs. M. N. Chubwala. |

Noes.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Sri G. Krishnamurthi. | 7 Sri V. Chakkarai Chetty. |
| 2 „ C. Rajeswara Rao. | 8 „ M. P. Govinda Menon. |
| 3 „ B. V. Subrahmanyam. | 9 „ S. Ramakrishniah. |
| 4 „ V. Gurunandan Row. | 10 Janab Syed Mahaboob. |
| 5 „ T. Prakasam. | 11 Sri P. Seetharamayya. |
| 6 „ S. B. Adityan. | |

Ayes 42; Noes 11.

The motion was carried.

V.—MOTION FOR ADMONITION TO A MEMBER FOR BREACH OF PRIVILEGE OF THE HOUSE.

3-30 p.m. MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ The next item on the Agenda is the Motion given notice of by the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have to fulfil an unpleasant task. It gives me no pleasure to make the Motion that I have given notice of. Sir, one has to do many things and sometimes unpleasant tasks form one's duty. The Motion that I have given notice of reads as follows :—

“ Whereas on the sixth day of May 1952, when the two Houses had assembled together for the purpose of listening to the Address of His Excellency the Governor under Article 176 (1) of the Constitution the hon. Member, Sri T. Prakasam, in deliberate disregard of all constitutional proprieties, rose and interrupted the proceedings by delivering a speech questioning the competence of His Excellency to address the Houses and casting reflections on his conduct as Governor of this State ;

And whereas by such indecorous and disorderly conduct, the hon. Member committed a breach of the privileges of this House and was guilty of a grave contempt ;

Now, therefore, this House hereby administers a stern admonition to the hon. Member for his misconduct.”

“ Sir, it would not be necessary . . . ”

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SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ Sir, I rise on a point of order. This resolution cannot be moved before this House as it is constituted to-day. The resolution refers to what was said before a Joint House consisting of this House and the Assembly. It was on that occasion that the Governor came there and a point of order was raised by me. I am submitting therefore that this resolution must be brought before the Joint House, in the same manner as the point of order was raised by me before a Joint House. It is a matter of ordinary commonsense—leave aside all constitutional positions, jurisdiction, law points and technicalities—that this matter should come up before a Joint House. I submit that it is really an insult to the very Governor for whose sake the Leader of the House seems to have made this motion. As I said already, the Joint House to which the Governor delivered his Address, consisted of the Members of this House and also the Members of the Assembly. In the fitness of things, this resolution ought to have been brought before a Joint House. Instead of doing that, the Leader of the House has considered it fit to bring this resolution before this House, because he perhaps felt that the House as it is constituted to-day was in his favour, and would vote in his favour. No such presumption should be made by the Leader of the House, whatever might be the composition of this House. No such presumption should be made even by me a person who is affected by this resolution. This House has come into existence under the charter of the Constitution which says that this House has got certain duties to fulfil. It is in connection with the discharge of those duties that you became the Chairman of this House and you are in charge of this House conducting the proceedings day-to-day. So far as this matter is concerned, it cannot be placed before this House and we cannot ask for the opinion of this House alone. I should have expected the Hon. Leader of the House to concede this much, namely, that it is not proper to break up the Joint House in this manner. It is before the Joint House consisting of the Members of this House and the Assembly, that the so-called offence—if it is an offence at all and I will come to that point later and deal with it separately and prove that it is no offence at all—is said to have been committed by me. Therefore, I submit that we cannot proceed one step further with regard to this resolution and ask the Members of this House to vote separately on the propriety or impropriety, decency or indecency on the part of the offender in question. The Leader of the House must, in fairness, admit that this House has got a separate existence under the Constitution. He must examine the provisions of the Constitution and see what powers this House possesses, and what powers this House can exercise in matters of this nature. You can discharge your duties as Chairman of the House and do certain things only according to the Articles of the Constitution relating to this House. Sir, you cannot put into this House a new life or a new power that does not exist and that will not be given under the Constitution. The Constitution has made a distinction between the Assembly and this Council. The Assembly is the

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real governing body. All the Money Bills have first to be introduced in the Assembly and no Money Bill can be introduced by any one of the Members or any one of the Ministers in this House. It will thus be seen that even under the Constitution, this House has been dealt with in an altogether different manner from the other House. Just as a man cannot be brought before a Court of Law for contempt of Court unless it is also a Court of Record, this matter relating to an offence said to have been committed by a Member before a Joint House cannot be brought before this House. This House has no power to consider the present motion. Such serious matters like, discipline, censure, etc., cannot be considered by this House unless it possesses the power of a Court of Record on judicial matters. Unless it is a Court of Record, no man can be taken before that Court on the ground that he has committed the offence of contempt of Court.

"In this connexion, I would like to refer to an occasion when I was myself subject to contempt proceedings. There was a Court presided over by a Judge of the High Court and two other gentlemen. All the three were conducting a case which related to contempt of Court alleged to have been committed by me as editor and proprietor of a newspaper.

3-45
P.M.

"I was called upon at the instance of my esteemed friend, Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, to explain my conduct before a Court. He called the attention of the Court and said: 'Look here, by writing these matters in his paper *Swarajya* he has committed an act which amounts to contempt of Court'. He referred to the comments I wrote in my paper on the proceedings of the Court. Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar is an old friend of mine and he asked me then why I should not be committed for contempt of Court. I received a notice to this effect and you know, Sir, what I wrote back on the back of the notice itself? I wrote, 'I refuse to appear before the Court'. The matter came up before the Court. Then, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, who is now reputed for his statement in connexion with the Governor's Address at my walk-out, was the Advocate-General and the Judges of the Court asked him: 'Well, Mr. Prakasam has refused to appear before us; what have you got to say?' Honest man, that Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri was, at that time (laughter), he gave the opinion: 'I am not prepared to say anything off-hand. I was not prepared for this point. Give me time'. A fortnight's time was given to him during which period he examined the papers, records and precedents. He finally found that I was right, came to the Court and said: 'Well, Mr. Prakasam is right in refusing to appear before this Court because it is not a Court of Record. It is only a Court of Record that can try a person for contempt of Court'. Therefore, Sir, this House should not be called upon to decide whether I have committed any offence or any irregularity in conduct. We must go into the very root of the matter and I hope the Leader of the House will realize the fact.

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[Sri T. Prakasam]

"He said, Sir, that it was his painful duty to move this Resolution. I say nothing of the sort. It is no painful duty either for him or for me. I am not afraid of this. Even if I am shot I am prepared. The Government have the power of shooting people. They have the power to shoot at sight. That is why the Communists have come on the top. That is why Mr. Adityan and I have come to occupy these benches here. In this country, free shooting was going on. 'If a man says he is a Communist, shoot him'—that is the rule now."

SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY:—"Shoot him in jail also."

SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"It is nothing if you are put in jail. But you cannot shoot any one. Many persons have been taken away from their homes. They have not returned to their homes yet. Their children and their families complained to me, as I was travelling in the train, about these matters." (Interruption from the Treasury Bench.)

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"The accused is on trial. I do not think anyone can interrupt him while speaking."

SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"I am not on my trial. (Laughter.) I wish I could be on my trial. I wish I could be on trial—prosecuted and accused. There is nothing of the sort here. There he is and here I am. A point of jurisdiction I am raising before the House and I say that this House cannot be called upon to go into this motion. I hope my Friend, Mr. Rajagopalachari will not pursue this."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"This is not a Court of Honour."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to say a word about the point of order raised. If the Chairman after hearing me is in doubt and if he is willing to hear the opinions of other hon. Members here upon this subject before giving a ruling, then it is a different matter. The short point raised is a point of order and if I am permitted by Mr. Adityan without interruption to reply to that point, I would say . . . (S. B. Adityan: 'This is not a Court of Honour.') It looks as though this is a general debate and not a point of order. I am afraid, Sir, I should seek your help."

SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY:—"May I interrupt, Sir? On this matter Mr. Adityan and other Friends who have studied these questions, want to place before you the position according to their light. The Leader of the House should not take advantage of a point of order and do all the speaking himself. Let everybody speak. Let everybody come forward to give evidence. There should be no objection."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I am entirely in the hands of the Chairman."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"The Hon. the Leader of the House may now speak."

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* SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY:—"Is it that when the Leader of the House is on his legs nobody else should speak or question him? Only when the Chair is on its legs, none else can stand. If the Leader of the House also has the same right, we will not then interrupt him."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I have permitted him to speak and I do not want any hon. Member to interrupt the Hon. the Leader of the House."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"The point which I have to answer before anything else is done is a point of order raised by an hon. Member that this House has no jurisdiction to take up this matter. The plausible case cited by Mr. Prakasam is this. He says that, as in a contempt case, the Court that treats a particular piece of conduct as contempt has jurisdiction to try that case and not any other Court here also, only before a joint assemblage of the two Houses of Legislature can I bring up this Motion. He said: 'The two Houses of Legislature were assembled together which the Governor was to address and the joint assemblage was to listen to that address. The substance of the Motion before the House is that something took place then which amounted to disorderly conduct, discourteous behaviour and the like and therefore that joint assembly alone has the right to listen to any story about it or any complaint about it and not this House.' Sir, the point is a short and understandable one. The only question is whether it is right or wrong that so and so should have done so. I submit that the objection is misconceived for this reason. This House as well as the Legislative Assembly has the privileges of Parliament in this respect under Article 194 of the Constitution."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"This does not apply here."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Will you kindly let me proceed? The hon. Member wants to shut out others. He cannot interrupt always, and there must be decorum and a certain amount of order in the proceedings of this House. If the Chairman desires elucidation, he will certainly ask the hon. Member to speak. You will now see, Sir, that under Article 194 of the Constitution, this House as well as the Legislative Assembly—both the Houses of Legislature or either House of Legislature—has privileges which are well recognized as privileges in the Houses of Parliament, and breach of these privileges or any of these will be a subject matter for them to consider and take steps about. Each one of the Houses has that right. According to the Constitution, the two Houses that make up the Parliament, the House of the People and the Council of States, have individually the same rights. So also, the Council here and the Legislative Assembly here have—each one of them—the same rights and privileges, as the House of Commons in England, until they are defined by the Legislature by law."

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"The next question is whether the misconduct that we refer to in this Motion should be taken as falling under what may be described as a breach of privilege, and if so, whether it should be taken notice of by this House. Now, if any Member of this House does anything which amounts to misconduct—the question of fact is different and I am not going into the merits of it—and if he is found guilty of a breach of privilege, this House has full competence to protect itself by admonition or censure or otherwise by imposing a penalty on the Member . . ."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"For actions committed in this House."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"No, please. It is not at all so. It would be a kind of layman's law. What I wish to say is that every Member is bound to act in accordance with the decorum prescribed and therefore if any Member does anything which is not right and which amounts to a breach of privilege, this House has jurisdiction over that Member. As a matter of fact, the assemblage that was referred to does not constitute itself into a separate House. (Sri S. B. Adityan: 'It does.') Please think along with me. But do not shout along with me. (Laughter.) There are two Houses assembled together for performing a particular function, namely, to listen to the Address of the Governor. Any misconduct anywhere, including that place, is misconduct and if it amounts to a breach of privilege, the particular House whose privilege has been violated is entitled to take it up. It has jurisdiction over one who is a Member of that House."

"The question now is whether this misconduct should be limited to misconduct within the precincts of this House. I do not think that a breach of privilege is limited to misconduct within this House. Even if I commit a breach of privilege outside this House I am liable to answer for it here if I am a Member here. As a Member I am answerable to this House only. Therefore, Mr. Prakasam, who has acted in a particular manner . . . (Interruption by Sri V. Chakkarai Chetty.) I am not appealing to you but to the Chair to rule out the point of order. I am not Leg convincing you. This is a point of order, which I have to reply this."

SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY:—"Why do you get angry?"

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I am not angry at all. Neither do I hate you. (Laughter.) I am not by any means angry. But I do not wish to permit myself to be interrupted. That is not anger. I am submitting to the Chairman a very simple answer to a very simple point raised whether this House has jurisdiction to enquire into a breach of privilege committed elsewhere. They say this House has no right to admonish a Member, whereas I say that it is not a right view of the case. Article 194 confers certain privileges on this House in general terms. There is also mention about the privileges enjoyed

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by the House of Commons which we also enjoy. This House has, therefore, a right to restore good conduct among its Members if any Member has misbehaved. This House has the right to call upon him to express regret and to admonish him. The misconduct may be here, it may be in the lobby, or it may be in the other House at a joint session. I go further and say that the two Houses were assembled together there and, therefore, any misconduct that took place—misconduct in the presence of the other Members including the Chairman of this House who was there along with the Members of the other House and its Speaker—should form a subject-matter of enquiry in the appropriate House. Therefore, there is no point whatsoever in the point of order raised."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" Sir, the Motion which has been brought up before the House is not one which can be discussed by us. That is my first point. You may call it a question of jurisdiction, or you may call it a question of competence. I have devoted some time in looking into similar cases and the authorities. Here is a Motion unprecedented in our history. Never before, in this State, never before in a Legislative Assembly, was such a Motion brought forward. The only recent case was the case of Mr. Mudgal against whom a Motion was brought forward in the Central Legislature for a breach of privilege. It is entirely different from the one before the House here. That was a case of bribery and corruption. Mr. Mudgal was charged with having received remuneration for duties which he ought not to have done as Member. There is no case either here or in England wherein a Member was hauled up for interruption or disorderly conduct. A Member of the House is different from a stranger and it is only a stranger that can be hauled up for interruption or disorderly conduct and not a Member.

4 p.m. " Sir, the issue is simple. The speech of Mr. Prakasam in the Joint Session of the Legislature is alleged, on behalf of the Government, to be an act of discourtesy and constitutional impropriety. But, actually it was not so. It was an exercise of the constitutional and fundamental right of freedom of speech, and objection to it is sought to be brought in this unprecedented and unheard of way. In fact, it is a new weapon forged for the purpose of bringing pressure on the Opposition. But the charge is a very serious matter. In case this House finds him guilty, the punishment is admonition. The admonition is that the hon. Member, Mr. Prakasam, who is the seniormost Member, will be asked to stand in his seat and the Chairman will address him and administer an admonition and the Member will have to receive the admonition with bowed head. This is the procedure for any breach of privilege, followed in the House of Commons. Sir, this book (showing it to the House) was published by the Superintendent, Government Press, Government of Madras. It is surprising that the Hon. the Leader of the House has not seen this book."

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I have seen it."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" If he had seen this, then he was not following the procedure laid down therein. In this book, 'Note on the Privileges of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom' the punishment for the breach of privilege is—

• III. Breaches of privilege—(iv) Punishment inflicted on Members. . . . In many cases of breach, a reprimand or admonition by the Speaker, administered to the offending member standing in his place is deemed sufficient."

Sir, to a politician, even if he is charged with murder, it will not be so serious as this. This charge, if proved, is a public shame and in a matter of serious charge as this, the Opposition is entitled to take all the advantages of the procedure and to insist that the procedure laid down by the rules of this House and by Law should be strictly enforced. There is no precedent in India for a case of breach of privilege and contempt in recent times except the Mudgal case, but there also it was for an offence of a different nature.

" Then, Sir, on the point of jurisdiction, the speech complained of was made in the Joint Session. The speech was not made as a Member of this House, but as a Member of the Joint Session—and I will quote authorities soon. Our Constitution is different from the British Constitution. Under the British Constitution, it is only the House of Lords which sits in session when there is King's Address. The Members of the House of Commons and the Speaker are merely asked to go to the House of Lords to listen. It is not a Joint Sitting. Whereas in our Constitution, there are three different entities, the Legislative Assembly, the Legislative Council and the Legislature, that is, the Joint Session comprising the Members of both the Houses. Article 176 (1) reads—

'176 (1) At the commencement of the first session after each general election to the Legislative Assembly and at the commencement of the first session of each year, the Governor shall address the Legislative Assembly or, in the case of a State having a Legislative Council, both Houses assembled together and inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons.'

In this motion it is sought to be made out as though the hon. Members are being called merely for the purpose of listening, as though it is not a sitting, as though it is not a separate entity by itself and as though the Members assembled are not there to regulate the procedure and control the proceedings. The wording is clear, 'both Houses assembled together.' It is not as though the Members in their individual capacity are being called for the purpose of listening to the Address of His Excellency the Governor. It is a sitting. Sir, in the actual wording of the motion before the House, the word 'listening' is very cunningly put. It is made to appear as though the individual Members are assembled only to listen as in the case of the House of Commons. But, here in this State, it is a sitting and the joint session is entitled to

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control its proceedings. Here, the rules regulate the procedure of the House. Article 176 (2) reads—

‘ 176 (2) Provision shall be made by the rules regulating the procedure of the House or either House for the allotment of time for discussion of the matters referred to in such address.’

Then, Sir, Rule 4 of the Madras Council Rules says:

‘ 4 (1) On the day appointed by the Governor for the commencement and holding of a session of the Legislature (not being a new Legislature) and in case of a new Legislature at the first sitting of the Legislature.’

Therefore, Sir, the Members are attending the Joint Session not merely for listening, but to sit and conduct ‘ a sitting ’.

“ Therefore, Sir, my submission is that the control of the procedure is vested in the Joint House. It may be that the correct procedure is that the Joint House should elect a President, but that was not done, and my opinion is that ought to have been done. Anyway, the control of the debate is vested in the hon. Members of the Assembly and the Council, in a Joint Session. We have got to remember that, so far as the Assembly is concerned, all the Members are elected and they are more numerous. It is very wrong for us sitting in the Legislative Council consisting as we do, of Members who have come through indirect elections and through nomination, to consider this question. This House is not competent to question what was done by that larger body.

“ Sir, what is to-day complained of was done in the presence of the Leader of the House. What is it that prevented the Hon. the Chief Minister from raising an objection there? What prevented the other Hon. Ministers who were assembled there, from raising their voices of protest if they found anything disorderly? Even His Excellency the Governor did not raise any objection. What were the 375 Members doing? The speech in question was permitted by them all. In fact, if my information is correct, certain chits were passed in which the Governor mentioned that it might be permitted. I am asking, Sir, who are we to haul up an hon. Member here for what he said in the Joint Session? Supposing for the moment we administer an admonition to the hon. Member finding him guilty of the charge which has been brought before the House and supposing in the next Joint Session which is going to be held in June, a Member in that Joint Session brings in a motion for the breach of privilege and contempt of that larger House, saying, ‘ here is a Member of this Joint Session who exercised his right of freedom of speech by delivering a speech in the Joint Session and who has been found fault with and hauled up in the Upper House for the exercise of his rights in the Joint Session ’, what answer could we give? Will it not be a breach of privilege of the Joint House for us here to question the freedom of speech expressed in the other House? As a Joint Session, that body has its own privileges, and control and conduct of proceedings.

“ Sir, there is one other very strong reason why this House has no jurisdiction. We have our own rules which have been framed long ago and which regulate the conduct of the Members

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of this House. A certain procedure is definitely laid down in our rules which by implication excludes other procedures. Rule 70 says—

‘ The Chairman shall preserve order and have all powers necessary for the purpose of enforcing the rules and preventing disorder.’

There are definite rules for every House. In this connection, I may be permitted to mention the Madurai Municipal Council case wherein the High Court delivered judgment only last week that the rules obtaining there should be strictly and literally followed, and there is no other way of taking disciplinary action against a Member.

“ Sir, here we have got a definite rule. Rule 72 of the Madras Council Rules says— 4-15 p.m.

‘ The Chairman may direct any member whose conduct is in his opinion grossly disorderly to withdraw immediately from the House, and any member so ordered to withdraw shall do so forthwith and absent himself during the remainder of the day's meeting. If any member is ordered to withdraw a second time in the same session, the Chairman may direct the member to absent himself from the meetings of the Council for any period not longer than the remainder of the session, and the member so directed shall absent himself accordingly. If such member refuses to withdraw, the Chairman may order his removal by force.’

The procedure laid down by the rule is as follows: First of all, the Chairman draws the attention of the House to the conduct of a Member. Secondly, after having called the attention of the House to the conduct of the Member, he directs the Member to withdraw from the House. Thirdly, if that Member is ordered to withdraw a second time in the same session, the Chairman directs the Member to absent himself from the meetings of the Council

MR. CHAIRMAN:—“ What has this rule to do with the motion before the House? ”

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—“ Having a definite set of rules for the conduct of our business, it is not for us to go beyond those rules and apply another set of rules applicable to the House of Commons. We have got these fixed, definite rules which have been in force for a considerable time.

“ It has been definitely held that the House cannot enlarge its privileges through a resolution of this House. In this connection, I should like to invite the attention of the House to the useful hand-book, ‘ Note on the Privileges of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom ’ published by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras. On page 1 of that Hand-book, you will see that this principle is laid down, viz., that the privileges of the House cannot be enlarged by any resolution or motion brought by the Hon. Leader of the House before this House. It says—

‘ In 1794 at a joint conference of the Lords and Commons it was resolved, “ That neither House of Parliament has any power by any vote or declaration to create to themselves new privileges not warranted by the known laws and customs of Parliament ”.’

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What are the known laws and customs of this House, we know. Then it says—

'In practice the House insists upon no more than the bare minimum of its rights necessary to uphold its proper dignity and efficiency.'

"Sir, reference was also made to Article 194 of the Constitution in support of enlarging the powers of this House. I request you to read a little more carefully and you will see that it provides only for cases which will not be covered by the rules. Article 194 (1) says—

'Subject to the provisions of this Constitution and to the rules and standing orders regulating the procedure of the Legislature, there shall be freedom of speech in the Legislature of every State.'

So, there shall be freedom of speech in the Legislature. It does not mean the Legislative Assembly. It does not mean the Legislative Council. It means that even in the 'Legislature' which means the joint session of both Houses, there shall be freedom of speech. You cannot go out of the Constitution. And you cannot go outside the rules, and standing orders regulating the procedure. The Article says, there shall be freedom of speech. Therefore, you cannot import the custom and procedure of the House of Commons. What does Article 194 (3) say? It says—

'In other respects the powers, privileges and immunities of a House of the Legislature of a State and of the members and the committees of a House of such Legislature, shall be such as may from time to time be defined by Legislature by law, and until so defined.'

Even this is a temporary provision. So, my submission is that we are governed by a definite set of rules regarding all disciplinary proceedings. Sir, our leader, Mr. Prakasam, has been accused of a very grave charge and we claim and we are bound to insist, that the procedure of this House must be strictly followed and if there is loophole in the procedure, the benefit should be given to Mr. Prakasam. Article 194 (1) and (3) will apply only in cases where there are no definite set of rules. You cannot go outside these rules and the kind of privilege which has been claimed in the motion does not exist. It is entirely out of the jurisdiction of this Honourable House to go and enquire as to what happened in the joint session of the Legislature which, as I told you already, is a separate entity. So, I consider this motion is out of order."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I do not want any more speeches on the point of order. Let me give my ruling on the point of order. The position appears to me to be perfectly clear. The motion refers to the conduct of a Member of this House at the joint session of the two Houses. According to the Rules, this House is competent to take note of the same. Now, it is only for the House to decide whether the hon. Member committed a breach of privilege of the House or not and whether disorderly conduct was committed by the hon. Member."

SRI V. GURUNANDAN ROW:—"On a point of order, Sir . . ."

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* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, when I began to speak, I was interrupted by Sri T. Prakasam on a point of order. Then I had only just read the motion. If the point of order is first settled and I am to proceed, I have to support the motion. If, of course, any other point of order is raised, it becomes a different matter and I will not object to it. Since the discussion began and is going on in a desultory way, I only want to make it clear that I have not yet supported the motion."

* SRI V. GURUNANDAN ROW:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, the motion before the House is out of order because this House has no jurisdiction to enforce any breach of its privileges. Sir, the history of privileges of the Parliament in England has arisen out of what is known as the 'High Court of Parliament'. Parliament exercised certain rights which courts exercised and as a matter of fact, contempt proceedings of the High Court of Parliament are similar to the contempt proceedings of courts. As far as our own House is concerned, Article 194 (3) of the Constitution provides for the privileges of this House. Article 194 (3) says—

'In other respects, the powers, privileges and immunities of a House of the Legislature of a State, and of the members and the committees of a House of such Legislature shall be such as may from time to time be defined, by the Legislature by law and until so defined, shall be those of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and of its members and committees, at the commencement of this Constitution.'

Sir, apart from these rules and privileges, there are Fundamental Rights granted to the citizens of India. Certain procedure has to be followed before any action can be taken against any offender. In England, for the contempt of the House, the Speaker can send a person to jail. But can you do so here? Also, there is the question whether the Fundamental Rights granted under Articles 21 and 22 (1) will not be contravened. In this connection, I should like to invite your attention to the pamphlet 'Note on the Privileges of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom' published by the Superintendent, Government Press. At page 12, the note says—

'Article 194 (3) seems to be defective inasmuch as it does not lay down any sanctions or punishments or procedure for dealing with the offenders. In the absence of such sanctions the power conferred by the clause seems to be more imaginary than real. In the House of Commons, different ways of dealing with different breaches of privilege are laid down by long established custom and tradition.'

So, unless a law is made defining the privileges of the House there is no sanction behind the decision of this House. Mr. Chairman, you might have heard of the case of Mr. Mistry, Deputy Editor of the 'Blitz', where the difficulty arose as to how the sanctions for the breach of privilege could be actually enforced. It was not only because the contempt was outside the jurisdiction of the State (Uttar Pradesh) but it was also because it became impossible

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to follow the exact procedure of the House of Commons which says that an offender should be put in the Tower and I understand they wanted to have a Tower built in Uttar Pradesh."

* SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY :—They want to build a cage!"

* SRI V. GURUNANDAN ROW :—" I think that unless a law is made defining the privileges of each House, this House has no jurisdiction to pass any punishment at all on any person because it does not have sanction.

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p.m.

" There is no procedure. A person is being punished without observing any procedure at all. Is there any provision made for a person who has been called to defend himself to examine witnesses or has he got any other rights of an accused person? Therefore, Sir, unless a provision which complies with the Fundamental Rights is there, no action under privileges can be taken. This is my submission on this point."

SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY :—" Sir, I wish to raise a very strong point. A good deal has been said by the Leader of the House regarding his freedom from hatred. I want to reciprocate that statement. I too do not want to hate him. We all love him as far as human nature is capable of doing. Apart from that, Sir, I wish to ask this question. On 6th May 1952, at a joint meeting of both Houses something is supposed to have happened. I do not know what really happened. Because you are calling up Mr. Prakasam to answer a charge, your charge must be authenticated by evidence as to what really happened on that occasion. He is supposed to have made a speech. Have we got a copy of the speech before us so that we may examine for ourselves in the context in which that speech was made, whether that speech was an infringement of the privileges of this House, and whether there was anything improper or indecorous in the speech that he made on that occasion? All these are suppositions which the Leader of the House wants us to make in order to facilitate him to pass this vote of censure. This is altogether unprecedented. As my Friend, Sri V. Gurunandan Row, pointed out there is no procedure that has been laid down so far as this legislature is concerned regarding inquiry into the conduct of any person who is supposed to have committed a breach of the privilege of the House. I was simply astonished when the Leader of the House said he will take cognizance of anything that may be done even outside the precincts of this House. Supposing a Member of this House beat his wife. It is altogether a bad thing, although many people indulge in that pastime. Do you mean to say, Sir, the Leader of the House will come forward with a motion to censure the conduct of that Member as being unworthy of a Member of this Honourable Legislature. Sir, my point is this that we have no materials on which to come to any judgment. I can give you, Sir, my own version of what happened on that occasion. On

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that occasion, there was no interruption of the speech of the Governor. My Friend, the Leader of the United Democratic Front, rose up—indeed you must not forget that he rose up—and said, ' On a point of order, I wish to draw Your Excellency's attention to this . . . ' We must know all that really took place. The Governor sat down. If the Governor really thought that it was an unseemly conduct, he could have asked Mr. Prakasam to sit down. From the way in which the Governor sat down, I came to the conclusion that he wanted to hear Mr. Prakasam's point of order. It seemed to me to be quite a legitimate thing for Mr. Prakasam or any other Member to have drawn the attention of His Excellency to something very important that he wanted to say.

" Sir, before I sit down, I hope you will permit me to put one more question. Supposing you invite me to your house just as the Governor invited all of us to the joint session of the Legislature and supposing I wanted to make up my mind to go away from your house for some reason or other, do you not think it would be consistent with my duty to you and my respect for you that I should explain why I am leaving you? Would it be really honourable on my part if, instead of doing so, I turned my back upon you and went away? So, my Friend, Sri Prakasam, got up on a point of order and said, ' This is the reason why I am leaving the House followed by the Members of the United Democratic Front.' Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it does not seem to me that this House has the right to go into a matter like this without having all the facts before it, and without taking all the circumstances into consideration. There is no procedure and there is nothing except that resolution of the Leader of the House and what he is going to say from his own imagination. He is indebted for many of his facts to his imagination which is a very fertile one. Therefore, Sir, I impress upon this House that it has a great duty to perform and if you are going to censure the Leader of a great party in this City and in this State, we will be placing ourselves open to ridicule. We cannot summon the public for contempt of the privileges of the House. If meetings are held all over the State condemning the action of the Leader of the House, then the Leader of the House cannot summon all these lakhs of people that might assemble at these places. I appeal to this House and the Leader of the House to ponder over these facts and not to rush to conclusions in order to vindicate, not the dignity of the Governor, but to vindicate his own dignity and the unfortunate position in which he and his friends have been placed."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I have listened to the further point of order and I do not see any reason which would make me change the ruling I have already given. This House is competent to deal with this matter. I now call upon the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari to speak."

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* SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"Sir, I do not question your ruling that this House has jurisdiction but I wish to submit a further point of order, viz., that this motion as brought forward is out of order, for another entirely different reason, in that it may lie against a stranger and not against a Member. I will now quote authorities in support of this."

THE HON. SRI K. VENKATASWAMY NAIDU:—"Sir, on a point of order, I would submit that Sri Adityan has already raised a point of order in which he should have mentioned all his objections. I do not think it is open to him to raise a further point of order after the Chair has given its ruling."

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, on a point of order, can a person who is not a Member of this House interfere in this discussion about the privilege of this House?" (Laughter.)

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"Sir, this is not a matter to be laughed at, but a very serious matter and I ask you, Sir, to pay concentrated attention to this. My submission is that such a Motion can be brought only against a stranger and not against a Member of this Honourable House."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"The Motion before the House relates to the conduct of a particular Member at a joint session of the Legislature and I have given my ruling that this House is perfectly competent to deal with this. There is no further argument about it except for the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari to move his resolution."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN AND SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON:—"Does it mean, Sir, that we cannot for ever raise any more points of order?" (Cries of 'order, order'.)

SRI N. ANNAMALAI PILLAI:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, on a point of order. இதற்கு எதாவது முடிவு உண்டா இல்லை யா? ஒரே ஆள் மூன்று, நான்கு தடவைகள் point of order ஐ எழுப்பிக்கொண்டே இருந்தால் இந்த சபை நடக்கிறதா இல்லையா? அதனால் அனாவசியமாக காலம் வீணாகிறது. அவர்கள் பேசுகிறதைக் கேட்பதற்கு நான் இங்கே உட்கார்ந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறேன்? இங்கு நடக்கும் நடவடிக்கைகளில் கலந்துக்கொள்ளத்தான் நான் வந்திருக்கிறேன்."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I have given my final decision. There will be no further point of order. The Hon. Leader of the House will now move his motion."

* SRI B. V. SUBRAHMANYAM:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to raise a point of order which has not been raised by any other hon. Member, and which goes to the root of the matter. I request you, Sir, not to rule it out of order, as each one of the rulings given by you applies to the particular point of order raised and not to all points of order irrespective of their having been raised or not, and whatever they might be. If you are not going to allow it, Sir, I say it deliberately, you are gagging our mouths."

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You, Sir, holding the privileges of the House in your hands, cannot forejudge what points of order can be raised by other persons, because I have been waiting to raise my point of order, for the last twenty minutes. Probably, my friends have forestalled me in catching your eye but that does not mean that the rulings with respect to their points of order cover the point of order which I am raising and I wish that you, Sir, as Chairman should not say that future points of order are also ruled out in this manner. There is no provision in the Rules to rule out any point of order. The hon. Members of this House can raise a point of order at any stage. Once a point of order has been raised, it is for you to consider whether there is any substance in it. Without hearing a point of order, I submit, it would be the barest act of injustice to democracy to say that we should not open our mouths even in this House. Therefore, Sir, I request you very respectfully to hear all those who have got points of order to raise whatever those points of order may be. If they are irrelevant or if they are meaningless and merely meant to waste the time of the House, I certainly agree that you, as Chairman, can say they need not be gone into."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"The hon. Member has taken more than ten minutes to say what could have been said in 5 seconds."

SRI B. V. SUBRAHMANYAM:—"Sir, I have not taken more than two minutes."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"The hon. Member will please sit down when I am speaking. One, two and more than three points of order have been raised and I have given my ruling on these points of order. We cannot go on raising points of order the whole day. The hon. Member has not caught my eye and I have given my final ruling and there is nothing more to add to that. There will be no more points of order."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"No more points of order now and for ever?"

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"There should be a certain amount of decorum and decency in this House and the hon. Member, Sri S. B. Adityan, should not interrupt me when I am speaking. I have given my ruling and that is final. I did not say the ruling is for ever. I have got the business of the House to be carried on and the ruling will be given effect to."

SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"My hon. Friend, Sri B. V. Subrahmanyam, has got a new point of order to place before you. Do you say, Sir, that you refuse to hear him?"

* SRI B. V. SUBRAHMANYAM:—"Sir, I did not want to say anything in respect of the points of order raised by the others and that is why I did not get up. It should be understood, Sir, that I did not know that even if I did not intend to talk on another Member's point of order, I should rise and try to catch

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your eye in order to raise my own point of order. If you, Sir, gag me out, and I cannot raise my point of order I shall have to submit to your decision respectfully. I am in your hands.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ The business of the House must go on.”

4-45 * THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Sir, after
p.m. all that has happened, although they were called points of order, there was a considerable amount of discussion on the merits also. In fact an appeal was made by one of the speakers, speaking on a point of order, that a senior Member of the rank and status of Sri Prakasam should not be put through this kind of Motion or trial, if I may so call it. The point is very simple. We have jurisdiction, first and primarily, over our Members and also in respect of certain matters concerning outsiders. The jurisdiction over our own Members is comprehensive wherever the conduct that we complain about is in derogation of the prestige or the authority of the House. In respect of others, certain other things have to be proved. So far as Members are concerned, if a Member misbehaves at a meeting, that behaviour must be dealt with under the ordinary rules, but where we have to deal with the conduct of a Member at a time and at a place when the two Houses assemble together under Article 176 of the Constitution, it is not treated as a separate House but it is an assembly of the two Houses together sitting for a particular purpose. Mr. Adityan was arguing—now I am not referring to the point of order raised by him . . .”

(At this stage Sri M. P. Govinda Menon was seen raising from his seat.)

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Mr. Govinda Menon, I know a certain amount of procedure, though I am not as clever as you are. The point that was raised was that the behaviour of a Member at that place should be adjudged by some authority at that meeting and by no other authority. That was not only a point of order but also a point of merit. The question that I am addressing myself to is that the Constitution does not provide for a third House constituted by a joint sitting. There is a provision for that with regard to the Parliament at Delhi but so far as this Legislature is concerned, there is no provision for any joint sitting. The two Houses are two Houses only. When there is a difference of opinion, there is a special procedure prescribed and there is no question of a joint sitting. The only time when the two Houses assemble together is under Article 176 of the Constitution and under that Article the two Houses sit together in order to fulfil a particular function. There is no question of a third House having been created and all privileges and other procedures in respect of that third House, being governed by a different set of principles and rules. Therefore we are concerned with the misconduct of one of the Members of

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our House in respect of a matter in which we are interested, and deeply interested. We had assembled at the joint sitting in order to listen to the Governor's Address and we had to be on our behaviour—every one of us—and instead of that, we observed there was interruption. It is not the subject-matter of the speech that we are concerned with so much as the interruption itself. The interruption was there and the interruption was not by chance or provoked by a casual incident, or in excitement, or something of that kind. But it was deliberate interruption followed by deliberate walk-out, when that interruption was not accepted as lawful or as legal by the Governor. In fact, when the thing was finished the gentleman who made the interruption followed by others did not even sit down but walked out. The main point to be considered is whether that interruption is a matter which may be overlooked. If it had been even a case of interruption or mis-conduct of a kind which could be overlooked without detriment to the future work of the House and without detriment to our prestige and without detriment to the dignity of the House, I would not, Sir, have brought this Motion. It is because I feel that it is a bad precedent that I think it must be set down as wrong. It is because of that I consider it necessary—as I described it a painful duty—to bring this motion. The question as to what should be done for the offence is covered by the Motion itself. The Motion is that we should hold our opinion and express that opinion. That expression itself will be the admonition of the Member concerned. All that I genuinely want is that this incident should not be treated as a precedent, that when we meet together under the Constitution, with the Head of the State giving the programme of the Government through an Address it should not be an occasion for debate or wrangle or interruption. I, therefore, wish to appeal to the House to accept the Motion.

“ As regards the gravity of the conduct in question, hon. Members have referred vaguely to the unfortunate fact that it is a very senior Member who is concerned in the matter. I wish to point out that misconduct by a new Member or by a junior Member is not of much importance, but if the interruption is wrong, then the more senior a Member the greater should be the attention directed to that matter. If a Junior Member reads out a long manuscript speech, the Chairman or the Speaker does not interrupt him. Supposing a senior Member does it, the Chairman or the Speaker intervenes. Here, it is a clear case of interruption and misconduct, and I submit with all respect to my friend, Mr. Prakasam, that there is no question of *mala fides* in the matter, or that we are led away by our political opinions. There is no doubt whatsoever that when we have a political plan we are often misled into error in support of it. But that error would not matter if it did not lay down precedents for future errors by others. Here the idea is that a particular Government which was called upon to take over charge should not take over charge. I am quite sure that

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Mr. Prakasam thinks genuinely that I should not have been called upon by the Governor, that I should not have formed the Ministry and that the Governor should not have accepted my Ministry as the Government and therefore the Address should not be read. I have no doubt, he was sincerely convinced that his interruption was just, good and right on merits. But the question before us is whether it can be passed as legitimate or constitutional or proper. It is only when we are convinced that a certain thing is necessary and that happens to be a political step, we lose our judgment and we are sometimes misled into errors. That is the genesis of this action. It is no justification. Surely Mr. Prakasam is not one who would have indulged in such a thing if he had not been convinced that it was the right thing to do. That is the very reason why we should mark our disapproval of that act. I shall not say more about the facts. The facts are known as the whole incident occurred in the open House. You, Mr. Chairman, were present. The entire House was present on the occasion and I am not referring to anything that happened outside. All people knew about the interruption, the manner of the interruption, the time of the interruption, the context of interruption and the manner in which Sri Prakasam spoke, namely 'Since you think you are competent to address and I do not think so, and you do not accept my argument that you are incompetent, I walk out with my friends.' That is the incident which happened at that time before everybody. And apart from other people we were all present there. It would be a waste of time for me to go into the facts. I submit it was highly improper conduct and we should mark our disapprobation by adopting this motion. Sir, I move the motion standing in my name."

The Hon. Sri K. Venkataswamy Naidu seconded the motion.

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" I wish to know whether the Hon. Chief Minister can cite one instance of a Member being hauled up for interruption and disorderly conduct and whether such a motion is not applicable only to strangers and not to Members? "

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" My hon. Friend, Sri Adityan, was saying that this was the first time such a Motion was being brought in. I am very sorry to have to answer in his own language. This is the first time that a man of Mr. Prakasam's position and seniority has chosen to interrupt on an occasion of that kind. Since the event has happened for the first time, notice of it also is taken for the first time.

" Mr. Adityan asks whether the House has ever exercised its jurisdiction over its Members and not over outsiders only. The most recent case which the hon. Member should have known is Mr. Mudgal's case in Parliament. It was disposed of by that House. The offence might differ and the nature of misconduct might differ. But the question before the House is the same. There is nothing wrong and everything is right, in the House

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exercising its jurisdiction first over its Members before proceeding against outsiders. The question is, whether the conduct of the Member was right or wrong. That depends on and is answered by the plain facts."

SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" Sir, The Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari has put the case very briefly. His complaint is that I got up at the joint sitting and addressed the Governor and that is wrong. Sir, I am very glad, he has admitted or he has stated that no further enquiry need be made in this matter. Since you, Sir, are new to your place and I am also new to my place in the Opposition, I wish to explain certain matters.

" This morning before I came here, there was a call on the telephone. The person at the other end said that it was ' Mr. Rajagopalachari speaking.' Well Sir, what did he say? He asked me, ' Are you attending the Council to-day? ' The same question was repeated thrice by the person at the other end of the phone. I said, ' Yes, I am attending the Council positively.' Then the person at the other end told me ' They are going to expel you; are you going to attend the House still? ' I told him, ' Certainly I am going to attend the House and face that music also, my friend, don't worry.' At first I thought that it was really Mr. Rajagopalachari who had spoken to me, but then I had a suspicion because the voice was not exactly like that of Mr. Rajagopalachari. So, as soon as I came here, I asked him, ' Did you call me on the phone this morning? ' He said, ' No '. I am giving this incident for the amusement of all the Members and visitors of this House. I want to know who was that man that called me on the phone and asked me three times the question whether I am attending the House. I must only appeal to the authorities if there are any in this land, to find out who that man is."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Are you satisfied that it was not I who spoke? "

SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" I am perfectly satisfied that it was not you.

" As regards the charge, I am sorry, it was considered proper and necessary that a resolution of this kind should be placed before this House. The resolution was communicated to me saying that I will have to reply to it this day—13th of May. I do not know what is there for trial before the House now? Mr. Rajagopalachari has set out the case for the resolution. I am here in flesh and blood to say what I have to say in the matter. I say, I am the man who stood up in the joint sitting before the Governor and made the speech. There is no complaint so far as the speech is concerned. I made the speech on a point of order. To consider why I had to make that speech, we must take into account all that has happened in this State during the last five years.

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p.m. "So far as Madras was concerned there was an order from the Congress High Command that I should not move any resolution, before the Assembly over which Sri Sivasanmugam Pillai was presiding, regarding the conduct of the then Ministers. I refused to obey that order. Then there was an order from the so-called High Command of the Congress that I should not make any speech on my charges against the Ministers. I refused to obey that order also, because it involved the fundamental rights conceded not to Mr. Prakasam, or any legislator or any particular person, but to the people of India as a whole. In the Preamble to the Constitution—I was also a member engaged in drafting that Constitution—we changed the name of King George and we stated in clear language that the people of India shall be the rulers of India from to-day onwards. It is in accordance with that dictum we have to conduct ourselves.

"I need not be told what to do on matters of decorum and decency. Unless I had been properly advised and was quite certain that I was perfectly justified in doing so, I would not have got up to speak while His Excellency rose to deliver his address. I got up and spoke what I had to speak. You, Mr. Chairman, have not become used to rules and precedents in the House of Commons, House of Lords and even this House also. You may in course of time get used to all these things. You have got to hear all sides. I am not arguing. I am not quoting anything in support of what I have done. My conduct is one that would be perfectly justifiable having regard to the circumstances in which we had been placed and conditions obtaining in the State during the last five years.

"My hon. Friend, Sri C. Rajagopalachari has said something about decency and decorum in connection with my rising and interrupting the Governor while he rose to deliver the Address. I told the Governor that I was rising on a point of order. The Governor after hearing me sat down in his chair and allowed me to complete what I wanted to say. Why did the Governor do like that? My friend should examine that point. He has to examine our previous history. We have been the subject race of Great Britain for nearly 200 years. We have copied the Constitution of Great Britain. Even in this Constitution of ours allow me to tell you, Mr. Chairman, that I am not very proud of it—which we have framed after three years labour, we have copied bodily the Constitution of 1935. While the Constitution was being framed I had to struggle on the floor of that House with the President of that Assembly who was in charge of framing the Constitution. I asked him whether it was for the benefit of the people of India or the people of Great Britain that we were framing this Constitution. 'Are we to be governed by our own people or are we to be governed by the British', I asked. Then there was a change made in the Preamble to the Constitution.

"Apart from all these, why did I rise to make my speech while the Governor was addressing? I wanted to rise on a point of

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order, because I wanted to place before the very eyes of the Governor certain facts. I did this knowing fully well that I was perfectly right in doing so.

"Sir, I think I have made my points very clear."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"Am I to take it that hon. Members want to sit till 6 o'clock to finish off the agenda?"

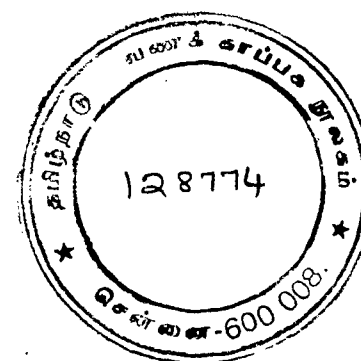
SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"Sir, under rule 21 of the 'Rules of Procedure of the Madras Legislative Council' it has been our convention that discussion, if at all should be continued after 5 p.m. should be proceeded with only if there is agreement on both sides. Now we are completely washed out and I request that we may continue our discussion tomorrow."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I now adjourn the House to meet again at 11 o'clock tomorrow morning."

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, the 14th May 1952.

VI.—PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

Amendment to the Malabar Tenancy Rules, 1951.



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Issued—28-6-1952



MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL DEBATES

OFFICIAL REPORT

WEDNESDAY, 14TH MAY 1952

VOLUME I—No. 6

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PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT
GOVERNMENT PRESS
MADRAS
1952

PRICE, 4 annas

3856

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Wednesday, the 14th May 1952.

The House met in the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Chairman (THE HON. DR. P. V. CHERIAN) in the Chair.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

MOTION FOR ADMONITION TO A MEMBER FOR BREACH OF
PRIVILEGE OF THE HOUSE—*cont.*

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I wish to inform hon. Members that I have received notice of an amendment from Sri S. B. Adityan, to the motion moved by the Hon. Leader of the House yesterday, namely :—

‘ Omit the words “ And whereas by such indecorous . . . admonition to the hon. Member for his misconduct ” and add the words “ This House, by virtue of the powers and privileges vested in this House as per Article 194 (3) of the Constitution and in conformity with those of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, hereby refers the above matter to a Committee of Privileges to be constituted as per Rule 143 ”. ’

“ I call upon the hon. Member to move it formally. ”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ Sir, I formally move the following amendment^a now and reserve my speech to the end :—

‘ Omit the words “ And whereas by such indecorous . . . admonition to the hon. Member for his misconduct ” and add the words “ This House, by virtue of the powers and privileges vested in this House as per Article 194 (3) of the Constitution and in conformity with those of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, hereby refers the above matter to a Committee of Privileges to be constituted as per Rule 143 ”. ’ ”

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON :—“ I second the amendment, Sir. ”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ Both the original motion and the amendment are now for discussion. ”

“ Sri T. Prakasam may now continue his speech. ”

SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ Sir, yesterday, I was dealing with the question whether there was anything wrong done by me when I stood up in that House and spoke on a point of order. Take this resolution. The resolution says, ‘ in deliberate disregard of all constitutional proprieties. ’ What is the Constitution which the Hon. Leader of the House is thinking of? What is the provision in utter disregard of which I stood up in the Joint House to speak on a point of order? The Constitution must be the Constitution under which we are governed. If it is not so, is it in utter disregard of constitutional propriety that prevailed in Great Britain in the past, or that prevails to-day. Sir, we have nothing to do with the British Constitution to-day after we have passed the Constitution Act. We have nothing to do with King George, who was once the ruler of India. But, we are now guided by the Constitution that we passed

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after three years of deliberation in Delhi, in what was called the Constituent Assembly. My esteemed Friend seems to be under the impression that he is still under the rule of King George. We are not under the rule of King George. We were once under his rule, no doubt, and it was King George that appointed Sri C. Rajagopalachari as the Governor-General of India. When King George went away altogether from our presence, Sri Rajagopalachari's Governor-Generalship also ended. Sri Rajagopalachari should not, therefore, be under the impression that we are still controlled by the British Constitution. We are controlled by our own Constitution. And, what is the position of the Governor under our Constitution? Sometimes, reference was made to the King's position in Great Britain and the King opening the Parliament of Britain. As I said, now we are controlled by our Constitution. The Preamble of the Constitution might be looked into by the Hon. Leader of the House who tabled this motion. What does that Preamble say? The Preamble says, on the question who are the rulers of this country, after King George had gone away, that the people of India are the rulers of India. That is the basis of the whole Constitution. The people of India are the rulers of this country. Then what did we provide next? How are the people of India to be governed? We made a provision that the people of India shall be governed by a set of Ministers who should function on their behalf, for their benefit. Who are these Ministers? No doubt, we adopted the procedure of the British in this matter also, as with regard to many other things. That is, these Ministers who are appointed by the people are asked to carry on the administration on behalf of the people. Minister, you may call him. But, what is he? He is a servant of the people. The Prime Minister is the first servant of the people; the other Ministers are the other servants of the people, to form the executive and carry on the administration.

"Now, Sir, having said how the Ministry should be formed, what further provision was made to make the Constitution really representative of the people who are made the rulers of this country? It is in the name of the people of India, and every part of India, that the Government is to be carried on. Ministers had to be appointed. And what is the procedure laid down? These Ministers should be the elected members of the Assembly. Was such a Ministry formed in this State? No. It was not formed by the elected representatives of the people in the Assembly, or even in the Council, if you make a provision even for that. A nominated Minister was called by the Governor and asked to be the Leader of the Congress party and also to form a Government.

11-15 P.M. "Yesterday my hon. Friend, Sri Adityan, was referring to the fact that the Leader of the House pleaded inability to go through an election at his age and he wanted a nomination to this House from the Governor who was quite new to this Province. I do not wish to dwell upon what passed between the Governor and the Leader of the House who approached him and made a request that he should be made a Member of this Council so that his seat in the

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House might become lawful and look reasonable also. Let me submit to you, Sir, that old age cannot give any protection to anybody who wishes to come under the new Constitution of India and who wishes to become a ruler of the State. Recently, Sir, in the general elections of England in 1950, Sir Stafford Cripps, now no more, who was the leader of the Labour party asked the Secretary of the Labour organization to tell the people of his constituency that he was unable to address them and so, he could plead to his constituents on his behalf. You know, Sir, what reply was sent by the Secretary of the Labour organization. He sent back a note to him saying: 'My dear friend, you will be running the risk of losing the seat if you do not address the electors yourself. That was the position of the electors. That was the position with reference to the election of a Member by his constituency. But now, here, see the manner in which the Leader of the House approached the Governor, made a request to be nominated to the Council; and having got that done, to have gone to the Congress Committee here and accepted the leadership is unconstitutional and unpardonable conduct. It was unconstitutional and unlawful and no excuse can be offered for it. This country is governed by the people under the new Constitution, and under the Constitution everything is provided for, for carrying on the elections and every one who wanted to have a share in the governance of the country must come through the election and this he failed to do and he got himself nominated. I have cited the case of Sir Stafford Cripps to show what value is attached to the position of electors who, in practice, are the real rulers of this country as King George is no longer the ruler of this country nor are the British people the rulers of the country, because the people are the real rulers of the country, the people of India who fought for freedom for nearly thirty years under the leadership of the great departed soul, Mahatma Gandhi. We, however, adopted the British method because for two hundred years and more we have been under their rule and we have been used to their methods and to thinking in terms of the British-made Acts and Regulations. As I was pointing out to you yesterday, Sir, this is not a Constitution over which I was very pleased myself. I was sitting there like a fool without raising the point in proper time. Then I rose up and asked Dr. Ambedkar who was in charge of this subject: 'For whose benefit is the Constitution being framed; are you framing this constitution for the benefit of King George and the British people who have left this country or for the benefit of the people of India who have made all kinds of sacrifices and ultimately succeeded in getting the British people out of this land?' When I raised this point, there were some little confusion in the minds of the people who had fallen into the rut of framing the Constitution on the British lines. We adopted the Government of India Act of 1935 as part of the Constitution framed by the people though that Act was prepared and passed by the British people when we were in revolt against them; it was passed in England and not in this country and it was passed without caring for the people of this country. When I raised the point, others followed and a general debate ensued in

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which many people supported the position taken up by me. What were they to do? They had already gone half-way in the matter of framing the Constitution and they said, if my objections were to be accepted, they would have to cancel the whole thing and get back to the very beginning and already more than a year and a half had been taken and it would lead to further delay and then it was suggested that the present procedure might be followed and the Constitution might be completed adding Article 40 to the Constitution. If you take that Article, you will see, Sir, that what was wanted for the people of India was a Panchayat Raj, a Panchayat Raj which will do away with all these costly paraphernalia of these institutions. If the Panchayat Raj was established, people's Raj would be established and the people will be in a position to get their money into their own hands and carry on the administration from the village to the top and not from the top to the bottom, and everything would be in perfect order. If you look into the proceedings, you will see, Sir, that they said: 'We cannot give up this Constitution at this stage and begin again; so, we shall, within the frame-work of the Constitution, introduce the panchayat system so that it would become the real People's Raj and the People's Government.' Five years have elapsed and my Friend was away as the Governor-General and then as the Governor of a Province and then the Home Minister and what has been done all these five years? We are in the second quinquennium, in the beginning of it. What have I done in utter disregard of the Constitution and of constitutional propriety? Have I done anything which can be described as disregarding any portion of the Constitution; have I acted in disregard of constitutional propriety? Constitutional propriety is the propriety that related to the people of India who are the real rulers of this country, the people of India who have secured for their benefit the services of these Ministers and Governors who are really their servants, although they go by the name of Ministers; and in the exercise of the authority that is vested in them, they will have to go according to the will and desire of the people who sent them to power. These Ministers and the Leader of the House are still under the impression that they are living under the rule of King George, that the English people are the rulers and that they are governing this country. They must understand that the constitutional propriety which was observed then must go and no such thing can be pleaded now in this House by anybody and particularly by Ministers who are the servants of the people, but appointed by the Governor. Let them understand that it is through the elections that Members come up and it is from among them that Ministers are selected and whoever commands the confidence of the country should be called upon to undertake the responsibility of Government on behalf of the people. Therefore, Sir, I am submitting that no disregard of any constitutional propriety was shown by me. Far from it, I was only doing my duty which was cast upon me under the Constitution in the name of the people and on behalf of the people, and in the exercise of my functions as a representative of the people I would have failed, Sir, in my duty if I had not got up on that occasion to protest to that Governor, who, I submit is there only as the agent of

11-30
a.m.

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the Ministers, who, in their turn, are only the servants of the people. It is in that way the Governor is there under the Constitution. Therefore, Sir, I got up on that day from my seat when the Governor came to open the session and said, 'My good Sir, I have to make a request to you.' Immediately, like a good man he sat down. Not one word of protest came from him. He did not say, 'When I am here as the King's representative and when I speak here as the King's representative, nobody should stand in my way.' No such thing did he say. The moment I stood up in my place, he sat quiet and I stated what I had to say. Now, in this, where is the disregard of any constitutional propriety? I was only discharging a duty which was cast upon me to make a particular representation at the proper time. This new Constitution has not changed the attitude of my Friends in this country after they have become Premiers and Ministers. They still imagine they are still under the British rule, that they are bound to carry on on the British model. It is not so; they are bound to proceed only as per the Indian Constitution. Therefore, I am submitting there is no disregard of any Constitutional propriety. There was no discourtesy shown to anybody by me. Nothing of that sort. What was the discourtesy that I could have shown to the Governor? The Governor, poor man, he came there to do his duty because his name is mentioned in the Indian Constitution as the person who has to go there to open the session of the legislature. So, Sir, if one understands the whole spirit of the Constitution and not merely the language, one must also know all these facts. Simply because the British people ruled in our country for such a long period and British traditions have been handed down to us we should not go under the impression that a constitutional impropriety has been committed by me. People fought for 150 years to secure their freedom under the leadership of that great man, who is now no more, and it is for those people to do the necessary thing to carry on the administration by themselves, that is through their representatives. Because the Ministers during the past four years turned against the people, they denied that they were their true representatives and they challenged them and asked them: 'Who are you to talk on behalf of the people and who are you to rule over us? What we ask you to do must prevail.' I tried to put into their heads the constitutional position; but they disregarded me and finally they were thrown out by the people themselves in the general election, no doubt with one or two exceptions.

"Now, Sir, why should it be taken that the Governor was insulted? To the Governor I could have stated certain things which perhaps may have offended him, if only those facts were stated. But I did not touch on those things. My Friend conceded yesterday so far as my speech was concerned that he was not troubled about that speech or about the statement of facts set out in my speech then; but he wanted the Members of this House to note that the disregard of the constitutional propriety was the question, that is, Mr. Prakasam getting up in his seat and stating that he was raising a point of order. That was the crime committed by Mr. Prakasam. That is the huge offence of Mr. Pakasam. I never

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expected Sri Rajagopalachari would have taken that point as a constitutional impropriety and put it in the form of a resolution before this House. Is it that I am working against the interest of the people and Sri Rajagopalachari is working in the interest of the people? I was obliged or rather compelled to say all those things in the speech that I made before the Governor because of the various happenings in this State before and after Sri Rajagopalachari was appointed Chief Minister. We were concerned with all those matters and we looked at the whole thing ever since he took charge of this State as a leader of the Congress Party and also as a leader of the people. I said, he did not really constitute the leader under the Constitution; I said, he cannot contend that he was the duly appointed leader or the Chief Minister of this State. Therefore, no offence did I commit and no disregard did I show to the Governor. The Governor allowed me to have my say. He was so good he did not say one word; he did not say 'You sit down; I am in charge of the House; you cannot get up when I am in charge of the House.' He sat back in his Chair when I rose up to speak and he sat there till I had finished and walked out. Why was this considered unconstitutional? In Britain they put a lot on procedure. Why did they provide for the Speaker going to the House of Lords and the King's representative opening the Parliament? I ask, why all these things were provided there? Because they had gone through their struggle for freedom through a space of hundred years; they walked through rivers of blood in the City of London; there was an autocratic King; he did not recognize the will of the people; he put his interests before the interests of the people; this went on until it came to the time of King Charles I; the head of King Charles I was cut off, because of the tyrannical rule by him and his refusal to have anything to do with the people. After that incident the British people established a constitutional Government and they were ever after anxious to see that no such incident as in the past occurred in their country. Here, in India, we dispensed with all those things when we framed our Constitution; because it was all a thing of the past. Such things would not happen here. Such things would not happen in this part of the country, which has one-fifth of the whole population of India, of six crores. Nobody complained here of the tyranny of the State. I was once speaking on the budget four years back; I said, I would not give my vote, because there had been persistent misrule in my part of the State. My people framed charges against Ministers and wanted an inquiry. But there was nobody in the name of the great Congress, who said there would be any inquiry. There was utter disregard and contempt for the complaints. I then said in the course of my speech that I would not give my vote to the budget. That budget was concerned with the salary paid to the Ministers. The people in my part of the country were feeling that the Congress or its leaders in the State, the Chief Minister and the members of his Cabinet were not willing to give relief to them. So I refused to give my vote to the budget. Now let me give this warning to the Government and to the Congress people. They are under the misapprehension that the people in my area are dead.

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I tell them, let them note that the people of my area are not dead; they are fully alive to their duties. I have been asking them to proceed in this manner and then justice will come to them. So they kept quiet. I stated so at that time. But no change came. We thought we would be freed from the shackles of the old tyranny and we would have the freedom to constitute our own Government, but this leader, the Chief Minister, considered it fit, after refusing several times to become the leader of this area and take up the responsibility of forming a Government, rushed into it and took charge of the administration. Now, what has he been doing after he took charge? Look at his performance from day to day. He took hold of those innocent fellows who are called Communists and simply hurled into their face the words 'You are my public enemy No. 1; I am your public enemy No. 1.' This sort of statement, is it to be expected from a Chief Minister who is expected to be equally disposed to all people, including the criminals who are in jails after conviction?

"No one should have felt it right to get up and say, 'You are my enemy No. 1; I am your enemy No. 1.' What is the constitutional procedure that was adopted by this great leader? It is an unthinkable position. I had been through the constitutions of the rest of the world and their practice. Nowhere in the history of the world, even in the worst days of the Czar and other people, do we see such a precedent. Nobody would get up and say this. After saying that, he thought that Mr. Prakasam should not be left alone for having delivered the speech interrupting His Excellency the Governor's Address. When the speech was delivered, were not other hon. Members sitting there? He was seated there. He could have got up and raised the objection, 'How can this man be allowed to go on speaking in this manner?' They were also good at that time. After four or five days they thought that they should take note of what was said there. For this purpose they thought they should blow up Prakasam and free this country from all other troubles. He might have thought so. But Prakasam has not been blown up. Prakasam is ready to be blown up by the leader if he thinks that he has committed an offence in getting up before the Governor and attempting to speak on behalf of the people. As I told you, the misrule in this part of the country went to such an extent. I was not a particular friend of these Communists. When I was in charge of the administration of this State, I dealt with them very severely and attempted to deal with them very severely. What has happened during the last four years of misrule? All the worst troubles which any human being can suffer have been suffered in this area. What did the Congress do with the Communists? On the one hand, they took some of the Communists into the rooms of the Ministers, pardoned them and immediately liberated them. On the other hand, they wanted to put down Communism. In what manner? By shooting at sight any man who is reported to be a Communist. If information is given, the policeman is there with his gun to shoot the Communist down at once. Like this, misrule of the worst kind prevailed in this part of the country. As I was travelling in the train, women and

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children came to me and complained, 'My husband was taken away on such and such a date and until now nothing is known about that man.' This is the way in which the administration has been carried on. As a result of all these activities and atrocities committed in the name of law and order, when the general elections came, the people voted for the Communist candidates. The Communists were underground and they were not capable of creating danger. I know the kind of men who commit most of the atrocities on the border of the Andhra area and other parts of the country. Those men are altogether different and they are not the Communists who have come into the Legislature. No mistake should be made because of the stories that were told in the past. In certain areas Communist friends have been working in their own way. I have not been spared by them in the elections. They defeated my candidates and they have come out successful. I have no particular charm or love or affection for them. They are the men who have been elected in a legitimate manner under the provisions of the Constitution. They have been sworn in and they have become Members of this House. To such people, without any provocation given by them to the Leader of the House, the Leader of the House said, 'You are my enemy No. 1.' He has disqualified himself to be the ruler of this State by that one statement. Then again, see how he thought it fit to promulgate an order under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and say all kinds of things against the Members of the Assembly and Members of this House, perhaps, without any enquiry and without any material before him. He promulgated that order and he wanted to terrify the people of that area in that particular manner. What are the other things which this Hon. Leader of the House may not be doing in future? I am one target for him. He said, 'You are public enemy No. 1.' I am working for the people disregarding all these restrictions and obstructions caused to the people in the name of the Ministry. You must take off my head if you are to change the Constitution. You have changed the Constitution there to cut away the rights of the people conceded by the original Constitution. You may do that thing also here and I am prepared for that. Yesterday, Sir, when a false Rajagopalachari called me on the telephone and asked me whether I was going to attend this House, even after he told me that they were going to expel me, I said that I wanted to see what expulsion was, though I had seen so many other things. Therefore, I said that I would be going to the Council. Sri Rajagopalachari himself should take pity upon all of us who are the subjects under his rule. He is not the real ruler. If I have got my own way of thinking and doing and acting in this matter, after this thing has been done, I would have adopted a different course altogether and different methods altogether. Mahatma Gandhi taught people not only to carry on the constructive programme but also to deal with wickedness when it came from the rulers. It is by the methods that he taught us, by the methods employed by us and by sacrifices made by the people that freedom was achieved. When these Congressmen themselves become the rulers, one should never expect them

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to do things in this manner. After five years of misrule, this thing comes up in this manner. To begin with, when we are face to face with this tyranny of the Congress, we have to resist. We are prepared to resist whatever may be the consequences and whatever may be the position which other parties take. They should not think that they constitute the whole country. We do not constitute the whole people. We are here only as representatives. We come here in their name and on their behalf. If we abuse our position, they are entitled to send us away from this part of our work. Yesterday, the Leader of the House was good enough to say, 'I do not want to go into the contents of the speech or to say anything of the speech itself, but the question is one of violation of propriety.' That violation consists in my standing and making a speech. He did not want to go into the allegations. About the teachers, look at the position taken up by him. The teachers, according to him, did not come here mainly for their own sake, but for the sake of all the people, and only incidentally for their sake. They said they were not getting sufficient income to make a living. The teachers may remain content that they have come here though not mainly for their own sake. They have their own problems of food and clothing for their families. They are doing public work. About the public work they do, not a word was mentioned by the Leader of the House. Teachers are representing the pupils in the country. What is the system of education that was given to the students under the British rule? After the British rule, what is the system of education that is given to the people? What is the provision that is made with regard to the enlargement of schools? These things did not enter into his mind. I am submitting, Sir, that everyone who has come here has come to serve the people and to do his work in a particular manner. Sir, in the course of the debate I do not know what other Friends are going to say. I have come here deliberately. I do not want to escape by any back door or this or that technical objection. Friends are bound to raise objections. I spoke in the beginning about the jurisdiction of the Court. I am fully prepared to take the whole responsibility. What I said to the Governor is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. I stated the truth in the interests of the country and in the interests of the people. Now this House consists of 72 Members, 60 elected and 12 nominated. This nomination business is also copied by us from Great Britain. I would say one thing to the twelve nominated Members. They are nominated by the Governor himself or they are nominated by the Governor at their request or on the recommendation of Sri C. Rajagopalachari. None of the nominated Members should be under a mistaken impression that they are the Governor's servants or Sri Rajagopalachari's servants. They are the servants of the people. Provision was made in the Constitution for nomination so as to cover representation under the different heads. Allow me to tell the nominated Members of this House, there was a period, long ago, when Dr. Nair who was a particular friend of Dr. U. Rama Rao, was nominated. Dr. Nair was a good fighter. Although there were divisions created at that time and though Dr. Nair was defeated in

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the elections, he was taken by the Government as a nominated Member. Then there was the prevailing belief that whoever was nominated by the Governor would be bound to carry on the work according to the wishes of the Government. Take the files and you can see that invariably wherever the people's interests were concerned, Dr. Nair was voting against the Government and not in favour of the Government, merely because they nominated him as a Member. The nominated Members of this House must keep that in view.

"There is another party here which calls itself the Krishikar Lok Party. A speech was made by my old friend, Sri V. Ramakrishna. Sri V. Ramakrishna was not aware of the conditions under which the Krishikar Lok Party came into existence. It is part of my belly. They came out of this belly. They quarrelled with me on some points of detail and then constituted themselves into the Krishikar Lok Party. If Sri V. Ramakrishna had known all these details and how the whole thing came about—I have got the papers with me—he would not have risen to justify the position of the Krishikar Lok Party. I would deal with it separately when it comes up.

"Then, Sir, there are certain Members who came to this House on our ticket, the K.M.P. ticket, who have changed their minds, have called themselves 'Independents' and have been voting with the Government. All these matters will have to be dealt with in detail when opportunity comes. Therefore, Sir, I do not want to keep other Members long on this matter and I shall resume my seat."

* SRI V. GURUNANDAN ROW :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I oppose this motion on more grounds than one. Well, this is a matter which, I consider, does not raise any question of privilege at all. The resolution, Sir, runs as follows :—

'Whereas on the sixth day of May 1952, when the two Houses had assembled together for the purpose of listening to the Address of His Excellency the Governor under Article 176 (1) of the Constitution, the hon. Member Sri T. Prakasam in deliberate disregard of all constitutional proprieties, rose and interrupted the proceedings by delivering a speech questioning the competence of His Excellency to address the Houses and casting reflections on his conduct as Governor of this State;

'And whereas by such indecorous and disorderly conduct, the hon. Member committed a breach of the privileges of this House and was guilty of a grave contempt; . . .

Sir, what is the privilege that has been broken? Whose privilege has been broken? Who is the person who has got a privilege? I say, Sir, both under Article 194 (3) of the Constitution and according to the procedure of the House of Commons, it is only either the House or the Members collectively as a House or individual Members that have a privilege. No person who is not a Member of the House has got any privilege. I say the Governor is not a Member of any House and, as a matter of fact, it is a disqualification. Article 158 of the Constitution says that the Governor shall not be a Member of either House of Parliament or of a

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House of the Legislature of any State. Is it the privilege of the Governor that is now alleged to have been broken? Is it contended that he had a right to speak and the hon. Member interrupted him? If at all there can be any question of privilege in this case, it will be the privilege of the Members to listen to His Excellency. Otherwise, there can be no question of privilege in this case. I say, under Article 194 (3), the privileges are not what the majority of the Members may think that they have. Privileges are given by the Constitution. They are not something which you can have by saying you have got a majority and you have got a privilege. On that ground, you cannot say that this is a breach of the privilege. Article 194 (3) specifically gives privileges in two ways. One is the existence of a law made for the purpose. Law does not mean a Resolution of this House. Law means a law passed by both the Houses to which the Governor has given his assent. Such a law will define what privileges this House has. I submit there is no law today defining the privileges of this House or of the Assembly. Another kind of privileges are those which actually exist as privileges in the House of Commons at the time of the commencement of the Constitution. I have searched all over 'May's Parliamentary Practice' and I do not yet find a single instance of Parliament having claimed any privilege of listening to the King's Speech. Therefore, if no such privilege has been claimed by the House of Commons, I do not understand where this privilege arises of either the King's right to deliver a speech or of the right of the Members to listen to the King's speech. As far as I can see, the only privilege which the Parliament in England has not only claimed but has exercised in relation to a monarch, is to behead a monarch. There is no other privilege in England in relation to a monarch that I can find in May's Parliamentary Practice. This question of privilege should not be used to soothe the wounded vanity of an oversensitive Governor or his nominated Chief Minister. This is a case where the hon. Member in question has exercised his fundamental right under Article 19 (1) of freedom of speech as well as under Article 194 (1) where it is sought to confer on a Member of either House of the Legislature entire freedom to say anything he likes in the House of which he is a Member. That is one of the privileges given to every hon. Member of this House. No doubt, Sir, I shall take you to the privileges under Article 194 (1). Of course, that privilege is not absolute. It is only subject to the Constitution and subject to the rules framed by the House in regard to the conduct of proceedings. Article 194 (1) of the Constitution says—

'Subject to the provisions of the Constitution and to the rules and standing orders regulating the procedure of the Legislature, there shall be freedom of speech in the Legislature of every State.'

So, at the time when the interruption took place, was it this House that was sitting? You cannot say for some purposes that this House is sitting as a House and for other purposes this House is not sitting and the thing has happened outside. We have to see whether it was or was not a sitting of this House. I take it that this House was sitting there. Is there any rule or

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regulation which restricts the freedom of speech of a Member under Article 194 (1) whereby you can say that the hon. Member in question has done anything wrong? What is the reason for saying that? He has exercised his privilege. It is the privilege of a Member to speak in a House when it is assembled and only if the presiding officer or somebody asks him to sit down in accordance with the rules, and the Member refuses to do so, one can say, if one prefers to do that, that the Member has interrupted. Otherwise, there can be no question of interruption when there is freedom of speech not only as a citizen but as a Member of the House in that particular House. Now, has the Governor who is not a Member of the House a privilege as a Member? Suppose the Governor and all of us are assembled and there is indecorous conduct. Can you say that it is a question of privilege?

“ Now, the question is not if I have freedom of speech. If we were not sitting as a House at the time of the Joint Session, then, Sir, I say this has happened somewhere outside and there is no rule or regulation to say that I cannot speak or interrupt anybody. This is a point which has to be taken into consideration.

“ Then, yesterday there was a lot of interruptions. Does it amount to a breach of privilege of this House? If that is the case, then every time there is an interruption, there is a breach of the privileges of this House. On a point of order anybody can rise and speak even according to the rules. I have got that right and if it was a House that was sitting there, then how can anybody say that a person cannot rise on a point of order and address the House? If it is a question of breach of privilege, neither you, Sir, nor the Mover of the Resolution then objected to this. It was not considered to be disorderly conduct. If it was, anybody could have risen to another point of order and said that there could be no speech at the time when the Governor's Address was going on. Nobody raised any objection then. This is purely an afterthought. This question of privilege is something which has been thought of afterwards and it is a deliberate action, because at that time nobody thought that one could be prevented under Article 194 (4) from having freedom of speech. I do not want to say much more on that point.

“ The next point is this. There is also a question of procedure involved here. As was said yesterday, we should not act hastily in this matter. We, as hon. Members, must show some sense of responsibility before we say that we have got this privilege or that privilege. We cannot, merely for purposes of something which we do not like, say that such and such a thing has happened and that, therefore, we must take it as a matter of privilege. This is a case where there is a certain procedure to be adopted. On the question of breach of privilege, even if you take the British Parliamentary Practice, it has to be referred to a Committee of Privileges. It has to be enquired into. It is not an ordinary matter that a Member should be charged with having committed a breach of privilege. It is the right of the person

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who is now charged to adduce any evidence he likes, and that can only be done before a Committee of Privileges. That is the ordinary procedure and it is the ordinary right of a man to adduce evidence before he is found guilty of something. But the whole resolution runs like this : Here is the charge; here is the sentence, you pass it. This is a peculiar procedure which, I can never think, will be within the Constitution. As a matter of fact, though the punishment suggested does not involve imprisonment, there is nothing to prevent this House from saying, ‘ This is a thing which is punishable with imprisonment.’ If that is so, we are not giving the hon. Member the right of adducing evidence to prove that what he has said is not wrong or that the facts stated in the resolution are not correct. We have not been given a copy of the speech. We have not been told what actually happened. All that is said is, the proceedings were interrupted. We are not told what the observations made were and what the reflections cast upon the conduct of the Governor were. Sir, we have no record to show how this is a breach of privilege. The Hon. Chief Minister too has not made the point clear. If there was an interruption in this House, what is the position? If a particular Member interrupts, you as Chairman, have got the right to ask him to sit down. If he refuses to sit down, you can ask him to withdraw. This is the first time I hear that if a Member interrupts another Member or even a non-Member, it should be considered as a grave act of breach of privilege.

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“ Now, I shall come to the merits of the case. We have to consider whether the Members of this House as well as the other House who had assembled to listen to the Governor's speech were prevented from doing so. It is very clear that nobody was prevented from hearing the Governor's speech. As a matter of fact, the Governor did proceed with his speech and there were debates also on his speech. If the Members had been prevented from hearing the Governor's Address, then there is some point and I can understand the application of Article 176 (1) of the Constitution which deals with the Governor's right to address both the Houses of Legislature. He has addressed both the Houses. To say now that there was disorderly conduct is to murder the word ‘ disorder’. What is orderliness and what is disorderliness? Nobody raised any objection then. If anybody, or for the matter of that, even if the Mover of this resolution had stood up and told Mr. Prakasam that he had no right to interrupt the Governor and therefore he must sit down, and in spite of this if Mr. Prakasam had continued with his point of order, then it may be considered as disorderly. Mr. Prakasam's conduct the other day was most orderly. He said what he had to say and quietly walked out. There was no question of any disorderly conduct.

“ There is one phrase in this resolution which says, . . . ‘ in deliberate disregard of all constitutional proprieties’ . . . What is the constitutional propriety which says that a Member should not speak at a joint session? There is no provision at all, either rule or law to support this statement. Surely, constitutional

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propriety cannot mean one thing for one person and another thing for another person. What is the meaning of the word 'propriety'? Who is to define it? It is not a question of the majority of the Members thinking that a particular act was constitutionally proper or improper. It is a question of law. The Constitution gives us the right to speak.

"Why has this resolution been brought before this House? Is it because that the breach of privilege has taken place only in this House? Is it not a breach of privilege of the other House as well? If it is really a breach of privilege of both the Houses, why then has this resolution been brought forward before this House alone? It is because, in the other House the Government do not have as comfortable a majority as they have in this House, which contains many nominated Members who have openly expressed their gratitude for their nomination to His Excellency the Governor. We must be careful in this matter. I for one cannot be a party to a motion which really claims something which is not a privilege issue at all. Nowhere is it stated that we must listen to the Governor's speech. What about the Members' right of not listening to the Governor's Address? If some of us say that we have a right not to listen, will it become a privilege issue? It is not a question as to what the majority of the Members think about this matter. The question is whether in fact there existed a privilege in the House of Commons or the House of Lords to listen to His Majesty the King's Address. I oppose this motion."

* SRI T. G. KRISHNAMURTHI :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, it has been pointed out by the Members of the Opposition that the procedure adopted by the Hon. Leader of the House in bringing forward this resolution is unprecedented in the history of the democratic Parliaments of the World. I wish to ask them this simple question. Has the action of Mr. Prakasam the other day in interrupting the speech of His Excellency the Governor got any precedent anywhere in the history of the democratic Parliaments of the World? No. If the Opposition Members want to set up healthy conventions, they must do so. What is sauce for the goose must be sauce for the gander. What is right for them must be right for us also. They unfortunately forget that a desperate disease requires a desperate remedy. Mr. Chairman, the point raised by the other side is very strange. Lawyers argue things in a peculiar way. The argument of the other side seems to be this. 'Why should the Chief Minister bring forward this motion before this House now? At the joint session of both the Houses of Legislature the Chief Minister was present. The Chairman of the Council and the Speaker of the Assembly were also present. When Mr. Prakasam interrupted the speech of His Excellency the Governor and himself made a speech, neither the Chairman, nor the Speaker, nor anybody prevented Mr. Prakasam from doing so. Why should the Chief Minister bring forward this motion now?' They seem to maintain that all actions that are not prevented are legal. It is a strange argument indeed to come from a lawyer of Mr. Prakasam's standing.

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"Sir, I was happy to note one most welcome and redeeming feature in Mr. Prakasam's speech this morning. In the midst of the hymn of hate he has been singing outside as well as on the floor of this House, he at least acknowledged Mahatma Gandhi to be a great man. I was immensely pleased at that. At the same time, Mr. Prakasam feels sorry that the K.L.P. Members who came out of his belly have turned against him. I would like to ask, 'Wherefrom did Mr. Prakasam come?' He jumped out of the belly of that great organization, namely, the Indian National Congress, and he has turned against that organization now. We know adversity finds strange bed-fellows. I may say that no one in adversity has ever found stranger bed-fellows than Mr. Prakasam in the Communists. In this connexion, I would very much like to refer to the policy adopted by Mr. Prakasam when he was in office, with respect to the Communists. Due to the policy adopted by him at the time of the railway strike in Tiruchirappalli, we had to lose a few seats in that place to the Communists. At that time, I and Mr. Kosalam went to Mr. Prakasam and told him, 'Look here, Mr. Chief Minister. The railway workers say that their grievances are very simple and they can be easily redressed. So, please consider their case sympathetically and try to redress their grievances in a peaceful manner.' Do you know what reply Mr. Prakasam gave us? He said, 'You people do not know anything. Drastic action must be taken against them. Then only things will be all right.' That was his reply. He did take drastic action against those poor workers with the result that we lost a few seats in the recent elections to the Communists. When today I find that the same Mr. Prakasam who took very drastic action against the Communists at that time, has entered into an alliance with the Communists, I am reminded of a story that I was told when I was reading in the elementary school. A frog and a rat once met together and decided to be chums. They wanted to be very close to each other. With this idea in view, they tied their legs together and were roaming about in this manner for some time. One day when they were going like this, the frog came across a tank which was full of water and it suddenly jumped into that tank. The poor rat could not disentangle itself from the frog and so was drowned in the tank and died in the end. I do not know when Mr. Prakasam's allies, the Communists will jump into the ocean of unlawful activities along with Mr. Prakasam and when we must go to his rescue and save him from sharing the same fate as the rat, by relieving him of his association with the Communists. (Laughter.)

"Mr. Chairman, much has been said against this resolution. Hon. Member Mr. Gurunandan Row seems to maintain, 'Oh! the rules provide for interruptions. We can interrupt any speech at any time. We can very well interrupt the Governor also while he is addressing us. After all, who is the Governor? What is his *locus standi*?' In that strain, he goes on arguing. In support of his argument, he quotes British Parliamentary precedents. He forgets at the same time to note that Britain has no written Constitution as we have. The British tradition itself is built up on

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healthy conventions set up by the members belonging to the Government side and also the members of the Opposition. Nobody there has ever taken it into his head and walked out of the Parliament when His Majesty the King was addressing. Here, we find that Mr. Prakasam walked out of the House. This is a strange procedure and this is the first time when we hear of such a procedure being adopted anywhere. It is argued that every member has privilege and freedom to raise a point of order at any time he pleases. When I hear such an argument, I am reminded of a story. Once an American went to England. One evening, he was walking along the streets of London waving his stick backwards and forwards. His stick hit the nose of a man who was coming behind. That man preferred a complaint against this American before a Magistrate. The Magistrate called the American and asked him why he was waving his stick like that and hit the nose of the complainant. The American replied, 'Your Honour, I was told that yours is a free country and so I thought I had freedom to wave my stick as I pleased.' The Magistrate replied, 'My dear Sir, you are no doubt in a free country and you have freedom. But the freedom of your stick ends where the nose of the other man begins.' (Laughter.) I would like to remind the Members of the Opposition that their freedom ends where our privileges begin. Our privilege here is to establish healthy conventions. The Members of the Legislature must be allowed to hear the speech of His Excellency the Governor without any interruption. That is the privilege of the Members and nobody should be allowed to interfere with this privilege. I am amused at the argument that everybody has a right to interrupt His Excellency's speech.

"Mr. Chairman, we have heard another strange argument. It is said that even granting that it was wrong for Mr. Prakasam to have interrupted the Governor, he is a senior member of the House and therefore he deserves consideration. I grant it. Mr. Prakasam is a veteran statesman and there was a time when I too looked upon him as my Guru. We all know Mahabharatha. Bhishma was on the side of the Kauravas and Arjuna had to kill him. He was held in reverence both by the Kauravas and the Pandavas. But, as he was espousing a wrong cause, he had to be eliminated to establish law and order and *dharma*. So, nothing is unfair in love and war.

"One thing I wish to make clear. Everyone should understand that this resolution moved by our esteemed leader, Rajaji, is not an act of vendetta and it is not an attempt to be vindictive against anybody. It is an attempt to establish healthy conventions in the House that will be followed as precedents by future generations. From the speeches of the hon. Members of the Opposition I am inclined to think that they too are very much interested in establishing very healthy conventions in our House. With these words, I most heartily support the resolution moved by the Hon. Chief Minister."

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Mr. CHAIRMAN :—"As there are a fairly large number of speakers, I fix 15 minutes for each member."

* SRI A. SUBRAMANYAM :—"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, சென்ற 12-30 மேய் 6-ல் ஒரு சபைகளும் கூடினபோதும் அங்கு கவர்னர் விஜயம் செய்த போதும் ஸ்ரீ பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் நடத்திய நடவடிக்கைகளைக் குறித்து கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்கள் கண்டிக்கும் தோரணையில் கொண்டு வந்த பிரேரணையை நான் ஆதரிக்கும் தோரணையில் சில வார்த்தைகளைக் கூற விரும்புகிறேன்.

"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, பேசுவதற்கு எல்லோருக்கும் உரிமை உண்டு. அரசியல் சட்டம் 194-வது பிரிவின் பிரகாரம் எல்லோருக்கும் பேசுவதற்கு உரிமை உண்டு. இப்பொழுது பள்ளிக்கூடத்தில் உபாத்தியாயர் ஒரு மகனுக்கு கணக்கு சொல்லி கொடுக்கிறார் என்று வைத்துக் கொள்வோம். அதாவது கூட்டல் கணக்கு. 4-ம் 4-ம் எட்டு, அதாவது இந்த கூட்டலுக்கு விடை 8. 4-ம் 4-ம் என்றால் அது கூட்டல் தான். அந்த விடையைக் கொடுத்தால் சரி. ஆனால் 4-ம் 4-ம் 7 என்ற விடையைக் கொடுத்தால் அது தவறுதலானது. கூட்டல் படி இரண்டும் சரிதான். அதுபோன்று 194-வது பிரிவுபடி எல்லோருக்கும் பேச்சு உரிமை உண்டு என்பது நியாயமானது தான். ஆனால் இப்பொழுது அந்த உரிமையில் தவறு ஏற்பட்டு விட்டது. பேசின பேச்சிலும் தவறு இருக்கிறது. நடந்த நடவடிக்கையிலும் தவறு இருக்கிறது. அவைகள் ஆட்சேபிக்கக் கூடியதாக இருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது சபையில் பேசியதிலும் குறிப்பாக சில தவறுகள் இருக்கின்றன. நல்ல வார்த்தைகளைப் பேசுவதிலும் உரிமை இருக்கிறது. கெட்ட வார்த்தைகளைப் பேசுவதிலும் உரிமை இருக்கிறது. ஆனால் பேசும் தோரணையில் இருக்கிறது தவறுதல்கள். ஒருவனை பசுவென்று சொன்னால் சரியாகப் போய் விடுகிறது. ஆனால் எருமை என்று சொன்னால் அவனுடைய மனது வேதனைப்படுகிறது. அதனால் ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறான். அது போன்று ஸ்ரீமான் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் சட்ட சபையில் சொன்ன பேச்சு உரிமையும், நடந்து கொண்ட நடவடிக்கையும் முன் சொன்னதைப் போல் அதற்கு ஒத்திருக்கிறது. அவர் பேசிய பேச்சு சரி தான். ஆனால் நடந்துகொண்ட நடவடிக்கைகள் சரியல்ல. ஆகையால் தான் அவரைக் கண்டிக்க வேண்டியது நியாயமாக இருக்கிறது என்பதை நான் இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ள ஆசைப்படுகிறேன்.

"மற்றொன்று ஒரு முக்கியமான விஷயம். கனம் அங்கத்தினர் ஸ்ரீ எஸ். பி. ஆதித்தன் அவர்கள் பேசும் போது 10 ஏக்கர் நிலம் பெற்றுக் கொண்ட தியாகிகளைப்பற்றி பேசினார். அவர்களுக்கு லஞ்சம் கொடுக்கப்பட்டது என்றும் அவ்விதம் பத்தாயிரம் தியாகிகளுக்கு லஞ்சம் வழங்கப்பட்டது என்றும் ஒரு அபாண்டமான ஒரு புளுகை இந்த சபையில் சொன்னார். அவ்வித புளுகையும் இந்த சென்னை மாகாண அரசாங்கத்தினிடம் புகுத்தி இருக்கிறார். அவர் இம்மாதிரி பேசுவார் என்று நான் எதிர் பார்க்கவில்லை. எப்பொழுதும் எதிர் பார்த்ததும் கிடையாது. அரசாங்க ராணுவத்தில் வேலை பார்க்கும் சிப்பாய்களை தேச பாதுகாப்புக்காக வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அவ்விதம் ஒவ்வொரு தேசத்திலும் வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஆனால் சன்டை முடிந்தவுடன் எப்பொழுதும் போல் சேவை செய்கிறவர்களுக்கு மாத ஊதியம் கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. சர்வீஸ் முடிவடைந்த பிறகு இன்னும் பென்ஷன் கூட கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. மற்றும் அவர்களுடைய பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் மற்ற வசதிகளையும் செய்து கொடுக்கப்படுகின்றன. இன்னும் எதிர்காலத்திற்கு வேண்டுமென்று அவர்களுக்கு புறம்போக்கு நிலங்களும் அளிக்கப்படுகின்றன. ஆனால் இந்திய நாட்டின் சுதந்தரத்திற்காக பாடுபட்ட தியாகிகளுக்கும், படிதாண்டா நாரீமணிகளுக்கும், பால் மணம் மாறாத பாலர்களுக்கும், வயதான விருத்தாப்பியர்களுக்கும் அவர்கள் சிறை சென்றதாகவும் தடியடி பட்டதற்காகவும் யாதொரு பிரதி பிரயோசனத்தையும் எதிர் பார்க்காமல் இருந்ததற்காகவும் அவர்களுக்கு நிலம் கொடுப்பது என்றால் அது லஞ்சம் கொடுப்பது ஆகுமா? தேச விடுதலைக்காக எவ்வளவோ பேர்கள் தூக்கு மேடைக்கு சென்றிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு

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நிலங்கள் கொடுங்கள் என்று காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களும் கேட்கவில்லை, பெரிப தலைவர்களும் கூறவில்லை, தியாகிகளும் கேட்கவில்லை, அவர்களும் யாதொருபிரதி பிரயோசனமும் எதிர்பார்க்கவில்லை. அவர்கள் தேசத்திற்கு உழைத்தார்கள் என்று அவர்களுக்கு கொடுக்கப்பட்டது. அவர்களால் தான் சுதந்திரம் கிடைத்தது. அவர்களுடைய சேவையின் பேரால் நாம் சுதந்திரம் கிடைத்தோம். அதுவும் நான்கு ஆண்டுகளுக்கு மேலாகிறது, அவர்களுடைய தியாகத்தின் அஸ்திவாரத்தின் பேரில் கட்டப்பட்ட ஆட்சியில் இந்த சட்டசபை அமையப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இந்த நிலைமையில் யாதொரு பிரதி பிரயோசனத்தையும் எதிர்பார்க்காத தியாகிகளுக்கு சொற்ப ஏக்கர் நிலங்கள் வழங்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இது நில லஞ்சம் கொடுக்கப்பட்டது என்று கருதுவதா? கனம் ஆதித்தன் அவர்கள் கூறியதைக் கண்டிக்க வேண்டும். அதை நான் வெறுக்கவேண்டியதாக இருக்கிறது என்பதை தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்.

“கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்கள், இப்பொழுது தியாகிகளுக்கு நிலம் கொடுப்பதை நிறுத்தி விட்டோம், என்று கூறினார்கள். அவர் சொன்னதை சிலர் புரிந்து கொள்ளவில்லை. தியாகிகளுக்கும் நிலம் வழங்குவதில் சில காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களும் அரசாங்க சிப்பந்திகளும் சில தவறுகள் செய்திருப்பதால் அதை நிறுத்தும்படி அவர் சொல்லுகிறார். நிலம் கொடுப்பதில் சில தவறுகள் நடக்கின்றன. அதாவது ஏராளமான நிலம் வைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறவர்களுக்கு அதிகமாக தியாகி நிலம் வழங்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதுவும் ஏழைகளிடத்திலிருந்தும் ஹரிஜனங்களிடத்திலிருந்தும் நிலங்களை வாங்கி கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. தியாகம் செய்யாதவர்களுக்கும் நிலம் வழங்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அப்படிப் பெற்றுக் கொண்டவர்கள் திருப்பிக் கொடுத்து விடுவது நல்லது என்று கனம் ராஜாஜி கூறியிருக்கிறார்.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“இந்த விஷயம் இதற்கு முன்னால் நடந்த பேச்சு. இந்த motionன் பேரில் அந்த பேச்சு கிடையாது. அதற்கு இவ்வளவு தூரம் பேச வேண்டியதும் அவசியம் இல்லை.”

***SRI A. SUBRAMANYAM.**—“பேச்சு உரிமை என்ற முறையில் சிலர் தவறுகள் செய்கிறார்கள் என்பதைச் சொல்லிக் கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன். அந்த சமயம் எதைப் பேசினாலும் சரியாகும் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். கனம் பிரதமர் அவர்கள் அன்று நடந்து கொண்ட நடவடிக்கையை நான் பலமாக எதிர்க்கிறேன். அது முற்றிலும் ஜனநாயகத்திற்கு விரோதமானது. ஆகவே கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்த இந்த தீர்மானத்தை நான் முழுமனதுடன் ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.”

SRI V. CHAKKARAI CHETTY:—“Mr. Chairman, Sir, my hon. Friend, Mr. V. Gurunadhan Rao, has practically smashed the illegal and unconstitutional position taken up by the Hon. the Leader of the House. It is an unfortunate thing that we are called upon to decide legal and constitutional issues here. If I could have my own way, I would certainly advise my hon. Friend, Mr. Prakasam, with due deference to you, Sir, to take up this matter before the High Court of Judicature and get a ruling as to whether this House is competent to go into this question or not. But I will not go into all the legal arguments that have been put forward to which no adequate answer has yet been given and I know no adequate reply is possible. Let me put forward my views as concisely as I can. In the first place, as has been pointed out already, this resolution is absolutely meaningless. It is a mere piece of verbiage ‘privileges,’ ‘constitutional propriety’ and what not. What are these privileges? What is the constitutional propriety? Are we looking into any book of law? Are they well-known to Members of this House? Have they been embodied in

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the rules and regulations governing the conduct of the Members of this House? Or are we going to give up our conscience and act in such a way as to suit the political exigencies existing now and the political warfare that is being carried on? It has been said by the Leader of the House that he is free from all prejudices, hatred and contempt. I wish I could say so emphatically. But unfortunately, human nature being what it is, I do not believe, either on the one side or the other, people are free from these. But I can say this much. At least the people—common people—are free from political partisanship and passion.

“Now, Sir, what is the position of the Governor, to whom discourtesy is supposed to have been shown? The Governor, according to the Constitution, is appointed by the President of the Indian Republic. We all know that the President of the Indian Union was recently elected. He is not a President by divine right as the Kings of England were supposed to be from the early times to the time of the ill-fated Charles I and his successor later on, James II, who was driven away from England. The Governor holds his appointment during the pleasure of the President. The President himself is not an irremovable fixture. He can be removed from office by following the procedure laid down in Article 61 of the Constitution. Therefore, the Governor is not like the Governor of the olden days, surrounded by a halo of sanctity and holding his office because he is appointed by some kind of document emanating from the King. Now, according to the Constitution, the Governor has no privileges. One of the Articles in the Constitution says that he will be entitled to certain salary and emoluments, free house, etc., and will enjoy privileges that are defined by law. Therefore, it cannot be said that we broke or my Friend, Mr. Prakasam, broke any of the privileges enjoyed by the Governor. Well, then, Sir, what is the position? The Governor came there to make a speech. As has been very well pointed out by certain hon. Members, nobody is obliged to listen to his speech. It is said in the Article relating to the Address—we can understand it if we read it properly—that the Governor shall address the session. It is an obligation cast upon him. But there is no obligation cast upon Members to listen to the Governor. The Members may sit there and plug their ears with cotton wool. We are not obliged to listen to the Governor. It is an obligation cast upon the Governor to make the speech and there is no obligation on my part to listen to his speech. He shall inform the Houses about the policy to be pursued by his Government but whether I am prepared to listen to it or accept it is a different matter. Therefore, it seems to me wrong to bring in such a motion. My Friends here spoke about establishing conventions. Sir, we cannot establish a convention by means of an invention of this nature. The Leader of the House wants, to set up a convention by the contrivance, or device or invention of this motion. It is not possible to establish a convention on these lines. Conventions must grow from the necessities of the case. There must be law to condemn a Member. A mere majority in this

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House cannot take upon itself the duty of setting up a convention merely for the purpose of saying that a certain Member violated the privileges of the House.

"Then, Sir, the Leader of the House referred to the 'walk-out'. Walk-out has become the commonest thing in India to-day. People have walked out in various Assemblies. The Congress and the Congress members in the old days—in the days of the Home Rule movement led by Lokamanya Tilak—staged walk-outs. Lokamanya Tilak was present, Sir, at a meeting convened by the Governor. A large number of people including the Princes of India were present there. Mr. Tilak with his characteristic courage—a courage that our friend Mr. Prakasam has probably inherited from him from those days, got up, protested and walked out. People thought in those days that there was nothing wrong in protesting against the advice of the Governor to mobilise the resources of India for carrying on the first World War.

12-45
p.m. "Sir, I wish to say one thing more. Suppose we pass this resolution. You must remember this thing. It may be satisfactory to you. It may satisfy the helpless anger of the Leader of the House and other members here because Mr. Prakasam has been leading a campaign for the downfall of this Ministry. But if we are trying to establish a convention, let me say this. I am not pleading for Mr. Prakasam because he is an old man. He can defend himself for what he has done. He is called the Lion of Andhra by his own people and by a majority of the people of the country at large. He deserves that title. He has the backing of the people of the Andhra country and a considerable section of the people of Tamilnad too. We may pass this resolution. But it will be a farce of a resolution passed by this House. Whereas my friend will go back to the Andhra Desa and he will be received by thousands and thousands of people and what he did on that memorable day of the 6th of May 1952 will be approved and our resolution will become an object of ridicule. I do not want that this Honourable House should expose itself to the reproach and ridicule of the vast masses of our countrymen and therefore my friend Mr. Adityan has brought forward his amendment. We do not know the procedure; we do not know whose privileges have been broken and how we are to proceed and we cannot establish a convention without going into all the circumstances attending that event. Unless a Committee is appointed and it goes into all these matters and brings forward rules and regulations which may guide the future conduct of the Members of the House, I do not believe that we will be well advised in passing this resolution. By passing this resolution, I do not think we will be making anybody feel that Mr. Prakasam has done anything wrong; on the other hand the people of the Andhra country and a considerable section of the people of Tamilnad with whom I am connected, i.e., those who have been following us and have elected many of us to the Assembly and the Council, will certainly not approve of this resolution or any censure that we may pass upon Mr. Prakasam, the leader of the United Democratic Front. Sir, I thank you for

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giving me this opportunity to speak and hope that the Hon. the Leader of the House and the other Members will bear in mind what I said last."

* JANAB MAHOMED USMAN :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am glad that this resolution has been brought before the House by the Hon. the Chief Minister. The issue is very simple. Nobody can deny that on the 6th of May 1952, my hon. Friend Mr. Prakasam did an undignified thing when His Excellency the Governor came to the Joint Session of the Legislature to perform a constitutional duty. It was his privilege to address and it was the privilege of Mr. Prakasam that he should hear. Instead of that, he made an interruption. He insulted not only His Excellency the Governor, but he insulted the Hon. the Chief Minister also. In our Assembly consisting of gentlemen we should have gentlemanly manners. We in our House address the Chief Minister as, 'the Hon. the Chief Minister', or as 'my Hon. Friend the Chief Minister.' No one can address him as 'this man' as my friend Mr. Prakasam has done. It is no doubt an insult to the House. It is an insult to people who have got any sense of decorum. Then, after having performed this undignified act, Mr. Prakasam and his followers left the Hall raising slogans. I ask whether this is an undignified act or not. In order that such things may be prevented in future, I am glad that the Hon. the Chief Minister has taken this correct step for preserving the dignity of both the Houses.

"Sir, I am glad that my friend Mr. Adityan in giving notice of his amendment has practically admitted that a deliberate act in disregard of all constitutional proprieties has been done by Mr. Prakasam, because he has not touched the first paragraph of the resolution. His amendment relates to paragraphs 2 and 3 only. Paragraph 1 of the resolution reads—

"... the hon. Member Sri T. Prakasam in deliberate disregard of all constitutional proprieties, rose and interrupted the proceedings by delivering a speech questioning the competence of His Excellency to address the Houses ..."

So, Sir, according to Mr. Adityan, Mr. Prakasam is guilty of having acted in deliberate disregard of all constitutional proprieties. If that is admitted, then the matter is very simple. We can logically come to the conclusion as stated in the second paragraph, '... that there was an indecorous and disorderly conduct'. One cannot help coming to the conclusion that, having deliberately disregarded the constitutional proprieties, my friend Mr. Prakasam has committed an act of indecorum and disorderly conduct. We can therefore take action as suggested in the Resolution without reference to any committee. I think a strong case has been made out and we should pass the resolution that has been given notice of by the Hon. the Chief Minister."

* SRI P. N. MARTHANDAM PILLAI :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, on the 6th of May 1952, the hon. Member Mr. Prakasam acted in a manner which is against all rules of etiquette and gentlemanliness. I know he is a gentleman worthy of respect and

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reverence from most of us. He has sacrificed a lot for the cause for which he stood, but that does not empower him to go in wherever he wants and shout whatever he wants. Sir, we were assembled there to hear His Excellency. Instead of doing that, he made a speech and walked out. He disturbed the meeting; he disturbed the peace of the House and disturbed everyone's calmness. I thought Mr. Prakasam would now get up and say, 'I am sorry for what I have done and it will not be repeated again'. Then, the matter would have ended to the satisfaction of all. Instead of that, to justify his conduct and to say, 'We have the privilege of speaking whatever we want and wherever we want' is not a proper defence. Sir, if everyone speaks out his grievances when the Governor comes to address, what will be the position of the Governor? What will be the position of the House and of the country? It is clear that rules ought to be followed, however great the Opposition Leader may be and it was improper on his part to have done what he did on that occasion.

"Sir, I have one more word to say. He advised the Members who are nominated to act in a particular manner. I am very sorry that Members of this House talk of the nominated Members in a light-hearted manner as though they have come by the back door. I want to tell you and the Members, Sir, that the Constitution provides for a mass election and a group election and a number of people, 15 or 12, electing one, and election or selection by the Governor. And I do not see any objection in the Government nominating a gentleman for the purpose. It is true, Sir, that Members have been elected in the general elections at the rate of one for every 75,000 people. Is there any superiority in the gentleman who represents these 75,000 people over the gentleman or the lady who is nominated by His Excellency the Governor or the Hon. the Chief Minister or the whole Cabinet? Is the Cabinet inferior to the masses? Is the Chief Minister inferior? Or is the Governor inferior? Sir, it is a wrong conception of the matter and I wish our hon. Friends do not indulge in such cheap criticisms. Regarding the duty of the nominated Members, I may say, Sir, we have our conscience and it is not for any one Member to dictate to another Member what he must do. Whichever way our conscience dictates, we will follow. Mr. Prakasam may be the Chief Minister tomorrow and another Member the next day. But, to express our gratitude in this House or elsewhere is nothing wrong. Sir, on behalf of all the hon. Members who have been nominated, I express our gratitude at this very moment again, here and now, to the Government and the Hon. the Chief Minister for nominating us, and as to how we would act, Members may please wait and see."

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, with very great respect to the Leader of the House, the Hon. the Chief Minister, I am constrained to remark that this resolution is not an ordinary resolution and is not heard of till now in any legislature. It has been conceived in hatred, and it has been nursed in hatred; and it has been pursued in a spirit of vindictiveness. The other

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day we had the noble example of no less a person than the great Prime Minister of India saying how the party in power must treat the Opposition. That great soul said, 'We must not hate the Opposition and treat the Opposition like enemies. We must convert the Opposition to our side and for converting the Opposition, we must convert ourselves.' Mr. Chairman, look at that picture and look at this picture. Sir, the Hon. the Leader of the House has got another method of treating the Opposition. In another place he said, that he treated a particular party in the Opposition as his enemy No. 1. May I ask, Mr. Chairman, with great respect to the Hon. the Leader of the House: Is it not a declaration of war on the millions of people who rightly or wrongly voted for this particular party? I can understand the Leader of the House trying to persuade the people by telling them, 'You made a mistake. Those people whom you have voted for do not deserve your confidence. So, reject those people.' Instead of that, he declares war on that particular party. It is a war not only on the party, but on the millions of people as well who have rightly or wrongly voted for that party. Now, Sir, in this House another war is declared against a veteran of our country. I thought good sense would prevail. The Leader of the House knows what is good and what is not good for this country. My humble opinion is that this is not the way of treating the Opposition. Here is a person who is revered and respected by millions of people of this country for his past sacrifices and for his noble stand on behalf of the people, and he and the Leader of the House have been colleagues and brothers in arms. The motion before the House is called a privilege motion. But, with great respect to the Leader of the House, I beg to say that he is out to crush the Opposition.

"Of course, Sir, he had been telling my hon. Friend Mr. ¹ p.m. Rajeswara Rao the other day that in a Communist country, no opposition would be allowed. I know it. I do not like to be ruled by a Communist Party. I do not like to be in a Communist country because in a democracy we can function as an opposition party. I think the great Rajaji would welcome opposition even though his administration may be ideal and good. He must certainly welcome opposition so that the opposition may serve as a corrective and the Hon. Chief Minister may have an opportunity of knowing what the other people have to say about his administration. So, rightly he said that in a Communist country no opposition would be allowed. But the Hon. Chief Minister is following the same methods followed by the Communist Party to crush the Opposition by treating the Opposition Party as Public Enemy Number One and discrediting the Leader of the Opposition Party. Perhaps in a subtle way or in his own usual clever way he wants to crush the Opposition. What is the difference between the methods adopted by the Communist leaders of totalitarian countries and the methods adopted by the Hon. Chief Minister in dealing with the Opposition. With all respect, I request him to reconsider the position he has taken up with regard to the whole matter.

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" Now, coming to the merits of the motion, what happened on the 6th May, the Hon. the Chief Minister was pleased to state before the House. He said that he did not take objection to the walk-out. On another occasion he said that staging demonstrations was one of the constitutional and legitimate methods in vogue in political life. He also said that he did not take objection to the speech made by Sri Prakasam. The whole charge against Sri Prakasam, according to him, was that he stood up before His Excellency the Governor and interrupted his speech. Sir, my hon. Friend Sri Prakasam and those who follow him wanted to stage a walk-out by way of protest against some action of His Excellency and make him understand and realize that there was another side to the picture, and that in nominating Mr. Rajagopalachari on the eve of his election as the Congress Party leader, he had acted unconstitutionally. What we have done may be wrong but it is a matter purely for the constitutional pundits to decide. We have made our position clear by staging that walk-out. Before staging the walk-out, Sri Prakasam had to say something to His Excellency the Governor, for otherwise will he not be accused of showing discourtesy to the Governor? I ask, is it courteous on the part of anyone to stage a walk-out without making a speech? So Sri Prakasam had to make a speech explaining the position of our party in relation to the Governor's action in calling the Congress Party to form the Government, and giving the reasons for not listening to his speech. Is there anything wrong? It is the most constitutional and courteous thing to be done by any person. Who is the person to decide whether it was courteous or discourteous? You were there and the Hon. Speaker was also there. According to the rules, both the Chairman and the Speaker have no right to control the deliberations of both the Houses when they meet together in a joint session. His Excellency the Governor is the only person to decide the issue. What did he do? The whole thing I have pictured in my mind. When His Excellency entered the House we all stood up. When he sat down we also sat down. Immediately Sri Prakasam stood up. Without noticing that Sri Prakasam stood up, His Excellency the Governor began to speak. Then Mr. Prakasam said, 'On a point of order, Your Excellency'. Immediately the Governor sat down and allowed Sri Prakasam to proceed with his speech. Here is the verdict given by His Excellency the Governor. He was the only person entitled to control that House at that time. He had accepted the position taken up by Sri Prakasam at that time. There is nothing discourteous in this action of Sri Prakasam nor is there any disregard of constitutional propriety or decorum. His speech was listened to without any murmur or any syllable of protest. Are we sitting in judgment over His Excellency's action as if we are an Appellate Court? His Excellency accepted the position taken up by Sri Prakasam with good grace. Why do you want to raise that issue again here. With all respect to the Hon. Leader of the House, I request him to consider whether this is the method of dealing with the Opposition. With these few words, I oppose the motion moved by the Hon. Leader of the House."

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* SRI V. BASHYAM AYYANGAR :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, I wish the House has a clear understanding of what it has to do at present. The House is called upon to give its opinion on the motion moved by the Hon. Leader of the House. The question is really very simple. On the 6th of May both the Houses of the Legislature had been summoned and invited by the Governor to hear his speech. The right of the Governor or—one may say—the duty of the Governor to address the Legislature is laid down in Article 176 of the Constitution. It says—

'At the commencement of every session, the Governor shall address the Legislative Assembly or in the case of a State having a Legislative Council, both Houses assembled together and inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons.'

So, the members of both Houses of the Legislature were meeting on that day to hear the Governor. It was not a meeting of the Council. It was not a meeting of the Assembly. It was a meeting of the Members of both the Houses. Therefore, it was a special meeting. Ordinary rules of procedure which apply in the case of meetings of the Council or the Assembly do not apply to that meeting. Therefore, my submission is that no member is entitled to raise any point of order on that occasion. Now, the interruption which the hon. Member Sri Prakasam made on that day, is sought to be justified on the ground that it was raised on a point of order. What I beg to submit to the House is that no point of order is allowed at such a gathering because there is no single authority who can give a ruling on a point of order. So the excuse or the pretence that has been put forward that the hon. Member rose on a point of order is completely untenable and the hon. Member was not entitled to speak on a point of order by interrupting the Governor's speech. All the members of both Houses of the Legislature had the right and privilege to be there, to hear His Excellency's speech and then disperse. That is the purpose of that meeting. If there was any point on which the Members wanted to have their say, rules provide as to how that right has to be exercised. Article 176 (2) of the Constitution itself says—

'Provision shall be made by the rules regulating the procedure of the House or either House for the allotment of time for discussion of the matters referred or in such address. . . .'

The rules of procedure framed for this House under Article 208 (2) provide for the exercise of that right as regards the Governor's Address. Rules 4, 5 and 6 of the Council Rules also do not provide for any point of order being raised on that day. Therefore, the House is entitled to say that an affront and an act of disorder had taken place which this House has to take notice of. The point as to where this question should be raised has already been answered. It could not have been raised in the joint sitting because it was a temporary meeting. It could be raised only in this House because the concerned Member is a Member of this House. Therefore, we are perfectly at liberty to express our opinion as to the propriety of the action taken by the hon. Member.

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"Only one point more I would mention, and that is as regards the observation that has been made about the nominated Members. The hon. Members are aware that there are Members in this House who tried for a seat in the Assembly but failed and even lost their deposits but still they were put up for this House. It must be said to the credit of the Congress that they did not put up any such members to this House. It is not for members who were defeated in the elections to the Assembly to dictate to the members who have been nominated to this House. As a matter of fact some of them who have been nominated to the Council wished to be excused from undertaking that duty but the Government wanted them. It was thought that their knowledge and prestige would be of service to the people if they were members of this House. They have accepted the nomination as a matter of public duty and not for any selfish end. It is not as if they are anxious to come and spend their time here. Therefore, it is not open to any member to make cheap jibes at or offer gratuitous advice to the nominated members. As regards their duty and right to vote on a particular occasion, they themselves know it. My hon. Friend Mr. Marthandam Pillai has already replied on that point. They have their own conscience and they will act according to it on any subject. They are not bound to vote with this party or that party. They will vote for the side with which they agree on the point in issue. There need be absolutely no doubt about it. I hope nothing more will be heard in this House about the position of the nominated Members or their right to take part in the deliberations of this House. With these words, Sir, I support the motion."

1-15 p.m. * SRI B. V. SUBRAHMANYAM :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise as a Member representing the Socialist Party on the floor of this House to oppose the motion so briefly and therefore so ably moved by the Hon. the Leader of the House, regarding the alleged breach of privilege that occurred at the joint assemblage of the two Houses of the Legislature on the 6th of May. I may state at once that the party to which I have the honour to belong did not on that occasion think it fit, and does not even on this occasion think it proper, that anybody should have walked out of that joint assemblage to mark his protest in the manner in which the protest was made. But, this does not mean that I am, or the party to which I have the honour to belong is, with the Leader of the House and with the party that he leads in the matter of the motion before this House. It was a great Frenchman who said to one of his deadliest enemies, 'I thoroughly disagree with your opinions, but I shall give my life to save your right to express them.' It is in that spirit that I rise before this House to place before it certain aspects of what might be called the perpetuated hatred which during the last few months or weeks is trying to make of this House an arena for itself. It seems to me, Sir, that the House is proceeding on absolutely wrong lines, whoever might have started it so, in considering only the rights or privileges of the Governor on the one hand and of the House as a whole on

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the other hand, without at the same time considering the much more important thing that has been enshrined in our Constitution, on which the whole fabric of the Constitution rests. viz., the freedom of speech of the individual. Article 194 of the Constitution which deals with the privileges of this House—if I may make bold to state to persons who might not have read it with the care that it demands—states that this Article itself is based on the pre-condition that it shall not be misused, or misquoted against the liberty of speech which each individual has in this country, and which he can effectuate not merely on the floor of this House, not merely in the streets of this country, but in Courts of Law,—in the High Courts of Judicature and in the Supreme Court—where he can move for the right of speech being given full effect to. It is not properly understood, Sir, that this is not a matter on which so light an attitude can be taken as merely to think that, if 55 people on one side vote against 17 on the other side, the freedom of the individual to speak as he likes on the floor of this House or on the floor of any other joint assemblage of Houses is lost. It is not the majority of a few persons that can make or unmake this freedom of speech. The Constitution protects it; the Constitution enshrines this deity, and it is the God to which the whole Constitution turns. If we turn away from it, we turn away from our basic rights in this country. I say this, Sir, in order to start studying the events of the 6th of May from a particular angle which I, in my own dispassionate view of the matter, wish to place before this House. What happened on the 6th of May? There was a walk-out. That was the most prominent thing, the most important thing that happened on that day. Are we to-day to state here that persons, who are assembled as a joint assemblage of the Houses of the Legislature before the Governor have no right either as a whole or in part to walk out, even if they have a right to protest? I submit that this resolution itself which is confined to Mr. Prakasam and does not touch everyone else who walked out on that day, makes a distinction between the offence or alleged offence which might have been thought to have been committed by the other Members who walked out and the offence that might be thought to have been conceivably perpetrated by Mr. Prakasam. The other Members who merely walked out are not subjected to this privilege motion or whatever it is. This means that the basis on which we have to discuss this motion is that there is a right to walk out which this House is not asked to question. Let us start from that point. If the right to walk out is granted, I submit that it is no use trying to quibble about points of order, points of information and things like that, and I state, Sir, that any person who is intending to walk out has a right to explain why he intends to walk out. If it is stated that any of the Members on this side have argued that Mr. Prakasam rose to raise a point of order in the ordinary, facile, easy way in which points of order are for instance sought to be raised before, Sir, a person of your status, and that the same thing was intended on that day, and there was to be discussion on one side followed by discussion on the other side, I do not think

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the position is being quoted properly. The last Speaker, Sri Bashyam Ayyangar, is trying to treat it from too legalistic and too technical a point of view when he speaks of the point of order on which Mr. Prakasam rose not being a proper point of order. Nobody agrees, Sir, that anyone had a right to raise a point of order in the usual, facile way in which points of order are raised, and sometimes dismissed by men like you, Sir; and what I state is that if the right to walk-out is there, the right to explain the walk-out is also there. It cannot be that the right to walk-out, merely as a walking-out, is permissible but that the explanation why the walking-out is taking place will not be permitted. Conventions have to be built up. If one of the conventions centres round the fact that a person can walk out of an assembly or assemblage, it should be a further convention, Sir, and I say it should be, and will be, as healthy a convention as any, that one could explain why he is walking out. We are not thinking strictly within the realms of law, and nobody is thinking in terms purely of the rule of law. I am surprised at the manner in which some things do happen on the floor of this House, and I shall not adumbrate all of them here. If we are trying to follow a rule of law, let us follow it by all means, at every stage. I wish to say, and it is very painful to a lawyer, that in this matter there is no question of thinking in terms of strict rules of law. In this very House we have not had the decency or courtesy to ourselves, first to constitute and create a Committee of Privileges before moving a resolution or a motion of this nature. Although this breach of privilege took place, Sir, on the 6th of May and we are on the 14th, I ask, Sir, if people are believing in the rule of law and believing in the strict letter of the law, what prevented this Committee of Privileges being formed before the 13th when this House was asked to consider this question of privilege? It was prevented merely because there was a desire to hit in the dark. I am not used to being hit in the dark. We are not used to being hit in the dark. Let there be proper rules; and, if there are no proper rules, why is it that we are trying to speak of a rule of law without the rule of law first being written for everybody to understand? I, therefore, say that it is no use being too legalistic, and no use stating that the speech made by Mr. Prakasam on the occasion of his walking out in explanation of why he was walking out is a thing that cannot be permitted under the Constitution. People who say so do not know what the Constitution is, what the Constitution has provided for, and what things have been left unprovided for even after the coming into force of the Constitution, even after the coming into force of a Ministry in the State, and the Legislature having begun to function. I would like to warn anybody who states the contrary, because the rules of law and the legal position have been examined by me with some care and I state, Sir, the right to speak follows the right to walk out.

"I would then like to ask, Sir, is it the length of the speech that makes the difference? Suppose Mr. Prakasam got up and said 'Your Excellency, as a protest against the formation of a

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Ministry out of the minority party, I and people of my way of thinking walk out,' would there have been any difference, Sir, between the position then and the position now when Mr. Prakasam has spoken for more than the time that would have been taken to speak that one sentence which was necessary on that occasion? I say, Sir, that once the right to walk-out is granted, once the right of speech with the right of walking-out is granted—it cannot but be granted—it is not the length of the speech that makes it constitutional or unconstitutional.

"Sir, we have no precedents for an occasion like this, but it will be hard to say that in this country we should insist upon every Member of the assemblage sticking to a conformity of rule and that there should be no 'walk-out' at all. Imagine some five years or ten years hence a whole majority, not of Congressmen, not of Socialists, not of Kizan-Mazdoor-Praja Party men, and not even of Krishakar-Lok Party men, but a whole majority of Communists sitting there, and a handful of us who are in thorough disagreement with them—and I wish it to be known that we, Socialists, are as much in disagreement with certain Communist ideologies and policies as are Congressmen—sitting on the other side, and imagine things were being said to us and things were being done, against which we should protest. Then, I say, Sir, we have as much right to walk out, and as much right to state to whoever presides on that occasion why we are walking out. I feel, Sir, that if we are to barter away this right to walk out, and barter away this right of speech to explain why we are walking out, we are creating a bad precedent for the future, because the walk-out is a precedent that we may have to use some day or other. I, therefore, state that looking at this matter too legalistically would not lead us anywhere.

"What is it that Mr. Prakasam has done in addition to the speech that he made? He is said, in this resolution, to have got up and interrupted the speech of the Governor. Now I was present on that occasion and was watching very carefully what had happened. I noted, and many others did too, that Mr. Prakasam was standing at the mike long before His Excellency got up. I do not know whether others noticed it, but I noticed the fact that Mr. Prakasam was not looking at the dais or at the place where His Excellency was standing. His Excellency got up and read a half or three-quarters of a sentence when Mr. Prakasam became alive to the fact that the Governor had risen and was speaking. Mr. Prakasam said something—I did not hear him distinctly—but I heard the word 'point'. I believed he was going to talk on a particular point or raise a point of order or of information or something like that. His Excellency, who was in full possession of his own prestige and dignity, and who took much better care of these than some of us are trying to do for him here, immediately sat down. When he sat down, Mr. Prakasam raised the questions that he wanted to put before His Excellency. If His Excellency had asked Mr. Prakasam to sit down, and Mr. Prakasam did not sit down, I, Sir, speaking for myself and for my party, would have been entirely in agreement with the spirit of this resolution, even if it was not too

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correct an attitude, and was too much of an exhibition of one's own littleness. I say, Sir, with all respect, I would not have opposed this motion. But, Mr. Prakasam did nothing like that. He simply went on, and His Excellency allowed him to speak. If His Excellency's allowing Mr. Prakasam to speak is a thing about which this House is asked to protest, I say, Sir, we are trying to be more royal than the King, and we are trying to out-Governor the Governor. That is not the spirit in which, I say, this House should proceed in such a matter. The whole thing shows littleness of mind, and reveals that the object of this motion is not really the purpose which appears on the surface, but merely to hinder the Opposition, harass Mr. Prakasam, and hurt the feelings of those who think with him. This is not the way to deal with men and things. This is not the way to strengthen the Congress Party. And I would like to warn the Congress Party and the Leader of the House who is the Leader of the Congress Party that, if this is the manner in which he is trying to out-do Mr. Prakasam and his group, he will be doing a very wrong thing both for himself and the Congress Party. I warn him that, if he still persists in this manner, he will be getting not what he wants, not what I want, but what somebody else wants. I warn him against this spirit of vindictiveness. I conclude with the words of one much greater than he or I, and much greater than all the puny creatures of this Petty House (he was pleased to call it 'Petty' yesterday); yes, I quote the words of Shakespeare who said: 'Tis excellent to have a giant's strength, but tyrannous to use it like a giant.' I do not know whether the Chief Minister has yet acquired a giant's strength. He is probably trying to acquire it, and this motion is one of the processes of acquiring it. But I can tell him that this is tyranny all right against the right of speech, this is tyranny against the human spirit and tyranny against old comrades who deserve much better treatment at our hands, and who have done much better things for us in their time than what the Congress Party and the Government in power are trying to do in the future. The Socialist Party and I cannot associate ourselves with such tyranny."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"The House will now rise for lunch and meet again at 2-30 p.m."

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

*SRI M. P. SIVAGNANA GRAMANI :—"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, நம் முடைய கனம் முதன் மந்திரி அவர்கள் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கும் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை நான் ஆதரித்துச் சில வார்த்தைகள் பேச விரும்புகிறேன்."

"இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தில் குற்றஞ்சாட்டப்பட்டிருக்கும் கனம் அங்கத்தினர் டி. பிரகாசம் அவர்கள், பார்லிமென்டரி துறையில், தீர்மானத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கும் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களைவிட, அதிக நாள் அனுபவம் பெற்றவர். இந்த மாகாணத்தில் கூட பிரதமர் பதவியை வகித்துவந்தவர். மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களை வரவேற்கும் முறை, கூட்டு அலெம் பினியில் கவர்னருடைய பேச்சு நடக்கும்போது நடந்து கொள்ளவேண்டிய முறை எல்லாம் அவருக்கு நன்கு தெரிந்திருக்கவேண்டும்; தெரிந்

[14th May 1952] [Sri M. P. Sivagnana Gramani]

திருக்கும் என்பதிலும் சந்தேகமில்லை. அப்படிப்பட்ட ஒருவர் அன்று அம் மாதிரி நடந்தது தவறு. அது தான் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தின் பிரச்சனையாகும். சமீபகாலத்தில் நடந்த சம்பவங்களைப் பார்க்கின்றபோது, ஒழுங்குமுறையை மீறி நடப்பது, எதிர்க்கட்சித் தலைவர்கள் கனம் டி. பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் மட்டுமல்ல; அவரைச் சேர்ந்த தோழர்களுந்தான் அப்படி நடக்கின்றார்கள் என்பதை அறிவோம். ஆனாலும் மற்றவர்களுக்கு வழிகாட்டியாக இருக்க வேண்டிய கனம் டி. பிரகாசம் அவர்கள், அன்று அப்படி நடந்து கொண்டது ஒரு பெரிய குற்றமாகும். இந்தத் தீர்மானம் அவரைத் தண்டிக்கக் கொண்டுவந்ததல்ல; அவருடைய நடத்தையைக் கண்டிக்கத் தான் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்பது என் அபிப்பிராயம்.

"கனம் அங்கத்தினர் ஒருவர் குறிப்பிட்டார், எல்லோருக்கும் பேச்சுரிமை இருக்கிறதென்று. அரசியல் சட்டத்தில் பேசுவதற்கு உரிமை (Fundamental rights) இருக்கிறது. அதை நான் மறுக்கவில்லை. அந்தப் பேச்சுரிமையை எப்படி உபயோகிப்பது என்று தான் நான் கேட்கிறேன். இராஜ்யத்தின் தலைவர் அழைக்கப்பட்ட விருந்தானி, அவர் பேசுகின்ற போது அந்தப் பேச்சைத் தடுத்து நிறுத்தி அவரை எசுவதற்கா பேச்சுரிமை இருக்கிறதென்று நான் கேட்கின்றேன். கனம் டி. பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் அன்று பேசினாரா, அவர் பேசும் உரிமையைப் பயன்படுத்தினாரா, அல்லது பேசிக்கொண்டிருந்த மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களை எதிர்த்து எசும் உரிமையைக் கைக்கொண்டாரா என்பதுதான் கேள்வி. என்னைப் பொறுத்தவரையில், அவர் பேசும் உரிமையைப் பயன்படுத்தியிருந்தால், இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரிக்கக் கடமைப்படவில்லை. ஆனால், அவர் எசும் உரிமையைப் பயன்படுத்தியிருக்கிறார், அதை எந்த நேரத்தில், எப்படி எசினார், யாரை எதிர்த்து எசினார் என்பதை யெல்லாம் வைத்துக்கொண்டு தான் இதில் ஒரு முடிவு காணவேண்டும்.

"மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் பேசுவதற்கு முன்பே பேசியிருந்தாரா என்றால், அப்படிப் பேசவில்லை. கவர்னர் பேசத் துவங்கி படித்துக் கொண்டிருந்த போது இடைமறித்துப்பேசினார், ஒழுங்குமுறையை மீறி கவர்னர் பேசுவதற்கு முன்பே நான் நின்று கொண்டிருந்தேன் என்று கூறினாலுங்கூட, அவர் பேசத் துவங்கிய பிறகு உட்கார்ந்திருக்கலாம், அல்லது பேசாமலே வெளியேறிருக்கலாம். அப்படியில்லாமல், கவர்னர் பேசிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறபோதே, தடுத்து நிறுத்தித் தான் பேசினார். பேசிய தோரணை ஒரு கவர்னரிடம்—அதுவும் இராஜ்யத்தின் தலைவராக இருக்கும் கவர்னரிடம்—நம்மால் கௌரவிக்கப்படவேண்டிய விருந்தானியாக வந்த கவர்னரிடம்—கனம் அங்கத்தினர் ஒருவர் நடந்துகொள்ளவேண்டிய ஒழுங்குமுறையை மீறி நடந்து கொண்டார். கவர்னருடைய பேச்சைக் கேட்க அங்கத்தினர்கள் அழைக்கப்பட்டார்களே யொழிய, கவர்னருடைய பேச்சின்மீது விவாதம் நடத்துவதற்காக அல்ல. அன்று நடந்த சம்பவங்களைச் சுவனித்துப் பார்க்கின்றபோது, கனம் டி. பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் வேண்டுமென்றே, திட்டமிட்டு, முன் ஏற்பாடாக கவர்னருடைய பிரசங்கத்தை அவமதிக்க முடிவு செய்திருந்தார் என்று தெரிகிறது.

"அது மட்டுமல்ல; அன்று காலையில் கருப்புக்கொடி ஆர்ப்பாட்டம் முதலிய செய்கைகளினால் செக்ஷன் 144-ன்படி தடை உத்தரவு போடும் அளவுக்கு சூழ்நிலை இருந்திருக்கிறது. ஐக்கிய முன்னணியார், மே.ச. கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய பிரசங்கத்தைத் தடுக்கவேண்டும்; சபையிலிருந்து வெளியேற வேண்டும் என்று முன் ஏற்பாடாகக் காரியங்களைச் செய்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்று தெரிகிறது. அப்படிப் பார்க்கும்போது, பார்லிமென்டரி துறையில் நன்கு அனுபவம் பெற்ற கனம் டி. பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் இந்த முறையில் அன்று நடந்தது கண்டிக்கத்தக்க செய்கையாகும்.

"கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் அன்று பேசும் உரிமையைத்தான் பயன்படுத்தினார் என்றால், நாங்களும் அவரைப்போலவே பேசும் உரிமையைப் பயன்படுத்தியிருந்தால் நிலைமை என்ன ஆயிருக்குமென்பதை யோசிக்க வேண்டும். கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்களுக்குப் பேச உரிமை இருக்கிறது. அதனால் அன்று அவர் பேசியிருக்கிறார் என்று வைத்துக் கொள்ளுவோம்.

[Sri M. P. Sivagnana Gramani] 14th May 1952]

அதே உரிமையை நாங்களும் என்போலுள்ளவர்களும், பயன்படுத்திக் கொண்டு, சுவர்னருடைய தவறுகளை எடுத்துக்காட்ட இவருக்கு உரிமை இருப்பதுபோல், கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் எப்படித் தேர்தலில் வந்தார், எங்கே நின்றார், எந்த முறையில் வந்தார் என்பதை யெல்லாம் இடைமறித்து நானும் பேசியிருந்தால்' என்னை மறுத்து இன்னும் சில U.D.F. அங்கத்தினர்கள் பேசியிருந்தால்' கவர்னர் அவர்கள் தம்முடைய பிரசங்கத்தைப் படித்து இருக்கமுடியுமா? கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்களைப்போன்று எல்லோரும் பேச்சுரிமையைப் பயன்படுத்திக்கொண்டிருந்தால், இந்த மாகாணத்தின் மதிப்பு வானத்தில் பறந்து போயிருக்குமே! அந்த அளவுக்கு விபரீதம் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் நடைபெறுவது இருந்ததென்றால், அதற்கு இம் மாகாணத்தின் ஆளும் கட்சி மற்ற அங்கத்தினர்களுடைய அரசியல் ஒழுக்கம் அரணாக இருந்தது. எங்களுடைய அரசியல் ஒழுக்கை—அரணை-மதிலாகக் கொண்டதான், கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசத்தால் தங்கு தடையின்றி அரசியல் சம்பிரதாயத்தை முறித்து, பேச்சுரிமை என்பதைக் கொண்டு கவர்னர் அவர்களை எசுவதற்கு ஒரு சந்தர்ப்பம் ஏற்பட்டது. சபையிலுள்ள ஒரே ஒரு சோஷலிஸ்டு அங்கத்தினர், நண்பர் சம்பிரதாயம் அவர்கள் கூறினார்கள், 'கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசம் பேசியது சம்பிரதாயத்திற்கு விரோதமானது, சட்டத்திற்கு முரணானது என்றால், சபையிலிருந்து மற்றவர்கள் என்ன செய்தார்கள்? அப்போழுதே உடனேயே எழுந்திருந்து கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசத்தை "sit down" என்று சொல்லியிருக்கக்கூடாது?' என்று. கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, நான் ஒன்றைக் கூறமுடியும். 'கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்களே, நீங்கள் பேசுவது சரியல்ல, உட்காருங்கள்' என்று சொல்லியிருந்தால், பிரகாசம் அவர் உட்கார்ந்திருப்பாரா? அல்லது அவர் சகாக்கள் சம்மா வெளியேறி இருப்பார்களா? அவர்களை பின்னர் பலாத்காரமாக வெளியேற்றவேண்டிய ஒரு அவமான கரமான, இழிவான சம்பவம் நடந்திருக்குமேயல்லாது வேறு எதுவும் நடந்திருக்காது சட்டம் தெரியாமல், சட்டசபை சம்பிரதாயம் தெரியாமல் ஒரு அங்கத்தினர் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் பேசும்போது, எழுந்து பேச முயன்றிருந்தால், அது தவறு என பிறர் சட்டிக் காட்டினால் அவர் ஒருக்கால் உட்காருக்கூடும். ஆனால், சட்டசபை சம்பிரதாயம் தெரிந்த, சட்டம் தெரிந்த, பார்லிமெண்டரி முறை தெரிந்த பழுத்த அரசியல் தலைவர் ஸ்ரீ பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் வேண்டுமென்றே சட்டத்தை முறித்து, சம்பிரதாயத்தை மீறி பேச ஆரம்பிக்கும்பொழுது சர்க்கார் கட்சியினர் அது தவறு, உட்காருங்கள் என்று சொல்லிவிட்டாலா உட்கார்ந்து விடுவார்? அன்று மே.த. கவர்னர் அவர்களோ கனம் முதல் அமைச்சர் அவர்களோ அப்படிச் சொல்லியிருந்தால்' நிச்சயமாகச் சொல்லுகிறேன், கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்களை பலவந்தமாக வெளியேற்றவேண்டிய ஒரு விபரீதமான நிலைமை இந்த மாகாணத்திலே ஏற்பட்டிருக்கும். அம்மாதிரியாக ஏற்படாமல் இருந்த தற்குக் காரணம் சர்க்கார் கட்சியின் பண்பட்ட அரசியல் ஒழுக்கம் ஒன்றே என்பதை சட்ட சபையிலுள்ள அங்கத்தினர்கள் உணர வேண்டும். அப்படி அங்கத்தினர்கள் கனம் பிரகாசத்தைத் தடுக்காததினால் கனம் பிரகாசம் செய்தது சரியானதாக ஒரு நாளும் ஆகாது.

"கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் இன்று தம்முடைய சொற்பொழிவின் மூலம் சுலபமாக இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தைத் தவிர்த்திருக்கலாம். அதாவது, 'இந்த இராஜ்யத்தின் தலைவரை, சட்ட சம்பிரதாயங்களை மீறி அவமதிக்கக்கூடிய எண்ணம் எனக்குக்கிடையாது' என்று ஒரு வார்த்தை தெரிவித்திருந்தால் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்திற்கு அவசியமே இல்லாதிருந்திருக்கலாம். அதற்குப் பதிலாக, 'நான் பேசிய பேச்சு மிகவும் சரியானது, நான் செய்த காரியம் சட்டசபை சம்பிரதாயத்திற்கு முரணானது அல்ல, மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் சட்டத்தை மீறி ராஜாஜி அவர்களை மேல் சபைக்கு நியமனம் செய்தது தவறானதேயொழிய அந்தத் தவறை எடுத்துக்காட்டிய என் செய்கை தவறானது அல்ல' என்றெல்லாம் வாதம் செய்தது, சர்க்கார் இம்மாதிரியான ஒரு 'லெண்ட்ஷர் மோஷனைக்' கொண்டு வந்தது மிகச் சரியானதே என்பதை உறுதியாக்குகிறது. மகாத்மா காந்தியடிகளின் மீது அபிமானம் காட்டிய கனம்

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பிரகாசம் அவர்கள், மகாத்மா காந்தியடிகளையும் கூட எதிர்த்து ஒரு காலத்தில் சண்டை போட்டிருக்கிறார். ஆகையால், கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்களுக்கு இது ஒன்றும் புதிதல்ல. மகாத்மா காந்தியையும், பண்டித நேருவையும் அவர் எப்படி எதிர்த்திருக்கின்றார், ஸ்ரீ என். ஜி. ரங்கா அவர்களோடு அவர் எப்படி நடந்துகொண்டார் என்பதெல்லாம் இப்பொழுது கவனிக்கவேண்டிய விஷயமல்ல. அவைகளையெல்லாம் விடக் கூறி நமது சகிப்புத் தன்மையை சோதித்துவிட்டார். கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் அரசியல் சம்பிரதாயங்களை மீறினாரா இல்லையா என்பதுதான் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தில் நாம் கவனிக்கவேண்டிய முக்கியமான விஷயமாகும்.

"அடுத்தபடியாக, சபையினின்றும் வெளியேறியது சரியா இல்லையா என்பதைக் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். வெளியேற அவர்களுக்கு உரிமையிருக்கிறது என்று வைத்துக் கொள்வோம். இந்த வெளியேறும் வழக்கத்திற்கு நான் புதியவன். ஆனால் கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் இந்த வெளியேறும் வழக்கத்திற்குப் புதியவரல்ல, வழக்கப்பட்டவர். டிஸ்கிஸ் ஆங்கில ஆதிபத்திய ஆட்சி இருந்ததால்தான் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் எவ்வளவோ முறை ஆட்சியின் நடத்தையைக் கண்டிக்கும் முறையில் சபையைவிட்டு வெளியேறியிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களோடு கூட கனம் பிரகாசமும் வெளியேறும் படலத்தில் பங்கு கொண்டவர்கள்தான். ஆனால், அவர்கள் எப்படி வெளியேறினார்கள், வெளியேறும் வழக்கம் எப்படி என்பதை கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் கவனிக்கத் தவறியது மிகவும் வருந்தத்தக்க விஷயமாகும் அப்பொழுதெல்லாம் கவர்னர் ஜெனரல் அவர்கள் பேச ஆரம்பிக்கும்பொழுது அதற்கு எதிர்ப்புக் காட்டும் வகையில் எதுவும் பேசாமல், குழப்பத்தை உணர்பெண்ணாமல், சபையிலே கூச்சல் போடாமல், வெளியேறி வெளியே வந்தபின் 'பிரசங்கத்தைக் கேட்காது தாங்கள் வெளியேறி வந்ததற்குக் காரணத்தைப் பத்திரிகைகள் மூலமாக அறிக்கை கொடுப்பார்கள். இதுதான் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியார் அரசியல் ஒழுங்கோடு, சம்பிரதாய வரம்போடு, சட்டத்தை மீறாமல் நடத்திய எதிர்ப்பு நடவடிக்கையாகும். இம்மாதிரியான காங்கிரஸ் வெளியேற்றங்கள் பலவற்றில் பங்குகொண்ட கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் இந்த முறைப்படியே நடந்திருந்தால் இந்தப் பிரச்சனையே எழுந்திருக்காது. ஒழுங்கு நடத்தைத் தீர்மானமும் சபையிலே கொண்டுவருவதற்கு அவசியம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்காது, அந்தத் தீர்மானத்தைப் பற்றி இவ்வளவு சூடாக விவாதம் நடைபெற்றிருக்காது.

"ஜனநாயக ஐக்கிய முன்னணித் தலைவர் கையிலே இந்த மகாணத்தின் அரசாட்சியைக் கொடுக்கக்கூடாது, கொடுத்தால் நாட்டிலே அராஜகத்திற்கு அடிகோலி, சட்டத்தைக் குலைத்து, சம்பிரதாயத்தை முறித்து, அமைதி வாழ்க்கையை சிதைத்து, மாகாண அரசாட்சியையே சின்னப்பின்னமாக்கி விடுவார்கள், என்பதாக காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் பலர் கூறினோம். தங்கள் கையிலே ஆட்சிவந்தால் அப்படித்தான் நடக்கும் என்பதுபோல, மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் பிரசங்கத்தின்போது அராஜகத்தின் அறிகுறியாக, சட்டத்தையும், சம்பிரதாயத்தையும், வழக்கத்தையும் ஒழுங்கையும் மீறி, முறித்து, குலைத்து, குறுக்கே எழுந்து, ஏசும் முறையிலே பேசி காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் சொன்னது யாவும் உண்மை என்பதை நிரூபித்து விட்டார்கள்.

"இன்னொன்றை முக்கியமாகப் பார்க்கிறேன். இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் இரண்டு விஷயங்களே எல்லோரும் கவனிக்கவேண்டும், பேச்சுரிமைச் சட்டத்தின் கர்த்தாவாகிய மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் பேச ஆரம்பிக்கும்பொழுது அவரது பேச்சுரிமைக்குக் குறுக்கே நின்று அவர் பேச்சைத் தடுத்துவிட்டு, கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பேசியது உண்மையா இல்லையா என்பது ஒரு பிரச்சனை. இரண்டாவதாக, அப்படிப் பேசியபொழுதுங்கூட மேன்மைதங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களிடம் பேசும் பொழுது எந்த முறையில், எந்த சம்பிரதாயத்தில் பேசவேண்டுமோ அந்த முறையிலே பேசாது கவரவக் குறைவாகப் பேசினாரா இல்லையா என்பது இந்த இரண்டும் உண்மையே. கட்சிப் பற்றற்றவனாகப் பார்த்தாலும், அவர் நடந்துகொண்ட விதம் சொஞ்சமும் சரியல்ல என்றே சொல்லவேண்டும். நான் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சிக்காரன் என்றாலுங்கூட, காங்கிரஸ் தொண்டன் என்றாலுங்கூட, இன்று அந்தக் கட்சிக்கும் எனக்கும் பற்றில்லாத முறையிலே, நல்ல

[Sri M. P. Sivagnana Gramani] [14th May 1952]

சட்டத்தை வகுத்து, நல்ல சம்பிரதாயத்தை நிலை நாட்டி, ஒழுங்கு முறையை சிருஷ்டிக்கவேண்டுமென்ற கருத்துடனேயே பேசுகின்றேன். எதிர்க் கட்சித் தலைவர் இம்மாதிரியாக சட்டத்தை மீறியதற்கு, சம்பிரதாயத்தை முறித்ததற்கு, ஒழுங்கு முறையை சிதைத்ததற்குக் காரணம் என்ன என்பதை எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்களே ஒவ்வொருவரும் அவரிடம் கேட்டிருக்கவேண்டும். தங்கள் கட்சியின் கௌரவத்தைக் குலைத்த தற்காக அவரிடம் காரணம் கேட்டிருக்கவேண்டும். அவர்கள் அப்படிச் செய்யத் தவறியதோடல்லாமல் தங்கள் கட்சித் தலைவர் செய்தது சரியானது, ஜனநாயகப் பண்பாட்டிற்கு உட்பட்டதான ஒரு செய்கையேயாகும் என்பதாக வெல்லாம் வாதம் செய்தது என்போன்றவர்களுக்கு வியப்பைத்தான் தருகின்றது. ஏனென்றால், நாங்கள் எல்லோரும் உட்கார்ந்திருந்தோம். எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்கள் யாவரும் உட்கார்ந்திருந்தார்கள், காலரிகளில் ஏராளமான மக்கள் உட்கார்ந்திருந்தார்கள், அந்த நேரத்திலே கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசம் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களைப் பேசவிடாது தடுத்து நிறுத்தி அங்கே உட்கார்ந்திருந்தவர்கள் யாவரும் மனம் புண்படக் கூடிய நிலையில் ஏன்—எதிர்க் கட்சித் தலைவர் கனம் ஆதித்தன் அவர்களே, மனம் புண்பட்டு “நீங்கள் பேசியதுபோதும், கீழே உட்காருங்கள்” என்று வாய்விட்டுச் சொல்லாமல், கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசத்தின் சட்டையை இரண்டுமுறை இழுத்த காட்சி மகா கோரமாக இருந்தது.”

Sri S. B. ADITYAN.—“On a point of information, Sir, I did not pull Mr. Prakasam.”

* SRI M. P. SIVAGNANA GRAMANI :—“எனக்குக் கொஞ்சம் கண் நன்றாகத் தெரியும். இளமை வயது தான். சட்டையை இழுக்கவில்லை யென்று அவர் சொல்வாரேயானால், கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் பேசிய ஆபாசமான பேச்சைக் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு பொறுமையோடு உட்கார்ந்திருக்க முடியாத நிலையிலே கனம் ஆதித்தன் அவர்களுடைய முகம் கறுத்து, சுருங்கிப் போனதை நான் நன்றாகக் கவனித்தேன். அவர் மனதிலுள்ள எண்ணத்தை அவர் முகமே நன்றாக எடுத்துக் காட்டியது. தலைவர் செய்த செய்கையை, சட்டத்தை மீறிய ஒரு நடத்தையை, கட்சிக்கு இழுக்கைத் தேடித்தந்த ஒரு செயலை அவர்களே கண்டித்திருக்கலாம். ஆனால், தலைவர் அவர்களுடைய கௌரவத்தைக் காப்பதுபோல, கண்ணிபத்தை நிலை நிறுத்திக் கொள்ளுவது போல, தங்கள் கௌரவத்தையும் தங்கள் நடத்தையையும் காற்றில் பறக்கவிட்டு விட்டுப் பேசினார்கள். ஒன்றை நான் அவர்களுக்குச் சொல்லுகிறேன் : கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசத்திடம் அவர்களுக்கு இருக்கும் பக்தியைவிட, அவர்கள் காட்டும் கௌரவத்தைவிட, நான் அதிகமாக கனம் பிரகாசத்திற்கு கௌரவமும் கண்ணியமும் செலுத்தக் கடமைப் பட்டிருக்கிறேன். ஆனால், கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசத்தினிடமிருக்கும் பக்தியைவிட, நம்பிக்கையைவிட, அபிமானத்தை விட எனக்கு என் பாரத நாட்டின் சட்டத்தின் மீதுள்ள பக்தி, நம்பிக்கை, அபிமானம் பெரிது என்பதைக் கூறிக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

“கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் நியமன அங்கத்தினர்களைப் பற்றி பேசுகையில் கவர்னரின் சேவர்கள் போல, பிரதம மந்திரியின் வேலைக் காரர்கள் போல நடக்கவேண்டாம் என்பதாகக் குறிப்பிட்டார். அவருடைய சகோதர அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கு கொடுக்கும் மரியாதை இதுதான் என்று நான் அவரைக் கேட்கிறேன்? பணியோடு மிகத் தாமதமாக இருந்தால் தான் கேட்கிறேன். பழைய காலத்தில் கவர்னர் அவர்கள் தங்கள் கொள்கையை ஆதரிப்பதற்காகவே, மக்களால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டவர்களை மைனாரிட்டி கட்சி யாக்குவதற்காகவே, சர்க்கார் தரப்பு எப்பொழுதும் மெஜாரிட்டி யாக இருக்கவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகவே ஜாதியின் பேரால், மதத்தின் பேரால், பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பின் பேரால், பிளவு படுத்தி சில அங்கத்தினர்களை நியமனம் செய்வது வழக்கம். அப்படி கவர்னரால் நியமிக்கப்பட்ட அங்கத்தினர்கள் எப்பொழுதும் சர்க்கார் கட்சியையே ஆதரிக்கவேண்டியது என்று பழக்கமாக வைத்திருந்தார்கள். ஆனால், இன்று இந்திய ஜனநாயக சர்க்காரின் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் ஜாதியின் பெயராலோ, மதத்தின் பெயராலோ வகுப்பின் பெயராலோ நியமனம்

[14th May 1952] [Sri M. P. Sivagnana Gramani]

செய்யும் வழக்கத்தை விடுத்து, தனிப்பட்டோரின் விஞ்ஞான அறிவுக்காக, கலை ஆற்றலுக்காக, பொது சேவையிலுள்ள இணையிலா ஊக்கத்திற்காக, கூட்டுறவு இயக்கத்தின் மேன்மைக்காக உழைத்து அடைந்த கடந்த கால பெயருக்காக நியமிக்கப்படுகிறார்களே யொழிய, அரசியல் மைனாரிட்டி கட்சியை மெஜாரிட்டி கட்சியாகத் துவதற்காகவோ, எப்பொழுதும் சர்க்கார் தரப்பை ஆதரிக்கவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகவோ அல்ல—அல்லவோ அல்ல. கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் பிரதம மந்திரியாக வராதது இருந்து, நாளை, என்போன்ற வேறு காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் யாராவதோ வந்திருந்து, இந்த நியமனத்திற்கு ஆள் பொறுக்கியிருக்கும் பட்சத்தில், நூற்றுக்கு நூறு பேரும் அசல் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களாகவே—அந்தப் 12 பேரையும்—பொறுக்கியிருப்போம். ஆனால், கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் கட்சி சம்பந்தமில்லாமல், கட்சி மனப்பான்மைக்கு அப்பாற்பட்டதாக, உண்மையாக திறமையோடு பற்பல துறைகளில் பொதுப் பணி ஆற்றிவரும் ஊழியர்களையே பொறுக்கியிருக்கிறார்கள். அந்த ஊழியர்களும் கூட தாங்கள் ஆற்றிவரும் பணியிலிருந்து விலக விரும்பாது, இந்த அங்கத்தினர் பதவியை ஒப்புக்கொள்ள மறுத்துங்கூட கனம் ராஜாஜி, அவர்களை வேண்டிக்கொண்டு, அவர்கள் சேவை இங்கே மிக அவசியமானது என்ற காரணத்திற்காக கொண்டுவந்திருக்கிறார்களே தவிர, சர்க்கார் தரப்பின் கையை ஒங்க வைக்க எப்பொழுதும் சர்க்காருக்கே வேண்டுமென்போடேவெண்டுமென்ற வற்புறுத்தலோடு அவர்களை இங்கே கொண்டுவர வில்லை. சுய உணர்ச்சியோடு, சுய அறிவோடு, சுய தன்மான மதிப்போடு வந்திருக்கின்றவர்களை, கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் இப்படியா பேசுவது? இந்த முறையிலா மரியாதை கொடுப்பது? என் மதிப்பிற்குரிய தலைவர் கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசம் அவர்களுக்குக் கௌரவமா! ஒரு வார்த்தை சொல்ல விரும்புகின்றேன். ‘கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்களே தாங்கள் தேடிக்கொடுத்த சுதந்திரத்தை, தாங்கள் பாடுபட்டு பெற்ற பாரத நாட்டின் விடுதலையை, தங்கள் கண் முன்னேயே, தாங்களே, தங்கள் நடத்தையாலேயே குலைத்துவிடவேண்டுமென்பது விரும்பமா? பாரத நாட்டு மக்களுக்குச் சுதந்திரமே இல்லாத நிலையை சிருஷ்டித்து விடுவதற்குத் தாங்கள் விரும்புகிறீர்களா? . . . ஆம், என்று சொல்லீர்களேயானால், ‘வரப் போகின்ற தங்களுடைய சந்ததியார்களுக்கு தங்களுடைய குழந்தைகளுக்கு நீங்கள் செய்யும் தவறாகும் அது, எடு செய்ய முடியாத குற்றமாகும் அது’ என்று வணக்கத்துடன் சொல்லிக்கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன். இத் தீர்மானம் கனம் அங்கத்தினர் பிரகாசத்தின் மீது கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கின்றபடியால், அவர் எனது மதிப்பிற்குரிய தலைவர் ஆகையால், இவ் விவாதத்தில் மேலும் பேச நா எழவில்லை, மனம் வருந்துகிறது. இப்பொழுதும் ஒன்றும் காலம் கடந்துவிடவில்லை. கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் விரும்பினால், இத் தீர்மானத்தை சபையின் வோட்டுக்கு விடாமலேயே தவிர்க்கமுடியும். இல்லையானால், இந்தக் கௌன்சில் தன் கடமையிலிருந்து மீறிற்று, வழவழிற்று என்ற ஏச்சுக்கு இடமில்லாமல் சப்தத்தை மீறியது, சம்பிரதாயத்தை முறித்தது, ஒழுங்கைக் குலைத்தது, பீஷ்மராக இருந்தாலும் சரி, அவருமல்ல, அவருடைய பிதாமகராக இருந்தாலும் சரி, செய்தது தவறு தவறு தான் என்பதை நிலைநிறுத்தி, இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை ஏகமனதாக நிறைவேற்றிவைக்க வேண்டுமென்றும் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

SRI C. RAJESWARA RAO :—“Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the motion moved by the Hon. Chief Minister. While moving the motion, the Hon. Chief Minister said that it was not to impeach the leader of the Democratic Front that he had brought in this motion, and that it was only brought in to see that no bad precedent was set up. But anybody who reads the motion can find out that it is not so. Here in this resolution, Sri Prakasam, Leader of the Democratic Front, is accused of several charges. Still it is very strange for the Hon. Chief Minister to say that he has brought in the resolution only to set up a good precedent. Please see, Sir, some of the words used in the resolution. ‘Indecorous and

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disorderly conduct,' 'guilty of a grave contempt,' 'administers a stern admonition to the hon. Member for his misconduct,'—these are some of the terms used in this motion. I fail to see why the Hon. Chief Minister should fight shy of saying what he has got in his heart and say frankly and courageously, 'I accuse Sri Prakasam and I want to discipline him'. It is very strange that he has not said so. If the Hon. Chief Minister only wants to set up a good precedent, why is it that none of the Members on his side among whom there are a number of constitutional lawyers raised a point of order and stopped Mr. Prakasam from doing what he did on that occasion? Instead, he has brought forward this resolution six days after the incident happened. If only the Chief Minister wants to set right any constitutional flaw in the rules of procedure, he is at perfect liberty to do it. But he has not adopted that course. If his intention is only to set up a good precedent, he could have proceeded in that line.

"Secondly, I wish to point out that this is a link in the chain of the policy which the Chief Minister has been pursuing during these ten or eleven days of this Legislature session, though he has not been courageous enough to say so frankly. Firstly he was responsible for the promulgation of an order under section 144, Cr.P.C. Therein he made charges—or he was responsible for making charges—against Members of the Democratic Front and the Communist Party as if we were about to start a revolution and he had come to save this country from it. On the floor of the House, the Communists have not declared that the Hon. Chief Minister is their enemy No. 1 or public enemy No. 1. On the other hand, the Chief Minister and Members belonging to his party have declared that Communists are their enemy No. 1. The Chief Minister is flinging accusation after accusation against the Members of the Communist Party, and is trying to isolate the Members of the Communist Party from the Members of the other parties of the Democratic Front. Now he has brought forward this resolution against the leader of the Democratic Front. Though he says that his intention is not really to impeach Sri Prakasam, the leader of the Democratic Front, his real idea must be to break up the Democratic Front, by adopting a policy of 'divide and rule' which the British Imperialists adopted in this country. The Hon. Chief Minister wants to try this game of the British Imperialists to break the Democratic Front. Firstly, he has isolated the Communists by declaring them as enemy No. 1, and now he has come out with accusations against the leader of the Democratic Front. If the Hon. Chief Minister moves along these lines, I warn him that he will not only make the Communist Party his enemy, but he will make other parties of the Democratic Front and all the people who support it, his enemies. The attempt of the Chief Minister to isolate the different parties of the Democratic Front and beat them one by one will fail, because we are living in the year 1952 and not 1948 or 1949, when it was possible to isolate the Communist Party from others. I want to congratulate the Hon. Chief Minister on his attacks on the different parties constituting

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the Democratic Front, beginning with the promulgation of an order under section 144, Cr.P.C., then his declaration of the Communist Party as his public enemy No. 1; and lastly his bringing forward this resolution of censure against the leader of the Democratic Front, Sri Prakasam. All these three acts have only strengthened the Democratic Front and not weakened it. I thank the Hon. Chief Minister for helping us to unite. Perhaps he thinks that there is a split in the Democratic Front. I read in some of the newspapers that some of the members belonging to the Congress Party were declaring at public meetings that there was a split in the Democratic Front. One of the hon. Members of the Congress Party gave advice to Mr. Prakasam as follows:—'Do not join the Communist Party. If you join, some day you will also have to jump into the well along with the Communists.' Sri Prakasam is very well experienced—he is older than anyone of us sitting here—and he knows what to do. He knows how to fight the Communists and when to unite with them. One Congress Member who is supposed to be a votary of non-violence and a follower of Mahatma Gandhi said that there was nothing unfair in love and war. The Hon. Chief Minister and other Ministers have been saying that the Communists are for violence and chaos in this country and that the Government will suppress them with a strong arm. I am the leader of the Communist Party and about 61 members of our Party have been elected as Members of the Lower House. We fought the elections single-handed, and we had no alliance with the K.M.P. Party. After the elections were over, we joined hands with the K.M.P. Party and other parties, and put forth a programme which was appreciated even by a newspaper like the *Times of India*, owned by one of the biggest Indian business houses. The *Times of India* wrote as follows: 'Nobody can find fault with any part of the programme of the Democratic Front. The Congress has to take up this programme and isolate the Communists.' We say that we have come to the legislature to implement that programme honestly and we only want you to allow us to work out this programme on the floor of the Legislature. I see no necessity to fling such accusations as the Communists being wedded to violence and 101 other things. While the leader of the Congress Party is saying that Congress men are votaries of non-violence, one of the members of his party says that all is fair in love and war. If the Congress Party is a votary of non-violence and a follower of the principles of Mahatma Gandhi, why should they have a big Police budget? Why should they spend seven crores of rupees out of 50 crores of rupees or so on the Police? Why should they spend a large sum of money on the defence forces? Are they not for committing violence? I can give a lot of facts about what the Congress Government had done in this State during the last five years. I ask the Chief Minister to take up my challenge, and set up a non-official enquiry committee and find out who committed violence during the last five years. If I have time, I can describe what the Congress Party has done during the last five years. I consider that the Congress Party has no right to talk about non-violence especially

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after having committed violence during the last five years. Their policy will not work at all and people will not be deceived by their professions of non-violence. Every day, every hour and every minute, they are committing violence and their regime is based upon violence. I say, 'You cannot provoke me to make this type of statement or that type of statement'. I have come here as a representative of the Communist Party to implement the programme of the United Democratic Front. I oppose the motion."

3 p.m. * JANAB A. M. ALLAPICHAJ :—"While supporting the motion moved by the Hon. Leader of the House, I wish to say a few words. It is true that this motion is of a serious kind. As a matter of fact in the words of the Hon. Leader of the House, it was with a great amount of mental agony he had to move this motion. I can say with emphasis that there is no Congress man here who did not love the hon. Member Sri T. Prakasam. I am not letting out a secret if I say that even to-day we, Congress men, have at least some love left for him in our hearts. But when we saw clearly that the Communist Party is making use of him as their atom bomb and as their sword, we in our own self-defence had to take action. When we did take it, we did not do it with any feeling of hatred. It is not with any idea of vengeance, but it was with the idea of making the hon. Member Sri T. Prakasam realize that he was being made the tool of the Communist Party. The Leader of the Communist Party the other day very eloquently observed that he would take up the challenge thrown at his party by the Hon. Leader of the House. If the leader of the Communist Party has interpreted the expression 'war' as meaning war in a military sense without taking into consideration the explanation given by the Hon. Mr. C. Subramaniam, we cannot help it. The word 'war' was not used in a military sense at all. Let it be understood clearly. It was made very clear in the speech of the Hon. Mr. C. Subramaniam that it was in response to the charges levelled by the Communist Party against us and their subsequent threats of violence."

"Sir, the Leader of the House is a trusted follower of Gandhiji. Gandhiji, as we all know, declared the greatest possible war against British Imperialism. It was with no feeling of hatred against the Britishers that he did so. In fact it is a known fact that he had abundant love for them and some of the Britishers also in their turn had reverence for him. It is on the same lines that war has now been declared against the Communist Party by the Hon. Leader of the House."

"Sir, allow me to observe that we Congress men do not believe in violence as the Communists do. We do not believe like the Communists in the non-existence of other parties. On the other hand we welcome the formation of opposition parties. As a matter of fact there is proof of what I have just now said in the very existence of the Socialist Party and the United Democratic Front composed as it is of the Communist Party, the K.M.P. Party and

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some Independents. All these clearly go to show that the Congress stands and will continue to stand for democratic principles. The Congress stands for the working of the Constitution of India which we have framed after great labour. The Congress is not here to scrap the Constitution. Therefore let us not misquote certain expressions that have been made by the Hon. Leader of the House."

"The Leader of the Communist Party stated the other day that the Communists are wedded to constitutional methods. I say certainly they are *now* wedded to constitutional methods because the people have refused to believe in their violence which they so virulently practised before. I say with emphasis that the Communists believe in violence and violence alone. It is their conviction. When they realize that the people have given a verdict that they would never tolerate violence, they begin to say that they also believe in constitutional methods. Consistent with the principles of their party, they have silently adopted constitutional methods and got into the legislatures. Well, we know they will come round to our view in due course. But we know they are too weak now to use violent methods. Therefore they now resort to constitutional methods. When once we come to realize that they believe in constitutional principles and in the freedom of opposition parties also to exist, we will never declare war against them, even from the psychological point of view. Therefore let it be clearly understood that what the Hon. Leader of the House meant by the term 'war' was not war in a military sense but war based on non-violence. Let there be no more misunderstanding about it."

"The Communist Leader has stated that their party believes in constitutional methods. In fact it is not so. If what the Leader of the Communist Party said is true let me put certain straightforward questions to him: 'Where is your Communist Party? How many are your members? Where are your district committees? Do you have any panchayat committees? What are the contributions of your members? What are your rules and regulations?' Can any one answer these questions? I say the Communist Party is nothing but a misnomer. It is a clique of some gentlemen, some well-organized gentlemen, very intelligent gentlemen, and I can very well say, gentlemen who are determined to do anything which they think right."

"Take for instance the Socialist Party. No doubt they do not have as large a membership as the Congress. But they have formed themselves into an organization with a clear-cut policy and programme."

"The Communists on the other hand are composed of a group of men who believe in the leadership of the proletariat. The Leader of the Communist Party here, Mr. C. Rajeswara Rao, said the other day: 'Give us an opportunity to rule for six months. We will make this place a Heaven'. I would request the leader of

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my party, who is also the Leader of the House to give them an opportunity to rule for the period they want. But can they give us an assurance that they will allow other parties to exist? I am quite sure they will never do it. They may say at this moment that they will do so because they are for power. But the moment they get power, they will lose no time in wiping out other parties because they have not changed their creed.

"It is not mere gas, Sir, when I say these things, because they think that the very existence of many parties involves conflict of interests. The people of Soviet Russia, of whom they are so very proud, have only one party throughout their country. The words of Stalin stand as bayonets against his enemies if at all there be any. When, at the time of the changing of the Constitution of Russia in 1937, Stalin was questioned by the people about the desirability of allowing other parties to exist, he observed that allowing other parties to exist would amount to recognition of conflict of interests and as such it would retard progress. That is why only one party is there in Russia, and that is the proletariat. Thus we see that there is absolutely no scope for other parties to exist in Soviet Russia. But we, the Congress, stand for an altogether different ideal, viz., the growth of democracy.

"While supporting, of course painfully, this motion moved by the Hon. Leader of the House, I beg to submit that there is one point in Mr. Prakasam's speech, which deserves notice. He has said that he did not mean any insult whatsoever to the Governor. While speaking in his defence he has made this point very clear. I request the Hon. Leader of the House and other friends also to look into this aspect of the question, viz., that the interruption caused by Mr. Prakasam was not meant as an insult to His Excellency the Governor."

* THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is my very unpleasant duty to support the motion. Mr. T. Prakasam has been a respected leader of the Andhras for a very long time. I was one of his disciples; but it is rather unfortunate that when one has to do his duty no other considerations should stand in the way. Hence I am compelled to support the motion moved by the Hon. Leader of the House.

"On the 6th of May 1952 His Excellency summoned both Houses of Legislature to hear his Address. Before the Address was delivered and at a time when the whole audience was in rapt attention to hear His Excellency and when His Excellency had just begun to deliver his Address, the hon. Member Mr. Prakasam stood up and interrupted His Excellency saying that he was rising on a point of order, and began to question the propriety of His Excellency delivering the Address to the joint session of both Houses. We have heard the defence of Mr. Prakasam. Various other members of this House have defended. Mr. Prakasam on various grounds. Some said that Mr. Prakasam was perfectly justified in making a speech of that sort. Of course some have

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admitted that the speech was not really in order. Some have contended that His Excellency, who was in full possession of both the Houses at that time, could have objected to Mr. Prakasam's interruption.

"May I remind my hon. Friend that a wrong which has been committed at a particular stage continues to be a wrong in spite of the fact that no objection was raised to it at that time. It is not purely a question of order. The fact that no objection was raised does not make it right. My point is, it was wrong on the part of Mr. Prakasam to have interfered and interrupted His Excellency while delivering his Address; and if other people did not protest against it, it was because they thought that it would become more disorderly. His speech amounted to an interruption and if others had objected and said it was a case of interruption, and raised points of order, all these would have amounted to greater interruption. Therefore, Sir, it was very wise on the part of those who kept quiet and did not raise any objection, but allowed Mr. Prakasam to proceed with his speech.

"Sir, some hon. Members have raised an objection that as the speech was made in a joint session of the Legislature, this House sitting apart and in a different place, has no right to go into the question at all. May I submit, Sir, that it was an Address delivered to the joint session composed of both Houses of the Legislature? The very same Address has been debated for nearly two days in this House. When His Excellency delivered the Address, we were sitting there as a House and that is why we have a right to discuss that Address and debate on it. We sat there as Members of the Legislative Council and so anything that was uttered by a Member of the Legislative Council, any act done or any word said to interrupt His Excellency's Address, should be construed as one having been said or done by a Member of the Legislative Council in the forum of the Legislative Council.

"Then, Sir, another objection has been taken by my hon. Friend, namely, that His Excellency has no place at all in the Legislature under the Constitution, that he was a perfect stranger there, and therefore any insult or affront caused to him cannot be taken note of. But, I submit, that my Friends have already answered that point and I do not want to go over the same ground again. Of course, other Friends have taken objection and said, 'Well, something was done in the joint session: we are all Members of this Legislative Council, we do not know what has been done there and so you cannot judge the conduct of Mr. Prakasam without having a copy of his speech at the joint session.' May I submit, Sir, that all the Members who have taken this objection were present there, body and soul, they heard every word of what the hon. Member, Mr. Prakasam, said. Otherwise, I can only say, that they were not very punctual, or very diligent, or they did not want to take their duty to the Legislature as seriously as I do. (An hon. Member from the Opposition benches: 'The speech was not audible.') Very well, Sir, if the speech was not audible, the

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mike could have been set right. I only wish to say that it is a very feeble objection. If they were not able to hear the speech of Mr. Prakasam, how was it that they joined him in walking out? And on such an occasion as that, all these things contributed to this indecorous conduct.

"Then, Sir, my Friend, Mr. Burra Subrahmanyam, a very clever lawyer that he is, began to cut or incise, as it were, every part of the argument and said that if Mr. Prakasam had walked out in protest, it came within the rights of a Member. Or, if he had only protested and not gone out, then also it was within his rights. Well, Sir, you cannot cut out things into small parts and say, this is admissible in law, that is admissible in law; and therefore all these things put together are admissible in law. But, I do not concede the proposition that he has a right to walk out or a right to say this or that. It was not an ordinary meeting of the Legislature, as has been pointed out by the hon. Member, Mr. V. Bhashyam Ayyangar. But, it was a special meeting which is governed by a special procedure. Therefore, all the points of order that were raised here on that ground were trivial and need not be taken note of. I only want the House to look into the matter from the cumulative effect of the speech and the subsequent action of the hon. Member, Mr. Prakasam. It is said that if he had walked out, it would not have amounted to an indecorous conduct. But that is not the way to look at the matter. On the other hand, you have to look at the whole proceedings from beginning to end, with what intention he started the long speech he made and his subsequent conduct. All these put together will give the impression that his behaviour amounted to indecorous conduct. Well, Sir, I only submit that after all His Excellency the Governor came there to deliver an Address. My hon. Friend, Mr. Prakasam, began to question the propriety of His Excellency delivering an Address at that particular stage on the ground that he had called upon the Leader of the Congress Party, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, who was not duly elected, to form the Ministry and that he should not have been called to form the Ministry. It was his object to bring prominently to His Excellency's notice that it was not a validly formed Ministry.

"Sir, if that was his only object, I submit that the hon. Member, Mr. Prakasam, had already sent a letter to His Excellency stating that the Congress Party was in a minority, that the Leader of the Congress Party should not be called upon to form the Ministry and that the so-called Democratic Front, which was composed of hotch-potch parties as it were—some Communists, some Democrats, some Independents and some from the Praja Party—amounting to only 166 members in all, but still not being a majority of the whole House, should be called upon to form the Ministry. If the hon. Member who interrupted His Excellency still thought that his party had a greater majority, he should rest content with the fact that he had brought it to his notice already. Having done such a thing, it was unnecessary to stage a walk-out.

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In fact, there are very many other channels by which this information could be made available to His Excellency. But, he thought that the only method was by telling this to His Excellency when he was delivering the Address to a joint session of both the Houses of the Legislature which was definitely convened for hearing the Address. In fact, he had said so on a previous occasion. There was also the other occasion when, for one or two days, this House debated the Address of His Excellency. So many things have been said on the floor of this House not only about the aspect of the formation of the Ministry, but also about other grievances and so on. Therefore, it was unnecessary on the part of the hon. Member to have interrupted the Governor at that stage to criticize his action in calling upon the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari to form the Ministry as unconstitutional.

"Well, Sir, some hon. Friends said, 'After all something has been done; why should one be severe; let bygones be bygones.' Sir, no one is in the least keen on pursuing these things. I know it will make our feelings more bitter. But, then if there is any chance of rapprochement being made and if there is any chance of a compromise being made . . ."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—"Then apologise and withdraw the motion."

* THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—"Yes, the hon. Member will know who will apologise and withdraw. I expect the hon. Member also to speak and let us wait and see who will apologise and withdraw. Merely saying 'apologise and withdraw' cannot carry us any further. I can also talk, but there is no use in talking with vehemence. After all, there must be some point, some sense in saying things.

"Then, Sir, some hon. Members asked: should this be fought out to the bitter end? I say, Sir, that nobody is anxious to fight this to the bitter end. Of course, people make mistakes and if they are not intentional, they will be allowed to pass by. But, if people make not mistakes, but deliberately do certain things with a view to annoy, insult and act in a disorderly manner then, I think, such action ought to be taken note of seriously. Age does not confer immunity. In Criminal Law only children below the age of seven years have immunity. You know, Sir, the reason why? The reason is that an immature mind which cannot grasp things can be excused. I have not the least objection to it. But in this case there is no reason why it should be withdrawn.

"Again, Sir, my hon. Friend has been commenting at great length on what Mr. Krishnamurthi said, namely, that 'all is fair in love and war'. From what I understood, I think, he was referring to the unholy alliance between Mr. Prakasam and the other parties. He said that at one time he fought very vehemently against the Communists, but to-day he thinks . . . (An hon. Member from the front Opposition Bench: 'Not I.') Not you. You would never say so, but you would do something else. He

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said that Mr. Prakasam had found strange bed-fellows in the Communists. If such a man as Mr. Prakasam should become a friend of the Communists and try to help their policy by saying that it is the proper policy and so on, I would also say that all is fair in love and war. My friend was referring to people who have lost their chance of being Ministers by pulling down the Congress Ministry. I think it was only in that spirit, if I understood my friend aright, that he said that all is fair in love and war. (Inter-ruption.) Very well, he might not have put it so cleverly. I am speaking for myself and I have also asked him and he has said that he said so only in that light. Well, people who do not feel with the Congress or agree with the policy of the Congress may say that all is fair in love and war. But, we care for the means much more than the end. That is the policy of the Congress. We want to fight honourably, if we want to achieve the end, not like other parties which are wedded to immoral means. All is fair in love and war for people who have fought the Communists and other parties on different political programmes and are now coming to unite with them. That is not our policy. Therefore, Sir, I am saying that it was in that spirit my hon. Friend Mr. Krishnamurthi said that all is fair in love and war. Well, Sir, for these reasons, though with the greatest reluctance, I support the motion."

SRI D. VENKATA RAO :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, there was a very unfortunate incident on the 6th of May. Nobody was happy about it, neither those who were prompted for reasons of their own to stage a walk-out, nor any of us who sat down and observed that pathetic sight of the seceders passing out. It was a very unfortunate incident and it was a very bad beginning for the life of our Legislature, a Legislature which His Excellency so significantly called the historic legislature. We have begun our history with a quarrel and is this quarrel to continue? Sir, in the context of the critical position in which we are placed in this State and in the larger interests of the country, I wish we should not press the motion. I wish we forget and forgive (hear, hear). I wish we will not allow any more bitterness to continue, but work together in peace and harmony."

* JANAB SYED MAHABOOB :—"అధ్యక్షా, నేను ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని వ్యతిరేకిస్తున్నాను. అసలు ఈ తీర్మానం ఎందుకు ప్రవేశ పెట్టబడిందని అలోచించినట్లు యితే శ్రీ గవర్నరుగారు ఉభయ శాసనసభ్యుల నుద్దేశించి ప్రసంగించినపుడు శ్రీ ప్రకాశంగారు point of order పై ఉపన్యసించుట, walk-out చేయుట ప్రభుత్వ పక్షానికి ఒక పెద్ద shock వలె పరిణమించుటచే ప్రతికారవర్తనగా ప్రభుత్వపక్షం ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని ప్రవేశ పెట్టినది. శ్రీ ప్రకాశంగారు లేచి మాట్లాడినందున అది గొప్ప నేరంగా వారిపై హామడినది నవభారత రాజ్యాంగములో వాక్యభాసంఘ స్వాతంత్ర్య హక్కులను ప్రసాదించిన కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వమే నేడు పౌరసత్వహక్కులను నిర్బంధిస్తూ దానికి వ్యతిరేకముగా ప్రవర్తిస్తున్నారనట ఈ తీర్మానము వల్లనే తేటతెల్ల మవుతున్నది ఈ తీర్మానములో శ్రీ ప్రకాశంగారి పేరు ఒకటే పుస్తక పుటికిన్ని వారితో పాటు walk-out చేసిన U.D.F. సభ్యులందరికి ఈ నేరము వర్తిస్తుంది. U.D.F.

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లీడరు అయినటువంటి శ్రీ ప్రకాశంగారు గవర్నరు అడ్డంకు యిచ్చేటప్పుడు లేచి పుష్పసించారంటే U.D.F. సభ్యులందరియొక్క అభిప్రాయం ప్రకారం వారు అలా చేసారేకాని అది వారి వ్యక్తిగత అభిప్రాయంకాదు. ఈ తీర్మానం U.D.F. లోని శాసనసభ్యులందరికీ కాదు వారికి ఒట్టనిచ్చి శాసనసభ్యులను ఎన్నుకొన్న లక్షలాది ప్రజానీకాని కంఠకు వర్తిస్తున్నదని చెప్పక తప్పదు. కనుక ప్రజానాయకులని చెప్పుకొనేవారు ప్రజాస్వామికంలో విశ్వాసము పుంజు కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని నేను ఒక challenge చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ తీర్మానము ఆంధ్రదేశములో ఎక్కడైనా సరే అత్యధిక ప్రజామోగాన్ని పొందినట్లయితే మేము ఈ శాసనసభయొక్క సభ్యత్వా లకు రాజీనామా యిచ్చి బయటికి వెళ్లిపోతామని challenge చేస్తున్నాను. ఏ ప్రభుత్వమే శ్రీ లకు సహ స్వాతంత్ర్యాలను మాట్లాడెహక్కులను నవభారత రాజ్యాంగ ములో ప్రసాదించిందో ఆ ప్రభుత్వమే అట్టి హక్కులను తీసివేయటకు పుయ్యి న్నున్నదంటే అలాంటి ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ప్రజాప్రభుత్వమనిగాని, సౌజాన్యామిక ప్రభుత్వ మనిగాని ఏలా అనగలుగుతారో కాంగ్రెసువారికి తెలియాలి. గత 5 సంవత్సర ముల కాంగ్రెస్ పరిపాలనలో ఆంధ్రదేశమంతట ఈ లాంటి విధానాలనే కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం అమలు పరచుటచే వారి చర్యలకు సమాధానంగా ప్రజలు ఈ ఎన్నికలలో తగు సమాధానం యిచ్చారు. ప్రభుత్వాన్ని హస్తగతం చేసిన కోవాలని పుయ్యింతె కాంగ్రెస్ పార్టీకి దేశం మొత్తంలో నూటికి 42 వోట్లునూ, మన రాజధానిలో 100కి 30 వోట్లు మాత్రమే వచ్చాయి. ఇలా ప్రజాసానుభూతిని కలకుబడిని కోల్పోయిన కాంగ్రెస్ కు శ్రీ గవర్నరుగారు ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కట్టిపెట్టుటచే అసమ్మతి సూచకంగా శ్రీ ప్రకాశంగారు సభనుంచి బయటకు walk-out చేశారనిగా మరెవరిని చేయలేదు. గత 5 సంవత్సరాలుగా కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వముయొక్క నిర్బంధ విధా లను వకరిపాలని ప్రత్యక్షముగా తెలుసుకొన్నటువంటి ప్రజలయొక్క అసమ్మతియే యీ నాడు శ్రీ ప్రకాశంగారు సూచించిన అసమ్మతి. అట్టి ప్రజలను లెక్కచేయ కుండా ప్రజాభిప్రాయమునకు వ్యతిరేకముగా ప్రభుత్వం తన యిష్టమొచ్చినట్లు ప్రవర్తించుట సామ్రాజ్యవాదము విధానిముకాదు. అందులకు ఎన్నికలే నిదర్శనము."

"మరియొక విషయమేమనగా ముఖ్యమంత్రి శ్రీ రాజాజీగారు నేను కమ్యూ నిష్టులకు ప్రభుత్వ శత్రువులను అని ప్రకటించారు. ఇందులో కాంగ్రెస్ పార్టీలో కూడా భిన్న అభిప్రాయాలు, భిన్న విధానాలు పున్నవి అర్థమగుచున్నది. శ్రీ పండిట్ నెహ్రూ నేను కమ్యూనిజమును వ్యతిరేకించుటలేదు. కమ్యూనిజంలో మంచి ఆశయములు పున్నై కాని వారు ఆచరించుచున్న విధానాలను మాత్రమే వ్యతిరేకించుచున్నానని మాత్రమే అంటూయన్నారు. కాని శ్రీ రాజాజీగారు కమ్యూనిజమును ప్రభుత్వ శత్రువుగా declare చేస్తున్నారు. ఈ మాటలను శ్రీ రాజాజీ వ్యక్తిగతంగా అనటంలేదు. ముఖ్యమంత్రి పూర్వాలలో అంటున్నారని చెప్పగలను. అందులోని అర్థము ప్రభుత్వ ములో విజృంభించిగా తమ అధికారాన్ని చలాయించెట్లువంటి వినాదమే యీ వినాదము. ఇటువంటి నిర్బంధవిధానలకు ఆంధ్ర ప్రదేశము నిలయమైందని మరచి పోరాదు. కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వము యే దేశరక్షణ చట్టముక్రింద యీ నాడు ప్రజ లను శ్రేణిలో పెట్టుచున్నారో అట్టి చట్టాలను అనుసరించి నైజాంపోలీసు యాక్టును సమయమందు సరిహద్దులలో నున్న ముస్లిం పెద్దలను యిహూం, నాయబ్, ఖాలిబ్, కూర్మి తదితర వందలాది ప్రజలను శ్రేణిలో పెట్టారు. ఈ చర్యలు మతోన్మాదులకు శరోక్షముగా సహాయపడుచున్నది. ఈ నాడు యీ సభలో ప్రతిపాదించబడినట్టి తీర్మానము పుద్దేశము U.D.F. లీడరు అయినటువంటి ఒక శ్రీ ప్రకాశంగారిని కాదు."

[Janab Syed Mahaboob] [14th May 1952]

ఆ U.D.F. సభ్యుల వెనుకనున్న లక్షలాది ప్రజలను challenge చేస్తూ భ్రష్టదని చెప్పవలసి యుంటుంది. కాబట్టి నేను ముఖ్యమంత్రికి మేము వారికి శత్రువులమైన సరే ఒక విజ్ఞప్తి చేస్తూ యాన్నాను పండిట్ నెహ్రూగారు నేను కమ్యూనిజంను వ్యతిరేకించడం లేదు అని అంటున్నారు. మొన్న యిటీవల కాంగ్రెస్ పత్రికలకు సందేశ మిస్తూ మనలను వ్యతిరేకించువారు శత్రువులుకారు. మన అభిప్రాయములతో వ్యతిరేకించువారిని శత్రువులుగా భావించకుండా వారి అభిప్రాయాలను, విధానాలను మార్పుటకు ప్రయత్నించుట మన కర్తవ్యము అని అన్నారు. అందువల్ల శ్రీ రాజాజీగారికి నా విజ్ఞాపనయేమంటే పండిట్ నెహ్రూ అభిప్రాయంలాగా శ్రీ రాజాజీగారు కూడా తమ అభిప్రాయమును మార్చుకొని దేశాభివృద్ధి కొరకు ప్రజాక్షేమంకొరకు పాటుపడినట్లయితే దానికి కమ్యూనిస్టు వాటియేకాదు ఇతర పార్టీలన్ని కూడా తప్పక సహాయపడుతా యని చెప్పుచున్నాను. గత 5 సంవత్సరాలుగా ప్రజల విశ్వాసాన్ని, ప్రజల సానుభూతిని, నమ్మకాన్ని కోల్పోయినటువంటి కాంగ్రెస్ పార్టీ నాయకులు యీనాడు ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని ప్రవేశపెట్టారంటే వారు లక్షలాది ప్రజలకు వ్యతిరేకంగా ప్రవర్తించుచున్నారని చెప్పుచున్నాను. కాబట్టి యీ తీర్మానాన్ని ప్రశంసించిందో వలసికదిగా ప్రభుత్వపక్షాన్ని కోరుతూ యింతటితో విరమించుకొంటున్నాను."

3-30
P.M.

* SRI G. KRISHNAMURTHI :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, hon. Members have been hearing both sides, speakers for the motion and speakers against the motion and it has been really a painful duty for me to be sitting here hearing both sides; it is so on account of the fact that the motion has been brought against a great leader, the Andhra Kesari, the hon. Member Sri Prakasam, who was a terror to the Britisher when he was ruling this country. And by whom has the motion been brought? It has been brought by our revered Rajaji, our Chief Minister, the gentleman who was once holding the reins of power from Kashmir to Cape Comorin. When these two hon. Members are just having if I may say so, a constitutional clash, it cannot but be a painful duty for junior Members like me to be observing it. How I wish these two great brains put their heads together for the prosperity of the country! Healthy differences of opinion will go a long way to shape the future destinies of the country but unfortunately, this motion does not come under that category. This motion is one which is concerned with procedure and these two great leaders hold different opinions with regard to procedure. The question has to be settled whether the joint session is to be a third House of the Legislature and if a third House has been recognized under the Constitution, whether there are special laws for that purpose, whether there is special procedure for the third House (a joint session of both the Houses), whether the rules applicable to the Council apply to that House, who is to be considered as the Chairman, whether Rule 71 of the Council Rules applies and whether His Excellency the Governor as the Chairman could be expected to stop a gentleman from making a speech. When we—when I say we, I mean members barring the two great leaders—do not have any precedent and when the two great leaders differ in regard to their view of the procedure, we, especially I, think it is my duty to beg of the Hon. Rajaji not to

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press the motion. We know that he is the embodiment of philosophy and nothing from a junior Member like me is necessary for him to show that the purpose of the motion has been fully served. The Hon. the Leader of the House yesterday pointed out that the purpose of the motion was only to see that there was no recurrence of such incidents in the future joint sittings and I think that the purpose has been fully served. I have been wondering for some time whenever Rajaji was leaning and watching the younger members speak, whether perhaps in the debate on these two days he has created a background and a training ground for us to speak on such motions. Every member in this House has had a full knowledge of what the conduct should be at the joint sittings and I think it is my duty to beg of the Hon. the Chief Minister not to press the motion but kindly to withdraw it and thus help public opinion to be formed that the Government have risen higher, greater and bigger by not pressing the motion but by simply pointing out the flaw in regard to procedure."

* SRI E. H. PARAMESWARAN :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, I had not intended to take part in the sorrowful debate for the reason given by the previous speaker. I have been a great admirer of the hon. Member Mr. Prakasam and I remember how even when I was a student, we looked up to him with admiration and we have been following the great man who has been working for the freedom of the country. When, therefore, the Leader of the House brought forward a motion of this kind, I did not know what to do. I thought that the hon. Member Sri Prakasam being a follower of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, would come to the House and say, 'I did not mean any disrespect, but if it is felt by the Members of the House that a deliberate insult was offered to His Excellency, I am very sorry and (to maintain the spirit of the Constitution in respect of which only two days back I took the oath of fealty) I express contrition for what has occurred. There would have been an end of the whole matter. But what has happened? We find Member after Member from the Opposition pointing out that this House has no power to look into it because this House has no jurisdiction. I maintain, Sir, that this House has every jurisdiction to consider this breach of privilege. An hon. Member said that His Excellency the Governor is not a Member of the Legislature but I told him even outside the House that according to Article 168 of the Constitution, His Excellency the Governor is part of the Legislature. It reads as follows :—

'168 (1) For every State there shall be a Legislature which shall consist of the Governor, . . .'

and then sub-clauses (a) and (b) follow. He is a part of the Legislature and according to the Constitution he summons the joint session of the Legislature."

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON :—" Why not the hon. Member read the other portions of the article? "

* SRI E. H. PARAMESWARAN :—" This is enough for my purpose and I do not want to read the latter portions. I feel really

[Sri E. H. Parameswaran] [14th May 1952]

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sorry that the friends of the hon. Member Mr. Prakasam did not give him proper advice. I certainly feel that he had every right to advocate his point of view. But there were opportunities for him to do it and there was a time for it. There was the debate on the Governor's Address and he could have at that time given expression to his ideas concerning the alleged unconstitutional acts of His Excellency the Governor in nominating Sri C. Rajagopalachari as one of the Members of the Council. The hon. Member, Sri Prakasam, in the course of his speech to-day repeatedly said, 'I am very glad that no exception has been taken to the speech I made but only to the interruption.' Sir, we certainly take exception to his interruption. We who have come here for the first time were shocked to see, when the head of the State, His Excellency the Governor, had already stood up to address the House, this hon. Gentleman in utter disregard of constitutional propriety standing up and raising a point of order, when the Constitution has not provided for a point of order to be raised then. The framers of the Constitution with all their experience, never contemplated such a situation to arise, and so they did not provide for it. Sir, I do not want to take up the time of the House at this late hour of the debate. I want only to read to the House an extract from Halsbury's Laws of England. I got a copy of that book from the Library of the Legislature. (The hon. Member could not get at the correct page in the book.) Sorry, Sir, I am not able to place my hand just now at the exact portion. There, Sir, it is said that there shall be a breach of privilege when certain things take place. One such thing is, when there is some obstruction to the normal proceedings, there is a breach of privilege of the House. In that book are given several instances where a breach of privilege could be said to have been committed and action taken for the same. But I do not want to go into those details, now. I feel after consideration of all the observations made on the floor of the House, I feel along with many non-party men and many people who are only interested in the progress and welfare of this country that the action of the hon. Member Mr. Prakasam the other day was a calculated and deliberate insult not only to His Excellency the Governor but to the Legislative Council, the Legislative Assembly and the Constitution of India. That is my humble opinion. That speech of Mr. Prakasam was certainly an insult to His Excellency the Governor. He asked: 'Where is there a parallel in the history of any country in the world where a Governor has called upon a nominated member to become the Premier of a State?' Now, Sir, to that, we are inclined to ask back Mr. Prakasam: Are there parallels in this world for a case like that of Mr. Prakasam? He was defeated in the election for the Legislative Assembly, but he got himself elected to the Legislative Council by the Members of the Legislative Assembly and then he asked His Excellency the Governor to invite him (Mr. Prakasam) to form the Ministry. But let that pass. Sir, for Mr. Prakasam there is a constitutional way of bringing up the question. If he and the members of Opposition felt that Rajaji had no majority, they could have moved a motion

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of no-confidence and if they got a majority even by one vote, Rajaji would have resigned. So, Sir, when there are other constitutional avenues open to criticise the action of His Excellency the Governor or to call in question the action of the Government, we are very sorry that Mr. Prakasam should have gone out of the way and acted in the way he did the other day. Even now I humbly beg Mr. Prakasam to say, 'Let all these things be forgotten'. I would request our great leader, Rajaji, also now to consider if anything can be gained by pressing this motion. I would respectfully submit to our leader that we should care for the interests and welfare of the country, and so I again ask him whether anything is to be gained by pressing this motion and whether any honourable solution cannot be found."

* SRI K. P. YAGNESWARA SARMA :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, enough has been said on the motion to show what the House feels over this matter. Still if I rise to speak, it is only to say that the motion should be pressed to a division and that the verdict of the House should be given on the motion that has been brought forward here. It was expressed by some members, that this House, constituted as it is, is hardly the House to go into this question of privilege. I beg to state, Sir, that this House contains hon. Members who can adorn any bench in any Court in any country. Sir, it is not the question of the Constitution that has now to be considered. It is what this House feels over the matter; that has to be expressed now; and as such, it is but fitting that the motion must be put to vote and the verdict of the House obtained. I am sorry to note that some sections of the House seem to be in favour of bringing about a compromise on this matter. I do not see how a compromise can be effected over this question. It is not the case of a personal quarrel between the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition. I may say at once, Sir, I am an admirer of Mr. Prakasam. I am second to none in that either in this House or outside it. I have admired his valiant fight for the cause of freedom for our country. I have tried always to hold him up as my ideal. I have always regarded him as the idol of my heart. I have always desired to call him The Lion of India and not Andhra Kesari as our Andhra friends in their narrow parochialism choose to call him. (Hear, hear.) And yet I wish to say, I was deeply pained to see the incident in the House the other day when Mr. Prakasam figured as the chief actor of the scene. If this is the sort of Opposition that he is going to lead in this State I despair of the future of politics in our State. I say it is due to him, to his good talents and to his greatness that he should lead the Opposition on sound principles, and build conventions on sound lines so that the Opposition may really serve the State and not merely hamper the Government. It was stated that no objection need be taken to the speech that he actually made. Sir, I, on the other hand feel, the speech was itself most objectionable in tone and in manner. Mr. Prakasam said, Sir, that he did not recognize the Governor. He said, Sir, that he did not recognize the Leader of the House. If so, Sir,

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his business is entirely outside this House, I would like to tell him. A man who does not recognize the Governor, a man who does not recognize the Leader of the House coming and sitting in this House and referring to the Leader of the House and the Chief Minister of this Government in such terms as he did the other day, is a strange sight indeed. I say it would be well for him to go outside the House and fight this Government on lines that may seem best suited to him and his confederates. I wish to state that this is not a matter over which a compromise is possible. I therefore wish the motion is pressed to a vote and I ask the House to vote for the motion and reject the amendment. The amendment, it appears to me, has been brought forward as a ruse. Judging from the speeches made on his side of the House it looks like an attempt at compromise. On the other hand it is really a ruse. So I wish to warn this House not to fall into the trap."

DR. C. NATHAMUNI NAIDU :—" Sir, I move for a closure of the discussion on this motion."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Yes."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" May I speak, Sir? "

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Yes."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, before touching on the motion, I wish to correct a small error in my amendment of which I have given notice. The following words also are to be omitted :—

'In deliberate disregard of all constitutional proprieties.'

It is a mere slip of the hand, and I hope the Hon. Leader of the House will accept the correction now made.

" Mr. Chairman, Sir, the motion which stands in the name of the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari is ill-conceived. You will observe that the basis of the whole motion is interruption. In fact the Hon. Leader of the House went to the extent of saying that it was not the actual content of the speech of Mr. Prakasam but the interruption itself which was objectionable. If that is so, the motion is ill-conceived. Because, Sir, if you refer to page 8 of the Note on the Privileges of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, you will see that a very clear distinction is made between members and strangers. There are certain actions which can be taken against members and there are certain other actions which can be taken against strangers. There is a list given there. You will see therein that against a member an action does not lie for interruption. There may be an action against a member for other offences, such as accepting bribes in the ordinary course of discharging his duties. But only against a stranger an action for interruption can lie. The reason is this. Suppose every time I stand up in this House I am charged

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with interruption, then, where is my freedom of speech? If members are to be charged with interruption every time they stand up, then democracy will become a mockery. That is why during the last four hundred years of British history, in the House of Commons, from the year 1547 to be exact, no case of breach of privilege has been brought against members on the ground of interruption. There is not a single case of a member being hauled up for interruption. But in more than a thousand cases, members have been found guilty of breach of privilege on other grounds; but during all this time from 1547 there is not a single case of a member being charged for interruption. For it is his duty in the course of discharging his functions as a member of the House to stand up and speak. So I ask the Hon. Chief Minister, who has moved this motion, whether he had consulted the Legal Department, before he brought forward this motion here. I do not know if he has done it.

" Has he asked the Legal Department to produce a single case out of the one thousand cases and odd in which a Member has been charged for interruption? Such a motion does not lie. The Hon. Chief Minister intends to create a new instrument, a new kind of action and a new engine of oppression so that he can hold it constantly over the heads of Members in order to coerce and intimidate the Opposition. That is why he has brought forward this kind of motion which is unknown in the history of any democracy. The other objection which I take is that this motion does not seek to refer the matter to a committee and is therefore entirely ill-conceived, because all cases of breaches of privilege and contempt should be referred to a committee. It is not as if Mr. Prakasam wants a committee. But I say that that is the usual procedure. The reasons why a reference to a committee is prescribed are many. It gives the accused person an opportunity to adduce evidence. When the matter comes up again before the House, he gets an opportunity to defend himself. That is why the reference to a committee is prescribed. I ask, Sir, is the accused person to be denied an opportunity to place his case before the committee or to come again before the House? That is neither proper nor just. Now, it is prescribed in the Constitution, for allegiance to which we have taken our oath, that a committee shall be formed. I refer to Article 194 of the Constitution. It is not a very difficult legal point. It is very easy to understand. I shall read only the relevant portions of Article 194 (3). It reads—

'194 (3) . . . the powers, privileges and immunities of a House of the Legislature of a State, . . . shall be those of the House of Commons . . . at the commencement of this Constitution.'

This is very simple to understand. The rights and privileges of Members of this House are those of the House of Commons. On page 134 of May's Parliamentary Practice, it is stated 'Since 1909 it has been the usual practice in the Commons to refer the matter of the complaint to the Committee of Privileges, and the House suspends its judgment until their report has been received.' Now let us read these together. It is not very difficult to understand them. Now, the Leader of the other House,

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who is also the Minister in charge of Food and Finance, is an advocate, and he can easily understand Article 194 (3) of the Constitution dealing with the rights and privileges of the legislature. Since 1909 the practice in the House of Commons has been to refer the matter of complaint to the Committee of Privileges, and the House suspends its judgment until their report is received. Therefore, it is clear that according to the Constitution it is necessary, before the House proceeds to consider it and debate on it, that the matter should be referred to the Committee of Privileges. The Hon. the Leader of the House spoke of constitutional propriety. I ask, Sir, if Mr. Prakasam's interruption is in disregard of the provisions of the Constitution, is not the Hon. the Leader of the House going against the provisions of the Constitution in bringing forward his motion and thus disregarding the oath which he took when he took up office? Is he not going against the very provisions of the Constitution? Sir, I do not know whether he referred the matter to the Legal Department. I say that the man in the Legal Department who advised that a motion of breach of privilege could be brought against a Member on the ground of interruption knows so little of law and has not cared to look into the rules, that he deserves to be dismissed on the spot. The person in the Legal Department who suggested that a motion in this form could be brought forward without reference to the Committee of Privileges and against the specific provisions of the Constitution deserves to be sacked. I say that the man who drafted the motion in this form for the Leader of the House to move in this House deserves to be shot (laughter) because he deserves nothing less. (Interruption.) I should not be surprised if the Hon. the Chief Minister enquires into the department and sees how it has become bloated in the last few years from a few officers to four times that number. It is not surprising that no real work is being done there. This provision of the law is very plain and very easy to understand. Even for the layman and for the man in the street, it is very easy to understand. Only those who refuse to understand or who are resolved not to understand will not understand. There is none so blind as he who will not see. The Hon. the Leader of the House is so blind with rage, he is so anxious to wreak his vengeance, and he is so eager to put the hon. Member Mr. Prakasam to dishonour and shame, that he could not wait and observe even the ordinary rules of procedure under the Constitution. The Hon. the Leader of the House said that his desire in fact was to see that there were orderly proceedings in the joint session. I ask, Sir, if that was his real desire, would he have brought forward a motion of this kind before this House? Is he not aware that Mr. Prakasam was speaking not for himself but for 166 elected Members? If he attacks his self-respect, and if he strikes at the self-respect of Mr. Prakasam, he strikes at the self-respect of 166 Members who are returned to the Legislature by the votes of millions of people. Does the Hon. the Leader of the House expect that the people will take this lying down? Will not those Members move a motion of breach of privilege in the joint session

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when it is next held that their rights and their privileges have been attacked and their leader molested? What will he do then? If his real intention had been to see that there was orderly procedure in the joint session, he should not have brought forward a motion of this kind. I submit, if that is his real desire, he should withdraw this motion. This is point No. 1.

"The next point is, he should ask his department to produce the files, which have grown up in number in the last few years, on the subject of regulating the proceedings of the joint session, as to who should preside, what are the rules to be observed, etc., and frame rules just as it has been done in the Central Legislature. In the Central Legislature, they have got regular presiding officers to conduct the proceedings. He should look up those files and read them. He is not familiar with them. He should now frame rules for the conduct of the proceedings. We in the Opposition will help him in matters of procedure. When these rules were being considered on a previous occasion, I pointed out this very thing. The rules are defective. People are surprised that the Hon. the Chief Minister did not raise his voice against the point of order raised by Mr. Prakasam the other day. His Excellency the Governor did not raise his voice. You know, Sir, why they did not do so? The rules did not provide for proper procedure. The rules did not allow them to raise their voice. The rules for the conduct of the proceedings have not been framed.

"The only remedy is to withdraw this motion. Then let the Hon. the Leader look into those files and put the rules of procedure in order. But he may not do it. His purpose is to humiliate Mr. Prakasam and to humiliate the party which he represents, and to humiliate the people who have elected them. Therefore, he will not do that. Sir, this is not the first time that Mr. Prakasam has been hauled up for disciplinary action. The Leader of the House has thrown to the winds the Constitution, law, procedure, propriety, etc. By all means let him go ahead. But let him not talk of high moral principles. Let him not claim respect for him, because of age, because he is not showing respect to a person older than he. Mr. Prakasam has faced disciplinary actions before. There was a former set of Ministers who took disciplinary action against him and had him censured. But what was the end? Those who tried to humiliate him were themselves humiliated. At the general elections the Ministers who tried to censure him were in fact themselves censured by the people. Sir, this drama is being repeated. We have now another set of Ministers, who seek to put Mr. Prakasam to shame. I say that those who seek to put Mr. Prakasam to shame will themselves be put to shame, and I end by saying that those who attempt to punish Mr. Prakasam will themselves be punished by the people."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, this motion has been debated at pretty great length. The last but one speaker—I am not sure whether my order is right—Mr. Rajeswara Rao referred at great length to my opposition

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to the Communists, and he had said many things on that subject which cannot simply be left untouched by me for I would be misunderstood if I did not refer to them. Let me make it clear again that I understand the policy of the Communists pretty well. They change from time to time according to their scripture. Expediency is their only morality and, therefore, they have now decided, in view of the relative position of opinions and parties in the country—it is my duty to make it clear as I see it—not to press their own ideologies, not to expose their own plain final aim and not to speak about their aims even on labour platforms, but to hide behind other groups whose grievances could now be tapped and exploited. Now I said that my policy is to expose Communism, I must expose their policy. All that has happened in this House confirms and explains my interpretation. It is not their plan now to appear in their own colours. It is their plan to make use of every other lamb-skin or sheep-skin and walk about in the country. True to their decision, they say, 'It is the Leader of the United Democratic Front that has been insulted; it is to split the United Democratic Front that the Chief Minister has done this or has done that; it is to divide us and rule that he has done this and done that'. My object is not to divide and rule; my object is not to split any party; but my object is to see that concealed plans are exposed. Let them unite on an exposed plan; I do not object to it and I shall not come between friend and friend. But when there is a concealed plan, it is my duty to expose it. It is the language of anti-Imperialistic agitation that is used now: 'Do not divide and rule.' It is a very sweet phrase. But how long were you united, I ask? Is it not only now that you have come together? Where is the division and ruling? All this, I submit, is just to throw dust in the eyes of the people. But I shall leave it at that. (Interruption.) It takes me to the next point. My friend thanks me for having provoked feelings so as to bring about greater union. I know it and let it not be imagined by anybody that I am fool enough not to know it. I know that actions of this kind against a senior leader do provoke pity, commiseration and a reaction which may be favourable to the other side. Knowingly, I am doing it. Not that I am ignorant of it. I know that to a certain extent the reaction may be unfavourable to me and to my friends. As I see it, it is not a question of profit to me and to my Party but it is my duty, with reference to the policy of the State as a whole, to see that this wrong is righted or at least put in its proper place. It is not because it is profitable to me that I have brought this motion. I admit Sri Rajeswara Rao is right, Sri Adityan is right in thinking that what I do will bring up greater pity; where otherwise reason has been outraged, it will rouse sympathy and he may get advantage on that score. I admit it; I do not object to it. I have to do it as otherwise the Constitution is betrayed. I know that it is not good for me either personally or for my Party or for the group which may be associated with me, but it is my duty to act in a particular situation in a particular manner. When the Constitution is wronged, I will have to make it quite clear.

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Whether it is profitless to me or even injurious to me does not matter. Let it not be imagined that I have acted without knowing my profit and loss account. I know my profit and loss, but I am not working for profit or loss in this matter.

"Now, let me go to Sri Prakasam. He referred at great length to the history of the Constitution of India and said that I seemed to have forgotten that King George is not ruling or his successor is not ruling, that the country is independent now and that the people are the rulers themselves. But it is he that is living in the past and is unable to adjust himself to the present. Let me say, 'King George is not ruling. Even if he were alive, he would not be ruling. It is not the King of England that is ruling us. The people of this country are ruling themselves.' Therefore, any insult or any affront or anything indecorous to the Head of the State is an affront to the people of this country and not to King George or to anybody else for that matter."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—"The Governor is appointed and not elected."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"You might have moved a motion in the Constituent Assembly that he should be elected. I do not think you had a place there (laughter), but your friends could have done it."

"Let me point out that I am well aware—I am not dreaming; I am not lost in anger and frustration—and I am quite alive to what is going on around me. The people are the rulers. Therefore, it is I am more particular that we should preserve propriety. The man who insults authority now insults not the British officer but the people of the land. The question is whether the act took place and whether the act was an insult or not. 'The Head of the State has been appointed by the President and not elected' says Sri Adityan. Are only elected people to be respected in a Republic? Is not the President elected and has not the President appointed the Head of the State? The President has been properly elected and has been properly in office. I hope that is not questioned on a point of order. The President had authority and he has appointed the Head of the State. And what is the meaning of the 'Head of the State?' He represents the President in the State; he represents the authority of the people in the State, and the oath that was taken by Member after Member on the 3rd instant affirmed loyalty to that Constitution. Therefore, every oath that was taken for affirming loyalty to the State involved with it, carried with it, the duty of decorum towards the Head of the State, and not to put the Head of the State in a position of embarrassment and difficulty at a time when he was performing the function laid on him under the Constitution. I am not, therefore, living with King George in my head, but Sri Prakasam, my old friend, has King Charles' head in his head. That is the real difficulty of the matter."

"Then, it was said by Sri Prakasam that he was doing something very proper. That is a matter which has been thoroughly

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gone into and the matter should be quite clear now to everybody. It was thought that because the Governor did not interrupt, because nobody interrupted at the time, he must be presumed to have been in order. Excuse me, Sir, if I say, 'If I go and attack a man and if he cannot and does not protect himself, does that make my act less criminal?' If suddenly you sprang upon the Governor an indecorous interruption at the time when he stood up to speak and his eyes opened out in wonderment at Sri Prakasam's standing up, and when Sri Prakasam went on with his own deliberate procedure, if the Governor did not interrupt and if others did not interrupt, it was firstly due—let me put it frankly as I see it—to shock and secondly due to wisdom. What was our object? Was our object to fight with one another there? Was our object to get victories over points of order there? Our object was to preserve decorum, at least the minimum that would be left after the interruption, and when Sri Prakasam stood up to interrupt, I submit it was wise and proper—first judgments are generally correct—it was wise and proper for the moment for all of us to feel, 'Let this end, they have planned it, and let us not add oil to the fire.' If I had stood up and objected or if someone else had stood up or if the Governor had said, 'Please sit down', the indecorum would have multiplied. That was the reason, let me put it quite clearly to the House. I have no doubt in my mind that it is only a specious argument or at the most idle to imagine that because they kept quiet, it was an order to Sri Prakasam to carry on with his procedure and with his planned interruption. That interpretation is utterly unsound and cannot stand a moment's examination.

"Then I come to the real psychology of the matter. Throughout this morning's discussion, it pained me to see Sri Prakasam. I do not wish to say what in the present context may not be correctly understood. Nobody here has a softer feeling, I claim, towards Sri Prakasam than I have. But, it would not be understood if I say that now. The young people, the new people, would not understand it. The only person that can understand it to some extent is Sri Prakasam himself. He has had many occasions to see that. He was surprised at my conduct on certain occasions, when although everybody was fighting him, I was supporting him. But all that is out of the question just now. I mention it only for this reason that I do hope that at least Sri Prakasam himself will understand me when I say that I am not happy about this matter. I was expecting, I was hoping that the whole thing would end with one sentence or two that Sri Prakasam would say, 'The thing is done. I did not intend any discourtesy. If you think there was any, I am really sorry for it and this motion is misconceived.' It would have ended with that. But instead he has been carrying on the whole of yesterday afternoon and to-day. He speaks as if he were the people and the rest were imposters and pretenders. How can he claim that? I know him enough. He feels he is the people and all the others are imposters, pretenders and interlopers. This is the basis of his psychology. That is why he interrupted. That is why he

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fights tooth and nail against this Ministry and that Ministry. When he is defeated, the people are in the wrong. When he succeeds, it is by right of his own merit. That is his feeling. With that background, we can understand why he felt that he had a right to say to the Governor, 'You have no right at present; you are not competent, Sir, to address, and if you do not stop addressing, we walk out.' This is the sum and substance of the interruption. I submit, Sir, that is not only indecorous—'indecorous' is a mild word—it is an act of disloyalty and betrayal of the Constitution; it is an attack on the Constitution. Sir, what will happen from day to day? Things grow. Things do not simply copy one another. Things grow as time goes on. Therefore, a thing that started like this with a gentleman of Sri Prakasam's position will only result in a growing chain of increasing disloyalty to the Constitution. When there is no king, when there is no outside authority, when there is no foreign rule over us, when we have to rule over ourselves, when the people have to rule themselves—we all know how difficult it is for one to rule one self or for the people to rule themselves—when we have to rule ourselves, our very life depends on self-restraint. The secret of self-rule is self-restraint. If we do not have order, if we do not respect the Constitution which we ourselves have made in the name of the people, then we cannot get on. Is it not in the name of the people that an Article has been incorporated in the Constitution that the Head of the State should be there at the Joint Session and that the Head of the State should address? Is there not an Article in the Constitution that he should function in that way? Are there not other opportunities of raising points of order or criticising it or objecting to it? I do not wish to go into legal complexities.

"Sri V. Gurunandan Rao put forward a beautiful and very ingenious chain of arguments based on this that it was simply a point of order, that the right of walking out was recognized by the Congress—I think he depends on the Congress for that—and there is no good giving a right to walk out, unless you accept the right of explaining the walk-out. All this is ingenious. People say I am clever and ingenious. I have to say, with due deference, that these people are much more ingenious and much cleverer than I am. (Laughter.) I say it with a certain amount of satisfaction. Young men are coming up. Whether that ingenuity will grow into ability and whether that ability will grow into sincerity—all that has to be seen by and by. But they must start with simple ingenuity in the beginning. It was a very beautiful chain of arguments. But that is not the point. The question is this. The grand opportunity for discussing the points that were worrying Sri Prakasam was the debate on the Address. The Address was to be delivered. We had allotted days for the debate and the time could be extended by the Speaker and by the Chairman. During that debate we could sit down here calmly on opposite sides of the Table and discuss it all to our hearts' content. All these points could have been raised then. Was there any

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place outside for which evidence has got to be culled. This is a case, where something took place in the presence of 375 Members of the Assembly and the total strength of this House. Sir, you were there. The Speaker of the Assembly was there. I was there. Sri Prakasam was there. And everyone of us was present there when this incident took place on the 6th of May. So there is no question of evidence. I have even reduced the matter. I have not gone into everything. I have said in my motion what exactly had to be gone into. I submit that there is no case whatever for a Committee of Enquiry. Hon. Member Mr. Yegneswara Sarma observed that it would be a trap. I shall not call it a trap and will reserve that word for other purposes. I think what he meant was that it was dilatory tactics so to say. We are entitled to adopt dilatory tactics. But the question is whether the House will accept such tactics. Sir, I wish to submit that a Committee of Privileges is not indicated in this case. The whole House has the facts before it and knows the circumstances under which the motion has been brought here. So, everything is within the purview of this House and the whole House should be able to come to a judgment on this matter without further ado about it.

"I do not wish to dilate on the matter any further. An appeal was made by more than one Member that I should drop the motion. I have done my best to show that the motion was necessary and that the matter was important and that it was not a question of personal ruination or disgrace or anything of that kind. It is not to ruin the other party that I have brought forward this motion here. I cannot ruin the other party by this, as was observed by Sri Rajeswara Rao. It is said that I rather help the other party by this. Therefore, it is all the more clear that nobody is going to be ruined. There is no question of disgrace because Sri Prakasam contends that what he did is right and he has a right to do it. Therefore, there is no question of disgrace either, and I am not so foolish as to imagine that I bring anybody into disgrace by this. It is only a question of setting out the constitutional proprieties clearly, so that we might not be blamed for having allowed a thing like this to occur. That is the real position. Friends have asked me not to press this motion. I have deeply considered their suggestion. A few friends have suggested openly that we should drop this motion. Sir, I would like to repeat what I said when I moved this motion. Let me say again that it gives me no pleasure to give pain to Sri Prakasam. If only he had co-operated with me and if only he forgot all that had happened in the recent past and looked back to the earlier past and had said, 'Well, you are not my enemy and you have done your duty. I think was misled when I did the thing. It should not have happened. Since you make so much fuss about it and would not ignore it and since you think that the Head of the State should be protected, I say I had no intention to insult or do anything wrong to the Constitution', I would have said, 'Well, I drop the motion' with great satisfaction. But I now go one step further.

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Whether he says it or not, I will drop the motion. I think we have done enough to show that this is very wrong. If the House will allow me, I shall drop the motion." (Loud applause.)

MR. CHAIRMAN:—Is it the pleasure of the House that the Hon. Leader of the House should have leave to withdraw the motion?"

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"On the motion suggested by the Hon. Leader of the House, Sri Prakasam wishes to speak."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"Where is the need for a speech?"

SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, may I have your permission to say a few words in this connexion? What I did was perfectly in order and no disregard of constitutional propriety was shown by my action. I do not wish to go back and argue the whole matter over again. I say that I would have failed in my duty if I had not risen and stated what I said the other day to the Governor who was only an agent of the Ministry, which is a servant of the people. We must recognize the fact that it is the people of India who are ruling the country at the present time and not a foreigner. If that is conceded, the stand that I had taken is quite correct. The Chief Minister and other Ministers who were appointed on the basis of the list given by him are all servants of the people. It was on behalf of those servants that the Governor got up to make that address the other day. It was against those servants of the people who have done constitutional wrongs in every possible manner that I wanted to say what I said. I have no cause to regret for having said that. This is a thing about which I am convinced clearly. It is not a court of law for me to raise arguments with a view to convince anybody. There are people here who are as ignorant as the people of Great Britain were in the days before King Charles was beheaded by the people themselves. The whole debate has been carried on here without the copy of my speech being distributed among the Members. In that speech, I referred to the incident of Lord Coke and his ten Judges. The Judges incurred the wrath of the king. They prostrated before the king, touched his feet and asked for pardon. It was only Lord Coke who stood up and asked the king, 'Well, you put me on oath to administer justice without partiality between man and man. I have been doing it till now. You call upon me now to do a thing contrary to what we are doing.' In this country of mine I have been working for so long to protect the interests of the people. I have been interrupted many times in this attempt. So, it became absolutely necessary for me to stand up and fight for protecting the interests of the people. No other interests and no other cause prompted me to interfere with the Governor's Address.

"Therefore, I say that no Governor present can take it as an insult to him or a discourteous act. On the other hand, it was an honour for him that one should stand up and bring to

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his notice where he is, who he is and whom he was addressing. If I had not freely spoken in that manner I would have failed in my duty. I do not request the Leader of the House to withdraw the motion. I object to the withdrawal of the motion. Let those who want to support it support and let those who take the opposite view say so."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"As the withdrawal of the Motion has not been consented to by the House without dissentient voice, I shall put the original motion to the vote of the House. Is Sri Adityan pressing his amendment?"

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—"I do not press it."

The amendment was by leave of the House withdrawn.

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I shall put the main Motion to the vote of the House. The question is—

'Whereas on the sixth day of May 1952, when the two Houses had assembled together for the purpose of listening to the Address of His Excellency the Governor under Article 176 (1) of the Constitution, the hon. Member Sri T. Prakasam in deliberate disregard of all constitutional proprieties, rose and interrupted the proceedings by delivering a speech questioning the competence of His Excellency to address the Houses and casting reflections on his conduct as Governor of this State;

'And whereas by such indecorous and disorderly conduct, the hon. Member committed a breach of the privileges of this House and was guilty of a grave contempt;

'Now, therefore, this House hereby administers a stern admonition to the hon. Member for his misconduct.'"

The motion was declared carried. Sri T. Prakasam demanded a poll.

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"May I explain my position? I think there has been a certain amount of misunderstanding. When I spoke last about this, I felt that we had thoroughly thrashed the matter out and the error committed had been pointed out publicly and properly and enough was said to set it right. After having done that I felt that I could withdraw the Motion and did not wish to add to the pain that was caused to Sri T. Prakasam. I could see why he committed the error. I felt that on account of his position in life, I should not press my Motion. My duty was only to explain the error and leave it at that and there has been a sufficient and thorough sifting. I asked for leave to withdraw the Motion and you, Sir, asked the House whether they would give leave to the withdrawal. My old friend Sri Prakasam and his friends seemed to think otherwise. Mr. Prakasam was a bit confused and thought that I asked him openly to apologise. I know that he is too proud a man to admit that he has committed a mistake (laughter) and it would not add to my dignity if I asked him to

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do a thing which he would feel humiliated to do. I asked the House to permit me to drop the Motion. But he seemed to think differently that I demanded that he should eat his words."

SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"I shall not obstruct that."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Naturally he has got up to say, 'I shall not obstruct that'. If I may explain what I mean, he says, 'If you wish to withdraw the Motion, do so'. I do not eat my words either. I would definitely say again that he was grievously in the wrong. But he was wrong because he had been deprived of his judgment for the time being by his anger and frustration. I shall not press the motion. Now, as the House gives its leave, I hope he will not rise and say, 'Do not give leave.'"

SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"I do not say 'No' to his request to the House to give leave to withdraw the Motion. He is at liberty to do so."

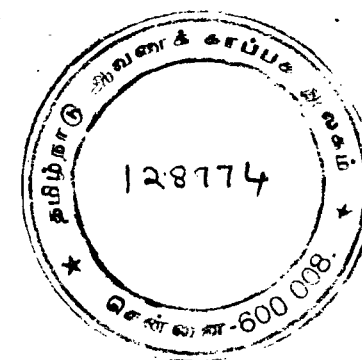
MR. CHAIRMAN:—"As the objection to the withdrawal is said to be due to a mistake and as it is the unanimous wish of the House to rescind their old decision and to allow the Hon. the Leader of the House to withdraw his Motion, I now ask the House whether the Hon. the Leader of the House has the leave of the House to withdraw his Motion.

"The House was unanimous that leave should be given."

The motion was by leave of the House withdrawn.

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I now adjourn the House to meet again at 11 a.m. on the 14th June 1952. Since the above announcement was made, the session was prorogued on 24th May 1952.

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Saturday, the 14th June 1952.



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